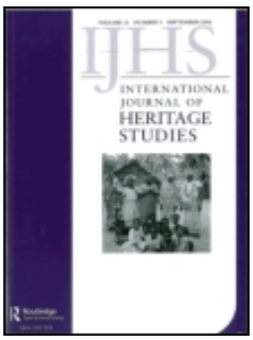

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Examining the memorialscape of occupation and liberation: a case study from the Channel Islands

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This paper introduces the concept of the 'memorialscape' as a tool for studying the inter-relationship of memorials within a single rural or urban environment or landscape. Using a case study of the British Channel Islands, where the number of memorials relating to the German occupation of 1940–1945 has increased greatly since 1985 (the 40th anniversary of liberation), I examine the active role these memorials have played in changing the occupation narrative of the islands. This paper will also explore the importance of memorial marginality and centrality; memorial inter-visibility; the difference between the memorialscape of the capital towns of Guernsey and Jersey and the groups they commemorate; and the narrative that the resulting memorialscape produces.

Keywords: memorials; memorialscape; occupation; liberation; Channel Islands; counter-memory

Introducing the memorialscape

Memorial landscapes are found all over the world. The multiple aspects of memorials in any one landscape inter-relate in a variety of different ways which has allowed them to be read as a narrative. Although such cumulative readings have been recognised before, this paper formalises and explores the complex interplay of memorials within the concept of the 'memorialscape', presented here for the first time as a coherent methodology for reading those narratives.

The idea that memorials within a single landscape can combine to produce (an) overwhelming impression(s) or reading(s) has been identified in many case studies around the world. In Australia, for example, Nugent (2005) has examined how the memorial landscape of Botany Bay has imprinted a certain reading of history, which marginalises Aboriginals, upon the landscape. Hamilton (2003), on the other hand, has discussed how alternative pasts can function as counter-memory to challenge traditional narratives in Australia, as shown by the work of Bulbeck (1988), who has considered the counter-hegemonic views of Australian history represented in memorials to Aboriginals, workers and women. Ashton and Hamilton (2008) have also taken up this theme, examining how memorial landscapes are being deliberately changed by the use of memorials to groups such as abused children and the Stolen Generation.

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Similar themes of race, identity and power have been identified in other countries. In America, Norkunas (1993) has examined how the ruling class of Monterey in California has excluded any but white history from the tourist landscape, imposing its socio-cultural values upon the past. In his consideration of the dominance of memorials to whites and their deeds, especially in the abolitionist movement, and the absence or marginalisation of memorials to non-whites and their histories, especially their invisibility in their own emancipation, Siblon (2009, p. 159) has interpreted the selective amnesia in London's sites of memory both as 'a glorification of imperial values and as monuments of resistance to these same values'.

While not all memorial spaces are filled with ethnic or social tension, they must still often jostle for space and recognition. Others are contested, competitive, marginalised, replaced, blown up or just criticised. It seems that those that are war-related often inflame public opinion most strongly. Nowhere is this perhaps more apparent than in conflict and post-conflict locations (see e.g. Viejo-Rose 2011).

Elsewhere, war memorial spaces can be read in ways other than those which were originally intended, especially with the passage of time. Muzaini and Yeoh (2007) have looked at the Kranji war memorial and cemetery in Singapore, a site maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and originally intended to present a British, elite, imperial identity, which excluded local people. Since the early 1990s, the site has been re-narrated by some Singaporeans to focus upon the presence of locals within the cemetery and the significance of the site in and as a landscape of Singaporean nationhood. Sometimes, however, the long passage of time is not necessary to change the reading of a site. Gough (2009, pp. 104, 109) has argued that the National Memorial Arboretum in Staffordshire is more of a 'Foucauldian heterotopia' of poly-vocal, local and private memorials rather than any kind of grand national shrine, as was the original intention.

The era of commemoration in the Channel Islands

The need for a formalised concept of the memorialscape, as I outline it here, has gradually come into focus because of the growing density of memorials and monuments in towns and cities. In the case study under examination, the number of commemorative stones, statues and plaques erected to the memory of the German occupation of the Channel Islands has risen rapidly since 1985, the 40th anniversary of liberation.

A similar 'memory boom' on the continent has been highlighted (Rousso 2007, Winter 2000), although this occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, and came with an accompanying increase in recognition of the victims of the Second World War. Prime among the causes of this, Winter argued, was that the post-war narrative work of the Resistance had, by then, done its job and the transition to post-war political stability was complete. There was thus room for other victims to come forward with their witness.

For Hamilton (2003, p. 83), our principal mode for understanding the past is now shaped through commemoration and memorialisation because large numbers of people now take it upon themselves to conduct this work themselves, rather than leaving it to professionals. This has contributed to what Nora (1998) describes as an 'era of commemoration'. For Nora (1998), this has been prompted by a nostalgic desire to cling to what was passing away in the face of rapid change, and has manifested itself through an increasing commemorative frequency at *lieux de mémoire* or

'sites of memory', which have been the focus of his wider project. While I discuss such sites here, I also try to avoid the pitfalls and criticism that Nora has received for his nostalgia, reverence of tone, lack of systematic analysis and exclusion of counter-memories (e.g. Legg 2005a, Tai 2001, Winter 1995, p. 10).

Both the growth in the acknowledgement of victims of Nazism and, to some extent, the effects of nostalgia can be evoked as explanations for the rapid increase in commemoration of the occupation years in the Channel Islands over the last 25 years. The occupation is a time that is beginning to pass out of living memory. Like the London Blitz, terrible though it was, the occupation is treated as a positive memory locally. It dominates war memory and historical re-enactment and, for those born after the event, the occupation is commonly perceived as the most exciting thing ever to happen in the Islands. The dominant war narrative in the Channel Islands is inextricably bound up in that of Britain rather than its continental cousins, despite the similarity of its wartime experiences with the latter. For most of the last 65 years, the dominant sites of memory in the Islands have proclaimed a pride in endurance and survival until victory, and this has often predominated over the narratives of victims of Nazism (Carr forthcoming). Despite this, these marginalised voices have been coming to the fore over the last 15 years.

