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ICE, SEA, COAL –
UNCOMMON SUBJECTS,
COMMON THEMES:

INTERPRETING THE CULTURAL
REPRESENTATIONS OF SCOTT,
DUNKIRK AND DURHAM COAL MINERS
IN THE CONTEXT OF DECLINE

VANESSA MORRELL

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

June 2017

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Abstract

Ice, Sea, Coal - Uncommon Subjects: Common Themes: interpreting the cultural representations of Scott, Dunkirk and coal miners in Durham in the context of declinism.

This thesis will test the hypothesis: 'To what extent do twentieth century cultural representations in Britain reflect prevalent ideas and experiences of decline and declinism?' The concept behind this thesis is that the cultural representations of the case studies illustrate reflections of their contemporary times, which have altered as social and cultural circumstances have changed. One of the key components to recognising this change in the cultural representations is to understand how the narratives of the case studies have changed to reflect contemporary Britain, which in this thesis is described as their myth.

The relationship all of the cultural representations to the case studies will be considered in the context of decline. In order to fully appreciate this relationship the themes of gender, class and community and science and progress will also be considered for their relationships to the case studies and decline. All of the cultural representations for each of the case studies will be considered which will comprise not only of monuments but also of films and television programmes, museums, anniversary celebrations and fiction and non-fiction books.

This is an area of original research not only in its use of three diverse case studies with their 'uncommon themes', but its addition to the limited empirical research of declinism in cultural history and furthermore has specific notable new ideas presented in the research chapters. The research presented shows the common themes of the cultural representations to the case studies, not only in the context of decline but in the broader themes of gender, class and community and science and progress.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

*Like Elgar's Enigma, the theme of British economic decline possesses a haunting resonance which has inspired many variations. It remains inescapable in current debates about Britain's economic performance and sense of national identity.*¹

Britain was preoccupied with concerns of decline throughout the twentieth century and while the nuances of this decline have had many 'variations', it has remained a 'haunting' influence on all aspects of British life. At the beginning of the period this anxiety manifested itself in the debates on tariff reform to protect British trade, while as the period progressed it expanded to include fears of Britain's relative economic failure. By the 1960s, the pivotal moment for decline was reached and declinism – 'a belief in a prolonged (extending over decades), but avoidable, period of British failure to perform as well as relevant comparators (some combination of the set of current rich countries), ranked by some aggregate measure of economic performance' was born.² Yet as the century came to a close, and the post-industrial age emerged, favour for declinism ebbed and a period of what can now be termed as post-declinism was reached. Perceptions of decline in all of these periods were not limited to Britain's economic progress but also its military power and international standing and as such ensured that the broad idea of decline has remained a popular national topic.³ This thesis seeks to examine these ideas by analysing a range of cultural representations of three case studies - Robert Falcon Scott, the evacuation from Dunkirk and the Durham coal

¹ Clarke, P. & Trebilcock, C. (eds.) (1997). *Understanding Decline: Perceptions and Realities of British Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 28.

² Tomlinson, J. (2000). *Politics of Decline: Understanding Post War Britain*. Harlow: Pearson. p. 28.

³ A detailed analysis of decline will be undertaken later in Chapter 3 of this thesis, at this juncture however it is necessary to add that following key texts on decline that have been deployed: Tomlinson. *Politics of Decline*. Clarke and Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. Wiener, M. (1981). *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Edgerton, D. *Science, Technology and British Industrial Decline: 1870-1970*. (1996). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Rubinstein, W.D. *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain, 1750-1990*. (1993). London: Routledge. Freidberg, A. (1988). *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline 1895-1905*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Tomlinson, J. (2009). Thrice Denied: 'Declinism' as a Recurrent Theme in British History in the Long Twentieth Century. *Twentieth Century British History*. 20 (2), 227-251. English, R. & Kenny, M. (2000). *Rethinking British Decline*. Macmillan Press: London.

miners - for potential relationships to decline and from this analysis to gain some understanding of how ideas of decline were assimilated into and transmitted through British culture. Some of these relationships will have an obvious direct relationship to decline, while for others connections to decline will be made through broader narratives such as gender, class and community and science and progress, these themes themselves having connections to decline. This thesis maintains that given that perceptions of decline were such important issues in post-war Britain, that once relationships to decline are understood, one potential reading of the cultural representations of these important cases could be a declinist view. Based on these observations the hypothesis tested in this thesis is: 'To what extent do twentieth century cultural representations in Britain reflect prevalent ideas and experiences of decline and declinism?'

The three case studies chosen – Captain Scott, the Dunkirk Evacuation and Durham coal miners – are from three different periods of the twentieth century although their cultural influence has continued from their inceptions: Captain Scott from the years before the First World War; the Dunkirk Evacuation in the Second World War; while the image of Durham coal miners will be focused on changes found in cultural representations in post-war Britain.⁴ The thesis will explore their connections to decline *per se*, and to decline through the themes of gender; class and community; and science and progress – key features themselves of Britain's evolving identity in the twentieth century.⁵ An important similarity of

⁴ Key texts deployed for the three case studies are: Scott – Jones, M. *The Last Great Quest: Captain Scott's Antarctic Sacrifice*. (2003). Oxford: Oxford University Press. Jones M. (2014). The Truth About Captain Scott: The Last Place on Earth, Sexuality and Decline in the 1980s. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 42(5), 857-881. Huntford, R. (1979). *The Last Place on Earth: Scott and Amundsen's Race to the Pole*. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Dunkirk – S. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-1945*. (2004), Oxford: Oxford University Press. Summerfield P. (2010). Dunkirk and the Popular Memory of Britain at War. 1940-58. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 45, 788-811. Noakes, L. & Pattinson, J. (eds.) (2014). *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*. London: Bloomsbury. M. Connelly, (2004). *We Can Take it! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War*. Harlow: Pearson. Coal mining – Ashworth, W. & Pegg, M. (1986). *History of the British Coal Industry: 1946-82 Nationalised Industry – Volume 5*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Usherwood, P. Beach, J. Morris, C. (eds.) (2000). *Public Sculptures of North-East England*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Gray, D. (1982). *Coal: British Mining in Art 1680-1980*, NCB: Holland. Vall, N. Cultural improvers in North-East England, 1920-1960: 'Polishing the Pitmen'. *Northern History*. XLI. 163-180.

⁵ Key texts deployed on these themes include: For Decline see note 3 and Hewison, R. (1987). *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London: Methuen. Gender - Girouard, M. (1981). *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, Yale: Yale University Press. John, A.

these three case studies was their propensity to engender ‘mythological’ narratives and the ensuing propensity for these narratives adapt to change over time. This thesis will contend that through exploration of these changes, a possible relationship to decline as a reaction to external pressures is one of the readings that can be taken from their evolving cultural representations. The way these societal pressures impacted on the way the stories were told in a range of memorials were wide-ranging, but in order to contain this research, it will focus on the broad idea of declinism as used by Tomlinson in his *Thrice Denied* article on decline. This article described differing perceptions of decline in the twentieth century, the specifics of this will be detailed later in this section once the background for the thesis is set. This related how declinism spanned the twentieth century ‘albeit waxing and waning’ and that within it accusations were made of ‘profound failings in almost all areas of British society’ although these were based upon perceptions rather than rooted in reality.⁶ This examination represents an exciting and original area of historical research in the range of the subject myths - as no previous research has been undertaken on the development of British cultural values through the memorialisation of the three case studies of Scott, Dunkirk and coal miners in Durham. Moreover, although Max Jones has undertaken research linking the celluloid memorial of *The Last Place on Earth* pertaining to the case study of Scott and decline, the thesis breaks new ground in its application of an analysis of declinism in cultural representations of Dunkirk and Durham coal miners.⁷

The three case studies - though strikingly diverse subjects - were chosen following analysis of the complexity of the subjects as they were found to have many similarities. These similarities occur despite happening at different periods in the twentieth century and being

(1980) *By the Sweat of their Brow: Women Workers at Victorian Coal Mines*. London: Croom Helm. Clark, A. (1995). *The Struggle for Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*, Los Angeles: University of California. Tosh, J. (1999). *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, Yale: Yale University Press. Class and Community – Dennis, N. Henriques, F. & Slaughter, C. (1956). *Coal is our Life: An Analysis of a Yorkshire Mining Community*. London: Tavistock Publications. Colls, R. & Roger, R. (eds) (2004) *Cities of Ideas: Civil Society and Urban Governance in Britain 1800-2000*. Hants: Ashgate. Bourke, J. (1994). *Working Class Cultures in Britain: 1890-1960*. London: Routledge. Science and Progress – R. Hewison, (May, 2013). The Heritage Industry Revisited. Paper Presented at: Annual Lecture, University of Leicester. Rieger, B. (2005). *Technology and the Culture of Modernity in Britain and Germany 1890-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Edgerton, D. (2006). *Warfare State: Britain, 1920-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Edgerton, D. (1991). *England and the Aeroplane: An Essay on a Militant and Technological Nation*. London: Macmillan.

⁶ Tomlinson. *Thrice Denied*. p. 228

⁷ Jones. *Truth About Captain Scott*.

about a person, an event and an economic activity that affected a region. Of course, as a thesis in history one of the most important reasons for choosing these subjects was that they provided the opportunity for original research. No previous research has considered the broad cultural representations for any of the three subjects in their entirety, let alone within a context of decline, ensuring the topic was exciting and innovative. Another reason for choosing such a diverse set of subject areas was that once their differences were put aside, these three case studies all had strong connections to failure - Scott dying on his attempt to be first to the South Pole, Dunkirk being an evacuation following military defeat, and coal mining ending in Durham in the period under review. These connections with failure work well for the declinist context examined in this thesis. Furthermore, it was interesting to investigate the enduring appeal of such potentially negative narratives for the three case studies. The continued interest in the case studies provided a strong research base for cultural representations as all three subjects continue to elicit new memorials that both respond to the case studies and reflect contemporaneous interpretations. The narratives that have developed for these case studies feed into these new cultural representations and are constantly reacting to cultural and societal influences. It is this changing interpretation that, for the purposes of this thesis, has been defined as the “mythical” element.

As asserted above, “decline” is the key concept examined in this thesis and all of the case studies as outlined above emanate from periods when consideration of decline was significant. Perceptions of decline have changed throughout the twentieth century. Tomlinson has identified the three ages of decline in Britain: 1870-1914; the inter-war period; and the period since 1945.⁸ Captain Scott, the evacuation of Dunkirk and the coal miners in Durham all have strong connections in their narratives to decline which can be defined at its most basic as either failing or being in a worse position than previously, and each narrative emerges from different types of decline. In the case of Scott, although he reached the Pole, he found himself to be in second place and then he and his four companions died on the return journey. In a similar vein, Dunkirk represented the complete defeat and withdrawal of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) which one year earlier had

⁸ Tomlinson. *Thrice Denied*.

been sent to assist the Allied armies in stopping Nazi Germany's advance in Europe. The evacuation showed a complete reversal of the government's initial plan, which although it saved the members of the BEF from death or captivity, rendered most of their equipment abandoned. Finally, while coal mining in Great Britain as a whole has decreased significantly in terms of output and employment, the specific focus of research is a case study of the Durham coalfield where a complete eradication of deep coal mining was observed. John Benson noted that while in 1911 coal 'accounted for 70% of the male working population in Durham',⁹ by 1993 no-one was employed mining coal underground in the region. Nationwide, Britain's last deep coal mine was closed in 2015. This former behemoth of an industry had become incidental to the nation's and region's economic present or future, illustrating the ending of an industry. So why have such potentially negative case studies, which themselves are snapshots of decline, inspired over 300 cultural representations?¹⁰

Clearly an understanding of decline and declinism is needed to provide a coherent case for the hypothesis of this thesis. The arguments for decline are persuasive, with historians examining relative economic data and comparing a multitude of industrial and financial indicators to assert the case for it. Academics such as Andrew Gamble have made the point that when discussing decline it must be remembered that it is relative rather than absolute decline that is in question. The wealth the British economy generated in the year 2000 was three and a half times greater than that produced in 1900.¹¹ However, as part of Sidney Pollard's thesis on relative decline, he used figures such as Britain's fall in export growth rates in the period 1870-1913, finding that while Britain's growth rate was 2.8%, France was also 2.8%, the USA was 4.9% and Germany was 3%.¹² He found further evidence of Britain's decline in real GDP growth rates internationally, which taking the years 1900-13, showed Britain to have a rate of 1.5%; Germany 3%; France 1.7%; and the USA 3.9%.¹³ Relative data for individual industries fell too. In the cotton industry where Britain had held 66.4% of the world spindleage in 1859/61, by 1913 the percentage of world spindleage that was British

⁹ Benson, J. (1989). *The Working Class in Britain*, Longmann: London. p. 14.

¹⁰ See list of cultural representations in Appendix.

¹¹ Gamble, A. *Theories and Explanations of British Decline* in English, & Kenny, *Rethinking British Decline*. p. 3.

¹² Pollard, S. (1989). *Britain's Prime and Britain's Decline: The British Economy 1870: 1914*. London: Edward Arnold. pp. 7-8. Pollard states that Britain was still the lead exporter by volume.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 4-6.

had fallen to 38.8% (although it should be noted that the number of cotton looms had almost doubled).¹⁴ For the steel industry in 1870-4, British production accounted for 43.9% of world production and while again this had increased, this time fourteen-fold to 1910-4, by that date it accounted for only 10.8% of world production.¹⁵ Theses and research careers have been devoted to this subject and as such the statistics above, rather than offering a full review on this exhaustive subject, are included to make a point that a full and compelling case can be made using statistical analysis for Britain's relative decline in the period before the First World War.

Within these three ages of decline, two types of declinism can be clearly recognised and will be used in this thesis: quasi-declinism and declinism. In *The Politics of Decline* (2000) Jim Tomlinson identified two main relationships with 'decline' in twentieth century Britain and that identifying the cause of decline along with understanding the wider political perspective held the key to appreciating their differences. The first approach, emanating from the pre- First World War era, was one that allowed for:

no intrinsic faults in British industry, no (domestic) culprits or villains, no secular tendencies deeply embedded in British Society. Instead, the fault lay overwhelmingly with a policy failure to respond by protectionism to the practices of foreigners.¹⁶

Tomlinson usefully provided the term 'quasi-declinism' to determine these early ideas of decline. This early decline from 1870 to 1914 'was highly politicised' and 'became linked with strategic issues, notably British military and social shortcomings exposed by the Boer War.'¹⁷ These contrasted to later views that fed into declinism emerging in the 1950s and 60s, which comprised of three points. First, that the decline was relative; second that the causes were cultural; and third that it was preventable. In a later article in 2014 Tomlinson suggested a further inter-war declinism between these two points, which he himself

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 36.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 27.

¹⁶ Tomlinson. *Politics of Decline*. p. 49.

¹⁷ Tomlinson. *Thrice Denied*. p. 229.

admitted was muted and had at times been underwritten.¹⁸ In a similar vein Andrew Gamble's work on the identification of three debates regarding Britain's decline maintains the essential British-centric nature of the phenomenon. The three debates he identified were: the economic and military challenge of Germany and the United States in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century; the breakdown of the liberal world order and rise of protectionism in the inter-war period which led to debates about modernisation; and the debate on British competitiveness, the latter fitting into Tomlinson's 1960s 'declinism.'¹⁹

This thesis will build upon Tomlinson's and Gamble's versions of declinism, cited above and introduce the idea of post-declinism, giving three distinct versions of declinism. The first being 'quasi-declinism' as defined by Tomlinson, relating to the first half of the twentieth century, with the second being the fully blown declinism that emerged from the late 1950s. Tomlinson's more muted declinism of the inter-war period and Gamble's inter-war protectionism for this thesis are both incorporated within ideas of quasi-declinism. Additionally this thesis considers the idea of post-declinism, as the third type of decline relating to a time where declinism has ceased to be a relevant current debate. The idea of post-declinism lends itself to the anti-declinst research, with Edgerton being a lead academic in this field in his questioning of assumptions of decline.²⁰ However, it also encompasses ideas on decline that, while agreeing upon its existence, instead consider it as having been played out. In many respects Tomlinson's *Thrice Denied* article with its ensuing conclusion to leave research on decline asunder, forms part of this debate.²¹

So what is 'declinism'? Tomlinson has argued that 'declinism' emerged at the end of the 1950s as a "'What's Wrong with Britain" cult' which although it 'died back quite quickly' left a legacy of a culture of perceived decline that continued to fuel public debate and impact on British politics.²² Significant to the history of decline was the expansion of 'government responsibility in economic life' that the Second World War had initiated. Tomlinson noted that this developed into a pre-occupation with employing the 'full use of resources but also

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 227-251.

¹⁹ Gamble, A. *Theories and Explanations of British Decline*. pp. 5-9.

²⁰ Edgerton. *Science, Technology and British Industrial Decline*. Edgerton. *Warfare State*.

²¹ Tomlinson. *Thrice Denied*.

²² Tomlinson. *Politics of Decline*. p. 21.

increasing the efficiency with which they were used,' which in turn gave weight to the importance of economic growth.²³ Added to this concern was the emergence of seemingly reliable comparative international data that provided a vital ingredient for fuelling declinism.²⁴ These factors emerged within the context of the post-war break up of the Empire and deterioration of international power. Typical of this receding power was the Suez Crisis of 1956 where Israel, followed by Britain and France, sought to gain control of the Suez Canal by overthrowing the Egyptian government. Once fighting started, the United States, USSR and United Nations worked together diplomatically to force Britain and France to withdraw. This international defeat has been viewed as the last hurrah of British imperial power. Added to this decline in observable world power, Britain's pursuit of affluence through domestic economic growth increasingly curtailed the wherewithal for any further global power displays.

Emerging from declinist debates, nostalgia has proved to be productive ground for historians making connections to ideas of decline. These perceptions of decline fit with nostalgic ideas as they locate the past in a better place than the present. As such, nostalgia can be viewed as the response most closely associated with decline in cultural representations. Patrick Wright led the vanguard of these ideas that found much acclaim in the 1980s. Wright's observations on British culture related nostalgia to concepts of Britishness. He viewed a desire to historicise as a national trait that cherishes the past, which in turn could be seen as forming part of a nostalgic response to the declining grandeur of an 'old country.'²⁵ Informed by Wright, it is Robert Hewison who became the leading spokesperson of the idea of nostalgia as a response to decline. He saw the emerging heritage industry as further evidence of British decline, with its ever-present eye on the past.²⁶ With regard to research on the specific case studies of this thesis, Max Jones and Mark Connelly observed the power of nostalgia and its links to decline for respectively Scott and Dunkirk, although this did not form the core questioning of their research.²⁷

²³ Ibid. p. 10.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 9.

²⁵ Wright, P. (1987). *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*. London: Verso.

²⁶ Hewison. *Heritage Industry*.

²⁷ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. Connelly. *We Can Take it!*

But decline was not confined to British culture. Tomlinson has also shown the importance of the concept of decline in influencing the policies of both left- and right-wing political parties, which in turn affected each citizen of Britain. He asserted that while 'declinism was invented by the centre-left of British politics in the late 1950s and 60s,'²⁸ it found a home in the neo-conservative domain by 1980. Initially, discussions on national income and its relative growth, and labour and industrial productivity rates relative to other countries gained momentum in the 1950s. Two differing views emerged from either side of British politics. Although the Labour Party accepted that policies were needed to combat Britain's relative decline and pushed for austerity over affluence, as in their *Plan for Progress* in 1958 and *Signposts for the Sixties* in 1961, the Conservative Party could not admit national decline and instead embraced the emerging personal affluence.²⁹ However, by the 1970s the Conservative party was increasingly embracing the cultural explanations of decline as espoused by Martin Wiener in his *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*. Critically, Wiener's research was, as Richard English and Michael Kenny noted, 'the first major "declinist" text to be taken up by an academic and a wider audience.'³⁰

It was of considerable importance that these declinist texts did not stay in the political, economic and academic arenas but that many have spilled out to inform and affect – in their influence on economic policies – the general public. Many exponents and advocates of British decline have undertaken research of crusade-like proportions to prove their theories, a cause that has often moved from political or academic arenas to more popular mainstream debate. Thus the debate on *The Two Cultures* from 1959 to 1970 was a prelude to declinist rhetoric. C. P. Snow highlighted the interest of anxieties in British decline in his argument that Britain had two separate cultures of art and science that did not communicate or work together, while F. R. Leavis questioned the idea of cultural progress itself.³¹ Guy Ortolano in his exploration of this debate and its impact on culture, viewed Snow's arguments alongside Arthur Koestler *Suicide of a Nation* (1963) and Anthony Sampson *Anatomy of Britain* (1962) as 'informing the historiography of modern Britain – but

²⁸ Tomlinson. *Politics of Decline*. p. 30.

²⁹ Ibid. pp. 10-11.

³⁰ English, R. & Kenny, M. *Rethinking British Decline*. p. 25.

³¹ Snow. *The Two Cultures*. Ortolano. *The Two Cultures Controversy*.

most notably influencing the work of Martin Wiener.³² Another major contributor to declinism was Correlli Barnett, who over a period of three decades pursued declinism with zealous purpose, producing an enormous four volumes on what he held to be Britain's downfall.³³ His work attributed the collapse of British international power to cultural factors promoted by the country's elite. His threefold argument was that: there existed longstanding problems with Britain as an industrial nation which from the nineteenth century was where 'illusions, dreams and romantic ideals obscured realities'³⁴ and obstructed realistic practical planning; that the Second World War reflected these deficiencies with government policies and planning exacerbating them; and that a unique opportunity to reconstruct Britain as a post-war power was missed because of British policies.³⁵ In particular, he saw the welfare state as a fruitless waste of money that diverted resources from economic and political recovery. The first in Barnett's sequence was published in 1971 and the last was finalised in 2001, yet it was Wiener's influential albeit much smaller and less empirical work that became the blueprint for the cultural explanations of decline that formed a major component of declinism in its high period.

Wiener's work was received with rapturous fervour and consumed as a panacea for decline - an outcome that had never been intended by the author.³⁶ It was welcomed by both sides of the political mainstream and became a base for public policy. It was viewed as a full explanation of decline, although Wiener himself wrote that his work had only been intended to be a partial explanation.³⁷ In 1997 the author argued that his thesis introduced a cultural dimension to arguments of decline that had hitherto been left out, that it was intended to be about a wide definition of industry rather than the industrial sector and that his purpose

³² Ortolano. *The Two Cultures Controversy*. p. 258.

³³ Barnett, C. *The Pride and Fall Sequence*, comprising: (1972). *The Collapse of British Power*. London: Macmillan. (1986). *The Audit of War: Illusion and Reality of Britain as a Great Nation*. London: Macmillan. (1995). *The Lost Victory: British Dreams, British Realities 1945-1950*. London: Macmillan. (2001). *The Verdict of Peace*. Macmillan: London.

³⁴ Barnett. *The Audit of War*. p. 8.

³⁵ English & Kenny, *Rethinking British Decline*. p. 40.

³⁶ Wiener. *English Culture*. Preface to second edition, (2004). p. xvii. Perhaps disconcerted by the way his work was used he has shunned further research on decline theory and has concentrated on criminology.

³⁷ *Ibid*.

was to 'raise questions that might subsequently be modified and complexified.'³⁸ *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980* contended that the reasons for Britain's decline were due to a gentrification of industrialists. Moreover, this gentrification could be observed and that it continually reinforced the values of the elite, with the aspiration being to live in a big house in the country, leaving one's industrial roots as soon as possible. Sons who might follow into the family business were instead encouraged to pursue more gentlemanly lives, the Empire providing a playground for these roles and enabling them to eschew their industrial roots. This was achieved by the values of gentrification not only being established by friends and family but through the educational system that encouraged the amateur over the professional, and Classics over applied science. This culture left a chasm between business leaders and finances, as money was ploughed into country estates and pursuing titles while the industrialists had little contact with the sources of their incomes. This initiated a psychological and material de-industrialisation that was eventually actualised in the 'decline of the industrial spirit.' These arguments echoed ideas from Snow and Barnett, while Donald Coleman's essay on *Gentlemen and Players* foreran Wiener's ideas on Britain focusing on amateurs rather than specialists who could achieve more.³⁹ Coleman also associated the education system with decline suggesting that the public school-educated "amateur" and the "self-made man" were both hostile to applied science subjects such as engineering.⁴⁰ Notwithstanding the economic data, a convincing case was made for decline which, using the cultural explanations of declinism, was deployed with political expediency.

Yet Supple has asserted that 'decline is an ideology' and as such has its believers but also its detractors.⁴¹ Some of the first detractors criticised cultural explanations of declinism rather than decline itself. William Rubinstein was one of the first academics to question the pervasiveness of declinism by using empirical research against a rigorous set of questions to test Wiener's theory. In particular, he asked:

³⁸ English & Kenny. *Rethinking British Decline*. pp. 31-5.

³⁹ Ibid. Coleman, D. (1973) *Gentlemen and Players*. *Economic History Review*. 26. 92- 116.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Supple, B. (1997). *Fear of Failing*, in Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. p. 28.

- Was public school common enough in the nineteenth century to instil anti-industrialisation?
- Was it common enough to affect sons of industrialists?
- Was there a haemorrhage of talent?
- Can anything be said with certainty of the entrepreneurial abilities of those educated at public schools who remained in business life?⁴²

In his study of the eight Clarendon public schools, he found that most sons attending elite schools followed the careers of their fathers and that boys who went to public schools tended to be the sons of professionals rather than businessmen.⁴³ With regard to the idea that public schools were anti-entrepreneurial, he argued that they were impressed by big money, which made them responsive to business, gave them a grade bias and that they tended to invest in the latest technology, such as in the late twentieth century, computers.⁴⁴ His overall conclusion was that Britain was a mercantile rather than an industrial culture and therefore the 'industrial spirit' itself was a misnomer. With regard to science, he questioned how a country noted by Wiener as having a culture against science could have more Nobel winning scientists than America. To illustrate this argument he asserted that four of the five major inventions of the Second World War were British (the jet engine, Radar, Penicillin and the computer) while the fifth – atomic energy – had major British input, although he conceded that these early leads were lost.⁴⁵ In one of his closing remarks, Rubinstein wrote the following, questioning the presumed culture and decline of Britain: 'The central role of London is perhaps not fully understood. London's central role both preceded Britain's industrialisation and yet continued while Britain was the world's major industrial power and still continues today.'⁴⁶ Pertinently, the commercial-centric outlook Rubinstein describes has also informed similar hypotheses by Geoffrey Ingham, Will Hutton and Rob Stones.⁴⁷

⁴² Rubinstein. *Capitalism, Culture and Decline*. p. 105.

⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 119-20.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 135-6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 95-6.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 156.

⁴⁷ Ingham, G. (1984). *Capitalism Divided? The City and Industry in British Social Development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Hutton, W. (1995). *The State We're in*. London: Vintage. Stones, R. (1988). *The Myth of Betrayal: Structure and Agency in the Government's Policy of Non-devaluation 1964-67*. (Doctoral Thesis). University of Essex.

A key aspect of decline theory as espoused by Wiener that has gone on to inform the 'cultural backwardness' idea of declinism is the gentrification of industrialists. In an earlier work Rubinstein considered the gentrification and landowning appetite of industrialists. His research into the estates of millionaire and half-millionaires illustrated that it was a very small minority of men from new wealth who became owners of these estates.⁴⁸ This lack of change within the ruling class was corroborated by the work undertaken by the Benwell Community Project on the making of the ruling class in Newcastle. Their study showed a continuing important role in business, industry, politics and influence of the industrial families of Newcastle from the nineteenth century to the report's publication in 1978.⁴⁹

Other detractors of the cultural explanations of declinism include Rex Pope, Martin Daunton and Peter Mandler. Pope has argued that cultural explanations for decline imply that Britain is distinctly different from other countries and gives European examples of anti-industrialism in other nations, such as described in Zola's *Germinal*.⁵⁰ Pope argued for this international dimension, highlighting that industrialists like to spend their money on big estates the world over.⁵¹ Daunton criticised Wiener's approach based upon his contention that 'the question of the causes of British economic decline remained beyond the sole grasp of economists.'⁵² He suggested that instead the changing and relative social relations in industry should be researched at an industrial level, and quotes Pat Thane's idea that 'the strength of *all* the competing economic interests of land, industry, finance and labour; [was] too strong for the state not to take a serious account of their interests' but politicians had to keep 'a certain critical distance from other interest groups,' which gave 'a relatively high degree of institutional and ideological flexibility.'⁵³ Mandler's arguments centre around Wiener's assertions that 'the English ignored or disparaged the cities,'⁵⁴ with Mandler

⁴⁸ Daunton, M. (1989). "Gentlemanly Capitalism" and British Industry 1820-1914. *Past and Present*, 122 (1) 119-158.

⁴⁹ Benwell Community Project. (1978). *Benwell Community Project Final Report Series No. 6: The Making of a Ruling Class*. Newcastle: Benwell CDP Publications.

⁵⁰ Pope, R. (1998). *The British Economy Since 1914: A Study in Decline?* London: Longmann. p. 77.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Daunton. "Gentlemanly Capitalism". Wiener. *English Culture*. p. 170.

⁵³ Thane, P. (1986). Financiers and the British State: The Case of Ernest Cassel. *Business History*. 28 (1) 80-99. 94-5.

⁵⁴ Wiener. *English Culture*. p. ix.

arguing that cultures absorbed in their rural past weren't necessarily anti-modern and that Britain was less interested in the countryside than other European Countries.⁵⁵

The research in *Understanding Decline* - dedicated to Barry Supple, a pioneering questioner of declinism - has in turn queried many of the underlying assumptions of declinism itself. For example, Donald Winch demonstrated that the British preoccupation with decline had a longer pedigree than declinism in the twentieth century, pinpointing Adam Smith's concern with decline in the eighteenth century at the time of the Industrial Revolution itself.⁵⁶ One of Barnett's central assertions in *The Audit of War* and *The Lost Victory* was the creation of a "New Jerusalem" of the welfare state as an important contributor to decline, but in this edited book, Clarke argued against this view demonstrating that this had a Keynesian effect on the economy creating both jobs and new demand.⁵⁷ Similarly, with regard to the loss of the empire, both Charles Feinstein and Tony Hopkins argued that the empire was an unnecessary burden and cost to Britain, so its decline proved a positive factor to the nation's finances.⁵⁸ Yet it was Barry Supple's opening essay that gives the most probing analysis on the question of decline. Supple explained that apart from a few blips, growth of GDP in Britain was fairly constant at 2% and that any decline is relative with other nations converging on Britain with their own industrialisation.⁵⁹ Supple was concerned with the perception of decline itself, stating that "'decline" is neither an absolute concept, nor even perhaps a statistical one.'⁶⁰

In *the Politics of Decline*, Tomlinson has emerged as the foremost recent critic of the declinist narrative of British history and its subsequent 'distortion' of twentieth century British history, a theme reinforced in his article *Thrice Denied*. In this article he considered three periods of British history (1870-1914; the inter-war period and post-1945) giving

⁵⁵ Mandler, P. (1997). Against 'Englishness': English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia, 1850-1940. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)*. 7. 155-175.

⁵⁶ Winch, D. *A great deal of ruin in a nation*. in Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. pp. 32-48.

⁵⁷ Clarke and Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. pp. 145 -165. Barnett, C. *The Audit of War*. Barnett, C. *The Lost Victory*.

⁵⁸ Feinstein, C. *The end of empire and the golden age* in Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. pp. 212-260.

⁵⁹ Supple. *Fear of Failing*. In Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. p. 28.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

reasons for the pervasiveness of declinism at these times and rebutting the case for decline in these eras. He gave four reasons against the declinist narrative, primarily questioning the statistical arguments, backed up with three further points. The first of these was against British society and government being more in favour of finance than industry, arguing that there was not necessarily a conflict between these two parts of society and that there was not a conspiracy preferring finance at the expense of industry as some historians like Ewen Green have stated.⁶¹ He also repudiated explanations of Britain's decline based upon the cultural backwardness of Britain in which he used Edgerton's research (detailed below) that has shown Britain to be a technological state that has encouraged science and technology rather than shunned it.⁶² Finally, he rejected the idea that workers and unions have reduced efficiency by arguing that the comparisons made to other countries' workers and unions were always to an unidentified "other".⁶³

David Edgerton, who has been vaunted by Tomlinson as comprehensively demolishing the cultural backwardness view of Britain, also criticised the statistics that supported the case for decline, stressing that the empirical evidence concentrated on too few industries and concluded that the 'relative decline of Britain is not to be equated with it doing badly.'⁶⁴ Edgerton has become the leading anti-declinist voice. His research has questioned not only the cultural explanations of declinism but the idea of decline itself. While the primary aim of his research was to disprove decline, his methods offered new narratives for the study of British culture that are particularly pertinent to the arguments in this thesis, especially in the chapter on science and progress. For example, his research considering Britain as a *Warfare* rather than a *Welfare* State describes Britain as a country that in the period 1920-1970 supported a powerful armaments industry which decreed a broad central role for science and technology.⁶⁵ From this research, Edgerton has offered a new narrative of the culture of Britain in the Second World War which rather than a being a pastoral, reactive country, emerges as an industrial *War Machine* ready to be awakened.⁶⁶ In a similar manner, his

⁶¹ Tomlinson. *Thrice Denied*. p. 244.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 245.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 246 & p. 247

⁶⁴ Edgerton. *Science, Technology and British Industrial Decline*. p. 67.

⁶⁵ Edgerton. *Warfare State*. Daunton. "Gentlemanly Capitalism."

⁶⁶ Edgerton. *Warfare State*.

essay on *England and the Aeroplane* used an abundance of empirical research to highlight a culture that encouraged scientific and technological specialisms, a culture that was present in all areas of British society and its establishments, including its universities.⁶⁷

Moving on from detractors of declinism, the emerging era of post-declinism appears where declinist discourse has been largely muted. This has fitted into post-industrial times: the post-industrial age like the post-declinist age has had limited historical research. There is not a definite date for post-industrialisation, although within the period of the 1979-97 Conservative government massive societal change occurred. Acting in response to declinism, Hewison has described the Thatcher administration creating a complete *volte-face* from post-war consensus politics and a shift not only in British cultural policy but also culture more generally, through promotion of an enterprise culture for Britain.⁶⁸ A simple analysis of statistics highlights that the percentage of labour employed in manufacturing was 23.7% in 1979, 16.3% in 1990 and 9.5% in 2007.⁶⁹ For this thesis 1993 is a pertinent date, marking the end of nationalisation for coal mining. More significantly for Durham, it also marked the end of mining in its coalfield with the closure of Wearmouth colliery. Debates on de-industrialisation created anxiety about decline, while the emergence of declinism was itself concerned with relative reductions in manufacturing outputs.

Yet in the post-industrial era the nation did not collapse, but rather should be seen as being at the beginning of a new epoch. Britain continued to perform in the G8, while GDP and GNP generally rose despite the decline of heavy industry. A paradox emerged: despite concerns by declinists, industrial decline had not precipitated national decline. During the crest of New Labour's economic boom, declinism appeared to be a term from the past itself, as declinism itself was in decline, consigned to research by historians, its impact upon contemporary societies weakening and its voice becoming more muted. Post-industrial Britain appeared to have recovered from its relative decline (which we have noted for many

⁶⁷ Edgerton. *England and the Aeroplane*.

⁶⁸ Hewison, R. (1995). *Culture and Consensus: England, Art and Politics since 1940*. London: Methuen. pp. 207-250.

⁶⁹ UK Government. (2013). *Impact of Government Policies on UK Manufacturing since 1945*. Retrieved, 16th February 2015, from https://.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/277158/ep2-government-policy-since-1945.pdf. p. 8.

historians has been at best viewed as a perception rather than a reality) and embraced a more positive period and identity, which by 2007 meant Tony Blair could talk in his leaving speech, without any irony about Britain being ‘a blessed nation,’ Britons being ‘special’ and ‘the greatest nation on earth.’⁷⁰ This speech, along with the promotion of “Cool Britannia” questioned popular perceptions of decline: surely if decline was widely felt, then such a speech would have been derided by the press? A review of the national newspapers made the following day found no such questioning of Blair’s bold assertions.⁷¹ The reception of this speech can be seen as marking a rejection of perceptions of decline in Britain, with its post-industrial identity victorious from the declinist debate.

The victory over decline was brief, eroding after the global financial crisis of 2007-08 as declinism once more emerged although, morphing into a new character. This new declinism did not place Britain at its centre, instead it offered a new international version. Concerns over global decline emerged before 2007, with Niall Ferguson highlighting anxiety about American decline in 2004.⁷² Writing on western civilization generally, Pascal Bruckner described ‘a fascination with the theme of decline... a simple inversion of progress...it shows that one had risen very high.’⁷³ In 2012, the CGT (France’s largest trade union) was fighting de-industrialisation, revisiting past ground long ceded by British trade unionists.⁷⁴ The debates on decline emerging outside the UK showed the critical nature of understanding the British relationship to decline, a point that serves to explain the interest German scholars have in Britain’s de-industrialisation, as evidenced by their strong numbers attending the 2014 Tübingen workshop on *Riots in Regions of Heavy Industry: Violence, Conflict and Protest in the Twentieth Century*.⁷⁵ Understanding Britain’s pioneering relationship with decline in light of this new international dimension could therefore offer insights relevant

⁷⁰ The Guardian. (2007). Blair Speech: Full Text. *The Guardian*. 10th May 2007.

⁷¹ Author reviewed the national newspapers the next day, although Taylor in *The Guardian* suggested this was an attack on the French President’s remarks of Britain kow-towing to America a week earlier. Taylor, R. Sober Speech from Man Still Yearning for Power. *The Guardian*. 10th May 2007.

⁷² Ferguson, N. (2004). *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. London: Allen Lane.

⁷³ Bruckner, P. (2010). *The Tyranny of Guilt: An Essay on Western Masochism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p. 186.

⁷⁴ Posters calling for saving industry erected by the CGT were seen on a visit to France in December 2012.

⁷⁵ Hordt, A. (2013). Riots in Regions of Heavy Industry – Programme. Retrieved 15th October 2015, from, <http://www.hsozkult.de/event/id/termine-26104?language=en>.

not only to Britain, but also other nations concerned about decline. The most recent phase of change not only offers the most up-to-date insight on potential remedies and strategies to manage decline in the cultural domain, but also represents the culmination of a process. Bruckner argued that 'democracies have unsuspected resources for survival, for the simple reason they are plural.'⁷⁶ It is this survival that provides the key for alternative remedies of decline, through the advocacy and embracing of change. Potently for this thesis, one of the effects of this change was the building of more monuments, which has been valuable for subsequent analysis. Taking the first point, Jeremy Beach described the North-East of England's surge in public monuments as 'an embarrassment of riches', with 180 new sculptures erected in the 1990s compared to thirty-five in the 1980s.⁷⁷ Considering the case study of coal mining in Durham, he noted that this region was characterised as having one of the greatest concentrations of public art in Britain, a similar rise having occurred more recently in other parts of the country.⁷⁸

We will recount that Supple viewed declinism as an ideology. He stated that his interest in decline is in understanding the:

perennial clash between human aspirations and social realities, in the vagaries of the links between organisations and markets, ... in the need to place the world as it is or was against the images of the world as humans perceive it.⁷⁹

Arguing that these images were 'frequently the only "realities" available to us', and in order to examine historical processes, it was necessary to understand 'the nature and workings of the images *as images*'.⁸⁰ Supple and Cannadine noted the paradox that although Britain has ostensibly been in a period of decline during the twentieth century, it has also been an 'Age

⁷⁶ Bruckner. *Tyranny of Guilt*.

⁷⁷ Beach, J. (2000). *An Embarrassment of Riches: Recent Public Sculpture*, in Usherwood. *Public Sculptures*. p. xx.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

⁷⁹ Supple, B. (1997). *Introduction: national performance in a personal perspective*. In Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. p. 1.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*. p. 2.

of Affluence' for its citizens.⁸¹ In terms of actually calling decline a myth, in his synopsis on declinism for the Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Tomlinson wrote that 'declaring decline a myth...has yet to find its bold proponent.'⁸² The proponent was soon found in the American historian George Bernstein who used the idea of affluence and a fairer society to suggest that there has been a "myth" of decline in Britain.⁸³ Certainly ideas of decline have changed over time in Britain, these ideas of the mythological properties of decline provide a link to the consideration of the relevance of considering the case studies as myths.

⁸¹ Supple. *Fear of Failing*. In Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. p. 9-11, Cannadine, D. *Apocalypse when?* In Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. p. 276.

⁸² Tomlinson, J. *Economic Policy* in Floud, R. & Johnson, P. (eds.) (2004). *Cambridge Economic history of Modern Britain Volume 3: Structural Change and Growth: 1939-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 206.

⁸³ Bernstein, G. (2004). *The Myth of Decline: The Rise of Britain Since 1945*. London: Pimlico.

Myths as Research

This sense of radical discontinuity of present from past is an essential element in what eventually took form as the Myth of War. I use that phrase in this book to mean not a falsification of reality, but an imaginative version of it, the story of the war that has evolved, and has come to be accepted as true. The construction of that story began during the war, and grew in the years that followed, assimilating along the way what was compatible with its judgements, and rejecting what was not. The Myth is not the War entire: it is a tale that confirms a set of attitudes, an idea of what the war was and what it meant.⁸⁴

In his work *A War Imagined* Samuel Hynes posited a transferable idea of how to use myth in historical research. For his work on the First World War he proposed that a myth was neither the reality nor an untrue version of events but a generally accepted narrative. It is proposed that this idea of myth - which as Hynes noted evolves - will be used in this thesis, with Captain Scott, the Dunkirk Evacuation or the coal miner in Durham taking the place of the “war”. This section will emphasise the importance of myths as research while the following chapter will consider how the myths of the case studies have developed over time.

Myths have been widely studied from a range of academic perspective. Joseph Campbell has highlighted the essential nature of myths to humans, stating that: ‘From primeval to post-industrial times, the dual nature of myths as they influence and are in turn influenced by ourselves has added colour and resonance to our lives.’⁸⁵ For the historian, studying the construction and representations of myths offers a possible insight into the past and the present. It is the central assertion of this thesis that by studying the relationship of decline to the three separate myths which emerged around Captain Scott, the Dunkirk Evacuation and coal miners in Durham, we can acquire a wider understanding of notions of decline, of myth-building and of the case studies themselves. By looking through the prism of decline, this thesis will argue that despite sophisticated communication technology and widespread literacy, stories are still used liberally to make sense of our lives and moreover that these

⁸⁴ Hynes, S. (1990). *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*. Bodley Head: London. p. ix.

⁸⁵ Campbell, J. (1949). *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p. 3.

myths are viewed everyday in the guise of memorials. Campbell believed a continuity existed in the importance of myths to contemporary society⁸⁶ and in a similar vein, Connelly has shown, through the specific example of Britain's memory of the Second World War, how Britain's relationship to and memory of its past has informed how the war was remembered. His valid and concise appraisal of the importance of myths is highly relevant to this thesis, especially his reasoning that myths, 'help people relate to the past...they help people make sense of their lives; they provide a popular memory of the past, which can shape expectations of the present and future.'⁸⁷

The way that historians have investigated the construction of myths has been relevant to this thesis. This research is classified within two typologies: myth debunking; and using the meanings of the myths, sometimes through understanding their counter-narrative, to give a wider understanding of respective societies. History as a discipline is intimately intertwined with myths and as such understanding the way myths are constructed offers a way of re-interpreting relationships with the past, providing an insight into the mechanics of making history. Adding some credence to this assertion, a number of eminent historians have observed this centrality of myths to history. Some, like John Tosh in his analysis of historical theory, view the interpretation of historical and contemporary myths as an important aspect of history,⁸⁸ while others like Raphael Samuel have placed myths into a dominant role arguing for 'the universality of myth as a constituent of human experience, lying behind any historical evidence.'⁸⁹ Rather than cutting through the myth, this latter view advocates that we recognise it as integral to popular identity, leading some historians to re-evaluate the relationship of individual themes to myths. It is this approach of identifying themes within changing myths that will be used as evidence for this research. Although research on myths is considerable and other relevant research will be evaluated later in this introduction and in chapter 2, it would seem clear that no research has been undertaken on the use of myths and their cultural representations in the understanding of declinism. However, both

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. viii. The book itself has shaped modern mythology, highlighting the extenuating influences in the world of myths. For example, George Lucas used this book as inspiration for *Star Wars*. Larsen, S. & Larsen, R. (1991). *Joseph Campbell: A Fire in the Mind*. New York: Anchor Books. p. 541.

⁸⁷ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* p. 3.

⁸⁸ Tosh, J. (2000). *The Pursuit of History, Third Edition*. London: Longmann. pp. 32-3.

⁸⁹ Samuel, R. & Thompson, P. (eds.) (1990). *The Myths We Live By*. London: Routledge. p. 6.

Captain Scott and the Dunkirk Evacuation have had wide research undertaken on their counter-narratives as a form of the first typology identified – “myth-busting” – which will be reviewed below.

The identification of the importance of myths has placed “myth-busting” at the core of historical writing. Axiomatically, historians want to make their version of the history that they are researching the received version. In the process of portraying their research as above all others, previous research is re-appraised to give their new definitive version of the past. These new “revisionist” versions often discredit previous historical interpretations of the subject. Roland Huntford’s assessment of Scott and Amundsen was pivotal in providing a non-heroic counter-narrative for Captain Scott, while Clive Ponting and Nicolas Harman’s research on Dunkirk provided a partial contrary version to the standard evacuation tale.⁹⁰ These examples for the case studies fall into a wider historical tradition. Strachey was a pioneer in the technique of reconsidering public personas with his *Eminent Victorians*, in which he re-assessed key nineteenth century figures such as the domineering, bed-bound bully Florence Nightingale, and General Gordon, the thrusting self-publicist with an unconventional personal life. His approach was sensational, and represented the beginning of a significant shift away from a hagiographical approach to the biography of public figures.⁹¹ With the way opened by Strachey, debunking became a popular area of historical research, often peppered with a political bias. For example, Malcolm Smith and Connelly both observe in their analyses of the memory of the Second World War how much of the history and the memory of the war had a left- or right-wing bias. Left-wing versions have focused on the ‘People’s War’ – the idea that the people of Britain came together to fight the war irrespective of gender, class or occupation (a concept investigated by Sonya Rose)⁹² – while right-wing versions have remembered the patriotism, evidence of national character and the professionalism of the armed forces.⁹³ Clearly, historical analysis has itself informed

⁹⁰ Huntford, *Last Place on Earth*. Harman, N. (1980). *Dunkirk: The Necessary Myth*. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Ponting, C. (1990). *1940: Myth and Reality*. London: Hamilton.

⁹¹ Strachey, L. (1918). *Eminent Victorians*. London: Putnam.

⁹² Rose. *People’s War*.

⁹³ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* pp. 10-14. Smith, M. (2000). *Britain and 1940: History, Myth and Popular Memory*. London: Routledge. pp. 12-3.

part of the process of memory, and this is a process that this thesis will observe using three case studies drawing on the myths outlined in Chapter 2.

Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's investigation into the invention of tradition pioneered research not only into how some myths were invented but also sought to find the underlying social, political and cultural forces that created the reasons for myth creation. Within this work, David Cannadine developed this approach when he documented and analysed the increase in pageantry in Britain from the 1800s, discussing events such as Edward VII's reviving of the State Opening of Parliament. He concluded with the paradox that as the monarchy became weaker their ceremonies became larger and more elaborate,⁹⁴ transforming the monarch into a symbol of 'consensus and continuity.'⁹⁵ The monarchy and its pageantry has proved to be a fertile field for studying the inventions of tradition, with Frank Prochaska in particular showing how the Royal Family emerged into a "Welfare Monarchy".⁹⁶ In related studies, Janette Martin and Paul Ward have documented how the traditions of the Tower of London have been formed by - and themselves influenced - perceptions of Britishness.⁹⁷ These examples show how investigating inventions of tradition can help us appreciate the construction of history itself and the relevance of using cultural representations to explore myths and history.

The work of Anthony Pollard and Graeme Morton provide excellent illustrations of how these notions of the construction of myths and the use of cultural representations can be used to understand wider aspects of medieval and contemporary society. The masterly academic analysis of Pollard's *Imagining Robin Hood* identified both differences in the story and key themes, which in an *Annales* tradition provided interesting insights into medieval

⁹⁴ Cannadine, D. *The Context, performance and meaning of Ritual: British Monarchy and the 'Invention of tradition', c. 1820-1977*. In Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (eds.) (1983). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 121.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 133.

⁹⁶ Prochaska, F. (1995). *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy*. Yale: Yale University Press.

⁹⁷ Ward, P. (2012). Beefeaters, British History And the Empire in Asia and Australasia since 1826. *Britain and the World*. 5 (2). 240-258. Martin, J. (2013). Reinventing the Tower Beefeater in the Nineteenth Century. *History*. 98. 730-749.

life.⁹⁸ These included explorations of how the story reflected contemporary justice; religious life (in particular the veneration of Mary-Marian); fellowship and fraternity; the otherness of the greenwood with its eternal spring; and authority and social order.⁹⁹ On the other hand, Morton used memorials to William Wallace to highlight connections to a growing Scottish nationalism from the nineteenth century onwards. Although Marinell Ash had tracked the decline of the Wallace myth in 1990,¹⁰⁰ by 1998 Morton was witnessing a re-emergence of interest in the Wallace story, recording its inception and its relation to the nineteenth century with the 're-imagination of the nation' and its literary history.¹⁰¹ Morton's research, particularly when juxtaposed with that of Ash, highlights the changeable nature of myths and legends, and how these developments reflect contemporary society and its concerns. This quality will be one of the main aspects explored in detail for the three case studies of this thesis in the context of perceptions of decline.

As an ideology, declinism has its detractors as well as believers. These opposing views to declinism highlight its changeable form and as such mimics many of the inconstant characteristics of myths. Edgerton has led this view, discounting the received myth of Britain's decline by using examples that did not fit into the established narrative. He began his arguments centred around the principle that a dominant tenet of declinism was that the culture of Britain stifled technological progress.¹⁰² His research in *England and the Aeroplane* highlighted the presence of an innovative and advanced industry that could be used as evidence to reject comprehensive aspects of declinism.¹⁰³ His claim that Britain was a Warfare State in pursuit of military spending and research rather than the conventional concept of it being a Welfare State is significant, as is his contention that Britain was a martial nation of experts rather than a pastoral nation of amateurs during the Second World

⁹⁸ Pollard, A. (2004). *Imagining Robin Hood*. London: Routledge. The wider findings and approach are reminiscent to Davies' research. Davies, N. Z. (1983). *The Return of Martin Guerre*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

⁹⁹ Pollard. *Imagining Robin Hood*.

¹⁰⁰ Samuel, & Thompson. *Myths We Live By*. pp. 83-110.

¹⁰¹ Morton, G. The Most Efficacious Patriot: The Heritage of William Wallace in Nineteenth Century Scotland. *The Scottish Historical Review*. LXXVII. 224-251. p. 231.

¹⁰² Edgerton. *Science, Technology and Industrial Decline*.

¹⁰³ Edgerton. *England and the Aeroplane*.

War, both add weight to his rejection of the myth of decline.¹⁰⁴ Waqar Zaidi, one of Edgerton's researchers, has analysed the expertise of Barnes Wallis and provided evidence against the prevailing declinist rhetoric.¹⁰⁵ This expanding research highlights the relevance of using the changeable qualities of declinism as a paradigm for exploring the equally adaptable nature of the myths from the case studies.

Using Hynes previously-quoted characterisation, there is an understanding that all three case study myths confirm a set of attitudes, an idea of what Scott, Dunkirk or the coal miner in Durham meant. For Scott, his story initially provoked national mourning and has continued to fascinate the public as evidenced by a series of monuments, museums and films. The shaping of Scott's memory was clearly influenced by the subsequent Great War, a pivotal event for twentieth century Britain. His story, especially at its tragic heart, provides examples of him acting in a 'different world to today', in what is coined 'the heroic age of Antarctic exploration.'¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the straightforward tale of the Dunkirk evacuation is an early event in the Second World War, but it has become imbued with much more than the evacuation as the public increasingly came to evoke the term and feeling of 'the Dunkirk Spirit'. This is rarely defined, but most Britons would understand it at its most basic level as being a positive emotion, with many understanding it to mean not giving up. It also owes a particular place in the national lexicon in its assertion of the special nature of Britons with its language of "deliverance" and "miracles". Coal miners in Durham is a wider topic but the images this term conjures up will be broadly similar to most Britons, shaped by the times they are in, but changing from hero - saving fellow workers from danger - to a militant striker, or a brave worker helping the war effort, or an archetypal working class hero. Chapter 2 will consider the evolution of the mythical elements of the case studies in more detail.

¹⁰⁴ Edgerton. *Warfare State*. Edgerton, D. (2011). *Britain's War Machine: Weapons, Resources and Experts in the Second World War*. London: Allen Lane.

¹⁰⁵ Zaidi, S. W. H. (2007). The Janus-face of Techno-nationalism: Barnes Wallis and the "Strength of England". *Technology and Culture*. 49. 62-88.

¹⁰⁶ This term now in common parlance appears to have emanated from: Maxtone-Graham, J. (1988). *Safe Return Doubtful – The Heroic Age of Polar Exploration*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Myth can therefore be seen to connect the case studies to one another and to the overarching theme of decline itself. The chameleon-like property of myths adds interest to the relationship of the case studies to decline and the themes of gender, class and community and science and progress, in as much as it gives the possibility of changing narratives and cultural representations. The interactions of decline to these themes forms an important part of the analysis for this thesis. Therefore this review of literature leads us to a set of research questions which will be used to explore the hypothesis of: 'To what extent do twentieth century cultural representations in Britain reflect prevalent ideas and experiences of decline and declinism?', the research questions being:

- How have ideas about decline changed throughout the twentieth century?
- How could understanding the myths of the case studies help to appreciate their potential relationship to decline?
- How do the cultural representations analysed directly relate to the different types of decline identified by Tomlinson and post-declinism?
- How do the cultural representations reflect the different types of decline when considered in the context of gender; class and community; and science and progress?

Methodology

The myths of Captain Scott, the Dunkirk Evacuation and coal miners in Durham in the context of declinism will be the case studies investigated, but what of the evidence that will be used to explore these themes? A broad definition of memorials will be used to answer the research questions, and for the purposes of this study these cultural representations will include monuments which were defined as static public memorials; celluloid representations from cinema and television; museum exhibitions and heritage attractions; events and ceremonies related to the case studies and their myths; and artwork where appropriate.¹⁰⁷ Within this wide range of cultural artefacts, the main focus for memorials will be on monuments, with other cultural representations used to supplement the findings from this main source. Images of the most relevant memorials cited will be presented within the text of this thesis, additional material will be referenced to images available on the web and a full list of memorials utilised can be found in the Appendix.

Identification of the memorials was made in five ways, three of which were formal traditional approaches, with the other two more informal. With this five-pronged approach a near-complete identification of the cultural representations for the case studies was reached. The first and potentially most fruitful mode of data collection was using searches on national databases: The War Museum's War Memorials Register, through which all of the ninety-eight monuments to the Dunkirk Evacuation were found; The Public Monuments and Sculpture Association (PMSA) database also gave details of monuments to mining and Antarctica; while the 'Captain Scott Centenary' gave a vast account of the many exhibitions held for the centennial of his polar trek.¹⁰⁸ Still using the substantial information available on the internet, the second method of collecting potential data was by using search engines to find terms like "Mining Memorials in Durham." This search mode took longer but often

¹⁰⁷ An example of an examination of this wide encompassing idea of memorials can be found in: Barczewski, S. (2007). *Antarctic Destinies: Scott, Shackleton and the Changing Face of Heroism*. London: Continuum Books. Jones. *Last Great Quest*.

¹⁰⁸ Imperial War Museum. War Memorials Register. Retrieved 11th December 2011, from, www.ukniwm.org.uk/memorials/search. N.B. The database is constantly changing but the research for this thesis on Dunkirk was undertaken at that point. Public Monuments and Sculpture Association. National Recording Project Database. Retrieved 19th October 2015, from, www.pmsa.org.uk. Scott Centenary. Calendar of Events. Retrieved 19th October 2015, from, www.scott100.org.

gave interesting results such as newspaper articles on the reception of these memorials. Using this method, the particularly illuminating County Durham brochures on mining memorials were found.¹⁰⁹ However a note must be made on these internet sites that like the brochures that they contain, they too are ephemeral. The web references chosen for this thesis were assessed by the researcher to be the most robust ones available, where possible supported by large organisations like the PMSA but as Jill Lepore states, the average life of a web page is 100 days, so even these robust websites are by no means perpetual.¹¹⁰ A note must be made that where images are used from the internet the photographer is cited wherever possible and the date of the photograph. However authors and photographers are not always cited on the internet so in some cases only the web page will be cited. Equally some web pages do not give a date, so in these cases the retrieved date is the only one cited in the thesis. The third mode of data collection was the more traditional use of books and catalogues on the memorials. The appendix in Jones' book detailing Scott's memorials was invaluable, Emery's book on mining banners was useful, the PMSA publication on sculptures in North East England was illuminating and important for the critiques it offered, whilst the Public Catalogues Foundation's books of 'Oil Paintings in Public Ownership' were vital to identifying artworks.¹¹¹ The Appendices and notes made by Carolan helped to ascertain that the relevant films had been identified for Scott and particularly Dunkirk.¹¹² Another valuable available film source was the BFI's 'Portrait of a Miner,' which allowed an extensive viewing of archival material.¹¹³ Other sources in this mode were specific texts such as Saunders' book on maritime memorials, David Wilson's book on Cheltenham and Antarctica, and Paul Davies' work on memorials in South Devon.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Durham County Council. (2000). Easington Art: A guide to Art Work in East Durham. (Leaflet in researcher's private collection.)

¹¹⁰ Lepore, J. (2015). The Cobweb: Can the Internet be Archived? *The New Yorker*. 26.1.2015.

¹¹¹ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. Emery, N. (1998). *Banners of the Durham Coalfield*. Stroud, Sutton Publishing. Usherwood. *Public Sculptures*. Roe, S. (2008). *Oil Paintings in Public Ownership: Tyne and Wear Museums*. London: Public Catalogue Foundation.

¹¹² Carolan, V. (2012). *British Maritime History, National Identity and Film, 1900-1960*. (Doctoral Thesis). Queen Mary, University of London.

¹¹³ Hall, I. Russell, P. Cranston, R. & Enticknap, I. (eds.) (2009). *National Coal Board Collection: Volume one: Portrait of a Miner*, [DVD and Booklet]. London: BFI.

¹¹⁴ Saunders, D. (1996). *Britain's Maritime Memorials and Mementos*. Somerset: Patrick Stephens. Wilson, D. M. & Elder, D. B. (2000). *Cheltenham in Antarctica: The Life of Edward Wilson*. Cheltenham: Reardon. Davies, P. (2011). *From South Devon to the South Pole: Plymouth and Devon's Connections with the Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration (1901-22)*. Plymouth: Kingsbridge Books.

Two more informal sources were necessary to ensure as many memorials as possible were included. The first was critical to the mining memorials in County Durham. Although recent memorials tended to have their own page on the internet and memorials that contained some artistic merit had an entry in the PMSA database, some local memorials had neither. Instances of these were mining wheels, mining tubs and mining images used in signs for village boundaries. Therefore, journeys were undertaken to former coal mining areas and these memorials sought out. Similarly, a visit was undertaken to the annual Durham Miners' Gala and photographs were taken of the mining banners. The final source of information, especially for mining memorials, was engaging with local communities and asking about existing and potential memorials, with these discussions sometimes being particularly illuminating about aspects of the memorials' inception and erection.

Once the memorials were identified, then visits were undertaken to as many of them as possible. Seeing an image of a memorial is no substitute for actually viewing it *in situ*. Like many life experiences, the expectation of the memorial is usually different to its reality with the location, size or proximity to relevant features coming into play. For example, the memorial lighthouse to Scott at Roath Park, Cardiff was found to be a much larger structure than anticipated and the detail in the memorials like the bas-reliefs of Scott's memorial at Devonport can also yield an incredible amount of information.¹¹⁵ Sometimes the physical geography is surprising and noteworthy, such as Scott's memorial in the inland community of Binton in Warwickshire. At Portsmouth Cathedral, Admiral Ramsay's memorial window for Dunkirk is significant in its proximity to the Queen Alexandra Nursing Corps memorial, which only a visit would make clear. While detailed images of the parts of the Scott window at Emmanuel Church, Exeter, directly relating to Scott were available on the internet, the wider context of this window was needed for this research and once visited gave amazing medieval detail, placing it within the context of the chivalry of the distant past. Within museums, exhibits are subject to change, therefore subsequent visits can highlight significant areas to investigate like the removal of Scott's portrait in The National Portrait Gallery. Attending ceremonies of the case studies has also yielded interesting information

¹¹⁵ Figure 16 and Wikimedia. Scott Memorial, Roath Park. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/64/Scott_Memorial,_Roath_Park_Lake,_Cardiff.jpg.

such as opening ceremonies for monuments or the 70th anniversary of the Dunkirk evacuation at Dunkirk itself. The most striking finding has been that these cultural representations continue to change and interact with contemporary society. Thus a detailed understanding and knowledge of this comprehensive collection of cultural representations ensured that the most relevant examples were used to support the arguments presented in the chapters.

