



HUMANITIES RESEARCH CENTRE Conference

**'COMMEMORATION, MONUMENTS
AND PUBLIC MEMORY'**

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Abstracts in Alphabetical order by
Author

COMPETITIVE REMEMBRANCE IN POST-UNIFICATION GERMANY: CONTESTED COMMEMORATION AT SITES WITH A TWO- AND THREEFOLD PAST

Andrew Beattie
Institute for International Studies
University of Technology, Sydney

In January 2004, the Central Council of Jews in Germany suspended its participation in a newly established public foundation in the eastern German state of Saxony charged with the administration of memorials to the victims of Nazi and Communist persecution. The Central Council's move was a reaction to a perceived tendency within the foundation to equate Nazi and Communist crimes. Simultaneously, Germany's leading conservative party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), called for a national concept for the commemoration of the victims of Communism and Nazism, objecting to the allegedly insufficient attention paid to the former and advocating joint commemoration of both 'totalitarian dictatorships'.

The contrasting positions of the Central Council and the CDU mark out the highly charged terrain of competitive commemorative politics in contemporary Germany. Since the fall of the East German Communist regime and unification in 1989-90, Germany has had to face two dictatorial pasts, which was particularly salient at a number of physical sites where Nazi concentration camps had been used as internment camps after the Second World War by the Soviet occupier. Moreover, some of these sites, such as Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, had a third past, having been utilised as shrines to Communist anti-fascist resistance by the East German regime.

The paper will explore how Germany as a whole and individual memorial sites in particular have dealt with this two- and threefold past. It will examine the political contestation of issues such as the singularity, comparability or equivalence of various regimes and their crimes, the separate or collective commemoration of their victims, the master narratives of anti-fascism versus anti-totalitarianism used to interpret them, and the implications for German national identity.

Biography:

Andrew Beattie is associate lecturer in German studies at the Institute for International Studies at the University of Technology, Sydney. He recently submitted his PhD thesis in History at the University of Sydney on the process of coming to terms with the Communist past of the German Democratic Republic since German unification in 1990. Specifically, the thesis examines the work of the Bundestag's Commissions of Inquiry into the history and consequences of the GDR. His research interests focus on German memory, especially public memory of the Nazi and Communist pasts, and East and West German politics and historiography.

'HERE WERE HANGED 38 SIOUX INDIANS': THE DAKOTA UPRISING MONUMENT AND CONFLICTING MEMORIES OF AMERICAN-DAKOTA RELATIONS

John Burton
American Studies
DePaul University

Monuments can be an important touchstone for historical memory. One of the most dramatic American examples is the almost century-long controversy over the appropriate memorial to the hanging of 38 Dakota (Sioux) in Mankato, Minnesota. The Dakota Uprising was one last acts of an on going friction between white settlers and Dakota Indians which erupted in violence in 1862. More than 500 white settlers were killed, and at a subsequent military trial, more than 400 Dakota were tried, 321 convicted, and 303 sentenced to death. President Abraham Lincoln subsequently pardoned most of these and ultimately 38 Dakota were hung in the largest mass execution in American History.

Although history and historical interpretation are always subject to disagreement, much of the controversy over the uprising itself and the subsequent trial became focused on the monument erected in 1912 for the fiftieth anniversary of the hanging. Including only the brief text, "Here were Hanged 38 Sioux Indians, December 28, 1862," the monument became submerged in conflict almost from its inception. This paper will examine the arguments over the monument, beginning in the 1920s during which historians and those sympathetic to the Native Americans urged its preservation and detractors suggested its removal. In the 1970s, advocates for Native Americans divided support over its terse language and apologists urged its removal altogether. During America's radical protest era of the late 1960s and early 1970s, American Indian advocates covered it in red paint and tried to burn it. Eventually the monument was removed and buried in a municipal sand pile, but the monument's possible replacement reopened wounds between the white and Dakota communities. Even today, more than 30 years after its removal, the whereabouts of the 1912 monument is so controversial that the city of Mankato, its technical owner, won't officially report its whereabouts.

Biography:

John Burton is Associate Professor and Director of American Studies at DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois, USA. He studied Colonial American history at the College of William and Mary in Virginia from which he received the Ph.D. His initial research was on Town-Gown relations at seventeenth and eighteenth-century Harvard College. More recently his research has focused on the arrival of American Loyalists and their slaves into The Bahamas after the American Revolution. He currently is co-director of an on-going archaeological investigation of one of the Loyalist plantations on the island of San Salvador, The Bahamas. He presented a paper on the Columbus Monuments of The Bahamas at last year's "Colonial Monuments and Collective Memory Conference," at Australia National University.

CHANGING MEANINGS IN HISTORIC CEMETERIES

Mathew Devine
NSW Department of Commerce

The rituals and customs associated with death, as well as societal attitudes towards death have changed greatly over the years. The methods a society uses to dispose of, and commemorate their dead indicate a great deal about that society. James Stevens Curl believes that 'since the earliest of times, attitudes to death and to the disposal of the dead have provided evidence of the nature of societies and civilisations'.¹

This paper will briefly outline the changing attitudes towards death and burial in Western society and its penultimate flowering with the Garden Cemetery movement in nineteenth century United Kingdom, America and Australia. The aim behind the development of the garden cemetery was the creation of a place of great beauty, a place to be buried, and a place to visit and remember those who were buried, all in a state of communion with nature. For the Victorians, death was both a spectacle and a celebration, both social and public, as shown in the numerous engravings of elaborate public funerals.

This paper will consider the ongoing legacy of these large Victorian cemeteries and discuss their original use and meaning with their contemporary use and meaning. A major case study will be employed to explain this in more detail: the Necropolis at Rookwood, Sydney, with the earliest section dating from the 1860s. Rather than an elaborate showcase of planning and horticulture, celebrating death and commemorating individuals, as well as providing a much-visited pleasure-ground, as originally planned, Rookwood is now a vaguely maintained historic and natural resource, popular with genealogists, family historians and ecologists, and those able to read the former glory of the landscape.

Biography:

Matthew Devine has studied architecture and heritage conservation at the University of Sydney. Over the past 10 years, Matthew Devine has been involved in a wide range of architectural, conservation and research projects, working in small to medium size commercial architectural practices, as well as the National Trust of Australia (NSW) and the Royal Australian Institute of Architects - NSW Chapter. He is currently employed within the NSW Government Architect's Office. His academic interests include the history of landscape design, funerary architecture and popular culture.

¹ James Stevens Curl, introduction, p15, in John Claudius Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing Of Cemeteries, and on the Improvement of Churchyards*, Iwelet Books, Redhill, England, 1981. facsimile of 1843.

MEMORIES OF THE MASSACRE: SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY IN FRENCH NATIONAL IDENTITY

Barbara B. Diefendorf
Boston University

In the midst of the souvenir shops of Paris's rue de Rivoli, the observant tourist catches a glimpse of a bronze statue of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the Protestant leader whose assassination in August 1572 touched off the infamous Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The discreet statue of Coligny, directly across from the palace of the Louvre, is the only monument commemorating even indirectly the murder of over 2,000 French Protestants by Parisian Catholics in the tragic events of Saint Bartholomew's Day. These events have been marked for oblivion and not for remembrance, and yet they are remembered and have been used in a variety of ways in the past 400 years. In the immediate wake of these events, the crown had medals struck celebrating the triumph of the young king, Charles IX, who ordered his Protestant enemies killed. One medal credited Charles with restoring piety and justice; another depicted him as Hercules slaying the Hydra of heresy. This image of a just and valiant king subsequently gave way to the counter-image, visible most recently in the film 'La Reine Margot,' of a treacherous tyrant who conspired in the murder of his own subjects.

This paper will trace the evolution of public depictions of Saint Bartholomew's Day in art and literature, with special emphasis on portrayals of the king, so as to examine the changing relation of the French to their monarchical past. It will argue that, in representations of the massacre, the role of religious fanaticism was quickly subsumed under the more dominant theme of royal treachery. Although initially celebrated as a Catholic hero, Charles IX became the epitome of the anti-king, embodying all that was worst in absolute monarchy. This representation burst forth on the French stage in 1789 and was enlarged upon in the nineteenth century through such works as Alexandre Dumas's *La reine Margot*, because of continued struggles between monarchists and republicans. These quarrels are now muted, but this image of a weak but tyrannical king ordering the slaughter of his own subjects retains an important place in French historical memory as the embodiment of a mythologized despotism dethroned in favor of a secular and enlightened republican state.

Biography:

Barbara Diefendorf received the PhD from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1978 and began teaching at Boston University, where she is currently Professor of History, two years later. A specialist in the history of early modern France, she is the author of *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth Century: The Politics of Patrimony* (Princeton University Press, 1983), *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford University Press, 1991), and *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford University Press, 2004), along with numerous articles and a co-edited book, *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (University of Michigan Press, 1993). Her research continues to focus on religious divisions in sixteenth and seventeenth-century France and on the long-term impact of these quarrels.