Other reasons for the increase in commemoration are likely to be attributable to a desire of the occupation generation, who are dwindling in number, to have their memories cast in stone before it is too late, although sometimes this job has been completed by their children. Thus, the erection of many memorials has occurred in recent years, on the cusp of the passing of this generation.

The German occupation has been presented through the selective commemorative lens of liberation, with successive monuments to this event being unveiled on liberation day every 5 years between 1985 and 2005. This was decided upon by the Islands' authorities, who were interested in promulgating an official view which supported their continuity and evoked a loyalty in the population towards the status quo (Smith's 'authorised heritage discourse', 2006, pp. 29–43). This aspect of commemorative heritage was unchanging, unchallenged and intended to be passively accepted. Commemoratively speaking, the dissenting heritage discourse was represented by the victims of Nazism, islanders who began to gain a voice and memorials of their own in the mid-1990s, with Jersey leading the way.

Methodology

Memorialscapes are made up of both memorials and monuments, although these terms are often used interchangeably in the popular sphere. While memorials tend to be associated with loss and sadness, monuments are associated with triumph, glory and positive memory. For Rowlands (1999, p. 131), memorials can become monuments as a 'result of the successful completion of the mourning process', and where the 'temporal gap between mourning and memorial is the outcome of successful closure.' The transition of monuments back to memorials is also possible (p. 144).

This has resonance with the situation in the Channel Islands, as will be explored below, where there was a 40-year period since the end of the war before sites of memory were marked in this way. Commemorative stones or sculpture associated with the memory of the act of liberation are invariably called 'monuments', while those erected to victims of Nazism are often 'memorials', and carry positive and negative memory associations respectively.

Sites and events of suffering, death and celebration dating from the German occupation are not just written into the memorials and monuments of the Channel Islands; there is a wider 'memory landscape' of bunkers, museums, streets and houses (see Carr in prep.). The 'memory landscape' is a concept translated from the German *Erinnerungslandschaft*, used by Koshar (2000, p. 9) to understand the way that Germans have memorialised or forgotten the last 150 years. For him this term 'connotes the mnemonic qualities not only of architectural landmarks and monuments . . . but also of street names, public squares, [and] historic sites such as World War II bunkers or former concentration camps.'

I have developed the concept of the 'memorialscape' in response to fieldwork in the British Channel Islands (which sit in the Bay of St Malo off northwest France), which has revealed the complex and, indeed, complexity, of memorials in St Peter Port and St Helier. These have been installed, inaugurated or erected within a relatively small area, with all the associated implications of competitive memorial space. They have also mostly been put up within a single generation to commemorate events of the German occupation of 1940–1945.

These memorials respect older monuments unconnected with the occupation and commemorate events or acts that sometimes deliberately chose certain locations for their enactment because of their vicinity to an older memorial and earlier events. These occupation monuments, memorials and plaques also have an influence upon how the space within the towns in which they are situated is encountered, experienced and negotiated by the inhabitants. They are mnemonic devices, which act to constantly remind the casual passer-by or visitor about the importance of the occupation to the existing population. As such, they are powerful and mostly high-profile objects which play an active role in society; their combined weight has frequently acted to spur groups or individuals into erecting yet more memorials, each dedicated to their own particular group that suffered during the occupation.

These memorials can also be seen as examples of what Billig (1995, p. 6) terms 'banal nationalism', that is, reminders or 'ideological habits' of nationhood which enable the nation to be reproduced. Such habits are not 'removed from everyday life' but are part of the endemic condition of established nations. In seeing these memorials daily, Islanders are reminded of their place in European and world history; however, these reminders are so familiar that they hardly register as reminders at all.

While most towns and cities contain a number of memorials and monuments, it is less usual to find a large number that record aspects of the same 'event' (if a military occupation of five years can be described in this way), and are thus inter-related. Given the potential unusualness of this phenomenon (and usefulness for other locations of conflict, occupation and liberation), it is appropriate to find a new term to describe it. This phenomenon may be found not only in other formerly occupied countries, but also in places that have experienced an event or traumatic period that has had a major impact on the memory and psyche of a population for several generations.

The concept of the memorialscape refers to a collection of memorials within a landscape that are inter-related in some way, whether in terms of space, time or event. The study of the memorialscape considers and incorporates 10 key features:

(a) the relative centrality or marginality of the memorial within the townscape/landscape; (b) the geographical/spatial/historical relationship to other memorials of the same 'event' or group; (c) the geographical/spatial/historical relationship to older monuments which commemorate other events; (d) the inter-visibility of

memorials to each other; (e) the shape, size, form and material chosen for the memorial; (f), the date at which the memorial was erected; (g) the condition of the memorial (as a sign of care or abandonment); (h) the use or visitation of the memorial; (i) the instigator of the memorial (which has implications of power and agency); and (j) the biography of the memorial. These 10 features can together be read to provide overarching narratives (and counter-narratives) of the memorialscape.

Each of the memorials discussed in this paper is an important Channel Island–specific site of memory within the townscape of St Helier or St Peter Port. They represent a desire to remember, at various levels, the events of, and the groups who suffered during, the occupation, an event that is still such an important part of Channel Island identity and heritage today. The sheer density of the memorialscape conspires to ensure that the memories of the event(s) that they commemorate exclude the possibility of forgetting.

The methodology for this paper has involved a detailed historical study of every occupation-related commemorative memorial or monument in the capital towns of Guernsey and Jersey (Figures 1a and 1b) using the 10 features of the memorialscape as a guide. Fieldwork has involved observation and recording of memorials, and attendance at annual ceremonies that feature memorials (and unveiling ceremonies of new memorials) that have taken place during fieldwork since the start of 2007. Informal interviews and discussions with Islanders at various levels of authority within the Island governments and of interest groups during the same period have also helped to inform interpretations presented here.