During this iterative research, the themes that were identified in the first part of the introduction were observed in the cultural representations. These themes were: gender; class and community; and science and progress, interacting with each of the case studies to different degrees. It was initially anticipated that the research into Scott, Dunkirk and coal mining in Durham and their myths would follow a similar approach to the researcher's MA thesis which compared the celluloid representations of the experiences of Allied prisoners of war in Germany in World War II to the primary sources.¹¹⁶ Comparative approaches work well for two case studies as shown by Vall's study of Malmo and Newcastle, while Schivelbusch used this approach for three case studies when considering the culture of defeat.¹¹⁷ However, a strict comparative approach was not suitable given the strong emerging themes of the case studies, so a thematic approach was developed along the lines of Rieger's study of Germany and Britain's aircraft, cinema and passenger liners.¹¹⁸ The themes identified through preliminary analysis of the case studies and their cultural representations to decline as stated above are: gender; class and community; and science and progress.

Having already appraised decline and declinism in the first section of this introduction, a brief review will be undertaken for the other three themes, with a more comprehensive review undertaken on the case studies themselves in the following chapter. Starting with the theme of gender, all three had strong masculine themes but exploring the underlying

¹¹⁶ Morrell, V. (2006). *The Celluloid Myth: Exploring the myth and experience of Second World War Allied Prisoners in Germany*. (MA dissertation). University of Teesside.

¹¹⁷ Vall, N. (2007). *Cities in Decline? A Comparative History of Malmo and Newcastle after 1945*. Malmo: Malmo Hogskola. Schivelbusch, W. (2003). *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning and Recovery*. London: Granta.

¹¹⁸ Rieger. *Technology and the Culture of Modernity*.

reasons for these strong intrinsic links to masculinity proved a fruitful area of analysis for this thesis. It could be taken at face value that all three case studies are strong masculine case studies and any gender references in the cultural representations could be read within this context. So, it would seem that Scott's expedition is seen as an entirely male enterprise, while the Dunkirk Evacuation evacuated the male BEF to Britain, while Parliament had limited coal mining to being a male-only occupation in 1841. Yet when considering the potential feminine role, it is obvious that it is more appropriate to view the case studies through the prism of gender, analysing not only the significance of masculinity but also its interaction with and relation to any feminine themes that are potentially valid, suppressed or which have been removed. Examining coal mining in this way highlights that women were expressly excluded from coal mining (by law). Similarly, Scott's expedition, by following a tradition of British Antarctic expedition personnel coming mainly from the Royal Navy, allowed it to avoid the late nineteenth and early twentieth century trend for female explorers. At Dunkirk, women took part in the evacuation but have been denied a part in the myth. In coal mining, although women did not extract coal from the seams and regardless of any above-seam work undertaken at the mines themselves, their broader role was essential to the communities and coal miners themselves. Coal mining was a harsh job where miners needed to be looked after at home and women not only prepared the home and food for the men but until the erection of pit head baths would undertake the considerable occupation of cleaning their family members. As with the other two case studies, the potential feminine role in coal mining has been underplayed, leading to the female voice usually being denied in memorials until recently.

Although gender history has been a growing area of research, there has only been one investigation of Captain Scott (undertaken by Jones) that examines the place of gender in decline, while in regard to coal mining specifically, Natasha Vall has noted that there is a general 'absence of a broader scholarly history of women in the North East.'¹¹⁹ That accepted, the key texts deployed for this theme in the research are - for masculinity - Mark Girouard's work on chivalry and John Tosh's study of the crisis in masculinity. With regard to the feminine side of gender, Angela John and Anna Clark's investigations of the diminishing

¹¹⁹ Jones. The Truth about Captain Scott. Vall, N. (2011). *Cultural Region*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 96.

voice of women in industrialisation will be key, John looking at women in mining particularly.¹²⁰

In the case of class and community, class too has strong connections to the case studies albeit in different forms. For Scott, while his and particularly Captain Oates' sacrifice are often viewed within a prism of upper-class Edwardian stereotypes, the subsequent mistreatment of the lower-ranked Petty Officer Edgar Evans in memorials, films and literature gives a startling insight into contemporaneous ideas of class and masculinity. Conversely, Dunkirk was an event that brought classes together although subsequent cultural representations have sought to introduce an officer-class narrative to the evacuation. On the other hand coal mining is a frequently used leitmotif of the working classes as shown by the importance of these industrial workers and communities in seminal studies of the working classes undertaken by Eric Hobsbawm, John Benson, Joanna Bourke, Mike Savage and Anna Clark.¹²¹ Extensive research has been undertaken on the coal miners themselves, the most influential of these studies being by Huw Beynon, Royden Harrison, Terry Austin, Raphael Samuel, Rob Colls and Angela John.¹²² Oxford University Press, pertinently recognising the industry's and workers' significance to British history, commissioned a six-volume history of the industry of which five volumes had been published by 2015.¹²³

¹²⁰ Girouard. *Return to Camelot*. Tosh. *A Man's Place*. John. *By the Sweat of their Brow*. Clark. *The Struggle for Breeches*.

¹²¹ Hobsbawm, E. (1984). *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson. pp. 194-213. Benson. *The Working Class*. Bourke. *Working Class Cultures*. Savage, M. & Miles A. (1994). *The Remaking of the British Working Class: 1840-1940*. London: Routledge. Clark. *The Struggle for Breeches*.

¹²² Beynon, H. & Austin, T. (1994). *Masters and Servants: Class and Patronage in the Making of a Labour Organisation*. London: Oram Press. Harrison, R. (ed.) (1978). *The Independent Collier: The Coalminer as Archetypal Proletarian Reconsidered*. Sussex: Harvester Press. Colls, R. (1987). *The pitmen of the Northern Coalfield: Work, Culture and Protest, 1790-1850*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Samuel, R. (ed.) (1977). *Miners, Quarrymen and Saltworkers*. London: Routledge. John. *By the Sweat of their Brow*.

¹²³ Church, R. (1986). *The History of the British Coal Industry: Volume 3 1830-1914: Victorian Pre-Eminence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Supple, B. (1987). *The History of the British Coal Industry: Volume 4. 1913-1946: The Political Economy of Decline*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ashworth & Pegg. *History of British Coal Industry: 1946-82*.

Given its importance to considerations of class, research on coal mining has not been restricted to the industry but has also been undertaken on its wider communities. Nostalgia has been an important consideration with regard to these communities. Colls has made particularly strong correlations between mining, community and nostalgia while the noteworthy social study *Coal is our Life* (where a mining community was studied in the 1950s) have both contributed to the ideas in this thesis on this theme of nostalgia.¹²⁴ The past viewed from this perspective tends to be more distant than one would draw upon in a more rigorous historical version. In this nostalgic version, coal mining has strong similarities to Scott. For example, within this nostalgic framing Scott often becomes an Arthurian Knight, while modern coal miners are often located in what could be termed nostalgically as the “How Green Was My Valley” school of remembrance where potential examples of modernity are eschewed.¹²⁵ In a slightly different vein, Dunkirk has become a signifier for the start of the “People’s War”, part of the nostalgic way Britons have remembered the Second World War in which Britons from all classes, ages, genders and backgrounds are recalled as having worked together.¹²⁶

It is possibly in the theme of science and progress that the case studies have their most striking similarities and differences. The cultural representations for each of the three case studies can be used as examples of progress in amelioration of public spaces or the rise of leisure and heritage. Within these considerations the work by Hewison is invaluable. He, like Wright before him, argued that a predilection with heritage shows evidence of decline and an inability to deal with the present.¹²⁷ Robert Lumley on the other hand has argued that these heritage sites and organisations are an intrinsic sign of modernity.¹²⁸ Each of the three case studies has until the twenty-first century had similar depictions of science and

¹²⁴ Colls, R. *When we lived in Communities: Working Class Culture and its Critics*, in Colls & Roger. *Cities of Ideas*. Dennis, Henriques & Slaughter. *Coal is Our Life*.

¹²⁵ Mark Girouard uses Captain Scott as the example par excellence of the Victorian Knight in, Girouard, M. *Return to Camelot*. For mining: the book and particularly the film *How Green Was My Valley* are nostalgic representations of mining life. Llewellyn, R. *How Green Was My Valley?* (1939). London: Michael Joseph. Zanuck, D. (Producer) & Ford, J. (Director). (1941). *How Green Was My Valley?* USA: Twentieth Century Fox.

¹²⁶ Rose, *Which People’s War?*

¹²⁷ Hewison. *Heritage Industry*. Wright. *On Living in an Old Country*.

¹²⁸ Lumley, R. *The Debate on Heritage Reviewed*. In Corsane, G. (ed.) (2004). *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader* London: Routledge. pp. 15-25.

technological progress in their cultural representations. In this genre potentially more modern contemporaneous images were suppressed in favour of older and more traditional depictions, for example the motif of pick-axes in mining rather than power tools. However the big difference for the case studies is that this changed for Scott after the turn of the century as his narrative became more scientific. For this area the wider work of Martin Daunton, Bernhard Rieger and Edgerton will be drawn upon and while these historians have considered the cultural significance of responses to modernity and technology, none have used cultural representations as an empirical source of data, nor has their research explored the case studies used in this thesis specifically.¹²⁹

These themes of science and progress, however relevant to the case studies, have not been a popular area of portrayal in their cultural representations. With regard to the historiography, historians who have written on this theme are scarce but Rieger's work on modernity has been important as have the debates on heritage detailed above. Taking each of the case studies once more in turn with regard to this theme, Jones has observed in his explanation of the ideas of nostalgia in narratives of Captain Scott of 'the strangeness of a world where polar knights rode prototype tanks...'¹³⁰ Scott was a moderniser, pioneering and testing new technologies such as these tanks and in his commercialisation, seeking sponsors and linking advertisements to the expedition. For Dunkirk, an alternative narrative to that of the rousing spontaneous assistance given to evacuate the men as part of the nostalgic "Dunkirk Spirit", was that it was a tightly-managed military evacuation using modern communications and machinery, which as David Edgerton has shown was characteristic of a country with considerable resources and expertise.¹³¹ As has already been asserted, nostalgic representations of coal mining in Durham abound despite as Ashworth and Pegg recount that the nationalisation of the coal industry heralded its widespread modernisation.¹³²

¹²⁹ Daunton, M. & Rieger, B. (eds.) (2001). *Meanings of Modernity: Britain From the Late-Victorian Era to World War II*, Oxford: Berg. Rieger. *Technology and the Culture of Modernity*. Edgerton. *Warfare State*. Edgerton. *Science, Technology and Industrial Decline*. Edgerton. *England and the Aeroplane*. Edgerton. *Britain's War Machine*.

¹³⁰ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. p. 13.

¹³¹ Edgerton, D. *Britain's War Machine*.

¹³² Ashworth & Pegg. *History of the British Coal Industry: 1946-82*.

Having presented the themes and hypothesis, the structure of the thesis and how it aims to answer the research questions will be set out. This introduction has answered the questions on how ideas of decline have changed throughout the twentieth century in Britain, identifying with three types of decline: quasi-declinism; declinism and post-declinism. The introduction has also answered the question of why myths are an important area of study in modern history, as reading their changing shapes gives greater understanding of the wider societal pressures and changes. The next chapter seeks to answer the question of how do we define the case studies and adds to the question of how using understanding myths are important for the study of modern history. The third chapter, on decline, addresses the question of how the cultural representations directly relate to the different types of decline. The final three chapters explore the question of how the cultural representations relate to the different types of decline through the themes of gender, class and community and science and progress.

Chapter 2 – The Myths

*The myth is not the War entire: it is a tale that confirms a set of attitudes, an idea of what war was and what it meant.*¹

*Strong myths never die. Sometimes they die down, but they don't die out. In many ways, myths cannot really be translated with any accuracy from their native soil—from their own place and time. We will never know exactly what they meant to their ancient audiences. But myths can be used—as they have been, so frequently—as the foundation stones for new renderings that find their meanings within their own times and places.*²

Both of the quotes above highlight the importance of the context of myths. As was shown in the previous chapter of this thesis – we could just as easily swap Scott, Dunkirk or the Durham coal miner, for ‘war’ in Hynes’ quote. In a similar vein Margaret Atwood argues for understanding how myths speak to our ‘own time’ and also how previous meanings can be lost by the passing of time. This chapter will provide an overview of the case studies and identify their mythical characteristics. It will explore how the myths generated about our case studies may have interacted with ideas of declinism and how they connected to the other themes of gender; class and community; and science and progress. A central premise of this thesis is that key to undertaking this task, a complete understanding of the case studies and their underlying myths is needed, including a full identification of their cultural representations. The three case studies of Captain Scott, the Dunkirk Evacuation and the changing image of the Durham coal miner have been dynamic features of the twentieth century. All three are emotive examples that have occurred in what Hobsbawm would observe were ‘interesting times.’³ Scott died at a time of change, just before the seismic cultural event of the First World War; Dunkirk is the first of the three pivotal events (the Blitz and Battle of Britain being the others) of the British narrative of the Second World War;

¹ Hynes. *War Imagined*. p. ix.

² Atwood M. (28.11.05). *The Myths Series and Me*. Retrieved 24th November 2012, from, <http://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/columns-and-blogs/soapbox/article/37037-the-myths-series-and-me.html>.

³ Hobsbawm, E. (2002). *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life*. London: Allen Lane.

whilst coal mining generally is seen as the battleground for Britain's industrial relations record and in 1984-5 as the epitome of the clash between working-class traditions and Thatcherism. Within the context of myths explaining 'the forces of change,' Smith sees them as seeking to 'articulate the different experiences of the many in an overarching and unifying explanation.'⁴ This chapter will show how these explanations are sometimes difficult to define, being subject to changes that reflect contemporary society as Atwood suggests and as Hynes advocates often confirming 'a set of attitudes'.

Captain Scott's image as a paradigm of sacrifice of a bygone age has endured enormous changes in society across the twentieth century. Initially he was used expediently in the First World War as a role-model of sacrifice for the nation, while as Jones argues even the re-evaluation of his reputation in the 1970s by Huntford and the consequent ongoing debate ensured he has continued to attract media interest.⁵ Furthermore, early twentieth century Antarctic and Arctic exploration remains a popular subject in the early twenty-first century as evidence in this thesis attests, with the Edwardian period now named *The Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration*.⁶ The myth of Captain Scott has remained nebulous and part of this thesis will attempt to make a clear definition. The myth surrounding the evacuation of Dunkirk, while ubiquitous in its use, is again elusive. This event has given rise to the phrase, the "Dunkirk Spirit", still widely used in popular culture despite being 75 years old.⁷ As Summerfield contends it can be described loosely as 'a united British response to any circumstances of extreme adversity'⁸ with key signifiers of the original event being 'beaches' and 'little ships.' It acquired literary significance from almost as soon as it happened, as Paul Gallico's *Snow Goose* attests alongside the more recent *Atonement* by Ian McEwan.⁹ The image of coal miners has been subject to great change during the twentieth century. Unlike the other two myths, representations of the Durham coal miner have undergone rapid

⁴ Smith. *Britain and 1940*. p. 89.

⁵ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 257-61. Jones, M. (2011). From "Noble Example" to "Potty Pioneer": Rethinking Scott of the Antarctic c1945-2011. *Polar Journal*. 1. 191-206.

⁶ See Chapter 1, Footnote 106.

⁷ Search of Google or the phrase "Dunkirk Spirit" gave almost 29,000 hits on a search undertaken on 22nd December 2015.

⁸ Summerfield. 'Dunkirk'. p. 791.

⁹ Gallico, P. (1941). *The Snow Goose*. London: Michael Joseph. McEwan, I. (2001). *Atonement*. London: Jonathan Cape.

change and could be viewed as an emerging myth in the current era. Although the image of the coal miner will be discussed prior to 1947, the changes analysed in this thesis using cultural representations will be those of the miner as archetypal working-class hero during the period 1947 to 2012. 1947 was chosen as it marked the establishment of the nationalised coal industry, although many of the memorials to coal mining emerged from the 1960s onwards when a radical reorganisation of the coal industry was undertaken which was to have important repercussions on the United Kingdom as a whole. The publication of *In Place of Strife* in 1969 represented the beginning of a publicly-known desire by central government to tackle trade union power¹⁰, although the government was already rationalising mining. In 1969, agreement was reached with the unions and the Labour government on rationalisation, yet by 1972 with a Conservative government in power, Britain had their first national miners' strike since 1926 and the first in the nationalised industry, leading to a radically changing view of the coal miner himself. In the period 1972-85 the image of the coal miner polarised, being viewed positively and regularly as a militant in the industrial unrest. However, as Granville Williams noted when the death knell of closures was unveiled in 1992, the news was met with public sympathy, recounting that newspapers previously hostile to the miners now supported them and 200,000 people marched against this round of closures.¹¹ In the period from 1985, a consensual nostalgia for coal miners emerged following denationalisation and extensive deep pit closures.

¹⁰ UK Government. (1969). *In Place of Strife: A Policy for Industrial Relations*. London: HMSO.

¹¹ Williams, G. (ed.) (2009). *Shafted: The Media, the Miners' Strike and the Aftermath*. London: Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom. p. 17.

Scott

The Message to the Public, the account of Oates' very last laconicism. The story is not alive any more than the huddled corpses are. It will be told because it makes good propaganda for the war that is coming, or because it prompts reticent passion in the passionately reticent, or because – in endless ways – it serves. The life of stories is just another metaphor. But this story has already spread to ten minds, very much as if it had one cell eager to reproduce that Atkinson had brought out of the tent; and now they carry it northward to multiply unimaginably in the warmer world.¹²

In this quote Francis Spufford imagines the scene when Atkinson and his men find the dead Scott, Wilson and Bowers in their tent almost a year after they had reached the South Pole, albeit in second place. The circumstances of Scott's death unusually allowed the deceased to be the main narrator of his own demise, while the drama ensured it captured the nation's imagination.¹³ So what is the story of Robert Falcon Scott that so captured everyone's attention? Briefly, his story is as follows, and has been taken from the key texts of Scott, Lord MountEvans, Apsley Cherry-Garrard, Ranulph Fiennes and David Crane.¹⁴ Scott was a Captain in the Royal Navy who led two expeditions to Antarctica. His first expedition, *Discovery*, was the first British expedition in the Antarctic for sixty years. During this expedition, Scott, Shackleton and Wilson achieved the "Farthest South" world record. Although the *Discovery* had been trapped in the ice and needed a relief ship, it returned to Britain amid much acclaim. After Scott's first trip, Shackleton led the *Nimrod* expedition to Antarctica in 1907 and returned to Britain in 1910 with a new "Farthest South" record. In response, Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition of 1911 was a scientific mission that would also reach the farthest south – actually reaching the South Pole. *Terra Nova* was an independent undertaking as opposed to *Discovery*, (which had been a national one), and as such it had proved difficult to raise sufficient funds for the venture, leaving it in deficit on departure.

¹² Spufford, F. (1996). *'I may be some time': Ice and the English Imagination*. London: Palgrave MacMillan. p. 337.

¹³ Jones. *The Last Great Quest*. pp. 132-157.

¹⁴ Scott, R. F. (2006). *Journals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press . Evans, E. (1921). *South With Scott*. London: Collins. Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*. Fiennes, R. (2003). *Captain Scott*. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Garrard, A. C. (1922). *The Worst Journey in the World*. London: Constable. Crane, D. (2005). *Scott of the Antarctic: A Life of Courage and Tragedy in the Extreme South*. London: Harper.

Furthermore, Scott had invested all of his savings (approximately £3,000) into the venture.¹⁵ During this time other countries such as Belgium and Japan were mounting their own expeditions, and throughout his journey south Scott was informed that the Norwegian explorer Amundsen would also be attempting to reach the Pole. The expedition was now a race.

Scott's plan for reaching the Pole was to use both tried-and-tested as well as pioneering techniques. The established methods were man-hauling, ponies and some dogs, with the main pioneering practice being the use of snow vehicles. Amundsen's plan was simpler – to use lots of dogs. Both set off from similar locations, situated off the Ross Sea in Antarctica although Amundsen's journey was shorter as he was a little nearer the Pole. Despite the distance, Scott had two advantages. The first was unknown at the time: while Scott was anchored on an island of rock in a sea of ice, Amundsen was camped on that very sea of ice.¹⁶ The second was that he was following Shackleton's route and knew there was a way across the Trans-Antarctic Mountains to the Polar Plateau, whereas Amundsen was on *terra incognita*. Amundsen, on the other hand, held the advantage for supply depots, having made a final depot at 85°S compared to Scott at 79°S the previous summer. Furthermore, Amundsen set off twelve days earlier for the South Pole in the Antarctic Spring of 1910. This made Amundsen better prepared logistically but was leaving more to chance on the geographical side of the expedition.

Amundsen reached the Pole on 15th December 1911. The final supporting party left Scott on 4th January 1912 and from this point it is from Scott's diary that the story is told.¹⁷ Scott arrived at the Pole on 17th January 1912 to find Amundsen's flag and tent. The photographs taken at the Pole of Scott, Wilson, Bowers, Oates and P.O Evans, have achieved iconic status.¹⁸ Amundsen arrived back at base on 26th January and sailed off a few days later to inform the world of his victory. Meanwhile Scott and his four men were fighting for their lives on their return journey. The party were increasingly plagued by the weather and lack of

¹⁵ Thomson, D. (1977). *Scott's Men*. London: Penguin. p. 159.

¹⁶ Fiennes states that Amundsen's base fell into the sea in May 2000. Fiennes. *Captain Scott*, Plate-page 9.

¹⁷ Scott. *Journals*.

¹⁸ Stepan, P. (ed.) (2000). *Photos that Changed the World*. London: Prestel. pp. 22-3.

fuel, which unbeknown to them had evaporated.¹⁹ In addition the food rations had no margins for error. P.O. Evans was the first to die, and although the actual reasons are unknown, Fiennes has suggested four possible options: scurvy; starvation; hypoglycaemia/hypothermia; and/or a head injury.²⁰ Oates was the next to die, walking out of the tent on 17th March 1912. Scott records that he said 'I am just going outside, I may be some time.'²¹ Scott was the next to succumb to frostbite, and after five days of slow marches, the three men made their final camp 11 miles from a large food and fuel depot. From this camp Scott records continuous blizzards and low temperatures, as well as the fact that they were becoming weaker through lack of food and fuel. Scott started to record letters to his family and friends and made a beseeching diary entry to 'the nation,' which alongside the manner of Oates' death forms the core element in the emotional and imaginative connections that are necessary for his myth making. He wrote:

Had we lived, I should have had a tale to tell of the hardihood, endurance, and courage of my companions, which would have stirred the heart of every Englishman.²²

The following Antarctic summer, Atkinson and his men found them, which brings us back to Spufford's earlier quote, marking the beginning of his myth. In many respects Scott's myth had begun before his tent was found, with his previous expedition and the lack of public funding for the *Terra Nova* expedition necessitating a high public profile. Scott's self-publicity in a world before the establishment of public relations was astonishing. A strong theme throughout Andrew Horrall's research of popular culture in London is the emergence in the period of 1890-1918 of a rising awareness of and interest in celebrities.²³ Scott seems to have used this zeitgeist to great effect, arousing interest in the expedition and himself in the media, even having his own *Punch* caricature. Furthermore, he used this fame to advertise and make brand endorsements, gaining much-needed funds for the trip. With the knowledge of twentieth century celebrity as a commodity, Scott appears to have been

¹⁹ Recent research has shown that it is possible that earlier members of the party on their return journeys took too much food and fuel. Turney, C. (2014). *Captain Scott's Secret. History Today. 64.*

²⁰ Fiennes. *Captain Scott.* p. 334.

²¹ Scott. *Journals,* p. 410.

²² *Ibid.* p. 422

²³ Horrall, A. (2001). *Popular Culture in London c.1890-1918: The Transformation of Entertainment.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

ahead of his time. Despite this fame and the expedient use of it in his lifetime, it was his death that most capitalised on his luminary status. On hearing the news, Amundsen is depicted in *The Last Place on Earth* saying 'He has won'.²⁴ If victory were based upon legacy and impact or even column inches rather than winning the race, Amundsen's comment proved to be prescient.²⁵ The impact of Scott's death was immediate. Crane contextualises the importance of Scott and his biography to the national mourning that ensued following the news,²⁶ his death marking the beginning of his myth. How this happened and the essence of Scott's myth will now be reviewed with reference to how historians have previously identified it.

A brief historiographical review shows the two main sources of Scott's story and his myth. The primary evidence of Captain Scott's last expedition comes mainly from one source, Scott himself. Although he died with Bowers and Wilson, they had stopped keeping diaries for some time before the end, and their final letters were not as detailed as Scott's. Neither Oates nor Evans left any accounts. As a result, Scott's version of events remained largely intact, with books published by expedition members such as Lieutenant Evans (1921) and Cherry-Garrard (1922) and non-expedition members such as Gwynn (1929) or Pound (1966) broadly affirming his story, until the arrival of Huntford's sensational book in 1979.²⁷ There had been some previous books which were less hagiographical and gave a more balanced view of Scott: David Thomson focused on other members of the expedition and was critical of Scott, but it was Huntford's account that gave the alternate version of the myth.²⁸ Indeed, Huntford's version has been almost as influential as Scott's own journals, providing the basis for other research, novels, museum exhibitions and even a television series.²⁹ Its importance is such that Ralph Fiennes has asserted that Huntford's book is 'used as *the*

²⁴ Rellim, T. van. (Producer) & Griffiths, T. (Director). (1985). *The Last Place on Earth*. (1985). UK: Central - ITV.

²⁵ Note: A search on Amazon for books in 2014 showed 1,102 hits for Amundsen and 4,785 for Scott. Retrieved 20th October, 2014, from www.amazon.co.uk.

²⁶ Crane. *Scott*. pp. 1-12.

²⁷ Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*.

²⁸ Thomson. D. *Scott's Men*.

²⁹ Scott. *Journals*. For example, authors who have used the Huntford version of Scott include: Moss, S. (2006). *Scott's Last Biscuit: The Literature of Polar Exploration*. Oxford: Signal Books. Bainbridge, B. (1991). *The Birthday Boys*. London: Gerald Duckworth and Company. National Maritime Museum. *South*. Rellim & Griffiths. *The Last Place on Earth*. Griffiths, T. (1986). *Judgement Over the Dead: The Screenplay of the Last Place on Earth*. London: Verso.

Scott reference book',³⁰ prompting Fiennes to write what he described as his 'revision of the revisionist view'.³¹ He was not alone in this view as there has been a veritable renaissance in writing on Scott and polar exploration generally since the Millennium period. Such has been the output that Barczewski needed to make a postscript to her final chapter recognising that Scott had jumped back into favour.³²

This reversal of reputation for Scott and his continued appeal suggests the possibility of a myth, yet the specifics of what this is has proven difficult to identify; indeed, no actual definition of his myth has been found, although the terms of "myth" and "legend" are frequently used.³³ Analysis made of the many commentators on Scott suggest that there is a chivalric core to his story. Jones, the leading historian on the cultural history of Captain Scott, stated that he disliked the word myth, 'as there was no single myth of Scott of the Antarctic, but rather, an array of overlapping and, at times, contradictory narratives.'³⁴ Instead he identifies a number of 'entrenched stereotypes' surrounding Scott's story that he seeks to challenge all of which stem from Huntford's version. These include:

'... (1) that Scott's scientific aims were a façade, concealing his primary concern with national glory; (2) that Scott chose not to take additional dogs to the Antarctic, because he considered man-hauling more noble; (3) that Amundsen's achievement went largely unacknowledged in Britain; (4) that the celebration of Scott's death was primarily motivated by hurt national pride; (5) that the British were unique in their glorification of suffering and failure, revelling in Scott's reliance on men over dogs; and that (6) Scott's heroic reputation grew out of an establishment conspiracy, which suppressed details of his incompetence and created the myth of Scott of the Antarctic through skilful editing of his sledging journal...'³⁵

³⁰ Fiennes. *Captain Scott*. p. 415.

³¹ Barczewski, S. (2007). *Antarctic Destinies: Scott, Shackleton and the Changing Face of Heroism*. London: Continuum Books p. 305.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.* p. 93-116, Moss. *Scott's Last Biscuit*.

³⁴ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. p. 231.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 9.

These points indicate two important issues in relation to Scott's story; the first is that significant elements are contested and may even have been manipulated, with an actual myth being "created", recalling Hobsbawm's thesis on invented tradition discussed in the previous chapter.³⁶ Secondly, Jones' catalogue highlights the importance of Huntford's version of Scott's story, which is the second myth of Scott - and will be discussed later in this section. Thus, possible manipulation of some aspects of the narrative and the often-heated contestation by commentators on Scott indicates that Jones' list forms the essence of the myth. His points indicate a concern with nobility, national pride and sacrifice, all of which reinforce the assertion that the essence of the myth has a chivalric core. Indeed, Jones explores these attitudes in relation to contemporary Edwardian society and the implications of this to contemporary conceptions of gender, with even his book's title connecting Scott to chivalry with its Arthurian title *The Last Great Quest: Captain Scott's Antarctic Sacrifice*.

The initial myth of Scott was that of the Polar Knight, emanating from Captain Scott's own journal, to demonstrate his chivalric values, noble death and sacrifice. The second myth, belonging to Huntford's interpretation of Scott, lies completely opposite to this: the myth of Scott the bungler - a *de facto* hero 'for a nation in decline.'³⁷ His critique of Scott is central to all features of Scott's myth and his book is a debunking of a national figure in the style of Strachey's work much earlier in the century.³⁸ Captain Scott's reputation and motivations were re-evaluated and a new alternative version of the story was made to that hitherto provided by Scott himself. Huntford's version of the myth introduced a pointless death where knightly virtues were denigrated, this narrative providing an antonym to the polar knight. This critique itself will be seen in later chapters of this thesis to fit in with decline theory where the cultural causes of decline were blamed on the behaviour, ideals and education of the English gentleman.

Once part of the myth is identified as "Scott the Polar Knight", numerous metaphors of chivalric language and images appear to support this idea. For example, Jones referred to

³⁶ Hobsbawm and Ranger. *Invention of Tradition* and Chapter 1 – Section I – Myths as Research.

³⁷ Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*. p. 543.

³⁸ Strachey. *Eminent Victorians*.

Scott and his companions as 'polar knights', a reference that conjures up chivalric images.³⁹ Jones enhances this phrase by using other references to the polar party as knights, citing *The Daily Telegraph* proclaiming them 'a great quest of ages' and the *Eton Chronicle* describing them as 'knights errant.'⁴⁰ Even before the *Terra Nova* expedition, Bernacchi (a member of Scott's first expedition in 1901-4) used the metaphor when he described Scott and his companions as 'polar knights' flying across the ice with their sledge pennants.⁴¹ David Thomson too assigned Arthurian rhetoric over seventy years later, writing of Cherry-Garrard – whose first-hand account of the expedition has achieved seminal status – 'in the end he is Galahad to Scott's Arthur, the truest of Scott's men.'⁴² More recently, Diana Preston has utilised the phrase 'Arthurian scene' in the context of Scott⁴³ and as has previously been noted the expeditions of Scott and Shackleton are now collectively referred to as The 'Heroic Age' of Antarctic Exploration.⁴⁴ Reginald Pound's elaborate description of the tent is littered with chivalric imagery:

Wilson's hands were clasped on his chest like a knight recumbent. Birdie Bowers' great nose curved like a scimitar out of his Jaeger helmet. Their gabardine overalls were still as armour.⁴⁵

Even negative commentators on Scott seem unable to resist using chivalrous language, although Sarah Moss was influenced by Huntford's narrative she captured the emotive nature of Scott's last days in her book *Scott's Last Biscuit*, writing:

The Arctic becomes a kind of prototype for Heaven, the scene of the ultimate Victorian quest narrative.⁴⁶

³⁹ Jones. *The Last Great Quest*. p. 13.

⁴⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, (11th December 2013). Ibid. p. 240. *Evening News*. (14th February 2013). Ibid. p. 240.

⁴¹ Preston, D.(1997). *A First Rate Tragedy: Robert Falcon Scott and the Race to the South Pole*. London: Constable. p. 60.

⁴² Thomson. *Scott's Men*. p. 156.

⁴³ Preston. *A First Rate Tragedy*. p. 2.

⁴⁴ Scott Polar Research Institute. Information sheets. Retrieved 15th December 2009, from <http://www.spri.cam.ac.uk/resources/infosheets/>.

⁴⁵ Pound, R. (1963). *Evans of the Broke*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁴⁶ Moss. *Scott's Last Biscuit*. p. 26.

David Lowenthal wrote of Scott as a 'bungling knave'⁴⁷ and even Huntford's champion Paul Theroux describes the expedition as a 'quest' without any hint of irony.⁴⁸

This myth of Scott as "Polar Knight" has considerable implications for the four themes of decline; gender; class and community; and science and progress. While these themes form the main research for this thesis, an introduction to their interactions with this myth will be considered at this point. For decline, the chivalric aspect of the myth has nostalgic tones - the expected cultural response to declinism. With regard to gender, chivalric ideas assert traditional ideas of masculine hegemony. For the theme of class and community these traditional ideals also asserted hierarchical social structures from the past, reflected *par excellence* by the changing portrayal of Petty Officer Evans in cultural representations. Finally, for science and progress the idea of Scott as an adventurer within the "Polar Knight" mould ignored the narrative of Scott the scientist and his expeditions' scientific endeavours.

The second myth is that of "Scott the Bumbler", the example of a hero for a nation in decline. This myth was representative of a cultural zeitgeist when it appeared in Huntford's book in 1979 as explanations of why Britain was in decline were being actively sought, and will be considered in more detail below. Suffice to note here the details of this second element. Huntford introduced Scott in *The Last Place on Earth* with:

These intimations of decline seem curiously personified in Robert Falcon Scott. He was born on June 6th, 1868, at a watershed in English life. In 1870 Dickens died. Darwin's last great work, *The Descent of Man* appeared in 1871. Livingstone died in 1873; Wheatstone, the English inventor of the telegraph in 1875. The race of Giants which had adorned the early years of Queen Victoria's reign was passing away.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 102.

⁴⁸ Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*. p. vii. (Introduction by Paul Theroux).

⁴⁹ Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*. p. 109.

Concluding:

It was Scott who suited the sermons. His actions and, above all his literary style, appealed to the spirit of his countrymen. He personified the glorious failure which by now had become a British ideal. He was a suitable hero for a nation in decline.⁵⁰

Huntford's placing of Scott onto the pedestal of decline became a pertinent and popular sound bite of his study. The popularity of Huntford's book suggests that both decline and the debunking of establishment heroes were resonant issues from 1979 onwards. Indeed, it followed such works in the 1960s on the debunking of contemporaries of Scott, namely the World War I generals, in *The Donkeys* by Alan Clark published in 1961⁵¹ and films like *Oh! What a Lovely War*.⁵² Within this new paradigm Scott was encumbered with all that was negative in Edwardian and Victorian Britain, his chivalry (rather than being a cause for celebration) was a reason for his demise, while other attributes such as his amateurism were denigrated. He became a complicit victim of his upbringing, education and vocation. This idea has continued: in the introduction of the 2000 edition of *The Last Place on Earth*, Paul Theroux once again quotes Huntford's Scott as being 'A suitable hero for a nation in decline' and extrapolates this to Scott now being a 'necessary hero'.⁵³

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 543.

⁵¹ Clark, A. (1961). *The Donkeys*. London: Hutchinson.

⁵² Deighton, L. & Duffy, B. (Producers) & Attenborough, R. (Director). (1969). *Oh! What a Lovely War*. UK: Paramount Pictures.

⁵³ Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*. p. viii.

Dunkirk

*We sailed when the last man was off an' there was more than seven hunder' of us haboard a boat built to take two hunder'. 'Ewas still there when we left, an' 'e waved us good-bye and sails off towards Dunkirk, and the bird wiv 'im. Blimey, it was queer to see that ruddy big goose flyin' around boat 'is boat, lit up by the fires like a white hangel against the smoke.'*⁵⁴

Nothing sums up the myth of Dunkirk like Gallico's *Snow Goose*, the tale of a recluse with the company of a snow goose who dies in his small sailing boat helping to evacuate the army from the beaches at Dunkirk. Of course, Dunkirk was an actual event rather than just being found on the pages of this engaging tale written in the folklore tradition, yet there are aspects of it which form part of an enduring myth and as Connelly states, are 'entrenched in the British psyche.'⁵⁵ Dunkirk is as much an emotional rallying call for British identity as an event.⁵⁶ Despite its 'entrenchment' there are two contrary sides to the story of Dunkirk – the miraculous evacuation or the military retreat – but as Connelly shows, both 'the extraordinary heights of solidarity and the "fuck up" ...are as real as each other.'⁵⁷ Summerfield argues the case for further research into the event, contending that 'although there is an enormous literature on the naval and military history of Dunkirk, few historians have made more than passing references to the process by which it acquired its formidable position in national memory.'⁵⁸ For Connelly, Dunkirk operates as part of the 'trptych of the British Second World War' – alongside the Blitz and the Battle of Britain, which play such an

⁵⁴ Gallico. *The Snow Goose*.

⁵⁵ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* p. 90.

⁵⁶ For example: Duffin, C. & Amin, A. (18th February, 2014). UK Floods: Undampened, residents display Dunkirk Spirit: *Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved 4th April 2017 from, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/weather/10632391/UK-floods-Undampened-residents-display-Dunkirk-spirit.html> Helm. T. (28th December, 2008). Brown: We need Dunkirk Spirit in 2009. Retrieved 4th April, 2017, from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2008/dec/28/economic-policy-gordon-brown>. Littlejohn, R. (26th June, 2009). Dunkirk Spirit v. Brussels Bloody mindedness. Retrieved 16th May 2017, from, <http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/dunkirk-spirit-vs-brussels-bloody-mindedness-the-daily-mail-26-june-2009/>. Hill, P. (26th December, 2015). Flood Victims keep the Festive Feeling with Dunkirk Spirit. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved 16th May 2017, from, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/flood-victims-keep-festive-feeling-7076228>.

⁵⁷ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* p. 88

⁵⁸ Summerfield. 'Dunkirk'. p. 789.

important part in British national identity.⁵⁹ The following section of this thesis will consider the subject of Dunkirk, its surrounding myth and its historiography.

The evacuation at Dunkirk occurred between 26th May and 4th June 1940. The basic facts of the evacuation are contested with a minimum of 315,500 and a maximum of a little over 338,000 British, French and Belgian troops having been rescued from this French coastal port.⁶⁰ War had been declared with Germany on 1st September 1939, and shortly after this date, the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) was sent to aid the Allied armies of France and Belgium against possible German aggression. By May 1940, the BEF totalled 387,000 men.⁶¹ Yet there was a long period of “Phoney War” with no activity on the French/Belgian/German front, although we must note that at this time the navies of both sides had been engaged in much action since 1939, and that in April 1940 Norway was invaded. In May 1940, Germany began its *blitzkrieg* across Europe, bypassing the fortified Maginot Line across the Franco-German border by invading Belgium. In this lightning strike, almost 400,000 French, British and Belgian troops found themselves cut off in the Dunkirk region, away from the rest of their armies and trapped between the German army and the sea. The troops rescued were transported on a hastily put-together assortment of vessels from the Royal Navy, commercial ships and private boats, with some men staying behind to defend the perimeter, or others as they were too ill or injured to move.⁶²

But how can an event with a clear, publicly-known narrative develop into a myth? In the case of Dunkirk there are at least three reasons, the first two of which created a vacuum that the imagination could fill: firstly, that there was a lack of images of Dunkirk; secondly the evacuation had been tightly censored and the story distorted; and finally, Smith has shown in common with other Second World War myths, it has been subject to changing

⁵⁹ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* p. 55.

⁶⁰ Sebag-Montifiore, H. (2006). *Dunkirk: Fight to the Last Man*. London: Viking. pp. 628-7, p. 541 and pp. 643-4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 59.

⁶² For a more detailed version see Sebag-Montifiore, *Dunkirk*. Jackson, R. (1976). *Dunkirk: The British Evacuation*. London: Arthur Barker. Gardner, W. J. R. (ed.) (2000). *The Evacuation From Dunkirk: 'Operation Dynamo' 26 May-June 1940*. London: Frank Cass. Lord, W. (1983). *The Miracle of Dunkirk*. London: Allen Lane. Atkin, R. (2000). *Pillar of Fire: Dunkirk 1940*. Edinburgh: Berlioz. Longden, S. (2008). *Dunkirk: The Men They Left Behind*. London: Constable.

representations, with each reincarnation saying more of the relative time of its reincarnation than the subject itself.⁶³ Smith's assertion is observed through studying the writing about Dunkirk (such as *The Snow Goose*, which introduced this section) and pertinent cultural representations (which will be examined in the following chapters), which have encouraged a myth. This final element forms the research on Dunkirk that will be examined in the main part of this thesis, but first the lack of images and censorship will be considered as these factors in part created the context from which the myth could be first be created and then magnified.

A critical reason underpinning Dunkirk's mythologised status was the limited number of images of the actual evacuation. Although it occurred in the modern era, historians are reliant on oral testimonies of the event. Only one cameraman got footage of the evacuation, as the newsreel reporters had been sent home before what was known in military terms as "Operation Dynamo" began. Connelly remarked that this has 'allowed these few vital images to concentrate the imagination and fix it deep in the private and public mind.'⁶⁴ Moreover, all of the oral testimonies recorded by the Imperial War Museum were (by definition) of survivors. Although one was from a prisoner of war, the evacuees all related the "little ship" element of the evacuation.⁶⁵ Understanding of the event therefore relies heavily on incorporating the verbal tradition. Moreover, official speeches add to this quality of our understanding of Dunkirk, from Churchill with his rousing speech where 'we shall fight them on the beaches' and Priestley's postscript 'paying homage to the paddle steamers' in this 'English epic' where they 'made an excursion to hell and came back glorious.'⁶⁶ This oral-centric testimony correlates to earlier methods of communicating national events such as Robin Hood and William Wallace, and the importance of the oral tradition in the telling of the event can therefore be seen to enhance its mythical state.

Furthermore, there was a strict censorship enforced on reporting about the evacuation by the government, which contributed to the reliance on oral testimony. This in turn is

⁶³ Smith, M. (2000). *Britain and 1940: History, Myth and Popular Memory*. London: Routledge.

⁶⁴ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* p. 84.

⁶⁵ The archives at the Imperial War Museum were accessed in 2002.

⁶⁶ *Hansard*. HC. War Situation. 4th June 1940. (Electronic Version).

connected to the evident context of crisis that the government considered the country to be in at this time. Ensuring the overall success of the evacuation meant it had to be kept a secret, and given government concerns about the outcome it pressed for a strict censorship, Stephen Badsey highlighting the tight controls. War correspondents as well as cameramen were evacuated days before Dunkirk,⁶⁷ and in fact controls were so tight that the War Cabinet became worried that 'the public were...unprepared for the shock of realisation of the position.'⁶⁸ Critically, Badsey further argues that there was a deliberate attempt to create a British myth surrounding the 1940 campaign of which Dunkirk was of course a part. He contended that:

The neglect of military spending in the inter-war years, the 'guilty men' of appeasement, the failure of the French high command...of France and other countries to fight...was not a spontaneous myth, but a position deliberately promoted...the British people were given the Army version of events through radio and newspapers...⁶⁹

Smith analysed Dunkirk in his wider examination of *Britain and 1940*, considering three periods for the cultural reception of this subject: 'what people expected the war to be like; the construction of the myth(s) during the war; and the changing construction of 1940 after the war.'⁷⁰ In subsequent chapters, this thesis will consider the changing representations after 1940 in the context of decline but at this point the background of the incredible fear of Britain in 1940 is relevant to understanding the reception of the event. The anxiety of the nation at this time is all but lost to modern eyes, yet some indicators do remain.⁷¹ For example, the country had a national day of prayer, led by the King on 26th May 'for our soldiers in dire peril in France.'⁷² The churches, Connelly attested, were full on this day such was the fear.⁷³ Badsey has written of the time before the evacuation that 'It is known that

⁶⁷ Badsey, S. *British High Command and the Reporting of the Campaign* in Bond, B. & Taylor, M. (eds.) (2001). *The Battle for France and Flanders: Sixty Years on*. Barnsley: Leo Cooper. p. 149.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 151.

⁶⁹ Ibid. pp. 154-5.

⁷⁰ Smith. *Britain and 1940*. p. 1.

⁷¹ For example: Marjorie Lilley, the researcher's grandmother (who was sixteen at the time of the evacuation), remembers her mother attended a furniture auction in Newcastle in June 1940 as the news from Dunkirk filtered through. People were not thinking of buying furniture as they were worried for their future, enabling her mother to get the sale of the century!

⁷² Badsey. *British High Command*. p. 149.

⁷³ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* p. 68.

the MoI (Ministry of Information) drew up an emergency plan, based around a radio broadcast to be given by Churchill on 5 June, if a German invasion was imminent or had already taken place.⁷⁴ This apprehension subsequently contributed to the event's pivotal nature in the British narrative of World War II. Indeed, two commentators on the mythical nature of Dunkirk argued that this event was so important because a positive outcome was needed at this time. Ponting views 1940 as a significant negative turning point in the war, which spelt out the inevitability of a future after the war in which Britain played at best second fiddle to America. Alongside Dunkirk, he listed the failures of the Norway campaign, and that significantly on 22nd August, a secret memorandum announced that by the end of 1940 Britain would be financially unable to carry on the war by its own efforts.⁷⁵ Another commentator on the myth of Dunkirk, Harman, viewed the evacuation as being an event that needed to be given a positive spin given the political situation and views it as the 'necessary myth'.⁷⁶ These views all indicate a moment which Smith has described as 'a high point of national consciousness,'⁷⁷ a dramatic backdrop to what became a pivotal event in Britain's narrative of the Second World War.

Having discussed how the myth could be created, we must ask what form did it take? Unlike the other two myths, Dunkirk can be viewed initially in a straightforward counter-factual manner, defined from the commissions and omissions of which there are five salient elements:

- The prominent role was played by the "Little Ships";
- That it was the only evacuation from France;
- That all the men were evacuated from France;
- The French troops evacuated sailed back to France a few days later; and

⁷⁴ Badsey. *British High Command*. p. 153.

⁷⁵ Ponting. *1940*. pp. 1-8.

⁷⁶ Ibid. Harman. *Dunkirk*.

⁷⁷ Smith. *Britain and 1940*. p. 5.

- For many people, confusion remains less on the specific points above, but on the wider question of what Dunkirk actually was, with it instead becoming a vague positive expression of national sentiment rather than a tangible known event.

These points form part of a larger myth or legend of Dunkirk, which is less straightforward to define. In her comprehensive analysis of the film *Dunkirk*, Summerfield presents what she defines as the ‘popular memory’ of Dunkirk, something that from its inception ‘mattered and was subject to contestation; it was never static and fixed, but had to be continually secured.’⁷⁸ In her appraisal of the popular memory of Dunkirk, she argued that ‘during the war, accounts stressed the importance of the sea and “deliverance”, with a focus on the Navy and civilian boats, and rare criticism. In the 1950s, however, the attention was switched to the problematic place of inserting the defeated army into the story.’⁷⁹ She discusses this with particular reference to the film *Dunkirk*, but her definition of a story that is constantly moving highlights the subject as a relevant area to study for this research.

Notwithstanding the evident changes of emphasis, inclusion and omission in the telling of the myth, the essence of it is captured by the phrase “the Dunkirk Spirit”, which has become a part of the national lexicon. The use of this phrase is wide and fluid but is most often applied to desperate situations of national interest where members of the public come together or relevant parties show great courage, often linked to a “backs to the wall” mentality or strength through adversity. Within this prism, amateurism is frequently celebrated alongside the community of Britain and its connections to the sea and deliverance. For example, its use is in the front-page headlines of newspapers; in speeches and even a brand of gin with the caption, *Dunkirk Spirit Gin: Pride Distilled*.⁸⁰ It has become a defining symbol of British identity, albeit with perhaps a more English flavour and now used for everything from the sublime to the ridiculous, such as floods, strikes and national disasters to transport delays and supermarket queues.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Summerfield. ‘Dunkirk’. p. 790.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 788.

⁸⁰ Dunkirk Spirit. Retrieved 18th January 2014, from www.dunkirkspirit.com.

⁸¹ Duffin & Amin. UK Floods: Undampened, residents display Dunkirk Spirit. Helm. Brown: We need Dunkirk Spirit in 2009.

Commentary by historians on the core essence of the myth sheds further light into its particular qualities. Martin Alexander recounted the differences between the myth and what we know happened as detailed in the five points above. He observed that ‘it became an apotheosis of British ability to muddle through a crisis, no matter how big’, ‘within a defiant British discourse, ... the BEF, RAF and Royal Navy was now constructed into something of an indomitable Albion.’⁸² He contended that the myth of Dunkirk formed part of ‘a meta-narrative affirming Britain’s indelible role in World War II’.⁸³ Connelly suggests Dunkirk has more than an element of banal nationalism, (the images around us every day that infer our sense of nationhood)⁸⁴ identifying the essence of the myth as particularly resonant to wider, popular narratives of Britishness. Thus ‘self-reliance, insularity, coolness under pressure and surviving against the odds’ are intrinsic concepts of the sense of apartness of Britons.⁸⁵ Similarly, Weight sees Dunkirk within the context of a wider belief of Britain as a ‘righteous nation’ with a special relationship to God as epitomised in the Hymn *Jerusalem*, (especially the talk of ‘deliverance’.) Moreover, he sees the importance of the seafaring traditions – a recurring feature of this study – in the myth too with ‘its construction around the small boats.’⁸⁶ On the other hand, Angus Calder, in his great re-interpretation of the British version of the Second World War, viewed the myth from a debunking perspective. While his concentration was on the myth of the Blitz, he viewed Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain as overlapping that particular myth. He argued that the positive wider myth depended on certain counter-narratives being omitted, such as the perilous position of Britain and the hazardous internal political climate.⁸⁷ Calder noted that while for German and French people Dunkirk was seen as a sideshow, for the British public it was the crux of the war. He argued that the details of this muddled evacuation were wilfully concealed from Britain’s allies and that the role of the little ships and the levels of voluntarism were grossly misstated.⁸⁸ The debunking of the myth was a theme taken up by

⁸² Alexander, M. Dunkirk in Military Operations, Myths and Memories. in Tombs, R. & Chabal, E. (eds.) (2013). *Britain and France in Two World Wars: Truth, Myth and Memory*. London: Bloomsbury p. 99 and p. 100.

⁸³ Ibid. p. 104.

⁸⁴ Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage

⁸⁵ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* quote from p. 54 but Chapter 2 continues examining this theme.

⁸⁶ Weight, R. (2002). *Patriots: National Identity in Britain 1940-2000*. London: Macmillan. p. 65.

⁸⁷ Calder, A. (1991). *The Myth of the Blitz*. London: Pimlico. p. 90.

⁸⁸ Ibid. pp. 92-8.

Ponting and Harman. The former used evidence of a deflated army, stating that some men asked their wives to pick them up from the station after Dunkirk with civilian clothes as they did not want to be identified as soldiers.⁸⁹ Harman's view of the myth was that the "Dunkirk Spirit" of volunteers rescuing the BEF was 'deliberately exploited as the prototype and symbol of civilian participation in the fight against the Nazis.'⁹⁰ Unlike Harman and Ponting, Smith's analysis of Dunkirk within the wider context of 1940 does not seek to find a counter-narrative. Instead, he argued for changing narratives as an expression and insight into contemporary society rather than the past.⁹¹

This thesis will incorporate these views and take the myth of Dunkirk to be the evocation of an emotion to rouse latent national sentiment. This loose interpretation gives fluidity to different narratives to Dunkirk illustrated by cultural representations in the following research chapters of this thesis. Connelly described it as 'the entire history of the nation in miniature,' showing in his analysis how prior events and conceptions of Britishness informed its reception.⁹² From this point of view, the myth of Dunkirk is an emotive response to assertions of nationhood. Ideals of Britons are essential to that myth, which is about generalisations rather than specific points. So, for Dunkirk we speak of: little ships; amateurism; working together, the beginning of the "People's War"; Churchillian rhetoric; being a seafaring nation; the "miracle" of Dunkirk; heroism; standing alone; having our backs to the wall; and victory in defeat. All of these points form the definition of the myth that will be used in this thesis. While citizens of Britain have their own versions of Dunkirk, which may comprise some or all of these ideas, the research of both Summerfield and Smith has shown the changing, dynamic nature of the memory of Dunkirk which indicates that as a subject it could be a useful field to analyse for changing attitudes to the themes.⁹³ The myth of Dunkirk has relevance to these four themes of decline; gender; class and community; and science and progress and will like the other two myths be discussed in detail in the following four research chapters. Introducing the connections to these four themes starting with decline, Dunkirk relates to nostalgic ideas of Britain's lost power, while for gender, the

⁸⁹ Ponting. *1940*. p. 92.

⁹⁰ Harman. *Dunkirk*. p. 273.

⁹¹ Smith. *Britain and 1940*. p. 30.

⁹² Connelly. *We Can Take it!* p. 90.

⁹³ Summerfield. *Dunkirk*. Smith. *Britain and 1940*.

history of Dunkirk's narrative within the cultural representations reflects changing attitudes to gender since the evacuation. For class and community, the myth of Dunkirk connects to ideals of a national maritime community. Finally, for science and progress, it provides a convenient way of exploring images of modernity in cultural representations.

The Changing Cultural Representations of the Durham Coal Miner

In a society of almost schizophrenic extremes it is not surprising that the artists who dealt with the mining industry produced images that reflected those extremes. Year-by-year these variations manifested and established a view of the collier and coal that grew to mythical proportions; - Heroes or Traitors - Philanthropic benefactors or Capitalist Despots - Exotic picaresque rogues or honest God-fearing labourers - Sailors on the Underground Sea or Greedy loutish brutes - Liberal peace makers or Socialist agents for change - neither artist nor agency could decide which was the truth and fiction of the matter.⁹⁴

Douglas Gray wrote this in the catalogue to accompany the NCB's *Coal* exhibition (1982-83). In the passage quoted above he was writing about the portrayal of miners in the mid-to-late nineteenth century: this thesis will contend that the cultural representations of the miner has continued on this changing trajectory throughout the twentieth century. With regard to these evident changes and despite the wide range of work undertaken on the subject of coal miners generally, little work has been undertaken on their changing image. Gray however, demonstrated an understanding of the different representations of the miner, while Usherwood's evaluation of Newcastle's nineteenth century mining statues and the mining paintings displayed in the Laing Art Gallery illustrated how cultural representations could act as bellwethers of any changes in representations of the miner.⁹⁵ Stereotypes make for easy and often erroneous images. This typical view of a homogenous coal miner fits within the wider concept of a homogenous working class, a view that Harrison and Benson have contested, arguing for a heterogeneous coal miner and working class respectively.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Gray. *Coal*. pp. 28-9.

⁹⁵ Macleod, D. S. Vickers, D. Usherwood, P. (1989). *Pre-Raphaelites: Painters and Patrons in the North East*. Newcastle: Tyne and Wear Museums Service. Beach. *Public Sculptures*.

⁹⁶ Benson. *The Working Class*. Harrison. *Independent Collier*.

Harrison's work on coal mines specifically illustrated the rich and varied customs and practices within coal mining by identifying different styles of mining and types of miners, within this one industry.⁹⁷ Tellingly, Emery has shown the considerable differences in just one coalfield, a propensity to difference being pertinent to this thesis and its examination of Durham.⁹⁸

Research on miners and mining has tended to concentrate on trade unionism, strikes or local history, rather than their cultural representations. Colls and Beynon's research on the origins of trade unionism has shown a particular focus on the northern coalfield and its particularly rich union heritage.⁹⁹ The strike of 1984-5 has also provided a particularly rich area of research as shown by Granville Williams, Beynon and Andrew Richards.¹⁰⁰ As an ex-miner, Dave Douglass' writings give a different approach to academic researchers and are insightful in the work of a miner as well as giving the perspective of a miner during the strike of 1984-5.¹⁰¹ With regard to local mining history, Emery's *Coalminers of Durham* is an excellent example for the Durham coalfield, while his research on mining banners leads this historiographical review into areas more pertinent to this thesis. The cultural history of coal miners is an emerging area of research, with mining art being a particularly rich area of interest. Usherwood, Gray, McManners and Wales have published research on the broad area of mining art.¹⁰² Vall has researched the background of the organisations that cultivated the pitmen painters, and William Feaver has been prominent as the key historian of the Ashington Group of painters, with McManners and Wales performing this role for the Spennymoor Settlement.¹⁰³ Upon nationalisation, the National Coal Board began to film

⁹⁷ Harrison. *Independent Collier*.

⁹⁸ Emery, N. (1992). *The Coalminers of Durham*, Stroud. Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton.

⁹⁹ Beynon & Austin. *Masters and Servants*. Colls. *Pitmen of the Northern Coalfield*.

¹⁰⁰ Williams. *Shafted*, Beynon, H. (1985). *Digging Deeper: issues in the Miners' Strike*. London: Verso
Richards, A. (1996). *Miners on Strike: Class, Solidarity and Division in Britain*. Oxford: Berg.

¹⁰¹ Douglass, D. & Krieger, J. (1983). *A Miner's Life*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Douuglass, D. (2010). *Ghostdancers*. East Sussex: Read 'n' Noir.

¹⁰² Usherwood. *Public Sculptures*. Usherwood. *Pre-Raphaelites*. Gray. *Coal*. McManners, R. & Wales, G. *Shafts of Light: Mining Art in the Great Northern Coalfield*. UK: Gemini Productions.

¹⁰³ Vall. Cultural Improvers. Vall, Bohemians and Pitmen Painters in North East England 1930-1970. *Visual Culture in Britain*. 5. 1-21. Feaver, W. (2008). *The Ashington Group: 1934-84*. Ashington: Ashington Group Trustees. McManners, R & Wales, G. (2006). McGuinness: Interpreting the Art of Tom McGuinness. Durham: Gemini Productions. McManners, R. & Wales, G. (2008). *Way to the Better: The Spennymoor Settlement*. Durham: Gemini Productions, McManners, R. Wales, G. (2009).

mining and produce drama-documentaries. These have been compiled onto DVD and considered by Lee Hall, Leo Enticknap and Patrick Russell and Ros Cranston in its accompanying guide.¹⁰⁴ The 2010 *Digging the Seam* conference at Leeds University and its accompanying book reflected upon the memorialisation of the 1984-5 miners' strike, considering a range of cultural responses including: art; music; poetry; museums; popular culture; and mining memorials.¹⁰⁵ Yet, considering the rich heritage of mining memorials not only regionally in Durham but nationally, it is surprising that little research has been undertaken into their significance (over 120 memorials have been found in the Durham coalfield during this research). Given the absence of research on the subject, an investigation of what has constituted cultural representations of the coal miner (particularly in Durham) will be undertaken before the memorials themselves are considered.

Although this thesis considers the changing cultural representations of coal miners in Durham in the twentieth century, as miners existed before this point it is relevant to examine how these representations were shaped in the nineteenth century particularly. As Usherwood and Gray illustrated in their evaluation of nineteenth century painting and monuments, from the 1830s onwards mining became more important nationally in the wider cultural, political and social sphere. The significance of the publication of Rev. Hodgson's 'Funeral Sermon' of the Felling mining disaster of 1812 in which 92 workers died, informed many outside the industry of mining and miners.¹⁰⁶ From this disaster, a society for the prevention of accidents in mines was set up, followed by a nationwide competition by the Royal Society for a mining safety lamp, highlighting a growing concern for workers in the industry (in 1815). Prior to this time there had been limited representations and descriptions of mining, although the earliest found in this research was from the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁷ A possible reading of Henry Perlee Parker's (RA) paintings like *Pitmen at Play* (1836) and *Pitmen Playing Quoits* (1840) could emphasise as Usherwood has observed, 'the

The Quintessential Cornish: The Life and Work of Norman Cornish. Durham: Gemini Productions. McManners & Wales. *Shafts of Light*.

¹⁰⁴ Hall, Russell, Cranston & Enticknap. *NCB Collection*, (DVD and booklet).