MEMORIALS AND TAINTED MEMORY IN POSTWAR GERMANY

Jeffrey M. Diefendorf
University of New Hampshire

Ever since its utter defeat in 1945, Germany has had a memory problem. Nazism tainted nearly all avenues of collective memory. In an occupied, demilitarized country, continuing a long tradition of memorializing military heroes and the war dead was nearly impossible. Commemorating the innocent victims of the fighting and allied bombardment was problematic because all of Germany had so loudly staunchly supported Hitler and the war he initiated. Indeed, the very idea of German victimhood was clouded by the huge number of victims of Nazism, most notably Europe's Jews. While there has been a long debate in Germany about whether Germans have sufficiently faced up to the Nazi past, recent publications by the novelist Wilhelm Sebald and the historian Jorg Friedrich have sparked new public discussion by accusing postwar Germans of forgetting the victims of the bombing, with victims being understood both as innocent civilians and as innocent historic cities.

This paper will explore these complex issues surrounding German memory by examining several prominent memorials. First among these are bombed churches which were retained as ruins: St. Alban's in Cologne, the Aegidien church in Hannover, and the Frauenkirche in Dresden. West German authorities made deliberate decisions to preserve the churches as memorials to the 'victims' of the war, but East German authorities, having carted off most of the ruins of the Frauenkirche, discovered that the remains became an unintended memorial. Now that the German Democratic Republic is no more, the Frauenkirche has been rebuilt and its meaning entirely reconfigured, but never-ending construction in the West German cities has also changed the ways ruined churches functioned as memorials there. Preserved parts of concentration camps constitute a second kind of memorial to be considered here. In contrast to the ruins of churches, Dachau and Buchenwald eventually became monuments to the victims of Nazism, but in different ways. Dachau memorialized all sorts of victims—Germans, Jews, Christians—but Buchenwald singled out 'anti-fascist' victims while ignoring Jewish victims almost entirely. In both cases, however, the layout of the 'preserved' camps tended to turn National Socialism into a distant abstraction.

Biography:

Jeffrey Diefendorf is Professor of History and Senior Faculty Fellow in the College of Liberal Arts at the University of New Hampshire, where he has taught since having received his Ph.D. in modern German history at the University of California in Berkeley. His research has focused mainly on the rebuilding of cities bombed during World War II and resulted in the publication of *The Rebuilding of Europe's Bombed Cities* (editor) (The MacMillan Press and St. Martin's Press, 1990), *In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II* (Oxford University Press, 1993), *American Policy and the Reconstruction of Germany, 1945-1955* (coeditor with A. Frohn and H.- J. Rupieper) (Cambridge University Press, 1994), and *Rebuilding Urban Japan after 1945* (co-editor with C. Hein and Y. Ishida) (Palgrave Press, 2003). Most recently he has edited *Lessons and Legacies, Volume VI: New Currents in Holocaust Research* (Northwestern University Press, 2004) and co-edited with Kurk Dorsey *City, Country, Empire: Landscapes in Environmental History* (Pittsburgh University Press, 2005).

Diefendorf's current research is a comparative study of urban change and urban identity in Cologne, Basel, and Boston during the middle half of the twentieth century. This project ranges from urban planning and architecture to self-promotion through staging public festivals, underwriting cultural institutions, and supporting professional sports.

REMEMBERING AND RE-TELLING: LIFE NARRATIVES AS HISTORICAL PRACTICE AT THE MIGRATION MUSEUM

Kate Douglas
English
Flinders University, South Australia

Adelaide's Migration Museum is a site for the commemoration and celebration of South Australia's migration history. According to its website, the Migration Museum 'works towards the preservation, understanding and enjoyment of South Australia's diverse cultures. It is a place to discover the many identities of the people of South Australia through the stories of individuals and communities'.

Like many commemorative sites, this museum foregrounds life narratives in its exhibits: the non-fictional life stories, photographs or artefacts of individuals that assume significance beyond the individual. At the Migration Museum, life narratives are offered in forms such as written narratives (plaques, posters), and visual narratives (photographs, films, artwork—such as drawings and quilts), which function as metonyms for migration experiences. And thus, to a significant degree, the museum constructs its histories from life narrative practices.

These life narratives are employed to offer an accessible history to the spectator. More than any other cultural form, life narrative seeks to reduce the distance between reader or spectator and text. The aim of life narrative is to develop a relationship with the reader/spectator; for instance, the reader/spectator might be asked to witness or verify the experience. Life narratives personalise history, inviting empathy from the witness, and the witness is invited to engage in a form of collective remembering. In their conveyance of memories from the past, these life narratives may appear transparent to the spectator. However, as with all life narratives, they are constructs of their contemporary cultural context, and shaped by the various technologies of memory from which they emerge.

In this paper I consider examples of life narrative on display in South Australia's Migration Museum, to explore the broader issue of how and why life narrative has attained such a privileged place in commemorative discourse. I explore the extent to which these selections of life narrative, which represent the past, are imbued with insights into the contemporary political contexts from which they have emerged. For example, within the context of Australia's current policies on asylum seekers how are we to reflect upon these representations of Australia's migrant history? What is the socio-political utility of these narratives, and how do they contribute to the cultural production of the past?

Biography

Kate Douglas is a Lecturer in the Department of English and Cultural Studies at Flinders University. Her primary research and teaching areas are life narrative studies, contemporary literature and Australian Studies. Her current project investigates the ways in which traumatic migration is 'witnessed' through the use of interactive media at commemorative sites.

THE TEMPORARY MEMORIALS OF 9/11

Judith Dupré
Independent Scholar, NY and
Yale University

'The Temporary Memorials of 9/11' is an illustrated lecture that considers the diverse expressions of commemoration that will be lost to history once September 11th's official memorials are erected. Discussion will range far beyond the fragile shrines of candles and flowers—though they are indicative of the sea change that has occurred in how the collective mourns and remembers—and the competition winners from NYC and DC (Shanksville has not yet conducted its competition). The talk will encompass more obscure commemorations and stunning imagery, including the *Wall of the Missing*, the massive photo bank in Greenwich Village; the archival images of American master Joel Meyerowitz, the only photographer allowed on the WTC site; the interior shrines of St. Paul's Chapel; posters from *Time to Consider* that were sniped throughout Manhattan; relocated and rededicated fragments of earlier WTC monuments; archived fragments of the twin towers; *Tribute in Light*, the twin light beams resurrected on subsequent anniversaries; *Around Ground Zero*, a fold-out map of the altered WTC neighborhood produced in December 2001; the temporary viewing platform; and *Project Rebirth*, a time-lapse film documentation that records the WTC site every five minutes, to name a few of many examples. Less tangible monuments include the event's impact on vocabulary, newspaper design, skyscraper security, and Internet use. Such ephemeral and temporary memorials and constructions have shaped attempts to come to terms with what happened on September 11th and how it will be remembered. These commemorative expressions do not have equal weight, but, taken together, provide the foundation of what will eventually be built, and their accounting before memory blurs, as it always does, is itself a memorial of sorts and sheds light on the memorial process. Even the permanent monuments, in the planning stages at the three attacked sites, are not the last step but rather one more stage in the commemorative process.

You learn from instances. You love certain things. You love the struggle of Michelangelo, for instance, to do a library which he really failed to do, but you admire the tenacity, the genius, the spiritual quality. Where I look is not at materials or construction, but at the spiritual quest to construct something, which sometimes even in its incomplete form is greater than many other totalitarian edifices that have been completed and constructed.

—Daniel Libeskind, interview with Judith Dupré, New York City, June 17, 2003

Biography

Judith Dupré writes books that bridge the worlds of art, photography, and architecture. She has written six books of illustrated non-fiction that have been translated into ten languages, including *Skyscrapers* (Black Dog & Leventhal/Workman, 1996), *Bridges* (Black Dog & Leventhal/Workman, 1997), and *Churches* (HarperCollins, 2001), a *New York Times* bestseller. She is working on *Monuments: Life in Memory*, a collection of essays about memorial architecture that will be published by HarperCollins in 2006. She holds degrees from Brown University in English literature (1978) and studio art (1978), and did postgraduate work at Hunter College and the Open Atelier of Design and Architecture, both in Manhattan. She was part of the twenty-five-member team that developed the World Financial Center in Battery Park City, adjacent to the World Trade Center site, and was a resident of lower Manhattan for 18 years.

ROADSIDE MEMORIALISATION

Gerri Excell
The University of Reading

According to the World Health Organisation (2004), as many as 3,000 people are killed on the world's roads every day. The UK accounts for on average 107 of these fatalities. It is common practice to discover a roadside memorial placed along the side of the road. Why are these memorials being placed in public places, is the cemetery no longer the place for memorials? What do these memorials mean to those who place them and maintain them? This paper explores modern commemoration behaviour in the UK. The aim of this study is to provide revealing insights into why individuals chose to exhibit their personal loss in such a public way. A small-scale interview study of ten families who have placed and maintained a roadside memorial was conducted to elicit meaning from their actions. The significance of the site of death is an important factor for the placing of the memorial the respondents reported an emotional ownership of the site. The respondents stated that the site signifies the last place the person was last alive and is a place where they feel connected once again to the deceased. The memorials are placed to remember their loved ones who died in such a needless and often violent way and need to be remembered at the spot. Encompassing Van Gennep's *Rites de Passage* (1960) this paper examines the liminal process in relation to bereavement and the appropriation of public space. The place of death was often referred to as 'Michael's tree' or 'Jason's wall' adding to the emotional ownership of the site. An examination of material culture at various spontaneous memorial sites provides a revealing insight into the increasingly secular nature of modern day society in the UK. A larger scale study might investigate roadside memorials in the context of an emerging mourning ritual encompassing cultural and religious attitudes to death.