This paper, then, will explore the memorialscape of St Peter Port and St Helier. It focuses on case studies of memorials erected to various victim groups, such as Jews and political prisoners, as well as those put up to commemorate the act of liberation, in order to explore not just the politics behind their erection, but also the meaning of the continued memory of these groups within the local population today.

Historical background to the occupation and its victim groups

In the late spring and early summer of 1940, German forces moved swiftly through Western Europe. Occupying troops entered France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg on 10 May, and the Channel Islands at the end of June and beginning of July. 25,000 islanders evacuated just before the Germans arrived, although nearly 70,000 stayed behind (Cruikshank 2004, p. 56). The evacuees, who, for the most part, arrived in Weymouth as homeless refugees, were the first victims of the German occupation.

On 28 June 1940, the harbours of St Peter Port and St Helier were bombed and machine-gunned from the air by German forces as a precursor to the occupation. The 44 people who died because of those raids formed the next victim group.

Within the next few months, the Jews of the Channel Islands became the next group to be targeted by the German authorities. From October 1940 until January 1943, 10 consecutive anti-Jewish orders were enacted in the islands (Cohen 2000). While around 20 Jews and their families suffered under these orders (Fraser 2000), in April 1942, three non-British Jewish women were deported from Guernsey to Auschwitz.

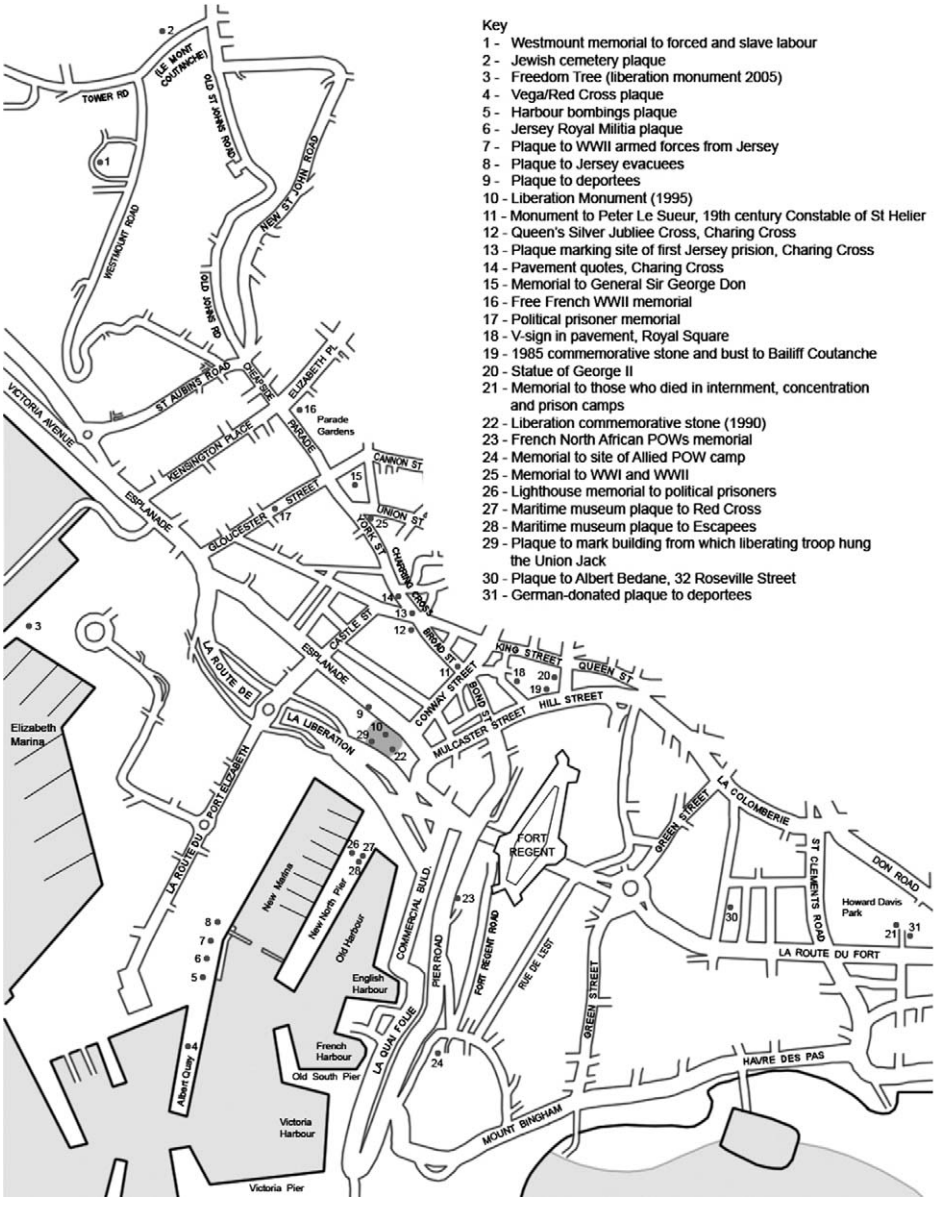

Figure 1a. Map of memorials in St Helier (Ian Taylor).

In September 1942 and February 1943, around 2,200 islanders were rounded up and sent to civilian internment camps in Germany, where 45 people died from disease or other natural causes. While the first wave of deportations targeted the English-born (i.e. non-indigenous) male islanders aged between 16 and 70 and their dependents, the second wave included Jews, Freemasons, WWI officers, and 'undesirables' (i.e. political prisoners). Both the deportees and political prisoners are other important victim groups in the Channel Islands.