¹⁰⁵ Popple, S. & Macdonald, I. (eds.) (2012). *Digging the Seam: Popular Cultures of the 1984/5 Miners' Strike*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

¹⁰⁶ Burton, A. (1976). *The Miners*. London: Futura. p. 41-2.

¹⁰⁷ Gray, *Coal*.

childlike, slightly comic appearances' of the subjects¹⁰⁸ and Gray has noted the popularity of the paintings with mine-owners,¹⁰⁹ seeing them as evidence of a paternalism and a desire to protect their workers as petitioned by Rev. Hodgson. Yet this particularly saccharine view of their workers may have served to placate the mine-owners in an industry where workers were beginning to fight for trade unionism and other employment rights acting as a disarming or even delusional image. Alternatively they may have served as a celebratory reminder of their recent victory over the unions, as in 1830 when 20,000 workers had formed a union against the practices of the mine-owners, with damage being done to the mines and their machinery during the ensuing strike, after which the demands of the unions were temporarily met. But in 1832, using the full force of the law, mine-owners retaliated violently against union members an action that restored the owners' hegemony, potentially something to be celebrated on the mine-owners' walls.¹¹⁰

A paternalistic view of the coal miner in the well-known images was strengthened within the 1842 Mines Act, which barred women and boys under 10 from working underground.¹¹¹ The developing paternalism was gendered in its outlook, with concerns being more about potential indecency and immorality rather than harsh working conditions for women in this industry. The Act itself was an important contribution to cultural representations of the miner, with its creation of a male underground workforce. The gendering of mining work has been examined by John, who has shown that the male unions were resistant to female demands on the surface too, being keen to entrench the male hegemony in the industry and quick to accept mechanisation in female roles.¹¹² This gendered element to coal mining dovetails into Clark's wider work on the change to women's roles during industrialisation, which showed a reduction in equality for females from the pre-industrial to industrial era.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Usherwood, P. *Public Sculptures*. p. xvii. Artuk. Pitmen at Play, Parker. (Painted 1836.) Retrieved 15th June 2017, from, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/pitmen-at-play-22405>. Artuk. Pitmen Play Quoits, Parker. (Painted 1840.) Retrieved 15th June 2017, from, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/pitmen-playing-quoits-36748>.

¹⁰⁹ Gray. *Coal*. p. 73.

¹¹⁰ Burton. *The Miners*. pp. 67-9. Fynes, R. (1878). *Miners of Northumberland and Durham: A History of their Social and Political Progress*. London: John Robinson.

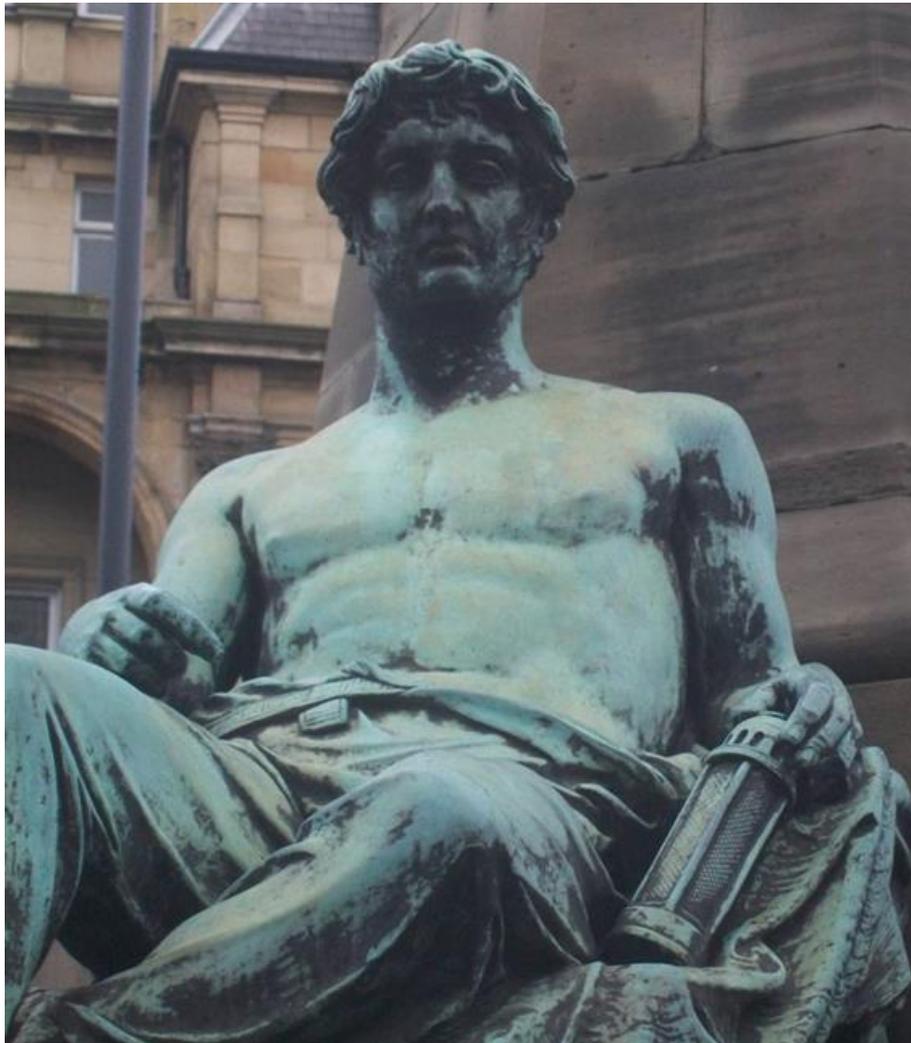
¹¹¹ BBC. (2014). Victorian Britain: Children in Coal Mines. Retrieved 6th October, 2015, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/primaryhistory/victorian_britain/children_in_coal_mines/.

¹¹² John. *By the Sweat of their Brow*.

¹¹³ Clark. *Struggle for Breeches*.

Mining became synonymous with the male. From this time onwards, representations of mining became male and masculine, with its stereotypical strength shown in many depictions. Lough's memorial to Stephenson in Newcastle (Figure 1) is an excellent early representation of this new genre.

Figure 1: Miner at Stephenson's statue, Newcastle-upon-Tyne ¹¹⁴



Sculpted in 1862, it has four workers surrounding Stephenson: A blacksmith; coal miner, plate-layer; and engineer. All are depicted in Classical dress, with the coal miner and blacksmith showing their muscular torso's leading Usherwood to contend that 'for the first time in high art...a wholly favourable image of the miner is projected.'¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Researcher's own photograph.

¹¹⁵ Usherwood. *Public Sculptures*. p. xvii.

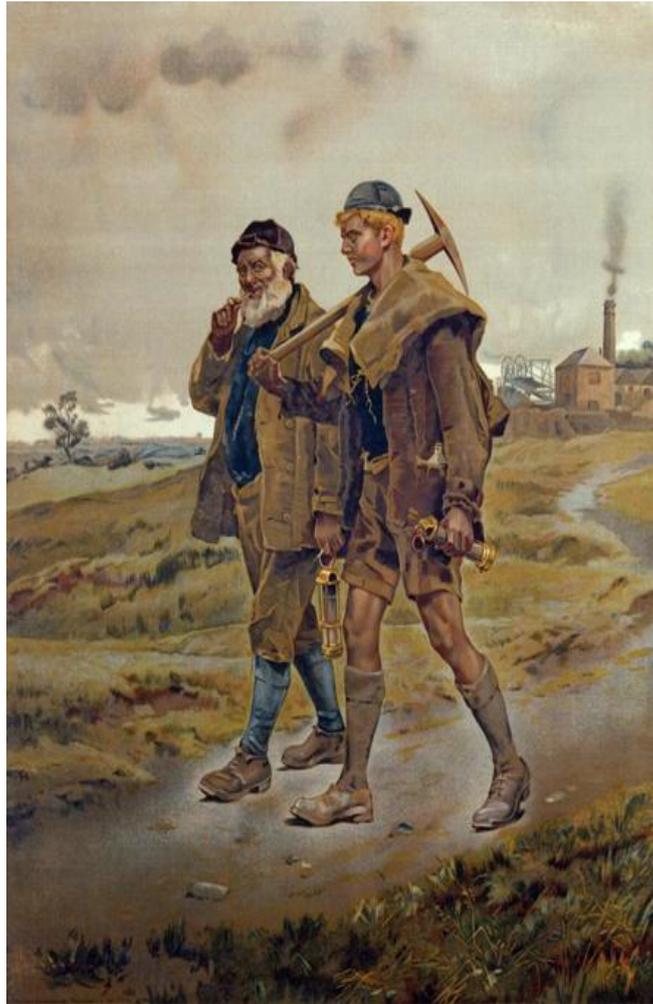
This favourable image of the coal miner in a civic centre recognised not only Stephenson's contribution to mining and the industry's role in Newcastle's wealth, but also a growing awareness of the dangers of mining. Gray documented the importance of the *Illustrated London News* and similar publications that followed in highlighting mining disasters to an interested public. The first shown was Stormant Main Colliery in 1843, with a further six depicted by 1853.¹¹⁶ The periodicals had illustrations of grieving families and heroic rescue attempts, the heroism depicted serving to masculinize the miner further. Yet while colliery disasters contributed to the heroic mining representations, the strikes that the periodicals reported highlighted alternative militant images.¹¹⁷ An example is the reporting of the militant image in attitudes to the miners' strike in 1912, where Jackson has shown the differences in reporting by London and Sheffield newspapers.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Coal Mining History Resource Centre. Royal Commission Reports. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://www.cmhrc.co.uk/site/literature/royalcommissionreports/>.

¹¹⁷ Gray. *Coal*. pp. 24-5.

¹¹⁸ Jackson, A. (2012). "Miners Play Regardless of Expense to Community": Reports and portrayals of miners at licence during 1912 National Coal Miners Strike in provincial and metropolitan newspapers. In Baldwin, A. Ellis, C. Etheridge, S. Laybourne, K. & Pye, N. (Eds.) (2012). *Class, Culture & Community: New Perspectives in Nineteenth Century Labour History*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle.

Figure 2: Going Home, Ralph Hedley ¹¹⁹



Ralph Hedley's *Going Home* acts as a bridge between representations of the heroic and militant miner and itself has an important relationship to the emerging printed press. Hedley was a Newcastle artist who painted *Going Home* in 1888 (Figure 2). It acquired popular status and garnered more attention when prints of it were given free in *The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* in its 1889 Christmas edition.¹²⁰ In 1895, one of the figures in this painting was used as the basis for the second civic monument to a miner in Newcastle,

¹¹⁹ Tyne and Wear Museums. Northern Spirit – Hedley, *Going Home*. (Painted 1888). Retrieved 16th June 2015, from <http://www.twmuseums.org.uk/laing/northernspirit/fine-art-coal/>.

¹²⁰ This information was obtained from The Laing Art Gallery, a comment on a paper given by the researcher at a conference on Class, Community and Culture in 2010 at Huddersfield University and Usherwood. *Public Sculptures*. p. 144.

adorning the top of Burt Hall.¹²¹ The hall was originally the headquarters of the Northumberland Miners' Association and Thomas Burt was their general secretary and one of the first working-class Members of Parliament, serving from 1874-1918.¹²² Hobsbawm has recorded that from the 1880s onwards the working class became a distinct group with their own image.¹²³ The flat cap signified a whole class to which miners belonged, and while strict local working traditions for miners ensured regional working attire, their leisure clothes were nationally consistent, topped by the flat cap, especially in the 1920s and 30s.¹²⁴ This representation of a miner depicts a proud, respectable man, which became a prominent image in the twentieth century, albeit interspersed with the more militant images which characterised much national press coverage of strikes in this period.¹²⁵

Representations in celluloid were also important in helping to share the idea of the miner in the twentieth century. Magic lantern slides, a precursor to cinema and early photographs, were able to bring a faithful representation to the harsh reality of working underground. Richard Crangle has shown that the magic lantern slides set to songs would emphasise 'the danger and hardship of coal mining and the contribution made by miners in harnessing energy for the wider good of society: this way the normal representation of mineworkers became essentially heroic and positive, even romanticised in contrast to more hostile contemporary views'.¹²⁶ This was particularly evident in inter-war films about mining like *The Stars Look Down*; *Proud Valley*; and *How Green Was My Valley*; all of which presented respectable mining communities and miners fighting for the right to work that contrasted to earlier militant images in the National Strike of 1926.¹²⁷

During the Second World War, respectability was the dominant representation for mining, showing it within the wider paradigm of the 'total war' with everyone working together

¹²¹ Historic England. (2014). Statue of Miner, Burt Hall, Newcastle. Retrieved 25th September 2015, from <http://www.heritage-explorer.co.uk/web/he/searchdetail.aspx?id=3029&crit=hall>.

¹²² Usherwood. *Public Sculptures*. p. 144.

¹²³ Hobsbawm. *Worlds of Labour*, pp. 194-6.

¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 194, pp. 199-200, and p. 204.

¹²⁵ Williams. *Shafted*.

¹²⁶ Popple & Macdonald. *Digging the Seam*. pp. 8-9.

¹²⁷ Balcon, M. (Producer). Tennyson, P. (Director) (1940). *The Proud Valley*. UK: Ealing. Goldsmith, I. & Wilson, M. (Producers). Reed, C. (Director). (1939). *The Stars Look Down*. UK: Grand National Pictures. Zanuck & Ford. *How Green Was My Valley?*

despite a poor industrial relations record for the industry.¹²⁸ The TUC cites the conscription of Bevin Boys in coal mining as one of the reasons for this poor record, yet this conscription proved to the country how vital mining was to the war.¹²⁹ Among the positive images of miners in this period are the miner advertising TCP cream; Henry Moore's 'miner at work' and the miner shown in *A Diary for Timothy*.¹³⁰ All of these representations depicted physically strong men working hard for the war effort. In the latter film, the miner is seen to be working for the future of both the baby 'Timothy' and the wider public, alongside a wounded pilot, train driver, and a farmer. Moreover it was clear that in the immediate post-war years, the work of the miner was important. Indeed, nationalisation was largely undertaken to ensure the country's industrial and domestic energy needs would be met.¹³¹

As a key component of the Welfare State, coal was nationalised in 1947, the Act having received royal assent a year earlier. This nationalisation not only showed the country the importance of the industry and the welfare of miners, but also, through the control of the National Coal Board (NCB), provided a clear stereotype of the miner as a worker for the nation. The representation of the miner in this instance is captured in the words of the artist Norman Cornish as 'industrial gladiators.'¹³² Embodying this gladiatorial mode, the ten-foot sculpture of the "Ideal Miner", depicting a muscular man in sleek clothing based on the real life miner, Thomas Idris Lewis, was used to promote Welsh miners in the 1947 Industrial Wales Exhibition at Olympia (Figure 3). Similarly, the memorial to the Easington mining disaster of 1951 depicted a miner in a respectable suit beside Edward Lutyens-inspired Commonwealth War Grave-style tombstones, implying these men had died for their country (Figures 18 and 19). These respectable images however were lost in the bitter disputes of the 1970s and 80s. Nationalisation not only gave respectability to the industry but also in a growing culture of modernity where representations were manipulated, encouraged a

¹²⁸ Ashworth and Pegg. *History of British Coal Industry 1946-82*. pp. 3-5.

¹²⁹ London Metropolitan University. *The Union Makes Us Strong*. Retrieved 16th March 2014, from, www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1939_1945.php.

¹³⁰ Wright, B. (Producer). Jennings, H. (Director). (1945). *A Diary for Timothy*. UK: Crown Film Unit. TCP miner in researcher's own collection. Feste 999. (22nd February 2005). Henry Moore. *Miners* (Painted 1942). Retrieved 16th March 2014, from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/73078475@N00/5262264>.

¹³¹ Ashworth & Pegg. *History of British Coal Industry: 1946-82*. p. 19 and pp. 37-9.

¹³² Cornish, N. (1989). *A Slice of Life*. Newcastle: Mallabar Press. p. 10.

broader, cultured view of the miner. This cultivation is evidenced by the *Coal: British Mining in Art 1680-1980* exhibition, Norman Cornish's recollections of the encouragement of the NCB of his artwork and the extensive films made by the National Coal Board film unit as documented by Lee Hall et al.¹³³

Figure 3: 'Idris' ¹³⁴



In the 1970s and 80s however, the goodwill generated towards the miners had ebbed away. Industrial action by the miners between 1972-4 led them to be held responsible for the three-day week which affected the country and created animosity, particularly from supporters of the Conservative Party. More significantly, the high-profile Miners' Strike of 1984-5 was portrayed in the press as a strike by militants, and although it had relatively little effect on the general public compared to the previous ones in 1972 and 1974,¹³⁵ it greatly

¹³³ Ibid. Hall, Russell, Cranston & Enticknap (DVD and booklet). *National Coal Board Collection*.

¹³⁴ Researcher's own photograph.

¹³⁵ Williams. *Shafted*.

affected the miners and their communities. Despite the struggle, coal miners lost this high-profile strike, and pit closures continued the rapid de-industrialisation of mining areas. The strikers were therefore seen simultaneously as both fighters and victims. In the 1990s, representations of mining tended to de-humanise the miners in structures like Anthony Gormley's iconic *Angel of the North*, an abstract sculpture that did not achieve full human form (Figure 4). From this point, a new representation of the miner emerged as a signifier of an industrial past and a warrior who had tried to fight against the tide of post-industrial change. As society questioned the benefits of change, this view of the miner became more popular. By its 30th anniversary, the strike of the 1980s had become a struggle against Thatcherism and supportive of a community-based way of life, with the miner as its hero.¹³⁶

Figure 4: 'The Angel of the North' ¹³⁷



¹³⁶ Ramsay S. (Producer). Ramsay, S. (Director). (2014). *The Miners' Strike and Me*. UK: ITV. Garnett, T. (Producer). Loach, K. (Director). (1969). *Kes*. UK: United Artists.

¹³⁷ Britton, I. (9th September 2002). Freefoto.com Ref Number: 1044-46-2. Photographer: Ian Britton, Sep 1, 2002 11:57:12. Image may be licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License. Retrieved 6th April 2017, from, <http://www.freefoto.com/preview/1044-46-2/The-Angel-of-the-North>.

Although coal miners still work in twenty-first century Britain, they no longer work in deep coal mines, but rather in open-cast sites. Like many other workers, they are now silent contributors to the economy and this has enabled a stabilisation of their representations. While media interest sustained around coal miners, their image was constantly fluctuating usually around the two diverse views of heroic worker or militant striker. The British coal industry was privatised in 1994 after a massive restructuring of the industrial sector, which among other things ended deep coal mining in the Durham coalfield. From this point a nostalgia surrounding coal mining has emerged. Although the national museums for coal mining of England and Wales had been opened before this date (1988 and 1983 respectively), their national status was granted in 1995 and 2001, demonstrating a growing sense of importance for the industry of its heritage. Nostalgia for the miner increased as a symbol of a lost working class in a tide of service workers, and for lost mining communities. Colls and Mark Hudson have explored these communities, as did the 1995 conference on 'Imagined Communities and Mining Communities.'¹³⁸ Miners themselves have emerged as a symbol of trade union action, with the Durham Miners' Gala becoming, since 1993, an international labour festival. Yet while as an occupational group working miners have diminished, their memorials have expanded rapidly.

This thesis concentrates on the cultural representations of coal miners, which are the dominant form of worker memorial in the Durham coalfield. However, they are present in other areas of the country: the *Dream* head sculpture in St Helens; *Coalminer* on Silverhill, Nottinghamshire; *Guardian*, Six Bells, South Wales, *Pan Todd Miner*, Forest of Dean, and *Robin*, Ashington would merit further research.¹³⁹ It would also be misleading not to note

¹³⁸ Colls. *When We Lived in Communities*. Hudson, M. (1994). *Coming Back Brockens: A Year in a Mining Village*. London: J. Cape. Gilbert, D. (1995). Conference Report: Imagined communities and mining communities *Labour History Review*, 60, 47-55.

¹³⁹ Visit St Helens. The Story of Dream. Retrieved 6th October 2015, from, <http://www.dreamsthelens.com/the-story-of-dream/>. Wikipedia. Silverhill. Retrieved 6th October 2015, from, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silverhill,_Nottinghamshire. Trip Advisor. Six Bells. Retrieved 6th October 2015, from, http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g1471577-d2441584-Reviews-Guardian_Six_Bells_Mining_Memorial-Abertillery_Blaenau_Gwent_South_Wales_Wales.html. Smith1, C. (6th May, 2012). Sculpture at Pan Tod viewpoint Forest of Dean. Retrieved 6th October 2015, from, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/54698905@N05/7153105993>. BBC. (7th September, 2009). Robin Sculpture to be Installed. Retrieved 6th October 2015, from, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/tyne/8241109.stm>.

that other industries have cultural representations, especially where one industry was important to an area. For example, in Sheffield there are several figurative statues of steelworkers; Glasgow has a monument to its shipyard workers, which an article in *The Evening Times* bemoans is hidden in a park;¹⁴⁰ and Middlesbrough has a monument to its steel workers.¹⁴¹ It must be noted that fishing communities too have a tradition of commemorating the loss of their occupation to the culture of the community.

This thesis will contend that there are differences in the cultural representations of coal miners, dependent on the time period of the representations themselves and within these representations, a post-industrial view of the miner as an archetypal worker has begun to materialise. In this the coal miner is presented as an ardent socialist who was willing to fight for the rights of himself and others, closely aligned to his strong camaraderie and sense of community. These are men who identified themselves with their NUM lodge rather than the NCB. The arduous nature of the work necessitated a physical strength, as shown by his muscular body and manual tools, while in his wider life he was also a cultured man living within a patriarchal community. Since the passing of the Coal Industry Act in 1994 a coal miner could once again be a woman, but the demise of deep coal mines render this almost irrelevant and contemporary depictions do not portray this gender equality. The importance of the post-industrial time period to representations of coal miners is particularly important as demonstrated by considering the graph in Figure 5 where the reader can ascertain that most of the monuments were erected as mines closed, with a major trigger being the closure of the final Durham coal mine in 1993, which may have given a sense of finality. Yet all of these examples whether from industrial or post-industrial times feed into the memorials of coal miners in Durham.

Representations of the coal miner in Durham, like the evacuation of Dunkirk and Scott are constantly changing, reflecting the society around them. This changeability will be

¹⁴⁰ Lundy, I. (24th January, 2014). Eye spy Glasgow: The Hidden Memorial to our Shipbuilding Legacy. Retrieved 19th October 2015, from, www.eveningtimes.co.uk/lifestyle/memories/the-hidden-memorial-to-our-shipbuilding-legacy.1390565002.

¹⁴¹ Richardson, A. (11th February, 2013). Memorial Unveiled to Teesside's Man of Steel. Retrieved 6th October 2015, from, http://www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/business/news/10221009.Memorial_unveiled_to_Teesside_s_man_of_steel/.

considered within the central paradigm of declinism, alongside the other three themes of gender; class and community; and science and progress. This change, like Scott and Dunkirk, fits into Hynes' idea of a myth confirming a set of attitudes while similarly reflecting Atwood's assertion of their meaning being found within their own times and places.¹⁴² This particular myth has particular resonance to the four themes, it is underpinned by the idea of decline as an example of industrial decline, but in its interactions with the other three themes highlights wider potential societal relationships to decline. Taking the theme of gender first, coal mining is an intrinsically male occupation but changes in the portrayal and understanding of mining work within cultural representations highlight interesting points for analysis. For the theme of class and communities, coal mining clearly is relevant to the working class and the increase of memorials erected as shown in figure 5 evidences the inclusion of this previously under-represented group in the research of national memorials. Furthermore the interaction of coal mining communities in Durham to the Church elicits exciting findings for this theme while detailed analysis of coal mining communities in Durham shows a relationship to ideas of community that are more complicated than initially envisaged. Finally, considering the theme of science and progress, representations of the coal miner in Durham illustrate a complicated relationship with both modernity and mechanisation.

¹⁴² See Footnotes 1 and 2 of this chapter.

Conclusion

While each of these case studies originates from different periods in the twentieth century, they have strong common themes that resonate across the three myths. These themes of decline; gender; class and community, and science and progress, have become more obvious in this detailed analysis of the case studies. All three myths have core nostalgic narratives that interact with decline. Equally, all three have strong masculine narratives from which a female voice has been largely removed, highlighting the importance of gender as a theme. We can observe that Scott and mining both exemplify polarities of class and its importance to twentieth century Britain. The three myths also highlight the tensions in the theme of science and progress.

Within this chapter, analysing the specific myths pertinent to the three case studies and introducing their relevance to the four themes, significant new research was presented in setting out to define the respective changing myths. Considerable weight was given to the idea presented by Hynes of myths not being the case studies - Scott; Dunkirk and Durham coal miner- entire, but confirming ideas of what they meant to the audiences who used those myths. It was asserted that Scott's myth while widely used as an expression in historical research has scarcely been defined nor had Dunkirk's myth which was frequently used in a counter-narrative context. For the Durham coal miner no research was found that considered describing their changing cultural representations across a long time period as provided in the section above. Yet as interesting as these myths are, the fascination of this thesis lies in their interactions to each other across the four themes. The first of which, the central theme of decline will be considered in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 - Decline

...compulsively preoccupied by enemies without and by enemies within: internationally, they feared that Britain was being pushed to the margins of events by more vigorous overseas competitors; domestically they regretted what they saw as the moral decline in national character and national calibre. All of them looked back appreciatively (and selectively) to an earlier golden age of vigorous virtues, robust will, splendid endeavour, and unchallenged supremacy.¹

In its focus on the way perception and fears of decline shaped the ideals of Joseph Chamberlain; Winston Churchill; and Margaret Thatcher, the passage above links the time periods of our three case studies (1910, 1940s and 1980s) to ideas of decline through the three leading politicians of these ages.² Cannadine's essay showed the extent of, and changes in, fears of decline over the course of the twentieth century, while providing an assessment of its political importance. Cannadine was not alone in connecting these three periods to decline as Jim Tomlinson has also published research on declinism showing it to be a recurrent feature of the period 1870-1914; the inter-war years and post-1945.³ Cannadine's analysis began with Joseph Chamberlain – a minister during the first of Scott's expeditions – who had influenced imperial views of the nation, followed by Churchill whose inspirational rhetoric is synonymous with Dunkirk and finally Margaret Thatcher who played such an important role in the Miners' Strike of 1984-5, the strike being a pivotal moment for the decline of the Durham coal miner. This connection to the three periods of the case studies in this thesis demonstrates the respective politicians' eras as times of fear of either actual or perceived British decline. In this way the three case studies can be analysed as potential indicators of change in the perception and reception of ideas of national decline in the twentieth century. Of course, the times when each of these politicians was active relates to different types of decline. For Chamberlain the prospect of 'decline' was feared, embedded in doubts for the moral health of the nation and debates on tariff reform. For

¹ Cannadine, D. *Apocalypse When? British politicians and British 'decline' in the twentieth century*, in Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*, p. 262.

² Cannadine, D. *Apocalypse When?* pp. 261-284.

³ Tomlinson, J. *Thrice Denied*.

Churchill, the relative diminishing fortune in terms of international relations, defence, trade and Britain's economy were becoming apparent, and the foundations for what can be described as the intellectual moment of declinism were laid, while for Thatcher during her period of office, policies were introduced to counteract declinism. Pertinently to this thesis, it was during the full era of the 18 years of Conservative Government's – of which Thatcher's term of office formed the first and main part – that the complete decline of the Durham coalfield was observed. The decline of the coalfields was for many – especially those in coal mining communities – a visible sign of Britain's industrial decline, led by a government who were ideologically fighting declinism. The cultural representations of coal mining's decline in Durham were not a direct reaction to perceptions of national declinism, but to the specific decline for one industry in one region which fed in turn into national perceptions of decline. As such the cultural manifestations in Durham represented both the specific decline of the industry and also nationally, helping to shape ideas of declinism.

As a full historiography of decline was provided in the introduction to this thesis, this chapter will consider the three case studies in the context of the three different types of decline as presented in the introductory chapter of this thesis, namely, quasi-declinism, declinism and post-declinism. For the time of Scott the idea of quasi-declinism with a fear of failure will be used, this being a more qualitative idea of decline rather than full-blown quantitative declinism that emerged in the late 1950s. For Dunkirk and the later representations of Scott, representations relate to an emerging climate of declinism after the Second World War. For coal mining, links to the climate of declinism will also be discussed. Additionally, the relevant post-declinist response to all three case studies will also be examined. Some cultural representations will be shown to have been inaugurated as a direct response to perceptions of decline and these will be considered in this chapter. Other representations will be observed to have had a less direct response in connection to decline and more of a relationship to gender, class and community and science and progress, the themes themselves having relationships to declinism. The research for this forms the discussion for the next three chapters. In this chapter where the direct relationship of decline to the case studies is discussed, the following topics will be presented. For quasi-declinism, Scott is of particular relevance, and for declinism, the case studies of Dunkirk and coal mining will be studied. In addition to these considerations, the role of nostalgia and

heritage will also be discussed in connection to decline, with the cultural representations from all three case studies being considered in the fourth and final section of the chapter.

Scott and Quasi-Declinism

Unlike post-war declinism, that of pre-war Conservatism allowed for no intrinsic faults in British industry, no (domestic) culprits or villains, no secular tendencies deeply embedded in British society. Instead, the fault lay overwhelmingly with a policy failure to respond by protectionism to the practices of foreigners. It seems justified to call this 'quasi-declinism' to emphasise its distance from what emerged half a century later.⁴

In the passage above Tomlinson defines his term 'quasi-decline' which he associated with Joseph Chamberlain's time in office, when concerns were about 'the greatness of Britain' rather than relative economic performance.⁵ Chamberlain was a contemporary of Scott, and a leading statesman in the time of Scott's first expedition (1901-4). However, after a debilitating stroke in 1906, he became more of a background influence on British politics in the period of Scott's second expedition (1910-13) and is remembered as the leading advocate for tariff reform and imperial preference in a bid to combat national decline.⁶ Tariff reform was advocated because of fear of increasing competition and Chamberlain's industrial background and first-hand awareness of decline in industry made the issues more pressing for him. Following his stroke the leadership of the Tariff Reform movement passed to his son Austen and Andrew Bonar Law, but the idea failed to convince the electorate who remained wedded to free trade and cheap food.⁷ Earlier fears of this relative industrial decline especially in the 1890s had been identified in an article in *The Economist*, although by the time the article was written (1913) many of these concerns had been allayed:

⁴ Tomlinson. *Politics of Decline*. p. 49.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 48-9.

⁶ Green, E. H. H. (1985). Radical Conservatism: the Electoral Genesis of Tariff Reform. *The Historical Journal*. 28. 3. 667-692.

⁷ Trentmann, F. (2009). *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption and Civil Society in Modern Britain*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

'Foreign competition with Great Britain reached its most acute stage... Our markets seemed inundated with goods 'made in Germany'; American bicycles and boots were seen everywhere. But with the new century, our manufacturers and merchants woke up to the situation: tariff reform agitation forcefully called attention to the condition of affairs; men of business began to look into German and American methods, technical and vocational education was improved, the Board of Trade developed its Commercial Intelligence Department, and this revival...achieved stupendous results.

The American bicycle was driven off the market, the American boot lost its hold...The great staple trades are more prosperous than ever.' ⁸

This article underlines a fear that Britain had been failing but that commerce had countered the decline, thereby reassuring the readers of 1913. Barry Supple investigated this 'Fear of Failing' and dates it to the 1880s, with its anxiety not being of actual loss but of a falling-off in 'relative power and international standing.'⁹ Indeed Scott's expedition can be seen as a means of asserting British interests in the last unexplored land mass, echoing the 'scramble for Africa' that preceded it: promoting a similar game for international territory to be undertaken for Antarctica. Indeed, from 1892 until 1914, expeditions were mounted by: Norway, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, France, Japan, Australia, as well as Britain (which also had a separate expedition from Scotland). These competing missions all sought to be the first to map the region and make territorial claims. British exploration of the region gave a sense of having a particular claim over the continent, although as early as 1773 James Cook had sailed farthest south, finding an inhospitable region unsuitable for colonising and identifying no land mass. This ended exploration in the region for decades. The Antarctic Peninsula was found by chance in 1820 by Edward Bransfield who only later found he had been beaten by a Russian, Fabian Gottlieb von Bellingshausen two days earlier! It was Sir James Ross' expedition that had the biggest impact on Scott when in 1839-1843, he discovered the Ross Ice Shelf, Ross Sea, Victoria Land, Mount Erebus, Mount Terror and McMurdo Sound, the latter of which was to become the base for British expeditions in the 'Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration'.¹⁰

⁸ *The Economist*. 11 January 1913 cited in Pope, R. (1998). *The British Economy Since 1914*. p. 96.

⁹ Supple. *Fear of Failing*. p. 13.

¹⁰ See Footnote 106 in Chapter 1.

Writing in the late 1970s, Roland Huntford asserted that Scott was ‘a suitable hero for a nation in decline,’¹¹ which viewed within Supple’s ‘fear of failing’ paradigm could indicate that his *Discovery* 1901-4 and *Terra Nova* 1910-12 expeditions were set up in part to buoy national mood as a panacea to ideas of qualitative decline or just more simply that he was a symbol for what was going wrong with Britain at that time. Certainly the Royal Geographic Society (RGS) was attempting to recover from the public relations disaster of its non-admission of women and needed to re-assert its reputation.¹² Mounting a high-profile expedition to help alleviate a national ‘fear of failing’ by asserting British superiority in Antarctica through achieving records of farthest south; ‘Magnetic South’; finding unexplored territories; and possible mineral gains could, in part, restore faith in the RGS and Britain itself. Although there was an economic element to this ‘fear of failing,’ there was also a greater socio-political element that reflected a waning ‘British greatness’ as per Tomlinson’s ‘quasi-decline’.¹³ Britons had been shocked at the lack of a quick victory in the Boer War 1899-1902 and the physical unsuitability of many working-class volunteers. An awareness of new superpowers in the form of a unified Germany and the United States also highlighted an emerging new world order – evidenced by the comments highlighted earlier in the *Economist*. In addition, in the period 1873-96 the British and other European economies were experiencing the effects of deflation coined the ‘Great Depression.’¹⁴ Yet, evidence of decline before the First World War was anecdotal – tellingly, the collection of national statistical information began in earnest in 1941 with the establishment of the Central Statistical Office. As such many of the statistics used to establish “decline” earlier in the century were compiled after this date and although they present a picture of relative adjustment, the information presented was not contemporaneous to Scott. For example, the earlier statistics quoted from Pollard giving evidence of a relative fall in British industrial production from 1860-1913 were based upon information compiled from 1945-1978.¹⁵ Correspondingly his calculation of the UK share in world exports in 1870-13 was based on

¹¹ Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*. p. 543.

¹² Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 54-8.

¹³ Tomlinson. *Politics of Decline*. pp. 48-9

¹⁴ Pollard, S. (1981). *Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe 1760-1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 184.

¹⁵ Pollard, S. *Britain’s Prime and Britain’s Decline*. p. 9.

statistics compiled from 1962-1982.¹⁶ So it is evident that Edwardian fragility was ‘fear’ not ‘fact’.

Thus Scott’s expedition with its expansionist ideals and maxims acting as exemplars of virile British men can in part be seen as a reaction to feelings of quasi-decline. Moreover, the cultural representations of Scott can be seen to interact with quasi-declinism in a number of ways. One of the most obvious ways is through ideals of manhood and masculinity and this will be discussed in detail in the following chapter focused on gender but can be briefly explained here as cultural representations promoting an overtly physical manliness in response to direct and indirect threats to male power that quasi-declinism wrought. Another way in which this quasi-declinism was explored was through the overt maritime images in Scott’s memorials that could reflect a perceived need to reinforce the centrality of Britain’s naval pre-eminence. From 1906 Britain had been in an arms race with Germany, competing to produce large naval vessels. In this contest, while Britain kept ahead of German manufacturing, their lead was not as great as they desired and the issue received much publicity. Continuing from these fears, the naval outcome of the First World War did not allay this anxiety. While Britain’s navy and its convoys helped to maintain this island nation’s safety and supplies, this was hard-won and Britain’s supremacy was challenged. After early losses of battleships to U-boats – *The Cressy*, *Aboukir* and *Hogue* in 1914 – Britain avoided confrontations with the German fleet. The main naval battle of the war at Jutland (1916), although hailed as a victory, was inconclusive and the scuttling of the German Fleet in 1919 at Scapa Flow also wounded Britain’s naval pride.

Britain and its empire had needed nautical power for expansion of trade and the comparative maritime statistics illustrate this might. Chris Cook and John Stevenson calculated that employment in the Navy rose from 10,000 to 147,667 in the period from 1714 to 1914 while the tonnage of ships registered in the United Kingdom rose from 1,383,000 to 16,768,000 from 1790 to 1910.¹⁷ Reflecting on national identity in the period 1707-1837, Colley considered the Royal Navy as pivotal in protecting Britain’s island status,

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 6-7.

¹⁷ Cook, C. & Stevenson, J, (1988). *The Longman Handbook of Modern British History: 1714-1987*. London: Longman. p. 243 and p. 221.

which maintained the other key parts of her theses on 'Britons', namely their Protestantism, metropolitan nature and rivalry with France.¹⁸ After 1837, Britain's seafaring prowess and power had extended its Empire and wealth, whilst even in its decline in the twentieth century the Royal Navy and Britain's island status helped to ensure that the United Kingdom was not invaded in either of the world wars. Moreover work in seafaring was an occupation that united all classes: using the Royal Navy as an example, its recruits were from the lowest and poorest classes to the children of the King or Queen. The relevance of seafaring to the nation therefore spanned across the classes. Yet this asset was destined to become an indicator of decline. Friedberg listed 'sea power' as one of the five main sources of strength of the 'titan' Great Britain prior to 1895, and in his theses one that would subsequently falter.¹⁹ Moreover, economic historians have used figures from ship building capacity and comparative naval strength to add weight to their theses on Britain's relative decline.²⁰

Given that Britain is an island and the significance of all things nautical to this, it is striking that so little research has been undertaken on the maritime heritage within the wide field of national identity and concepts of Britishness and Englishness. Even in the subject of decline, the demise of Britain's sea power is more of a footnote than a central point in the argument. Two notable contributors to this research are Mary Conley and Victoria Carolan. Conley has researched representations of naval manhood (1870-1918) in which she argued that these representations engendered a newfound respectability in this period. Carolan has argued through her research into British maritime cinema that although the popularity of the maritime film has waned, examples still persist and that remaining representations are nostalgic and that the topic in general needs further research, noting that:

While the linkage of naval symbolism and nation is widely recognised, a body of evidence demonstrating their systematic reinforcement over a long period and their deep roots within British culture has not been fully realised.²¹

¹⁸ Colley, L. (1992). *Britons: Forging the Nation: 1707-1827*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁹ Friedberg. *The Weary Titan*.

²⁰ Barnett. *The Audit of War*. pp. 107-24. Barnett. *Collapse of British Power*. pp. 11, 73 and 249.

Dintenfass, M. (1992). *The Decline of Industrial Britain 1870-1980*. London: Routledge. pp. 53-4.

Austen, A. *Merchant Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering* in Pavitt, K. (ed.) (1980). *Technical Innovation and British Economic Performance*. London: Macmillan. pp. 168-183.

²¹ Carolan. *British Maritime History*. p. 301.

Undeniably, understanding British national identity is a wide area of research with leading historians such as Ward, Weight, Colley, Mandler and Colls stimulating contemporary academic debate.²² Yet as Carolan makes clear, the navy – merchant and marine – and the sea only play a small part in the expanse of literature.²³

British naval power had many characteristics, serving as both an indicator of and factor in British power symbolising Great Britain's commerce, empire, industry and military strength. However from 1906 this power was continually challenged and though Scott was primarily an explorer his maritime connections as well as his recognition as an explorer were evident in the cultural representations of this time. The narrative of the museum exhibition *From Coal to Pole* (National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 2010) extolled the optimism and assertion of Edwardian Cardiff for its sponsorship of Scott's expedition.²⁴ A block of steam coal was the first exhibit for the exhibition, highlighting how steam coal for ships had made Cardiff's fortune, and thus the exhibition narrated how Scott's monuments in Cardiff integrated the expedition's maritime roots into this aspect of the city's pride. The support of Cardiff, itself a fledgling city created in 1905, had impressed Scott so much that he had given it the honour of being *Terra Nova's* homeport and the ill-fated expedition sailed from the city in 1910. Unsurprisingly, Cardiff erected one of the first monuments to Scott's expedition as early as 1913, with *Terra Nova's* figurehead placed in Roath Park, showing their desire for an immediate memorial and one connecting to the sea and specifically the expedition ship.²⁵ In 1915, a further memorial was erected, again at Roath Park. This was an imposing landmark clock tower on the lake in the form of a lighthouse, again highlighting the maritime roots of

²² Ward, P. (2004). *Britishness Since 1870*. London: Routledge. Weight. *Patriots*. Colley. *Britons*. Mandler. *Against 'Englishness'*. Colls, R. (2002). *Identity of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²³ Carolan. *British Maritime History*.

²⁴ Cardiff gave the largest donation for Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition, which led to it being designated *Terra Nova's* home port. The expedition sailed from Cardiff in 1910. Cardiff itself was keen to use Scott's expedition to assert itself having been made capital city of Wales in 1905. Its fortunes declined after the First World War, failing to diversify from the coal that had made it great, see Daunton, M. (1977). *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

²⁵ The figurehead was removed in 1932 as it was being damaged by the weather and is stored and occasionally shown in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

the town while the lighthouse reminded the public that Cardiff was a safe haven as *Terra Nova's* homeport.²⁶

Although not an explicitly naval expedition, Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition had a distinctly naval flavour as the vast majority of the crew were on loan from the Royal Navy with members from the rank of Stoker to Captain. The scientific emphasis of the expedition was for land- and sea-based research, although given the circumstances of Scott and his fellow men's deaths it was the land based exploration that received the most attention. Most monuments of this time portray Scott the explorer rather than Scott the sailor. However some do emphasise his maritime connections showing despite his reputation built as an explorer on *terra firma*, his maritime connections were also worthy of celebration and may have indirectly reassured their viewers of Britain's maritime heritage. The itinerary of the expedition emphasised the intrinsic maritime nature of Scott's venture, sailing to Antarctica and having ship and shore parties. One would therefore assume that Scott's memorials would contain images that relate to the sea. The depictions of ships in the stained glass windows at St Peter's, Binton (1915) and Emmanuel, Exeter (1924) reflect a deep maritime heritage in Britain, Binton's being more illuminating given its inland location (Warwickshire).²⁷ Scott's memory was well-suited as a vehicle for promoting seafaring heritage, Jones noting that Admiral Sir George Edgerton helped to procure a site for Scott's memorial in London by pointing out (to Winston Churchill) 'that there were only two well-known statues of naval officers in the capital: Nelson's Column and a statue of Sir John Franklin.'²⁸ Given these maritime considerations, there was much chagrin amongst some at the Admiralty (like Admiral Beaumont) that Scott was depicted as an explorer rather than in 'a dress suitable to the greatness of the character.'²⁹ Although Scott's monument (erected by officers of the fleet, situated at Waterloo Place, London) in many respects depicted him as an explorer, its counterpart (also erected in 1915 and sculpted by Scott's widow) depicted Scott in naval uniform. This monument, at the maritime location of Portsmouth

²⁶ Wikimedia. Scott Memorial Roath Park. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/64/Scott_Memorial,_Roath_Park_Lake,_Cardiff.jpg.

²⁷ Figures 7 and 8.

²⁸ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. p. 154-5. Gordon, K. (2008). Statue to Captain Scott, Waterloo Place. Retrieved 25th September 2009, from, <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/894241>.

²⁹ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. p. 155.

Historic Dockyard and commissioned by his senior officer, depicts Scott the sailor. In addition to this, Scott had a boat in the royal Navy named after him in 1917 *HMS Scott* (a destroyer leader – sunk in 1918) then again in 1936 (a survey ship). The later national memorial for Scott at Devonport hints at a maritime past although its images tell the story of Scott the explorer, but the column design and four bas-reliefs on its base evoke Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square. The examples of depictions of Captain Scott RN in this period highlight a desire to show the maritime aspects of the expedition and a keenness to celebrate an aspect of Britain's maritime heritage as its prominence began to be pressurised.

Declinism

The use of the term [decline] cannot be treated as an innocent description of the past. The use of the term necessarily organises our thinking into particular channels, and pushes us towards certain ways of looking at the world. So we need to step back and ask, where does the term come from, and what are the effects of using it? As Barry Supple puts it, 'declinism is an ideology, and like all ideologies has a history'.³⁰

Tomlinson has argued that 'declinism' emerged at the end of the 1950s as a "'What's Wrong with Britain" cult' which although it 'died back quite quickly' left a legacy of a culture of perceived decline that continued to fuel public debate and impact on British politics.³¹ Incidents like the Suez Crisis of 1956, devaluation of Sterling in 1967 and declining world role economically and politically fuelled this debate providing an intellectual moment from the late 1950s to late 1980s for declinism with some of these ideas offering a critique of British culture. As highlighted in the introduction, it was at this point that declinism began to inform and affect – in their influence on economic policies – the general public.

³⁰ Tomlinson. *Politics of Decline*. p. 2.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 21.

Considering the importance of culture on declinist debates, this section will consider the memorials to the case studies to illustrate direct cultural ripples of the reactions to declinism in Britain's post-war culture. While the cultural representations of the case studies can be seen to show direct and indirect declinist readings, less directly causal links to decline will be illuminated in the following chapters on gender, class and community and science and progress. In these chapters assertions of masculinity, lost communities, the paradox of progress and rejections of modernity will be reflected upon within a declinist paradigm. However, for this section the direct links to decline will be reflected upon. Some of the dramatic legacy of Scott and Dunkirk will be used to illustrate the links of declinism to this genre of cultural representations, particularly the idea of Scott as 'suitable hero for a nation in decline' and as a target of anti-establishment figures. Huntford was the first to assert Scott's links to declinism. Jones examined these links with particular reference to connections with gender and sexuality using the example of the television series *The Last Place on Earth* (1985).³² Yet while Huntford's book can be viewed as a declinist narrative of Scott, the TV series based on the book was a critique of Thatcher's government, highlighting the change of emphasis from a declinist account to a critique of a political response.

Although declinism had not emerged as early as 1948, the background to the film *Scott of the Antarctic* shows that even at that time, the beginning of a fear of failing had appeared.³³ The character of Scott can be seen as an antidote to the beginnings of a negative national consciousness following the end of the Second World War. Scott's story was put forward as an answer to the emerging loss of the Empire, especially in Frend's film 'Scott of the Antarctic.'³⁴ The date of the film (1948) is particularly pertinent as it marked a new age for Britain, one where India, the jewel in the crown, had been ceded while the Welfare State heralded a new future. Gill Plain observed the film 'confronting the uncertainty of the present political climate with the mythologised security of the past.'³⁵ With specific reference to the beginning of the demise of the British Empire, she notes that the film:

³² Jones. Truth about Captain Scott.

³³ Balcon, M. (Producer). Frend, C. (Director). (1948). *Scott of the Antarctic*. UK: Ealing.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Plain, G. *John Mills and British Cinema*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. p. 115.

revisits the hero of Empire, and in so doing uses Scott's failure to negotiate the doubts and anxieties circulating as a product of Indian independence and the change in Britain's status as an imperial power... without the conflicts developing from indigenous resistance to Empire.³⁶

James Chapman also connected this loss of empire to the film through newspaper reviews. The *Sunday Dispatch* reported:

Such a film as *Scott* is welcome at a time when other races speak disparagingly of our "crumbling empire" and our "lack of spirit." It should make those who have listened too closely to such talk believe afresh that ours is the finest breed of men on this earth.³⁷

Clearly some of the men in the audience could connect to a loss of imperial power, although the intentions of the film's director were less specific. He stated he wanted to make a film 'on a subject of genuinely epic dimensions,'³⁸ and while this could have been a purely artistic decision, it could also be associated with Britain's diminishing empire and world power, acting as an antidote to post-war austerity. Its potential role in the rehabilitation of a post-imperial Britain was recognised when the film was selected for the 1948 Royal Command performance, thereby highlighting its support from the establishment. The memorialisation of Scott in the film acted as poignant yet apolitical icon of imperial nostalgia, which was already signalling decline.

Howard Brenton's play performed at Bradford's ice rink in 1971, *Scott of the Antarctic*, cannot be seen to have the same wide impact as Huntford's book that spawned a major series for national television, or the earlier *Scott of the Antarctic*, yet it is another cultural representation of Scott as a reaction to declinism.³⁹ Brenton expertly parodied the imperial expansion at the heart of the expedition: King George V, pre-occupied by a nightmare of the empire crumbling, seeking expansion within a quasi-declinist rhetoric, hankered for the

³⁶ Ibid. pp. 121-2.

³⁷ *Sunday Dispatch* 5 December 1948, cited in Chapman, J. (2005). *Past and Present: National Identity and the British Historical Film*. London: I. B. Tauris. p. 158.

³⁸ Balcon, M. (1969). *Michael Balcon presents...A Lifetime of Films*. London: Hutchinson. p. 171.

³⁹ Brenton, H. (1972). *Plays for Public Places: Gun & Goo, Wesley and Scott of the Antarctic*. London: Eyre Methuen.

‘white bit’ at the bottom of the globe. Performed in 1971, this was not a nostalgic account of Scott’s final adventure, rather an insightful reaction to this thirst for imperial power. Jones has observed that in his play *Brenton* attacked imperial fantasy rather than Scott,⁴⁰ a hero of the British Empire, a potential conquistador of the Antarctic acting for glory and economic gain from this glory, rather than economic gain from any assets he might find in the Antarctic. As such the attacks on him could be read as attacking the glory surrounding the Empire itself with the lack of controversy at that time around Scott unlike other heroes of the Empire who had conquered and fought indigenous people or who had already been already been debunked such as Gordon (by Strachey).⁴¹ He was ripe for attack once the Empire had declined in relevance along with the country’s fortunes.

The quote made by Huntford, in 1979 that described Scott as ‘a suitable hero for a nation in decline’ viewed Scott as a symbol of failure. His argument was that only a nation in decline could find anything useful in such a story and develop a ‘cult of the loser.’⁴² Undoubtedly Huntford’s view of Scott as a failure has been contested, with Jones arguing that the expedition was unique and captured not only Britain’s but the world’s imagination in a time of growing mass communications and literacy.⁴³ Jones added that in the inter-war period Stephen Gwynn had argued that Britain did not have a history of exalting heroic failures writing ‘the English people were never prone, as some other peoples have been, to glorify the defeated... they have never needed to do so.’⁴⁴ Yet Huntford’s assertion is more sagacious when considering Scott within a paradigm of declinism. While challenging Huntford’s appraisal of Scott, Ranulph Fiennes analysed the words used to describe Scott in the index. Among these he found: ‘absentmindedness; command, unsuitability for; criticism, refused to accept; improvisation, belief in; insecurity; insight, lack of; irrationality; isolation; jealousy; judgement, defective; leadership, failure in; literary gifts; recklessness; responsibility, instinct to evade; vacillation.’⁴⁵ That Huntford clearly associated these personal characteristics with Scott’s failure provides striking similarities to the influential

⁴⁰ Jones, M. *Truth about Captain Scott*. p. 866.

⁴¹ Strachey, L. *Eminent Victorians*.

⁴² Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*. Jones. *Last Great Quest*. p. 289.

⁴³ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 289-90.

⁴⁴ Gwynn, S. (1929). *Captain Scott*. London: Bodley Head.

⁴⁵ Fiennes. *Captain Scott*. pp. 415-6. Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*. p. 595.

research undertaken by Wiener on decline that related the behaviour of Victorian industrialists to the nation's economic slowdown.⁴⁶ Within his seminal thesis he placed high emphasis on the behavioural characteristics of Britain's ruling elite that had caused the nation's decline, highlighting in particular the espousal of amateurism (improvisation) and pursuit of gentrification (lack of leadership qualities).

Huntford's book on Scott as a declinist response had a larger impact than its readership as it was used as the basis for Trevor Griffiths' Television series *The Last Place on Earth (TLPOE)*.⁴⁷ This was a prime-time drama series that garnered much attention for its ambitious filmography, well-known cast and public correspondence and legal action with the Kennet family (Scott's family after his wife's second marriage). In its effect as a declinist response, it had a great impact. However just as the film *Dunkirk's* underlying themes were changed from page to screen so were those on *TLPOE*. Huntford's writing can be very much seen in the declinist mould but it is significant to that he wrote the book in 1979 before Margaret Thatcher came to power. Griffiths on the other hand, as detailed in his book about *TLPOE*, was very much using his series as a response to Thatcherism rather than declinism. Clearly as we have already established in this thesis, while Thatcherism was a response to declinism, it did not only respond to this but many other factors. As such Griffiths' *TLPOE* was not itself a direct response to declinism, but as will be shown in Chapter 5, the audience response was nostalgic and reacted to declinism.

Similarly, the myth surrounding the Dunkirk Evacuation, like the myth of Captain Scott, can also easily be viewed within a declinist perspective and its cultural representations highlight a strong relationship with ideas of decline. Notwithstanding the fact that the operation was an incredible feat – again echoing Scott's achievement – overall the retreat from France was undoubtedly a military defeat. The British Expeditionary Force alongside some of its Allies had been cornered in the Dunkirk pocket by the advancing German Army, which had already conquered most of mainland Europe. The British troops had gone from assisting their allies to retreating in a bid to save their own skins. In the previous chapter it was noted that at the time of Dunkirk public opinion was low, and this military humiliation by Germany was keenly

⁴⁶ Wiener. *English Culture*. Barnett. *Collapse of British Power*.

⁴⁷ Rellim & Griffiths. *The Last Place on Earth*

felt.⁴⁸ Moreover, Harman, Ponting and Calder's views have contributed to a declinist narrative of Dunkirk as they highlight not only the military disaster but also that it marked the beginning of Britain's economic reliance on the USA.⁴⁹ Others have observed the relationship between Dunkirk and an emerging declinist narrative, Cannadine creatively turning one of Churchill's most impressive speeches – his 'finest hour' speech made after Dunkirk – into evidence for the onslaught of decline. Cannadine pointed out that referring to our 'finest hour' carries the 'unacknowledged implication' that henceforth things could only decline.⁵⁰

The film *Dunkirk* follows *Scott of the Antarctic* as an example of a reaction to decline. Understanding the Suez crisis is key to understanding these links to Dunkirk declinism. While plans were afoot before the Suez Crisis to make a film of the Dunkirk evacuation,⁵¹ events in the Middle East enhanced the prospect of commercial gain for such a project. Balcon, *Dunkirk's* producer, wrote in December 1956 - soon after the crisis - that he was determined to make Dunkirk 'the most important film in Ealing's history.'⁵² Therefore, although the film's initial timing was a coincidence and had not been made in reaction to Suez, its popular reception was nonetheless nostalgic. Summerfield noted the paradox that the film *Dunkirk* was 'one of the first of a new wave of films released after Suez that expressed scepticism about [restoring British military prestige] ...yet many distinguished film historians dismiss it as yet another war film according to stereotype.'⁵³ Both Summerfield and Mackenzie have explored the making of the film and how the writers and producers had to adapt the script in a way acceptable to the War Office to ensure assistance with man and sea power, rather than the more critical view of the evacuation that they had intended.⁵⁴ In line with the sentiments aired in "Cato"'s *Guilty Men*, the filmmakers had wanted to criticise the army for

⁴⁸ Chapter 2, Footnotes 71-77.

⁴⁹ Harman. *Dunkirk*. Calder. *Myth of the Blitz*. Ponting. 1940.

⁵⁰ Cannadine. *Apocalypse When?* p. 273.

⁵¹ Summerfield. *Dunkirk*. p. 800. Summerfield states that at least six British film studios competed for financial and military support to make a film on Dunkirk between July 1955 and October 1956. Ealing's interest in the subject can be garnered by their purchase of the film rights for two popular books on Dunkirk in 1955.

⁵² *Ibid.* Summerfield also highlights that Ealing Studios itself was 'in its final years' having been sold in 1955.

⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 803-804.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Mackenzie, S. P. (2003). Victory from Defeat: The War Office and the Making of *Dunkirk* (Ealing 1958). *War, Literature and The Arts*, 15. 241-257.

leaving the BEF so ill-equipped. However, this contrary view did not come to fruition, and served to maintain Dunkirk's status as a metaphor for standing alone and British military might.⁵⁵

It is interesting to note that the three examples for this section demonstrating representations of declinism all belong to the televisual and cinematic sources. Three reasons can be ascertained for this, the first is that these sources can react quickly to the culture of their time, the second is that as commercial endeavours, they indeed must in some way mirror the culture of their times to be profitable ventures. The final reason is that these sources can more easily be read as having a relationship to decline in as much as televisual and cinematic sources tend to be explicit in their content rather than implying this. It is also important to note the key difference of these sources. While part of the *modus operandi* of *Scott of the Antarctic* was to give a nostalgic interpretation of the past in an uncertain, declining present and for *Dunkirk* while this idea was more muted its original high ideals of providing a critique of the management of the evacuation were severely diluted, *The Last Place on Earth* differed as it promoted Scott as an exemplar for decline negating any ensuing glory as a vindication against the patriotic "rejoicing" of Thatcherism. However the entrenched myths of all three case studies ensured that despite the objectives set by film-makers and script writers that the general reaction to all three titles was positive and the subjects for the films interpreted in a nostalgic light, thereby highlighting the importance of audience reception and understanding for these sources.

⁵⁵ "Cato"- Foot, M. Howard, P. & Owen, F. (1940). *Guilty Men*. London: Victor and Gollancz. Summerfield. Dunkirk. p. 795.

Representations of the Decline of an Industry

*Let us demonstrate by our presence at this great event that although they have destroyed our industry they cannot destroy our traditions.*⁵⁶

In 1994, the year of the first annual Durham Miners' Gala held without the presence of a deep mine in the Durham coalfield, the Durham Miners' Association issued the statement above. In this message it was clear that while it was recognised that the deep coal mining industry had completely disappeared in the region that the traditions would continue and within this the coal miner would be celebrated and remembered. This section will consider how the cultural representations in Durham narrate this complete decline of an industry. Within this section the case study of Durham city will be used to illustrate the complexity inherent in interpretations of decline, but first the context of coal mining in Durham in the wider sphere of declinism will be considered.

Harking back to the opening comment, Cannadine utilised the times and policies of the political giants of Chamberlain, Churchill and Thatcher to make connections to decline, in this chapter it is the time of Thatcher's period of office as Prime Minister to which we will turn, a time in which the decline of national coal mining took centre stage many times. Her time as Prime Minister in the 1980s was also the pinnacle of declinist debate, particularly for the positive reception of cultural decline theories. Wiener recounted in his second edition the close association of his ideas to Thatcher's government and how it influenced a cultural agenda for Blair's 'New Britain.'⁵⁷ Wiener's book was a key text influencing Thatcher's political advisor Sir Keith Joseph, who championed the adoption of a new enterprise culture as a key weapon to combat decline in the 1980s.

Cannadine himself asserted that the view of Britain being 'morally, economically and internationally' weak owed much to Wiener and Barnett, who in turn influenced the Conservative government.⁵⁸ As a Minister in the Heath government of 1970-4, during the

⁵⁶ Emery. *Banners*. p. 129.

⁵⁷ Wiener. (2004). *English Culture*. Second edition. p. xvii.

⁵⁸ Cannadine. *Apocalypse When?* p. 277.

three-day week, and on becoming Prime Minister after the 'Winter of Discontent,' Thatcher viewed these episodes as evidence of decline. Furthermore, Cannadine noted that prior to being in office, her speeches in 1975-9 were full of the message of 'decline, decay and degeneration'.⁵⁹ With regard to coal mining, the victory of the miners in 1981 (where the government reversed a decision to close twenty-three coal mines) led to an acknowledgement of the necessity of preparedness for any later battles. As Prime Minister, she advocated following supply-led rather than Keynesian demand-led economics, the privatisations of the 1980s being made along with the rhetoric of private enterprise being more efficient than national enterprises, and therefore having the potential to reverse decline. This privatisation policy brought her into conflict with the coal industry nationalised in 1947. Additionally, she viewed strong trade unions such as the NUM as a contributor to decline, and moreover the reason for the fall of the Conservative government in 1974.

With regard to coal mining specifically in declinist texts, while Wiener and Barnett were critical of the industry, their views differed. Using Wiener's broad hypothesis for decline, an argument could be made from it that it was the failure of the coal owners to modernise in the 1920s and 1930s, having pursued their own personal goals of gentrification that led to nationalisation.⁶⁰ For Barnett, with his hypothesis condemning state intervention, nationalisation of the coal industry represented 'an Industrial Worst Case.'⁶¹ On the other hand, Michael Dintenfass used the example of the middle-class men who managed Britain's coalmines, forming a 'coal mining elite', and argued that they were hardworking, effective men of integrity, acting as careful stewards for the men and the industry.⁶² The narrative offered by Dintenfass on the case study of coal mining, challenges the view from decline theory of an anti-industrial middle class.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Wiener. *English Culture*. p.152. This argument is only touched on in connection to coal and extended with note 100.