RESISTANCE, MEMORY AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Amareswar Galla

Sustainable Heritage Development Programs
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The ANU

The signifiers of resistance have a transformative character that is yet to be addressed adequately. What is of value to one generation may be celebrated and understood from a different perspective by the next. The younger generation in countries such as Vietnam is increasingly being challenged to understand the sacrifices made by their parental generations in wars of resistance. Projects such as 'Young People in Heritage Conservation' focussing mainly on universal values of the World Heritage Areas, have become problematic. They are increasingly becoming productive for intergenerational community engagement in sustainable heritage development. The range of interpretive approaches varies considerably depending on the audience or the stakeholder constituency. This paper explores the changing meaning and context of 'memory' with particular reference to Vietnam.

Biography:

Born and educated at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, Prof Galla holds a unique shared position as the Director of Sustainable Heritage Development Programs in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University and as the Professor of Museum Studies in the School of English, Media Studies and Art History, the University of Queensland. A Visiting Fellow for several years in the HRC at the ANU, Amar is the first Australian to be elected as the President of the Asia Pacific Executive Board and the founding Chairperson of the Cross Cultural Taskforce of the International Council of Museums (ICOM). In October 2004 he was elected the Vice President of the International Executive Council of ICOM.

Between 1985-92 he founded and directed the National Affirmative Action program for the participation of Aboriginal Peoples and Torres Strait Islanders in museums, galleries, national parks and World Heritage Areas in Australia. Between 1994-99, Amar was the international technical adviser for the transformation of the Arts Councils, National Museums and Cultural Institutions and the National Parks Board in post-apartheid South Africa. At the same time he was a researcher and expert adviser to the UN World Commission for Culture and Development and the UNESCO Stockholm Action Plan from the Inter Governmental Conference on Cultural Policies in 1998. More recently he worked with UNESCO in the establishment of World Heritage Areas as incubators for culture in development and poverty alleviation projects at Ha Long Bay and Hoi An in Vietnam and Darjeeling in India. In 2001, the Vietnamese Government and the Quang Ninh Provincial People's Committee gave him the award for outstanding service to the sustainable development of Ha Long Bay. He is currently working on the development of a floating museum in Cua Van Village on Ha Long Bay and also the cultural impact of the Asian tsunami. (<http://rspas.anu.edu.au/heritage>)

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEMORY: MONUMENTS AND COMMEMORATION OF THE LAND WAR AND THE CROFTERS' ACT IN NORTHERN SCOTLAND

Laurence Gourievidis
British Studies
Blaise Pascal University

In the recent history of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the 1886 Crofters' Act, its results and legacy have long been disputed; some hail it as a liberating breakthrough, others liken it to a 'legislative prison'. The Act put an end to population clearance and eviction, resorted to for over one hundred years by landlords pursuing the policy of Improvement on their estates. It also gave some crofters security of tenure and reduced rents.

The debate was spectacularly rekindled in 1986 when an exhibition celebrating the achievements of the Act was organised in Stornoway, on the Hebridean island of Lewis, and subsequently toured throughout Scotland. Since then the Outer Hebrides have witnessed a spate of monument building in places where the struggle for land, which had preceded the legislation, took place.

As constructions of the past, both the 1986 commemorative exhibition and the Hebridean Cairns tell stories embedded in modern concerns. The aim of this paper will be to highlight the interests at work in this commemorative process. It will examine the extent to which both 'sites of memory' present alternative narratives of the history of the region, since they both claim to represent the crofters' point of view. It will also explore the discourse, which ultimately frames these constructions and is shaped by current priorities of a cultural, political and economic nature. Among such priorities, the revival of Gaelic culture and language and the defence of the specific way of life of a marginal, yet unique, community are particularly prominent.

Biography:

Laurence Gourievidis has an M.A. in British Studies from the University of Paris III (Sorbonne Nouvelle) and a Ph.D. in Scottish History from the University of St Andrews. She currently lectures in the Department of English at Blaise Pascal University in Clermont-Ferrand (France), teaching both undergraduate and post-graduate courses in modern British and Irish history.

Her research focuses on the interpretation of the period of the Highland Clearances in Northern Scotland in history, literature, politics and museums. A particular current interest is the representation of traumatic events such as famines, evictions and population migrations in museums and heritage centres and the interaction between history and memory in such lieux de mémoire.

THE CIVIL SERVANT AS GUARDIAN OF PUBLIC MEMORY: SIR LIONEL EARLE AND THE ERECTION OF MEMORIAL MONUMENTS, 1912-1933

Stephen Heathorn
McMaster University, Ontario, Canada

In the immediate aftermath of the Great War, the Office of Works was responsible for overseeing all monuments and memorials in London's public places and Royal Parks, and Sir Lionel Earle (1866-1948), who held the post of Permanent Secretary from 1912 to 1933, was uniquely involved in commissioning nearly all of the capital's public Great War memorials and statues. In addition to overseeing the erection of the Cenotaph and helping organize the entombment of the Unknown Warrior, the Office of Works under Earle was responsible for supervising a large number of memorial commissions for British national monuments (e.g. national memorials for Roberts, Kitchener, and Haig), and regimental and service memorials located in public parks (e.g. the Guards Memorial, the Royal Machine Gun Corps Memorial, the Royal Artillery Memorial, amongst many others). While the files of the Office of Works have been pillaged by many scholars looking for information on specific monuments, the role of Earle and his staff on deciding the commissions and locations of memorials erected in London has been almost totally ignored, even though the Office of Works unquestionably helped shape the commemorative geography and culture of London in the interwar years.

In this paper, I want to explore the behind-the-scenes work of Earle and his staff in organizing and managing the commissions of a number of memorial monuments, in order to assess the role of the civil servant in promoting and patronizing artists, and shaping public opinion on memorials in general. This paper thus discusses several interrelated issues: 1) the debates over the appropriate sites of monuments and memorials in London, including public demands and objections to the sites favoured by Earle and his staff; 2) the limits to public consultation in public memorial decisions in the interwar years; 3) the contested authority within government over public patronage of monuments; and 4) the role of the civil servant as patron of the arts.

Biography:

Stephen Heathorn is Associate Professor in the Department of History and Research Editor at the Bertrand Russell Research Centre at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. He is the author of a book on the construction of national identity in early 20th Century Britain (*For Home Country and Race* [University of Toronto Press, 2000]), and a dozen journal articles and book chapters on nationalism and education, commemoration and monuments, and Bertrand Russell's interwar social and political commentary. His most recent publications include an article in the *Journal of British Studies* on the cultural politics of the memorial commemorating Field Marshal Earl Haig in Whitehall in the 1930s, and another in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* on the repatriation of imperial monuments from Sudan in the 1950s. In addition to his Russell editorial duties, he is currently working on a book on the cultural politics of monuments in 20th Century Britain.

MONUMENTS FOR WAR AND VATERLAND IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST BERLIN

Dr Hsiu-ling Kuo
Arts, Culture and Environment
University of Edinburgh

On 30th January 1937, Albert Speer was appointed *Generalbauinspektor* (GBI, the General Building Inspector), responsible for remodelling Berlin as 'Germania', the capital of the Third Reich. This project is the paradigmatic statement of National Socialist architecture. On the North-South Axis of Speer's Greater Berlin Plan a colossal monument - the Soldier's Hall (designed by Wilhelm Kreis) – was to be installed. It was the most significant war memorial in the Third Reich. The monument was to serve party's political and ideological purposes to commemorate the death of soldiers. In the crypt of the Soldier's Hall innumerable places were reserved for the sarcophagi of the commanders of the wars on neighbouring countries to exploit the peculiar relationship between national monument, commemoration and heroic death.

National Socialists manipulated themes of 'the sublime' and 'death' through monument construction in architectural propaganda. Speer and the GBI architects, for instance, published several articles in *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* to propagate the value of Kreis' monument designs. Kreis' dictum for monumentality was: '*Keine Kunst ist so groß, so ernst und heilig, als die Tat des Helden, das Leben hinzugeben für das Vaterland.*'¹ National Socialism sought a monumental style that would convey notions of battle, sacrifice and *Volksgemeinschaft*, and would celebrate the martyrdom of party's holy brotherhood.

By constructing monuments, society establishes values, which are officially promoted by the state and commonly acknowledged, if not unanimously accepted, by the mass. War memorials enlist the universal sympathy for the dead, through which political ideologies and social values are shaped and re-enforced. In constructing representative monuments for the capital – Berlin - National Socialists intended to encode military-oriented themes in war memorials and transform monuments into a celebration of militarism, patriotism and politically promoted social values. Monuments, in the name of commemoration, are sites of social and political contest.