In 1942, several thousand slave workers arrived in the islands as part of the Organisation Todt (OT), a paramilitary auxiliary of the German army, to build the

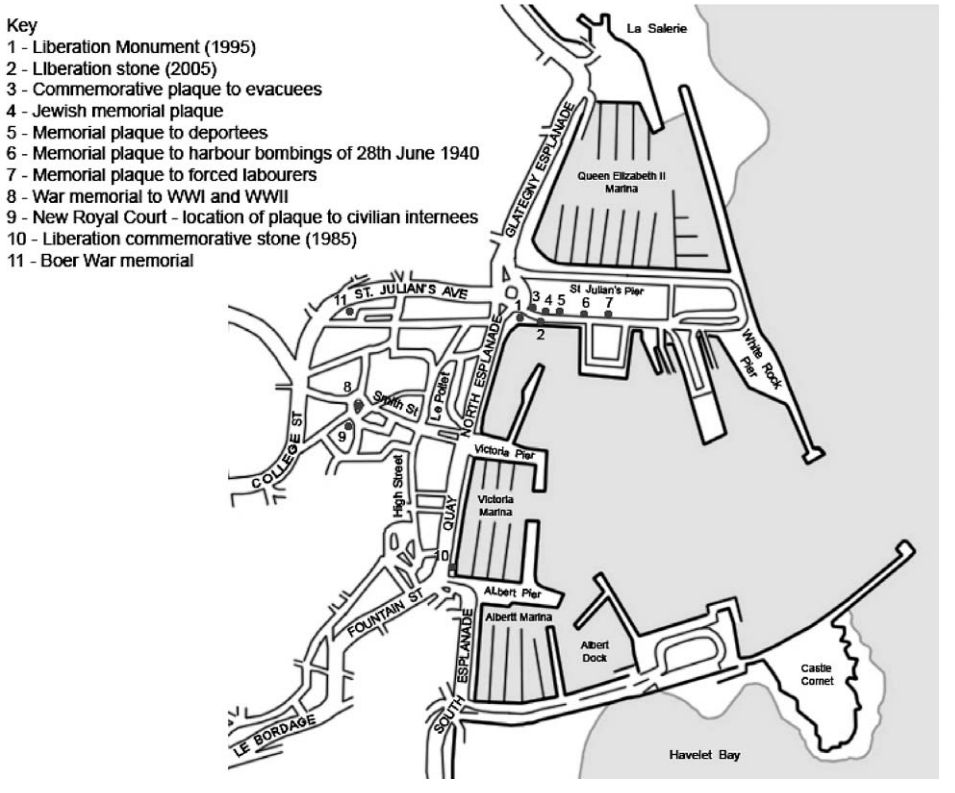

Figure 1b. Map of memorials in St Peter Port (Ian Taylor).

concrete fortifications which still line the coasts of the Channel Islands today. The slave workers, mostly Eastern European peoples from Poland, the Ukraine, Belarus and Russia, were treated abysmally by the Germans, given little to eat, and literally worked to death. They joined other OT labourers who had arrived in the islands the previous October. These people comprised forced and 'voluntary' workers from other parts of occupied Europe. OT worker numbers in the Channel Islands eventually numbered 16,000 at their peak (Cruikshank 2004, p. 217 n. 59). These foreign labourers are another group long recognised in the islands as victims of Nazism.

In June 1944, after the Allied invasion of France, the Channel Islands were entirely cut off. While food, fuel and raw materials had been scarce before, now the islanders had to exist only on what was still available in the islands. The occupied and their occupiers began to starve. Although some islanders had attempted to escape by boat before the D-Day landings, the number increased in the second half of 1944, and the names of all escapees are recorded in the islands today. The D-Day landings also netted a number of British and American POWs for the Germans, some of whom were brought to Jersey and interned in camps.

When food, fuel and medical supplies in the islands had almost ceased, a Red Cross ship, the *SS Vega*, arrived from Lisbon in December 1944, and monthly thereafter, and saved the population from starvation. This ship has become the most famous in the islands' history and has acquired almost mythical

status, despite having been scrapped long ago. It, along with the people of the islands who survived until liberation on 9 May 1945, is collectively remembered annually.

There are clearly many groups of people in the Channel Islands today who are commemoratively recognised as victims of Nazism, although this has not always been the case. In the past, the islands, their museums and the one-time lack of memorials have received criticism for having remembered and commemorated the perpetrators at the expense of the victims (e.g. Bunting 1995, pp. 335–356, Lennon and Foley 2007, p. 76, Vitaliev 1998). However, as I argue elsewhere, the combined domination of the swastika and the German experience of occupation in the islands' museums has more to do with factors such as the proud display of battle scars; honouring of parents' and grandparents' experiences of occupation; vicarious re-experiencing of occupation; and the working-through of psychological traumas of occupation (Carr 2010a, 2010b).

It is also worth recording here that some of the victims of Nazism might be considered problematic, in so far as the wartime Island governments could have done more to protect or help them. The embarrassment that this has subsequently caused and still has the potential to cause is likely to be a factor in explaining the absence or late erection of a memorial or monument to various groups.

Remembering the occupation and building the memorialscape: data and interpretation

While the criticism of the mid-to-late 1990s from Bunting, Vitaliev, and Lennon and Foley drew attention to the lack of memorials to the victims of Nazism in the Channel Islands, this was neither strictly accurate nor fair, as can be seen from Tables 1 and 2 below. The 1990s represented a decade of growth of the memorialscape of St Helier and St Peter Port, sparked by the 50th anniversary of liberation in 1995 and, before that, the 40th in 1985, although a few had been erected earlier.

Broadly speaking, occupation-related memorial and monument erection in the capitals of the Channel Islands can be divided into three active phases:

- Phase 1a, 1945–1950: Remembrance of the dead heroes (military war dead, bombing-raid dead).
- Phase 1b, 1950–1985: A time to forget. Virtually no new memorials erected; wreaths laid on existing memorials annually.
- Phase 2, 1985–2005: Focus on living heroes, the occupation generation who experienced liberation (the unproblematic majority of the population).
- Phase 3, 1995–present: *Additional* focus on victims of Nazism (the problematic minority).

Before the 40th anniversary of liberation, the celebration of Liberation Day, a public holiday in the Channel Islands, had petered out into just another bank holiday, with seemingly little relevance to memory surrounding the war years. This important anniversary became the spur for its reinvigoration in both Guernsey and Jersey, but as the even larger anniversary loomed in 1995, it acted to remind most victims of Nazism that they still had not yet been recognised.