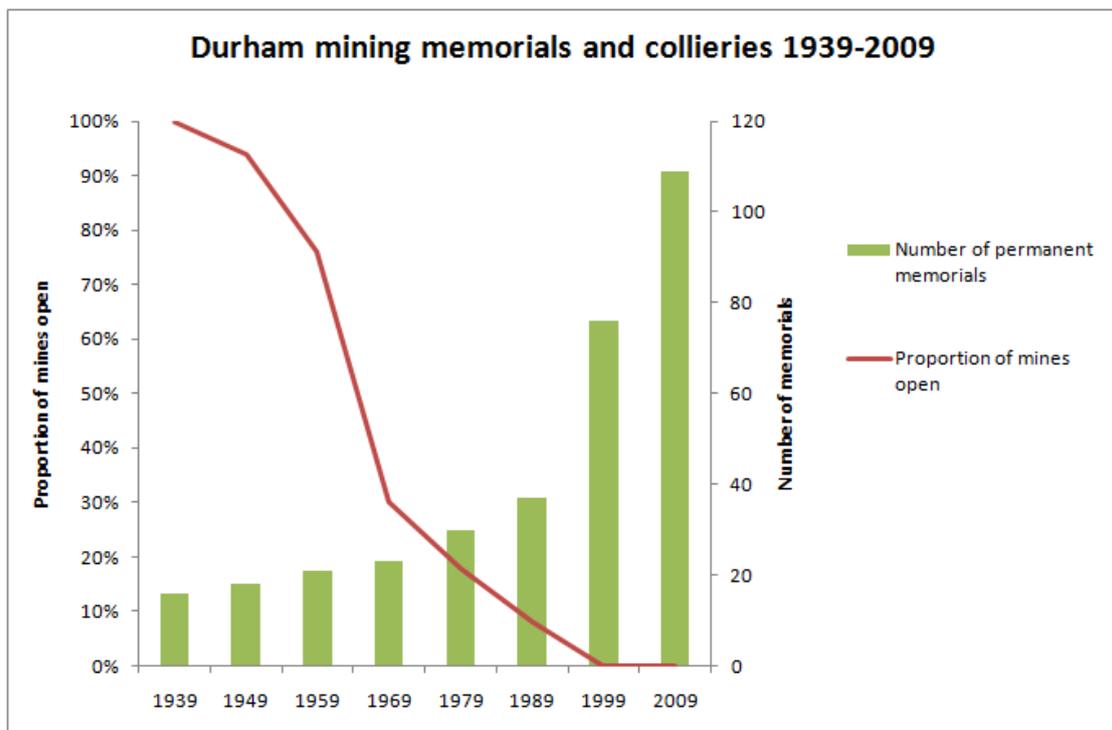
⁶¹ Barnett. *The Audit of War*. pp. 63-86.

⁶² Dintenfass, M. *Service, Loyalty and Leadership: The life tales of British coal masters and the culture of the middle class, c. 1890-1950*. in Kidd, A. & Nicholls, D. (eds.) (1998). *The Making of the British Middle Class: Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity Since the Eighteenth Century*. Sutton: Stroud. pp. 214-227.

The miner’s strike of 1984-5 was a major turning point for the Durham miner, although by this point approximately 23,000 coal miners were employed which had fallen dramatically from its peak of 165,000 men.⁶³ The strike fought against pit closures was lost and the miners returned to work, but it was clear that the driving force for British Coal had changed with the individual profitability of coal mines being the prime concern. In November 1993, following other closures in the coalfield after the strike, the last coal mine in the Durham coalfield – Wearmouth – was closed, with the privatisation occurring in 1994 in part a political response to decline.

However, the closures marked the start of a massive increase in memorialisation to the individual coalmines, the coal miners and the industry itself. The following chart shows the relationship between the closures of the coal mines the erection of memorials. It details the accumulated memorials in relation to the proportion of mines open demonstrating a clear need to commemorate a passing industry and way of life, highlighting the surge in memorialisation after the last deep coal mine closed in Durham in 1993.

Figure 5: Durham mining memorials and collieries 1939-2009



⁶³ Fagan, M. (1993). Last of Durham’s Coal Mines Faces Closure. *Independent*. 25th November 1993. and Richards. *Miners on strike*.

The monuments in Durham have been erected to remember either (just) the loss of the local coalmine; or the loss of that mine in the community and to the men who died working in it while it was in use. These monuments are usually situated in geographic areas that have since been superficially enhanced after the loss of the expansive sublimity of the coal mine. Many are located in areas that have been reclaimed on brownfield mining sites like those at the Stadium of Light in Sunderland or at the regenerated seafront at Seaham ('The Brothers waitin' t'gan down').⁶⁴ Moreover the loss of the coal mine is acknowledged while the use of the space has changed from industrial to recreational with viewers observing the monument in their leisure time in an environmentally ameliorated place. Taking Seaham and the Stadium of Light specifically, the Durham coast had once had black beaches from the pollution from the pits, the closure of the mines alongside major Millennium Commission lottery-funded environmental works reclaimed the coast for nature and made it a visitor destination. Similarly the River Wear that flows next to Sunderland's stadium is now a cleaner river. In a similar vein, the monuments of *King Coal* and *The Miner* that will be discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 4 - Gender) were built as part of the Millennium Commission-funded National Cycle Network on Britain's first commercial railway line, that carried (in part) coal from Derwent Valley in County Durham. This cycle network is now where cyclists enjoying their time at leisure can observe the past but in the positive moment of their immediate (cycling) present.⁶⁵

While the monuments in these positive recreational places show the decline of the industry, they do not announce complete decline but rather hard-won change, as Usherwood asserts 'helping people to live in the present'. It is in less developed areas that the decline is more apparent. As coal mining villages tended to be following the coal seam rather than other social reasons for communities, these communities were often geographically remote and once their reason for existence was lost many continue to show external signs of decline with the economic driver for their community defunct. Even those with investment from new building developments, which tend to be a lower level of housing stock, denies a rapid recovery from the sense of decline. Two murals in small villages in County Durham reflect

⁶⁴ Seaham.com. 'The Brothers waitin' t'gan down'. Retrieved 16th December 2015, from www.seaham.com.

⁶⁵ Figures 11 & 12.

upon this decline, although different conclusions can be gained from their examples. Both were located by roads at terrace ends in villages that clearly had lost a lot economically with the closure of the mines. The first, a mural at Cassop, depicts a miner against a brightly coloured pastoral background with a pithead and Durham Cathedral.⁶⁶ The miner's facial expression contrast to the pleasant, abundant countryside scene around him. At the top the sky turns to moon and stars illustrating the darkness of life without the coal mine alongside the brightness that the regeneration of nature has brought. The second mural shows five former coal miners – wearing cloth hats rather than mining helmets, but holding miners' lamps – with hollow, grey faces around withering daisies that almost look like sunflowers.⁶⁷ This mural originally produced in the late 1980s has been touched up once in 1999 and has been copied and moved to a new site (2016) as it obviously is so meaningful to the local community. In the new addition the men have less hollow, pinker faces and the daisies are in full colour. This enhancement of colour possibly illustrates a new confidence in a village that had raised the funds to move the mural to a new community centre and place a statue of a miner pushing a tub beside the mural in this new improved environment for the mural.⁶⁸

All of the memorials reflect the change that the compete decline of coal mining in Durham wrought of which the harbingers of change could be opportunities as well as threats. For the coal miner himself, the loss is more profound as while the region has fought for a new identity the coal miner has been left in the past: literally and metaphorically redundant, he has not metamorphosed into a new character but has been left behind while the region has changed. With emotions running high, memorials to mining have been challenged by a desire to remember and a wish to move forwards, the case study of Durham City highlighting these challenges to erect positive cultural representations.

⁶⁶ Hope, M. (8th November 2010). Cassop Vale Colliery Mural. Retrieved 27th January 2017, from, <http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-cassop-vale-colliery-mural-at-the-end-of-the-victoria-inn-pub-43746954.html>.

⁶⁷ Lambeth, R. (10th October 1999). South Hetton memorial after repaint. Retrieved 27th January 2017, from, <http://dre.durham.gov.uk/pgDre.aspx?ID=DRE11739>.

⁶⁸ David. (8th December 2016). Miners Memorial South Hetton. Retrieved 27th January 2017, from, https://farm1.static.flickr.com/254/31466148386_3c2ebacf02_b.jpg.

The Case of Durham City

*The Deputy Director of Education, my immediate boss in the county hierarchy, had long hated the idea of the open air museum. He particularly despised my concern for the industrial past of the county, believing that the 'old black image' should be destroyed and anything which looked as though it might perpetuate this anathema, so he and I regularly crossed swords. At this point he persuaded the Museum committee to instruct me not only to stop collecting industrial material, but actually to get rid of all the collected material we had built up over the past ten years or so for the projected new museum.*⁶⁹

Frank Atkinson's autobiography 'The Man Who Made Beamish' highlighted the animosity of Durham's civic elite in the early 1960s towards the mining industry. He described how high-ranking officials within Durham Council sought to obscure Durham's mining heritage, feeling that it did not sit well with the future. Atkinson also revealed that *Beamish Open Air Museum* (which will be considered in detail later in this chapter) was originally intended to be in Durham City at Aykley Heads, but that this too was opposed.⁷⁰ The effect of these claims and policies was illustrated by a quick perusal of the memorials to miners in Durham City in the period of mining's decline. Hidden from view at street level, the memorials need to be sought out, with almost all of them being in interior spaces such as the new Gala arts complex. There are two exceptions to this rule: the annual Durham Miners' Gala, whose temporary nature precludes a permanent external position; and the private Durham Miners' Association Garden, which will be explored further.

Visitors to Durham are greeted by the city's ecclesiastical and collegiate past, with Durham City's tourism website illustrating this rejection of mining, describing itself as a 'quintessential old English University City.'⁷¹ Durham's third dimension - that of industry - has been erased. For over a hundred years it was also a mining city, coal being transported through the now-vanished goods station on the edge of the medieval bailey: indeed, within

⁶⁹ Atkinson, F. (1999). *The Man Who Made Beamish*. Gateshead: Northern Books. p. 92.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ This is Durham. Durham City. Retrieved 11th May 2010, from, www.thisisdurham.com/site/destination-guide-discover-durham/search-results/durham-city-p135181.

the geographic city limits of the 'DH1' postal district itself, 13 mines had been in operation in the hundred years after 1848, with the final mine closing only in 1949.⁷² In its World Heritage Visitor Centre, a display in 2011 contrasted the industry of Ironbridge Gorge to Durham's ecclesiastical architecture, rather than acknowledging its own actual industrial past. This treatment draws strong parallels to Dave Russell's first impressions of York as an industrial city in the 1970s rather than the historic tourist city it has since become.⁷³

Considering John Urry's concept of the 'tourist gaze,' which suggests that the tourist experience operates in a socially-constructed way, 'speaking to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate it will do so,' there is an alternative reading of Durham City's perceived obscuring of its mining heritage.⁷⁴ It is possible that, rather than being an outright rejection of mining, the placement of memorials in interior or temporary spaces is an attempt by the community to separate their heritage from the 'tourist gaze,' thereby retaining ownership and separateness of their past, and thus making their own 'sites of memory:' defined as any place, monument, artefact or other cultural representation that elicits feelings of remembrance.⁷⁵ If this were the case, rather than reducing the importance of memorials by placing them in hidden spaces, it would instead assign greater importance to them: using hidden or temporary spaces for mining memorials ensures that Durham's stakeholders at either end of the spectrum are happy - on the one hand Durham retains its pre-industrial image; on the other community groups are able to own and control their separate memorials to mining, thereby looking to the past and to the future.

Many of the mining memorials in Durham City celebrate the external and visible annual Miners' Gala. The Gala Theatre (2002) was named after this event and the Gala is the subject for the mural by Norman Cornish commissioned by Durham County for its council offices at Aykley Heads, itself built on the site of a mine.⁷⁶ The inclusive subject matter of

⁷² Durham Mining Museum. Retrieved 8th January 2010, from, www.dmm.org.uk.

⁷³ Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the National Imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 2-3.

⁷⁴ Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze*. London, Sage. p. 1.

⁷⁵ Winter, J. (1995). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁶ Artuk. Durham Miners Gala Day, Cornish. (Painted 1963.) Retrieved 27th January 2015, from, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/a-durham-miners-gala-day-scene-43882>.

the Gala allows miners, their families and even non-miners to participate in this mining heritage. Three distinct elements to the Miners' Gala are worth considering: the role of Durham as a social centre for miners; the enormity of the occasion; and how it has changed meaning since deep coal mining ended in the coalfield. Firstly, the Gala highlights Durham's unique role as a social centre for miners, rather than being a commercial hub for mining.⁷⁷ It is possible that the visible, high profile and all-encompassing nature of the Gala satiates the appetite for remembrance, without the need for a permanent external memorial. On the second point, before its demise in 1872 Durham was the meeting place for the hated annual bond, where miners would sell their services to individual collieries for the year. This role as social centre is evidenced by the fact that the headquarters of the Durham NUM and the Durham Miners Association (DMA) are in the city, although the mercantile and commercial interests of mining were located in Newcastle and Sunderland, which was also where the industrialists lived.⁷⁸ Leslie Turnbull observed that Lord Joicey's mine company was probably the largest in the world and was located entirely in Durham, however his headquarters were in Newcastle.⁷⁹ Finally, the emphasis of the Gala has changed: when Durham had mines, it was only the operational mines that took part in the Gala, with closed mines donating their banners to those that were still working. The Miners' Strike necessitated the cancelling of the Gala in 1984, but when mining work stopped entirely in 1994, the 110th Gala was not cancelled, instead its emphasis necessarily changed towards signifying past labour, with the call made by the Durham Miners Association for this Gala being: 'Let us demonstrate by our presence at this great event that although they have destroyed our industry they cannot destroy our traditions.'⁸⁰ The imagery of the banners serves to support the overt call to uphold tradition, anchoring itself in the distant past.

The private Memorial Garden for Miners in the Durham Miners' Association (DMA) Headquarters provides a permanent external memorial. However, this is hidden from view by road or the train, with access neither obvious nor advertised (although once access is

⁷⁷ Colls. *Pitmen of the Northern Coalfield*. p. 103.

⁷⁸ Faulkner, T. E. (ed.) (1996). *Northumbrian Panorama: Studies in the History and Culture of North East England*. London: Octavian Press Limited. p. 99.

⁷⁹ Turnbull, L. (2009). *Coals from Newcastle: An introduction to the Northumberland and Durham Coalfield*. Newcastle: Chapman Research Publishing. pp. 139-40

⁸⁰ Emery. *Banners*. p. 129.

gained, almost ten memorials are available for viewing). The headquarters of the socialist elite of Durham are located away from the commercial, academic and clerical centre of Durham and although still fairly geographically central in this small city, it effectively remains out on a limb. The gates to the garden are guarded by two statues of miners (1989), sculpted by Rob Olley, which protected this island of labour while deep mining continued in the region.⁸¹ Within the garden, *The Putter* was commissioned to mark the end of mining in Easington but was placed in the DMA in 1995 as it was deemed a safer place (from vandalism) for the memorial.⁸²

All other memorials in Durham City are placed in interior spaces, thereby emphasising the social rather than economic role of mining, and by denying any industrial decline, help to shape a positive narrative to Durham City's new found regeneration and affluence which has emerged from mining's demise. However, it is the way in which the effect of Durham's memorials are viewed as a *de facto* group suggests a common theme of exclusion, rather than any one being singled-out as a particularly apt example. The Millennium Window at Durham Cathedral illustrates this, as in many ways it embraces the mining past, noting its decline but continued relevance to the city. Durham Cathedral's prominence has helped to undermine the influence of cultural representations of mining in the external spaces of Durham City. However, inside the cathedral, it is the prominence of the mining memorials that creates a paradox to exclusion. Visitors are greeted at the Cathedral by a large Jacobean-style memorial, Remembrance Book and miner's lamp near the entrance, while next to the clock and steps to the tower is a mining banner.⁸³ The Millennium Window looking over the cathedral's very *raison d'être*, The Shrine of St Cuthbert, celebrates mining itself rather than remembering its associated deaths. The window distorts the historical facts of mining's decline into which a new vaguer narrative on an elastic timeline is presented. Depicting sympathetic historical and contemporary images of Durham, the central image of a miner and bishop shaking hands is framed by contemporary images of Durham on either side, namely of computing and farming: the miner with his electric helmet

⁸¹ Flickr. Durham Miners Association Gates. Retrieved 25th September 2015, from, https://farm3.staticflickr.com/2570/3931477315_c96519d111.jpg.

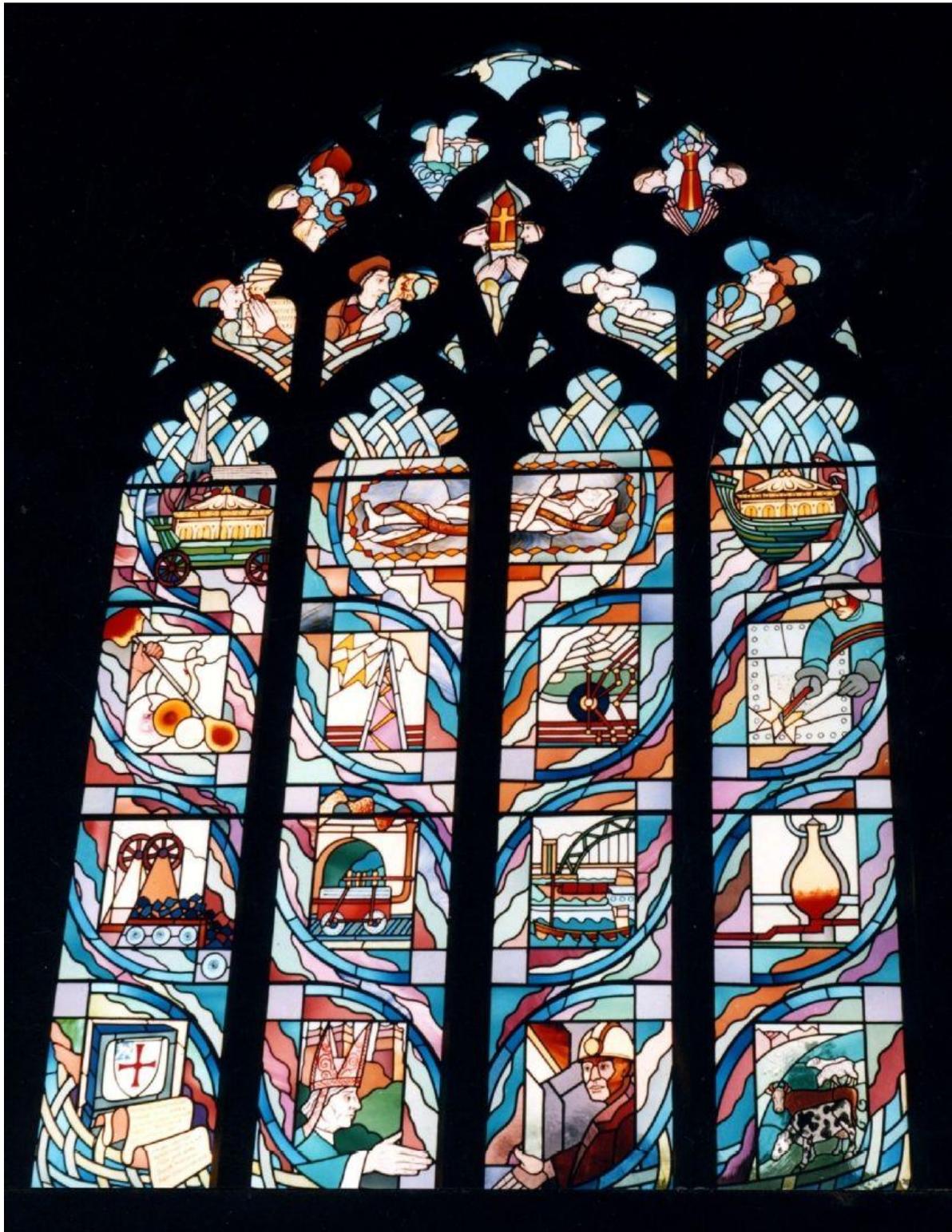
⁸² Figure 10.

⁸³ Cauwood, B. (2013). Durham Cathedral Memorial. Marsden Banner Group. Retrieved 16th June 2015, <http://www.marsdenbannergroup.btck.co.uk/MemorialPage>.

is clearly a modern miner and the Bishop's historic mitre seems to match the contemporary setting of its fellow-images. The explanation for the window in the Cathedral states that the Bishop is Bishop Westcott, whose arbitration ended a miners' strike in 1892. The placing of the redundant miner with a Victorian bishop, within a contemporary frame, highlights an awareness of decline, but distorts the actual historical context of the recently lost mining industry by placing it once again into a more distant past. To those aware of what they are viewing, that the bishop from mining's heyday is shaking hands with the miner from the days of mining's death subtly distorts the history of mining's decline.

This brief consideration of the cultural representations depicting the decline of the coal mining industry in Durham highlights the complexity of interpreting memorials. The context of the memorials in all of the examples cited keeps changing as the environment itself changes around the memorial. While this is true of all monuments it is particularly relevant to those of coal mining in Durham as the region has witnessed dynamic change since mining's decline. Many of the areas have received funding locally, nationally and internationally from private and public bodies, resulting in at worst a superficial improvement of the environment and at best a real change in circumstances and opportunities. The decline of coal mining emerges for most as a part of Durham's history which axiomatically with the passage of time seems further away and for the majority the decline is lessened. Furthermore this amelioration of the spaces around the cultural representations and the use of these spaces for leisure pursuits distorts potential messages on the decline of coal mining. The changing image of the mural at South Hetton is a startling example of how the reception of memorials change and how this can actually change the memorial itself from one of decline to one of hope. In Durham the complex relationship between the city and its lost industry comes into sharp examination highlighting a subtle embracing of its industrial past allowing a new tourist focused heritage while quietly acknowledging its mining history.

Figure 6: Millennium Window, Durham Cathedral.⁸⁴



⁸⁴ Nuttgens, J. Durham Cathedral. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://www.iosephnuttgens.co.uk/images/stglass/05-durhamcathedral.jpg>. (Permission given for the use of this image.)

Decline, Nostalgia and Heritage

*Nostalgia is felt most strongly at a time of discontent, anxiety or disappointment, yet the times for which we felt nostalgia most keenly were often themselves periods of disturbance.*⁸⁵

*...through the filter of nostalgia we change the past, and through the conservative impulse we seek to change the present. The question then is not whether we should preserve the past, but what kind of past we have chosen to preserve and what that has done to our present.*⁸⁶

*Heritage... comes to be seen less as an inability to come to terms with change (escapism, nostalgia, etc.), and more as a strategy for enabling change. Heritage also gets reinterpreted as a sign of modernity,*⁸⁷

Given the enduring influence of Hewison's thesis on *The Heritage Industry*, nostalgia can be viewed as the established academic cultural response to decline. Hewison made a pivotal contribution to declinist debate in his thesis when he presented 'manufacturing heritage' as the replacement for 'the real industry on which the country's economy depends', itself a key outcome of the cultural logic of declinism.⁸⁸ Hewison wrote within a declinist paradigm arguing that 'while future perspectives seem to shrink, the past is steadily growing,'⁸⁹ and this preoccupation with nostalgia was a central theme in his argument. For Hewison, this nostalgia had a long historical precedent, being a 'national cultural characteristic long before the Gothic Revival' that having 'waxed and waned' had (in the mid-1980s) 'presently become stronger.'⁹⁰ In the first quote at the beginning of this chapter he connected nostalgia as a reaction to decline or in his words 'discontent, anxiety or disappointment.' His second quote highlighted how nostalgia can change the past and in so doing change the

⁸⁵ Hewison. *Heritage Industry*. p. 45.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 47.

⁸⁷ Corsane. (ed) *Heritage Museums and Galleries*.

⁸⁸ Hewison. *Heritage Industry*. p. 9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 24.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 28.

perceptions of the present, for nostalgia is inherently preoccupied with the present, not so much about the past but rather as a reaction to emotions felt in the present. Nostalgia's emotional core and usually romantic narratives found in our case studies provide fertile ground to examine possible nostalgic themes, whilst their extensive memorials allow for an empirical review of nostalgia's relationship with decline. Whereas previous research by Hewison, Wright and Lowenthal⁹¹ on nostalgia and decline has examined heritage sites and historical perspectives with particular emphasis to those in the post-industrial field, this analysis will concentrate mainly upon monuments, although other 'sites of memory' may be included to strengthen the argument. The diversity of the case studies; one post-industrial; one military; and one imperial, will allow for a broad chronological analysis spanning the twentieth century.

Nostalgic influences on the memorials will be considered further in the chapters that follow on gender; class and community and science and progress. This section will consider broader nostalgia and debates on heritage while the specific types of nostalgia will be evaluated in these chapters: for gender – the loss of traditional gender roles; for class and community - the loss of community; and for science and progress the general rejection of images of modernity in many memorials, that link back to the discussion of declinism earlier in this chapter. These three aspects of nostalgia have much in common. Hewison noted that 'nostalgia is profoundly conservative,' his later argument encompassing conservatism with a large 'C.'⁹² This is an assertion that was recognised not only in the themes of the loss of traditional gender ideals and the loss of communities, but also in the case studies themselves as both Scott and Dunkirk have developed as essentially establishment myths. For coal mining and the topic of lost communities, the older-than-actual perspective from which they are remembered nostalgically fits into Hewison's wider thesis in which he argued that 'nostalgia is a vital element in the myths of the left (as well as the right)' albeit within a 'prelapsarian agricultural' perspective.⁹³ As such nostalgia is associated with decline, and even after 2000 was still a relevant way of remembering the past, reaching its zenith of

⁹¹ Ibid. Wright. *On Living in an Old Country*. Lowenthal. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Lowenthal, D. (1997). *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. London: Viking.

⁹² Hewison. *Heritage Industry*. p. 47.

⁹³ Ibid.

popularity – as measured by the output of academic research on the topic stemming from this time – during the administrations of the Conservative Governments from 1979-97.

Each of the case studies connects to nostalgia for the past in many ways but broadly can be defined as follows: for Scott it is for a lost world and certainty of what it meant to be British; Dunkirk is imbued with nostalgia for Britain's 'finest hour'; while for mining the nostalgia is for a simpler more value-based life and the simple visual certainty of vast industrial complexes cementing the country's fortunes. For example, nostalgia for the lost imperial splendour and glory from Scott's time was evident in 'The Heart of the Great Alone' exhibition at The Queen's Gallery, Edinburgh in 2010. This exhibition celebrated the Royal Collection's Antarctic photographs and was festooned with flags, many from the Royal Archives, that have been given to the respective monarch from all of the Scott and Shackleton Antarctic expeditions. These flags represented both royal patronage and the imperial identity of the expeditions. The ambient surroundings in the gallery and liberal decoration of flags harked back to a lost age, while the royal credentials of the gallery and its intimate relationship to the British Empire, gave a strong air of nostalgia. This nostalgia for the Empire in the British Palace of Holyrood, was in stark contrast to the Scottish Parliament opposite, with its emerging debate on independence, making the idea of nostalgia for imperialism appear incongruous. For Dunkirk the 70th anniversary celebrations of the evacuation at Dunkirk in 2010, with the festooning of the "little ships", suggested a regatta rather than remembrance. The presence of vessels from the Royal Navy showed the continued support of the establishment, in an event Chapman has called 'probably the most mythologised event of the Second World War.'⁹⁴ While there was a service at the memorial, it was the evacuation and the power behind it that were commemorated in the celebrations rather than Britain's retreat, France's subsequent fall, captivity for the remaining men or even the loss of life. This highlights Dunkirk's role in the national consciousness of where Britain 'stood alone':⁹⁵ and that while it was a military defeat, it ensured that Britain and its Empire stood against Nazism, showing enough military strength alongside geographic advantage to defend itself when all other countries had capitulated. It therefore serves as a national memorial to this lost power from Britain's 'finest hour'.

⁹⁴ The researcher visited this significant anniversary. Also Chapman. *Past and Present*. p. 161.

⁹⁵ Connelly. *We Can Take It!* pp. 54-71.

The heritage narratives around many coal mining museums like Beamish formed a key part of Hewison's thesis and depict a simpler, friendlier, less material and more sincere past. Moreover cultural representations of mining show evidence of nostalgia for a lost prominence of this industrial behemoth, with many mining memorials remembering the lost industry, through the use of signifiers such as mining wheels. However, it is mining museums that memorialise this lost power from a particularly nostalgic perspective. In the late 1980s, Hewison set himself the task of investigating and analysing the proliferation of commemorations of Britain's industrial heritage.⁹⁶ This eruption of industrial heritage could in part be understood as pride at being the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, followed by an ensuing loss of advantage, culminating in relative and in some industries absolute decline. For example, Britain's National Science Museum celebrates past industrial giants in its Turbine Hall with the engines and dedicated staff ensuring visitors are more amazed at the past rather than focusing on present or future industry, a scenario which some might argue highlights an entrenched backward-looking gaze in the British heritage sector. The national and regional mining museums embrace this backward-gaze inevitably promoting nostalgia for lost industrial power. In all but one museum (the National Mining Museum of England), deep coal mining has ended in their region (at the time of the visit) which, accompanied by a general ignorance of Britain's current industry (as illustrated by the BBC TV Series *Made in Britain*), adds to the nostalgia for past industrial strength.⁹⁷ The scale of mining museums reinforces the sense of loss, as they are all located on expansive ex-collieries, where these veritable giants and their corresponding narrative of decline add to this sense of loss. The key role of coal for many years in actually fuelling industry and manufacturing (which have themselves declined) adds to this lamentation.

Yet these heritage sites in the twenty-first century are more likely to be considered to be signs of progress rather than decline. Within Hewison's thesis heritage was placed in a paradigm of decline, viewed as both a reaction and a contribution to decline. Yet Robert Lumley in Gerard Corsane's *Heritage Museums and Galleries* considered heritage as a *bona fide* industry itself, 'enabling change,' and thereby acting as a remedy for decline. Even Hewison, who so clearly connected heritage and decline, has recognised its valuable

⁹⁶ Hewison. *Heritage Industry*.

⁹⁷ Small, M. (Producer). Stephens, J. (Director). (2011). *Made in Britain*. UK: BBC2.

contribution to the economy, although he is still critical of the wide effects of the heritage industry and its commodification of British culture.⁹⁸ This section will consider how the relationship of the case studies to ‘the heritage industry’ could be used to investigate how the declinist perspective works as an advocate of change.

As noted, Wiener’s thesis was one of the influences that precipitated an encouragement of an enterprise culture by the British government. The relationship of enterprise to heritage was explained in a book edited by John Corner and Sylvia Harvey.⁹⁹ This research highlighted that, while heritage ‘offered the reassurance of continuity with a shared past,’ enterprise was a ‘motor of change.’¹⁰⁰ Within twenty-first century Britain, this interaction changed the British cultural scene by commodifying bourgeois leisure culture.¹⁰¹ Hewison lamented this commodification and erosion of high culture, but realised even in his earliest writing the importance of the industry element to *The Heritage Industry*.¹⁰² In 1984, three years before his seminal thesis was written, tourism was recognised as the second largest item of world trade.¹⁰³ The growing importance of tourism to worldwide economic development highlights a shift from industrial to service-based international economies. Heritage has been a response to decline and de-industrialisation, with many of the regeneration programmes emanating from industrial regions that have lost their industry. Heritage has facilitated change, bringing social and economic prosperity, and as such, has a role as a response to decline in the post-industrial era and can therefore be considered as ‘a sign of modernity, rather than as a downside of it.’¹⁰⁴ Each of the case studies have examples of heritage projects as part of their commemoration, and in the following section a detailed analysis will be undertaken of three projects: *RSS Discovery*, Dundee, for Scott; *Operation Dynamo: Rescue from Dunkirk*, Dover, for Dunkirk; and *Beamish Museum*, Durham, for coal mining.

⁹⁸ Hewison. Culture and Consensus. Hewison, R. (2014). *Cultural Capital: The Rise and Fall of Creative Britain*. London: Verso. Hewison. The Heritage Industry Revisited.

⁹⁹ Corner, J. & Harvey, S. (eds.) (1991). *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture*. London: Routledge.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. pp. 72-3.

¹⁰¹ Hewison. *Cultural Capital*.

¹⁰² Ibid. Hewison. *The Heritage Industry*.

¹⁰³ Lumley. *The Debate on Heritage Reviewed*. p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 19.

RSS Discovery has been the centrepiece for a regeneration and tourist-driven strategy for Dundee. Tomlinson has shown that it was calculated that tourism employed 5,000 people by 2006 and made £430m in revenue for the city.¹⁰⁵ While the acquisition of *Discovery* in 1985, and its subsequent role as a focal-point in the regeneration of Dundee's waterfront was important, the creation of six enterprise zones within the city in 1984 signalled an earlier intention to develop – among other sites – Dundee's waterfront, creating a receptive economic and political framework for regeneration.¹⁰⁶ *Discovery* returned to Dundee in 1986, with its visitor centre *Discovery Point* opened in 1993, acting as a focal point for the waterfront area. *Discovery* has been followed by visitor attractions and commercial organisations opening around its site. Offices and shops surround the area, while *The Verdant Works* (an industrial heritage centre), opened in 1996 by the same Dundee Heritage Trust who had restored *Discovery*, showcasing the city's lost jute industry. A short walk from *Discovery*, *Dundee Science Centre*, funded by The Millennium Commission opened in 2000. The highest-profile venture heralding the cultural renaissance of this post-industrial city is the proposed flagship project of *The Victoria and Albert Museum of Design Dundee*, a £45m centre adjacent to *Discovery*, to be housed in a modernist complex by the architect Kengo Kuma, to be completed in 2018. These projects unite conventional heritage with celebrations of science, industry and design.

Operation Dynamo: Escape from Dunkirk offers a different insight into regeneration to that centred on *Discovery*. The interactive exhibition at Dover Castle is an excellent example of an exhibition using cutting-edge technology within an 'experience' paradigm and highlights the lucrative creative industry that supports heritage attractions. Visitors entering the tunnel are transported to 1940 and assigned a guide with the demeanour of a sergeant major who leads them through many rooms with movie-style presentations culminating in the Dynamo room itself, where the evacuation was controlled. Inside, a further enormous movie montage is presented on the walls depicting the evacuation. While setting the scene for Dunkirk, this movie passes off its edited images as being actual footage of the

¹⁰⁵ Tomlinson, J. *City of Discovery?* Tomlinson, J. & Whatley, C. A. (eds.) (2011). *Jute No More: Transforming Dundee*. Dundee: Dundee University Press. p. 295.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 295.

evacuation, as very limited footage was taken on the beaches or boats. Given this fact, cleverly manipulated photos and footage for the evacuation are merged with extra moving images to make the movie more exciting, an agenda managed by television and film rather than heritage professionals. The whole “experience” is one of high-tech theatre, with the information being presented to each visitor in the same way without much chance to peruse the rooms, as this is a timed guided tour. *Operation Dynamo* provides an excellent example of a new breed of visitor attraction where the visitor is not just presented with content, but actually managed within a homogenising and all-encompassing visitor experience. The exhibition is design- rather than exhibit-led, and is an example of the influence of the creative industries on heritage. Hewison has stated that in the ‘Creative Industries Mapping Document’ 1998, 1.4m nationwide were employed in the heritage sector, generating revenue of £60 billion and 4% of GDP. By 2001 this had risen to 5%. He concluded that ‘relative to the size of its overall economy, Britain has one of the most important creative industry sectors in the world.’¹⁰⁷ As part of an English Heritage site, *Operation Dynamo* is an attempt at rebranding heritage in an organisation that Hewison has described as being deeply traditional and bureaucratic.¹⁰⁸ Within the context of the wider site at Dover Castle, the exhibition complements other more accessible and commercial exhibitions such as the reconstructed furnishings in the Norman castle, and is part of a broadening trend. Dover Castle has been in state crown ownership since its construction, and is very much part of the establishment, contrasting markedly with Beamish Museum. *Beamish* was established from grass roots with an emphasis on an industrial heritage that would otherwise have been forgotten. This example will now be considered for its contribution to the heritage industry.

Beamish Museum offers a third perspective on the heritage industry: a site that originated from a desire to preserve an industrial heritage that was being destroyed but that, while staying true to its objectives of preservation, has had to embrace commercialisation to stay open. *Beamish* is an example of the commodification of heritage as an extension of the leisure industry, competing with trips to the cinema as much as other heritage sites and museums. Conceived as more than an industrial museum, *Beamish* officially opened in 1972 with a remit to help preserve the North Eastern way of life, its inspiration coming from the

¹⁰⁷ Hewison. *Cultural Capital*. p. 42.

¹⁰⁸ Hewison. *Heritage Industry Revisited*.

open-air museums of Scandinavia.¹⁰⁹ As will be seen, the open-air museum has continued to expand with a mining town, Georgian manor house and railway adding to an expanding mining village and farm. The farm provides an interesting example of the commercialisation of the museum. Over time it has changed from being a Victorian farm to one set in 1913, but in 2014 was changed to a 1940s farm, capitalising on student visitors in a region with few other wartime sites for school trips based around the National Curriculum. From a commercial perspective, there were originally few opportunities for visitor-spend apart from the entrance fee and the fairground rides, but by 2012, revenue opportunities abounded. Visitors can look at the period shops and purchase some items, alongside a choice of restaurants and an option to have supplementary experiences such as ice-skating in winter. Recognising the importance of this ancillary visitor spend, visitors get a full year's entry with each paid visit, encouraging them to return to the site and make more purchases. Furthermore, when once it was closed for the winter season, *Beamish* now has special events for Halloween and Christmas. While maintaining its status as a private charitable venture, *Beamish* has had to adapt to succeed as an important example in Britain's heritage industry and provide, for many, a reason to visit North-East England.¹¹⁰

These three case studies highlight the importance of the heritage industry in Britain as a means of regeneration, a sign of change and of evidence of a vibrant creative industry providing the know-how for these projects. Stephen Deuchar from The Art Fund extolled this industry:

British museums are almost restlessly innovative... There's something daring and experimental, which has really developed over the last 10 or 15 years. I really think Britain has something to say to the rest of the world about museum presentations and experiences.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Atkinson. *The Man Who Made Beamish*.

¹¹⁰ Note: In 2014 Beamish had 654,357 visitors of whom half were on holiday. Beamish. Retrieved from 17th March 2015, from, <http://.beamish.org.uk/record-year-for-beamish-museum>.

¹¹¹ Parkinson, J. (21st June, 2015). What Makes a Great Museum? Retrieved 24th June 2015, from, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-33184094>.

This quote highlights how this world-class industry has moved away from Hewison's classic thesis on the 'Heritage Industry' heralding Britain's 'climate of decline.' While two of the case studies discussed, *Discovery* and *Beamish*, were created in reaction to de-industrialisation (thus fitting neatly into Hewison's thesis), they have since created jobs and regeneration, becoming signifiers of a new age. The example of Dover Castle's *Operation Dynamo: Rescue from Dunkirk* however is evidence of the increasing commodification of heritage. The exhibition did not represent part of a regeneration project or a reaction to de-industrialisation, rather coming about in response to a competitive leisure industry. It is part of a wider initiative to make English Heritage – that has changed status from being a non-departmentalised government body (NDGB) into a charity – more commercial and less reliant on government grants. In this, its trading and operations function now have charitable status, but the ownership and responsibility for the monuments is still a NDGB as 'Historic England.' As part of the leisure industry, English Heritage and its properties are competing with any other leisure providers and as such are making their sites more dynamic and popular (granted, within a governmental safety net). That the heritage industry is a *bona fide* industry in the post-industrial age has been recognised in the *National Waterfront Museum: Wales' story of Industry and Innovation* at Swansea. Within the permanent exhibition in 2010, the decline of coal mining and manufacturing industry in Wales were documented but as a closing note, the museum celebrated the heritage industry as one of the newly created industries in its stead.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered how the cultural representations of the case studies react to changing ideas of decline. It was noted more than once that this chapter has concentrated on the case studies and declinism whilst the following chapters will explore different themes and how they relate to the representations of the case studies especially on gender, class and community and science and progress. A discussion of the three periods of the case studies and the different ideas of decline at these times in British history was initially considered. The observation was made that an illuminating essay by David Cannadine had connected these periods to decline through the guise of prominent politicians in their respective periods. Given the originality of this research, no comparable project has been undertaken on the similarities of these diverse subjects and decline, or indeed any major cultural icons and decline. On an individual basis, Jones had considered Scott within a paradigm of decline using *The Last Place On Earth* as an expedient means of analysis, asserting that in the 1980s 'the debunking of national heroes collided with debates about decline'. This chapter draws upon the ideas made in that research and added to them by considering the relevance of Scott in the quasi-declinist and declinist period. Similarly for Dunkirk, Summerfield's analysis of the film *Dunkirk* gave a solid background for the research undertaken in this chapter on Dunkirk which was expanded along with the research on Scott to consider the relevance of maritime representations for the case studies and declinism. While the research on the decline of coal mining in Durham and its cultural representations represents an entirely new area of research.

The discussion on quasi-declinism explained the relevance of Captain Scott to the fears elucidated in the concept of quasi-declinism at the time of his expedition and in the inter-war period. In this chapter the expedient use of maritime imagery in cultural representations against a time when Britain's maritime advantage was under threat was discussed and as a possible expression of quasi-declinism. Building on this in the following chapter the idea of the promotion of representations of traditional ideals of manhood will be discussed as an expression of these quasi-declinist thoughts too. For declinism three televisual and cinematic sources were discussed in detail and found to interact with decline

as either a way of promoting nostalgia for past glory (*Scott of the Antarctic* and *Dunkirk*) or as a critique of the gentleman showing Scott as an exemplar of decline (*The Last Place on Earth*). The analysis on the respective latter two of these sources highlighted the difficulties for filmmakers garnering the intended reception of their material to audiences who are influenced by factors wider than their cinematic or televisual work itself. While part of the modus operandi of *Scott of the Antarctic* was to give a nostalgic interpretation of the past in an uncertain, declining present and for *Dunkirk* while this idea was more muted its original high ideals of providing a critique of the management of the evacuation were severely diluted, *The Last Place on Earth* differed as promoting Scott as an exemplar for decline without the ensuing glory. Again a point must be made that much analysis has been undertaken where the themes interact with declinism on gender, class and community and science and progress and will be explained in the following chapters.

The third part of the chapter considered cultural representations of the decline of coal mining in Durham, which like the section on declinism highlighted a complex relationship. The complexity was examined and explained to be because the monuments erected to mining's decline did not exist in a vacuum but in areas that were constantly changing themselves. These changes ensured that the reception of the monuments itself would change as the eye of the viewer changed and the viewers relationship to mining weakened following the passage of time. The case study of considering the coal mining monuments in Durham City in its entirety, highlighted a complicated relationship to the decline of coal mining and the regeneration of this ecclesiastical and collegiate medieval city. It was shown how at first glance the obvious desire to exclude mining monuments had been adhered to but on closer examination that monuments to coal mining were evident to the determined viewer. The findings for this section highlighted a compromise between providing cultural representations of industrial decline and a city concentrating its religious, medieval and university heritage. The consideration for this section on Durham as a miners' city took the idea from Atkinson and was inspired by Dave Russell's observations on the similar northern city of York, but the research presented represented an entirely original research topic.

The fourth and final section of this chapter considered the important role that nostalgia has been perceived to have played in affecting cultural representations generally and of its links

to decline and debates on the usefulness of heritage. Examples of this nostalgia were given for the case studies but not withstanding this, nostalgia is also a consideration that informed the other examples in this chapter and many of the sections for analysis in the following chapters. The point was made though that while nostalgia fuels heritage that ideas on heritage have changed. In academia it has gone from being a symptom of declinism to a positive expression of change and a bona fide industry in its own right. This metamorphosis illuminating a change in thinking towards declinism in Britain has rendered it a less popular area of study. Yet it has been a major ideology in Britain in what Tomlinson has coined the 'long twentieth century' and its understanding lies key to enhancing knowledge of modern British history. The next three chapters seek to add to this knowledge by considering other strong twentieth century themes in British history of gender; class and community and science and progress.

Chapter 4 - Gender

...what has been called the century of the common man...¹

Presenting to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mid Century Convocation in 1949, Churchill, a contemporary of Scott, recalled that the twentieth century (thus far in 1949) was 'the century of the common man.' While the phrase had a gender bias, it was intended to highlight the massive inroads already made in 1949 for social democratisation rather than extolling the importance of men. However, it highlights the inherent promotion of masculinity and exclusion of females in British culture and society at this time. This chapter will show using the cultural representations that this casual sexism continued well beyond 1949, although the new millennium augured change.

As was presented in the previous chapters, decline is an important theme to British history in the twentieth century and informs other dominant themes in that period. Changing attitudes to gender in society is without doubt one of the most important narratives in modern British history. The twentieth century witnessed massive changes for men and women, as women gained political, social and economic freedom from men, whilst men lost their historical hegemony. One of the key points in understanding decline is recognising the underlying relationship of gender to decline. The masculine power wielded was in decline as much as industrial power and economic strength. This chapter will contend that as perceptions of decline increased, a corresponding re-assertion of traditional male gender ideals could be witnessed in the cultural representations. However as decline diminished as a key topic in popular debates, more gender-inclusive cultural representations emerged for the three case studies.

So how are decline and gender woven together? In his examination of Scott, sexuality and decline, Jones has speculated that 'the appeal of declinism across the political spectrum

¹ Churchill, W. (1949). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mid-Century Convocation. Retrieved on 17th May 2017, from, <https://www.winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/mit-mid-century-convocation>.

grew in part from the foundation of discourse in normative conceptions of gender and sexuality.² Within economic history much credence is given to industrial data that prove the relative weakening of British industrial power and leading to reduced economic power and therefore decline. Particular importance is given to manufacturing production, iron and steel production, shipbuilding as well as the chemical industries, all of which were dominated by male workforces. The importance of this data as evidence of decline puts the demise of these masculine industries at the heart of declinist debate. Corresponding evidence of emerging tertiary and quaternary sectors is suppressed from arguments of decline, with an emphasis put on de-industrialisation and thus, de-masculinisation.

An exhibition lamenting the lost steel industry at The Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough illustrates this point, the text in this 2011 exhibition, reminding visitors of the emasculating process of de-industrialisation, asserting:

They may be men of steel but they are men with loves, responsibilities and nowhere to go. They have been brutally treated and should not be shrugged off with re-training into a world of telesales, shelf-stacking or coerced into adult education. They are men who make things... things that have built centuries.³

This reference to the men's 'responsibilities' clearly locates their masculinity in a more traditional patriarchal mould, while the explicit statement of their coercion into the worst fate, a female 'world of telesales and shelf stacking', highlights the horror that the substitution of positive male production work by negative female service employment is felt to bring.

There is a strongly evidenced relationship between decline and gender, and similarly the case studies themselves also have strong separate relationships to these two themes. Given these associations, this section will extrapolate readings of the case studies through their

² Jones. Truth about Captain Scott. p. 868.

³ "Steel Life." (2011). Temporary exhibition at the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough April 22nd -17th July 2011, visited May 2011.

cultural representations and their background myths as potential signposts for changes and reactions to gender in the face of decline.

The analysis in this chapter will fall into three distinct sections. The first discusses the initial exclusion of women in the case studies of Captain Scott and coal mining, illustrating the assertion of male hegemony in society and industry against a background of a crisis in masculinity. These assertions of masculinity did not belong to decline *per se* but set the necessary background for subsequent change. The curious case of women and Dunkirk however illustrates a positive change in attitude towards female inclusiveness during the Second World War. Yet, their subsequent erasure from the cultural record thus strengthening a male narrative neatly brings into play the second section of this chapter, which considers examples from the case studies where ideals of masculinity have been used in cultural representations. It will be shown that within a background of declinism, masculinity was asserted through erasing female roles and asserting strong masculine roles. The final section considers more recent cultural representations that have established female narratives in the case studies, against a background of greater gender equality, social inclusion and the diminishing resonance of declinism.

Assertions of Male Hegemony Before the Intellectual Moment of Decline

A Lady an explorer? A traveller in skirts?

The Notion's just a trifle too seraphic:

Let them stay and mind the babies, or hem our ragged shirts;

But they mustn't, can't and shan't be geographic.⁴

The backstory to Captain Scott's expeditions illustrates a concerted assertion of male dominance in the sphere of exploration, as does the history behind the male workforce in the coal industry. Understanding the reasons for the dominant male narratives to both of these case studies helps set the scene of how the potential female voice was removed from Scott and coal mining through excluding women in the first place to assert a masculinity that was perceived to be under attack.

Taking the coal industry first, while the initial gendering of coal mining does not relate to a time when decline was evident, understanding the gendering of the coal industry in the 1840s is important for this section of the thesis. This related to a time as discussed by Clark when the male dominance of the industrial working class was being asserted. She observed that many historians and sociologists from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had argued that initially industrialisation had emasculated men, as women were also forced to work in the 'satanic mills.'⁵ Coal mining however was not always considered to be men's work, but women were excluded from working underground by the Mines and Collieries Act of 1842, whilst in 1886 moves had been made for their exclusion from the coal mining industry altogether, although these were ultimately rejected after pleas from the brow workers at Wigan were upheld. Yet this continued into the twentieth century, with John noting that even in 1975 a re-assertion of the exclusion of women from working underground in mines, taken from the much earlier 1842 Act, was inserted into the Sex Discrimination Act.⁶

⁴ Punch. To the RGS. 10th June 1893. p. 6. Quoted in Jones. *Last Great Quest*. p. 55.

⁵ Clark. *Struggle for Breeches*. p. 265.

⁶ John, A. (1984). *Coalmining Women: Victorian Lives and Campaigns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 41.

In her thesis, Clark observed that gender roles were less demarcated in pre-industrial Britain and that the demarcation began with industrialisation, with men asserting their masculinity as industrialisation progressed.⁷ Earlier in Chapter 2, when the case studies were examined in detail, it was recounted how the image of the miner from the nineteenth century was comical (Perlee Parker 1836); muscular (Lough 1862); heroic (Illustrated London News reporting the Seaham disaster 1880); respectable (Hedley 1886); then from 1911 a more militant image of the miner was sometimes found. After nationalisation, the miner was given a renewed respectability as a public servant and statues began to celebrate a controlled masculinity. While these muscular depictions of miners before 1945 informed later images of mining, it must be noted they were not reacting to declinism which emerged after that date, although it should be noted that the more overtly physical cultural representations in Durham emerged after coal mining ended in the region. On the other hand, Scott's expeditions and initial memorialisation are found in a period of quasi-declinism when popular perceptions of masculinity were under attack.

The quote at the beginning of the section comes from *Punch* (1893) and highlights the controversy at the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) when women were refused membership. Jones argued that one of the reasons British Antarctic expeditions came into being was in response to these public debates on female membership of the RGS. He stated that Sir Clements Markham sought to restore the prestige of the RGS following this negative publicity with a high-profile campaign initiating an Antarctic expedition. Such a project, while satisfying scientists as 'no recorded landing had been made,' could also re-assert the legitimacy of male-only membership by using an exclusively male Royal Navy expedition.⁸ The choice of the physically intensive man-hauling method – a personal obsession of Markham's⁹ – gave a public reason why females had not been admitted, acknowledging the physical constraints on women at that time. This background to Scott's story shows that women were not only excluded from the expedition, but that the expedition was used as an excuse to bar them from the RGS and all of their future expeditions.

⁷ Clark. *Struggle for Breeches*.

⁸ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 50-8.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 58.

Captain Scott was born in 1868, a time John Tosh has described as one when men embarked upon a 'flight from domesticity' as middle-class males turned away from the home towards male-centric experiences like gentlemen's clubs and imperial service.¹⁰ Tosh asserted that there was a 'belief that the Empire, in which Britain's destiny seemed to lie at that time, was quintessentially a masculine arena, where men worked better without the company of women.'¹¹ Scott was a product of this environment, as shown by his quest for adventure and opportunity. As men fled from domesticity, women were seeking to take some control, creating additional tensions between the sexes. Women as a group were growing in confidence as evidenced by their petitioning to become members of the RGS and the larger quest for female suffrage. These 'manful assertions' described by Tosh serve what Supple described as a 'fear of failing' in the period from the 1880s, when 'the fear of second-class nationhood has dogged British political and economic discussion ever since the German and American challenges first seriously manifested themselves.'¹² By re-asserting masculinity and ascendancy over women, at least some of the wounds to the male ego could be diminished. Although the First World War created a new masculinity, the ideal of the imperial adventurer was still potent. Indeed, Wendy Webster has argued that in the inter-war period there continued to be a popular masculine imagery of Empire,¹³ for which Scott provided a convenient model.

The explicit effort involved in man-hauling and its assertions of masculinity are a popular depiction in the cultural representations of Scott. Jones noted that the national memorial initially proposed for Scott would have encompassed three figures man-hauling, with Scott the principal figure leading and pulling the other two men. This memorial however was rejected after a fight to save London's green spaces.¹⁴ The completed National Memorial at Devonport has four bas-reliefs, one of which depicts the strenuous effort of man-hauling.¹⁵ A smaller memorial at St. Paul's Cathedral also depicted the five men man-hauling although the necessary effort is implied as their images are too small to capture in their faces or

¹⁰ Tosh. *A Man's Place*. pp. 174-196.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 174.

¹² Supple. *Fear of Failing*. p. 13.

¹³ Webster, W. (2005). *Englishness and Empire: 1939-1965*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 8-9.

¹⁴ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. Image 24 in bookplates and pp. 148-50.

¹⁵ Figure 16.

exaggerated body postures.¹⁶ These three monuments were erected in the period 1914-25, but assertions of masculinity remain popular in modern times. The memorial in Cardiff Bay, erected by the Captain Scott Society in 2003, shows evidence of these continuing masculine assertions. This memorial, although modern in style, depicts Scott the leader pulling his sleigh and his men with his herculean strength, merged together into one fraternal body.¹⁷

In the examples cited above physically masculine assertions were displayed, and a more dominant gendered style of chivalry can be observed in the cultural representations in the period before the First World War until the late 1950s. This chivalric imagery, particularly found in Scott's memorials, is encapsulated in the celebrated heroism of Captain Oates and idea of Captain Scott as a Polar Knight. Many examples of this imagery are evident both in the memorials of Dunkirk and coal mining in Durham, and it is to all of these examples that the examination will turn.

As previously asserted at the time of Scott's final expedition, it was clear that masculinity was being attacked, with the RGS reaction to Scott's expedition being one example of the height of these feelings.¹⁸ Yet, despite women fighting for the vote at this time, the *RSS Titanic* disaster with its narrative of "women and children first" showed that for some, gender ideals were still present (especially if they were confined to the same social class). Girouard highlighted the chivalric overtones in which the news of the *Titanic* disaster was written, noting that this language had much in common with Scott.¹⁹ This idea of chivalry was based entirely upon asserting masculine ideals, with women being the object of devotion or protection.²⁰ Girouard's thesis on chivalry and the English gentleman argued more broadly that 'Victorian and Edwardian chivalry produced its own world of myth and legend,' noting that on *Titanic* proportionately fewer steerage children survived than men in first or second-class.²¹ This idea of asserting masculine hegemony that was perceived to be under attack through elevating the concept of "the gentleman" as noble chivalric protector

¹⁶ Victorian Web. Scott's plaque at St Paul's Cathedral. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://www.victorianweb.org/sculpture/babb/9d.jpg>.

¹⁷ Figure 20.

¹⁸ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 51-8

¹⁹ Girouard. *Return to Camelot*. pp. 2-14.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ *Ibid*. p. 14.

will inform the remaining research presented in this section. There is a strong relationship between chivalry and sacrifice, and it is through this notion of sacrifice that connections can be made to all three case studies. Within the Scott myth, Captain Oates' sacrifice as the action of a 'gallant gentleman' is pivotal to this idea.²² Moreover, this idea of masculine sacrifice provides connections to Dunkirk and coal mining, and gives an important insight into an inter-war social democratisation of gender ideals.

As we have seen at the time of Scott's expedition, traditional gender roles were under attack from continuing demands and gains for greater sexual equality but the chivalric representations made of Scott, which serve to counter-balance these changes, were largely derived from a different period. Girouard has documented the establishment and rise of chivalric imagery throughout the Victorian period as an artistic and social trend: found initially among the upper classes, it was eventually taken up by the middle classes.²³ He cited chivalry as emerging from events such as George IV's coronation in 1821 and the aristocratic Eglington tournament of 1831, while the influence of Sir Walter Scott's popular early nineteenth century novels encouraged the wider embracing of chivalric ideals culminating in their espousal by the mid-nineteenth in public schools and then disseminating into the general populace.

The Gothic revival at the early nineteenth century underpinned the development of the chivalric ideal, which in turn shaped nineteenth century attitudes to gender. The artistic style of the gothic revival contributed much to Girouard's analysis of Victorian chivalry and he regarded it as a direct manipulation of the nostalgia for older artistic styles, with the use of these medieval styles being a direct attempt to counteract the perceived decline of the secular power of the Church in early nineteenth century Britain alongside traditional social hierarchies. Following from this, Jim Cheshire argued that the Gothic Revival embraced chivalric images to re-assert the power of the Church of England in an attempt 'to recreate a

²² Ibid. Goebel, S. (2007). *The Great War and Medieval Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Frantzen, A. (2004). *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice and the Great War*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

²³ Girouard. *Return to Camelot*.

preindustrial social structure.²⁴ The rise of urbanisation in the nineteenth century added to the need for reform and demand for new church buildings. Moreover, Simon Jenkins has argued that the influential Oxford Movement acted as a counter-reformation, with some Anglicans returning to the rituals of the medieval faith that in turn influenced church design.²⁵ An independent aesthetic Gothic Revival further influenced this. An important element of this counter-reformation was establishing the authority of the priest, which again would have important repercussions on re-asserting traditional social structures. To this end, Jenkins added, landowners were keen to invest in the building and refurbishment of churches, seeing it as a chance to demonstrate and re-assert their own authority. While as was previously noted, this was at a time before this thesis' case studies, the ongoing cultural encouragement of chivalry (of which the gender-specific term of "gentleman" was central) provided reinforcement to this elite social control.

These chivalric codes maintained their resonance at the time of Scott, with not only their concomitant control over social classes, but also the assertion of masculine authority. Much has already been made of the fact that the changing narratives of these case studies relates more to the present than the past and this point is typified by the concern felt for the loss of traditional gender ideals, with nostalgia for these traditional roles more keenly felt when they were under attack in the present. As a Victorian, Scott was both informed by the gender bias of these chivalric codes and is remembered in this same paradigm. Girouard has explained that:

How gentlemen lived and died was partly determined by the way in which they believed knights had lived and died. All gentlemen knew that they must be brave, show no sign of panic or cowardice, be courteous and protective to women and children, be loyal to their comrades and meet death without flinching.²⁶

The key to understanding the cultural manifestations that embraced chivalry, and the possible reasons and consequences of this particular path is centrally important to the core

²⁴ Cheshire, J. (2004). *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 3-4.

²⁵ Jenkins, S. (1999). *England's Thousand Best Churches*. London: Allen Lane. p. xxii.

²⁶ Girouard. *Return to Camelot*. p. 7.

values which codified a way of life. Chivalric images act as 'signifiers'²⁷ (as identified by Barthes) for these embedded values. Linking the signifiers of chivalry to its actual values is not so much about authenticity and the past, but about the viewer's (and producer's) relationship to ideas of chivalry, the memorial and the present. The chivalric images found in later memorials to the case studies signify an assertion of traditional gender ideals. But how does this fit into ideas of decline?

As discussed above, the chivalric imagery-laden Gothic style was part of an assertion of gender control. The loss of power set out earlier was an intrinsically masculine affair corresponding with, and adding to, a decline in traditional male roles. These chivalric images counteract this decline, re-asserting masculine ideals. Girouard's thesis was not set out within a declinist paradigm, being an observation on an aspect of Victorian culture. Nevertheless, he still connected the basis of declinism to this cultural phenomenon, writing:

...the concept that gentlemen should not be interested in money; another, the related concept that gentlemen should not engage in trade (in the widest sense, of trade, commerce and industry)...Because making money was a morally inferior and spirit-soiling occupationit certainly seems unlikely that the energies which businessmen and manufacturers diverted into disguising themselves as country gentlemen helped England to hold its own against foreign competition.²⁸

This view had particular resonance to the central tenet of declinists like Coleman and Wiener, who observed then extrapolated that this pursuit of gentlemanly behaviour, ideals and lifestyle was inhibiting economic and industrial growth. The appearance of chivalry or chivalric themes in memorials could be viewed as cultural manifestations of these initial declinist observations on the causes of decline, but cannot be seen as evidence of decline in itself.