Biography:

Hsiu-Ling Kuo is a Curator and Assistant Researcher at the Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, Taipei National University of the Arts, Taiwan. She completed her PhD on "Modernity and Monumentality in National Socialist Architecture: The North-South Axis of the Greater Berlin Plan" at the University of Edinburgh, UK, in 2004. She was the co-organiser of the "e-Fusions" (www.caad.ed.ac.uk/e-Fusions) International Interdisciplinary Symposium and Art Exhibition. Dr Kuo specializes in art and architectural history of Modernism and National Socialism. At present she is researching the Impact of Modernism on Asia: the example of Berlin and the Beijing Olympic Games. Her essay "Weltstadt of National Socialist Germany The Greater Berlin Project" will be published in *Imagining the City*, David Midgley & Christian Emden (ed.) by Peter Lang Publishing in 2005.

¹ Through sacrificing one's life for the *Vaterland* the citizen was the heroic mission for every patriot. Wilhelm Kreis, '*Kriegermale des Ruhmes und der Ehre im Altertum und in unserer Zeit*,' reprinted as document 71 in Anna Teut, *Architektur im Dritten Reich 1933-1945* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1967), 222.

WHAT IS A GOOD MEMORIAL/MONUMENT?

Michael P. Levine
Philosophy
The University of Western Australia

What constitutes a good memorial or monument? How do they function or fail to function? How does a memorial differ from a monument? What *are* all those statues in the park about? This paper examines memory in relation to acts of memorialization and assesses criteria that have been used in judging certain memorials against normative and other conceptions of what a memorial should be. Is minimalism the most appropriate aesthetic for contemporary memorialization? Are there any criteria that are or can be applicable to memorials in general? Is it possible to have a 'timeless' memorial one that really does last through the ages; or do memorials have to be, by their very nature, specific to times and places? What is an 'ethics of memory' and is developing such an ethics an essential feature of understanding memorialization? Is it possible or desirable to have a memorial genuinely free from politicalization or is it rather a question of the kind of politicalization that occurs? Are memorials, as a form of public discourse, meant to inspire debate and evoke further discourse? Should they inspire debate? Are they a form of public therapy? What can the case of memorials tell us about the intersection between architecture, ethics and politics and the interstices between private and public? What do they tell us about notions like nationhood and community? Is the very idea of memorials outmoded such that memorialization –and memorials are no longer possible in practice? Are we in the midst of memorial mania and if so what does this say about the current cultural climate?

Biography:

Michael Levine is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Western Australia and has held visiting positions recently at City University of New York and the University of Colorado. Recent books include *Integrity and the Fragile Self* (co-authored) and *Racism in Mind* (co-edited). He is currently writing a book on Architecture and Ethics with William Taylor.

SWITCHING ON THE CHRONOMETER OF HISTORY: COMMUNISM, POSTCOMMUNISM AND HERITAGE

Colin Long
Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and the Pacific
Deakin University

The destruction of monuments accompanying the fall of Communism ignited debates about preservation of manifestations of a hated regime. While heritage professionals called for their preservation as 'historical documents', many monuments were destroyed or removed. Yampolsky sees anti-Communist iconoclasm as a rejection of the totalitarianism of time embodied in Communist monuments. These 'intentional monuments' were intended to 'negate the march of time and oppose to it the permanence of human action'. They demonstrated the alleged end of history in a classless utopia.

Iconoclastic acts against these monuments involved the crossing of 'the invisible boundaries of the sacral zone surrounding monuments, switching on the chronometer of history'. In doing so, iconoclasts provide the conditions for reassertion of heritage practices: heritage requires a sense of the flow of time, a difference between past, present and future.

Having restarted the chronometer of history, a society is forced to assess where it stands in relation to its past. Will it continue on a path of 'wilful forgetting', or seek to confront the past? The danger of wilful forgetting is the creation of nostalgia. Alternatively, preservation of places of memory helps processing of the past required for movement into the future. 'One need only consider the way in which Berliners tore down the hated Berlin Wall in the aftermath of 1989', Fulbrook writes, 'to understand the desire to rid the landscape of a hated excrescence, a symbol of a rejected political past. But...for those who come after, the effort of historical imagination is all the greater for lack of a topography of experience'.

Heritage preservation can produce a 'topography of experience', through which the experience of Communism is examined. Reassertion of a humanistic historical time through heritage practices reveals the arrogant futility of utopian projects seeking to bring history to an end.

Biography:

Colin Long lectures in cultural heritage and Asian studies. He is an urban historian with interests in Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian history and heritage, Australian urban history, and heritage in post-communist societies. His recent publications range from football and urban planning in Melbourne to traditional housing in Laos and the use of heritage in post-communist nations.

WRITING LIVES: MEMORY, MOURNING AND MEMORIALISATION

Rae Luckie
Humanities
University of Western Sydney

The families, neighbourhoods, and nations that envelop us all have memories of their own that transcend any one individual's. So do the memories in the vast cultures we call Art and Science and Religion. We grow up in the context of collective memory, and over the course of life we breathe it in and breathe it out.

John Kotre White Gloves: How We Create Ourselves Through Memory

The terms auto topography and auto biogeography have recently been used for a variety practices ranging from the memories inherent in places and objects-through to what Chris Gregory-Guider describes as 'the act of perambulation as a memorialisation strategy, where the narrator/autobiographer retraces the footsteps of a no-longer living person through city and countryside'.

This paper is a personal exploration of memory and memorialisation in auto/biographical writing.

Biography:

Rae Luckie is a teacher and writer living on the South Coast of NSW. As well as working in the community with people writing life stories, she has been teaching part-time at the University of Wollongong's Shoalhaven Campus. She is currently working full-time on her PhD at the University of Western Sydney. The creative and critical work is an investigation of the autobiographical process and how our sense of identity is imbedded in the objects with which we surround our selves. In 1996 she edited a collaborative work which traced the return of three ex-prisoners of World War Two to sites of significance on the Burma-Thailand Railway. Her writing has been published in a number of anthologies, the most recent in *The Best Australian Stories 2004*, edited by Frank Moorhouse.

THE ART—AND SCIENCE—OF MEMORY IN ANTEBELLUM MNEMONICS

Daniel J. McInerney
History
Utah State University

Recent scholarship has added much to our understanding about the construction of memory, examining how communities produce, express, and contest their recollections of the past. My paper takes up a different topic: a set of proposals to develop the capacity for recollection. In contrast to studies that focus on the *contents* of memory, I look historically at proposed *techniques* of memory.

I approach this topic by examining mnemonics in mid-nineteenth-century America. My aim is to understand the categories in which advocates conceived of memory, the ways they tried to harness memory's powers, and the role they believed memory played in their world. More specifically, the paper explores how the most celebrated memory lecturer in the antebellum U.S., François Fauvel-Gouraud, framed the discussion of mnemonics as part of a broader reform effort. Fauvel-Gouraud described his methods as an advance over the familiar 'art' (and entertainment) of memory. He claimed to go beyond classical forms of memory training that grounded recollection in places and images. He dismissed the theatrics of performers who presented a powerful memory as the stuff of stunts and spectacle. And he viewed his approach as part of a 'scientific' effort to bring order and regularity to the powers of mind.

Fauvel-Gouraud offered his lectures on memory as a controlled, methodical experiment whose results could be duplicated through precise formulas for recollection. He urged audiences to approach a powerful memory through the exercise of logic and philosophy rather than by appeal to fables or mysteries. He maintained that recollection was more the product of 'natural mechanical associations' than super-human power. And he devised 'litero-numerical' rules to make an exceptional memory systematic and predictable rather than surprising or startling. By grounding mnemonic technique in a fixed, base-ten structure of numbers, he claimed to have demythologized and quantified the enhancement of memory, bringing scientific method to the processes (and potential) of the mind.

Biography:

Daniel J. McInerney received his Ph.D. from Purdue University in American Studies with an emphasis in History. He joined the faculty at Utah State University in 1986 where his teaching focuses on the history of the early republic. He currently holds the rank of full professor. Dr. McInerney is the author of two books: *The Fortunate Heirs of Freedom: Abolition and Republican Thought* (1994) and *The Travellers' History of the United States* (2000). His articles have appeared in *Civil War History* and *The Journal of the Early Republic*. Since 1994, he has served as an associate editor of *The Social Science Journal*. He also served as director of Utah State University's Honors Program from 1993 to 1997. Dr. McInerney's current research involves nineteenth-century interest in mnemonics, the science of improving memory.

‘BY SCOTTISH HANDS, WITH SCOTTISH MONEY, ON SCOTTISH SOIL’: BUILDING THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL WAR MEMORIAL

Jenny Macleod
Centre for Second World War Studies
University of Edinburgh

In 1917, when Sir Alfred Mond, Commissioner of Works, proposed that a national war memorial should be built in London, he met with swift objections from north of the border. As the Duke of Atholl later recalled, ‘I am afraid that all the rebel spirit that lies dormant in every Scot roused itself within men, and I made a public statement that if the people of Scotland wished to have a National War Memorial to commemorate their own dead it would not be in Hyde Park, London, and put up with Government money, but it would be put up by Scottish hands, with Scottish money, on Scottish soil.’