Table 1. Occupation-related monuments and memorials in St Peter Port and St Helier, 1945–2010, listed by theme.

Group or event	St Helier	St Peter Port
Bombing raid dead	1990	1949
Foreign forced and slave workers	1960‡‡	1999*
	1971	2001**
Jews	1999	2001
	2000	
Political prisoners	1986†	–
	1995	–
	1996	
Individual resisters	2005	
Deportees	1970‡	2003‡
	1985*	2010
	1986†	
	2003**	
Escapees	1995	–
Evacuees	2006	2010
Liberation	1985	1985
	1990	1995
	1995	2005
	2000	
	2005	
Vega/Red Cross	1985	–
	1994	
POWs	2005 x2	–
Total extant today	**22**	**9**

Legend

†Memorials that did not name the victim group involved, but implied their inclusion.

*Memorials that were taken down and amended after public pressure.

**New memorials that replaced those taken down.

‡Memorials presented by visiting Germans dignitaries.

‡‡Memorial presented by visiting Russians.

While a detailed biography of the occupation-related monuments and memorial plaques of St Helier and St Peter Port are outside the scope of a paper of this length (although see Carr in prep.), Tables 1 and 2 give an indication of the large number that have been erected in each town. As a combined group, together, they constitute the memorialscape of the islands. As I have outlined above, there are various analytical categories to help us make sense of the memorialscape in both analysing the importance of individual victim groups and in understanding the narrative of the memorialscape as a whole. With reference to the maps in Figures 1a and 1b, and Tables 1 and 2, I will compare and contrast the two competing narratives of memorial-erection phases 2 and 3, exploring how they distanced themselves from phase 1. The theme of endurance and survival, expressed through a celebration of liberation and influenced by the British war narrative, will thus be compared with the memorialscape of the victims of Nazism. The first occupies the centre stage but has, in recent years, conceded marginal ground to the counter-memories that compete with official occupation narratives.

Table 2. Occupation monuments and memorials erected in St Helier and St Peter Port, 1945–2010, listed by decade.

Number of memorials	St Helier	St Peter Port
1945–1954	0	1
1955–1964	1	0
1965–1974	2	0
1975–1984	0	0
1985–1994	7	1
1995–2004	7	4
2005–2014	5	3
Total	**22**	**9**

The position of the military dead of World Wars I and II occupied prime commemorative space in St Peter Port and St Helier until 1995, although the first challenge to their physical dominance came in 1985. At this date, some of the first new memorials for two generations were unveiled, instigated by the local government, and signalling new sites of memory in the topography of the capitals of the Channel Islands. Rather than being tied to memories of military valour and fighting overseas, the first tendrils of the memorialscape moved the commemorative attention to places in the islands where significant events of the liberation took place. In Guernsey, this was the harbour area of St Peter Port, where the liberating army came ashore. In Jersey, this was the Royal Square in St Helier, where Bailiff Alexander Coutanche announced the liberation of the island.

Figure 2. The centrality of the 1995 Liberation Monument, St Helier, on Liberation Day (© *Jersey Evening Post*).

Ten years later, by 1995, the central focus of liberation both in the capital towns' geography and in the psyche of the islanders was well and truly established. Liberation Square in St Helier, very close the harbour, and the area where liberating soldiers came ashore, was inaugurated with a commemorative stone in 1990 and completed in 1995, providing the focus for all subsequent Liberation Day celebrations. In both St Peter Port and St Helier, monumental sculptures celebrating the 50th anniversary of liberation, again instigated by local government, were unveiled by Prince Charles, and both dominate the space of their erection. St Helier's is in Liberation Square, and St Peter Port's is by the harbour. Ten years later, in 2005, the Queen unveiled another commemorative stone in St Peter Port and another sculpture in St Helier. The link between the islands' loyalty to the Crown, especially in wartime, and the pervading influence of the British war narrative of endurance and survival until victory (or liberation) has thus been repeatedly emphasised by the local authorities to form a 'master commemorative narrative' (Zerubavel 1995, p. 6).[1]

Since 1995, and before that date in Jersey, victims of Nazism have begun to find a voice in the Channel Islands. The 50-year delay can be explained in many ways. The 50th anniversary was a catalyst for soul-searching about the events of the occupation[2] as those who had experienced it first-hand teetered on the edge of living memory. This in itself was problematic, because at the very time when victims of Nazism were being given a voice, many had already died, leaving only a few to agitate for memorials. We must also remember that a memorial culture really only began in the Channel Islands in 1985, so it may not have occurred to some to ask for recognition in the form of a memorial before this date. An additional factor at the 50-year anniversary was the role of Jersey Bailiff, Sir Philip Bailhache, who proved to be a strong supporter of victims of Nazism; many memorials were erected during his period of office.

By 1995, older narratives were weakening or were secure enough to allow minority voices to be heard. This prominent anniversary, with the accompanying large expenditure of public money on monumental sculpture, made islanders from victim groups wonder why their money was not being spent on projects that represented their memories and experiences. As these groups reached the end of their lives, it became increasingly important to them to have their memories engraved in stone. Controversial publications of this time (e.g. Bunting 1995) challenged the secure position of established occupation memory and the absence of victims' voices, and these demanded a response.

In any event, a third phase in memorialisation began, but the ground 'sanctified' (as denoted by Foote 2003, p. 8) in 1985 and again in 1995 with a large monument which overshadowed and dominated the space around it, effectively blocked the ability of other memorials and alternative discourses to compete on an equal footing.

While nearly all memorials in the Channel Islands are placed at very specific locations for historical reasons, such sites of memory can often be a moveable feast and are often politically as well as geographically influenced. This resulting flexibility of location has been exploited. In St Peter Port, for example, the harbour, now dominated by the 1995 Liberation Monument, has become the key site of memory for the narrative of liberation. However, the harbours were also the place where Jews, political prisoners and deportees were sent from both Guernsey and Jersey; they were also the place where forced and slave labourers arrived. They are thus

legitimate potential sites of memory for these groups. However, while in Guernsey space has now been given over to memorials to these groups in the harbour area, these are marginalised and made to look insignificant by the Liberation Monument (Figure 3). The Jewish memorial plaque (instigated by the Jewish community in Jersey) is small and scuffed (but restored in 2010), and is not part of the main view-shed of any visitor approaching the memorial area in the harbour. Instead, the 1995 and 2005 memorials to liberation and the 2010 memorial to the evacuees greet the eye first, an unproblematic triumvirate which accord with the dominant war narrative. The memorial plaque to forced workers, first erected in 1999 and instigated by a former forced worker, is not only a long way down the harbour wall and away from the main thoroughfare and other memorials, but also hidden in a recess in the wall. It and the large Liberation Monument are scarcely inter-visible, with all the associated implications for the master commemorative narrative. The memorial to deportees is, however, closer to the Liberation Monument. Unlike the Jews and the forced workers, the deportees were islanders who had already endured two years of occupation. They thus occupy a middle ground between the victims of Nazism and the 'ordinary islanders who endured occupation'.

In Jersey, Liberation Square is the focus of commemoration. As this is by the harbour, memorials to the various victim groups could have been placed within this general area, as they have in Guernsey. However, in this island, commemorative plaques to Jews were erected in the island's synagogue and Jewish graveyard and on the slave worker memorial, which itself was established on the site of the burial place of this group (the 'Strangers Cemetery') at Westmount, and was instigated by former forced workers and the Jersey Communist Party. All of these memorials are on the edge of town, and the synagogue is in another parish.

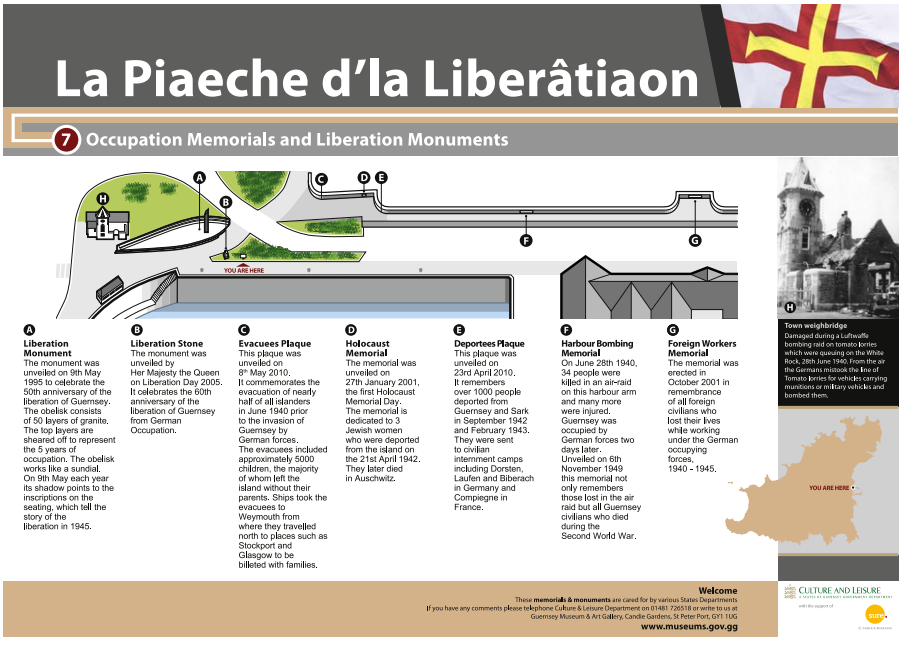

Figure 3. Memorials by the Liberation Monument, Guernsey (© Guernsey Museums and Galleries).

The commemorative stone to deportees was first put up in 1985. It is small and insignificant, and is around the corner, 'hidden' from the Liberation Monument. A second, dedicated to all those deported from the island (by implication, Jews, deportees and political prisoners, although none of these groups are named), was erected in Howard Davis Park, also on the edge of St Helier, and just outside the Allied War Cemetery, thus emphasising the marginalisation of these groups from the dominant war narrative.

In Guernsey, there is no memorial to political prisoners. Instead, or because of this, the prime site of memory for some of these people has been the graveyard, where their status has been engraved on their headstones. In Jersey, the first memorial to political prisoners was put up in 1995 at the instigation of a former prisoner, Joe Mière, after much struggle with the authorities. It was important to Mière to place it on the site of Jersey's occupation prison, now demolished. In his private correspondence, he reveals that when the local government at last acceded to his request to erect a memorial, they initially wanted to place it in a less-visible location.[3] Despite Mière's complaints, the local authorities also decided to give the official unveiling of the memorial little advance publicity, because of the 'perceived sensitivities' surrounding the belief that 'many of the offences [committed] would have been punishable under normal civilian law and indeed could have been described as criminal'.[4] The wording on the plaque, like all others erected in a public place, had to go through official channels of approval, and although it is highly likely that Mière would have submitted a text, this would have been sanitised. The available documents suggest that this occurred at the highest levels.[5] Although Mière got his wish, the memorial is on the edge of the commercial district of St Helier and is now neglected. It plays no part in annual commemorative ceremonies, and the lettering is peeling and partially obscured by ivy, making it difficult to read.

In 1996, a memorial sculpture was erected in St Helier in the form of a small, reused lighthouse, and dedicated to the 'Jersey 22' who did not return from continental concentration camps and penal prisons. This is positioned in the harbour, close to the Maritime Museum that holds the Liberation Tapestry, which features some of the narratives of the Jersey 22. The location of this influenced the positioning of the Lighthouse Memorial (as it became known).[6] It is inter-visible with the Liberation Monument although, ironically, the busy main road, La Route de la Liberation, separates and demarcates the two areas. The Lighthouse Memorial is of a comparable size to the Liberation Monument, is the focus for the annual Holocaust Memorial Day ceremony, and is extremely well attended by islanders and dignitaries alike bearing wreaths (Figure 4). In Guernsey, a small handful of islanders and no dignitaries attend the small open-air service on this day. The tiny Jewish memorial is the focus of the ceremony, and a single posy was placed by the plaque in 2009 and 2010.

While in Guernsey, the sites of memory of victims of Nazism are not visible or large enough to challenge the supremacy of the dominant Liberation Monument, and were erected after it. In Jersey, the erection of the Liberation Monument made a clear statement about what and where the focus of attention should be. The sites of memory of victims of Nazism have, in some cases, become foci or 'sites of counter-memory' (Legg 2005b). On Liberation Day, the main celebrations in St Helier take place in the morning in Royal Square and then Liberation Square. In the afternoon, a small but significant ceremony to the slave and forced

Figure 4. The Lighthouse Memorial, Holocaust Memorial Day 2009, Jersey (photo and copyright: the author).

workers takes place at the Westmount crematorium, with the memorial as the focus (Figure 5). In this way, counter-narratives to liberation take place unchallenged. In fact, because this memorial has seen the addition of plaques and wreaths commemorating other nationalities over the last few years, this memorial has also been a way for some minority groups in the historically monocultural Channel Islands to express themselves commemoratively.

Figure 5. The Westmount Slave Worker Memorial, Jersey (photo and copyright: the author).

Location, marginality and intentionality

Historian Paul Sanders has argued that, after the occupation, the war memory of the Channel Islands was locked, by the British, into the 'straightjacket of UK war memory – the Churchillian paradigm … [of] sublime heroism and unwavering steadfastness' (2005, p. 256). As this paradigm stated that the British were a nation of victors, not victims, there was no room to discuss the darker aspects of occupation. Thus, after memorials were first erected to the military war dead, commemorative and memorial attention was given to the ordinary civilian survivors of the occupation. Had attention been given to the civilian dead, traumatised or injured, this would have involved acknowledging victims of Nazism, and such acknowledgement would have run counter to the Churchillian paradigm.

That the plight of victims of Nazism has only begun to be addressed in the Islands since the mid-1990s is reflected in the appearance of memorials to these groups from this date and the difficulties and controversies they have faced in their positioning and their wording. The British war memory has had great longevity and still dominates in the Channel Islands, even if this is now due to the influence of tradition more than anything else. It is very clear that there has been a direct link between identity and war memory, with its focus on endurance and survival until liberation or victory, and the kinds of memorials (and their size, shape and location) that have been erected at certain times. Islanders are still learning to embrace an uncomfortable past.

While I have suggested that memorials to victims of Nazism have been deliberately placed in marginal settings, is this a fair assessment? Employees of both Guernsey and Jersey museums, which are both major players in the heritage of the islands,

confirm that there is 'no set system'[7] or policy guidelines which determine the precise situation of memorials in St Peter Port and St Helier. Rather, the process is often 'very messy', and decisions are made 'ad hoc', 'over a pint', 'at short notice', 'on the phone', 'in un-minuted meetings' and in 'informal emails' and are the result of 'horse-trading' by all interest groups and stakeholders, including representatives from heritage, environment and marketing departments, the harbour office, the parish concerned, the media, petitioners, politicians and sometimes even the Bailiff.[8]

When deciding the exact positioning, this is variously dictated by 'political decision'[9] and 'aesthetics and practicalities', such as the avoidance of benches and 'not crowding the other plaques.'[10] Other factors include association with other relevant heritage sites[11] and the need to 'maintain a respectful distance' from other memorials[12] so as to avoid an 'unintended political or religious link'[13] or, conversely, the expression of a desire to place memorials within the same area because of 'appropriateness', due to a perceived link between them.[14]

Although local stakeholders have suggested to the author that the concept of the memorialscape 'reads too much' into the positioning of memorials,[15] at the same time they also acknowledge locally significant concepts of 'appropriateness' and 'suitability' of situation and the perceived association between memorials caused by proximity. I propose that it is concepts such as these that allow practitioners to observe the nuances in memorialscape interpretation.

While the decision-making process is presented as the outcome of horse-trading and ad-hoc meetings, there is other evidence to suggest that things are less casual among those who agitate for memorials. Stakeholders who make it their business to champion the erection of a memorial, perhaps because of personal or family association, are much more particular when it comes to location. Three examples from Guernsey will suffice to illustrate this point.

In the mid-1990s, the Fortress Guernsey Steering Group[16] and former Spanish Republican slave worker, Juan Alarcon, helped to plan a memorial to foreign workers.[17] While the Steering Group suggested that the memorial should go next to the harbour bombing plaque, which had been erected in 1949, the Board of Administration (BoA)[18] was not in favour of such a positioning as it was not an 'appropriate' site.[19] The BoA also suggested that the proposed memorial was going to be too large to be appropriate to the site. As the size was in the end not an issue, it is more likely that the real concern was that the proposed memorial would be bigger than the harbour bombing plaque, thus eclipsing it and its narrative.

Ultimately, the two memorials did share the harbour wall but the foreign worker memorial was placed in a recess, shielding it from the other. While this position might suggest marginalisation, it has also been read locally as being 'sheltered', making remembrance ceremonies 'more structured and visible', making it 'the most elegant and complete' of all memorial arrangements in the area, not to mention the first memorial that passengers from cruise liners encounter when they arrive in the Island.[20]

When the Jewish memorial plaque was suggested in March 1999, there was debate at the Heritage Committee about whether it should be placed in the German Occupation Museum or at the harbour with the other memorials.[21] The Jersey Jewish Congregation was later brought into the discussion and they supported a memorial at the harbour. However, the Heritage Committee received a letter from Mr Van Grieken, a Dutch former worker who had been instrumental in getting the names on the foreign worker memorial changed because they included German overseers (Carrier 2000, p. 4; Locke 2001, p. 3). Van Grieken expressed the opinion that the

Jewish memorial should not be placed near the memorial to foreign workers.[22] While his reasons are unknown, it seems likely that Van Grieken recognised the associated meanings and narratives that might be read from both memorials should their proximity be too close. The association of adjacent memorials and their narratives was also suggested to the author as a reason for the Jewish and forced-worker memorials to be placed closer together in future so that they would be separate from the recent memorials erected to both evacuees and deportees in Guernsey in 2010.[23] Similar acknowledgement is apparent in the views of a member of the Guernsey Deportees Association, who told the author that he was happy with the location of the deportees' memorial. 'It was', he said, 'quite suitable as it is near the memorial to the Jewish ladies … down the far end [by the forced worker memorial] would have been very unsuitable.'[24]

While these three examples will have to suffice within the confines of this short paper, my intent is to show that even when policies and guidelines are haphazard or missing, and even when stakeholders reject the influence of the principles of the memorialscape, local perceptions and interpretations of 'appropriateness', and an awareness of shared narratives for memorials in close proximity to each other, will still conspire to shape the resulting memorialscape. The flexible nature of sites of memory, already discussed, is also an important factor in allowing the movement of memorials in line with local perceptions of suitability.

Conclusion: a changing memorialscape

Memorialscapes are highly complex entanglements in space and time of competing and overlapping narrative layers. By exploring its 10 key features, I hope to have set out a methodology for successfully penetrating and interpreting these sites of memory and counter-memory in the landscape, allowing the resulting narratives to be read.

The Channel Islands have seen three overlapping phases of memorialisation, each of which has built up the memorialscape and gradually changed the commemorative occupation narrative. Despite dominating commemorative and non-commemorative space and inscribing its narrative on different parts of the islands' capitals, the master commemorative narrative of endurance until victory or liberation (as expressed through both 50th-anniversary liberation monuments) has been increasingly challenged since 1995.

The success of this challenge, and the admission of the memory of victims of Nazism into the master narrative, has varied according to island. In St Peter Port, their memory has been allowed into the memorial space of the dominant narrative, but it has not been allowed to challenge it in any serious way. Instead, other memorials are small, marginalised or hidden away, most especially those relating to non-islander groups such as forced and slave labourers or Jews. In St Helier, the main sites of memory of victims of Nazism and of liberation are spatially separate, through historical accident or design. Despite this, the memorial to the 'Jersey 22', who were islanders and not foreigners and which, like the Liberation Monument, is now also a centre of large annual commemorations, has now effectively changed the reading of the town's memorialscape. Since 1995, Jersey has indeed been open about its wartime record and is more ready than its sister island to include victims of Nazism within its dominant narrative and to embrace them as fellow heroes of the occupation.

While I have chosen my case studies from the memorialscapes of the Channel Islands, this is a concept that is likely to be especially useful to other conflict locations involving civilians, especially (but not limited to) those that have experienced occupation and liberation; continental Europe is full of such sites.

While I have focused on monuments and memorials here, any interpretation of a memorialscape should ideally also examine the wider memory landscape and other physical and non-physical sites of memory and counter-memory in order to gain a fuller understanding of how public and private memory works within any society. We have a tendency to prioritise memorials because of their public visibility and accessibility. It is all too easy to pass judgement upon a place, as others have done for the Channel Islands, for the presence or absence of certain memorials and monuments, but memorialscapes, memorial landscapes and intangible modes of commemoration that leave little or no trace, can be complex in their interpretation. They are linked to other memorialscapes in other places with other narratives through events such as evacuation and deportation. Untangling a memorialscape is not easy: many threads of history link plaques, memorial stones and monuments to the spaces that they inhabit; spaces that have seen other events at other times, and events that have dominated earlier narratives and have given rise to earlier memorials and earlier memorialscapes.

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Notes

1. This table does not include the towns' war memorials, as these are not occupation-related. It also excludes monuments and memorials outside St Peter Port and St Helier, and those which are not directly related to those present in the Islands during the occupation. Thus, military personnel washed up or shot down in the Islands are excluded. Memorials which were taken down and later replaced by another to the same victim group have been counted as one in the total, and the date of their first erection is considered here to be the most important.
2. Email to author from former Bailiff of Jersey, 8 November 2010.
3. My thanks to Joe's son, Mick Mière, for allowing me access to his late father's paperwork.
4. Jersey Archives reference C/C/L/C9/1.
5. Jersey Archives reference C/C/L/C9/1.
6. Email to author from employee of Jersey Museum, 6 June 2011.
7. Email to author from employee of Jersey Museum, 6 June 2011.
8. Email to author from employee of Guernsey Museum, 3 June 2011, and to author from employee of Jersey Museum, 7 June 2011.
9. Email to author from employee of Guernsey harbour authority, 21 June 2011.
10. Email to author from employee of Guernsey Museum, 3 June 2011.

11. Email to author from employee of Jersey Museum, 8 June 2011.
12. Email to author from employee of Guernsey harbour authority, 21 June 2011.
13. Email to author from employee of Guernsey harbour authority, 22 June 2011.
14. Email to author from retired employee of Guernsey harbour authority, 23 June 2011.
15. Email to author from employee of Guernsey Museum, 6 June 2011, and to author from retired employee of Guernsey harbour authority, 23 June 2011.
16. Heritage Committee minutes (Guernsey), 26 January 1996. (Fortress Guernsey are a sub-committee of the Channel Islands Occupation Society who concern themselves with German fortifications.)
17. *Guernsey Evening Press*, 19 February 1997.
18. The BoA in Guernsey, now disbanded, had responsibility for the general administration relating to sites such as the harbour, the airport, the cliffs and common land.
19. Heritage Committee minutes (Guernsey), 8 October 1996, and letter from Committee to President of the Tourist Board, 10 October 1996.
20. Email from employee of Guernsey harbour authority, to author, 22 June 2011.
21. Heritage Committee minutes (Guernsey), 6 April 1999 and 4 May 1999.
22. Undated letter from former forced worker to Heritage Committee (Guernsey).
23. Informal conversation between author and employee for Culture and Leisure, Guernsey, 1 April 2010.
24. Phone call between member of the Guernsey Deportees Association, and the author, 5 June 2011.

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