Girouard has suggested that the Victorian age of chivalry ended with the Great War, but Scott's memorials show a continued relevance of this medieval-imagery.²⁹ Using the examples of memorials from the First World War, which are contemporaneous to Scott's

²⁷ Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. London: Jonathan Cape.

²⁸ Girouard. *Return to Camelot*. p. 269.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 276-293.

inter-war memorials, there are two schools of thought led by Paul Fussell and Jay Winter. Fussell argued that in the absence of alternative responses, reconciliation of the war in the minds of the participants eventually encouraged a rejection of traditional cultural reactions in favour of a more ironic and ultimately modern one,³⁰ a view taken up by Girouard who regarded these aged chivalric images as 'a little pathetic when swamped by the mass of other images.'³¹ Yet Winter contended that many memorial responses to the war maintained their pre-war narratives.³² Following from this view, Stefan Goebel and Allen Frantzen have investigated medieval themes in the memorialisation of World War I, concluding that these medieval themes remained a continuous element before, during and after the Great War, and indeed up until 1945.³³ Scott and his men were influenced by these chivalric ideals and were certainly influenced by the chivalric language of Tennyson, whose Arthurian poems Fussell states were very popular before the war.³⁴ Thus his words from *Ulysses* 'To Seek, To Find, To Strive, And not to Yield' were engraved on Scott's first memorial in Antarctica in 1911 and then on the National Memorial at Devonport in 1925.³⁵ Similarly, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, cited by Fussell for its chivalric imagery of self-sacrifice and as an influential text of the First World War,³⁶ was quoted by Scott in his diary.³⁷ Scott and his team demonstrated the widespread popularity of chivalric tales in the Edwardian period, influencing both the thinking of Scott and those who remembered him after his death. This influence on his memorials will now be considered.

Many of the memorials erected to Scott before the end of the First World War retain elements of chivalric imagery. Thirty-one memorials were erected to Scott in this period of which twelve have strong chivalric elements such as medieval figures or pennant flags, with many of the remaining being simple plaques.³⁸ The stained glass window at Copthorne

³⁰ Fussell, P. (1975). *The Great War And Modern Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³¹ Girouard. *Return to Camelot*. p. 292.

³² Winter. *Sites of Memory*.

³³ Goebel. *The Great War*. Frantzen. *Bloody Good*.

³⁴ Fussell. *The Great War*. p. 21.

³⁵ Figure 16.

³⁶ Fussell. *The Great War*. pp. 137-145.

³⁷ Scott. *Journals*. p. 294.

³⁸ A list of these can be found in Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 295-6 and a supplement in the Appendix to this thesis.

Preparatory School erected before the Great War in 1913 evidences existing medieval traditions in commemoration.³⁹ It depicts a monk kneeling below a picture of the expedition held by two angels underneath the crusading cross of St George.⁴⁰ The image of the monk connects medieval imagery to the ascetic lifestyle of expedition member Wilson, while the angels belong to popular Victorian medieval design traditions. Other images from this time reinforce the gender-laden chivalric ideal of Arthurian knights on their quest. St Mary's Rhossili (1914) and the plaque at St Paul's Cathedral (1916) depict the effort, camaraderie and a sense of a quest as the polar party pulled their sleigh.⁴¹ Scott's statue at Waterloo Place (1915) was erected by officers of the fleet and sculpted by his widow, and although contemporary in dress, has an aura of the knight. Scott's polar attire, that Kathleen Scott deliberately wanted to portray,⁴² protects him like armour with his balaclava and hood acting like a helmet and his ski pole as his lance.⁴³ An interesting variation on the typical English version of medieval memorials is the now-demolished monument at Glen Prosen in Scotland (1918). Retaining a medieval design with a Celtic twist, the memorial was of a water fountain, having an overt Celtic design with two Victorian angels holding the basin bringing it back into the Gothic Victorian framework as outlined earlier.⁴⁴ The fountain represented an early example of the Scottish interpretation of the subject, and was seen as part of a wider movement to promote Scottish national distinctiveness as typified by the later Scottish National War Memorial.⁴⁵ Staying in Scotland, the magnificent pre-Raphaelite styled window at Dunblane Cathedral (1913) did not have a Scottish twist but complete with

³⁹ Edward Wilson's brother was Headmaster.

⁴⁰ A Low Altitude Antarctic Gazetteer. (19th March 2006). Copthorne Prep School. Retrieved 20th January 2015, from, www.antarctic-circle.org/llag.school.htm#579.

⁴¹ NCI Wormshead. Edgar Evans Plaque. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, http://www.nciwormshead.org.uk/images/stories/Edgar_Evans_plaque.jpg. Victorian Web. St Paul's Cathedral Memorial to Scott. Retrieved 20th January 2015, from, <http://www.victorianweb.org/sculpture/babb/9d.jpg>.

⁴² Kennet, K. (1949). *Self Portrait of an Artist: From the Diaries and Memoirs of Lady Kennet, (Kathleen, Lady Scott)*. London: John Murray.

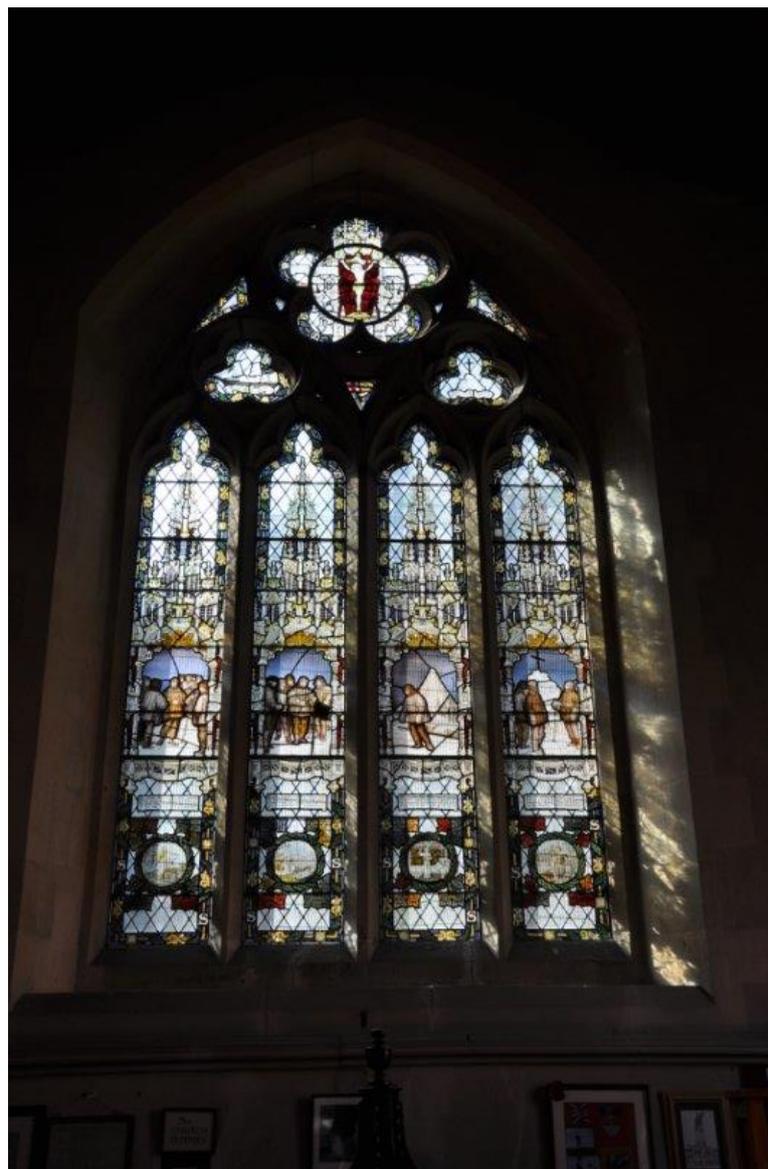
⁴³ Gordon, K. (2008). Scott Statue, Waterloo Place. Retrieved 25th September 2009, from, <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/894241>.

⁴⁴ Dave. (1st February, 2012). Glen Prosen Fountain. Retrieved 20th January 2015, from, www.flickr.com/photos/65199423@N07/6800652855.

⁴⁵ King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg. p. 242.

Victorian angels had a suitably Gothic style.⁴⁶ The veneration stemming from these female angels serves to reinforce the gender boundaries of this profoundly male story. However, it is the stained glass window (1915) at Binton Church in Warwickshire – where Scott’s brother-in-law was the incumbent – that presented the most overt display of medieval imagery produced pertaining to Scott during the First World War. Although the men from Scott’s expedition depicted in the window at Binton Church are in contemporary dress the whole narrative of the window appears to be enshrined in chivalric imagery.⁴⁷

Figure 7: Scott Memorial window, Binton.



⁴⁶ Rampant Scotland. Dunblane Window. Retrieved 20th January 2015, from, www.rampantscotland.com/visit/blvisitdunblane.htm.

⁴⁷ Figure 7.

Taking the window from top to bottom, the sacrifice of Christ is atop ensuring the metaphor of Scott's sacrifice for his country is known. It is probable that this theme of sacrifice was of great relevance to the parishioners in 1915 as casualties from the war mounted.

Underneath Christ, we are further reminded of Scott's sacrifice by the cairn of his memorial in Antarctica, and of his naval roots with the depiction of the *Terra Nova*. Scott Freer has examined this memorial and observed that the four panels telling Scott's story relate to the 'stations of the cross,' again allegorising the theme of sacrifice.⁴⁸ Additionally, the explorers' narrative is framed by medieval patterns reminiscent of the Eleanor Crosses erected by Edward I in memory of his wife Eleanor of Castile. The most famous of these crosses, at Charing Cross in London, is itself a replica and a Victorian interpretation of these medieval memorials. In the Binton window, the characters from Scott's expedition are depicted in contemporary clothes although the drab colours and loose styling are reminiscent of medieval yeomen. The epic nature of the subject is alluded to in the first frame which shows the wider 'band of brothers' of the expedition; the second presents the arrival at the Pole with the despondency and disappointment written on the faces of the men; Oates' legendary sacrifice is depicted in the third frame; and the deaths of Wilson, Scott and Bowers in the final frame. Below these images, the scenes are described in words under the broader message 'greater love hath no man than that a man lay down his life for his friends' associating Scott's story directly to a passage on sacrifice in the Bible (John 15, 13).

Contrary to what would be expected from Fussell's assertions, in the inter-war period the majority of memorials to Captain Scott continued in the same chivalric vein and the medium of stained glass remained popular, with its connotations of craftsmanship and associations to the mastery of the craft in the medieval period. Emmanuel Church Exeter, 1924 (fig 9, below) has an even more explicit medieval theme than Binton's. On the right of this window there is a contemporary portrait of Scott below St Nicholas (the patron saint of sailors) and on the left window his burial cairn is underneath a medieval St Bernard. Both saints gaze up to a cross that is made of snow-flakes which shines like a star. Beneath this, angels in a Victorian design hold the message: 'In frost and cold, Bless we that praise him and O ye in ice and snow, Magnify him.' The medieval figures are juxtaposed against Scott's

⁴⁸ Freer, S. (2011). The Lives and Modernist Death of Captain Scott. *Life Writing*, 8: 3. 301-315. p. 304.

contemporary dress, historicising and placing Scott within a religious context. The connections of medievalism to chivalry and the inferred religion codify the message of his story into a chivalric context. The memorial shares potential associations with the Oxford Movement in its veneration of saints, showing an unusual sympathy to Roman Catholicism in its style, particularly as St Bernard of Menthon had been created patron saint of the Alps in 1923. As discussed, the Oxford Movement espoused a return to a higher Church in the Anglican faith, with its consequent male authority harking back to the social demarcations in feudal times.

Figure 8: Emmanuel Church, Exeter.⁴⁹



⁴⁹ Researcher's own photograph.

As time passed after Scott's death, the number of memorials being erected waned. However, some memorials after 1945 have maintained the chivalric vein, such as Scott's memorial at Cardiff Bay (2003) that shows the twin masculine ideals of chivalry and physical masculinity.⁵⁰ The memorial is representative of a post-revisionist approach, which is as we have already observed with the Antarctic explorations, referred to as 'The Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration.'⁵¹ The statue at Cardiff contrasts to the celluloid memorial *The Last Place on Earth*⁵² (1985), based on Huntford's book, in which the chivalry of Scott's expedition was depicted but was held to be a reason for his failure. By locating Scott's chivalry as a product of his age, recent historiography on Scott such as from Fiennes and Crane gives a more balanced reading rather than simply extolling or denouncing it.⁵³ Yet as strong as these chivalric images are, they have not been confined to Scott, also being used in memorials for Dunkirk and coal mining, serving in part to continue the clear gender demarcations such imagery afforded.

The Dunkirk Veteran's Association (1952) was one of the first associations formed after the Second World War. Its emblem takes the form of a knight holding Dunkirk Town's heraldic coat of arms (a lion and fish dormant) strengthening the connections of the case study to notions of chivalry.⁵⁴ Although most of the memorials erected to Dunkirk have taken the form of simple plaques, some have continued in the chivalric vein. On Dover's esplanade a memorial depicting a soldier saving his fellow man highlights the central chivalric theme of sacrifice.⁵⁵ Other memorials follow the medieval practice of reliquaries (a container for holy relics), two being simple plaques taken from the actual "mole" harbour used in the evacuation.⁵⁶ Two other memorials take this theme further by using the sand from Dunkirk

⁵⁰ Figure 20.

⁵¹ Footnote 106: Chapter 1.

⁵² Rellim & Griffiths. *The Last Place on Earth*.

⁵³ Hemplemen-Adams, D. Gordon, S. & Stuart, E. (2009). *The Heart of the Great Alone: Scott, Shackleton and Antarctic Photography*. London: Royal Collection Enterprises Ltd.

⁵⁴ Military Badges. Dunkirk Veterans Association. Retrieved 20th January 2015, from, www.militarybadges.co.uk/blazer-badges/military-associations-clubs-etc/dunkirk-veterans-association-blazer-badge.

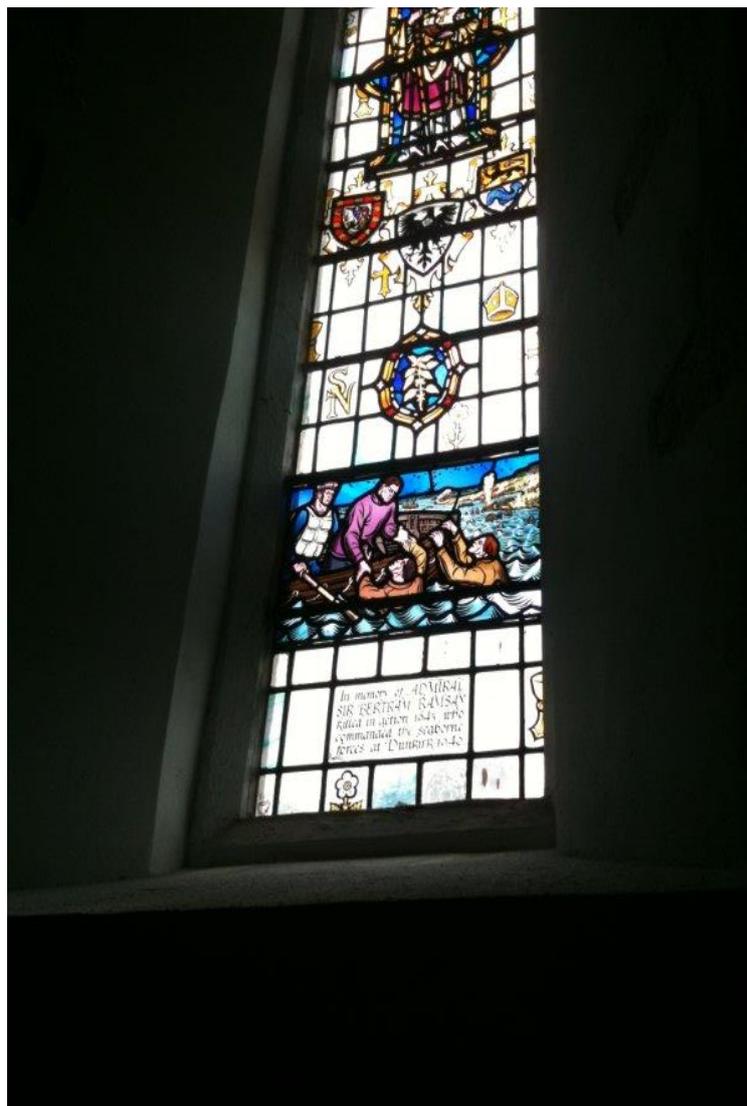
⁵⁵ Wikimedia. Dunkirk Memorial at Dover Promenade.

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/04/Dunkirk_1940_memorial,_Dover,_England.JPG/1280px-Dunkirk_1940_memorial,_Dover,_England.JPG.

⁵⁶ The two 'mole' memorials are from Abbey Memorial Gardens, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk (1987) and at Southwell Minister, Notts. (1990).

itself, the first in a casket reminiscent of those usually reserved for saintly relics, within St George the Martyr, Ramsgate (1987), while at the National Memorial Arboretum (NMA) the memorial has at its core a pit of Dunkirk sand (1999).⁵⁷ Stained glass memorials follow this medieval theme, a window at St George's Centre, Chatham depicting simple rowing boats to save the men under fire from modern weapons rather than a dragon, but it is in the main monument of Dunkirk - Admiral Ramsay's window at Portsmouth Cathedral (1956) - where the most striking visual examples of chivalry are found.

Figure 9: Detail of depiction of Dunkirk from the Admiral Ramsay Memorial Window, Portsmouth Cathedral. ⁵⁸



⁵⁷ National Memorial Arboretum. (2009). *Remember: Their names will live for evermore...The National Memorial Arboretum: your guide edition 3*, Staffordshire: National Memorial Arboretum. p. 40.

⁵⁸ Researcher's own photograph.

A unifying core across the case studies is the chivalric theme of sacrifice with figurative monuments to Dunkirk depicting the saving of fellow men in the face of danger. At Portsmouth Cathedral this is made more resonant by the mixing of contemporary images with older motifs such as the framing of the heraldry of Dover and Dunkirk alongside Admiral Ramsay's own crest, underneath an image of St Nicholas dressed in medieval clothes. The window includes a flower with the adjacent window commemorating D-Day depicting a contemporary picture of the evacuation with crests underneath a picture of St George with a nettle. The nettle and flower have a chivalric theme that references Hotspur's speech in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 1* (Act II, Scene iii) - 'out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety' - with its obvious relevance to the purpose and result of the Dunkirk evacuation. This theme is continued in a nearby window (1984) that has the crests of the Allies, armies, navies, air force and the Anglican Church. It must be noted that Scott's memorial at Cardiff Bay (2003) and the additional window at Portsmouth (1984) relate to a period beyond the initial crisis in masculinity and well into the period in which declinism was apparent. Once the examples of sacrifice of coal mining are evaluated, a full chronological appraisal of democratic chivalric motifs in the cultural representations within the context of declinism will be presented below.

Coal mining is an inherently dangerous occupation, which gives rise to instances of sacrifice by co-workers or (once it was nationalised), for the country. These two faces of sacrifice for colleagues or country are mirrored in the case study by the respective deaths of Oates and Scott. In disaster memorials predating nationalisation, the theme of sacrifice for fellow men, or the loss of life for men and their families was depicted. One side of the 1882 Tudhoe disaster memorial – itself within a medieval Eleanor cross – depicts a miner pulling an injured colleague from the coal shaft, while the final frame shows a bereaved family.⁵⁹ However, most coal miners were killed by accidents rather than big disasters and on nationalisation a book of remembrance was placed in Durham Cathedral, implying that these men had died for their country just as the soldiers whose deaths were also documented in the military chapel within the same building. The disaster memorial at Easington (1952) illustrates how the idea of sacrifice was treated in the nationalisation era.

⁵⁹ Public Monuments and Sculptures Association. Tudhoe Colliery Disaster Memorial. Retrieved 10th February 2015, from, www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9692.

Pink gravestones of the same size and colour were laid out in lines in a separate part of the parish graveyard, evoking a sense of communal loss and being reminiscent of the British Commonwealth War Graves: clearly, these were men who had died for their country. The main memorial depicting a bas-relief of a miner complete with his newly issued NCB miners' hat, wears a suit rather than working dress, showing the respectable nationalised miner.⁶⁰ As chivalric roles have tended to be associated with "the gentleman", it is important that the miner depicted on a memorial mourning the ultimate sacrifice made by coal miners should be in respectable attire.

Later memorials for miners - remembering the general sacrifice and mining work in communities, rather than commemorating specific tragedies - have eschewed the suit and tie, possibly to strengthen the working-class identity of the miner but also to emphasise the masculine and physical nature of the job. In many respects, the memorial of the mining gentleman at Easington and the lack of subsequent similar depictions sheds light on cultural changes affecting notions of chivalry in the first half of the twentieth century. Drawing on Girouard's notion of Victorian chivalry, it is clear its initial early nineteenth century association was aimed at gentlemen. Girouard makes it clear that this would only include men who not only did not rely on an income from trade but also from a salary at work, thus excluding the professions. As the nineteenth century progressed, the professions and men who relied on an income from trade gradually began to espouse these chivalric ideals, which enabled chivalry to be assimilated into a wider part of society. General research on war memorials has highlighted the undemocratic modes of Victorian military remembrance with only the officers of the Crimean War being afforded memorials while the Boer War marked the first memorials for all ranks, albeit separately. Given that Girouard dated the end of chivalry to the end of the First World War,⁶¹ arguably it was only the Victorian concept of chivalry for the upper classes that ended at this point, the Great War making way for a more democratic version, where gender was central with men celebrated and women excluded, therefore serving to reinforce and counteract any possible erosion of traditional gender ideals through loss of power.

⁶⁰ Figure 19, in background.

⁶¹ Girouard. *Return to Camelot*. p. 293.

All three case studies asserted masculine hegemony in the idea that all men could in some part be “gentlemen”, ruling their own domain. Scott’s myth contributed to this democratisation of chivalry with its inclusion of the upper, middle and even working classes, as the lower-class Evans became a household name. Admittedly, as will be discussed in the next chapter (5) on class and community, Petty Officer Edgar Evans has a more ambiguous reputation than the other party members: as the first to die, his demise was often viewed as a weakness stemming from his class, yet he was still included in collective memorials and related commemorative merchandise. However, the social inclusion of Scott’s men in memorials is resonant of memorials to the Great War. It indeed took the huge losses of the First World War to provide a new definition of chivalry, as men of all social classes had sacrificed themselves for national service. Goebel has written of democratic chivalry that the commonality of classes of sacrifice ensured that ‘chivalric elitism became a casualty of the First World War.’⁶² Using the example of ‘the “Unknown Warrior”’, he noted that this tendency to show the ‘democracy of suffering’ was part of the vast change that had occurred since 1914.⁶³ The left-wing *Daily Herald’s* Order of Industrial Heroism inaugurated in 1923 was further evidence of a pan-chivalric paradigm for this period, and connects chivalry to the working classes and the specific case study of coal mining. These changes laid the foundation for specific commemorations of Dunkirk, although as Goebel suggested, the atrocities committed in the war inspired more general memorials that shunned chivalric imagery.⁶⁴ Memorials to the evacuation display the core chivalric ideal of sacrifice rather than bloodshed, as found at Portsmouth Cathedral. Within this paradigm, all men could be chivalric heroes, with democracy of the classes widening. However, this democracy did not extend to women and these chivalric notions continued to reinforce traditional gender ideals.

Yet in films, democratic pan-chivalric motifs were not present although the exclusion of women in narratives of the case studies remained. The films for Dunkirk and Scott displayed a return to pre-1914 elite chivalric traditions and away from pan-chivalry. The celluloid memorials like *Scott of the Antarctic*, 1948⁶⁵ and to a lesser extent *Dunkirk*, 1958⁶⁶ were

⁶² Goebel. *The Great War*. p. 222.

⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 268-9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 291-301.

⁶⁵ Balcon & Frend. *Scott of the Antarctic*.

operating within a wider genre of British films in the period post 1945 to the early 1960s which, Hill has argued, sought to re-assert class divisions and stereotypes.⁶⁷ In particular, prisoner of war films operated within this paradigm, where the few regional characters shown were working class and comic, as found in *The Captive Heart*, 1947.⁶⁸ Most films only showed English officers or pilots, despite the vast majority of prisoners of war being from other ranks.⁶⁹ Jeffrey Richards suggested that the mid-1950s war film 're-created Britain's finest hour, but now conspicuously not in terms of the "People's War" but as a celebration of the officer class.'⁷⁰ This promotion of the officer class and consequent re-assertion of elite chivalric values eroded the previous democratisation of chivalry. Indeed, it was in 1964 with the *Daily Herald's* demise that the Order of Industrial Heroism ended. It is possible that this annexing of chivalry back to "gentlemen" and to a pre-1914 context led to the proliferation of working-class mining memorials within which obvious examples of chivalry were absent and more muscular depictions were adopted. The related concept of sacrifice however continues to be a motif for other coal mining memorials. For example, at the Durham Miners' Gala a memorial service is still held for miners who lost their lives for their industry.

Sacrifice connects the case studies to a chivalric narrative which, given its masculine flavour, asserted masculine ideals and hegemony. As the next section will discuss, as declinism emerged more overtly physical gendered styles emerged in cultural representations to combat this new attack on masculinity. The cultural representations for the three case studies can be seen as responding in different ways to this newly emerging attack on masculinity. At this time, Scott became less relevant and a symbol of an effete manhood as documented by Jones.⁷¹ However, memorials for Dunkirk and coal mining memorials in Durham took a more aggressive stance. Cultural representations for Dunkirk continued as shown above to depict the chivalric images, as the notions of sacrifice were critical to the evacuation, with the wholesale removal of a female narrative of the evacuation serving to

⁶⁶ Balcon, M. (Producer). Norman, L. (Director). (1958). *Dunkirk*. UK: Ealing.

⁶⁷ Hill, J. (1986). *Sex, Class and Realism*. London: BFI.

⁶⁸ Balcon, M. (Producer). Dearden, B. (Director). (1946). *The Captive Heart*. UK: Ealing.

⁶⁹ Morrell. *The Celluloid Myth*.

⁷⁰ Richards, J. (1997). *Films and British National Identity: From Dickens to Dad's Army*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 144.

⁷¹ Jones. Truth about Captain Scott.

reassert masculinity. For coal mining, more “gentlemanly” depictions of coal miners were rejected in favour of generally more muscular depictions alongside a similar exclusion of any female contribution to the industry.

Assertions of Masculinity in Reaction to Decline - Dunkirk

“I cannot describe what we feel about those girls, out on that dreadful beach, with the sun pouring down on them, with German planes continually overhead, shells bursting all the time, they have worked without stopping for days past. If they slept, they have done so on their feet. Dressed in their white uniforms, the women stand among the exhausted and wounded men.”⁷²

This excerpt brimming with gender descriptions from *News Illustrated* shows that some women were present in 1940 at Dunkirk. The details in this article perhaps should not be taken literally, as surely the white uniforms couldn’t have looked white in a war zone, and the interviewee also writes of an attack by tanks: in the history of the evacuation this would have meant that the Germans had broken through the periphery with the nurses and himself being taken prisoner and thus unable to conduct the interview. Nonetheless, this quote and another article in this magazine where a photo is presented with a description of ATS girls disembarking from Dunkirk,⁷³ highlight an acknowledgement in 1940 that women had taken part in the episode. Yet their presence has been absent in most of the memorials to the evacuation since the end of the Second World War, and as time progressed women have been written out of its history.

A link can be made between the possible relationship of this exclusion of a female narrative to Dunkirk and declinism given the intrinsic links between gender and decline. In Tomlinson’s appraisal of decline, he noted that fears of decline abounded from the late nineteenth century to the Second World War and were strategic rather than economic in

⁷² Hammerton, J. (1940). I Was There! Nurses Worked on that Dreadful Beach. *The War Illustrated*. Vol. 2. No. 41. London: Amalgamated Press Ltd. p. 646.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 625.

nature, i.e. quasi-declinst. The key point to note from this is that before the Second World War there was a fear of a possibility of decline whereas from the 1960s this had become a *fait accompli*. Inserted between these perceptions of decline came the 1950s, where evidence began to accumulate that Britain's strategic role as a world power had been ended by events such as the partition of India, the on-going dissolution of the British Empire and the Suez Crisis all signalling a decline of international diplomatic and military status. Moreover, it would appear there was a symbiotic relationship between an emerging crisis in masculinity and a concomitant decline in related masculine roles in the Empire or armed services, as these related powers - economic, industrial, military, diplomatic and imperial - slipped from the hands of men. The emerging crisis in masculinity was compounded by the emerging inclusion (of women and other excluded groups) in post-industrial times. It is the central argument of this section that the cultural promotion of an inherent masculinity and the diminution of a female role in Dunkirk was an attempt to assert male dominance in response to a crisis of masculinity derived from decline. Gender thus offers a prism through which to view changing attitudes to decline, with the assertion of masculinity providing part of antidote for declinism (as well as this crisis in masculinity which itself is in part derived from perceptions of declinism).

The Dunkirk Evacuation represented the final predominantly exclusively-male episode of the Second World War, marking the beginning of the "People's War", where civilian and military personnel of both genders came together.⁷⁴ Sonya Rose used the term 'post-Dunkirk' to show the timing in which 'the depiction of the war as a "People's War" took hold on the imagination.'⁷⁵ She implied that the "People's War" was gender-inclusive, whereas before Dunkirk, the war was understood to be male. Therefore, for much of the period up to the millennium, remembering Dunkirk was not only about remembering a male episode but also involved denying the subsequent gender-neutral narrative, satisfying masculine and patriotic needs of remembrance, particularly when female participation was omitted. On this omission, Webster argued that 'in the 1950s, Second World War narratives, expelling women and civilians, had put martial masculinity at the centre of their stories' in contrast to

⁷⁴ Summerfield, Dunkirk. p. 789. Rose. *Which People's War?* p. 29.

⁷⁵ Rose. *Which People's War?* p. 29.

the emerging 'new man' now centred on the home.⁷⁶ This itself highlights the tensions caused by a wider civilian role for Britain rather than its previous martial role. Totems such as Dunkirk served as reminders of when Britain had stood alone against the world and the scene from which men had returned in order to defend their country. Moreover, Webster viewed the post-war 'cult of Churchill' as a manifestation of a 'continuing investment in a romance of manliness,'⁷⁷ his obvious relationship to Dunkirk adding to this narrative of manhood.

The absence of women in the myth of the Dunkirk evacuation provides a particularly revealing relationship between decline and a crisis in masculinity, highlighting the gender changes to the myth and its representations. As the earlier quote shows, in 1940 the people of Britain were made aware that women had been present at the evacuation, nursing the evacuees on hospital ships and being a small part of the army that was rescued. Women also played a pivotal role in administration and clerical duties in the planning of the evacuation, as well as the more traditional role of welcoming the troops back with a cup of tea. Immediately after the evacuation, J.P. Priestley's genderised his speech of Dunkirk, with its talk of the boats *Brighton Belles*, *Brighton Queens* and the *Gracie Fields*, inserting a feminine narrative to Dunkirk.⁷⁸ Shortly after the evacuation, a woman had the lead role in a film produced by the Ministry of Information (Moi) on the evacuation entitled *Channel Incident*.⁷⁹ As an Moi film, it had propaganda aims and is an early example of the inclusion of females in the narrative of the event. In the film a woman, disguised as a man, drives a motorboat across the channel in an attempt to rescue her husband. Victoria Carolan observed that it was not well received and argued that the reason that it did not maintain popularity was that the heroine was not acting in a selfless way. Neither her decision to go to Dunkirk for personal gain, to find her husband or her privileged life in having access to a yacht, fitted easily into an emerging "People's War" perspective.⁸⁰ Evidence of this unpopularity in *Documentary Newsletter* gives a powerful insight into gender notions of the

⁷⁶ Webster. *Englishness and Empire*, p. 183.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 199.

⁷⁸ BBC. Dunkirk. Retrieved 10th October 2013, from, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/dunkirk/14310.shtml>.

⁷⁹ Asquith, A. (Producer). Asquith, A. (Director). (1940). *Channel Incident*. UK: Ministry of Information.

⁸⁰ Carolan. *British Maritime History*. p. 177.

evacuation, writing 'it is an insult to the men of Dunkirk and to the men and women of the little ships.'⁸¹ Tellingly, this shows that in 1940 the little ships were either considered to have male and female crew, or at least it was thought correct to present them in this fashion.

From the examples above, representations of female participation on the evacuation were clearly present during the war. Additionally, there was a central female character in *The Snow Goose*, a book which - although it informed British people - cannot be regarded as a British cultural response as it had an American author.⁸² A case can be made for the female role at Dunkirk, and it is telling that the only figurative memorial to Dunkirk that includes women was at a front-line town in the evacuation, Ramsgate, where the reality of the evacuation would have been clear. The stained glass window at St. George's Church is in two frames. The central image of the Dunkirk evacuation, depicts a nurse above the scene tending to the wounded, with the left-hand corner showing two women waiting for the men with food and blankets. When the window was erected, parishioners would have been aware of the important role women had played in the evacuation which makes it more likely that they had to be included, but this is the sole example within the Dunkirk monuments.⁸³

Critically, after the war these representations changed, with female roles excluded from historical accounts, images, monuments and films. This exclusion encouraged the evacuation to be viewed as a male event, with subsequent cultural representations reinforcing images of masculinity, enshrining it as a totem for manhood. As would be expected given this masculine narrative, there are few female representations in physical memorials to Dunkirk. Apart from the aforementioned memorial at Ramsgate, only two further monuments commemorate both sexes: a monument honouring 'those men and women of the armed services' at St Peter's Church in Bournemouth and the permanent exhibition at Dover Castle (2012) which memorialises the female role in the command room, although it neglected any other female roles. The figurative images on monuments for

⁸¹ Films and a People's War. Documentary Newsletter, November 1940. p.3. Thanks to Victoria Carolan for this quote. Ibid.

⁸² Franklin, S. (Producer). Wyler, W. (Director). (1942). *Mrs Miniver*. USA: MGM. Gallico, P. *The Snow Goose*.

⁸³ BBC. (22nd October 2014). St George's Church Gallery. Retrieved 15th October 2015, from, http://www.bbc.co.uk/kent/content/image_galleries/ramsgate_walk_gallery.shtml?7.

Dunkirk (located in: Dover (two); Portsmouth; Leigh on Sea; National Memorial Arboretum) are male, excluding the Admiral Ramsay memorial at Dover Castle which has a token nod to cultural reference to femininity with its inclusion of the *Gracie Fields* paddle boat in its bas-relief montage depicting the evacuation. An analysis of the ninety-eight memorials recorded on the Imperial War Museum's War Memorials Register,⁸⁴ gave ten memorials whose inscriptions explicitly state that it was only men who were involved in the evacuation. The memorial at St Peter and St Paul's Cathedral in Sheffield is inscribed with the words, 'men who gave their lives on the beaches of Dunkirk and the survivors who went on to serve their country in other theatres of war.'⁸⁵ The Forest of Thankfulness memorial at Battle Abbey reinforces the masculinity of the event not only in its thankfulness in the 'rescue of our men' but by its inscription adding that it was 'planted by the men of the trees'.⁸⁶ Other memorials are not as gender-specific but neither do they specify that they include women. Torre Abbey's memorial is dedicated to the gender-neutral 'evacuation of Dunkirk,' and the memorial at Stafford - like many memorials to Dunkirk - inscribed using the phrase '*in memory of those*'. This section will now go onto consider the separate case study of coal mining in Durham, which like Dunkirk not only excluded potential female narratives but also asserted a physical masculinity in the cultural representations.

⁸⁴ Imperial War Museum. Search UK War Memorials. Retrieved 11th December 2011, from, www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search.

⁸⁵ See Appendix.

⁸⁶ See Appendix.

Assertions of Masculinity in Reaction to Decline – Coal Mining in Durham

*'So I went to the Board and explained that I needed to help my mother (who had ill health) look after my father and three brothers who worked at the pit. They exempted me from war service and I stayed at home.'*⁸⁷

Like Dunkirk, coal mining had its female participants, as this quote attests. Granted, they had been eliminated from the underground workforce but some women worked on the surface at collieries and there were armies of women who formed the integral support for miners in their domestic sphere, a support recognised in the local communities and by the authorities. The wide acknowledgement of this necessary support is shown in the quote above from a lady who received exemption from war service to help her mother care for her coal mining father and brothers at home by 'the Board.' As has been discussed, from 1842 mining was made a male occupation, but women played an important part in supporting the miners. The laborious task of keeping miners clean and healthy meant that women were as tied to the colliery as the miners themselves. This female "reproduction of labour power" was marginalised and ignored both in mining's heyday through a lack of wages and in more modern times with an absence of memorials. Wally Secombe has discussed this general trivialisation of domestic work, arguing that the domestic worker is divorced from both the means of production and the means of exchange, whilst also being denied in both Marxist and capitalist narratives.⁸⁸ However, despite this important role for women, very few memorials depict women or domestic spaces and all those that do deny acknowledgment of their domestic work. This contrasts markedly to the treatment of women in social history mining museums, such as Woodhorn, where their toil is extolled to engage younger and female audiences. This general absence of women in the memorials accentuates the masculinity of the industry, ensuring the physical male virtues of the miner remain untarnished and their glory unshared. The evidence presented shows an exclusion of female roles but how does this relate to perceptions of decline?

⁸⁷ Discussion with researcher's grandmother Lila Grieves on the question why she worked in a florist shop during the Second World War. (2009).

⁸⁸ Secombe, W. (1974). The Housewife and her Labour Under Capitalism. *New Left Review*, 1/83.

Coal mining was the most male dominated industry in Britain with its masculinity steadfastly protected, which can be illustrated not just by the 1842 Mines Act but by subsequent decisions and legislation. During the Second World War, mining underground was the only civilian occupation from which women were barred from working. Women worked in steel works, chemical works and armaments, but new legislation was enacted to conscript the so-called “Bevin Boys” into mines rather than open it to women, such were the existing gender demarcations of the industry. Long after 1945, it was still a toxic notion to contemplate women underground in Britain. In America, women have worked in coalmines since the end of 1973, but Parliament (in 1975) made a ‘significant exception’ in their equal opportunity legislation for coal mining, thereby continuing the gender division.⁸⁹ Legislation in the 1990s finally allowed women to re-enter coal mining underground, although exclusions were made for pregnant or breastfeeding women in the Pregnancy Regulations and Maternity Protection Acts of 1994 and 2004. The dominant historical narrative around coal mining from the Victorian period to the present emphasises an unrivalled overt masculinity in the United Kingdom. Therefore explicit expressions of masculinity in the memorials to the case studies, and an exclusion of a role for women, could communicate a crisis of contemporary male gender roles. However, to understand why the post-industrial connection between masculinity and decline is particularly relevant to coal mining, it is necessary to provide an overview of de-industrialisation in the later twentieth century.

Cairncross wrote that ‘De-industrialisation refers to a decline in employment in manufacturing, through a relative contraction in growth of the industry itself.’⁹⁰ An implication of this was that as manufacturing had a high proportion of male workers, de-industrialisation itself has a directly gendered outcome. Indeed, Vall has noted that this was ‘a historic fear that female labour would undermine the status of a deeply masculinised workforce.’ Continuing that, these feelings were further exacerbated with the 1979 Conservative government’s ‘use of part time employment growth in the service sector to disguise an otherwise worse performance in overall employment.’⁹¹ Thus de-

⁸⁹ John. *Coalmining Women*. p. 40.

⁹⁰ A. Cairncross ‘What is De-industrialisation?’ in Blackaby, F. (1978). *De-industrialisation*. London: Heinemann. pp. 5-8.

⁹¹ Vall. *Cities in Decline?* p. 48.

industrialisation furthered a crisis in masculinity from the mid-to-late twentieth century but did this produce a similar emphasis on masculine representations in memorials of this period?

Historians have tended to concentrate on this crisis at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with little historical research on post-war de-industrialisation and masculinity. In sociology, conversely, the research of Giazitzoglu has proven relevant to relating de-industrialisation in a northern coal mining community with images of masculinity. His research has shown some redundant coal miners in an ex-coal mining area, where traditional male jobs could not be found, and who were subsequently unemployed or employed in less “male” employment have sought muscular images of masculinity from bodybuilding.⁹² The limited research on de-industrialisation and masculinity contrasts to the vast array of cultural representations of masculinity in industrial decline: in mining memorials particularly, the response to de-industrialisation and the crisis in masculinity has led to overtly physical memorials. Figurative mining memorials in Durham have also depicted this muscular masculinity, although pertinently to the argument formulated above, these examples have emanated from the period of de-industrialisation and the ending of coal mining in the region.

Brian Brown's *The Putter* is located in The Durham Miners' Association building in Durham City, and is the best example of intensely masculine subject matter. In the sculpture, a strong man lifts a coal cart back onto the line, with visible exertion etched on his face and in his posture, reminding and informing observers of the toil and physical strength that mining demanded from its workers. Originally entitled *Putting it Back on the Way*, McManners and Wales argued that the struggle of the putter in the sculpture is an allegory for the 'struggle miners have endured to keep their jobs; implicit is the strength of that unity, in the guise of unions.'⁹³ Implicit too is the masculine power of the brawny putter that is continued in Brown's other sculpture *Working in the Low Seam*. On this particular sculpture, Brown expressed the hope that 'passers-by ...will be reminded of the hard and difficult conditions

⁹² Giazitzoglu, A. (2010). "*Working out our melancholy our muscles and masculinity*" *Depression, anomie, alienation, commodity fetishism, body-modification and masculinity in a de-industrialised Northumbrian Town*. (Doctoral Thesis). Durham University.

⁹³ McManners & Wales. *Shafts of Light*. pp. 216-7.

that our miners endured.⁹⁴ The harsh physical toil of working in a low seam is similarly celebrated in the memorials at *Coal Face* at Fishburn, Elba Park, and miner with planter at Ferryhill.⁹⁵ At Ferryhill, the memorial of a coal tub turned ornamental flower planter, with a later addition of a steel silhouette of a coal miner pushing it, works particularly effectively as it is situated on a steep hill expressing the miners' strength, as the viewer or their mode of transport struggles up the said hill. *Men of Steel* at The Stadium of Light (itself built on a disused coal mine) also used a steep gradient to depict the physical toil of mining and industry more generally.⁹⁶ Within this memorial, a group of matchstick men work together to move an object up a hill. Implicit in the title of the statue is the men's strength that is further underlined by the work they undertake and the material (steel) chosen for the sculpture.

Figure 10: The Putter.⁹⁷



⁹⁴ Durham County Council. (2010). Artwork depicts mining history. *Durham County News*. Durham: Durham County Council p. 6. (In researcher's collection.)

⁹⁵ Figure 14. Groundwork. Elba Park. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://www.groundwork.org.uk/Sites/tyneandwear/pages/elba-park>. Ferryhill Council (22nd July 2008). New Miner Statue for Ferryhill. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, http://www.ferryhill.gov.uk/pressreleases/releases/080723_Miners_Statue.pdf.

⁹⁶ Worrall, T. (12th May 2014). Sunderland's Men of Steel. Retrieved 28th January 2015, from, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tonyworrall/14214479413/>.

⁹⁷ Researcher's own photograph.

The examples above, representing later memorials of masculine toil, contrast against earlier figurative depictions of miners at rest, such as the now-disappeared *Meeting Point* at Spennymoor where a redundant emasculated miner in stone sits against a tub of coal.⁹⁸ This emasculation in addition to a de-humanising style is also apparent in more abstract memorials.

The memorials of *King Coal* and *The Miner* (shown below) are important abstract representations of coal mining, particularly as third-party representations from a controversial period in mining history. Both are large artworks commissioned by the national (rather than regional organisation), Sustrans. The two memorials have their bodies embedded in the earth preventing and disconnecting the miner from active labour and while not gender-neutral, they depict an older, less physical version of masculinity. The abstract nature of *King Coal* (Figure 11) and *The Miner* (Figure 12) are examples from the early 1990s, at the end of mining in Durham, where large works were commissioned which appear to de-humanise mining, giving static and abstract interpretations of the industry rather than of real people, prompting Ellis to remark that the pair have a de-humanising air reminiscent of 'Easter Island heads.'⁹⁹ This effect removes the element of empathy from the statues and the disconnection of labour has a further de-humanising consequence. The inhuman nature of the memorials means that any concern about the lack of work or opportunities for miners is moved firmly into the background – de-politicising mining – whilst these abstract and majestic forms rehabilitate and glorify the industry as a whole and thus, the “miner” himself in his former heroic status after a strike that had been contentious and divisive.

⁹⁸ Public Monuments and Sculpture Association. Meeting Point. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9932/>. This memorial has since been removed from the town centre.

⁹⁹ Ellis, M. (1994). New Exhibitions: Putting Art in its Place. *Art and Design*, May/June 1994, xiv-xv. Cited in Usherwood. *Public Sculpture*, p. 258.

Figure 11: King Coal, Pelton.¹⁰⁰



That these two memorials are firmly and deeply rooted in the earth below also strengthens the association between the memorials and the industry which they depict – which was underground and mostly hidden – contrasting sharply to the traditional pit wheels which were and still are overt and easily-recognised symbols of mining. The abstract *Angel of the North* also fits this mode, itself on top of pithead baths.¹⁰¹ The nature of these memorials – large-scale installations supported by major organisations such as the National Cycle Network, and for *The Angel*, largely from Arts Council funding – ensured that they deliberately lacked the empathy that the smaller, community-based memorials often have.

¹⁰⁰ Researcher's own photograph.

¹⁰¹ Figure 4.

In the immediate aftermath to the strike, this de-humanising and distancing of the miner from reality may have been seen as a necessary route to take, separating the artworks and wider industry from the negative view of the miner propagated by large parts of the media.¹⁰² With regards to gender, it was not only *The Angel* that was gender-ambiguous, for by portraying only the head of *King Coal* and a highly-stylised torso for *The Miner*, the sculptures denied a male body form. These abstract sculptures hint at a struggle to come to terms with modernity, while MacInnes has connected modernity to an undermining of patriarchy, thus giving a gendered dimension.¹⁰³ Yet even the sculptures that have come after these large installations have shown a desire to reject this modernity and continue to re-assert masculine mining ideals. The next section will show that other means were used for cultural representations to give a more gender-balanced image as declinism subsided as a major concern.

Figure 12: The Miner, Annfield Plain.¹⁰⁴



¹⁰² Williams. *Shafted*, pp. 36-46.

¹⁰³ MacInnes, J. (1998). *The End of Masculinity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Researcher's own photograph.

Diminishing Perceptions of Decline and Greater Gender Inclusion

This section will consider the relationship of diminishing perceptions of declinism to gender and present the argument that as debate on national decline abated, a new consensus of gender relations emerged which allowed more gender-inclusive cultural representations of the case studies. It will be observed that methods for promoting inclusion within these traditional male case studies were creative in nature, including the examples of some traditional coal mining statues now including female representatives and a radio play based upon Scott's relationship with his wife. It must be noted, as detailed in the previous section, overtly masculine representations and traditional chivalric representations continued to emerge for all three case studies but alongside greater gender inclusion in the memorialisation of Scott and coal mining.

In the previous sections in this chapter, extensive evidence was provided regarding the exclusion of women and how this highlighted the potential relationship between gender and decline. Scott, Dunkirk and coal mining had a relationship with women that has been subdued and understated in their memorials, the case studies highlighting the suppression of the ability of women to contribute to the case studies, and of their voice itself. However, notwithstanding this suppression, it remains the case that their role was small in all three of these masculine narratives. Women have been excluded from coal mining since 1841; there was no female representation in any of the 'heroic Antarctic' expeditions of the early twentieth century; and whilst women played a small part in the Dunkirk evacuation on hospital ships, and others were evacuated or assisted in the administration of the evacuation, the female numbers of such roles are considerably smaller than the male participants. Given their very limited presence and the male dominance of these case studies, it is incredible that some memorials have inserted a female narrative. Clearly, while museums and cinematic representations would favour depictions of women to gain audiences, even some physical monuments have included females either directly or indirectly.

It is indisputable that men did the actual activity of coal mining, but the symbiotic relationship between the miner and his wife or mother is traditionally strong, and this

central role of cleaning, feeding and sympathy for the miner has been acknowledged. Mining and its communities are intertwined too, as highlighted earlier in the previous section in this chapter, with the communities necessarily comprising of both men and women. Therefore, given this stronger association with women than the other case studies, do mining memorials have more female depictions than the other two? Predictably, strong female narratives were found in museums and cinematic representations of this subject, but it is the monuments themselves that highlight potential changes in these narratives with a move towards more inclusion. Six monuments have been found to depict women. The first two: Tudhoe and Trimdon Village (1882) are twin memorials for the same disaster, show a grieving woman with a female child, depicting the women as victims,¹⁰⁵ while a third depicts Mary, the archetypal mother, in a mining nativity at Durham Cathedral (1975).¹⁰⁶

The three most recent memorials highlight two different perspectives of female involvement in the industry, those of homemaking and militancy, although for these images women are still portrayed working within the paradigm of them supporting men. The first role of homemaking is found with a depiction of women as wives and mothers of miners, with the 2012 miners' memorial in Washington depicting a miner, his wife and son, thereby showing women as wives and mothers of miners (Figure 15).¹⁰⁷ The absence of a daughter in the scene marginalises the female role to that of a mother of a miner rather than a mother generally, and the inclusion of the son also shows a mining family that can carry on its traditions (if mining had continued) reinforcing the masculinity of the industry, with the effect that her presence reminds the viewer of her relationship to men. The son's presence in some respects makes the female role less visible than a daughter might have done, as it suggests the female figure to be a reproducer of male labour. This memorial, erected by a committee of ex-miners, contrasts to the stained glass window at Sunderland Civic Centre

¹⁰⁵ Public Monuments and Sculpture Association. Tudhoe Colliery Disaster. Retrieved 10th February 2015, from, <http://www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9692/>.

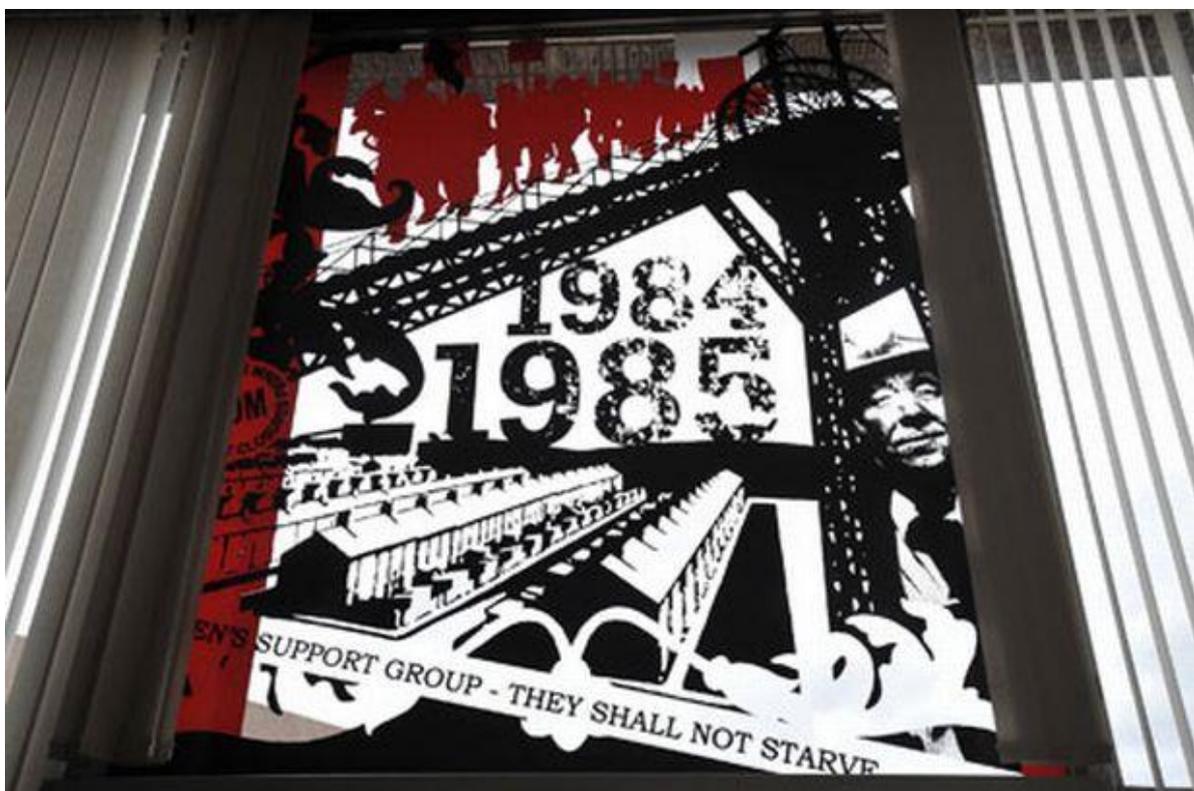
¹⁰⁶ The Haynes Blog. (28 December 2013). The Miner's Nativity. Retrieved 10th February 2015, from, <https://thehaynesblog.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/photo-8.jpg>.

¹⁰⁷ Wearmouth, R. (4th April 2012). Washington Miners Heritage Memorial Targeted by Thieves. *The Journal*. Retrieved 10th February 2015, from, <http://i2.thejournal.co.uk/incoming/article4336118.ece/alternates/s615/staute-image-4-433345460.jpg>.

from 2010, marking 25 years since the miners' strike.¹⁰⁸ In this memorial, the silhouettes of men and women marching highlight the central role women played in the 1984-5 miners' strike. Pertinently, a female councillor was instrumental in establishing this memorial. During the strike she had found her political voice helping on the picket lines and as chair of the Eppleton Area Miners' Wives Support Group. She wrote:

This is a memorial to the strike, not just the industry and its heritage, but to a heroic struggle and the strength of feeling at the time. Times were very hard during the strike and thousands of families up and down the country endured a year of hardship. We are remembering all of this with the memorial.¹⁰⁹

Figure 13: 25th Anniversary window for the Miners' Strike, Sunderland Civic Centre.¹¹⁰



¹⁰⁸ Savage, D. (2010). Sunderland Civic Centre. Retrieved 10th February 2015, from, <http://www.artstop.co.uk/sunderland-cc/>.

¹⁰⁹ BBC. 25th Anniversary of The Miners' Strike Window, Sunderland. Retrieved 17th December 2011, from, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/em/fr/-1/hi/england/wear/8550984.stm>.

¹¹⁰ Researcher's own photograph.

The final most recent memorial at Esh Winning, depicts a family of three with a baby which not only allows the viewer to imagine a past and future for both sexes and generations, but as the male coal miner holds the baby and his female partner holds a miners lamp it portrays equal roles in parenting and work.¹¹¹ Although these are only three memorials, they represent a significant recent desire to include depictions of women in memorials for coal mining after a virtual absence of 130 years.

Further research into the background of two of these memorials highlights gender tensions, suggesting why few memorials have been erected depicting female representations. The funder for two of these memorials (Washington and Sunderland) was Sunderland City Council, but the individual champions of them were male for Washington and female for the window above. Managed by the male members of the Washington Heritage Group, the memorial depicted the traditional role of women in mining, an important role connecting women to the town as the last colliery closed in Washington in 1974, and until 1993 Washington was a commuter town for many miners rather than a mining town itself. This monument reflects upon this domestic role for the town. The traditional image of women contrasts to the militant females shown in the Civic Centre window, a monument championed by a female councillor, while the memorial committee at Esh Winning was comprised of two women and three men. The research of Corina Peniston-Bird on the memorial to *The Women of World War II* is particularly relevant to understanding these memorials. Peniston-Bird showed that women had petitioned for years to get a memorial to their work in the Second World War, with its erection in Whitehall representing a precedent for the inclusion of women. Peniston-Bird looked beyond the erection of the memorial and analysed its language, extrapolating that the memorial, which depicted the hanging-up of different uniforms from the diverse roles of women who served the country in the war, could be read as showing them leaving these positions to return to their traditional

¹¹¹ Unwin, B. (29th September 2015). Miners memorial ends long journey to take place in ex-pit village. Retrieved 17th December 2015, from, www.durhamtimes.co.uk/news/13791816.Miners_memorial_ends_long_journey_to_take_place_in_ex_pit_village/?ref=mr&lp=13.

responsibilities in their homes where they “belonged”.¹¹² As such, the memorial can be read in a distinctly anti-feminist vein. Moving back to the memorials at Washington and Sunderland and Esh Winning, understanding the language of memorials (as was undertaken by Peniston-Bird) highlights differences in their approaches to inclusiveness. All three memorials highlight the importance pioneered by Peniston-Bird of reading the way in which women are included in memorials. Esh Winning and Sunderland’s memorial represent a move towards equality and inclusion, although the inclusion of a female in the memorial in Washington did not reflect a major change in attitudes towards gender.

For Scott, there are no overt feminine depictions aside from the adorning angels mentioned earlier in this chapter. However, like the memorial window at Sunderland for coal mining, female influence has been present in much of his memorialisation. His widow, Lady Scott, was a celebrated sculptress and sculpted three of his memorials, being a great influence on his National Memorial at Plymouth. Indeed, Lady Scott herself became a focus for his memorialisation, with photographs of her and her son published in newspapers to foster the sense of loss. Lady Scott has remained a key figure in cinematic representations of Scott, lending femininity to the narrative. The radio play ‘Kathleen and Con’ explored their relationship, providing a new interpretative angle.¹¹³ More recently, the female influence in memorials has widened slightly to reflect a more inclusive society, while analysis of the deliberate masculinity of the heroic age has highlighted a subterfuge against women. The British Antarctic Trust (BAT) memorial studied later reflects the fact that scientific research in Antarctica is now performed by men and women, and as such includes the names of women who have lost their lives in Antarctica.¹¹⁴ For Dunkirk, female inclusion in monuments has occurred in a different way: the main memorial for Dunkirk is the memorial window at Portsmouth Cathedral (1984), depicting a male narrative of the evacuation. However, as with Scott’s twenty-first century monuments, a plaque for Queen Alexandra’s Royal Naval Nursing Service was inserted in 2002 underneath this window, connecting

¹¹² Peniston-Bird, C. *The People’s War in Personal Testimony and Bronze: Sorority and the Memorial to The Women of World War II*, in Noakes, L. & Pattinson, J. (eds.) (2014). *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. pp. 67-87.

¹¹³ Willett, J. (Producer). Willett, J. (Director). (2013). *Kathleen and Con*. UK: BBC Radio 4.

¹¹⁴ British Antarctic Monument Trust. (2014). Memorial. Retrieved 22nd February 2013, from, <http://www.antarctic-monument.org /index.php?page=memorial>.

Dunkirk with the female staff of the hospital ships that rescued injured servicemen in the early days of the evacuation.¹¹⁵ The increase in inclusion is apparent for the monuments of all three case studies and highlights a change in cultural representations, but for all three case studies, it is not monuments that offer the best examples of inclusion. As with science (see Chapter 6), the more responsive memorials to change are found in anniversary celebrations and museums.

Three events for each of the case studies will be examined to show how commemorative ceremonies have also become more inclusive. A comparison drawn between Scott's memorial service at St Paul's Cathedral in 1913, with its mainly male congregation, and his 100th Anniversary in 2012, which was led by HRH The Princess Royal, highlights the increased gender inclusiveness a century after the event. The second example, of the annual Durham Miners' Gala, also shows an increased inclusion of females. Traditionally, the brass bands were male, with the men marching behind their NUM lodge's banner, but the parade is now much more inclusive. Women walk with the men, memorialising the closed coalmines and are members of the brass bands, with female groups such as 'Women Against Pit Closures' also represented with banners. Similarly, the commemoration of the 70th Anniversary of Dunkirk was inclusive, with both men and women on the flotilla of little ships, women aboard naval vessels, and male and female re-enactment personnel joining the celebrations. These commemorative events, with their ability to respond to contemporary society, reflect the gender inclusion of post-industrial Britain, which can also be witnessed in twenty-first century exhibitions.