Atholl’s unflagging energies ensured that such a memorial was constructed at Edinburgh Castle and opened in 1927. Its location secured not only a commanding position over the capital city, but embedded the memorial within a procession of events, martial and royal, that were central to Scottish national identity. These historical associations stretching from medieval times to the 1916 Zeppelin raid on the castle rock suggested permanence and longevity, and located the First World War firmly within the tradition. The symbolic power of the castle also served to quell inter-city disputes over the memorial’s location, despite the fact that it was the inhabitants of the richer and more populous Glasgow who contributed the lion’s share of the funds raised.

The memorial defines Scottish national identity in martial but also inclusive terms. The martial element is, of course, inevitable in the context of a war memorial; but despite the twelve Scottish regiments commemorated there, it appears to be a facet that is underplayed in more general studies of Scottish identity. Meanwhile, the inclusiveness of the memorial is perhaps its most remarkable feature. Unusually, the memorial includes women’s war efforts amongst those it commemorates, home front images are shown in the stained glass windows, and even the ‘humble beasts that served and died’. Moreover, the memorial’s definition of ‘Scottish’ meant that non-Scots who died on service in Scottish regiments, as well as Scotsmen or the sons of a Scottish parent who died on service in non-Scottish regiments such as South African or Australian units were included on the roll of honours. Indeed, the Scottish Diaspora throughout the British Empire and beyond offered fundraising opportunities amongst Scottish societies spread across the globe.

This paper will explore the way in which the Scottish National War Memorial project, in seeking to honour Scotland’s war effort, put Atholl’s promise into practice and in doing so presented an expansive and soothing definition of Scottishness.

Biography:

Jenny MacLeod is a research fellow at the Centre for Second World War Studies at Edinburgh, and has previously worked for King’s College, London at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, and at the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies. In 2003 she published two books on the cultural history of the Gallipoli campaign, *Reconsidering Gallipoli* (Manchester University Press) and an edited volume, *Gallipoli: Making History* (Frank Cass). Jenny organised a conference at Edinburgh in September 2005 on the theme of ‘Defeat and Memory’.

'THE DEATH OF COMMON SAILORS': MEMORIALIZING DISASTER IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Robert Markley
English
University of Illinois

European voyages to the Pacific in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were extraordinarily dangerous, particularly for common sailors. Shipwrecks, scurvy, disease, hostilities at sea and on land, disease, disciplinary violence, accidents, and malnutrition ravaged crews and almost routinely provoked mutinies. Accounts of shipwrecks and hardship were common reading fare in Europe after the middle of the sixteenth century, and well into the eighteenth century a voyaging literature that focused on death and deprivation competed with 'official' published accounts of military, mercantile, and colonial successes. This paper examines the ways in which deaths were described and dead compatriots memorialized in published and unpublished accounts by seamen who survived disasters at sea; it concentrates on the shipwreck of one of the support ships in Anson's fleet in May 1741. Anson's circumnavigation in the early 1740s, including the capture of the Manila Galleon in the Pacific, was heralded as England's great naval 'victory' in an otherwise bloody and inconclusive European war, but it cost the lives of three quarters of his original 1300 man crew. The wreck of the *Wager* on the southwest coast of South America occasioned a mutiny against its Captain, David Cheap, the murder or execution of a drunken sailor, the deaths of other crewmen by disease and malnutrition, a desperate voyage back through the Straits of Magellan by some of the survivors in a refitted longboat, and, after their return to England, an eventual court martial. The competing accounts of the wreck of the *Wager* by John Bulkeley, John Cummins, Alexander Campbell, and Isaac Morris as well as unpublished accounts by Cheap and John Byron describe, often in gruesome detail, the deaths of more than half of the crew and, in different ways, pay homage to the dead sailors. These accounts of the *Wager* chart shifting and often vexed notions of loyalty, mutual responsibility, and community among men trying to survive in desperate conditions. The efforts by these writers to memorialize their dead comrades reveal a variety of strategies to assert the value of these crewmen's lives and sacrifices to a largely indifferent audience.

Biography:

Robert Markley is Professor of English at the University of Illinois and the editor of *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*. His most recent books are *Dying Planet: Mars in Science and the Imagination*, just out from Duke University Press, and *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600-1730* which will be published by Cambridge University Press in November.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY OR DIVIDING ALL BY UNITING SOME: MONUMENTS AS INVOLUNTARY OBJECT OF DIVISION IN POST- APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Sabine Marschall
University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Post-apartheid South Africa has embarked on an ambitious project of heritage celebration, manifested in the construction of countless heritage sites, commemorative monuments, memorials, statues and busts. Such monuments are promoted as instruments of healing, reconciliation and nation building. They are meant to 'correct' the bias of the past by representing the history, values and identity of the previously marginalized, thereby leading to empowerment.

This paper will critique the current enthusiasm for monuments by exploring monuments as highly problematic structures that can be divisive, contested and even prompt violence. Monuments can potentially threaten the project of nation building by promoting or reinforcing partisan identities. A monument that is empowering to some is often simultaneously disempowering to others. Every act of official remembrance through monuments is accompanied by countless acts of *damnatio memoriae* – the obliteration of memory. Some monuments become the target of vandalism or they fall into a state of neglect that few seem to care about, once the great occasion of the official unveiling has passed. At least one example of a post-apartheid monument has already appeared that will end up as a 'white elephant', because it is too contested to be set up in public – a sad reminder of precious funds wasted in a context of scarce resources.

Biography:

Sabine Marschall is coordinator of the Cultural and Heritage Tourism Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban (South Africa). Her research focuses on commemorative monuments and cultural heritage in post-apartheid South Africa.

'THE DESIGNS ARE THE CHOICEST': FUNERARY TRENDS AND THE INFLUENCE OF POPULAR CULTURE IN 19TH CENTURY CEMETERY MEMORIAL DESIGN

Lisa Murray
Research Historian
City of Sydney Council

In the 19th century, the erection of a memorial in a cemetery was an act of both private and public commemoration. Sepulchral monument designs in New South Wales were essentially modified derivatives from Great Britain and to a lesser extent Europe, utilising the established 'language' of funerary memorials. Not only were designs translated in the colony, but also the social values and meanings attached to memorials. The design of a memorial was chosen by individuals to be a personal, yet public, expression of their religious beliefs, values, and social aspirations. How can we interpret the sentiments expressed on headstones?

This paper outlines the modes of production, cost, availability and popularity of memorial styles in 19th century NSW. The stylistic debate in England surrounding the Italian Classical style and the Gothic style encouraged more correct use of stylistic devices in NSW, and contributed to denominational differences in funerary memorials, but did not overtly influence the design of colonial gravemarkers. As the century progressed, pattern books became widely available and the latest trends in British and European sepulchral design could be emulated in the colony. A Victorian propensity for eclectic styles and symbols was a defining feature of cemetery monuments in New South Wales, but this did not translate into a discernible Australian style.

Nineteenth century memorials offered variety and choice, but rarely originality when it came to designs. The ideal of the improving, uplifting nature of the cemetery and its monuments was tempered by the reality of funerary trends in popular culture. The excesses of endless design repetition and (almost) meaningless symbolism on monuments, which architects, trustees and clergy fought to eradicate or at least to temper, reigned supreme by the end of the nineteenth century. Ironically, as choice became increasingly important to the individual the monuments themselves became more and more standardised.

Biography:

Dr Lisa Murray is the Research Historian at the City of Sydney Council. Her research interests include urban and social history, cemeteries, cultural landscapes, memory, and heritage. Lisa's doctorate (completed in 2001) was on the history and evolution of nineteenth-century cemeteries in NSW. Recent publications include an award-winning book, *The Capitol Theatre Restoration*, and journal articles on cemetery history in *Mortality* and *Historic Environment*. Lisa is actively involved in several community history groups, including the History Council of NSW, and she is the Chair of the National Trust's (NSW) Cemeteries Committee.

MEMORIALS AND SPACES OF RESISTANCE: THE LITTLE BIG HORN BATTLEFIELD MEMORIALS AND THE CONTESTATION BETWEEN GHOSTS AND THE LIVING

Lynn Paxson
Architecture
Iowa State University

Heroes are created through communication, in forms ranging from oral recounting of myths to visual depictions of deeds. Monuments are one of these forms of communication, they embody an idea important to those who have erected them—and thus create as well as commemorate cultural heroes. Public places therefore have long served as the sites of hero creation and worship, where monuments and statues have been erected to honor the hero, providing a place to literally place the hero on a pedestal, and these monuments may over time also set forth the challenge of re-considering and re-evaluating these values. Memory is constructed, and this paper will look at memory/memorial as incorporating aspects of activity and ritual, understanding the need for the meaning(s) of memorials to be maintained. Activity and the dialogic quality of memorial space are part of what accounts for a dimension of the public space quality(s) of monuments. 'Maintenance' and 'dialogue' indicating that the meaning(s) of memory(s)/memorial(s) can change, be recreated, re-interpreted, and re-negotiated.

The historical and recent contestations surrounding the creation of an 'Indian Memorial' near the existing Custer/7th Cavalry monument at The Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument will be used as a primary case study. Often considered to be the most contested site in the United States, this site raises interesting issues regarding the definition of both public and private memory(s) and of 'public' and 'private' space. It also provides an opportunity to critically consider the issues of 'contested memories' and the challenge of re-considering or re-evaluating both values and 'heroes'. The 'Indian Memorial' created at the Little Big Horn Battlefield has the potential to support multiple points of view, allowing for alternate history(ies) to be imagined, recognizing and commemorating alternate 'heroes', values and memory(s). In particular, we will examine the contestation for space and 'the control of memory' related to the maintenance of cultural identity situated within the demands for conformity.

Biography:

Lynn Paxson is an Associate Professor in the College of Design, Department of Architecture, at Iowa State University. She holds degrees in both design and social science from the University of Colorado, and City University of New York's Hunter College, and the Graduate Center. Her professional design work experience ranges from master planning to interiors and has included working on the design of computer software as well as more traditional architectural products. Prior to joining the faculty at ISU she was an Associate at Gensler and Associates/Architects-New York and with Skidmore, Owings & Merrill/NY. Her work has included a diverse group of projects and clients ranging from The New York City Board of Education, New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation, Merrill Lynch, Kidder Peabody, Boehringer Ingelheim and Chemical Bank to Disney and Warner Brothers. At ISU She introduced the History of Native American Architecture class (which is cross-listed with the American Indian Studies Program) and has taught a number of studios related to First Nation projects and issues. Lynn serves as co-advisor to the Native American/American Indian student groups, and has served as Co-Chair of ISU's Annual Symposium on the American Indian for the last 8 years. She is a member of the American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers (AICAE) and a Sequoyah Fellow of the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES). In 2002 she was recognized by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture (ACSA) for her work in diversifying the architecture curriculum through the incorporation of native cultures and issues with the Robert R. Taylor Program Development Certificate of Recognition. Her teaching and research interests are many and focus on architecture as a cultural practice and on peoples and spaces that are often considered marginal while reflecting an integrative, interdisciplinary, approach.

JEREMY BENTHAM AND THE COMMEMORATION OF THE SELF

Paul Pickering
Humanities Research Centre, The ANU

In 1769, at the age of twenty-one, the philosopher Jeremy Bentham decided to leave his body to science. At a time when a widespread fear of dissection and legal impediments denied surgeons corpses for study, Bentham's gesture of rationalist faith was intended as both a contribution to anatomical science in an ethereal sense and as an attempt to sway public opinion. According to his own account, however, the subject of his own death remained a 'favorite' at Bentham's dinner table for many years afterwards. By the early 1830s Bentham had imagined his fate beyond the surgeon's knife on the cold dissection table, insisting that his corpse be turned into what he called an 'Auto-Icon'. Visitors to University College London today can see Bentham's Auto-Icon sitting in a display case, a silent witness to what might ostensibly seem like a macabre self-indulgence. In fact, the Auto-Icon was part of an elaborate plan for a national system of education and commemoration. This is not well known. Bentham's last – unpublished – tract, *Auto-Icon, Or, Farther Uses of the Dead for the Living*, penned shortly before his death in 1832, was nothing less than a manifesto for the age of monuments. Here, as elsewhere, his gaze was fixed long into the future.

Biography:

Paul Pickering is Senior Fellow and Director of Graduate Studies in the Humanities Research Centre. Prior to taking up this post he was a Queen Elizabeth II Fellow at the HRC (2000-4). He is also the Convener of Graduate Studies in History at the Australian National University. Paul's research and teaching interests are very broad. He has published extensively on Australian, British and Irish social, political and cultural history. His books include: *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford* (1995), *The People's Bread* (2000) (co-authored with Alex Tyrrell) and *Friends of the People: Uneasy Radicals in the Age of the Chartists* (2003) (co-authored with Owen Ashton). Most recently Paul is a major contributor and co-editor (with Alex Tyrrell) to a collection of essays that addresses the relationship between public memory, heritage and history. This book, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, was published by Ashgate publishing in May 2004.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CLUBS: THE BUENA VISTA SOCIAL CLUB AND THE HAVANA BILTMORE YACHT AND COUNTRY CLUB

Peter Read

National Centre for Indigenous Studies, The ANU

and

Marivic Wyndham

Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney

Not all monuments are to born monuments. Some become so in defiance of the prevailing political climate. Sites which served practical functions in one era can – and do – after half a revolutionary century assume meanings and symbolisms almost despite themselves. For this to happen, some undercurrent of contestation of that site and what it represents must be taking place. In Cuba today, a persistent and lingering collective memory of what the black proletariat Buena Vista Social Club once was – and is no longer – seeks to monumentalise the site. The State prevents it assuming the status it should enjoy. Yet the exclusive Havana Yacht and Country Club, reviled since 1959 for its bourgeois values, has unexpectedly come to monumentalise those same values half a century after the socialist revolution. While the Havana Biltmore Yacht and Country Club has become a reluctant monument, the Buena Vista Social Club remains a monument-in-waiting.

Biography:

Marivic Wyndham is a lecturer in Latin American Studies and the coordinator of the Spanish Language & Culture Program at the Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney. Her research work focuses on contemporary Cuban studies and comparative studies: Cuba/Cuban USA, Australia/Latin America. She is presently working on a book on custodianship of place. The project focuses on particular domestic and public sites which since the advent of the Cuban Revolution have 'changed hands', and the implications of these changes to Cubans in and out of the island.

RITUAL, LIGHT AND LAND AN ARTIST'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE WESTERN FRONT

Anne Riggs
Melbourne

I would like to present a paper and visual arts response to a journey I made through the Western Front in 2002 as research for my Master of Fine Arts Degree.

As those who participated aged and died, interest in the First World War increased. We are now at a time when younger people are seeking to make sense of it and of their interest in it. I am one of these people, trying to grasp the vastness of losses; the meagre achievements for those losses - gains measured at times in metres, and the devastating, enduring consequences.

My interest in the First World War is the intersection of three ideas that have been the foundation of my arts practice – the land, death and rituals of burial and commemoration, and my compassion for humanity.

I traveled the Western Front to piece together a picture; to understand its 800 km length; to talk to people who lived with the war as their neighbour and to come to some understanding of how it might influence their lives, to grasp the scale of the many cemeteries, to visit and document museums and monuments. To witness, I sought to appreciate something of the lasting damage to the land and to the people upon whose country this terrible and sorrowful event took place; and to contemplate how all this might affect those who are remembering the losses on the 'wrong' side.

I would like to discuss these ideas through the resulting artwork – exhibited recently at the Shrine of Remembrance Melbourne and to travel to New Zealand in 2005. I propose giving a paper with a presentation of images (visual arts and images from the Western Front) on a loop behind.

Biography:

Anne Riggs is an visual artist with a long held passion for the land, rituals of death and burial, and a compassion for humanity, particularly in times of grief and loss. She recently completed her Master of Fine Arts Degree at the Victorian College of the Arts in Melbourne, researching the on-going resonance of the First World War (Western Front). Her exhibition 'Ritual Light and Land, an artists journey through the Western Front' was the first contemporary art exhibition ever to be held at the Melbourne Shrine of Remembrance, contributing to the 2004 ANZAC Day commemorations. The exhibition recently travelled to the Southland Museum New Zealand for ANZAC Day 2005.

Anne works closely with some of the most vulnerable people in society, particularly those who have a mental illness, teaching, and creating art. She recently spent time in India, doing a short project with street children in Calcutta.

DESIGN, POLITICS, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEMORY: COMMEMORATING SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Clare Robinson
Architecture
Iowa State University

The Memorial to Honor the Victims of the Attack on the Pentagon competition document declares ‘this [memorial] must speak generally – as the U.S. government’s official response, it represents all Americans – and specifically – [as] it must also embody the deeply personal tragedy that the events... visited on the families of the victims’ while the World Trade Center Site Memorial Competition demands competitors give physical expression to ‘the values of liberty and democracy’ and propose a context for ‘remembering the past, engaging the present, and reflecting on the future.’

If memorial architecture is constructed memory – an assemblage of material and conceptual structures enabling a connection between past events and our present socio-political identity – and the roles and relationships between site, event, and politics inform the content of memory, then recent memorial design competitions commemorating violent events in the United States reveal the construction of memory as inseparable from the construction of identity and national space.

In the context of multiculturalism, regional and global differences, questions concerning ‘who is remembered,’ ‘who is remembering,’ and ‘what is commemorated’ are imperative. The comparison of cultural pre-constructions – competition guidelines – and proposed constructions – design finalists – illuminate commemorative processes and proposals without critical discourse pertaining to difference, the politics of recognition, representation, and the content of commemoration.

This paper will introduce the terms relevant to the definition and construction of identity and national space, discuss the six competing Pentagon Memorial proposals and eight competing World Trade Center Site Memorial proposals in terms of identity, representation, and the politics of recognition, and argue that the definition, production, and reception of memorial architecture commemorating violence in the United States negates individual differences in favor of national spaces of remembrance.