This gender inclusion contrasts to the exclusion of women, which was exposed in the first two sections of this chapter, Jones painting a narrative of Scott's expeditions being carried out in part to uphold the exclusive masculinity of the Royal Geographic Society (RGS).¹¹⁶ It is therefore with a large measure of irony that The National Portrait Gallery substituted Scott's portraits for a display on female Victorian explorers such as Gertrude Bell.¹¹⁷ Adding salt to

¹¹⁵ Memorials in Portsmouth. Portsmouth Cathedral. Memorials. Retrieved 11th February 2015, from, <http://www.memorials.inportsmouth.co.uk/churches/cathedral/qarnns.htm>.

¹¹⁶ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 51-8.

¹¹⁷ National Portrait Gallery visited in May 2011. Portraits pertaining to Scott are still sometimes displayed within the general policy of rotating exhibits.

the wound was the fact that Bell was one of the women who had requested RGS membership, with the display of her portrait in Scott's stead reflecting an example of societal change in attitude towards the inclusion of women. This change occurred not in their membership of the RGS - which was granted for financial reasons in 1913 - but almost a century later when real societal change occurred with explorers like Bell receiving national recognition. Staying with the example of museums, the interactive 2012 exhibition about *Operation Dynamo* at Dover Castle clearly shows the importance of women in the planning and organising of the evacuation. However, the insertion of a female narrative in museums in coal mining is much more obvious. While museums of coal mining have, as one would anticipate, a strong content of industry-related exhibits, they all include sizeable displays focusing on the social history of mining, with domestic life as its centrepiece. This emphasis on coal mining communities and homes serves to place a female narrative in mining museums that would otherwise be absent if the focus was on the male-dominated industry and coal mining processes. This gender-inclusive approach not only ensures that the museums have a wide appeal to both the sexes, but also serves to make the museum more accessible to schoolchildren, who can easily compare homes from the past to their own. This inclusion works for the museum by increasing its popularity and generating higher visitor numbers, and consequent visitor revenue. The three national miners' museums have more of a focus on the mining industry itself, with displays of machinery and the coal extraction process, but all also include displays on the domestic sphere and communities. At Beamish Museum, the female narrative is more strongly emphasised. Here, it is the mining communities that are celebrated, rather than the miners themselves, and while there is a drift mine and a display on miners' lamps, this is situated within a mining village complete with school and Methodist Church, with the coalmines forming a part of a much larger community.

This section has shown a picture of increasing inclusion emerging in cultural representations from the case studies. As such, change towards inclusion is evidence of a societal shift, a picture emerges of a more inclusive society, although the comprehensiveness of this is dependent on the type of memorial considered. While monuments did not offer historic examples of inclusion for women, recent depictions of women, especially in commemorative events and exhibitions, have been particularly conspicuous as examples of

inclusion, especially as the three case studies had limited roles for women. Given the inclusion of women into the narrative and memorials of Scott, the Dunkirk Evacuation and image of coal mining, they have, by providing a more inclusive version of the past, made women more included in the present, reflecting their actual role in contemporary society. This brings up the question: is post-decline actually post masculine?, which highlights the idea that as decline has become less relevant, it is easier to use culture to attempt to stem its impact especially in gender relations.

Conclusion

This chapter has documented the relationship of the cultural representations of the case studies to decline and gender in a broad chronological order. Having already asserted the strong relationship between the case studies and gender and decline in the introduction to this thesis, an additional dimension was added in this chapter by using the case studies to illustrate the links between declinism and gender itself, the study of which, with the exception of Jones' work on Scott, has been a largely neglected area of historical examination.¹¹⁸

The chapter took the form of three sections, each starting from a position of three considering different periods of decline: quasi-declinism; declinism and post-declinism. The first section mainly examined Scott's monuments and their relationship to quasi-declinism – namely how the 'fear of failing' influenced representations of gender in the cultural representations. In this section the potential role of chivalry in reinforcing traditional ideals of gender was discussed with empirical evidence to support the arguments. This represented a contribution to new research it expanded upon Jones' research linking Scott to a crisis of masculinity and his work examining Scott's monuments against prevailing contemporaneous culture, and Freer's research examining the religious significance of the Binton window. It also represented a fresh way of considering the breadth of Scott's inter-war memorials, in the context of using chivalry to illustrate a reinforcement of masculine ideals.¹¹⁹ This section added to exciting new historical research in its juxtaposition of Scott's memorials to those of Dunkirk and coal mining in Durham. Similarities were shown that suggested a pan-democratic popularity of chivalric depictions in the inter and early post-war period, opposing the conventional views of Girouard and Fussell that chivalric images were rejected after the First World War, and of Frantzen and Goebel that they were rejected after the Second World War. Indeed, the cultural representations for all three case studies maintained chivalric readings towards the end of the twentieth century and in some cases into the twenty-first century. This finding highlights the fact that whilst extensive research

¹¹⁸ Jones. Truth about Captain Scott.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. Freer. Lives and Modernist Death of Captain Scott.

has been undertaken on First World War memorials, little research has been undertaken on civilian memorials or groups of memorials for specific events in the Second World War.

The second section examined the assertion of masculinity in reaction to declinism emerging in the late 1950s to the end of the twentieth century. All of the research in this section represented new areas and considerations of research. Within this section the memorials of Dunkirk and coal mining in Durham were considered. For these case studies it was observed that there was an exclusion of cultural representations of gender: for coal mining, this had been a historical exclusion but for Dunkirk a different case was presented. In the evacuation of Dunkirk, women had been present and while their presence was found on early cultural representations, where their presence couldn't be denied, later cultural representations excluded images and references to females.

For coal mining in Durham, the period of declinism corresponded to the complete decline of the coal industry. The memorials in Durham had always (excepting the examples at Tudhoe and Trimdon) excluded references to women, and the research highlighted that after the industry's demise, memorials tended to have a strong, physical masculine image, highlighting the strength needed to work as a coal miner. Much discussion was given in this section of the chapter on the effects of de-industrialisation and gender. In many ways the coal mining monuments of Durham can be viewed as commemorating the decline of the industry whilst offering an idealised version of masculinity in a society no longer demarcated by gender.

The final section considered the "decline" of declinism itself as a political and economic national concern, heralding a new era of gender inclusion. This section, which also represented a new area of research, found that while existing masculine memorials of chivalric and overtly physical masculine depictions were continuing to be erecting in this time period, so too were new cultural representations incorporating often creative female narratives. It is possible that given the existing masculine representations and the actual male-dominated nature of the case studies that this representing a change in the expectations that the audience has for memorials, rather than a revised view of the actual events. This was particularly apparent for all three case studies when the nature of the

female inclusion was discussed, especially in the context of Peniston-Bird's significant research on the meaningfulness of gender inclusion in memorials.

Chapter 5 - Class and Community

*We still retain in Britain a deeper sense of class, a more obvious social stratification, and stronger class resentments, than any of the Scandinavian, Australasian, or North American countries.*¹

When Anthony Crosland wrote this in 1956, he recognised the importance of class to Britain at a time just before declinism was to attain its intellectual moment. Britain's social hierarchical structure has been a mainstay and symbol of its society for centuries, although in the late 1950s onwards the reverence towards these structures began to wane which was the time when declinism emerged. Using the extensive data of cultural representations for the case studies and their diverse relationships to class – with Scott representing the upper classes, Dunkirk all social classes and coal mining the lower classes – this chapter will seek to question if the cultural representations of the case studies show changing attitudes to class and working class communities, linking this to declinism and post-declinism.

When declinism reached its apogee, explanations were derived from perceived problems in Britain's culture, and this chapter will look at the maritime and religious aspects of Britain's culture and how symbols from these sections of Britain are used to unify it, possibly against declinism. Decline theory used failings in Britain's upper classes to explain decline through the idea of the failures of the model of the "English gentleman". The changing cultural response to this idea can be examined in this thesis by examining cultural representations of Captain Scott. With regard to other social classes, clearly the working classes suffered from the decline which actually occurred in particular industries, and this can be particularly examined by the case study of Durham coal miners, which resulted in major challenges to their communities. It should be noted that while "community" is a broad term, for this thesis it specifically refers to coal mining communities.

This chapter also considers different moments of decline. The first section on maritime identity mainly concentrates on the declinist response to Scott as an archetypal naval

¹ Crosland, A. (1956). *Future of Socialism*. London: Jonathan Cape. p. 119.

officer. The second section, on religion, provides a background of pre-declinist and declinist times but its main emphasis is on the post-declinist period. The final three sections on community, Durham City and social inclusion, concentrate on post-declinist responses and highlight a difference of opinion to that offered by Anthony Crosland in the quote above.

Specifically, taking these sections in detail, in common with the chapter on gender, this chapter will discuss three separate time periods pertinent to decline, using the broad theme of class and community. The first section will consider the role of the idealised maritime officer as exemplified by Scott and the use of maritime identity as a means of unifying ideas of social class. Given the scope of this thesis, particular emphasis will of course be given to the how these ideas responded to decline, having emanated in a time before declinism and continued - albeit at times changing - throughout the twentieth century. The second section considers the loss of community and decline of religion from declinist to post-declinist times respectively. The third section, similarly to the section on gender in the previous chapter, will assess the inclusion of the social classes in a post-declinist age.

The Relevance of the Maritime Industry to Quasi-Declinist and Declinist Times

...this salt in our blood²

Carolan recounted an article by Lajeune in *The Observer* where she mused on how being British derived from 'this salt in our blood.' The relationship between the sea and national identity was established in the late Victorian and early Edwardian era and remained largely intact for most of the twentieth century, seeking to unify Britain while obscuring regional identities, creating a national community of people with an affinity to the sea.³ This section will consider how naval hierarchical structures mirrored the classes in Britain, and the archetypal naval officer as epitomised by Scott, in the context of decline.

The relevance of maritime cultural references to Britain – an island nation – has a rich legacy: and in this thesis both Scott's story and the evacuation of Dunkirk have strong seafaring narratives. Over 100 of the vessels on the National Historic Ships UK register are 'little ships' and the smallest of these (*Tamzine*) reminds visitors to the Imperial War Museum, London of the importance of Britain's seafaring heritage to the evacuation.⁴ Many of the monuments are located near the sea, such as the Dunkirk memorial on Dover Promenade, and Dover Castle, providing an immediate environmental connection to their maritime nature.⁵ Elsewhere, the importance of the sea to the relatively small island of Britain is remembered by some examples of maritime memorials in inland places, such as the Dunkirk memorial at the National Memorial Arboretum in Staffordshire, where the sea is symbolised by sand from Dunkirk being present within the memorial.⁶ The sea unifies, as shown by the diverse locations of these memorials and as Carolan asserted it is a useful tool

² Lajeune, C. A. 24th February, 1950. *The Observer*. Cited in Carolan. *British Maritime History*.

³ Carolan. *British Maritime History*.

⁴ National Historic Ships UK. Retrieved 10th December 2013, from, <http://www.nationalhistoricships.org.uk/>. The Imperial War Museum was completely refurbished in 2014 but the *Tamzine* continues to have a central place in the exhibition space.

⁵ Latter J. (15th September 2011). Dover UK. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/59028698>. Wikimedia, Ramsay Statue Dover. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/64/RamsayStatueDover.JPG/220px-RamsayStatueDover.JPG>.

⁶ National Memorial Arboretum, *Remember*, p. 40.

to unify the heterogeneous islanders of Britain. Yet life on the ocean waves in a British vessel also reflected the class systems back on land.

The essence of the “English Gentleman” can also be gleaned by the maritime connections of Scott. Carolan demonstrated in her research into British maritime films that Britain’s seafaring traditions are not limited to the Royal Navy, showing that many of the films of the inter-war era concerned shipbuilding and maritime comedies that featured the common man.⁷ Yet despite this comprehensive view, contemporary criticisms and academic research has tended to concentrate on Royal Naval personnel and their embodiment of the ‘ideal Briton.’⁸ Quintin Colville described these upper-middle class naval characteristics as: ‘duty, self-control, discipline, conformity and leadership ability, in combination with a specific set of social skills...loosely labelled “good manners”.’⁹ Scott and his men fall within this paradigm, with Mills’ *Scott of the Antarctic* providing a prime example of a memorial illustrating this. The naval officer as encapsulated by Scott epitomises the traits so criticised in Wiener’s thesis.¹⁰ This aspect of maritime identity has not continued to be celebrated, demonstrating a connection with declinism in its subsequent rejection.

In a 1949 review of the film in *The News of the World*, Hodgson connected *Scott of the Antarctic* to his notion of national characteristics, writing, ‘we have an odd approach to courage, for, while abhorring boastfulness, we bow to no nation in our capacity for understatement and self-effacement. And it is those two national characteristics that this film has so triumphantly captured.’¹¹ Richards too, in a retrospective view of the film, identifies potential national traits among Scott’s team as they ‘display characteristic British attitudes under adversity – quiet determination, understatement, restraint, self-deprecating humour, the stoical acceptance of defeat and disappointment.’¹² Both writers connect the portrayal of Scott in this film to popular notions of national characteristics that are

⁷ Carolan. *British Maritime History*. p. 302.

⁸ Ibid. p. 300.

⁹ Colville, Q. (2003). Jack Tar and the Gentleman Officer: The Role of Uniform in Shaping the Class and Gender Related Identity of British Naval Personnel. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)*. 13. 105-129. p. 107.

¹⁰ Wiener. *English Culture*.

¹¹ E. Hodgson (2nd January, 1949). *The News of the World*. Cited in Plain. *John Mills*. p. 113.

¹² Richards. *Films and British National Identity*. p. 53.

associated with the idea of a gentleman. Interestingly from this film, the notion of the gentleman at this time could be democratic, with all of the polar party, including Petty Officer Evans, operating within this code. Plain writes that during the Second World War:

One of the characteristic devices of British filmmaking in this period was an attempt to foster a democratic spirit. The hero became not only Everyman but also Everywoman. Moreover, heroism was no longer seen to be the preserve of the special individual but rather a quality emerging from shared values and beliefs.¹³

Within this strategy, the casting of the 'Everyman' John Mills, who had previously played Ordinary Seaman 'Shorty' Blake in *In Which We Serve* (1942), continued this 'democratic spirit' that Plain suggests was key in the casting of John Mills in the role of Scott.¹⁴

This popular post-war portrayal of Scott had fallen from favour by the late 1960s. The "democratic gentleman" was an ideal that declined during what Mandler eloquently describes as the period 'of rapid cultural change that we now refer to in shorthand as "the Sixties."¹⁵ Thus, while a film like *Scott of the Antarctic* (1948) was portraying these national characteristics in a positive light and as an optimistic vision against a backdrop of austerity and imperial decline,¹⁶ by 1970 the idea of a national character (especially one of the "gentleman") was becoming outmoded. Mandler notes a significant shift after the Second World War in ideas on national character where 'social scientists began to talk less of "national character" and more of "national identity"¹⁷. Indeed, as the post-war decades progressed, the idea of national character began to have negative connotations, which by the 1960s meant:

Retrospectively...the 'English national character' was rewritten as the character of the gentleman by people of all political complexions... Now at the point where the gentleman was seen to go into irretrievable decline, he could be closely identified with the national character on both Left and Right.¹⁸

¹³ Plain. *John Mills*. p. 57.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 118.

¹⁵ Mandler. *English National Character*. p. 215.

¹⁶ Plain. *John Mills*. pp. 112-123. Richards. *Films and British National Identity*. pp. 51-7.

¹⁷ Mandler. *English National Character*. p. 196.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 217.

Some saw these characteristics as not only negative but as having national social and economic repercussions. Crosland's dialogue on the BBC's *What is Wrong with Britain?* blamed characteristics such as amateurism and good manners for the demise of Great Britain. Critically, this debate widened culminating in Wiener's thesis that gentlemanly characteristics were the main cause of British decline. The interpretation of the characteristics had changed, yet the characteristics themselves had remained the same, meaning what had made Britain great was also beginning to be seen as having sown the seeds of its downfall. The "English Gentleman" therefore became a scapegoat for a nation in decline, with Huntford ensuring Scott became a prime example.¹⁹

Scott's memorials highlight this dual role. Early memorials emphasised his gentlemanly qualities by deprecating the other members of the polar party, the Devonport memorial once again being the prime example of the positive, stoical portrayal of Scott against the broken Evans.²⁰ Much the same emerges from Ponting's hagiographical film.²¹ The 1948 film of Scott on the other hand, after the "People's War", portrayed gentlemanly characteristics for the entire party. Later celluloid memorials are not as sympathetic, for while Scott continues to be a gentleman, he is held up for ridicule in Brenton's play or Monty Python's sketches. Yet this change in treatment of the relationship of Scott and the idea of the gentleman is most relevant to the 1985 TV series *The Last Place on Earth (TLPOE)* based on Huntford's negative biography of Scott.²²

As stated in Chapter 3, Griffiths, the playwright and producer of *TLPOE* intended it not only as a faithful account of Huntford's critical biography of Scott, but also as a parody on Thatcher's Britain. The series was planned as a statement against the echoes of empire heard in the narrative of the Falklands War, using Scott's story as a metaphor.

¹⁹ Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*.

²⁰ Note: This treatment of Evans will be considered in the third section of this chapter.

²¹ Ponting, H. (Producer). Ponting, H. (Director). (1924). *The Great White Silence*. UK: British Gaumont. See: Figure 16 for Devonport memorial.

²² Rellim & Griffiths. *The Last Place on Earth*. Huntford. *Last Place on Earth*.

The final episode was called *Rejoice*, evoking Thatcher's victory speech, Griffiths explaining:

I called the final episode *Rejoice*, because it was so neat it had to be true almost, because here we were on another crazed, impossible, vainglorious venture, and we were being invited to approve, nay being instructed to approve. Our whole Britishness, our status as Britons, depended on our approval....What Scott did was to emblematised something we were doing, acting it out in the Falklands war.²³

Although some contemporary reviews demonstrate that critics saw the drama in this light, with *The New York Times* writing that the series 'adds up to the debunking of a British hero while, in the process, compiling an unflattering portrait of national arrogance,' this was not a comprehensively held opinion.²⁴ Jones observed that 'many of the programme makers were moved by the tragic deaths of Scott and his men.'²⁵ Indeed one of the prominent sympathisers of Scott was Martin Shaw, the actor who played him in the series, and who told an interviewer in 1984 that 'he is one of the greatest heroes this country or any other has ever seen.'²⁶ Thus, the powerful anti-Scott sentiment in the screenplay was diluted on screen by the humanity that Shaw gave his character, with the more competent Amundsen at times seeming less sympathetic and acting as a useful counterpoint for Scott's admirers. Tulloch too suggests that to middle-class audiences the series was seen sympathetically, although they understood given the massive publicity from the Kennet family in *Encounter* and *The Daily Express* that the Scott in the series was still less sympathetic than he could have been.²⁷ The obvious personal connection of Shaw to Scott, and audience sympathy with the series perhaps highlights wider paradoxes of ideas of continuity and decline. In the context of "the gentleman" it would appear that, despite revisionism, ideas of gentlemanly characteristics are still both positive and relevant.

²³ Griffiths. *Judgement Over the Dead*. pp. xxxi-ii.

²⁴ O'Connor, J. (1985). The Last Place On Earth: Not just about the Antarctic. *New York Times*, 20 October 1985. p. 25.

²⁵ Jones. Truth about Captain Scott. pp. 865-6.

²⁶ Greenheart. (2009, October 29). Gloria Hunniford interviewing Martin Shaw on Sunday on Sunday (1984). [Video File]. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ArOb-rSOGXM>.

²⁷ Tulloch, J. (1990). *Television Drama: Agency, Audience and Myth*. London: Routledge. pp. 149-50. Lord Kennet, (Lady Scott's son by her second marriage) created a very public debate with Roland Huntford on the assertions he made in the book, which was the basis for the series. Some of the assertions alleged that Lady Scott had had an affair. See Jones. Truth about Captain Scott. Young, W. 1980. On the debunking of Captain Scott. *Encounter*, 54.

Loss of Community and Declinism

*Retrospective conceptions that we form about past events, useful to focus discussion, but very often leading historical thought astray.*²⁸

Nostalgia as was argued in the chapter on decline is the cultural response to declinism. In coal mining the loss of the industry is felt in a multitude of ways but the one examined in this section is the feeling of the loss of community. Nostalgia can cloud historical examination as George Trevelyan asserts in the quote above and it is a prescient comment to remember when considering lost working-class communities. Certainly both Colls and Bourke have made this connection, with Bourke commenting sarcastically on the empathy of writers remembering communities who ‘know what a working-class community would feel like’²⁹ while Colls identified that his own vision is a retrospective construction.³⁰ The term “community” could apply to any class or group of people but in nostalgic terms the retrospective understanding is that it relates to the working classes in a heavy *Coronation Street*-laden interpretation - although some historians like Ross McKibbin and Barry Doyle have made extensive research into middle class communities.³¹ Given this nostalgia-imbued view of communities, historians have argued about definitions of working-class communities and whether they ever actually existed. Much of the debate on communities hinges on the fact that while communities suggest a definable homogeneity, analysis proves them to be wide, heterogeneous places. Mining communities are particularly fertile ground for this debate given their supposed isolation. However, akin to the debate on decline, it is the perception of community that is key to understanding these memorials. The empirical analysis used in this section, using visual evidence of potential representations of community in memorials, will add to research assessing the extensiveness or existence of “community” in mining areas.

²⁸ Trevelyan, *English Social History*. p. 92

²⁹ Colls. *When We Lived in Communities*. pp. 283-8. Bourke. *Working Class Cultures in Britain*. p. 136.

³⁰ Colls. *When We Lived in Communities*. pp. 283-4.

³¹ McKibbin, R. (1998). *Classes and Culture: England 1918-1951*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Given that mining has been identified as the 'archetypal community'³² and miners themselves have been titled the 'archetypal proletarian',³³ mining memorials should have a proliferation of displays of community. It is therefore puzzling that a preliminary analysis of the memorials for the three case studies would suggest that the memorials to Scott and Dunkirk have stronger themes of community with their depictions of camaraderie. Of the twenty-six figurative monuments (not stained glass or murals) to miners, seventeen depict solitary images of a miner with the individual as the antonym to community, which is shown in the remaining 35% of cases.³⁴ This contrasts to the eight figurative monuments to Scott, of which five depict his comrades (68% of memorials), such as the national memorial for Scott at Devonport that includes the band of men that followed him.³⁵ For Dunkirk, there are only two figurative monuments, both depicting a group of men, the key to the event being man saving fellow man.³⁶ Indeed, the sense of community is strong for the case studies of Scott and Dunkirk, extolling the robust narrative of camaraderie (Dunkirk in particular evoking the wider British community spirit in wartime), but a more general sense of community is perceived to be strongest in mining. This begs the question why depictions of community are relatively weak in monuments to mining in Durham? Do other types of mining memorials such as banners and one-dimensional memorials display stronger themes of community? To answer this question, the relationship between mining, its communities and nostalgia - the traditional cultural response to decline - must be ascertained.

While academic interest in working-class culture increased after the Second World War,³⁷ popular literature and films displayed an appetite for working-class narratives before the

Doyle, B. (1990). *Middle Class Realignment and Party Politics in Norwich 1900-1932*. (Doctoral Thesis). University of East Anglia.

³² Gilbert. Conference Report, p. 47.

³³ Harrison. *Independent Collier*.

³⁴ Solitary monuments at: Elba Park; Craghead; Fishburn; Thornley; Langley Moor; Easington; Pelton; Consett; Ferryhill; Ferryhill Station, Spennymoor; West Stanley; Whitburn; Angel of the North; Market Place, Durham; and two at Redhills, Durham City. Other figurative monuments are: Tudhoe; Trimdon; Haswell, Murton, Seaham, Ryhope; Stadium of Light, Sunderland; Thornley; and Washington. Dates and websites for images in Appendix.

³⁵ Communal monuments are also at: St Paul's Cathedral; Rhossili; Glen Prosen and Cardiff, whereas solitary monuments are located at Portsmouth and Waterloo Place, London. (See figure 16 for the Devonport memorial.)

³⁶ Dover Promenade and Dover Castle Memorial of Admiral Ramsay.

³⁷ Jones. *Noble Example*. p. 194.

war and many of these were based on mining communities, which were of necessity located around the sites where coal was present, in often remote areas where most of their inhabitants were employed in mining rather than other industries. As such, these communities had fewer external alternative influences, serving to reinforce their sense of character. An interest in mining communities is evidenced by the popular reception of three mining novels that were made into successful films, the positive commercial potential of this genre attested by the fact that two of these were feature films produced in America. *How Green Was My Valley?*, *The Stars Look Down* and *Lassie Come Home* all showcased positive themes of neighbourliness and kinship in mining communities. *The Proud Valley* was not taken from a book previously published but also showed these strong themes.³⁸ The appeal of mining novels to the general public was augmented by the reporting of mining disasters in the nineteenth century in weekly newspapers such as the *Illustrated London News*. The disasters highlighted to readers both the “otherness” of mining and the local mobilization of rescue attempt, support for victims and erection of memorials, which together revealed a strong community spirit.³⁹ Richard Crangle has shown a continued interest in mining themes as magic lantern slide shows developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁴⁰ The aforementioned films and novels kindled interest in mining communities in the 1930s and 1940s, while the Second World War increased wider awareness of mining through the conscription of Bevin Boys from all parts of the United Kingdom into these communities. In 1947, nationalisation singled out the distinctiveness of mining, while *Coal is our Life* served to reinforce the strong relationship between mining and communities. The research of Dennis et al highlighted how the family structure created a closed community, with little attrition in sixty years and how most of its residents were employed in mining.⁴¹ The depiction was of a distinct community and society and led the way for consideration of

³⁸ Garnett & Ford. *How Green Was My Valley?* Marx, S. & Schary, D. (Producer). Wilcox, F. (Director). (1943). *Lassie Come Home*, USA: MGM.

The Proud Valley; *The Stars Look Down*. All four films had narratives of outsiders (actual outsiders or those who sought to be outside through education) being brought (back) into the folds of the community thereby suggesting homogeneity.

³⁹ Memorials like Tudhoe and Trimdon (both 1882) were erected by public subscription after the Trimdon Colliery Disaster.

⁴⁰ Crangle, R. (March, 2010). Miners and magic lanterns: some historical views of ‘the collier’s life’ from a century ago. Paper Presented at: Digging the Seam: Cultural Reflections and the Consequences of the 1984/5 Miners’ Strike, at University of Leeds.

⁴¹ Dennis et al. *Coal is our Life*, pp. 171-6.

mining communities by academics. For example, Benson used it as a benchmark to other communities quoting Roy Church on why mining should be particularly community-based:⁴²

During the first half of the century, the objective differences between the patterns and hazards of miners' working lives and their modes of living compared with other occupational groups were sufficient to have produced an environment, varying in the degree of uniqueness, which virtually imposed shared experiences of a kind which produced the phenomenon sometimes described as "community."⁴³

Church's description highlighted the otherness of these communities, making them an interesting subject for novels and films in the first half of the twentieth century, which maintained its momentum to the end of the century. This was evidenced by a Labour History Review conference held in 1994 entitled 'Community, Gender and Culture in Mining History' highlighting this continued academic interest in mining and communities, whilst in popular culture community has remained a strong theme through depictions of mining in the films *Billy Elliott* and *Brassed Off*.⁴⁴ The stereotype of these communities was encapsulated by there being a sense that their populations worked together with little external influence felt, in a simpler time, before the age of affluence had descended and people had become more self-absorbed. There was homogeneity to these communities as defined by the housing and poor choice of goods available to buy, or little difference in wages. The nostalgia surrounding these communities is the idea that they were safer, friendlier places to live, giving a less complicated life which is very much the view presented by Colls in his research.⁴⁵

Despite the wide academic and popular acknowledgement of the connections between mining and community, some academics have argued that ideas of community have been constructed and are tainted with nostalgia. A principle criticism of this nostalgia is the misleading assumption of a discrete mining or working class. Harrison was among the first to argue that although the miner was an 'archetypal proletarian', there were vast

⁴² Benson. *The Working Class*. pp. 125-6.

⁴³ Church. *History of the British Coal Industry, Vol 2*. p. 612.

⁴⁴ Abbot, S. (Producer). Brenman G. & Finn, J. (Producer). Daldry, S. (Director). (2000). *Billy Elliott*. UK: Universal Focus. Herman, M. (Director). (1996). *Brassed Off*. UK: Channel 4 Films/MiraMax.

⁴⁵ Colls. *When we lived in Communities*.

differences in miners throughout Britain, citing different mining techniques and local conditions.⁴⁶ Harrison's research concentrated on miners, while Benson and Bourke investigated the wider working class, their research using the example of miners to argue that the working class itself was not homogeneous, with part of their detailed analysis exploiting evidence of differences of miners within a locality to illustrate this point.⁴⁷ Benson contributed further to the question of idealised communities by showing that in mining the pervasive harbinger of change and destroyer of communities – affluence – was already beginning to undermine community before the publication of *Coal is our Life*.⁴⁸ Hudson differed in his approach by questioning the values of community rather than its extent in his analysis of the village of Horden post-pit, the book itself winning national acclaim.⁴⁹ From his research, he questioned the nostalgic versions of his own family history and the memories of the community, finding a place where rivalry and ambition were pursued. The acclaim that Hudson's book received highlighted a desire to debunk communities in post-industrial Britain. Yet despite some criticism, the idealisation of mining communities remains and is sold to almost half a million visitors a year at Beamish Open Air Museum.⁵⁰ The memorials themselves deserve further analysis as although Gilbert has attested 'a simple rejection of community is not possible for mining', the memorials therefore merit more research.⁵¹ The analysis in this section will form three parts: the first will be a general overview of how the mining monuments of Durham depict community; the second will consider memorials in three different mining villages; and finally memorials other than monuments will be considered. The emphasis for all three considerations will be how depictions of community might connect to decline, with the strong links of mining's demise to the loss of its communities.

⁴⁶ Harrison. *Independent Collier*.

⁴⁷ Benson. *The Working Class*. pp.123-6. Bourke. *Working Class Cultures in Britain*. p. 167.

⁴⁸ Benson. *The Working Class*. pp. 123-6.

⁴⁹ Hudson. *Coming Back Brockens*.

⁵⁰ Durham County Council. (2012). Visitor Numbers to Beamish Museum. Retrieved 14th February 2013, from, www.democracy.durham.gov.uk/documents/s18488/jc%20Directors%20update%20March%202012.pdf.

⁵¹ Gilbert. Conference Report. p. 50.

Some mining monuments depict community by images of the camaraderie of the miners themselves and their hardships, which as outlined by Church above were an essential requirement of community. The earliest figurative memorial is the twin monument located at Trimdon and Tudhoe with themes of comradeship in its commemoration of the Trimdon Mining Disaster of 1882 that killed 74 men. One of the four scenes portrays a miner helping an injured man out of the pit shaft and in the final frame two clasped hands are shown bearing the inscription 'Friendship.'⁵² The camaraderie is continued in the more recent memorial 'Men of Steel' at the Stadium of Light utilising matchstick men working together to push lumps of coal up a hill.⁵³ The artist Graeme Hopper writes:

It represents man's social struggle and will to survive against the odds. The figures show purpose and aims, they symbolise hope and achievement.⁵⁴

Other memorials show the community of work. The *Pit Wheel* at Ryhope illustrates men working separately but within individual cogs of the mining wheel, suggesting a community of work.⁵⁵ The late and long-overdue twentieth century memorial *The Spirit of Haswell* commemorates the Haswell mining disaster of 1844 depicting the community of suffering with the faces of the victims staring at the viewer.⁵⁶ The memorial forms part of the wider Easington art project *Looking Beyond* and gave funding for a disaster that until that point had waited 150 years to be commemorated.⁵⁷ But these examples provide the exception to the rule, with most figurative mining monuments depicting solitary miners. It is possible that the depiction of the lone figure of the miner in memorials implies a community of work, given that it is evident they worked with many in communities and so such images are not needed to be made explicit: the individual symbolising community in a homogenous view of the industry. Yet, despite evident readings of themes of community in the visual

⁵² Public Monuments and Sculpture Association. Tudhoe Colliery Disaster. Retrieved 10th February 2015, from, <http://www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9692/>.

⁵³ Worrall, T. (12th May 2014). Sunderland's Men of Steel. Retrieved 28th January 2015, from, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tonyworrall/14214479413/> Accessed 28.01.15.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Public Monuments and Sculpture Association. Pit Wheel. Retrieved 27th January 2015, from, <http://www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9857/>.

⁵⁶ Public Monuments and Sculpture Association. The Spirit of Haswell. Retrieved 27th January 2015, from, <http://www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9957/>.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

representations of the monuments, more significant was the community involvement in the production of its memorials that demonstrates their true sense of the word. Four case studies will be used - Fishburn, Ryhope, Washington and the relevance of the Church in coal mining communities - to seek the potential nostalgic meanings behind the statues. A précis of the villages and the history of their mining monuments will be undertaken.

Fishburn

Fishburn is a small village on the edge of the Durham coalfield, which although enjoying close proximity to the small medieval market town of Sedgefield (itself without coal deposits), lacked its prosperity. Since 2000 it has been subject to gentrification and the arrival of new residents, yet despite these changes it remains a place where people know each other and has maintained its colliery brass band.⁵⁸ The village relied on two coal industries: a colliery (1910-1973) and a coke works (1954-86). After sixty years of coal mining, a nature reserve is now established on these sites. Designed by Keith Maddison, Fishburn's memorial was unveiled in 2003 as part of a local millennium initiative. The memorial depicts a miner working inside a stone cave symbolising the narrow coal seams worked in this area. Initially, a more conventional static memorial had been conceived, but as the costs for the project mounted, the committee disagreed with the sculptor as the statue required a large quantity of bronze.⁵⁹ The committee appointed a new artist, and consequently many members left. A more affordable memorial was financed by public subscription with a final cost of £12,000 and fundraising taking 15 months with a gift in kind from a local business donating the stone required.⁶⁰ Although it is evident from an article in the *Northern Echo* that some members of the committee had left with its acknowledgement that members had 'dropped out', the memorial itself remained a testament to community. This community effort has continued since 2003 with a recent unveiling of a plaque in 2012 at the local church of St Catherine's detailing the fifty-seven men who died in the colliery at

⁵⁸ The researcher lived in Sedgefield for ten years and knew many residents of Fishburn.

⁵⁹ Conversation with Rita Fulton, a member of the committee for the first sculpture. (2010).

⁶⁰ Northern Echo. (2003). Mining Memorial Ready for Unveiling. *Northern Echo*. 18th July 2003.

Fishburn. Rev. Gobbett declared, 'Mining is still a significant part of the community, as shown by the dedication service being well-attended.'⁶¹

Figure 14: Fishburn Mining Memorial.⁶²



⁶¹ Northern Echo. (2012). Plaque Pays Tribute to Those Who Died in Fishburn. *Northern Echo*, 22nd October 2012.

⁶² Researcher's own photograph.

Ryhope

Twenty miles north of Fishburn, Ryhope is a large commuter community situated on the coast one mile from the boundary of the City of Sunderland. Its mine had seams stretching out under the North Sea and was opened in 1859 but was one of the first to close in 1966. Given its long history with mining, the NCB commissioned a study on the impact of the closure in 1970.⁶³ After the closure, Ryhope remained a commuter village for miners until the ending of coal mining in the region in 1993. Post-millennial Ryhope has changed from its 1966 character with many new citizens making this their home in what had been a closely-knit community. Yet many residents have remained who remember the Ryhope of the 1960s and it is these residents who have influenced the village's four mining memorials.⁶⁴ The first memorial was a council-led initiative, a representation of a mining wheel situated at the site of the colliery and was funded by the City of Sunderland in 1995.⁶⁵ It was the work of an artist-in-residence, Wilma Eaton, who worked with three primary schools, community groups and a youth club. Although originating from the council rather than the community itself, it engaged with many people and led to an extensive exhibition of artwork in the local library. While the wheel involved the community, the other three memorials were community-led to a greater degree. One is a community garden of remembrance for miners, established in 2000 for the millennium and erected by local citizens on scrubland on the High Street in a scheme that both remembered lost miners and improved the local environment. The Anglican Church of St Paul's erected a memorial to miners in the church in 2003, entirely led and funded by parishioners. The final memorial of a boundary marker (2008) for the village is the most illuminating to this study of nostalgia, a cultural by-product of decline and communities.

The boundary marker in the guise of a pit pony does not appear to include a community narrative, which is at odds to the community feelings of the local heritage group, comprised of older residents of Ryhope, who had made the decision for this type of memorial for the

⁶³ NCB 1970. *A Pit Closes: A Study of Redeployment*, London, HMSO.

⁶⁴ The researcher's grandparents lived in Ryhope and with these connections has proven a fruitful village for background information on the mining memorials.

⁶⁵ Public Monuments and Sculpture Association. Pit Wheel. Retrieved 27th January 2015, from, <http://www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9857/>.

village.⁶⁶ The process that led to this decision is key to understanding the decision for a memorial devoid of community spirit. While the council had given the decision for the memorial to the heritage group, as the funder for the memorial the council had appointed an arts co-ordinator who helped the group choose the marker. The committee wanted a traditional memorial marking Ryhope as a miners' town with a figurative statue of a miner, the human presence engendering a sense of community. However, the co-ordinator argued that this would cost too much and that something more unique would be appropriate for Ryhope. He steered the committee towards a pit pony: the pony suggesting both farming and mining identities to the village with the water line on its plinth identifying the sea and the seam below the sea.⁶⁷ As such, the pony served to mark Ryhope as a mining town rather than its actual identity as a miners' town.

Washington

Twelve miles inland from Ryhope, with medieval roots, Washington is a new town of over 80,000 inhabitants. However, before being designated a new town (in 1965) as part of Durham Council's larger initiative of providing new homes and jobs for redundant miners, it consisted of several small mining communities comprising (at different times) over eight separate collieries - the last closing in 1974. All of these communities themselves were consumed by the building of the new town with many of the original mining communities like Fatfield being demolished to create new villages.⁶⁸ Washington's new town phase meant that it became a town for commuting miners rather than a miners' town.

Washington has retained a mining museum ('F' Pit Museum, the colliery closing in 1968), its most visible reminder of its mining past. A monument was erected by the Washington Miners and Community Heritage Group in 2012, depicting a miner, mother and small boy, designed by Carl Payne.

⁶⁶ About my Area. (27th February 2009). Signs of Pit Ponies in Ryhope. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, http://www.aboutmyarea.co.uk/images/imgstore/508_kz4lphjgis.jpg.

⁶⁷ He stated to the researcher that artistically he wanted something less predictable than a statue of a miner or a miner's lamp so steered the committee to the pony.

⁶⁸ Washington New Town was the researcher's childhood home. As a New Town, Washington although not a mining town was a town where many miners resided. The author remembers 'Miners' Buses' (as frequent as scholars' buses) in the formative years of her childhood.

The unveiling brochure recounts:

The Statue is intended as a lasting symbol of the importance of the coal mining community to Washington and its surrounding area. ...The friendship and solidarity of the community were central to this life. We have chosen to site the statue at what was the centre for Washington when the pits were in operation. We know that the community drawn from the mining families will protect and look after the statue long after we have gone.⁶⁹

What is clear from this memorial is that – unlike the Ryhope marker – it is a memorial for miners rather than for a mining town. While again it shows a group of citizens joining together to commemorate a community of (this time) commuter miners as well as miners from collieries in Washington, it is as such different to Fishburn's specificity of colliery and community. As a town that became a home for miners rather than a mining town, this domestic scene is more fitting than the work portrayed in the statue for Fishburn. Washington's memorial is one for a new town still struggling to produce an identity, many of whose residents have some individual connection with mining but have yet to forge a community connection. Vandalism to the memorial days after its erection perhaps serves to illustrate this missing link.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Washington Miners and Community Heritage Group, 2012 Unveiling of Washington Miners Memorial leaflet, from researcher's own collection.

⁷⁰ Wearmouth, R. (2012). Washington Miners' Heritage Memorial Targeted by Thieves. *The Journal*, 4th April 2012.

The Relevance of the Church in Coal Mining Communities

In his seminal analysis of post-war British society, Arthur Marwick identified a 'Secular Anglicanism', where 'the continuing vigour of the Anglican tradition permitted a peaceful accommodation' to changes in post-war British society,⁷¹ assuming a form of 'self-congratulatory conservatism'.⁷² This part of the thesis will consider the role of the Church in coal mining communities and its links to the memorialisation of the decline of coal mining. Intrinsic to this case study is the idea from Hobsbawm and Rangers' *Invention of Tradition* that showed how traditions could be conceived to 'inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition' through 'a set of practices, normally governed by overtly and tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature.'⁷³

There are theoretical similarities in the inter-relationship of religion and decline theory not only through their "decline" *per se* within a similar timeframe to one another, but also through the reasons for this decline and its potential links to early industrialisation. Kenny and English argued that 'Britain's early lead could not be maintained indefinitely' and that given these thoughts Britain's relative decline should not 'necessarily be seen as embodying dramatic failure in British performance.'⁷⁴ Supple asserted that given the geographical limitations Britain has made 'surprisingly sluggish progress from power to innocuousness.'⁷⁵ In a similar vein, secularisation theory uses the same premise, advocating that as Britain was the first urban, industrial society, it was axiomatic that it would become the first secular society. Conversely, anti-secularisation theory uses the example of other non-secular modern societies as examples to disprove this theory of industrialisation as an explanation. Ideas of post-modern society provide the basis of the post-secularisation approach as advocated by Grace Davie, where a partial revival of religion is posited to a post-modern society and as such this compares to a post-declivist approach⁷⁶ as major transformers of

⁷¹ Marwick, A. (1982). *British Society Since 1945*. London: Allen Lane. p. 260.

⁷² Ibid. p. 396.

⁷³ Hobsbawm, E. *Introduction: Inventing Traditions* in Hobsbawm. *Invention of Tradition*. p. 1.

⁷⁴ English & Kenny. *Conclusion: Decline or Declinism?*, pp. 289-90.

⁷⁵ Supple. *History of British Coal Industry*, p. 15.

⁷⁶ Green. S. J. D. (2011). *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change 1920-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 17-23.

society, industrialisation and modernity have impacted upon religion. A brief analysis of the memorial services of significant Britons shows that as industrialisation and modernity progressed, the need for national remembrance increased. While the religiosity of the Victorians ensured that churches were the focal point of this remembrance, these significant national memorial ceremonies were fuelled by increasing forms of national communication and a sense of national identity. This created a precedent of the Anglican Church becoming the establishment's location for acts of national and civic remembrance. Cannadine wrote of the Duke of Wellington's funeral that 'it was on a scale of grandeur and magnificence which was never attained before and has never been equalled since.'⁷⁷ His funeral can be identified within the wider context of a Victorian celebration of death as 'conspicuous consumption rather than an exercise in grief therapy.'⁷⁸ As this celebration waned, 'the glorification of death – on active service, in battle, in the front line, for one's country – was markedly on the increase,'⁷⁹ the critical factor being that before the First World War it was expected that there would not be many deaths on active service.⁸⁰

The extensive use of churches for the case studies' memorials suggest the importance of the Anglican Church to communities in their memorialisation. This in turn connects to an historic importance of religion to Britain generally, which has continued despite a background of religious decline. Linda Colley's seminal work *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* illustrated the core importance of the Protestant religion to national identity in this period of emerging industrialisation. She argued that 'In this broad sense, then, Protestantism lay at the core of British national identity.'⁸¹

Davie, G. (1994). *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 192.

⁷⁷ Cannadine, D. *War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain*. In Whaley, J. (ed.) 1981. *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*. London: Europa. p. 189.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 191.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 195.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Colley. *Britons*. p. 369.

Green extended this importance to the twentieth century and a broader view of denominational Christianity arguing:

Religion has been a vital aspect of the history of twentieth century Britain, including England...the evolution of British, including English, society cannot be properly understood without significant reference to the importance of religion to the story.⁸²

Both of these accounts highlight the central historical role religion played in Britain. Indeed, the monarch has remained head of the Anglican Church in England since Tudor times, relating the state to religion. England comprises of a multitude of parishes as defined by the Church and as such the Anglican Church in England is an important component of the local and national fabric, and could be a useful indicator of perceptions of decline within communities, especially in the changes that post-industrialisation brought.

While the memorials to mining are innumerate in churches in the Durham Diocese that broadly follows the Durham coalfield, Durham Cathedral gives an excellent example of the way a church building can be used to reflect mining communities.⁸³ Mining memorials continue to proliferate in the Cathedral that constantly interacts with the community to provide new opportunities and spaces to represent coal mining. A mining nativity was installed in 1972, followed by a mining banner in 1989 and the aforementioned Millennium Window (in Chapter 3) with its prominent miner.⁸⁴ The wider museological role of the Anglican Church is evidenced at Durham Cathedral where monuments to mining continue to proliferate. In 2011 it became part of an art installation, with illuminated winter vests worn by miners hanging from its arches as part of 'The Lumiere Festival'. Durham was reminded of its mining past, and although for this event the cathedral was a secular artistic venue, visitors were encouraged to light votive candles, with volunteers giving free candles to visitors.

⁸² Green. *Passing of Protestant England*. p. 6.

⁸³ Note: The researcher contacted the Diocese for information on memorials to coal mining in churches and was given a spreadsheet of all the changes that had been made in churches since the mid-nineteenth century that was too large to search manually.

⁸⁴ Figure 6.

Yet it is perhaps the events of the Anglican Church in Durham that show its relevance to coal mining in the strongest light. At the end of the Durham Gala, miners parade with their banners to the Cathedral where a service of remembrance is given and any new banners are blessed. The service dates from 1897, and was instituted through the efforts of the incumbent Bishop Westcott, now known as “the Pitman’s Bishop” who is celebrated in the Cathedral’s Millennium Window.⁸⁵ This is a somewhat surprising element to what is effectively a fiesta for the workers, celebrating workplace freedom through the end of the bond system of working. This bond system highlights the complex and changing relationship of the Anglican Church to miners: it had limited freedom and workers’ rights, and ensured mine-owners held all the power. The Anglican Church’s deference to these mine-owners, who were often also the local aristocracy, made the Anglican Church itself an adversary of coal miners. For example, after a strike in 1810, 300 miners had been imprisoned in the Bishop of Durham’s stables as the prisons were so full of strikers. David Temple shows an image of miners holding a banner in 1925 declaring ‘To Hell with Bishops and Deans. We demand a Living Wage’.⁸⁶ A popular tale among miners is a tale of the Bishop being thrown into the River Wear in that same year for speaking against the miners.⁸⁷ These examples come from the established Church of England, and while Beynon highlighted that the Methodist church was more popular and resonant with mining communities, the Church of England continues to have a strong connection to the commemoration of miners.⁸⁸

These ceremonies are not limited to ecclesiastical buildings but also in open spaces in the hearts of communities. Opening ceremonies and mining banners show a continued need for religion to validate memorials, although this should not be taken to prove a zealous appetite

⁸⁵ Figure 6. Emery. *Coalminers*. p. 113. Bishop Westcott earned this accolade during his incumbency of 1890-1901, where he took an interest in the mining population of Durham. In 1892, his arbitration brought an end to a bitter miners’ strike.

⁸⁶ Temple, D. (2011). *The Big Meeting: A History of the Durham Miners’ Gala*. Durham: Durham Miners’ Association.

⁸⁷ This was a tale of mining lore and was told to the researcher by her grandfather, Lionel Lilley who came from a mining family in Ryhope, Sunderland. Recent research has shown that an attempt was made to throw Bishop Hensley Henson into the river in the 1925 Miners’ Gala. It was however Bishop Welldon, the Dean of Durham who mistaken for Henson, was almost thrown into the river being rescued in the nick of time by police and a motor launch. Kelly, M. (2011). Debunking the Bishop Myth - A History of Durham Miners’ Gala. *The Journal*. 26th December 2011.

⁸⁸ Beynon & Austin. *Masters and Servants*. Research for this thesis was limited to the Durham coalfield but memorials to miners have also been found in York Minster and Wakefield Cathedral.

for Christianity. For example, when the Stadium of Light at Sunderland opened in 1997 on the site of Durham's last colliery (Wearmouth) the Bishop of Durham blessed the ground as part of the opening ceremony.⁸⁹ In Washington, a mining memorial was opened in 2012 with a blessing from the Bishop of Jarrow (Figure 15). It is possible that these blessings represent a desire to validate the memorials, but they also offer an opportunity for the high clergy to engage with the public and validate their roles.⁹⁰ The blessings also maintain continuity to pre-industrial communities and times when the clergy would bless aspects of everyday life such as new homes and fields at harvest. The religious themes continue in mining banners, with many offering images from the Bible such as *The Good Samaritan*.⁹¹ Yet taking the example of *The Good Samaritan* – which is the most popular theme from the Bible on the banners – as Morgan Phillips asserted, the parable offers a clear socialist message for uniting fellow workers and that 'social democracy in Britain owed more to Methodism than Marx.'⁹² Moreover, the religious banners may not necessarily reflect an overt desire to show a religious theme as they are more likely to come from a set pattern book, a more economic way of having a banner than a bespoke design.⁹³ An extra dimension to these banners is the timing of the Durham Miners' Gala, which is on the second Saturday in July and as close as possible to the 12th- the height of marching season. Mining communities in Durham were divided on sectarian lines and given its association with marching season for many years the Gala was boycotted by many Catholics as a symbol of Protestant oppression.

All four of these case studies that have explored communities are evidence of people coming together to celebrate a shared past which community members have deemed important for remembrance. Furthermore, the use of the word 'heritage' in the working groups for Ryhope and Washington hints at a sense of nostalgia embedded in this remembrance. Critically, although the members of these groups tended to be older

⁸⁹ Although the stadium is not itself a memorial it has a strong identity with mining because of its past. It acts as custodian for the Wearmouth Colliery banner and has three memorials to mining outside of it.

⁹⁰ A discussion with Rev Dana Delap. Newcastle. (2014).

⁹¹ Researcher's own analysis of banners has found 126 banners of which twenty-one have religious themes from the Bible, or of church buildings.

⁹² Oxford Dictionary of Quotations. p. 514.

⁹³ Emery. *Banners*.

community members, they still represent communities coming together to remember their lost past and needing to mark ‘their’ town or village from another, this distinctiveness being a core value in mining areas.

Figure 15: Washington Miners’ Memorial ⁹⁴



Perhaps nowhere is this distinctiveness more apparent than at the Durham Miners’ Gala. The unveiling brochure for Washington’s statue of a miner, woman and child took its inspiration from one of Durham’s banners.⁹⁵ The Gala celebrates not only the community of miners in Durham but also the individuality of the collieries themselves. Towards the end of mining in Durham, miners commuted to the collieries, but prior to this the demarcations were strict. It is worth noting that originally mining banners were no longer used once a

⁹⁴ Researcher’s own photograph.

⁹⁵ Washington Miners and Community Heritage Group, 2012 Unveiling of Washington Miners Memorial leaflet, from researcher’s own collection.

lodge closed.⁹⁶ However, as all lodges in Durham are now closed and the Gala now remembers mining in Durham as a past rather than current activity, there has been an explosion in recent years of communities seeking funding to reinstate their banner. For example, the Silksworth group worked hard fundraising for their new banner and entry to their group is open to anyone who can prove they had a relative who worked at Silksworth Colliery. The demise of colliery brass bands could itself be the subject of a thesis, but there is great pressure to support one's lodge with some brass, leading many lodges to hire brass bands for the day to make their banner, and therein community, look better. It is evident at the Gala that the individual banners are a way of showing, celebrating and being part of a community, which on the second Saturday in July seems very real rather than imagined. The Church plays a key role in the gala highlighting the continuing relevance and civic role of the Church to coal mining communities. The form of community shown on murals and paintings of the Gala does not tend to depict the individual communities but the communality of interest on the day. Certainly the inclusivity with the presence of women and children at the Galas now ensures that a mining scene depicts the whole community. Cornish's mural at Durham County Hall⁹⁷ encapsulates this meeting of people. Yet this community brought together by the Gala, although declining for many years in the millennium age, is once more ascendant albeit for one day. It is perhaps this temporary aspect of the community spirit that feeds the nostalgia, showing it hasn't disappeared but for most of the year remains a hidden enigma.

This section led with the idea that the potential for nostalgia with its strong connections to decline and lost communities is great, indeed much has been made by popular and academic writers on this subject. However, contrary to the expectation of a proliferation of memorials celebrating community in mining areas, there is a distinct lack of them on this subject. This could be due to the fact that ideas of community are hard to encapsulate in a memorial or that the monuments themselves are memorials to the communities (even if they do not specifically show this), or even that these communities aren't lost or missed. An interesting point from the three case studies was how the nostalgic view of the past in these

⁹⁶ The banners are for the NUM lodges rather than the collieries or villages themselves.

⁹⁷ BBC. Norman Cornish Miners' Gala Mural. Retrieved 27th January 2011, from, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/a-durham-miners-gala-day-scene-43882>.

communities is often in conflict with “outsiders’” views of how it should be shown, whether artists or council people. This analysis has shown that while some of the cultural representations have images of nostalgia for communities through depictions of camaraderie, all of the individual monuments are evidence of communities coming together, possibly for something missed – or perhaps the fact that the communities have come together shows that these communities are not yet lost. Indeed, a paradox arises from the fact that the presence of memorials suggests that communities have come together, which could mean they had not been lost and do not need to be memorialised, evoking Pierre Nora’s *lieux de memoire*.⁹⁸ Following from this, it is perhaps the villages and collieries where no memorials exist that are places where communities are most mourned. There are certainly some mining villages within the Durham coalfield that do not have any mining memorials and this absence could be as illuminating as the presence of memorials and as such they are a potential area of research to be explored further. Using a case study methodology has also illuminated a less-than-perfect view of these communities as in the case of Fishburn where the members of the committee disagreed with one another. Fishburn brings to mind the village rivalries G.K. Chesterton documented on the erection of a memorial in his village for the First World War:⁹⁹ drawing parallels between this millennial Durham mining village and one in inter-war rural Buckinghamshire highlights the potential lack of uniqueness to this lost community. The narrative of the films *Billy Elliott* (2000) and *Brassed Off* (1996) – coming from a similar period to Fishburn’s memorial – further strengthen the arguments of division within these close-knit coal mining communities, countering nostalgic narratives.

While for the Church the relevance of older modes and narratives of mourning echoes Winter’s influential thesis that the traditional ways of memorialisation were used to remember the First World War.¹⁰⁰ For the cultural representations of coal mining, an interesting picture emerges when considering the role of the Anglican Church and memorials. A paradox is observed that although church attendance has declined and in

⁹⁸ Nora, P (1989). *Between Memory and History: les Lieux de Memoire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

⁹⁹ Chesterton, G. K. (1936). (2001 ed). *Autobiography*, York, House of Stratus. pp. 155-169.

¹⁰⁰ Winter. *Sites of Memory*.

many respects Britain can no longer be described as a Christian country, the significance of the Anglican Church in remembrance and the traditional ways of mourning has remained. The Anglican Church has continued to find new or resurrect older ways of mourning and memorials to connect to the wider local and national communities. This significance seems to be particularly promoted in post-industrial time with churches seeking out new anniversaries, memorials or even (as with mining memorials) new ceremonies to reinforce this role. Whilst this could be viewed as an opportunistic attempt by the Anglican Church to capitalise on its role in memorialisation, an alternative view would be to consider it as evidence of the resonance of its continued relevance to Britons in remembrance, highlighting a desire to maintain continuity with past places and methods of remembering and to act as a community.

Inclusion of the Social Classes in a Post-Declinist Age

A survey of monuments in any major British city highlights the paradox that while these industrial cities have many monuments in their public spaces, very few mark their country as the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, with visitors instead being greeted by statues of the historical local elite and war memorials. In contrast to these, general observations in the Durham region show there has been a massive increase of coal mining memorials, a significant number of which since 1990 are figurative memorials to coal miners, creating a sense of inclusion through these depictions of the working class in public sculpture.¹⁰¹ Before considering reasons for this increase, the wider sociological context of a move towards inclusion will be considered. Three factors are present that not only interact with each other, but also stimulate this widening in the practices of inclusion for memorials. The first is an increase in the erection of public monuments; the second is the availability of funds for these monuments through the National Lottery, whose remit is one of absolute inclusion; and the final factor is the influence of the politics of inclusion, as advocated by Anthony Giddens.¹⁰² These factors have fed each other and exponentially increased inclusion's agenda in memorials.

Taking the first point, Jeremy Beach described the North-East of England's surge in public monuments as 'an embarrassment of riches', with 180 new sculptures erected in the 1990s compared to thirty-five in the 1980s. He noted that this region was characterised as having one of the greatest concentrations of public art in Britain, a similar rise occurring more recently in other parts of the country.¹⁰³ While it cannot be assumed that all these new memorials will include previously marginalised members of society, the research undertaken below will test how the increasing democratisation of Britain and this surge in memorials may have worked together to demonstrate more inclusion. Little research has been undertaken on this expansion of public art, although Vall's work in the wider historical field of regional cultural policy considered the background of sponsorship of the arts. Vall's research concentrated on the North-East of England and showed a vibrant region for the

¹⁰¹ Figure 5

¹⁰² Giddens, A. (1998). *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

¹⁰³ Beach, J. *An Embarrassment of Riches: Recent Public Sculpture*, in Usherwood. *Public Sculptures*. p. xx.

arts with much of this culture stemming from grass-root organisations, which often encouraged greater inclusion.¹⁰⁴ A key facilitator of grass-root or larger organisation-led cultural projects is the availability of funding from the National Lottery.

The National Lottery acts on the premise of additionality (funding projects that would not otherwise be undertaken) and seeks to enhance the country through social and cultural projects in many guises. The ones most relevant to this study are museums and public art, allowing an unparalleled amount of money to be spent. Since its inception in 1994, £29 billion has been donated to “good causes”, of which arts and heritage both received around 18%, approximately £5.22 billion.¹⁰⁵ One of the central tenets of distributing lottery monies is that it will facilitate and promote inclusion and involvement. Anyone can buy a ticket, and therefore equally anyone should be able to benefit from the good causes. Of the fifteen principles for donating lottery monies under the National Lottery Act 1993 through the initial National Heritage Memorial Fund, seven concern promoting inclusion and involvement.¹⁰⁶ The effect of lottery cash on memorials has been extensive, and yet it remains an area of little research. However, given the prominence of inclusion and involvement in the distribution of these monies, the focus of inclusion in this section will test whether this was followed. Furthermore, given the wide remit for Lottery projects, it is possible that conflicts may occasionally occur between funders, project managers and community groups.

The politics of inclusion as advocated by Giddens influenced its wider conception and reception.¹⁰⁷ In the political landscape, the ideal of inclusion was not limited to National Lottery policies, rather reflecting a wider consideration of the term in the politics of both sides of the political spectrum. The centrality of inclusion to the 1993 National Lottery Act highlights its importance to the Conservative Party, however, its stronger relationship is

¹⁰⁴ Vall. *Cultural History*.

¹⁰⁵ National Lottery. Where the Money Goes. Retrieved 10th October 2013, from, <http://www.nationallottery.co.uk/player/p/goodcausesandwinners/wherethemoneygoes.ftl>

¹⁰⁶ Ramsay, A. C. B. (9th November 2007). Directions Issued to Trustees of the National Heritage Memorial Fund. Retrieved 4th June 2013, from, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/120731/HLPPolicyDirections2007.pdf.

¹⁰⁷ Giddens. *Third Way*.

with Giddens and “The Third Way” (with its corresponding connection to the Labour Party). Giddens’ work was similarly received to Wiener’s in the political establishment as we have discussed; whilst Wiener was used for policies on industrial decline, Giddens’ was used as a reaction to the emergence of a post-industrial society. Politically – albeit on one side of the spectrum – Giddens was as influential as Wiener, with his wide vision of the social advocacy of inclusion becoming a central theme for the Blair administration. Giddens contended that renewal of public space (creating civic liberalism) and ‘equality as inclusion’ are among the requirements of an inclusive society.¹⁰⁸ Clearly, the renewal of public space had vital implications for public sculpture and monuments, giving an impetus for policies to erect new monuments. Importantly, the equality within this paradigm of inclusion ensured that previously marginalised groups were represented.

There is a paradox between the relationship of inclusion and decline which is not confined to their intellectual and political positions on either side of the British political spectrum: inclusion belonging to the Left and decline being strongly associated with the Right. The central tenet of decline theory is that within the culture of Britain, the upper classes did not embrace industrialisation and mercantile endeavours, and that this culture permeated downwards, thereby polluting the middle classes. Declinist literature is itself one of exclusion, denying a place for women or the working classes within its explanations – except as victims – leaving an inherent absence of inclusion.¹⁰⁹ The Conservative reaction to decline theory embraced enterprise culture, again including the strong and excluding the weaker. As decline theory blamed the already-included groups of society, the solution was to make them stronger with a top-down policy. Inclusion offers an alternative reading of decline, which proposes that rather than changing the ruling elite, one should change the structure of society by including all of its members and finding the solution within society as a whole. A further element of Giddens’ thesis that fundamentally disagrees with Wiener’s is his view on the importance of global influence, whereas Wiener’s was more Britain-centric. Giddens argued that external influences ensure that solutions for such changes are no longer held entirely by nation states. Giddens described the strong impact of globalisation, which ‘pulls

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. pp. 104-111.

¹⁰⁹ The term the “British Disease” referring to powerful trade unions does not form part of declinist literature, being part of popular rather than academic debate.

away' from the nation state, and also has the impact of 'pushing down', creating new demands and also new possibilities for regenerating new identities¹¹⁰ thereby giving further impetus for change. If nostalgia were viewed as the typical declinist response, change sits appositely as a reaction to decline.

The new politics defines equality as inclusion and inequality as exclusion.¹¹¹

If declinism correlates with exclusion, with its stratified view and blame laid upon the male, upper classes, then it follows that evidence of inclusion will highlight a contrasting reaction to declinism.

Of the three case studies, coal mining is clearly the one most connected with the working class. The increase in monuments for the industry and, more importantly, figurative statues to the miners themselves shows a ready inclusion of representations of the working classes in public spaces that once were graced by the local elite. Most of the figurative memorials of coal miners depict miners at work but three depict him at leisure, replete with his flat cap signifying him as a member of the wider working classes.¹¹² Yet what is more striking is the inclusion of lower class depictions for memorials of the more upper class-centric Scott and Dunkirk. Taking Dunkirk first, although it marked the beginning of the "People's War", its main memorial at Portsmouth Cathedral is for Admiral Ramsay who organised the evacuation. He has remained a pivotal figure for memorials to the evacuation, as a statue at Dover Castle erected in 2000 suggests, highlighting an elitist view of the evacuation, with the leader being remembered rather than the evacuation of Dunkirk itself. This contrasts to the memorial to Dunkirk at the National Memorial Arboretum, 2001, which depicts the classless "Tommy's" helmet, reflecting a democratic and inclusive view of the evacuation.¹¹³ The arboretum itself, unlike the halls of fame in St Paul's and Westminster Abbey or local

¹¹⁰ Giddens. *Third Way*. p. 31.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 102.

¹¹² Hobsbawm. *Worlds of labour*. pp. 194-5, p. 204. Mining Nativity, Durham Cathedral. Retrieved 10th February 2015, from, <https://thehaynesblog.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/photo-8.jpg>. Wayne Mark Wort. Thornley village marker. Retrieved 14th December 2015, from, <http://www.waynemarkwortstone.com>. Heritage Explorer. (1993). South Hetton Mural. Retrieved 14th December 2015, from, <http://www.heritage-explorer.co.uk/web/he/searchdetail.aspx?id=1832&crit=one>.

¹¹³ National Memorial Arboretum. *Remember*. p. 40.

cathedra, commemorates groups of people rather than significant individuals, highlighting a more inclusive approach to remembrance. The personal and civic, as well as military roles, are remembered which 'honours the fallen, recognising sacrifice and fostering pride in our country.'¹¹⁴

Its website states specifically that it:

commemorates and celebrates those who have given their lives in the service of their country, all who have served and suffered as a result of conflict, and others who, for specific or appropriate reasons, are commemorated here.¹¹⁵

Yet although a memorial for The Bevin Boys is included, there is a complete absence of memorials to industrial workers who lost their lives in service, highlighting possible class tensions and limits to inclusion within this otherwise democratic environment.¹¹⁶

Other evidence of changes in the idea of social inclusion are prevalent in altering representations of the lower-class Petty Officer Edgar (Taff) Evans on Scott's monuments over the course of a century. As a member of the polar party, despite being the only lower rank member, Evans was always included in depictions of this final group. However, as Jones has noted – partly because he was the first to die, and due to ambiguity surrounding the reasons for his death – Evans' demise has often been connected unfavourably with his class, with Evans at times being used as a scapegoat for the party's deaths. Indeed, early accounts explicitly stated that as a member of the lower classes he lacked the moral fortitude that the others had (being from the upper classes) to withstand the blow to morale of not being first to the Pole.¹¹⁷ These explanations draw strong parallels to the treatment of shell-shock victims in the First World War, where the ranks – like Evans – were seen to portray physical symptoms of their suffering as shown in the research of Koureas.¹¹⁸ The case study of Evans therefore stands as important example of a member from the lower ranks to study, given

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p. 1.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ The National Memorial Arboretum was visited in 2010 when these observations were made.

¹¹⁷ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 110-13.

¹¹⁸ Koureas, G. (2007). *Memory, Masculinity and National Identity in British Visual Culture*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

the earlier similarities in his representations to those presented by Koureas, of lower rank shell-shock victims. As such, more inclusive representations of Evans where he is depicted less distinctively and more similarly to the other members of the polar party would serve to show a more inclusive approach to depictions of men from lower ranks.

Early representations of Evans, such as William Hodder's *Like English Gentlemen* – as recalled to great effect by Jones – demonised him in comparison to his peers, using his class as the reason for such criticism. Hodder portrayed the others in the party as behaving in a more paternalistic way to Evans writing that he was 'always a little behind the others,' and that 'it was their life blood the heroes gave for this simple seaman.'¹¹⁹ In the same vein, newspaper articles such as that within *The Daily Express*, asked 'Why he failed? Was he handicapped by his strength?' In this article, a specialist argued that 'polar exploration puts particular strains on uneducated men who without the storehouse of information to contemplate ... [could] fall into self-mesmerism, followed by mania.'¹²⁰ These and other articles appear to place Evans within an accepted paradigm of the lower classes being weaker than the upper classes due to a lack of moral fibre. Unsurprisingly, recent research has discounted these class-based notions for Evans. Solomon, who used scientific evidence to evaluate the expedition, suggested that Evans had cerebral edema,¹²¹ whilst Isobel Williams has contended that he died from infections exacerbated by malnutrition.¹²² But can this change of narrative also be seen in visual representations of Evans?

¹¹⁹ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. pp. 111-2.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 111.

¹²¹ Solomon. *Coldest March*. p. 231.

¹²² Williams, I. (2012). *Captain Scott's Invaluable Assistant: Edgar Evans*. Stroud: The History Press. pp. 158-172.

Figure 16: One of four bas-reliefs on The National Memorial to Scott and his Polar Party, Devonport.¹²³



The National Memorial at Devonport gives the best example of the original negative narrative of Evans. The memorial has four bas-reliefs at its base, in the one entitled 'TO FIND' a scene is depicted where Scott plants the flag at the Pole, whilst Bowers makes geographic measurements, Wilson takes a photograph, Oates stands erect, but Evans sits with his head in his hands. In a similar vein, a small display at the entrance to the Mineralogy gallery of the Natural History Museum depicts the team fossil-collecting on their return journey from the Pole: the other four collect specimens, while Evans merely sits and watches.¹²⁴ Notably while the other four members of the polar party had biographies written about them in the inter-war years, Evans' first biography was in 1996, followed by one in 2012.¹²⁵ In terms of monuments, Evans had memorial tablets at Rhossili Church and his old school in the inter-war years, but after the war he began to receive 'belated

¹²³ Researcher's own photograph. For further images see http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/scott-scott_of_the_antarctic.pdf Accessed 06.02.15.

¹²⁴ The Natural History Museum was contacted but the archivist could not find the information on when this exhibit was made. It was clearly made pre-computers, given the type-face, and looked to be at least 1950s. It was still on display in 2011.

¹²⁵ Gregor, G. C. (1996). *Swansea's Antarctic Explorer*. Swansea: West Glamorgan Archive Service. Williams, I. (2012). *Captain Scott's Invaluable Assistant*. Stroud: History Press.

recognition.¹²⁶ This negative image of Evans is not present in later memorials, where he is portrayed as part of the team. Jones noted that during Clement Attlee's, 'pioneering administration that entrenched social democracy in post-war Britain, that Petty Officer Evans began to garner more resonance with a string of memorials emerging in the 1960s.'¹²⁷ Within the memorial at Cardiff Bay (2003), Evans is no more recognisable than the other three members of the polar party following Scott's lead.¹²⁸ Surprisingly, this change in inclusion of Evans has not been extended to cinematic representations, where the character of Evans continued to be negatively portrayed. In the 1948 Ealing version of *Scott of the Antarctic*, his character is one of a loveable, childish man that needs Scott's paternalism, while in the 1985 series of *The Last Place on Earth*, Evans' part is that of a duplicitous, amoral rogue.¹²⁹

Unlike the case study of Scott, this negative treatment of the working classes is not present in the case for Dunkirk, which as a part of the "People's War" has had over fifty years of cinematic representations continuing an inclusive theme of the working classes and the evacuation. A move towards inclusion can however still be seen, not so much in a more positive treatment of the working classes (as none was needed), but in a questioning of authoritative, upper-class figures. The film *Dunkirk* (1958), is illuminating as a memorial, as it remains inclusive despite an attempt to dilute the original source of the screenplay based on a corporal's (played by John Mills) adventures (*The Big Pick-Up*).¹³⁰ This questioning of the upper-class hero who leads his own band of little ships (based upon one of Cato's 'Guilty Men') is a sympathetic member of his class, to Mills' everyman.¹³¹ As such, the film found itself outside the normal post-war genre of war films, which Penny Summerfield has argued tried to re-establish class distinctions.¹³² In the 2007 film *Atonement*, such sympathies between classes are not made. The central figure, Robbie, is treated like a pawn in a game of chess, raised up from the working classes but brought down again by his mother's upper-

¹²⁶ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. p. 287.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Figure 20.

¹²⁹ Balcon & Freund. *Scott of the Antarctic. Rellim & Griffiths. The Last Place on Earth*.

¹³⁰ Trevor, E. (1955). *The Big Pick Up*. London: Pan.

¹³¹ Summerfield, P. Dunkirk. "Cato": Foot, M. Howard, P. & Owen, F. (1940). *Guilty Men*. London: Victor and Gollancz.

¹³² Summerfield. Dunkirk. p. 810.

class employers, providing a harsh indictment against the upper classes, who act as Svengalis to their victim.¹³³ The innocence of Robbie for the crime of which he was accused is contrasted with the guilt of the upper-class perpetrator and accusers, continuing the inclusive theme of the working classes and the negative portrayal of the upper classes. This smearing is made complete when the upper-class heroine rejects her class and stands by the working-class hero [Robbie] when he is accused of rape, thereby reducing her own economic and social circumstances. This change represents a long tradition of pitching a working-class hero against an upper-class villain, which first emerged in the late 1950s.¹³⁴

Having considered the two case studies of Scott and Dunkirk, it now remains to discuss coal miners. Miners are in many respects the archetypal representatives of the working classes,¹³⁵ and as such, figurative memorials to coal miners are by definition inclusive of their class. The mining memorials of County Durham are remarkable given the fact that Britain as a whole generally has few memorials to workers. As asserted at the opening of this section on inclusion, a walk through any urban space dating from the nineteenth century highlights the preponderance of statues to the local elite, whether industrialists, military leaders, landed gentry or civic governors. However, the location of the memorials in Durham reinforces the national experience of worker memorials. In Durham City, the most prominent memorial is a mounted statue of the local land- and mine-owner the Marquess of Londonderry (1861), placed in the centre of the market place. Equally prominent in the countryside is Penshaw Monument, an enormous Grecian temple, blackened with soot, on top of a hill, erected in 1844 to another land- and mine-owner Lord Lambton, Earl of Durham. However, like war memorials, mining memorials paved the way for the commemoration of the working classes in major urban spaces: at least if they died in a mining accident. Research in this thesis has shown that there has been a proliferation of mining memorials in Durham since mining ended, many of which through the figurative genre celebrate the working class miner himself, exemplifying inclusion at a class level.

¹³³ Bevan, T. Fellner, E. & Webster, P. (Producers). Wright, P. (Director) (2007). *Atonement*. UK/France: Studio Canal. Note: the hero, Robbie's education at Cambridge (to train as a doctor) was funded by the family his mother worked for as housekeeper, and the same family accuse him of rape, ensuring his imprisonment.

¹³⁴ Hill. *Sex, Class and Realism*.

¹³⁵ Chapter 2, section 3 of this thesis, and Harrison. *Independent Collier*.

Figurative memorials to miners can therefore be seen to represent a reversal of traditional monument building practices, and as such a real inclusion of social classes. Yet there are limitations to this inclusion, as these memorials to mining tend to remain in the mining hinterland within the coalfield itself, rather than the administrative and financial headquarters of Newcastle and Sunderland, the key exception being the recent civic centre window at Sunderland. Durham is a miners' rather than a mine-owner's city, and as such memorials continue to be situated within its ecclesiastical heart and its industrial democratic headquarters, rather than in its main public space.

Conclusion

This chapter has evaluated the relationship between the case studies and ideas of class and community, observing within this association the relevance of declinism. Diverse ideas were used to analyse this, with maritime identity, loss of community, and social inclusion and all being assessed. These themes formed the three sections of this chapter, which while connecting the case studies to each other and declinism, also elicited interesting findings in their similarities and differences to one another.

The section on maritime identity outlined the relevance of Britain's maritime heritage to memorials of Scott and Dunkirk, noting the important relationship the sea has to the national community. Despite Britain's navy diminishing in size, the country no longer having much of a shipbuilding industry and some feeling that the nation suffers from 'seablindness,'¹³⁶ maritime memorials are still significant and an important area for research. Older memorials remind the nation of this past, while newer heritage-style memorials allow the public to continue to engage with this identity. The continuing relevance of hierarchical structures within seafaring organisations was noted as incongruous in a post-declinist society and as such could highlight a nostalgia for previous hierarchical certainty of pre-declinist times. Within this hierarchy the role of the naval officer as epitomised by Scott was analysed and it was found that as declinism emerged the popularity

¹³⁶ Carolan. *British Maritime History*. p. 295.

of the “officer-type” waned, in part because these personal attributes went a long way to fulfilling Weiner’s critique of late Victorian and Edwardian British society in the field of decline theory. However, it was noted that despite this criticism the image of Scott the naval officer as the archetypal gentleman has stood the test of time, and has (so far) proved to be generally resistant to the slurs on his character. Limited research has been undertaken on maritime identity and cultural representations generally and no research has examined the monuments of Scott and Dunkirk together in the context of common themes in maritime identity and declinism.

With regard to the loss of community, four case studies of memorials to coal mining in Durham were used. Fishburn, Ryhope and Washington’s memorials can all be viewed as examples of communities coming together but the detailed analysis highlighted external influences and a lack of solidarity at some points in the installation process while the memorials themselves were shining examples of communities that although changed had not been lost. This research was significant as not only have readings of coal mining memorials in Durham – as has previously been asserted – not been a subject of research but this section highlighted how detailed analysis of their inception and implementation is also a valuable area to research, yielding interesting findings one of which was a lack of memorials depicting communities. The relevance of the Church in coal communities considered the secular role of the Church within ideas of communities and declinism. This continuity to older modes and narratives of mourning echoes Winter’s influential thesis that the traditional ways of memorialisation were used to remember the First World War.¹³⁷ For the case studies, an interesting picture emerges when considering the role of the Anglican Church and memorials. A paradox is observed that although church attendance has declined and in many respects Britain can no longer be described as a Christian country, the significance of the Anglican Church in remembrance and the traditional ways of mourning has remained. One way in which this engagement is strengthened is the Church’s continuous engagement and interaction to local and national communities. This significance seems to be particularly promoted in post-industrial times, with churches seeking out new anniversaries, memorials or even (as with mining memorials) new ceremonies to reinforce

¹³⁷ Winter. *Sites of Memory*.

this role. Whilst this could be viewed as an opportunistic attempt by the Anglican Church to capitalise on its role in memorialisation, an alternative view might be to consider it as evidence of the resonance of its continued relevance to Britons in remembrance, highlighting a desire to maintain links not only with past places and methods of remembering but the communities themselves. The role of religion in remembrance has been widely researched with regard to the First World War and the role of religion to society has also had some strong historical research, namely by Green, Brown and Davies. Yet as has been asserted, despite its importance religion tends to be missed out in research on Britain's national and local communities. However, the role of the Church in the cultural representations of Scott, Dunkirk and coal mining have been researched and show that despite the case studies having little real relationship to religion, connections have been and continue to be forged both in traditional and innovative ways, ensuring this mode of national remembrance remains, highlighting the important, largely under-researched role of religion in contemporary Britain.

The section on social inclusion observed the changes in emphasis and funding for memorials in the post-declivist age, arguing that these changes helped to implement a more socially inclusive approach to cultural representations in all three case studies. Jones had noted the differing treatment of Evans in memorials to the *Terra Nova* expedition in the immediate period after the expedition and his rehabilitation in memorials after the Second World War, however, this research is the first to consider the images of Evans within memorials of the inter-war period.

Chapter 6 - Science and Progress

*All our plans for the future, we are re-defining and we are re-stating our Socialism in terms of the scientific revolution. But that revolution cannot become a reality unless we are prepared to make far-reaching changes in economic and social attitudes which permeate our whole system of society. The Britain that is going to be forged in **the white heat of this revolution** will be no place for restrictive practices or for outdated methods on either side of industry.¹*

When Harold Wilson spoke of ‘the scientific revolution’ in his “white heat” speech of 1963 it was clear that a positive approach to science and progress was intended to be made, representing a new way of integrating science into society. The timing of this speech in 1963, as the intellectual voice of declinist debate was strengthening, highlights that the government knew that change was needed and that improving the country’s relationship to science could be the answer. This chapter will consider the way in which science and progress has interacted with the case studies and changes in these interactions. This analysis will provide an insight into the possible relationship to declinism and science and progress.

This examination of the relationship between science and progress and the case studies has been informed by the research pioneered by David Edgerton and Barry Supple on what can be described as a counter-declinist school of thought. Edgerton’s research has questioned the idea of declinism and while his primary aim was to disprove decline, his methods also offered new approaches to the study of British culture. For example, his research considering Britain as ‘Warfare State’ rather than a “Welfare State” describes Britain as a country that in the period 1920-1970 supported a powerful armaments industry which decreed a broad central role for science and technology.² From this research, Edgerton has offered a new narrative of the culture of Britain in the Second World War which rather than

¹ Quote from: Francis, M. (2013). Harold Wilson’s ‘white heat of technology’ speech 50 years on. *Guardian*. 19th September 2013.

² Edgerton. *Warfare State*. Daunton. Gentlemanly Capitalism.

a pastoral, reactive country, emerges as an industrial 'War Machine' ready to be awakened.³ In a similar manner, as was mentioned in the introduction, his essay on *England and the Aeroplane* used an abundance of empirical research to highlight a culture that encouraged scientific and technological specialisms,⁴ a culture that was present in all areas of British society and its establishments, including its universities.

The research in *Understanding Decline* - dedicated to Barry Supple, a pioneering questioner of declinism - has in turn queried many of the underlying assumptions of declinism. While all of the chapters in this edited book reconsider attitudes, facts and ideas of decline it was Barry Supple's opening essay that gave the most probing analysis on the question. Supple explained that apart from a few blips, growth of GDP in Britain was fairly constant at 2% and that any decline is relative with other nations converging on Britain following their own industrialisation.⁵ Supple was concerned with the perception of decline itself, the core of his thesis being that "decline" is neither an absolute concept, nor even perhaps a statistical one.⁶ Asserting earlier that his interest in decline is in understanding the:

perennial clash between human aspirations and social realities, in the vagaries of the links between organisations and markets...in the need to place the world as it is or was against the images of the world as humans perceive it. ⁷

He argued that these images were 'frequently the only "realities" available to us', and in order to examine historical processes, it was necessary to understand 'the nature and workings of the images *as images*'.⁸ Supple noted the paradox that although Britain has ostensibly been in a period of decline during the twentieth century, it has also been an 'Age of Affluence' for its citizens.⁹

³ Edgerton. *Warfare State*.

⁴ Edgerton. *England and the Aeroplane*. Chapter 1, Footnote 103.

⁵ Supple. *Fear of Failing*. p. 28.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Supple, B. *Introduction: national performance in a personal perspective* in Clarke & Trebilcock. *Understanding Decline*. p. 1.

⁸ Ibid. p. 2.

⁹ Supple. *Fear of Failing*. pp. 9-11. Cannadine. *Apocalypse When?* p. 276.

For this thesis, the cultural representations display wide-ranging differences in their images of this theme, which makes for exciting new analysis of this topic generally and specifically in its relationship to decline. The first section considers how in quasi-declinist and declinist times the representations of all three cases rejected modern narratives, especially through their suppression of the role of machines and mechanisation in the images used to memorialise them. The similarity between these three diverse case studies in the first section highlights the meanings that can be drawn from using such differing examples and the possible wider implications for the study of memorials generally. The second section considers the importance of the thread of progress to the three case studies and their cultural representations, evaluating its relationship to the opposite idea of decline. The third and final section considers the new narratives of science found in Scott's most recent, and therefore post-declinist memorials, contextualising these within a historical framework that might be utilised for heritage and its relations to science and the nation's scientific heritage.

Suppression of Images of Modernity and Mechanisation

Perhaps above all, we shall wonder at the strangeness of a world where Polar knights rode prototype tanks, a world before the conquest of the South Pole.¹⁰

In the quote above, Jones illustrated the intrinsically dual nature of the memory of Captain Scott with his metaphors of 'Polar knights and prototype tanks'. Both descriptions are true and form different parts of his reputation. The Polar knight could be heroic or antiquated, whilst the tank could illustrate an innovator or (given its dismal record) a bumbler: all these points of view depend on how an individual's personal and political view of Scott illustrates a core part of the changing story. Yet each of the three case studies display this peculiar dual relationship with modernity, having both the pre-industrial elements and the modern elements more typical of the twentieth century to which they belong. For Dunkirk, was it the mass mobilisation of armed strength and large naval vessels that saved the army, or the spontaneous reaction of civilians in their small sailing boats? Mechanisation transformed coal mining, yet a less mechanical, older version is recalled, with memorials using images of small coal mines rather than modern super-pits, evoking a pre-nationalisation image of mining as epitomised by Royden Harrison on his work on the *Independent Collier*.¹¹ This section of the chapter on science and progress will consider how excluding modern versions of the myths and inserting older, often pre-industrial narratives may connect to decline. Could connecting decline to a more distant past make decline itself seem more distant, denying its proximity? This distancing of the past forms an important part of the narrative of decline, blaming modernity for social and economic change.

The cultural representations of the case studies of Scott and Dunkirk will be presented as having suppressed the importance of machines and mechanisation and inserted in their place imagery of a more distant past. For coal mining, this distortion of the past is more relevant, as - unlike Scott and Dunkirk, where the relationship of technology to decline is limited - for the mining industry it exemplifies it. It is possible when examining the example of coal mining in Durham that the tendency to incorporate a more distant past in the images

¹⁰ Jones. *Last Great Quest*. p. 13.

¹¹ Harrison. *Independent Collier*.

and therefore historicise it enabled differences between the past and the present to appear greater. In dismissing decline by obscuring “the modern” and ideas of progress from its images, the past is rendered as pre-industrial and non-mechanical. From this, a historically muddled version of Scott, Dunkirk and coal mining appears, with the strongest declinist links found in the last case.

As explained above, the memorials for Scott and Dunkirk could be used to remember elements contemporary at the time, but many choose to commemorate a version of a more distant, traditional and older idea of the past. There are two ways in which this occurs: in the context of depictions, and in their style. Taking the first point, both Scott and Dunkirk connect to maritime traditions (as explored in more detail in Chapter 5 - Class and Community), but in regard to creating an older version of the story, these maritime traditions are telling in their representations. For example, the stained glass window at Emmanuel Church in Exeter depicts Scott’s boat *Terra Nova*. The window was created in 1923, by which time sailing ships had been rendered a transport of the past after the modernising effects of the First World War.¹² However while the inclusion of an image of a sailing boat was a historically backward-looking image, it was accurate as it related to the expedition and polar exploration in general at the time of the memorial. Sailing vessels were still used in polar exploration until just before the Second World War as evidenced by images from The British Graham Land Expedition (1934-7) and its chosen vessel the schooner *Penola*. Indeed, the *Terra Nova* itself was still sailing at the beginning of the Second World War. Emmanuel Church was entirely correct in showing that Scott sailed to Antarctica on a masted and rigged ship, yet it is the contention here that by choosing such a pre-twentieth century object out of an array of other possible signifiers that the window places Scott in a more distant past. In maritime terms, polar exploration was antiquated and the use of wooden ships in memorials to Scott could highlight a display of older traditions in the imagining of the sub-continent itself. On the other hand, in a wider context it could be remembering an older representation of maritime heritage, from a time when Britain’s naval power was stronger, re-emphasising its seafaring past. Critically, the sailing vessel was not the only historical representation, as the depictions above Scott in this memorial were

¹² Figure 8.

medieval saints (St Nicholas and St Bernard), both adding to the sense of historical distance. Similar depictions of archaic vessels were used in memorials to Dunkirk that depicted boats, for example the stained glass window at Portsmouth Cathedral used wooden rowing boats.¹³ Again, this is not to argue that these boats were not used at Dunkirk (as indeed they were), rather that most of the people were evacuated on large naval vessels, which are rarely portrayed in any monuments to Dunkirk. Instead, a preference for earlier representations of sailing vessels (rowing boats, sailing ships or paddle steamers) is made: the vessels from an amateur, voluntary and unplanned fleet standing in contrast to the failure of the professional state-run British Expeditionary Force, with depictions of modernity in the representations missing entirely.

Possible explanations for these distortions can be found in the work of Bernard Rieger and David Edgerton. Rieger has examined the technology and culture of modernity in the period of Scott and the inter-war period using an examination of ocean liners, cinematography and aviation.¹⁴ He posits a complicated relationship to modernity of fear and excitement. A central argument to Rieger's theses is the importance of flying in the inter-war period with images of aviation being an expression of modernity. Therefore as Scott's was mainly a land-based expedition, the lack of aviation elements ensured little expectation to embrace modern images, thus allowing reassuring traditional images to be made. Similarly for Dunkirk, the use of traditional images fits into Edgerton's thesis that during and after the

¹³ Figure 9 and St George's Church, Ramsgate: BBC. (28th October 2014). St George's Church Gallery. Retrieved 15th October 2015, from, http://www.bbc.co.uk/kent/content/image_galleries/ramsgate_walk_gallery.shtml?7.

Dover Castle: Oxfordshire Churches.(17th June 2014). Dover, Kent. Retrieved 15th October 2015, from, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/oxfordshirechurches/14573130621>. Fisherman's Memorial, Leigh on Sea: Oldpicruss (September 14th 2013). Leigh on Sea. 'Fishermen of Leigh' Dunkirk Memorial. Retrieved 15th October 2015, from, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/60445511@N05/9741076514>. St George's Centre, Chatham: Johnevigar. (6th September 2012). St George's Centre... Hugh Eastman Window, Battle. Retrieved 15th October 2015, from, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/41621108@N00/7942768266>. Dover Promenade: Images of Dover Blog. (10th October 2011). Dunkirk War Memorial. Retrieved 15th October 2015, from, <http://doveruk.blogspot.co.uk/2011/10/at-going-down-of-sun-dunkirk-war.html>.

¹⁴ Rieger. *Technology, Culture and Modernity*.

Second World War, the nation's perception of Britain was that of a pastoral nation rather than the reality of its 'Warfare State'.¹⁵

Like Portsmouth Cathedral, Durham Cathedral is an important location for memorials, having five permanent memorials to coal mining in addition to its mining Nativity, temporary displays and exhibitions on mining. The mining memorial erected upon nationalisation is an enormous black monument of a Jacobean style adorned with cherubs and embossed with an inscription remembering miners who had lost their lives and those who work today.¹⁶ Although a relatively recent monument in a cathedral that has history spanning over a thousand years, its antiquated appearance belies its age, adding to the general sense of history in this UNESCO World Heritage site building. A book of remembrance next to this monument recalls the scripting traditions of the northern monasteries that gave the world The Lindisfarne Gospels, while a miner's lamp hangs above it in a style that has barely changed since its initial design by Sir Humphrey Davy in 1815. A traditional mining banner can also be found along with a window of a more contemporary miner, shaking hands with the Victorian Bishop Westcott.¹⁷ Admittedly it is possible that a Cathedral as old as Durham would want to avoid new additions or at the very least subvert them into something that looked as if it had been part of the building from time immemorial, yet these archaic features seem excessive. Moreover, some modern windows in this building embrace modern, abstract forms although none are used for coal mining. This tradition of remembering miners from a typically pre-nationalised past is visible outside this sacred and controlled space, continuing in the general mining memorials of the county.

An analysis of memorials to coal mining in County Durham shows that the coal mines remembered were not the ones that had just been lost, but drew on images of much earlier ones. This is illustrated by considering what a coal mine looked like when in operation. Since their demise in Durham, residents are now informed of their image by sanitised visits to coal mining museums at *Beamish* or Washington 'F' Pit that, while not beautiful, fit into a neat idealised view of Victorian industrialisation. Yet the images of the later years of the

¹⁵ Edgerton. *Warfare State, and Britain's War Machine*.

¹⁶ Cauwood, B. (2013). Durham Cathedral Memorial. Marsden Banner Group. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://www.marsdenbannergroup.btck.co.uk/MemorialPage>.

¹⁷ Figure 6.

Wearmouth and Horden collieries show sprawling visions of industry, the winding tower pit wheel being lost in the busyness of the coal sorting plants or alternatively clad in concrete to make it appear modern.¹⁸

Figure 17: Wearmouth Colliery, 1992.¹⁹



¹⁸ For archived photos of Horden see: BBC. Images of Horden. Retrieved 19th May 2010, from, www.bbc.co.uk/media/images/38428000/jpg/38428469_horden300.jpg.

¹⁹ Thomas, R. (2014). Wearmouth Colliery. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://viewfinder.historicengland.org.uk/search/reference.aspx?uid=13&index=0&mainQuery=wearmouth%20colliery&searchType=all&form=home>. (ref AA93/03720).

The images of Horden and Wearmouth illustrate the point that they looked more like factory works than coal mines: Dave Douglass contended that the NCB desired its operations to appear more modern and therefore enclosed the traditional signifiers of the industry, such as pit wheels, within concrete buildings.²⁰ In a conversation with the author, he remarked that this was an order from central government with collieries next to main roads having particular precedence to give the impression of a modern country.²¹ Ashworth also recounted that the desire to modernise was a particularly strong objective for the NCB for his period of research and this appears to be a particularly strong message in the National Coal Board Films as illustrated in the compilation made by Lee Hall et al.²² Yet the memorials of Durham do not reflect these impressions of modernity. Instead, a much older version has been represented, having more in common with images from Thomas Hair's drawings of Victorian collieries.²³ In the wide area of Durham's mining memorials, there appears to be an attempt to erase the nationalisation, itself expressing the realisation that what had actually been the new hope for the industry turned out to be the instigator of its steep decline.

Five memorials provide exceptions of an eschewal of modernisation and will be studied here. While *Working At The Low Seam* at Langley Moor depicted modern tools, the large machine adds to the sense of the cramped working conditions in the low seam.²⁴ Within these cramped conditions, despite the modern tools the miner is using, the physical working conditions invoke an older era of extraction. Other notable sculptures in this vein are found at Fishburn and Elba Park, which also use this method of portraying the cramped conditions of the past with the addition of a traditional manual pick-axe.²⁵ The coal miner portrayed at Elba Park (despite his axe) is clearly modern, given his battery-powered helmet light, whereas at Fishburn he wears a helmet of a style dating from pre-nationalisation. A pair of monuments at Whitburn depicts mechanisation in a similar way to the previously-

²⁰ Douglass & Kreiger. *A Miner's Life*. p. 27.

²¹ Conversation with D. Douglass at Bowburn Village Hall. (2010).

²² Ashworth & Pegg. *History of Coal Industry 1946-82*. HALL et al. *NCB Collection*.

²³ Glendinning, D. (2000). *The Art of Mining: Thomas Hair's Watercolours of the Great Northern Coalfield*. Newcastle: Tyne Bride Publishing.

²⁴ Durham County Council. (2010). Artwork depicts mining history. *Durham County News*.

²⁵ Figure 14 and Groundwork. Elba Park. Retrieved 16th June 2014, from, <http://www.groundwork.org.uk/Sites/tyneandwear/pages/elba-park>.

mentioned memorials: these bas-reliefs by Rob Olley use colour from the battery light to great effect. Both representations again illustrate the cramped conditions at this eventually abandoned coal mine, as its seams under the North Sea were unsafe, although one depicts a machine, the other adheres to the traditional pick axe.²⁶

It is however the third example, for the Easington Mining Disaster of 1952 that occurred shortly after the industry's nationalisation, which reflects the complexities involved in this relationship between modernisation, nationalisation and coal mining. A visit to this memorial, with the graves laid out in lines in a separate area of the town's cemetery, evokes strong suggestions of Lutyens' war graves and suggests to the visitor that these men had also died in the service of their country. Opposite the graves, a large stone incorporates a bas-relief of a then-contemporary miner in a suit and hat with an electric lamp alongside two cutting machines. These machines make the memorial appear modern and initially (when understood that it had been sparks from these machines that caused the disaster) could be read as a statement against modernisation. However, these particular machines were old at the time of the disaster and as such are instead a statement of the need to modernise, which was already an objective of the NCB.²⁷ Nationalisation therefore represented an opportunity for the industry to modernise, however, the pick-axe crosses guarding the graves of the dead show the safety in tried-and-tested methods of coal mining and make their own statement against modern practices in favour of age-old manual working traditions which some miners preferred.²⁸

²⁶ Cauwood, B. (2013). Whitburn Colliery Memorial. Marsden Banner Group. Retrieved 16th June 2014, from, <http://www.marsdenbannergroup.btck.co.uk/IndustrialCoastline>.

²⁷ Ashworth & Pegg. *History of Coal Industry 1946-82*. Hall. et al. *NCB Collection*.

²⁸ Douglass & Kreiger. *A Miner's Life*. pp. 33-44.

Figures 18 and 19: Easington Disaster Memorial.²⁹



The memorial to the disaster at Easington Colliery represents both a call to modernise but also a fear of machinery and its potential to cause disaster within the industry. From this memorial, a complex relationship with modernisation emerges given the health and safety issues, which were compounded by the horror of the Aberfan Disaster 14 years later. Vall noted that the national disaster at Aberfan (1966), where 144 people died in a landslide from a slag-heap not only raised stark questions about the integrity of the National Coal Board (NCB) but also questions about modernity in Britain generally.³⁰ The subsequent Davies Inquiry found the NCB responsible for the disaster in their mismanagement of the slag heaps and lack of a policy in their accrual. Tellingly, the inquiry said that the NCB was ‘following in the footsteps of its predecessors.’³¹ Despite this condemnation in the inquiry, no individual members of the NCB were brought to account, resigned, demoted or were fired: instead modernisation through rationalisation continued. In the first half of the twentieth century, the hopes of job and wage stability alongside those of safety had made nationalisation the “Holy Grail”, yet by 1966 it seemed that little had really changed.

As the memory of the collieries themselves is consigned to a more distant past, the land on which they were built being reclaimed by brownfield sites or green projects, and the memory of an industry that in its day appeared modern has further disappeared. Many of the sites fit Jay Winter’s ‘sites of memory’ terminology, and have since become parkland

²⁹ Researcher’s own photographs.

³⁰ Vall. *Cultural Region*. p. 53.

³¹ HMSO (1967). Report of the Tribunal appointed to inquire into the Disaster at Aberfan on October 21 1966. London: HMSO. p. 131 (Part VII: Para 66).

(Herrington), nature reserves (Malton), housing estates (Seaham), shopping malls (Murton) or even a football stadium (Wearmouth).³² For all of these sites where their industrial past was indelibly removed, it is their respective memorials that have become their memory, and with this new identity history can be made. Importantly for this thesis it seems that one reading of the tendency to use traditional and pre-mechanical images in memorials is to reject the immediate past of nationalisation with its inherent failure to deliver. The memorials working in a way to consign the demise and importantly the reasons for this demise of mining to a more distant past than had actually occurred, thus ignoring the record of nationalisation. For example, Horden was a vast sprawling industrial complex, yet its memorial paradoxically is a wheel encased in bricks in a forgotten corner of an industrial estate.³³ The iconic pit wheel, of which there are twenty-seven memorial examples in County Durham, consigns the memory of the now-defunct coal mine to a more distant past, with the wheel memorial conjuring an image more resonant to a pre-nationalised industry.³⁴ While the seemingly synonymous wheel highlights the strong continuity of the traditions of the industry, it also denies any relationship to modernisation and mechanisation in the remembrance of the industry. The wheel encased in bricks is also symbolic as it is rendered static from decline. At the old Wearmouth colliery, which is now the site of Sunderland AFC, there is an abundance of memorials all of which portray traditional themes. On a visit to the football ground, the visitor is greeted by a miners' lamp that is constantly lit by the methane gas still underground.³⁵ This memorial shows a clever use of science, but the memorial itself is of a miners' lamp of a type that has been in constant use since 1815 and which had remained popular despite the introduction of battery-powered lights after nationalisation. A model winding tower and wheel continue this theme of pre-twentieth century industrial signifiers at the stadium.³⁶ Nearby, the *Men of Steel* sculpture that was discussed earlier gives an antediluvian image of miners, while inside the stadium the traditional mining banner of Monkwearmouth Lodge is also on show

³² Winter. *Sites of Memory*.

³³ Thomas, J. (2011). Miners' Memorial, Horden. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2702359>.

³⁴ See Appendix.

³⁵ Bishop, R. (2006). Miners' Lamp, Stadium of Light. Retrieved 21st October 2015, from, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/139122.

³⁶ Daniels, S. (2011). Winding Wheel Outside Stadium of Light. Retrieved 21st October 2015, from, <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2851869>.

with this particular banner having one side depicting the cancelling of the yearly bond in 1872 with the other depicting three union leaders: Thomas Hepburn (c.1795 -1864); Arthur Cook 1883-1931 and Arthur Scargill (1938-), an unusual subject for contemporary coal mining memorials.³⁷

It is not only the physical memorials that have embraced the distant past. A review of sixty-three mining banners from the Durham Coalfield at the Durham Miners' Gala in 2010 highlighted that most of the banners depicted a past far removed rather than that of the present or future. Each of the banners has two illustrated sides, which provided 126 possible images on these banners of modern collieries or miners. 60% of the sides showed mining tools, work, mines or miners in some form, and twenty-eight sides depicted mines themselves, of which only five portrayed modern, concrete encased pits. Of the images of workers, only sixteen sides depicted a miner, of which the minority (five), incorporated a modern miner complete with an electric light on his helmet. An overall impression of the miners' banners is that they portrayed imagery from a more distant past - for example classical and biblical themes are popular on the banners – and it therefore comes as no surprise that few post-nationalised modern super pits are shown as images on banners. Westoe celebrated its new concrete-clad colliery and Horden declared itself 'the largest mine in Europe', but apart from these two examples no others have been found. A possible reason for the tendency for banners to be anti-modern is that many of the banners depict values that deliberately draw on a classical past to give them more credence. McManners and Wales asserted that the banners were initially designed for a largely illiterate workforce and therefore needed designs that could be clearly understood.³⁸ The nature of these banners as focal points for the separate lodges of the National Union of Mineworkers celebrates the work of the union. It must be noted that several banners included Members of Parliament who had advocated reform, namely Aneurin Bevin, Tony Benn and Hugh Gaitskill, but they were included as champions of the NUM rather than the NCB. Eppleton's banner provides a poignant case study for understanding the timing of this anti-modern and anti-nationalisation bias, showing it to be a phenomenon that emerged after forty years of

³⁷ Worrall, T. (2014). Sunderland's Men of Steel. Retrieved 21st October 2015, from, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tonyworrall/14214479413/>.

³⁸ McManners & Wales. *Shafts of Light*. p. 190.

nationalisation. In the 1940s, its banner depicted nationalisation, showing a colliery underlined with the footer 'Nationalisation 1947'. This was superseded in 1983, and copied in 2011 by a more traditional banner showing a colliery wheel on one side and on the other, the local building of Hetton Hall above an image of one of Stephenson's locomotives, declaring it 'the oldest locomotive in the world,' as Hetton Railway was the first railway system to have been built for automotive rather than animal power.³⁹

In a similar vein, an absence of modern tools was observed in an analysis of mining memorials for County Durham. When investigating the potential reasons for this omission, a complicated picture emerges of an industry struggling to accept its raw recent past and the failures of nationalisation. Yet more than this, when considering the memorials for Scott and Dunkirk, a general trend seems to emerge of omitting aspects of modernity from cultural representations. This strong tendency in the memorials to the three case studies suggests a complex relationship with modernity and as such is an area that could be explored through other case studies. The next aspect to be studied in this chapter concerns the idea of progress, which like the subject above is relevant to all three case studies but again has most relevance with decline to coal mining.

³⁹ Durham Record Office. (2015). Hetton Miners' Banner. Retrieved 15th October 2015, from, <http://www.durhamrecordoffice.org.uk/Pages/AdvancedSearchCatalogueDetail.aspx?SearchType=Pararam&SearchID=b3c0fd69-159c-4f0f-b6cf->
[Our Gateshead. \(2015\) Hetton Miners' Banner. Retrieved 15th october 2015, from,](http://www.durhamrecordoffice.org.uk/Pages/AdvancedSearchCatalogueDetail.aspx?SearchType=Pararam&SearchID=b3c0fd69-159c-4f0f-b6cf-)
[be095403a731&ImageView=List&Display=250&Page=8&ItemID=731528&ImageID=731884;](http://www.durhamrecordoffice.org.uk/Pages/AdvancedSearchCatalogueDetail.aspx?SearchType=Pararam&SearchID=b3c0fd69-159c-4f0f-b6cf-)
[http://www.ourgateshead.org/content/colliery-banners-coal-fields](http://www.durhamrecordoffice.org.uk/Pages/AdvancedSearchCatalogueDetail.aspx?SearchType=Pararam&SearchID=b3c0fd69-159c-4f0f-b6cf-) Both accessed 15.10.15.

The Continuing Theme of Progress

Questioning the idea of progress at the start of the twenty-first century is a bit like questioning the Deity in Victorian Times. The stock reaction is one of incredulity, followed by anger, then by moral panic. It is not so much that the belief in progress is unshakable as that we are terrified of losing it.⁴⁰

This section will discuss how the idea of progress can possibly exist alongside the competing ideology of declinism. The quote above from the philosopher John Gray not only reveals the entrenchment of the idea but also the assumption of progress. The idea of progress has a particular historical provenance to English history, with the 'Whig' view of history considering the past within a context of linear progression to the present.⁴¹ While this narrative of progress has been challenged from the mid-twentieth century onwards, the cultural representations of the case studies will be used to illustrate that the idea of improvement over time has remained an important part of British culture.⁴² It is clear that ideas of decline and progress sit at ideological opposites, so how can they both exist together? The related concept of affluence is key to understanding the relationship where ideas of progress challenge those of decline.

As discussed in Chapter 1 and 3, commentators on decline have noted the paradox that although Britain has ostensibly been in a period of decline during the twentieth century it has also been an 'Age of Affluence' for its citizens.⁴³ Tomlinson refers to the relationship between decline and affluence as a 'paradox of affluence.'⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Gray, J. (2004). Progress: An Illusion with a Future. *Daedalus*. 133. 10-17. p. 10

⁴¹ Tosh. *Pursuit of History*. p. 120 Butterfield, H. (1973). *The Whig Interpretation of History*. London: Penguin. p. 30 Examples of this style of writing include: Trevelyan, G. M. (1944). *English Social History*. London: Longmans.

⁴² For a review of critiques of the Whiggish view see Tosh. *Pursuit of History* p. 128, including: Floud, R. & McCloskey, D. (eds.) (1981). *The Economic History of Britain since 1700* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴³ Supple. *Fear of Failing*. pp. 9-11. Cannadine. *Apocalypse when?* p. 276.

⁴⁴ Tomlinson. *Politics of Decline*. p. 4, p. 11 and p. 77.

Supple, writing specifically on affluence. states:

In the late twentieth-century Britain, of course the seeming paradox of a sense of economic failure thriving in an increasingly affluent society has a simple and obvious terminological resolution: relative decline and absolute growth can and do co-exist.⁴⁵

Moreover, this sense of affluence was not limited to retrospective historical analysis but was recognised by contemporary politicians and the public. In 1957, the Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan told the country ‘most of our people have never had it so good,’ reflecting that he and the public knew these were good times. Disposable income as an indicator of affluence rose from £4,500 per capita in 1970 to £9,200 in 1999 (at 1995 prices).⁴⁶ Alongside this financial affluence was the more tangible consumption that prosperity brought. It could therefore be contended that the very experience of increasing affluence led to feelings of personal progress, thus underpinning progress’s continuous narrative. Yet early exponents of decline theory gave lamentations of decline just ten years after Macmillan’s speech, concerned about relative national economic data, although during this time as Supple has indicated Britain’s annual growth rate rose to about 2.4 per cent between 1950 and 1983.⁴⁷ Similarly, in the age of Scott (1873-1913) despite a rise in feelings of quasi-declinism, GDP grew annually at 2 per cent.⁴⁸ Can the relationship of Scott and the other two case studies to ideas of affluence (used as an outward sign of economic progress) shed light on this paradox of decline and progress happening simultaneously?

A proviso must be made at this point that this thesis is not stating that everyone was better off in this period, as no study incorporating coal mining in Durham could make such a claim, indeed, this affluence lies within a paradox of concurrent rising poverty for some. Eric Evans highlighted that in 1979 that 5 million people lived on the poverty line, yet despite average real incomes rising by 37% by 1992, 14.1 million people then did so.⁴⁹ Pertinent to this thesis is the relevance of these dates (1970-92) to the decline and ending of coal mining in

⁴⁵ Supple. *Fear of Failing*. p. 10

⁴⁶ Office of National Statistics. (1999). *Economic Trends Annual Supplement*. London: Office of National Statistics.

⁴⁷ Supple. *Fear of Failing*. p. 11

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 10

⁴⁹ Evans, E. (2013). *Thatcher and Thatcherism*. Routledge: London. p. 156.

Durham. The section in this chapter will contend that most people did experience affluence as reflected in average rising real income and that popular conceptions embraced both affluence and declinism.

With regard to progress in contemporary times, Scott's expedition is inevitably viewed through a prism of our own knowledge. We see his story in the context of what we know, whether this is regarding nutrition, modern communications or modern transport. Making the details of his story more resonant in post-industrial times adds a "what if?" element, with emerging generations comparing their modern knowledge to the myth, imagining how the outcome could have altered. Scott's failure was a direct outcome of his time, as progress in modern thought and technology would render a different result today. Contemporary knowledge of climate, nutrition and oil evaporation alongside new technologies available would transform the outcome of his expedition. These observations notwithstanding, Scott's expedition with its sponsorship, marketing and consumption through sales of books, exhibitions and film was an indicator of an increasingly affluent society. Equally, Dunkirk is imbued with ideas of progress, as our knowledge of the outcome of the Second World War can, as Summerfield contended, place it as a pivotal event to Britain's 'beginning of the end' narrative of the war.⁵⁰ For mining, disregarding the modernisation of the industry, the terminology of "primary industry" to which it belongs is infused with ideas of progress, with secondary and tertiary industries evolving from it and being sustained by it. But could the memorials of the case studies with their strong relationships to decline possibly reject that notion and embrace of ideas of progress? The relationship of the memorials to heritage is a specific way in which connections between decline and progress through affluence can be examined.

The critical use of cultural representations to study affluence is found within the academic discipline of heritage studies. Lumley argued that there was an alternative reading for heritage rather than the typical declinist response as noted in Chapter 3 - Decline. Instead, heritage should be considered as a sign of 'innovation and progress.' He contended that industrial decline is accepted, and out of this decline heritage emerges, with heritage in this

⁵⁰ Summerfield. *Dunkirk*.

perspective not being viewed as a 'strategy for enabling change' but rather as a sign of an inability to come to terms with it.⁵¹ Hill used the example of representations of affluence in films in the period 1956-63 to dispute how widespread this affluence was, suggesting:

The rise in incomes and apparent abundance of consumer goods disguised [a] fragile and temporary base upon which such 'affluence' had been secured. Moreover what it disguised was the persistence of inequality and enjoyment of 'affluence'.⁵²

This essence of rising affluence is evident in many monuments and museums erected in the post-industrial era (1990s) but rather than looking at Hill's view of disguising inequality, this chapter will discuss the broad idea of continuing progress and affluence. There is evidence of rising affluence in two ways: through the memorials' strong associations with regeneration and through their heralding of a new age of commerce as the leisure sector became a *bona fide* alternative to industrialisation. Walsh explained that the expansion of heritage was part of the expansion of the wider leisure and tourism services sector⁵³ with Lumley arguing that this was a sign of modernity as the tourism sector was now an industry in itself. Indeed, he states that by 1984 international tourism was the second largest item of world trade.⁵⁴ As such, the heritage sector now demands sophisticated, entertaining and richly-interpreted sites that can compete with other leisure activities. The case study on Dover Castle illustrates the commercialisation of the heritage sector.

The visitor experience *Operation Dynamo: Rescue From Dunkirk* opened at Dover Castle in 2011 and is illustrative of a significant development in the widening of the heritage sector in Britain. Hewison recounted that English Heritage was one of the more traditionally managed cultural quangos, deriving 'its legitimacy from its expertise'. However by 2006, a DCMS peer-review conceded that 'although it had a long way to go, English Heritage was beginning to dispel its image as a white upper-middle class National Monuments sector, served by similar people in its organisation.'⁵⁵ *Operation Dynamo* is a significant departure from English

⁵¹ Lumley. *The Debate on Heritage Reviewed*.

⁵² Hill. *Sex, Class and Realism*. p. 9.

⁵³ Walsh, K. (1995). *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*. London: Routledge. p. 116.

⁵⁴ Lumley. *The Debate on Heritage Reviewed*. p. 19.

⁵⁵ Hewison. *The Heritage Industry Revisited*.

Heritage's more traditional stance (the organisation has since 2015 been a registered charity – rather than a quango – that looks after the National Heritage Collection). In particular, it shows a realisation of the need to compete with more commercial visitor attractions, prompting the installation of more populist and interactive interpretations as visitors seek more entertaining ways of engaging with their sites. Other sites outside of English Heritage's umbrella certainly operate within this paradigm.

Operating outside the sphere of public ownership, Beamish Museum provides a relevant case study of multiple interpretations of affluence. *Beamish* is an open-air museum in County Durham which although now a large visitor attraction was formed from the bottom-up by Frank Atkinson. The queues at its opening in 1972 – like the Tutankhamen exhibition in the same year – heralded the arrival of a new “blockbuster” age for museums.⁵⁶ Conceptualised in the framework of a living museum within the open-air tradition, it has emerged as a key example of a heritage centre. Although not confined to a mining museum, the industry and community of coal mining is a central theme, replete with its own drift mine and mining village. As visitors wander its huge site, Mike Crang and Kevin Walsh both observed they view a beautified, idealised version of the past,⁵⁷ yet the realisation of affluence and the sense of personal progress for visitors are omnipresent. There is no question that standards of living have improved in terms of consumption patterns and housing, although questions of the quality of life may abound, with visible affluence relating to these quantitative standards rather than qualitative ideals. Moreover, the twenty-first century tourist visits *Beamish* to consume, and where once the shops were museum pieces, now goods can be purchased from the ersatz Edwardian retailer, albeit with inflated prices in decimalised sterling. This Disneyfication of the museum has also witnessed restaurant outlets expanding year-on-year with more opportunities for visitors to consume. The sense of affluence is extended by the feeling of watching the past at work in your own leisure time, which is made complete by a ride on the Edwardian fair, this day out itself engendering feelings of prosperity. Given its mining theme, for some the end of mining could itself represent progress with *Beamish* reinforcing the idea of how far we have come.

⁵⁶ Atkinson. *Man Who Made Beamish*.

⁵⁷ Crang, M. *The Remembrance of Nostalgia's Lost and Future Ruins: Photographic Journeys from Coal Coast to Geordie Shore*, in, Wells, L. (ed.) (2012). *Futureland Now*. Plymouth: University of Plymouth Press. p. 66. Walsh, K. *Representation of the Past*. p. 100.

For frequent visitors, the continuing improvements and extensions of *Beamish* creates its own sense of progress.

The role of improvement is evident not only for the individual museums but also for geographic areas, the redundant Durham coalfield offering a much larger area of potential regeneration for consideration. Vall's examination of the arts culture in the North-East documented the incredible regeneration in the area.⁵⁸ Within this examination, she differentiated between top-down developments, such as the large regional development corporation and lottery-funded flagship projects; and bottom-up methods of regeneration, such as the Ouseburn Valley.⁵⁹ The Durham coalfield has witnessed so many high-profile top-down projects of regeneration one could be forgiven for overlooking the generally smaller bottom-up projects. These sites have transformed closed, redundant coalmines: for many Sunderland supporters, the Stadium of Light signifies the most important symbol of renewal in the region. The stadium was built on the site of the Wearmouth Colliery and represented not only a massive building project but also the environmental amelioration of a brownfield site. Mining memorials abound at the stadium, reminding supporters of its roots, while the new facilities (when compared to the old stadium at Roker Park) must engender feelings of affluence. At Gateshead, *The Angel of the North* (in part a mining memorial, built in 1998 on the site of former pithead baths) represents an icon of a new cultural age for the region. The glittering shopping metropolis of the MetroCentre, close to *The Angel of the North*, has an Alexander Millar statue in the bus concourse which similarly reminds shoppers of the venue's industrial roots, for though it was not constructed on a colliery it was built on an ash dump from a power station itself located there due to the proximity of a coal supply.⁶⁰

This beautification of previous industrial sites is important to perceptions of affluence in post-industrial regions, and has been a driving force for both top-down and bottom-up agencies of change. Two Millennium Commission projects in County Durham, *Turning the Tide* and Sustrans cycle routes provide examples of top-down policy that transformed the

⁵⁸ Vall, N. *Cultural Region*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 138-144.

⁶⁰ Howard, S. (2012). Photo a day: Angel. Retrieved 16th June 2015, from, <http://sjhoward.co.uk/archive/tag/art> .

post-mining landscape, engendering feelings of progress through environmental change to the local community. Although the *Turning the Tide* project incorporates mining memorials on the Durham coastline, its primary concern was cleaning up the Durham coast itself. After centuries of mining on the coast and a century of the sea being used as disposal for redundant materials in coal mining, the water and beaches of Durham were blackened and devastated. The project cleaned the sea and coast, re-creating it as a place for leisure. Similarly, much of the Sustrans coast-to-coast cycle way in Durham had been a train line bringing the coal from West Durham to the ports. The cycleway now forms part of a post-industrial boom in cycling, where cycling is undertaken as a leisure pursuit rather than as a necessary means of transport to work. Yet the project does not draw attention to this change of purpose nor to the centrality of cycling as a working-class mode of transport in the inter-war and immediate post-war period.⁶¹ Thus, while these projects devoted the majority of their budgets to environmental aspects, they have also commemorated the mining activities that had previously used (and abused) their sites. As such, the monuments created for these projects celebrate the environmental improvements that have been achieved and the transformation from mining areas to cleaner living. The monuments encapsulate this sentiment with the industrial nature of their design, for example *The Miner* is made out of industrial waste and is in a brutal style.⁶² Similarly, many of the art works on the *Turning the Tide* project commemorate the violations the industry made to the Durham Coast: *The Pitcage* is an example, with this simple, modern installation contrasting sharply to the natural beauty of the cliffs and sea.⁶³

Yet environmental amelioration is also visible at a much more local level, highlighting bottom-up examples of regeneration and civic pride, which could emphasise affluence. A popular basic memorial is the mining tub, which many former mining villages expediently use for floral arrangements. Yet these small tokens of mining can have an extensive effect on the local environment, where the land around the memorial is ameliorated and the area becomes a place for local celebration. For example, an area in Bowburn began with a mining plaque (2006), erected by the local Labour Party, which was followed by a personal

⁶¹ Horrall. *Popular Culture*. pp. 54-64.

⁶² Figure 12.

⁶³ Durham County Council. (2000). *Easington Art: A guide to Art Work in East Durham*. Durham: Durham County Council. Leaflet in researcher's collection.

contribution of a coal tub in 2007, prompting the busy area where these two memorials are situated on the A177 (an arterial route to Durham City) to become more floral and demonstrate elements of civic pride.

At a grass-roots level, the erection of memorials not only gives a perception of affluence but also requires an expectation of prosperity in the community to complete the project. The rise of smaller mining memorials gives evidence of a growing wealth in some local communities, as exemplified by mining banners. In the past, mining banners were scarce and costly, leading to the custom of giving the banner to another colliery when a colliery closed. The banners were a commodity rather than a memorial, they moved like the workers and any moveable machinery, to another place. Since the demise of mining in Durham and the admission of banners from closed collieries to the annual Durham Gala, the demand for new banners has increased. A traditional style banner can cost over £10,000 and therefore is a significant sum for a group of retired miners. Yet the banners continue to be commissioned and desired by grass-roots groups like the Silksworth Heritage Group who, after raising money for a banner in 2011, began efforts to fund a monument.⁶⁴ An expectation of results for fundraising in local memorials also highlights an underlying assumption of affluence, and fundraising is not restricted to local sources but also includes monies from business, charitable trusts, local councils or lottery sources, all showing a belief in the wherewithal to fundraise and manage projects. These schemes provide a paradox that the end of mining, which has of course brought many hardships, has also engendered a certain amount of environmental improvement, affluence and entrepreneurship.

Community projects have not been the only art to be financed by the public. There has been an increase in the popularity of mining art, its acquisition being an indicator of increased personal affluence and economic progress. Yet of the three case studies, it is not only mining that has acquired a role in consumption. Members of the public can buy a piece of Dunkirk with their own “little ship” via the Association of Dunkirk Little Ships, while Captain Scott memorabilia has become particularly collectable. Auction prices of Scott and wider Antarctic memorabilia have been exceeding their estimates as the market increases. For

⁶⁴ Discussion with Peter Shields, Secretary of Silksworth Banner Group. (Ferryhill, 2011).

example, at Bamfords' sale on 21st May 2010 of a 'Collection of documents and artefacts relating to the *Terra Nova* and Robert Falcon Scott's Final Expedition to Conquer the South Pole' all of the lots greatly exceeded their estimates. A photograph album by Leading Stoker McKenzie on *Terra Nova* sold for £3,300 against an estimate of £500 whilst one of his watercolour paintings sold for £6,900 against an estimate for £300.⁶⁵ Yet as suggested earlier, affluence is not the only measure of progress. How could the memorials shed light on a other ideas of progress?

The evolution of ideas of progress in films that portray mining offer an insight into changing narratives on the subject. The earlier films like *The Stars Look Down* and *Proud Valley* sought merely an improved standard of living: rather than actual affluence. In the former, there is a call for progress, whilst in the latter the men fight for the mine to reopen.⁶⁶ On the other hand, in *How Green Was My Valley*, after a period of longstanding decline the hero embraced his own possibility of progress by leaving Wales for America.⁶⁷ These three films have a vision of progress that is wider than affluence, with progress being a more ethereal future aspiration, highlighting an expectation (or hope) in these earlier films that life would get better. This sentiment differs from two films set in mining towns in the 1960s. If any progress has been made – whether materially in *This Sporting Life* or spiritually in *Kes* – the film endings leave the protagonist outside of a narrative of advancement.⁶⁸ This in turn differs from the post-industrial approach to miners, for these, like the three earlier films, are about mining and miners. *Brassed Off* and *Billy Elliott* are set entirely in the past that – axiomatically, given fundamental assumptions of progress – ensures the viewer feels a sense of progress and affluence mixed with nostalgia. There is a wide sense of dramatic irony in these two films, as the viewer is aware that the mining life they are fighting for will disappear. Moreover, the immediate sense of historicity of these films in particular and generally being a snapshot of the time they portray, lends itself to the appreciation of progress, particularly through the mediums of affluence or changes in fashions and visual

⁶⁵ Researcher attended online auction.

⁶⁶ Goldsmith, Wilson & Reed. *The Stars Look Down*. Balcon & Tennyson. *The Proud Valley*, (Film).

⁶⁷ Zanuck & Ford. *How Green Was My Valley?*

⁶⁸ Reisz, K. (Producer). Anderson, L. (Director). (1963). *This Sporting Life*. UK: Rank. Garnett & Loach. *Kes*.

culture. One of these changes in culture is the new narrative for science, which will be discussed below.

The Role of Science in Declinist and Post-Declinist Britain

“For scientific discovery, give me Scott; for speed and efficiency of travel, give me Amundsen; but when you are in a hopeless situation, when you are seeing no way out, get down on your knees and pray for Shackleton”⁶⁹

Raymond Priestley’s quote is popular for comparisons between these three famous polar explorers and he was in a position to know, having accompanied Shackleton and then Scott on his final expedition, and was head of the Royal Geographical Society 1961-3. His quote is used to compliment Shackleton but it also serves to show the importance of science to Scott’s expedition, a fact that has often been absent from his myth’s central theme of adventure. Science was crucial to Scott’s expedition and is an important argument in declinist debates where theorists have admonished Britons for years about their poor research and development and science and technology record, citing it as a reason for decline.⁷⁰ Edgerton however has led against this declinist rhetoric arguing that Britain had a good science and technology record, using the example of Britain’s relationship with the aeroplane, an industry where Britain led the world after the Second World War, to test the argument.⁷¹ He latterly expanded these arguments to suggest that the pastoral and welfare narratives of Britain deployed by declinists and romantics have suppressed a convincing alternative view of the U.K. – that of a ‘Warfare State.’⁷² In a recent reappraisal of Scott, Jones similarly calls for more research on his scientific legacy, arguing that this has been ignored⁷³ while Vanessa Heggie has argued a similar case for coverage of the science in

⁶⁹ This was re-quoted in 1957. New Scientist. Profile: Sir James Wordie: Exploration's Elder Statesman. (5th December 1957). *New Scientist*, 3. p. 25.

⁷⁰ Wiener. *English Culture*. pp. 17-19. Barnett. *The Audit of War*. pp. 206-7, Dintenfass, M. (1992). *The Decline of Industrial Britain 1870-1980*. London: Routledge. pp. 14-5.

⁷¹ Edgerton. *Science, Technology*. Edgerton. *England and the Aeroplane*.

⁷² Edgerton. *Warfare State*.

⁷³ Jones, M. “Noble Example” p. 204.

twentieth century exploration more generally.⁷⁴ In his appraisal of the millennial (post-industrial) British economy, Evan Davis highlighted the importance of science and technology, listing the successful endeavours of Silicon Fen, pharmaceutical companies and McLaren cars among others.⁷⁵ Clearly, if more scientific narratives were found in the cultural representations to the case studies, then this would suggest a clear change of emphasis. This section will consider how the memorials engage with scientific narratives and whether there is a possibility of viewing a 'scientific turn' in the cultural representations of the case studies.⁷⁶ Consideration will also be made as to when a possible change in narrative may have occurred and whether this has happened simultaneously with post-industrialisation.

Although Scott's case study provides the strongest relationship with science, the complicated relationship of science with Dunkirk and coal mining are also worth considering. Their narratives, like Scott's, could have included a scientific element but instead this was normally underplayed or ignored. At Dunkirk, most of the men were evacuated from the man-made mole harbour onto large naval vessels, as part of a massive operation planned and communicated with technology that was state-of-the-art at the time. Yet what is now remembered is a less scientific version of the men being evacuated from the beach on little ships. Taking this example further, Edgerton has identified a narrative for the Second World War in which Britain was portrayed as a pastoral, pacific nation, (as personified by J. B. Priestley), fighting industrialised Germany.⁷⁷ Yet, as Edgerton has argued, the reality was that Britain was a similarly technologically advanced, industrialised super-power backed by a huge empire.⁷⁸ The assistance of technology to the successful outcome of Dunkirk, juxtaposed against the popular myth using the miracle of the little ships, helps to illustrate Edgerton's point. As discussed in the section above, images of British technology are generally absent from Dunkirk's memorials. A notable exception is the exhibition that opened in 2010 on Operation Dynamo at Dover Castle, which shows the planning and necessary technological apparatus for the evacuation. Similarly, the absence of

⁷⁴ Heggie, V. (2014). Critiques and Contentions: Why Isn't Exploration a Science?. *Isis*. 105 (2) 318-34.

⁷⁵ Davis, E. (2011). *Made in Britain: Why Our Economy is More Successful than you Think*. London: Little Brown.

⁷⁶ The researcher presented a paper on the scientific credentials of Scott *Polar Knights: Examples of a nation in decline?* Newcastle University Postgraduate Forum. (May 2009).

⁷⁷ Priestley, J. B. (1934). *English Journey*. London: Victor Gollancz.

⁷⁸ Edgerton, D. *Britain's War Machine*.

an active coal mining industry in most regions has ensured their museums have a backward heritage-inflected bias, rejecting narratives of new technology and scientific innovations in mining.⁷⁹ Again, some museums give the exception to this rule, although a proviso must be made that this is only in museums located where coal mining is still undertaken. The National Coal Mining Museum for England at Wakefield, which has a permanent display on current and past technology used in coal mining and a temporary exhibition at The Big Pit in 2010, highlighted the economic and environmental science of using coal as a source of power in 21st Century Britain.⁸⁰ An important line should be drawn upon the role of museums for changing narratives: not only is it possible for museums to show new narratives but they also have a role and an expectation from visitors to reflect changes in contemporary society. This role of museums will be discussed in more detail with the case study of Scott, as whilst mining and Dunkirk have relationships to science in their narrative, it is the subject of Scott where science is most resonant.

Raymond Priestley's opening quote shows how those who knew Scott viewed him as a man of science. Scott was also a Victorian, a significant fact as this age was the one in which the relationship between contemporary science and culture first assumed its dominant twentieth century form.⁸¹ Bernard Lightman has asserted that during this age science became more important, citing as evidence the great scientific discoveries of the age and the veneration of Kelvin and Darwin, both of whom were accorded the honour of funerals at Westminster Abbey. Moreover, in documenting the study of Victorian science, he argued that prior to the 1960s the history of science drew upon intellectual history, but since the 1970s there has been a contextualisation of the history of science in categories such as class, imperialism, gender and linguistics.⁸² Within the area of cultural representations of the history of science, no research has been found, making Scott's legacy a particularly attractive area to study: for an archetypal Victorian, he provides fruitful grounds for

⁷⁹ Mining museums visited that historicise mining are: Beamish, Woodhorn, Scottish Mining Museum, Big Pit: National Coal Museum (Wales), Sunderland Museum and Winter Gardens, and The National Waterfront Museum.

⁸⁰ Yorkshire was the last deep coal mining region in Britain and many of the exhibitions were designed while it was still a coal mining region.

⁸¹ Lightman, B. (ed.) (1997). *Victorian Science in Context*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

⁸² *Ibid.* pp. 1-12.

research in this area.⁸³ Most biographies of Scott recount his scientific legacy and for some studies, his science is in the foreground as with Peter Beck's research, which has viewed the scientific legacy of Scott as helping to integrate Antarctica into global thought processes.⁸⁴ Another notable study was Edward Larson's of the history of scientific study in Antarctica, in particular highlighting the extensive scientific research undertaken by Scott and Shackleton. He concluded that despite the initial strong scientific message of these ventures, the ensuing tragedy ensured that the science was lost against a more resonant message of self-sacrifice, with new accounts perpetuating the lost scientific narrative.⁸⁵ Much of the scientific research undertaken by the Scott expedition was not published until the 1920s, allowing the tragic element of the expedition to take centre stage, rather than its scientific impact. Furthermore, the significance of the scientific data collected took over half a century for its full impact to be realised. The climate data from the expedition is still used today and serves to contribute to understanding of polar ice caps. Wilson's belief in the evolutionary importance of collecting the Emperor Penguin eggs as described in Cherry Garrard's *Worst Journey in the World*,⁸⁶ has been vindicated. Although they languished for many years without any research being undertaken on them, understanding avian embryology has helped to develop the thesis in the late twentieth century of the evolutionary links between dinosaurs and birds. The tree fossils collected on the fateful journey back also provided evidence of the Palaeozoic supercontinent Pangaea, a theory being developed in 1912 that was finally articulated in 1927.

Despite the centrality of scientific aims to the expedition, few early memorials illustrated these intentions and to find these, one must view memorials from the post-industrial period. In the first wave of memorial building to Scott, (1912-1925), only two monuments made passing reference to science: Scott's national memorial at Devonport, which portrayed the men taking measurements at the Pole, and the inscription under the Scott

⁸³ Generally on the research of memorials while extensive research has been undertaken on memorials of the First World War little has been undertaken on other memorials and none have been found for the specific area of science, whose cultural impact also needs to be undertaken.

⁸⁴ Beck, P. (2012). No longer "A Pole Apart": Antarctica 100 years on from Captain Scott. *Historian*, 114, 16-21.

⁸⁵ Larson, E. (2011). *An Empire of Ice: Scott, Shackleton, and the Heroic Age of Antarctic Science*. Yale: Yale University Press. pp. 287-294.

⁸⁶ Garrard. *Worst Journey in the World*.

window at Emmanuel Church, Exeter which read ‘...who gave his life in the cause of science.’⁸⁷ Published in 2001, Susan Solomon’s biography on Scott was significant in asserting Scott’s scientific narrative by using a scientific approach to explain the reasons for his death. As a climatologist, she used climate data that had not been previously accessed and found that Scott and his companions had been subjected to unseasonably bad weather, which she concluded caused the failure of the expedition.⁸⁸ The findings from Solomon’s book are echoed by Scott’s memorial at Cardiff Bay (2003), with its theme of the five men’s struggle with the weather. The men are prisoners within this sculpture, covered in white mosaics recalling the bitter winter they endured. Meanwhile, the erratic shape of the sculpture evokes the blizzard that has captured its victims, and the rigidity of the sculpture, alongside the pained look on their faces, highlights their imprisonment in this torture and the inevitability of the end result as illuminated by Solomon.⁸⁹

Figure 20: Cardiff Bay Memorial to Captain Scott.⁹⁰



⁸⁷ Figures 16 and 8.

⁸⁸ Solomon, S. (2001). *The Coldest March: Scott's Fatal Antarctic Expedition*. Yale: Yale University Press.

⁸⁹ Captain Scott Society. Retrieved 6th January 2015, from, www.captainscottsociety.com/memorial.html.

⁹⁰ Researcher’s own photograph.

The Cardiff Bay memorial not only represents a new wave of monument building marking the Scott centenary, but also of a new theme of science within these cultural representations. The two most recent general memorials for Antarctica (erected by The British Antarctic Trust [BAT]) explicitly commemorate science.⁹¹ A perusal of the website illuminates that the BAT memorials are dedicated to the twenty-nine scientists who have died on British Antarctic Territory since 1942, yet the epitaph 'For those who lost their lives in Antarctica in pursuit of science to benefit us all,' easily (and possibly intentionally) includes all scientists who died on the continent. Visiting the memorial in its location within the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral necessitates passing Scott's earlier memorial, reminding visitors of British Antarctic history before they reach the newer memorial. The website for the memorial states that it was intended to remember 'those who did not return,' Scott once more foreshadowing this memorial.⁹² The second monument of BAT located at Cambridge is in two parts, those of a steel needle set within two oak arms. The needle and the arms both bear the inscription for all of those scientists who did not return. The arms will remain at Cambridge and the needle will be taken to Antarctica. These memorials and the foundation of the Trust give proof of a growing interest in producing cultural representations of science in the context of exploration. For Scott's centenary, a further monument was erected in Glen Prosen where Wilson lived and Scott had visited, the monument showing the five men and also an Emperor Penguin with its chick, a reference to Wilson's contribution to science in his study of these birds.⁹³

Two further distinctive memorials channel a scientific and technological flavour into the memorialisation of Scott and highlight his connections to modernity. The first gives an important insight into Britain's relationship with science in the 1950s when its aeronautical research was at its height and led the world. At first glance, the Vickers Viscount languishing in a hangar at the Scottish Museum of Flight, carrying the name of *Robert Falcon* Scott, illustrates a connection to Scott and cutting-edge science in the 1950s. When it was named

⁹¹ One being located at St Paul's Cathedral and the other in the grounds of the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge.

⁹² British Antarctic Monument Trust. Retrieved 22nd February 2013, from, <http://www.antarctic-monument.org/>.

⁹³ Scottish Civic Trust. (2013). Scott Wilson Memorial. Retrieved 7th February 2015, from, www.myplaceawards.org/scott-wilson-memorial-sculpture.aspx.

in 1953, this model of plane represented the world's most advanced aircraft and a major technological breakthrough. It was part of British European Airways (BEA), which had named all of their fleet after explorers. Others included James Cook; Ernest Shackleton; John Franklin; and David Livingstone, an interesting choice of names for aeroplanes as their namesakes had all died while exploring. Scott is seemingly included in this list as an explorer rather than through a connection to cutting-edge science. The naming of the planes shows that, despite the tragic connotations of their deaths at the time of naming, they had a positive image and conceptually the genre of imperial explorers was deemed a suitable theme for a fleet of technically-advanced planes. British pride was found not only in their name, but in their leading technology. Cambrian Airways kept the name of Scott into the 1970s but when it was leased in 1972 to BOAC it was renamed *Scottish Prince*. This renaming in the 1970s could have been simply a corporate decision to assert a new identity. Alternatively, as the whole fleet was renamed, it cannot be seen as a slight only to Scott, but viewed as a wider decision to distance BOAC from what were becoming out-dated expressions of imperialism, a zeitgeist illustrated in Brenton's play quoted in the chapter on Decline or Monty Python's 'Scott of the Sahara'. That this museum exhibit has reverted to its original name sheds valuable light on societal changes of attitude to Scott, and shows that Scott was, alongside other explorers, deemed a suitable name for an advanced plane in an industry where Edgerton has asserted Britain led the world in the immediate post-war period, and Davis argued even in 2010 was second only to the United States.⁹⁴

If aeronautical engineering prowess and exhibits shed light on a complicated relationship to science, *HMS Scott's* is more straightforward. Commissioned in 1998, it is named after the explorer and is the Royal Navy's only ocean survey vessel,⁹⁵ re-establishing the image of Scott as a scientific explorer rather than adventurer. The ship's motto is from Tennyson and used by Scott: "To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield." These examples of memorials highlight an emerging relationship between technological and scientific progress and the memory of Scott and suggest an alternative reputation for him as a moderniser. However,

⁹⁴ Edgerton, *Science, Technology*. Davis, *Made in Britain*. p. 111.

Thanks to Ian Brown, Assistant Curator of Aviation at the National Museum of Flight for providing information on this exhibit.

⁹⁵ She is the third *HMS Scott*, with the first deployed in the First World War; the second a minesweeper in the Second World War.

to test this assertion further, other recent memorials will be consulted. Although some examples of monuments highlight a scientific message in the Scott story, erections of monuments are relatively few and at times the scientific message may not be explicit, as illustrated with the memorial at Cardiff. It was suggested in the review of memorials to Dunkirk and coal mining that museums offered a useful insight into possible scientific narratives. This research will be widened to include museums and televisual documentaries for scientific narratives of Scott.

The commemorations in the centenary year of Scott's death (2012) offered extensive opportunities to test whether a scientific narrative could be found. The research found rather that, while there were many museums with a scientific narrative, the sites that had the strongest elements of science were those that already had a scientific base. The United Kingdom has three museums pertaining to Scott with an additional five museums having permanent displays on him, and a further thirty-one museums having had temporary exhibitions in the 2000-2012 period, many commemorating the centenary of his death.⁹⁶ However, although all of these museums have an agenda in hosting exhibitions on Scott, a relationship was not always made to science. Almost all of the museums detailed above had local or personal connections as the main premise for an exhibition. For example, as Scott was in the Royal Navy, the interest of the National Maritime Museum (and its Cornish cousin) was natural, whilst his fellow explorer Oates was in the Dragoon Guards thus leading to his display at York.⁹⁷ These connections are emphasised in the exhibitions and shape the

⁹⁶ Britain has three museums which deal with Scott significantly and permanently: The Polar Museum, Cambridge, Discovery Point, Dundee, and the Oates Museum within Gilbert White's House and Garden, Sussex. Many other museums have small displays of Scott or his team's artefacts such as National Maritime Museum, Cheltenham Museum; Swansea Museum, The Science Museum and the Royal Dragoon and Guards Museum, York. However, five museums have had extensive temporary exhibitions in the past ten years: National Maritime Museum; National Maritime Museum Cornwall, Havant Museum, National Waterfront Museum, Swansea; Royal Collection (Holyrood and Buckingham Palace) and the Natural History Museum. There were a staggering further twenty-five exhibitions in his centenary year at museums in: Torquay; Gloucester Cathedral; two at Dundee RRS Discovery; two at Swansea Museum; Plymouth; York; Kirriemuir; Hull; Plymouth CUBE3; Leicester archives; Cheltenham Museum; Cheltenham College; Memus Hall, Angus; Royal Geographical Society; Kendal; National Library, Scotland; SPRI; Northampton; Atlas Gallery; Maphouse Museum; Coniston; Chatham and Salterton.

⁹⁷ Havant Museum did not appear to have a specific connection and through email enquiries seem to have displayed the touring exhibition out of general interest. This exhibition has subsequently been shown at the Royal Geographical Society and at Coniston Museum.

narratives of the displays. From this, the Maritime Museum produced a story of adventure in both their permanent displays and their temporary exhibition 'South.' The latter took its title from the film made of Shackleton's epic journey to safety after his ship *Nimrod* was crushed in the ice highlighting a Shackletonian bias towards adventure rather than science in this particular case. The National Maritime Museum in Cornwall continued this narrative of adventure, finding a regional connection to Scott through his snow-boots that had been made by a local shoe manufacturer. At York however, the display focuses mainly on Oates' military career, Antarctic adventure and subsequent demise. Many museums display local connections, as evidenced by the temporary exhibition at The National Waterfront Museum, Swansea that introduced a Welsh narrative for Scott. This was observed by Jones et al as a phenomenon called 'the privatisation of heroes' where imperial heroes have begun to be celebrated on a more local rather than national scale.⁹⁸

Unsurprisingly, it is the museums that have an established scientific interest that displayed the more noticeable scientific narratives, although sometimes this scientific predisposition needs to be explored more deeply. The Natural History Museum, a leading international centre for scientific research, presented an exhibition with science at its core. The National Museum of Wales at Cardiff had a temporary exhibition entitled 'South for Science,' which complemented the natural history displays of its permanent exhibition. The Royal Naval Museum at Portsmouth celebrated the centenary with a science event highlighting the Royal Navy's strong relationship with science. The permanent exhibition at the Gilbert White Museum refurbished in 2012 had a strong scientific narrative with the new displays exploring Scott the scientist. The wider museum houses the Oates Museum, but the main part of the collection is the one-time home of eighteenth century naturalist Gilbert White and is focused upon him, with a scientific narrative for the expedition sitting comfortably within its walls. Two of the funders of this new, more scientific, exhibition were the UK Antarctic Heritage Trust (who funded the aforementioned scientific memorials) and Antarctic Science Limited, both having scientific connections. Yet it is perhaps *RRS Discovery*,

⁹⁸ Jones, M. Sebe, B. Strachan, J. Taithe, B. & Yeandle, P. (2014). Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Britain and France. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42:5. 787-825. p. 806.

Dundee that highlights the most illuminating association between science, Scott and wider applications of scientific narratives.

The preservation of Scott's ship from his first expedition, *RRS Discovery* was a heritage project and an important part of Dundee's regeneration programme, and is also an excellent example of a memorial with a strong scientific message. Its exhibition has two narrative strands: one of Dundee, and the other of Captain Scott, with the latter subject focusing on Scott's story and his research breakthroughs on *Discovery*.⁹⁹ There is a triangle of inter-relationships and identity between Scott, *Discovery* and Dundee, for the science of *Discovery* connects to modern Dundee's image and thus in part serves to historicise the legacy of science in the city itself. Indeed, Christopher A. Whatley has illustrated that *Discovery* 'provided the inspiration for the banner under which the whole town galvanised and presented itself to the outside world' as 'City of Discovery.'¹⁰⁰ Science has become very important to Dundee and is central to its post-industrial identity. Jim Tomlinson has documented that an aspect of 'city of discovery' was 'high technology industry,' of which Dundee University has played a substantial role.¹⁰¹ Moreover, the city is a leading international centre for research in biotechnology, which includes Dundee University, Dundee MediPark (with facilities for leading companies to collaborate with medical researchers), The Scottish Crop Research Institute and Dundee Technopole, home to many leading companies within the biotechnology sector.¹⁰² Aside from biotechnology, Dundee University also has strong connections with the electronic industry, and gaming software has found a home with 'Grand Theft Auto' originating from the city.¹⁰³ Dundee also has a science-based visitor attraction, *Sensation*, adding to its scientific profile.

⁹⁹ The geographic connections of both the ship and the *Discovery* expedition to Dundee are shown as being of paramount importance to the expedition. *Discovery* was made to order for the expedition at Dundee. Once in Antarctica it was trapped in the ice and was in danger of being abandoned. A Dundee whaler Captain was sent to save Scott and his men but the ship was freed from the ice at the final hour!

¹⁰⁰ Whatley, C. *Introduction*, in Tomlinson, J. & Whatley, C. A. (eds.) (2011). *Jute No More: Transforming Dundee*. Dundee: Dundee University Press. p. xxiv.

¹⁰¹ Tomlinson, J. *City of Discovery?* p. xxiv.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* p. 296.

¹⁰² Bio Dundee. Retrieved 6th February 2015, from, www.biodundee.co.uk.

¹⁰³ Tomlinson. *City of Discovery?* pp. 297-8.

It is therefore paradoxical, given the exploitation of Scott the scientist by *RSS Discovery*, that *The Polar Museum* devotes relatively little space in its displays to the subject and instead concentrates on Scott the explorer, although there are some exhibits on Antarctic science. This museum is attached to the Scott Polar Research Institute, the leading international organisation in polar research, founded from the Scott's memorial fund. When it was refurbished in 2010, it was short-listed for The Art Fund's award of 'Museum of 2011,' highlighting that its displays and content had achieved national accolades. The museum has a relatively small area for displays and as a major repository of polar research and artefacts will (unlike other museums) have a choice of what to display. Despite its small size, some of these artefacts such as Oates' sleeping bag are historically important, and need to be given display space, possibly at the expense of scientific exhibits. The website of SPRI stated that:

The polar regions are important both for the history of their exploration, which includes first encounters and subsequent interactions with the native Northern peoples, and for their contemporary significance in the context of global environmental change. We have woven together the many narratives of polar exploration, and the development of scientific investigations of the Arctic and Antarctic in which Scott's expeditions were prominent, culminating with the role of ice and climate at the Poles in the environmental future of our world.¹⁰⁴

This statement shows that despite a lack of floor space in the museum devoted to science, that this subject lies key to the very essence of The Polar Museum.

Just as there has been an explosion of museum exhibits pertaining to Scott, there has been a similar increase in televisual documentaries. *The Secrets of Scott's Hut* is a good example of the documentaries that have re-told Scott's story with a scientific narrative, in this case examining the scientific message of the expedition through an analysis of the objects remaining in the explorer's base camp.¹⁰⁵ Science also features prominently in expedition-led programmes that trace Scott's journey using modern scientific knowledge in contrast to his earlier twentieth century methods. Although, as Heggie argues, exploration itself should

¹⁰⁴ Scott Polar Research Institute. Museum. Retrieved 24th March 2013, from, <http://www.spri.cam.ac.uk/museum/>.

¹⁰⁵ Tonderai, L. (Producer). Green, T. (Director). (2012). *Secrets of Scott's Hut*. UK: BBC.

be considered more as a science,¹⁰⁶ Scott's new role as a scientist rather than an adventurer is part of a wider move for increasing the understanding of Scott, but also – subverting Huntford's quote – making him a suitable hero for a scientific nation.

A picture emerges of the memorialisation of Scott becoming more aligned to science, and yet little evidence of such a scientific turn can be made for the other two case studies. How can this be explained given the strength of change found with Scott's myth and representations? The key possibly lies in the organisations established to preserve the memory of these case studies. The Dunkirk Veterans' Association was set up in 1953, and the Association of Little Ships in 1966. The Dunkirk Veterans' disbanded in 2000, as a requirement of membership was to have been part of the evacuation and by this distinction too few candidates were still alive. The Association of Dunkirk Little Ships (ADLS) is open (as its name suggests) to anyone who owns one of the little ships of Dunkirk and as such is not constrained by human longevity, but is a heritage organisation with a focus on history and its "little ships" rather than science.¹⁰⁷ Similar organisations for mining are the disbanded National Coal Board (1994), the privatised UK Coal (1994), and the National Union of Mineworkers which oversees its memory. The NCB as a disbanded organisation can have no agenda, while UK Coal, judging by the images and video on their website, clearly use science and technology to extract coal.¹⁰⁸ As a private company with a potentially contentious past it seems to prefer anonymity rather than soliciting attention to the technical processes that have helped contribute to lost manpower. The NUM are a union without workers, with their hierarchy akin to the Dunkirk Veterans' inasmuch as there are no new members joining and the debates on the use of science remain contentious. The scientific explanations arguing for declining coal levels promoted by the NCB were rejected by the NUM, providing potential reasons for a rejection of science in memorials. In contrast, Scott left a different legacy, namely the Scott Polar Research Institute, a world leader in scientific research. The institute was established in 1920 using funds from his Memorial Fund,¹⁰⁹ and his fellow

¹⁰⁶ Heggie. Critiques and Contentions.

¹⁰⁷ Association of the Dunkirk Little Ships. Retrieved 22nd February 2013, from, <http://www.adls.org.uk/t1/>.

¹⁰⁸ All of the sixteen images showed machines and the video highlighted the extraction of coal as a mechanical process. UK Coal. Retrieved 22nd February 2013, from, www.ukcoal.com/coal-home.

¹⁰⁹ £75,000 was raised which equates to £5m at today's prices.

explorer on *Terra Nova*, Frank Debenham, was appointed as the institute's first director. Scott's scientific bias formed the foundations for this shrine of academic excellence where his scientific legacy is constantly expanded. It is therefore no coincidence that of the three myths, Scott should be the one with the strong scientific presence in the memorials. This in-depth analysis of Scott's post-industrial memorials and images of science shows a marked change in reactions to science and is one that could be explored further with other case studies and cultural representations to ascertain the potential presence of a wider scientific turn.

Conclusion

The three sections examined have shown the cultural representations of the case studies to have an interesting and changing relationship to science and progress. The first two sections highlighted the striking parallels between the three case studies in their suppression of modern images and the continuing idea of progress in the cultural representations, while the final section examined the emerging interest in science through the medium of Scott's more recent memorials. It was reasoned that the absence of a scientific narrative for the case studies of Dunkirk and coal mining was due to their lack of dynamism and the stable personnel in their organisations like the Little Ships, Dunkirk Veterans or Durham Miner's Association, who cannot reflect this theme as well as it can be for Scott whose Scott Polar Research Institute is a multi-generational, continually changing organisation.

The first section's examination of the suppression of modern images was shown to extend the impact of normal nostalgic representations. The images used in cultural representations were either from a more distant past than was historically the case or more modern images had been suppressed. So for Scott, masted ships and man-hauling were typically depicted rather than his prototype tanks, for Dunkirk it was the little wooden ships rather than the large steel naval vessels and for mining it was the pick-axe rather than automated machinery. It was contended that this extreme historicising of the past rendered the present more advanced and could distort potential perceptions of decline. No research has

been found that examines this aspect of memorials generally and the breadth of diversity of the three case studies gives important opportunities to analyse this aspect given the wide array of their cultural representations. For Dunkirk the suppression of images portraying modernity in favour of more traditional images fits well with Edgerton's 'Warfare State' hypothesis.¹¹⁰ Moreover, consideration was given to how ideas of modernity particularly in coal mining, but also in the inter-war period for Scott, had been treated with suspicion and these cultural representations could provide evidence of this hypothesis.

The second section revealed the complex relationship between the case studies, their cultural representations and decline with the idea of progress. Many commentators on decline, most notably Supple and Tomlinson, have observed the paradox of affluence and declinism. While this section of the thesis – given that coal mining in Durham is examined – did not state that everyone was better off in this age of affluence, it did argue that during the mid-to-late twentieth centuries that the population and country generally experienced a relative general increase of affluence against a backdrop of declinism. This thesis examined the relationship of affluence and decline in cultural representations of which coal mining in Durham is particularly concerned with decline. While it is axiomatic that coal mining in Durham symbolises decline, this section was original in its examination of ways in which parallel readings of affluence could be read within the cultural representations especially the mining museums. The research showed that despite the decline of the industry, the moved to create and extend its heritage provides multiple examples of progress and affluence. Given that the coal mining memorials in Durham had not been previously researched, this aspect of considering them as examples of affluence in the face of decline is also new to the research. Added to this, the comparison of these cultural representations to Captain Scott and Dunkirk was also a new research area, as was using these two case studies of cultural representations as examples of affluence.

The final section considers the emerging narrative of science and as was previously asserted, this narrative mainly concerns Captain Scott. His expedition was scientific but engaged with the public with an emphasis on adventure and sacrifice, rather than science. The moral

¹¹⁰ Edgerton. *Warfare State*.

element given by Scott's tragic demise ensured that after the Second World War and in the period of declinism, the scientific element to this case study lost relevance. However, this section shows that at the turn of the twenty-first century interest in Scott has increased and he has emerged as a man of science as well as one of adventure. Edward Larsen and Solomon have reconsidered the expeditions of Scott within a scientific framework, and rather than analysing Scott with regard to his cultural representations, their work can be seen as an example of this new scientific narrative.¹¹¹ Pertinently, Jones has evaluated the Scott's changing legacy, but this research represents a potentially new angle from which to view Scott. Additionally Dundee's emergence as a scientific city is well documented by Tomlinson, but this research focuses on the expedient use of Scott in this transformation.¹¹²

This chapter has considered three important interactions between the case studies their cultural representations and decline, in the context of science and progress, showing the wealth of interesting observations that can be made from these diverse examples. The similarities for the first two sections to all three case studies were striking, and the single example of Scott for the final section was noteworthy.

¹¹¹ Larson. *An Empire of Ice*. Solomon. *The Coldest March*.

¹¹² Tomlinson. *City of Discovery?*

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

We live in a society increasingly surrounded by cultural objects and events, from the fleeting images on screen, or anniversary celebrations to the more static monuments in our streets. They all reflect their times and some like museum exhibits are constantly updated, reflecting changes in contemporary society. Yet while they are important as historical sources, they have not been used as extensively as more traditional methods of historical research such as written sources. This thesis has shown how rich and original research can be presented by using these visual sources and has shown a working methodology for cultural history of memorialisation.

While this expansive thesis focused on understanding specific and implied relationships to decline, the methodology is transferable to understanding cultural responses to other ideologies or themes. The methodology's key components incorporate: choosing representative case studies with extensive examples; understanding the narratives and importantly the changes in the narratives (their mythical element) over time; and a full knowledge of the ideology or theme in question is needed, alongside gathering a complete or near-complete collection of the cultural representations. It has been extremely useful in this thesis to have the counterpoint of three case studies, which when their similarities have been understood, have demonstrated striking findings. Other historians choosing different case studies and different ideologies and themes such as nationalism or gender would find this broad methodological approach suited to their research.

The research presented in this thesis represents the collection and analysis of over 300 cultural representations for the three case studies. The depth of this database of information was enhanced by including a breadth of different types of examples of cultural representations. While the main focus for research was static memorials, six other types of memorials were used, including moveable memorials like mining banners, moving images, museums, books, web pages and events. Using this large sample and these different forms, the story was told of how the concept of decline had been played out across the three case studies over the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, showing decline as not just a

debate of the chattering classes but also as something that the ‘common man’ or woman experienced and sought to remember in their lives.¹

The exciting and original findings that have been identified in this thesis will be outlined, before a summary of the detailed research questions is given in this conclusion. Returning to the idea of the common man as advocated by Churchill in 1949 and quoted in Chapter 4, one of the main findings of this thesis is evidence of a democratisation of memorials.² In Chapter 4, this was discussed in respect to the democratisation of chivalric imagery, from the time of Scott to the mid-twentieth century, culminating in many respects with the *Daily Herald’s* ‘Order of Industrial Heroism’. Furthermore, this chapter saw the idea of greater gender inclusion in the memorials of the case studies presented. Examples were given of how the representations of all three case studies demonstrated greater gender inclusion by finding ways of depicting the female form in their memorials as perceptions of decline had diminished. This inclusion was even more obvious in the following chapter on Class and Community (Chapter 5) in which the embracement of the social classes in a post-declinst age was presented. The social-levelling effect of National Lottery monies was discussed, as was Giddens’ ideas of social inclusion and the ‘Third Way.’ Clear examples were presented for all three cases in which this social inclusion had been expressed in their post-declinst representations. These included the widening positive inclusion of Edgar Evans in the Scott case study, the use of the “Tommy” helmet to embody the idea of Dunkirk at the National Memorial Arboretum and the broad idea that the “common” coal miner could have his memorial in a civic area alongside earlier statues of the local elite.

Further exciting findings were made in the chapter on Science and Progress (Chapter 6). The first section showed how all three case studies had evidence of suppressing images of modernity and mechanisation throughout the time period used for research in this thesis, linking closely to traditional declinist narratives. For coal mining, a particularly pertinent suggestion was suggested that the willingness to portray older style tools in memorials, given the modernising process of nationalisation, could be a way of expressing the negative

¹ Churchill, W. (1949). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mid-Century Convocation. Retrieved on 17th May 2017, from, <https://www.winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/mit-mid-century-convocation>. (Chapter 4 – Footnote 1)

² Ibid.

legacy of nationalisation of the industry. Indeed it was noted that few memorials remembered the NCB itself and an example was found of a mining banner that had changed from extolling nationalisation in the 1940s to a more traditional image of one of Stephenson's locomotives by 1983. This chapter also described and analysed the changing reception of scientific narratives in declinist and post-declinist Britain, the research for this area being particularly relevant to Captain Scott. It was shown that an image of Scott the scientist - as opposed to Scott the explorer, or Scott the hero for a nation in decline - had emerged in post-declinist times. While his expedition had always had a strong scientific bias, his popular narrative had not focused on this idea. Yet in post-declinist times examples of "Scott the Scientist" have emerged in museums, televisual documentaries and on static memorials.

Another major original finding was with regard to the place of females in the cultural representations of the case studies. While it is noted that all three case studies have biases that are inherently male, the research in this PhD identified the reasons for this bias. This extrapolation of the reasons again highlighted the importance of understanding a subject to identify possible distortions in their narratives. It was furthermore noted the ways in which the cultural representations for the case studies had, until post-declinist times, sought to strengthen their male narratives with overtly masculine images in their representations. In many ways the coal mining monuments of Durham can be viewed as commemorating the decline of the industry whilst offering an idealised version of masculinity in a society no longer rigidly demarcated by gender.

Returning to Clarke and Trebilcock's opening quote from this thesis, in which they highlighted the 'haunting resonance' of decline and its changing forms,³ this thesis has shown how the cultural representations of the three case studies have demonstrated a dynamic relationship to decline. The hypothesis of: 'To what extent do twentieth century cultural representations in Britain reflect prevalent ideas and experiences of decline and declinism?' was tested using the four research questions below:

³ Clarke & Trebilcock, *Preface*, pxiii.

- How have ideas about decline changed throughout the twentieth century?
- How could understanding the myths of the case studies help to appreciate their potential relationship to decline?
- How do the cultural representations analysed directly relate to the different types of decline identified by Tomlinson and post-declinism?
- How do the cultural representations reflect the different types of decline when considered in the context of gender; class and community; and science and progress?

The first chapter answered the research question of how ideas about decline have changed throughout the twentieth century. In this preliminary chapter it was noted that observations of decline from these memorials had at times been strong and direct, demonstrated by the use of the film *Dunkirk* after the Suez crisis and in the mining memorials in Durham since 1993 that depict the demise of the industry in a region.⁴ At other times, the relationship of decline has been less pronounced, rather being extrapolated from the wider context of interest in declinism throughout the twentieth century with three types of declinism being identified: quasi-declinist; declinist and post-declinist. Within this latter post-declinist view of decline, an opposing view was considered, that of anti-declinist thought, in which the idea of decline itself is questioned, the leading academics to consider this being identified as Jim Tomlinson and David Edgerton.⁵

The first chapter also set out to answer the question of how understanding the myths of the case studies helps an appreciation of their potential relationship of decline. Understanding the underlying myths of historical cases studied is an important aspect of modern history, the threads of this argument were also pursued in the following chapter. To answer this question fully, Chapter 1 considered the importance of myths as an object of research while Chapter 2 set out the historiography of the case studies, and their myths. Considerable weight was given in this chapter to the idea presented by Hynes that these myths were not the 'reality' of the case studies – Scott; Dunkirk and Durham coal miner – entirely, but that

⁴ See figure 5.

⁵ Tomlinson. *Thrice Denied*. Edgerton. *Warfare State*. Edgerton. *Science Technology and British Industrial Decline*.

they confirmed ideas of what they meant to the audiences who used those myths.⁶ Equally important was Connelly's observation that myths 'help people relate to the past...they help people make sense of their lives; they provide a popular memory of the past, which can shape expectations of the present and future.'⁷ This thesis has used the idea that myths change to react to the times and that identifying these changes can be a useful tool for historians to assist understanding of the times in which the myths were formed or reshaped.

While changes in cultural representations can be a useful tool to map changes in the myths of the case studies, identifying their myths was not a straightforward task. The third research question asked what the definitions were of the myths for the case studies. It was asserted that Scott's myth - while widely used both in popular culture (for example, Captain Oates' reported statement, 'I may be some time') and as an expression in historical research - has scarcely been defined specifically, nor had Dunkirk's frequently quoted myth. For the Durham coal miner, no research was found that considered describing their changing cultural representations across a long time period as provided in the section above. Scott's myth was identified as having changed through the twentieth century, largely being Scott the adventurer and Polar Knight in quasi-declinist times, a hero for a nation in decline during the declinist era and in post-declinist times we see an emerging image of "Scott the Scientist". For Dunkirk, the myth is a broad idea evoking an emotive response to assertions of nationhood, encompassing ideas of: little ships; amateurism; working together, the beginning of the "People's War"; Churchillian rhetoric; being a seafaring nation; the "miracle" of Dunkirk; heroism; standing alone; having our backs to the wall; and victory in defeat. The Durham coal miner has had changeable images: malleable worker; striker; heroic saviour of his fellow workers; and national worker, ending for this thesis in a post-industrial context in Durham after 1993. What has emerged is an archetypal worker in which the coal miner is presented as an ardent socialist who was willing to fight for the rights of himself and others, exemplified by his strong camaraderie and sense of community.

The third chapter, on the broad theme of decline, tackled the third research question on how the cultural representations directly relate to the different types of decline. It was

⁶ *A War Imagined*. p. 11.

⁷ Connelly. *We Can Take it!* p. 3.

noted how these uncommon subjects all had negative connotations and readings in their narratives and myths. In this chapter, examples were presented of cultural representations that illustrated direct interactions to these different types of decline. An illuminating essay by David Cannadine had connected the two earliest periods of declinism (quasi-declinism and declinism) to prominent politicians in their respective periods. To explore quasi-declinism, Scott's (as in personification of "Scott the Explorer") maritime links were discussed. It was proposed that the expedient use of these maritime images in Scott's cultural representations promoted a positive image of Britain's sea power as it was beginning to ebb. For the discussion on declinism, three televisual and cinematic sources (*Scott of the Antarctic*, *Dunkirk* and *The Last Place on Earth*) were used to illustrate ways in which cultural representations presented decline and could be read as declinist. Although within the analysis the difficulties filmmakers encountered sticking to the intended reception of their material was noted, in particular how in a more apparent way than other sources, audiences are influenced by factors wider than their cinematic directors or televisual work itself.

The third section of the chapter on decline considered cultural representations of the decline of coal mining in Durham, and again a complex relationship was presented. The complexity was examined and explained to be because the monuments erected to mining's decline did not exist in a vacuum but in areas that were constantly changing themselves where the coal mining heritage was becoming more and more resigned to the distant past. These changes were more apparent for the case study of coal mining than the other two case studies given its recent proximity in time and its potential geographic breadth of expression. The example of the mural at South Hetton which had commemorated the passing of the mining industry in the town, with its muted shades, expressed an awareness of decline more than any other memorial in the coalfield. The mural was obviously seen as representing the community and when a new community and resource centre was opened and the mural was demolished, it was recreated with its lines remaining the same but the colours changing to brighter shades representing the hope of learning and opportunities that the new centre would bring to the community. A case study that considered the coal mining monuments in Durham City highlighted a complex relationship to the decline of coal

mining and the modern city as proposed by Atkinson in his autobiography.⁸ Monuments to coal mining were hidden or temporary in the city, which at first glance celebrated its medieval, ecclesiastical and collegiate past at the expense of its industrial heritage. The findings for this section highlighted a compromise between providing cultural representations of industrial decline and a city concentrating on its religious, medieval and university heritage. The final section of the chapter on decline considered the important relationship of nostalgia to decline and its links to debates on heritage. The point was made that while nostalgia fuels heritage, ideas about heritage are constantly in flux. In academia, nostalgia has gone from being a symptom of declinism to a positive expression of change and an industry in its own right. The heritage industry is now referred to without a sneer, unlike the earlier discussions of Hewison and Wright who identified it as evidence of a declining nation.⁹ Instead, the heritage industry is seen as an indicator of prosperity and provider of local employment and business.

The next three chapters answered the final research question and analysed the way in which the three themes of gender, class and community, and science and progress interacted with the case studies and their cultural representations to evidence a changing relationship to decline. Taking the first theme of gender in Chapter 4, the research was considered over the three different periods of decline: quasi-declinism; declinism and post-declinism. The first section examined Scott's monuments and their relationship to quasi-declinism with how fears of Britain changing status potentially influenced the way gender was explored in the cultural representations. It was argued that fears of national decline were concomitant to perceived attacks on masculinity, and to combat this traditional ideals of masculinity were reinforced which can be evidenced in Scott's early memorials. Within this research the potential role images of chivalry had in reinforcing traditional ideals of gender was also considered. A significant finding for this research was that contrary to prevailing academic research on chivalric imagery in memorials as undertaken by Girouard, Fussell, Frantzen and Goebel, the cultural representations for all three case studies

⁸ Atkinson. *The Man Who Made Beamish*.

⁹ Hewison. *The Heritage Industry*. Wright. *On Living in an Old Country*.

maintained chivalric readings towards the end of the twentieth and in some cases into the twenty-first century.¹⁰

The second section of Chapter 4 examined the assertion of masculinity in reaction to declinism emerging in the late 1950s to the end of the twentieth century. It was argued that images of overt physical masculinity were represented at the expense of possible female images as masculinity was under threat. This threat emanated from the spectre of declinism and potentially diminished masculine power, especially in debates on de-industrialisation. Within this section the myths and cultural representations of Dunkirk and coal mining in Durham were considered. For both of these case studies it was observed that there was an exclusion of possible female narratives and cultural representations. For coal mining, the memorials in Durham had almost always excluded references to women, however the research highlighted that after the industry's demise, memorials tended to show a strong, physical masculine image, highlighting the strength needed to work as a coal miner. Much discussion was given in this section of the chapter to the effects of de-industrialisation and their relationship to gender. In many ways the coal mining monuments of Durham can be viewed as marking the decline of the industry whilst offering an idealised version of masculinity in a society no longer demarcated by gender. The final section of the chapter on gender considered the post-declinist period: as it is possible that the pressure to assert masculinity in the shadow of decline has abated, cultural representations of these masculine case studies have embraced a new era of gender inclusion.

Chapter 5 considered the theme of class and community as depicted in cultural representations to the case studies in the context of decline. The chapter considered four aspects of class and community: maritime identity, loss of community, including religious identity and social inclusion. The first section on maritime identity reflected upon how images of the sea had been used in cultural representations of Scott and Dunkirk and how these encouraged feelings of community in Britain, while the hierarchical structures that continue in seafaring organisations make a contrast to everyday life in post-declinist Britain. Furthermore, within this hierarchy the role of the naval officer as epitomised by Scott has

¹⁰ Girouard. *Return to Camelot*. Fussell. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Frantzen. *Bloody Good*. Goebel. *The Great War and Medieval Memory*.

links to cultural explanations of decline and has been played out in dramatic versions of his story on- and off-screen. However, the image of Scott has been resilient to the negative connotations of this “officer type” and its associations with declinism. With regard to the loss of community, three case studies of memorials to coal mining in Durham were used. Fishburn, Ryhope and Washington’s memorials were investigated and while each monument can be viewed as an example of their respective community coming together, the investigations highlighted external influences that had ensured the monuments’ erection and at times a lack of solidarity at some points in the planning stages, itself questioning the nostalgic ideal of togetherness in a community.

The middle section of this chapter on class and community focused on religion, community and declinism and considered the secular role of the Church to ideas of local and national communities and declinism. A paradox was observed that although church attendance has declined and in many respects Britain can no longer be described as a Christian country, the significance of the Anglican Church in remembrance and the traditional ways of mourning has remained. This section was not asserting that there was a direct link between declinism and church decline but observed in the time of declinism and post-declinism the continued relevance of the Church in forms of remembrance. One way in which this engagement is strengthened is the Church’s continuous engagement and interaction to local and national communities. This significance seems to be particularly promoted in post-industrial time with churches seeking out new anniversaries, memorials or even (as with mining memorials) new ceremonies to reinforce this role. This civil role of the Church in declinist and post-declinist times has been an important finding for all three of the case studies. The final section on social inclusion was similar to the research on gender inclusion, in as much as it was observed that in post-declinist times more social inclusion had been made. This enhanced democratisation of cultural representations were particularly evidenced by the increased and more positive treatment made to Edgar Evans in memorials to the *Terra Nova* expedition, and the mass of memorials to coal miners in Durham.

The final chapter (Chapter 6 - Science and Progress) saw that the three case studies were observed to have a widely different relationship to the theme in post-declinist times. However, the first two sections, which considered the suppression of modern images and

the continuing idea of progress from quasi-declinst and post-declinst times, had striking parallels between the three case studies.

The first section's examination of the suppression of modern images detailed how examples from the cultural representations of the case studies used images from a more distant past than was historically accurate, and that often more appropriate modern images had been suppressed. It was contended that, by historicising the past, the idea of progress in the present was distorted, rendering the present more advanced. These observations fitted well into Edgerton's 'Warfare State' hypothesis.¹¹ For coal mining, it was observed that in cultural representations this distorting perception of the technical advances in coal mining had the effect that images on memorials actually belonged to the era before nationalisation. The second section, on the idea of progress, revealed the complex relationship between the case studies, their cultural representations and decline in relation to the idea of progress. It considered the paradox of affluence and declinism, as during the declinist times the population and country generally experienced a relative general increase of affluence. The relationship between affluence and the case studies was examined in this section and while this is a contentious area for coal mining as it symbolises decline, this section argued that there were positive ways of reading affluence within the cultural representations, especially in mining museums and regeneration projects. In particular, these showed affluence in terms of opportunities to consume, greater leisure and images of improvement.

The final section of the chapter on science and progress considered the emerging narrative of science and in this the cultural representations of Captain Scott differed from the other two case studies, as in the post-declinst period Scott has had an increasingly scientific narrative. It was argued that while his expedition had been scientific, the way it engaged with the public was through an emphasis on adventure rather than science and this remained in quasi-declinst and declinist times. However, at the turn of the twenty-first century (in post-declinst times), Scott has emerged as a man of science rather than an adventurer. Yet this narrative has not been taken up by the other two case studies: it was reasoned that the absence of a scientific narrative for the case studies of Dunkirk and coal

¹¹ Edgerton. *Warfare State*.

mining was due to their lack of dynamism and the changing personnel in their organisations, unlike Scott whose Polar Research Institute is multi-generational and continually changing.

The hypothesis of: 'To what extent do twentieth century cultural representations in Britain reflect prevalent ideas and experiences of decline and declinism?' was tested. Having summarised the research questions above it is apparent that a link can be made to the cultural representations explored in this thesis and ideas of decline and declinism. Clearly in parts, some links are stronger than others, but readings of decline and declinism can be made across the vast array of cultural representations presented in the case studies. As such, the findings in this thesis mark this method of studying cultural representations as a valuable mode of study as well as supporting the academic field of decline and declinism as still being a valid and relevant area of research. Indeed it should be noted that the useful model and ambitious area of study of this thesis has yielded highly original findings shown above in this sizeable undertaking. The research has pioneered new areas of study, such as the study of industrial memorials and the consideration of societal attitudes to science.

In conclusion, this complex, rich thesis demonstrates how historians can use cultural representations to understand how change is reflected in these wide-ranging memorials, presenting research that shows how people use them explicitly and implicitly. A case has been presented how Nora's *lieux de memoire*¹² are not fixed in people's minds, but change over time, reacting to key themes in contemporary society: changes in declinist thoughts and changes in attitudes to gender, class and ideas of science.

¹² Nora. *Between memory and history*

Appendix

Scott – An extensive list of Scott’s early memorials is listed by Max Jones in *The Last Great Quest*.¹

This is intended as a supplement to this list.

Figure 21: Supplement to Scott's memorials

Memorial	Date	Place	Website/ Reference
Statue	1915	Portsmouth Historic Dockyard.	Smith, C. (2007). Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/548114 .
Stained Glass	1913	Dunblane Cathedral.	www.rampantscotland.com/visit/blvisitdunblane.htm .
Boat – HMS Scott	1917 1936 1996	Royal Navy.	Royal Navy. Retrieved 16 th December 2016, from, www.royalnavy.mod.uk/our-organisation/the-fighting-arms/surface-fleet/survey/ocean-survey-ship/hms-scott .
‘Lux Perpetua Luceat’ –Statue	1922	SPRI, Cambridge.	SPRI. Grounds. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.spri.cam.ac.uk/about/history/grounds.html .
Plane – Robert Falcon Scott	1953	Scottish Museum of Flight, North Berwick.	Blampied, G. (2015). Vickers Viscount Network. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.vickersviscount.net/Index/VickersViscount007History.aspx .
Edgar Evans Building, with plaque and skis inside.	1964 2010	Whale Island, Portsmouth.	Portsmouth Council. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.portsmouth.co.uk/news/local/edgar-evans-building-demolished-on-whale-island-1-1248274 (The first building was demolished and a new building was erected.)
Sculpture	2003	Cardiff Bay.	Figure 20.
British Antarctic Trust Monument	2011	St Paul’s Cathedral.	www.antarctic-monument.org/in .
British Antarctic Trust Monument	2011 2015	SPRI and Falkland Islands.	www.antarctic-monument.org/in .
Wilson’s Flag	2012	Gloucester Cathedral.	Re-introduced.

¹ JONES, *Last Great Quest*, p295

Memorial	Date	Place	Website/ Reference
Monument	2012	Glen Prosen.	Scottish Civic Trust. (2013). Scott Wilson Memorial. Retrieved 7 th February 2015, from, www.myplaceawards.org/scott-wilson-memorial-sculpture.aspx .
Blue plaque	2014	Swansea.	BBC. (28 th November, 2014). Polar hero Edgar Evans plaque is unveiled in Swansea. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-south-west-wales-30228955 .

Figure 22: Dunkirk – Main memorials, other memorials can be found on the Imperial War Museum Register of War memorials ²

Memorial	Date	Place	Website/Reference
Stained Glass	1950	St George's Church, Chatham.	www.flickr.com/photos/41621108@N00/7942768266 .
Forest of Thankfulness	1953	Battle Abbey.	Imperial War Museum. Memorial 17150. Retrieved 22 nd December 2015, from, http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/17150 .
Admiral Ramsay Window	1956 and 1984	Portsmouth Cathedral.	Figure 9.
Stained Glass	1961	St George the Martyrs Church, Ramsgate.	www.bbc.co.uk/kent/content/image_galleries/ramsgate_walk_gallery.shtml?7
Fishermen Memorial	1972	Leigh on Sea.	www.flickr.com/photos/60445511@N05/9741076514 .
Memorial	1975	Dover Promenade.	http://doveruk.blogspot.co.uk/2011/at-going-down-of-sun-dunkirk-war.html .
Plaque – from Mole	1986	Bury St Edmunds, Cathedral Gardens.	Imperial War Museum. Memorial 5185. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/5185 .
Casket	1987	St George the Martyr Church, Ramsgate	Imperial War Museum. Memorial 35010. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/35010 .
Casket	1990	St Nicholas Church, Whitehaven.	Imperial War Museum. Memorial 62305. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/62305 .
Plaque	1990	Torre Abbey.	Imperial War Museum. Memorial 25776. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/25776 .
Plaque – from Mole	1990	Southwell Minister.	Imperial War Museum. Memorial 27437. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/27437 .

² <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search>.

Memorial	Date	Place	Website/ Reference
Stained glass	1990	Bulwell Church, Nottinghamshire.	Imperial War Museum. Memorial 68034. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/68034 .
Plaque	1992	Stafford.	Cragg, G. Stafford. Dunkirk Veteran's Association. Retrieved 17 th December 2015, from, http://www.warmemorialphotos.co.uk/staffordshire/stafford .
Plaque	1998	St Peter and St Paul Cathedral, Sheffield.	Imperial War Museum. Memorial 46818. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/46818 .
Dunkirk Memorial	1999	National Memorial Arboretum.	National Memorial Arboretum. <i>Remember</i> . p. 40.
Stained Glass	1999	St Philip and St Jacobs, Bristol.	Harris, W. (18 th March, 2014). Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, https://www.flickr.com/photos/pefkosmad/8570375245/in/photostream/ .
Admiral Ramsay Statue	2000	Dover Castle.	https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/64/RamsayStatueDover.JPG/220px-RamsayStatueDover.JPG .

Figure 23: Mining - figurative memorials

Memorial	Date	Place	Website/Reference
Disaster Memorial	1882	Tudhoe.	www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-databse/9692 .
Disaster memorial	1882	Trimdon.	www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-databse/9692 .
Bas Relief	1953	Easington Cemetery.	Figure 18 and 19.
Mural	1963	County Hall, Durham.	http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/a-durham-miners-gala-day-scene-43882 .
Nativity	1972	Durham Cathedral.	https://thehaynesblog.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/photo-8.jpg .
Miner's Heads – Sculpture	1989	Redhills, Durham.	https://farm3.staticflickr.com/2570/3931477315_c96519d111.jpg .
'The Miner' - sculpture	1990	Leadgate / Annfield Plain.	Figure 12.
'Meeting Point' - sculpture	1992	Spennymoor.	www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9932/ .
'Beacon of Europe' – Clock Tower	1992	Ferryhill.	Dixon, O. (21 st April, 2006). Beacon of Europe. Retrieved 16 th June 2015, from, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/155875 .
'King Coal' - Sculpture	1992	Pelton Fell.	Figure 11.
'The Putter' - Sculpture	1995	Redhills, Durham.	Figure 10.
'Pit Wheel' – sculpture	1995	Ryhope.	www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9857/ .
Disaster Memorial	1995	West Stanley.	www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9893 .
'Unity is Strength'	1996	Murton.	Public Monuments and Sculpture Association. Unity is Strength. Retrieved 16 th June 2015, from, www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/10030/ .
'Spirit of Haswell' – Sculpture	1996	Haswell.	www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/9957/ .
Stained Glass	1997	Durham Cathedral.	Figure 6.
'Men of steel' – Sculpture	1997	Stadium of Light.	www.flickr.com/photos/tonyworrall/14214479413/ .
'Angel of the North' sculpture	1998	Gateshead.	Figure 4.

Memorial	Date	Place	Website/ Reference
Mural	1990s	South Hetton	http://www.heritage-explorer.co.uk/web/he/searchdetail.aspx?id=1832&crit=one . And http://dre.durham.gov.uk/pgDre.aspx?ID=DR E11739 .
The Gala - Boundary Marker	1990s	Thornley.	http://www.waynemarkwortstone.com .
Miner -Boundary Marker	1990s	Thornley.	www.waynemarkwortstone.com .
'Looking out' Statue	2002	Craghead.	Glenwright, P. (23 rd September 2006). Sculpture of Miner Craghead near Stanley. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/245752 .
Miner	2003	Fishburn.	Figure 14.
Gate post Bas-relief	2007	Whitburn.	www.marsdenbannergroup.btck.co.uk/IndustrialCoastline .
Planter with miner	2008	Ferryhill Station.	Hewitson, S. (22 nd July 2008). New Miner Statue for Ferryhill. Retrieved 16 th June 2015, from, www.ferryhill.gov.uk/pressreleases/releases/080723_Miners_Statue.pdf .
Pitcage	1990s	Easington.	Curtis, A. (12 th November 2009). Pit Cage Monument, Easington Colliery. Retrieved 22 nd December 2015, from, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1578726 .
Pit Pony Marker	2009	Ryhope.	www.aboutmyarea.co.uk/images/imgstore/508_kz4lphjqjs.jpg .
Stained Glass	2010	Sunderland.	Figure 13.
'Working in a low seam' - Sculpture	2010	Langley Moor.	Durham County Council. Artwork Depicts Mining History.
Miner Statue	2011	Elba Park.	www.groundwork.org.uk/Sites/tyneandwear/pages/elba-park .
'The Brothers waitin' t' gan down' - Sculpture	2011	Seaham	www.seaham.com/ .
Roundel in timeline on pavement floor	2011	Market Place, Durham.	Northern Echo. (5 th February 2011). Sculptor Shows Design of the Timeline. Retrieved 17 th December 2015, from, www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/news/8835550.Sculptor_shows_design_of_the_timeline/ .

Memorial	Date	Place	Website/ Reference
Family group - Sculpture	2012	Washington.	Figure 15.
Family group – Sculpture	2015	Esh Winning.	www.durhamtimes.co.uk/news/13791816.Miners_memorial_ends_long_journey_to_take_place_in_ex_pit_village/?ref=mr&lp=13 .
I Ain't Gonna Work on Maggie's Farm No More	2015	Horden.	Sunderland Echo. (2015). Miner Statue to show how closures 'ripped hearts out of villages'. 3 rd August 2015.

Figure 24: Mining – other notable memorials

Memorial	Date	Place	Website / reference
Memorial plaque	1947	Durham Cathedral.	www.marsdenbannergroup.btck.co.uk/MemorialPage .
Remembrance Book	1947	Durham Cathedral.	Alan. (8 th September 2014). Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.flickr.com/photos/alanhowe/16232792372 .
Winding Tower	1997	Stadium of Light, Sunderland.	www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2851869 .
Miners' Lamp	1997	Craghead.	Graham, R. (25 th October 2014). Miners' Lamp at Craghead. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/4217553 .
Miners' Lamp	1997	Stadium of Light, Sunderland.	Bishop, R. (2006). Miners' Lamp, Stadium of Light. Retrieved 21 st October 2015, from, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/139122 .
Disaster memorial	1997	Annfield Plain.	Dunn, B. (2010). 1947 Louisa Colliery Disaster. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.dmm.org.uk/memorial/9478m-01.htm .
Miners' Lamp	2000	Mainsforth.	Duncan, K. (2013). Mainsforth Colliery Memorial. Retrieved 17 th December 2015, from, www.dmm.org.uk/memorial/m001-10.htm .
Miner's Wheel forming a flower bed	2001	Easington.	Curtis, A. (12 th November 2009). Memorial Garden Easington Colliery. Retrieved 17 th December 2015, from, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1578485 .
'Roundy' – Sculpture	2002	Ushaw Moor.	Community Walk. (2014). Ushaw Moor, Durham. Retrieved 16 th December 2015, from, www.communitywalk.com/map/list/423787?order=0 .
Miners' Lamp	2000s	Quarrington Hill.	Duncan, K. (2006). Quarrington Hill Colliery Memorial. Retrieved 17 th December 2015, from, www.dmm.org.uk/memorial/q999-03.htm#top .
Miners' Lamp	2005	Westoe, South Shields.	Dunn, B. (2009). Westoe Colliery Memorial. Retrieved 17 th December 2015, from, www.dmm.org.uk/memorial/w008-01.htm .
'Mining Banners' – Sculpture	2011	Elba Park.	All things Bournmoor. Elba Park. Retrieved 19 th May 2017, from, https://sites.google.com/site/allthingsbournmoor/elba-park .
Mural	2000s	Thrislington.	Duncan, K. (2002). Thrislington Colliery Memorial. Retrieved 17 th December 2015, from, http://www.dmm.org.uk/memorial/t003-02.htm .

List of Mining Wheels

- Bear Park
- Blackhall
- Burnhope
- Chopwell
- Coxhoe
- East Boldon
- Fishburn
- Handen Hold
- Herrington
- Hetton Lyons
- Horden
- Kelloe
- Kibblesworth
- Murton
- Sacriston
- Seaham
- Shildon
- Shotton
- South Hetton
- Thornley
- Trimdon Grange
- Washington
- West Cornforth
- Westoe
- Wheatley Hill

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Conference Papers

Hewison, R. (May, 2013). The Heritage Industry Revisited. Paper presented at Annual Lecture, at University of Leicester.

Crangle, R. (March, 2010). Miners and Magic Lanterns: Some historical views of 'the collier's life' from a century ago. Paper presented at: Digging the Seam: Cultural Reflections and the Consequences of the 1984/5 Miners' Strike, at University of Leeds.