Biography:

Clare Robinson is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Architecture at Iowa State University who teaches courses in architectural design, drawing, and architectural theory. Her scholarship addresses the problems and complexities surrounding representation, spatial practices, gender, and identity. Her current research, funded by both the Center for Excellence in the Art and Humanities at Iowa State University and the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, critically examines the construction of memory, site and event, identity, and politics of juried memorial design competitions commemorating violent events in the United States. She received her B.A. from Smith College and M.Arch from the Harvard Graduate School of Design, has work in the Des Moines and Boston areas, and has taught summer programs at Harvard and the Rhode Island School of Design.

THE BUCHENWALD MYTH: CONSTRUCTING EAST GERMANY'S CULTURAL MEMORY OF THE THIRD REICH IN MONUMENTS, LITERATURE AND FILM

Anne Rothe
German & Slavic Studies
Wayne State University

In the first part of my paper I will outline a suggestion for integrating various theories of collective memory. While Halbwachs focused on the construction of a shared group memory through everyday interaction and conversation among group members, Nora and Assmann primarily consider cultural memory as constructed through and embodied in *lieux de mémoire*. Among these *lieux*, memorial sites, monuments and the commemorative ceremonies held in these memory spaces, play a primary role. However, I will suggest that beyond memorial sites, monuments, and commemorative ceremonies other *lieux*, such as literary texts and films, constitute equally important cultural artifacts in the process of constructing a group's cultural memory.

In the second part of the paper, I will illustrate these theoretical observations using the construction of the cultural memory of the Third Reich in East Germany as an example. East Germany's official cultural memory of the Third Reich was grounded in an interpretation of fascism as solely an extreme form of capitalism, and thus governed exclusively by the processes of economic exploitation and oppression of political opponents. Thus East German discourse could not explain and hence needed to suppress all racial and genocidal aspects of the Third Reich, such as the Holocaust. East Germany's cultural memory of the Third Reich was primarily constructed through and embodied in three cultural artifacts: the Buchenwald concentration camp memorial, Bruno Apitz novel *Naked among Wolves* and its film adaptation by Frank Beyer. I will explore how a 'Buchenwald myth' was created in these memory artifacts and the role it played in East Germany's collective memory of the Third Reich.

Biography:

Anne Rothe grew up in what used to be East Germany. She majored in English and German at Humboldt University, Berlin, taught German in Birmingham, UK for a year and in 1997 received her Master's Degree in English and German also from Humboldt University, Berlin. She received her PhD in German literature from UCLA in the summer of 2003 and spent the academic year 2003/4 on a post-doctoral fellowship at the University of Haifa, Israel. Her research interests include German-Jewish studies; East German studies; 20th-century German literature, film and culture; memory; the Holocaust; exile; childhood; and minority studies. She has presented papers, organized and chaired sessions at numerous national and international conferences and is currently editing her second article, revising her dissertation for publication, and editing the interviews conducted in Israel for book publication.

STREET NAMES AND PUBLIC MEMORY IN NEW YORK CITY

Jennifer E. Steenshorne
St. Francis College
New York

The disputes over the memorialization of the World Trade Center attacks would lead one to believe that an official memorial will never be built. However, a review of the actions of the Council of the City of New York reveal that the City has been establishing memorials practically since the event. These take the form of street renaming, and are part of a long tradition in New York (as in other urban centers). This paper will examine the practice of the memorial naming of streets and its role in the cycle of public memory.

The naming of streets provided an easy and low-cost way of commemorating events and people, of both local and national importance. Streets with names, as opposed to those with just numbers, enforced a sense of place and history. Many New York streets still bear the names of their original inhabitant or developer, such as Astor Place, famous New Yorkers, such as Irving Place (after Washington Irving), or war heroes, such as Chrystie Street, in honor of a hero of the War of 1812.

Over time, these street names lost their historical referents. As the memory of specific people or events fades, these streets instead refer to a more diffuse memory of a New York past. New names, whether generalized, such as Staten Island's Boulevard of Heroes, or specific, such as the section of West 31st Street named after the Rev. Mychal Judge (the FDNY chaplain killed in the rescue effort), have taken their place in the City's current mythology. As filled with emotion as these 9/11 renamings are, it seems to be the nature of urban memory (at least in New York) that these will someday lose their specific meaning as well.

Biography:

Jennifer E. Steenshorne, Ph.D: John Jay Papers, Columbia University received her M.A. in History from New York University, and her Ph.D. from the University of California, Irvine. Her graduate work, first at New York University and then at the UC-Irvine, covered the colonial through the early national periods, with a particular focus on New York City and State. Jennifer's dissertation, "Past, Present, and Future: History and Memory in New York City, 1800-1860," investigates the relationship between ideas of tradition and progress in early nineteenth-century New York, as expressed in histories, literature, art, and monuments from this time period. While most of Jennifer's graduate work has centered on the colonial to early national period, her work has moved past these eras. Several issues that she is interested in are the role material culture, libraries and archives, and people's physical experience of their lived space reflect and help to shape (often conflicting) ideas of memory and history. Along with continuing work on history and public memory, Jennifer's other projects examine the role of gambling in American culture, particularly with regards to economic culture, gender, and ethnic communities. Currently, Jennifer is the Associate Editor of the John Jay Papers, at Columbia University.

ANZAC BISCUITS – A CULINARY MEMORIAL

Sian Supski
Australia Research Institute
Curtin University of Technology

Anzac biscuits form an integral part of commemoration of the Anzac tradition in Australia. Symons (1982) argues that Anzac biscuits may be regarded as only one of two distinctly Australian foods. Inglis (1998) does not mention them in his work on memorials, yet it is possible to argue that Anzac biscuits may be regarded as a culinary memorial (Hillier 2002).

The story of Anzac biscuits has become mythologised in Australian cultural history and is an important signifier of Australian national identity. However, the origin of Anzac biscuits is contested, in particular the 'moment' of invention, including the naming and origin of the recipe. Moreover, Anzac biscuits have such a central place in the Australian public memory that it is not necessary to gain permission from the Minister of Defence to use the word 'Anzac' in relation to Anzac biscuits (Topperwien 1997).

This paper seeks to propose that Anzac biscuits are a culinary memorial, that they represent a lasting commemoration of the Anzac spirit. Through an examination of a number of texts, including cookbooks and recipes, I will argue that Anzac biscuits represent a unique window into exploring Australian national identity and public memory.

Biography:

Dr Sian Supski is a Research Associate in the Australia Research Institute, Curtin University of Technology. Her research interests include gendered space, in particular, kitchens in 1950s Australia, gender and architecture, Australian cookbooks and food writing in Australia. Her book based on her PhD thesis *'It was another skin: The kitchen in 1950s Western Australia'* will be published in 2006 by Peter Lang AG. An article entitled "We still mourn that book": Cookbooks, Recipes and Foodmaking Knowledge in 1950s Australia' was published in *New Talents 21C*, API Network, 2005. Sian has just become a member of GALLIPOLI 2015 Incidence and Aftermath. The Gallipoli 2015 research agenda involves individual researchers, groups, networks and institutions in regional, national and international collaborations. These partnerships are designed to produce a number of scholarly, educational and community outcomes over the period 2005-2015, illuminating the many and varied dimensions of Gallipoli and its long aftermath.

UNDERGROUND AT THE SHRINE OF REMEMBRANCE: THE ARCHITECTURE AND ETHICS OF MONUMENT RENOVATION

Bill Taylor

Architecture, Landscape & Visual Arts
The University of Western Australia

Refurbishments and the adaptive reuse of monuments such as entailed in the re-design of the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne recently present an interesting case when considering how architectural form engages with commemoration and public memory over time. Monuments to world wars and commemorating great acts of national sacrifice such as the Shrine were originally intended to record such events in stone, to preserve a record of them for future generations. They were not supposed to be added to, undermined or the grand formal paths linking them to the city ignored in favour of other, more intimate or comfortable means of approach. In recent years, however, monument designers, their clients and public have come to expect a more personal response to the past. This was built upon by the success of internationally acclaimed projects like the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial in Washington DC by architect Maya Lin, but also furthered by similar expectations in the domain of museum design. This paper will chart this shift in the design and renovation of monuments, its impact on the idea of national memory and consequences for heritage and conservation policies.

Biography:

Dr William Taylor teaches design and architectural history and theory at the University of Western Australia. He has published on wide-ranging topics including architecture and landscape, cultural theory and philosophy. His monograph, *The Vital Landscape* was published by Ashgate (UK) in 2004 and an edited collection of essays, *The Geography of Law, Landscape and Regulation*, will soon be available from Hart Publishing (Oxford).

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE DUKE? PUBLIC MEMORY AND CULTURE WARS IN THE SCOTTISH STYLE

Alex Tyrrell
History Program, LaTrobe University

During the 2002 Christmas season, as Australia moved towards war with Iraq, the *Melbourne Age* briefly turned aside to provide its readers with news of a different sort of conflict. The newspaper referred to the intensification of what it called 'culture wars' between the Federal Government and the curatorial staff of the National Museum of Australia in Canberra. This dispute over museum policy was reported as one that was taking place uniquely within Australia; the journalists failed to note that they were reporting a local version of an international phenomenon that had been developing during the closing decades of the twentieth century. In many parts of the world museums were being built or redesigned as sites of public memory where new and unsettling versions of the past could be set out, often in combative style, and connected with current issues. In Britain during recent decades one sign of the importance attached to public memory has been the remarkable growth of people's museums and other memorial sites where the lives of those who were previously ignored or patronised can be sympathetically portrayed and celebrated: the poor, women, minorities, indigenous peoples and slaves. In this paper attention will be directed to the north of Scotland where there has been a remarkable efflorescence, not only of museums, but also of memorials promoting a form of public memory that challenges the power and position of an elite which has acquired vast tracts of land since the eighteenth century.

Biography:

Alex Tyrrell is an Associate Professor in the History Program at LaTrobe University. His research interests include modern British and Imperial history; public memory and memorialisation; urban history, national identity and British religious and missionary history. Alex's publications include: *Joseph Sturge and the Moral Radical Party in Early Victorian Britain* (1987); *A Sphere of Benevolence: The Life of Joseph Orton* (1993); *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (2000) (co-authored with Paul Pickering). Most recently Alex is a major contributor and co-editor (with Paul Pickering) to a collection of essays that addresses the relationship between public memory, heritage and history. This book, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, was published by Ashgate publishing in May 2004.

...UNDEFACED, UNDISMEMBERED, AND COMPLETE': WILLIAM GODWIN (1756-1836) AND THE FUNCTION OF MEMORY

Rowland Weston
The University of Waikato, New Zealand

In 1809 the radical English philosopher, novelist and historian William Godwin published *Essay on Sepulchres* - a proposal to mark the burial sites of the morally great with a simple wooden cross. Godwin maintained that a conscious proximity to the physical remains of such persons enabled individuals most effectively to intuit their special qualities. This paper explores Godwin's essay in terms of his evolution as moral philosopher and historian. Godwin's insistence on the necessity for such *material* sites of, or prompts to, remembrance is underpinned by a conception of human perception and cognition which is heavily indebted to the eighteenth century philosopher David Hume and prefigures the intuitionist conceptions of later nineteenth century moralists. This paper also demonstrates how Godwin's project reflected his growing preference for 'Romantic' histories which emphasized particularity and contingency and which queried the progressivist assumptions of 'Enlightenment' historiography.

Biography:

Rowland Weston teaches intellectual and cultural history at The University of Waikato, Tauranga. He has published recently on Godwin's moral, political and historical thought in *Studies in Romanticism*.

A COUNTRY THEY NEVER KNEW AND A PEOPLE THEY NEVER MET: THE KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON D.C.

Jonathan White
Literature, Film, and Theatre Studies
University of Essex

The main inscription on the Korean War Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C., dedicated in 1995, reads, 'Our nation honors her sons and daughters who answered the call to defend a country they never knew and a people they never met.' Such a memorialised vaunt, about not knowing a country whose destiny one nevertheless intervenes in, and never meeting its people, discloses perhaps more than it intends. This paper explores what the monument possibly suggests about U.S. military engagement abroad, not just during the Korean conflict but in more open-ended ways; in particular in the light of its other main inscription, 'Freedom is not free'. In its attempt to understand the effect striven for in this particular monument, the paper uses and is then drawn to supplement what Nietzsche had had to say about monumental history. It compares the Korean War monument with the Vietnam War Veterans Memorial, which is across the Reflecting Pool from it, and which, by contrast, cannot be said to 'glorify' war in any of the same ways.

Biography:

Jonathan White was raised in Australia and the United States, although most of his adult career has been spent in the U.K. He has recently held fellowships at Columbia University in New York and at the Humanities Research Centre in the Australian National University. His second book on Italy, *Italian Cultural Lineages*, is due out next year with University of Toronto Press. Since completing it, he has turned attention to more global issues. His next book will be a series of studies about specific locations, incidents, memorials or international episodes that have been important in encounters between more than one nation or people. White is interested by the way such encounters are represented, either at the time of their occurrence or afterwards, and in the many generalisations about cultural encounter that are beginning to proliferate in studies worldwide. He has written, for instance, on a curious exchange of gifts in the years 1816-1819, of papyrus scrolls from Herculaneum and a small number of live kangaroos from Britain's penal colony in New South Wales, between the Old-World powers of the Bourbon Neapolitan Kingdom on the one hand and the British Prince Regent on the other. This exchange is explored for what it reveals about unexpected connectivity across far-flung cultures. He has also published on the extent to which Derek Walcott's poetry has repeatedly turned attention onto horrors of the slave trade or the later massacres of native Americans. Whilst in Australia, White is also presenting at a symposium on Race, Empire and Captivity in Tasmania, where he will be focusing on George Augustus Robinson's Tasmanian journals of 1829-1834 and 1835-1839. That paper looks at how colonial policies of resettlement led to the demise of Tasmanian aboriginal populations. A specific angle of approach here is his interest in how the French artist Benjamin Duterrau painted George Robinson in relation to aboriginal groups he was involved in 'conciliating'. At this HRC conference in Canberra, White will be discussing the Korean War Memorial in Washington D.C., in terms of what it suggests about U.S. military engagement abroad. The main inscription on that memorial reads, "Our nation honors her sons and daughters who answered the call to defend a country they never knew and a people they never met." This memorialised vaunt, about 'not knowing' a country whose destiny one nevertheless intervenes in, and 'never meeting' its people, discloses perhaps more than it intends.

IDENTITY, MEMORY AND THEIR REPRESENTATION IN THE FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE OF MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK

Christopher S. Wilson
Izmir University of Economics

There have been five architectural settings that have housed the dead body of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, first President of the Republic of Turkey and leader of its War of Independence (1919-1923), since his death in 1938: a bedroom in Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul, where he died; an impromptu catafalque in that same palace; an official catafalque in the new capital of Ankara, a temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum, and his mausoleum, called Anıtkabir, also in Ankara.

Of these five architectural settings, the first (figure 1) and the last (figure 2) continue to exist and provide visitors with an experience that shapes the personal (individual) identity and memory of Atatürk and the national (collective) identity and memory of the Republic of Turkey.

The bedroom in Dolmabahçe Palace where Atatürk died at 9:05am on 10 November 1938 is kept as it was that day. The room is the last stop on the tour of the palace, which was built between 1847-1856 and served as the official governmental seat of the Ottoman Empire from 1856-1876 and 1909-1922. After the declaration of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, Dolmabahçe Palace became public property – a national museum. But it was Atatürk's death in the palace that fully wrestled its legacy away from the Ottomans and in favor of the Republic.

Atatürk's mausoleum, Anıtkabir, is a huge complex sprawling over 670,000m² in what was the middle of Ankara when it was completed in 1953. Surrounding the mausoleum proper is an elaborately landscaped 'Peace Park' that symbolically contains various species of trees and plants from all parts of Turkey. The ceremonial entrance to the complex is through an axial procession called 'The Street of Lions', which is lined on each side by 12 pairs of lion sculptures that similar to those found on ancient archaeological sites in Turkey. This street leads to a huge public plaza and parading ground, with large reliefs depicting scenes from the Turkish War of Independence. Dominating this plaza is 'The Hall of Honor', an abstract cubic structure surrounded by a colonnade on all four sides and elevated 42 steps above the plaza – thereby located at the highest point of the complex, making it visible from most other parts of the city. Inside the Hall of Honor is Atatürk's sarcophagus. The body of Atatürk is actually in a separate tomb in a room below the sarcophagus, not generally open to the public, and surrounded by 68 brass cups, each holding the soil of a Turkish province, plus one from Northern Cyprus.

This paper endeavors to reveal the extent to which the Dolmabahçe Palace bedroom and the mausoleum known as Anıtkabir represent and have participated in the construction of the identity and memory of both Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Republic of Turkey. Briefly, the Dolmabahçe Palace bedroom is a memorial to the individual known as Atatürk, constantly reminding of the man in order not to forget him. On the other hand, the mausoleum known as Anıtkabir is a monument constantly forgetting the Ottoman Empire in order to remember an imagined history of the Turks, their struggle for independence, and the founding of the Republic of Turkey. Appropriately, Anıtkabir is the setting of major national celebrations and commemorations.

It is hoped that such a comparison and contrast of these two different architectural settings can begin to reveal the inner workings of the role that architecture has in the creation and maintenance of individual and collective identity and memory

Biography:

Christopher S. Wilson is an architect (B.Arch., Temple University, USA) and architectural historian (MA, The Architectural Association, UK) who is currently a Lecturer in the Department of Architecture, Izmir University of Economics, Izmir, TURKEY. Mr. Wilson is also a PhD Candidate (ABD) in the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences (Architecture) at Middle East Technical University, Ankara, TURKEY, where he is currently completing his dissertation on the representation of identity and memory in the funerary architecture of Turkey's revolutionary leader and first President, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Prior to his recent Izmir appointment, Mr. Wilson was Visiting Instructor in the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture of Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey.