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War Memorial Sculpture
- an extension of power structures

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Commemorative War Memorial Sculpture has been used by ruling authorities, (Democratic/Socialist government, Monarchy, Totalitarian Dictatorship) as an instrument to reinforce and impose their own social and political plans for the state in which they rule.

These authorities have seized the opportunity to use this type of monumental sculpture to endorse and validate their right to power. That is to say that these powers see in monumental sculpture an effective means of communicating their 'message'.

War Memorial sculpture expresses reverence for the dead while at the same time honouring their sacrifice. Usually this public sculpture form disguises the latent function of the sculpture, i.e. to express the political ideals of the organisation that governs regardless of those who have died.

Often these public sculptures were conceived in the network of the bureaucratic apparatus, hence the very 'soul' of the sculpture lies in the wish to express a statement on behalf of those who govern. The artist who had physically made possible these forms had little control in what the final piece would express or alternatively, they chose symbols to express effectively what they were asked to, especially in 19th century France. In this thesis I will discuss these issues by dividing it into three main areas.

FRANCE IN THE 19TH CENTURY:

During a succession of wars and internal political upheavals, it became necessary to launch and relaunch a series of often conflicting ideologies. As the pendulum swung from

neo-imperial to extreme left-wing republican (and back again), the public monument had to be adjusted and in some cases destroyed or reconstructed to take into account current modes of thought.

BRITAIN AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR:

Whilst it had not always been an accepted part of British thinking to glorify war (the armed forces being sometimes seen as necessary evil), with the advent of World War I the soldier was portrayed (especially in Charles S. Jagger's work) as the embodiment of heroism. The war was costly. Never before had one conflict claimed so many British lives and the benefits had seemed few. The attempts to glorify the struggle have to be seen in the context of widespread anti-war sentiment.

A JUST CAUSE? AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM 1955 -1975

An interesting aspect of the Vietnam War was the fact that the American government tried for so long to conceal it's involvement. It had become a thorny 'moral' problem and needed to be presented to the public with great care. There was a difficulty in reconciling a simplistic personal morality with the complex needs and aspirations of an expanding World power. The eventual withdrawal from the conflict by America left the nation confused and angry. The monument erected to the dead in Washington, is perhaps more than any other of the monuments discussed in this thesis a genuine expression of mourning.

CHAPTER 1

The notion of art as elevating, uplifting and educational for the whole community and not merely the elite, was recognised in various political contexts in 18th and 19th Century France.

Statues and public monuments that were erected to the Monarchy in the Royal Squares in France during the 18th Century were demolished after the 1789 Revolution (which displaced the Monarchy). Radicals at the National Assembly proposed that public monuments which supported the old Monarchial system be destroyed. There soon followed a series of destruction of these 'icons' across the country. The eradication of these effigies concurs with the influential potency of the public sculptural form as an extension of power structures.

With the upheaval in French society, the power and control that was once held by the Monarchy had now passed to those who for so long had been subject to this control (i.e. into the hands of the new middle classes). The new regime wished to express the accomplishments of its existence. Realization (through the previous destruction of monuments) of the effective function of public sculpture to contain 'messages' devised to suit those in power was manifest by the new investments made into art production to articulate and support the new regime. Public sculpture could be used to embody the political, social and moral principles of the new power system. Ensuring these effects meant that monuments which contained these 'messages' were publicly placed throughout the provinces in France.

The monumental sculptural form was recognised to possess the power to communicate principles on a large and impressive scale. The cost of executing large scale projects would have been impossible without the patronage system. The cost of

Fig (1)

Fig (2)

materials, plaster casts, marble or bronze would greatly limit the creativity of the sculptor. Sculpture demanded great cash outlays before any work was done. The fact that very little experimentation occurred, or that great or new ideas were expressed through sculpture can be understood by the financial restraints of this type of art production as compared to painting which required very little expense in comparison to sculpture.

When sculptors were commissioned to do work it became inevitable that the opinions and attitudes of the people who were paying for the work were reflected in the finished piece. As the greater amount of sculptures were commissioned by the State, the work had to conform to the required standards set by the commissioning body. The sculptor had little choice in developing new directions or ideas. As the government of 18th and 19th century France was the main patron of sculpture their greatest concern was that it should connect traditional sculptural forms with the great achievements (military victory) of the State. The Trajan Column (106 - 113 AD), (Fig. 1.) served as the 'model' for The Vendome Column (1810), (Fig. 2.) in Paris. The association of the new French Empire with that of classical Rome through sculpture, demonstrates the desire of the new power to be perceived in a legitimate and glorious context.

With the constant changing of government in France, sculpture even became 'reworked'. Work started under one regime would be changed either by title or altering the design to suit the politics of the existing power structure. The high costs of producing work was the main reason for this. When government switch-overs occurred, existing sculptures were often reinterpreted to support the new regime.

The Vendome Column (as it is called today) is a public commemorative monument that was physically changed after it had first been inaugurated. This change was parallel to the political situation of the day. The monument had been conceived by Vivant Dumont, political advisor to Napoleon Bonaparte I, Emperor of France (1804 - 1815). He persuaded Napoleon to erect a monument for the glory of the army who had defeated the joint Russian and Austrian forces at Auterlitz in 1805. Bronze from the defeated armie's cannons would be used to cast the column. The column is 920 feet high, around which a spiral frieze (divided into 76 sections) depicts scenes from the French campaign of 1805.

When for a time it seemed Napoleon I would marry a Russian Grand-duchess he considered removing scenes of his Grande Armee defeating the Russian forces. This apparently caused distress and offence to his officers, so the original design remained. This suited Napoleon as he then married an Austrian instead. This caused problems too, as the original title of the monument had been The Austerlitz Column. The solution had been to dedicate it to the army, hence it was called the Column of the Grande Armee.

The column served as a medium whereby the changing regimes in the remainder of the 19th century could symbolically express their power and control. The Vendome Column had been originally topped with a statue of Napoleon I presented like the Roman Emperor Ceaser. Chaudet, sculptor of the figure wanted to create an image of Napoleon in Roman antique attire as he believed it would complement the rest of the column.

When Napoleon I was defeated at the Battle of Waterloo (in 1815), the Bourbon Monarchy returned to power. The statue of Napoleon on top of the Vendome Column was removed and replaced with the White Flag of the Bourbons. The bronze from

Fig (3)

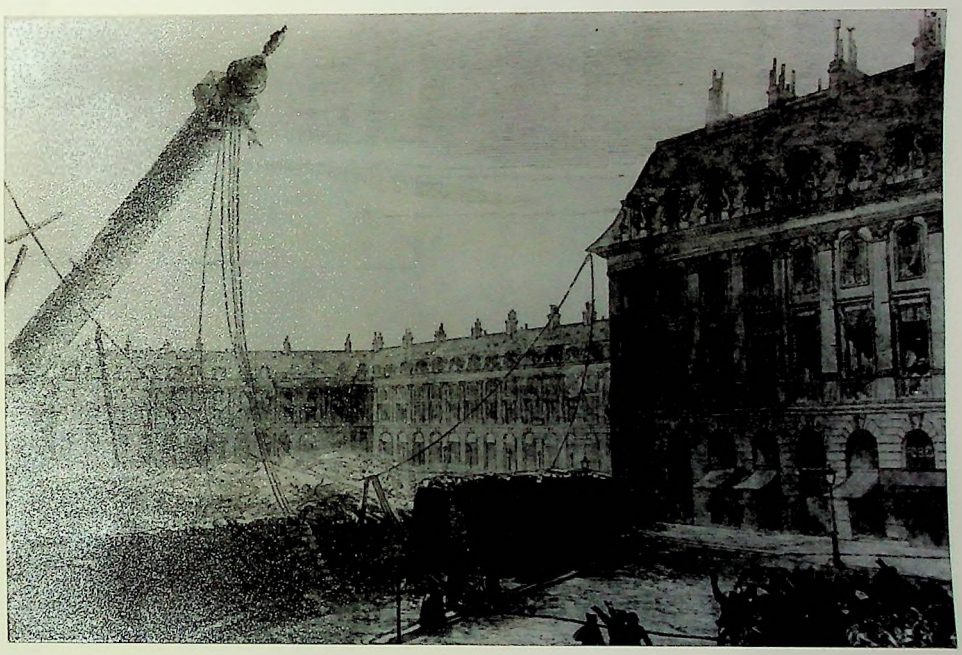

Fig (4)

the melted down statue of Napoleon I was used to replace an equestrian statue of King Henri IV. This was a symbolic statement of the return of the Monarchy Rule. By destroying the figure of Napoleon they were effectively demonstrating the defeat of the Napoleonic regime. The King, Louis XVIII ordered that all of the previously destroyed statues from the pre-revolution (1789) era be replaced, symbolising the restoration of the Monarchy to its 'rightful position'. The King ensured control over what type of sculpture was erected in public. In 1816 he declared (through statute) that no public monument could be erected without preliminary authorization from the court. The Crown, through this censorship of imagery, had gained absolute power in controlling publicly viewed sculpture in France[1].

With the fall of the Restoration government in 1830, the July Monarchy (called so after the Revolution in July) under Louis-Philippe ordered that a new statue of Napoleon I should be made for the top of The Vendome Column. The government held a competition for the commission which stated that Napoleon must be depicted in his historical military costume as the army depicted on the frieze were also depicted in historical military dress. The winning entry was Little Corporal (Fig. 3) by Seurre.

However, when the July Monarchy fell (1848) and the second Empire was established under Napoleon III, the statue of Napoleon I by Seurre was replaced with a replica of the original statue by Chaudet. Napoleon III's claim to his political position relied heavily upon the fact that he was the nephew of Napoleon I. He had used his uncle's name and his military and political achievements to gain support. Through the Vendome Column, Napoleon III could propagate an ideology that his regime was related (by blood) to the great Napoleon I, and Napoleon I was as great as the greatest Roman

Emperor Ceaser. Through the column, Napoleon III sought to legitimize his right to rule and to inform his fellow countrymen of the glory France would enjoy under his regime.

The very symbolic use of The Vendome Column by Napoleon III became the pinpointed hatred of the rebellious 'Commune' (who had sought the overthrow of Napoleon III). So vexed by the Column and what it represented the Communards pulled it down in 1871 (Fig. 4). The Column was re-erected in 1875 by the Third Republic.

The volatile emotional outbursts which are reflected in the fall and rise and the continuing changes in The Vendome Column demonstrate clearly the understanding of the function of the monumental sculptural form to express concepts devised for and by political systems. However, there was an even more deliberate and focused attempt to use monumental sculpture to impose and intimidate the public: while the Arc de Triomphe (Fig. 5) presents to the viewer in a narrative manner the historical events of France from 1792 to 1815, this cannot alter the fact that intent, and to a large extent, the design was devised by Adolf Thiers, Minister for the Interior of the July Monarchy.

Work on the Arc de Triomphe had started in 1806 under Napoleon I. The original idea was to commemorate the victory of the Grande Armee. The monument would be sited at a prime location at The Etoile, which was an important entrance to the city. The surrounding space would be dominated by the massive overwhelming presence of the monument which would demand the full attention of those who passed it. The site had been ideally selected near the Palais des Tuileries which evoked heroic and historic reference in the French people.

Fig (5)

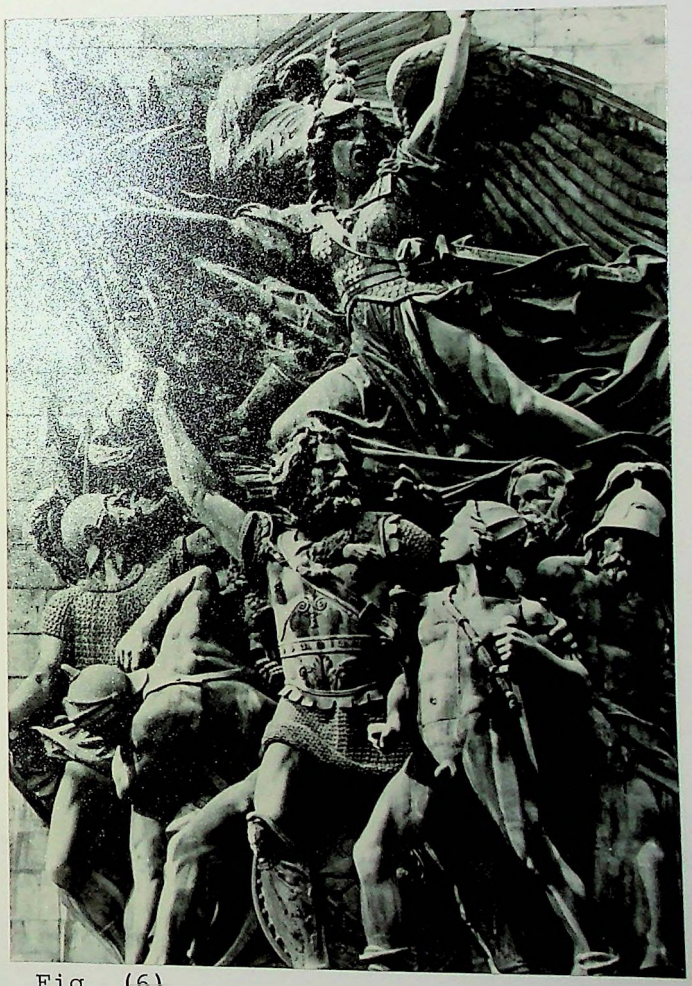

Fig (6)

When Napoleon I was defeated in 1814 the Arch was incomplete. With the advent of the Restoration government the architect then in charge of the project wanted the new government to reconsider the idea for the monument. Could the monument by used to declare the glory of the Bourborn Monarchy? The ideas of The Restoration were never realized and were completely forgotten when the July Monarchy took control from the Restoration government in 1830.

Ideas for the Arch were changed with the July Monarchy itself. Guillamme-Abel Blouet had begun to reorganise work on the Arch in 1830 which was now to be dedicated to all the armies of France since 1792. The assumption of the July Monarchy here, in dedicating the Arch to 'all the French armies since 1792'[2], was confidently predicting the future of France under their control. The permanence of the monument structure reflected the wish of the July Monarchy to keep the ruling power in a stabilizing and everlasting form.

Blouet was considering four 'trophees' (relief sculptures) for the front and back of the Arch. He had considered depicting scenes of French victories over other European countries through these 'trophees'. Another idea had been to applaud the prosperity that France enjoyed by using symbols of Commerce and Art, Science, War and Agriculture on the reliefs. He would have used the relevant Roman Gods to symbolically express this idea.

The fact that the final work bears no resemblance to these ideas lies in the powerful hands of Adolf Thiers. Thiers assumed a large amount of the responsibility for the project, so much so that the final 'trophees' were based on his own concepts for the use of this monument in terms of political benefits. He doubled his popularity by stating that he deliberately chose artists who did not belong to the Academy

implying the government's intention to support the Arts on a wider scale.

Thiers insisted on specific dates for the 'trophees' for the Arch. It was of utmost importance that the sculptures would document historical events between 1792 and 1815. Thiers chose 1792 as the date that represented the beginning of the modern era in France (overthrow of the Bourbons). The next date 1810, Thiers used to pinpoint the height of Napoleon I achievements. The third 'trophee' was dated 1814, a date that tormented the French people as it was the year Napoleon I was defeated. But Thiers twisted the meaning of this date to represent the unifying of the French people against the foreign invaders. The final date was the most significant to Thiers. 1815 'France at peace' implied that from that moment onwards France was ready to be ruled under a stabilized government. With the July Monarchy in position, the final episode indicated that the new regime will guard against further revolutionary upheavals.

The commissions for the sculptures were given out in 1833. Francois Rude would do 1792 - The Departure of the Volunteers, Jean-Pierrre Cortot was given The Triumph of 1810. Antoine Etex would be responsible for The Resistance of 1814 and the Peace of 1815 . In the sculptures there is again a definite link made with the Roman Empire. Figures are clothed in Roman costume and wear Roman armour. The allegorical style employed in the execution of the sculptures, removes the historical realism that could have proven too provocative for the government .

1792 - Departure of the Volunteers, (Fig. 6) by Francois Rude is by far the most dynamic of the four sculptures. The top figure, the Genius of War, cries out to the figures below. Her face and body are supercharged with emotional force. Her

Fig (7)

Fig (8)

body stretches diagonally through the compositional space, appearing to break out of the relief itself. The composition of the figures beneath the Genius is reflected through the direction of their limbs and weapons, a movement which reinforces and relates to the Genius herself. On the same side of the Arch is Cortot's Triumph of Napoleon I 1810 (Fig. 7). The basic structure of the composition follows that of Rudes. However, as the 'trophee' is supposed to depict the triumphs of Napoleon the composition is interpreted in a static way. The Genius of Fame floats above the figure of Napoleon who stands still as he is about to be crowned by a female figure. The crowning ceremony in the sculpture is removed from pomp and splendour associated with the French Monarchy, and has closer connections with a ceremonial crowning in classical Rome.

On the Neuilly side of the monument, Etex's 1814 Resistance (Fig. 8), is presented through the figure of a young male standing in the foreground of the sculpture trying to protect the older man and the woman with the young child. Behind this central figure a man is fatally struck from his horse. The Genius of Resistance gently projects forward over the figures beneath, restrained in emotion compared to Rude's Genius of War. The final sculpture 1815 Peace (Fig. 9), is virtually a static composition, in relief. In the foreground, a male figure is putting his sword away, while the background is layered with symbols of France at peace. A female figure holds her young child, a man kneels and gathers wheat. Behind the central male figure an ox is yoked into control by another male. The top figure of Minerva (equated with the Greek Goddess Athena) open-armed embraces this scene as Theirs hoped that his country would accept the July Monarchy in power. The use of these symbols in the final sculpture demonstrate the understanding that conformity could be achieved through this great war memorial. The date 1815 is assumed by Thiers to

Fig (9)

Fig (10)

express the end of all revolutionary tendencies of the French people thus preparing the pathway for the legitimate rule of his government.

It is undoubted that the conception for the final project if found in the political arena. The role of the sculptor is minuscule in comparison as his ideology does not exist within the work that he has created. This was an accepted understanding of sculpture at this time as the aesthetics for sculpture depended primarily on the actual ability in rendering a form as opposed to the contemporary concerns with the idea and concept for the work. Sculptors of this period were usually from artistical backgrounds - their parents often skilled craftworkers. The means of producing sculpture was closely linked with the industrial 'bronze foundry'. Painters, on the other hand, generally came from middle class backgrounds and were faster in exploring new ideas and styles. Eugene Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People (1830), (Fig. 10) is an example of this.

Yet the flexibility required (of the artist) for making sculpture at this time is understood when Francois Rude attached his name to the monument 'Full of Glory for the King, the Prince and the Army'[3] . Rude had previously been an avid supporter of Napoleon I; it is unusual then that he would show his allegiance to the King through his work. This did not relate to his personal conviction as his wife had explained in her letters to a friend that, Rude had said "it would be too beautiful to be capable of rendering what one really felt that's the only desirable thing nothing else counts"[4]. We can conclude that Rude accepted the Commission for two reasons. The first, like any other sculptor of that time, the immediate financial rewards would be desirable. Secondly, his name would be famous for having a piece of work on such a vast public monument. The latter reason would have projected his

name into the small world of sculpture as observed by the critic Theore when, in 1847, he said, 'there are not half a dozen sculptors in Paris who can make a living without the publicity of the Salon and state patronage '[5] .

In Rude's later career he had the opportunity to create work that he felt expressed his personal political convictions in the sculpture. He was asked by a leading Republican, Arago to make a tomb for Godefroi Cavaignac. Cavaignac had been a radical republican feared by Theirs's government. He was exiled but returned home and began to conspire against the July Monarchy. He died from an illness in 1845 and never realized any of his aims. Rude felt he was lucky and honoured to do the work on Cavaignac's tomb. We can assume this is how he truly felt about the project, as when Arago had asked him to do the work, he answered: 'You want me to make a mausoleum for Godefroi Cavaignac - I will do it for nothing'[6] . Rude saw in Cavaignac a hero, like Napoleon I who had struggled in the cause of Liberty.

Rude was also asked to do a sculpture of Marshel Ney, (a resurrected 'hero' by Napoleon III) who had been shot by the Restoration government in 1815. The concept for the sculpture came from Napoleon III. He wanted to use art as a tool for convincing the French people of his intentions to be the defender of right. Napoleon III relied heavily on the myth and deeds of Napoleon I to ensure his claim and position in power. Rude, was only too happy to do the work as it coincided with his own politics. Marshel Ney had sworn allegiance to the King when he set out to capture Napoleon I, instead of doing so he joined forces with Napoleon and advanced his army to Moscow (his success was short lived and he was shot under the orders of Louis XVIII).

It was sheer luck that brought this type of work to Rude. As a sculptor of this time, he had to compromise his beliefs to obtain commissions but he later received work that complemented his own enthusiastic politics.

The role of the government as patron the arts leaves me in no doubt that such public monuments and statues would not exist but for the fact that there were perceived benefits in erecting these monuments. Sculpture had now been realized in public spaces as a way of expressing ideas. One is tempted to ask the question whether Rude would have worked at all on projects that did conicide with his own personally held polictical beliefs if French History had not taken this course.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1.

1. Albert Boime Hollow Icons, p. 16.

2. Ibid. p. 37.

3. Ibid. p. 38.

4. Ibid. p. 41.

5. Ibid. p. 4.

6. Henry A. Millon, Linda Nochlin (Eds.) Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics, p. 101.

CHAPTER 2

The British ruling class, that is the association of the interest groups and classes (political, aristocracy, upper and middle classes, nouveau riche and the monarchy) who dominate the process of power and control, had been subtle in directing areas of art as a way of communicating 'messages' that resulted in benefits for their class. The 19th century did not see in Britain such radical swings in governmental structure as were occurring in France. Indeed, the relative stability of the parliamentary system, the Monarchy and class structure (combined with the fact that no wars were fought on the British Isles) gives British politics a far less volatile aspect than that experienced in France. Thus, the British controlling powers had only to maintain their position within that system unlike the French who sought to use memorial public sculpture as an aid to validate it.

However, with the advent of World War I, conservative political domination in the controlling power of the British governing system was supported by the instrumental use of war memorial sculpture. British society accepted and encouraged the erection of war memorials across the country which outwardly praised the courageous endeavours of the war 'hero'.

The reasons for engaging in World War I were highly complex. The political and economic factors involved may have made such a war inevitable but it was by no means a question of a 'moral battle'. No conventional war can be waged without some degree of public support. It is interesting that the campaign during the war to encourage young men to enlist and the monuments erected afterwards to commemorate what happened played heavily with the idea that it was a 'moral struggle'. The subtext may have been one of national greed for wealth and power but in the public image it was presented as a conflict for a just and right cause.

World War I resulted in the most violent and destructive episodes in the history of European War. Britain's wartime losses amassed to 1,104,890 people. The government had used propaganda and censorship to inform the nation in a way that could guarantee it's own security and support during the War, especially through poster work. They had succeeded in uniting and gaining total loyalty from the nation during the War. There were protest movements, which were mainly from the working classes, who were first to suffer when conditions deteriorated.(Fig 11)

For the first time the War had engaged the energy and will of those at home. People had been channelled into working for the war industries (making ammunition and other requirements for the War Front). Women were positively encouraged to go to work where they found new openings that had previously been unavailable to them.

Economic consumption changed to accommodate war requirements. The nation became totally involved in war production even when the battleground for the war was on mainland Europe. When the war was over there was a general expectation that somehow the war would benefit the country. But, with the combined effects of the massive loss of life and the decreased birth rate during the war years, there was a further decrease in the demand for goods (which eventually led to an economic depression). The division between those who had experienced the War and those who stayed at home was increasing. Veterans were disappointed that their efforts seemed to be forgotten. In Britain and across Europe there was an increase in Fascism and radical socialism, resulting in the obvious disappointment with the war. The British government used the atrocities that occurred in Communist Russia as a threatening means of ensuring their own political support.

Another important observation from post-war Britain was the widening division between the classes which could be ascertained through the decline of strike victories and compromises in the Trade Unions. In the General Strike of 1926, students from Oxford and Cambridge Universities took over loading jobs and running trains etc., keeping operations going until finally defeating the strikers. It was a symbolic victory of the higher classes over the lower classes.

It is interesting to assess the role of memorial sculpture in this climate and to understand how it functioned as an extended 'passifying' agent of control. It is also interesting to note that almost every parish in Britain marked the war with some form of commemoration. By gelling the patriotism and the collective consciousness of the public in the form of the War Memorial, the ruling class could thus ensure loyalty to the state at all levels without inducing or at least minimising class conflict.

After the first world war British Art institutions promoted the development of designs for War Memorials. The Victoria and Albert Museum (London) held two exhibitions in 1919, to give ideas to monument makers [1]. The Royal Academy held an exhibition of 398 proposals for memorials, 'selected and arranged for the purpose of assisting promoters of War Memorials'[2]. The Royal Academy War Memorials Committee announced 'It is felt that all men of good will should express the ideals fought for and by the free nations of the World'[3]. The Royal Academy generously issued some guidelines which they recommended for the design of public memorials stating that suitable letter form inscriptions on the monument should be 'Bold Roman' or 'Italian 16th Century'. The Academy also stated that it was the imaginative and intellectual quality of the work that would give it its final value.

The War Memorial sculptural work of Charles Sargeant Jagger (produced after World War I) embodies a natural heroism in the figure of the soldier. This is implied through the soldiers austerity, physical presence and willingness to fight when challenged. Before discussing further the memorial sculptural work of Charles Sargeant Jagger it is important to look at some of the influencing factors that directed the perception of the soldier as a 'moral' human being.

The notion of the 'hero' in the British military was the result of a slow and gradual indoctrination of a attitude that had been developed throughout the 19th Century. The ruling class through influence in specific institutions, began to develop the idealogy of the soldier as a moral role model. The influence of the monarchy, upper and middle classes assisted the change in attitude towards the army and what it traditionally represented in British society.

It is through painting that one can best determine the attitude of the public towards the military in the evolution of the British Empire in the 19th century. Two institutions which became involved (directly and indirectly) through their influence on art production were the Royal Academy and the British Institution. The Royal Academy was indirectly controlled by members of the upper classes. Thus, members of the ruling class would inevitably by choice and selection reflect the interest of the class that (financially) supported this institution. The directives of the Academy adjusted to suit the political (and economic) situation after World War I.

Early in the 19th century the British Institution was established by some important members of the aristocracy and The Royal Academy. It claimed it was 'overtly committed to the elevation of the national character through the influence of great art'[4] . After The Battle of Waterloo in 1815, the

British Institution announced that there would be a special prize (in it's competitions) for work which depicted scenes of the recent military success. The winner of this category, Ward, used allegory in his painting. As this type of work (in Britain at this time was unpopular and was regarded as 'low' art) contained allegorical imagery it indicated that the artist had sufficient cultural knowledge and compositional ability to invent a narrative in this way, trying to appeal to an audience and prospective buyers of the necessary cultural experience to decode the work.

Even with these considerations the critics of the exhibition deemed the work as low quality stating, 'the collection betrays the poverty of the intellect and imagination in our native artists'[5] . The reviews attacked the work stating that it was unsuitable and incompatible with the anti-militarism of the British character. The French excellence in the genre was taken as an example of their 'bloodthirstiness and their moral inferiority'[6] . Britain saw itself as morally superior. Politicians in the first half of the 19th century deemed the army as an 'anti-democratic instrument of repression',[7] a necessary evil. Britain did not seek war and fought only to defend itself. This view of aggression and war seemed to elevate the British character as 'moral', almost religious in thinking.

In the following decades the army and more specifically the 'soldier' became the embodiment of moral repute, Why? Throughout the 19th century Britain engaged in an Imperial conquest. This venture was often disguised as a 'crusader' quest under the pretence of religious education and attempt to 'civilize' these conquered lands in the image of Britain. In fact, these quests supplied the necessary minerals and raw materials that were required by the increasing industrial

production of mainland Britain. The army was an important instrument in achieving these requirements, for which the nouveau riche and the bourgeoisie could be thankful.

After the Crimean War (1854 - 1856) there was an increase in military painting produced in Britain. The Royal Academy who had been previously shunned from exhibiting this genre began to increase the number of exhibited military paintings. What had also become apparent after this especially to the new middle classes, was the unfitness of the aristocracy to rule the army (they did this through the purchase of commission for rank and status). An even more important development from the War was the introduction of the Victoria Cross (awarded by the Monarchy). This award would be given to soldiers who showed valour and bravery in action. The Monarchy's involvement in the development and elevation of the 'noble' character of the soldier is undoubted. The soldier was now perceived as a heroic, brave, loyal and virtuous being who fought for an equally moral cause. Although the main recipients of the Victoria Cross were Officers and Non-commissioned Officers, there were paintings depicting the ordinary soldier who had also received the Victoria Cross. These scenes concentrated on the ordinary soldier rescuing his superior commander (which would have been the main reason for him receiving the award) which also emphasises the importance of the commander to rule.

Through Art and the Victoria Cross award, the moral status of the soldier had been elevated and singled out as an honourable position. His unselfish attitude to serve and risk his life for his country (as demonstrated in the Crimean and African Wars) was a desirable ideology promoted by the ruling class. Although the British nation had suffered greatly during World War I, this ideology was manifest in War Memorial sculpture, especially if not intentionally in the work of Charles Sargeant Jagger.


YOUR KING & COUNTRY
NEED YOU
A CHIP OF THE OLD BLOCK
TO MAINTAIN THE HONOUR AND GLORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

Fig (11)

Fig (12)

Jagger originally trained as a metal engraver and lectured in metal engraving at night while he furthered his study in sculpture during the day. In 1907, he received a scholarship to study at the Royal College of Art. There he studied under Professor Lanteri, who was helpful (career wise) to Jagger in later years.

At the age of 29, Jagger had won the Prix de Rome, a chance for him to use the scholarship for further studies. When Britain declared war on Germany (1814) he decided to give up this chance and he enlisted in the army. He was shot twice during the War and had experienced modern warfare (using machine guns, howitzers, tanks, trench warfare etc.) at first hand. Jagger's experience gave him complete understanding of the horror of modern war. Life in the trenches and the endless barbed wire that limited progress at the front gave the real insight into the War and the 'Tommy' (soldier) who had to endure it . When the War ended Jagger used his year grant that was awarded in lieu of the Prix de Rome to work on his experience in the War. In the bas-relief No Mans Land (Fig. 12) Jagger conjures a listening post in the trenches, it's restrictive space and the gruesomeness of modern fighting. No Mans Land was given to the Tate Gallery but the final bronze did not contain the lines that were taken from a poem by Beatrix Brice Miller which said:

> O little mighty band
> That stood for England
> That with your bodies for a living shield
> Guarded her slow awakening (Imperial War Museum, 1985, p.16)

It became apparent that Jagger was not interested in making political statements against those in power. The omission of the poetry from No Mans Land supports this fact. Jagger had

also made a second bas-relief, 'The First Battle of Ypres 1914' (Fig. 13). This demonstrates the aggressiveness of hand-to-hand fighting on the front when German soldiers (to the left) attack with bayonets the Allies who are to the right of the scene. (When you 'read' this panel the Germans are the aggressors and the Allies are the defenders).

Jagger's interest lay in the careful and realistic depiction of the soldier as he knew him. His sculptural style suited the type of commissions that were available at that time. Jagger was asked to do commissions which did not use the 'Tommy' in the memorial. The Memorial Committee of Brimington and Bedford felt that a symbol of victory would be more appropriate than the soldier[8]. Jagger did the commissions, the first for the Church of St. Micheal and All Angels, Brimington, the second for the War Memorial in Bedford (Fig. 14). Both figures are female, drapped in costume and a style reminiscent of a medieval age as opposed to any reference to modern dress. The figures were supposed to embody the peace that had existed in the pre-war era. The use of the female in war memorial sculpture implies further a division between the reality of war for those who experienced it at the front and those who remained at home. The female figure is also assessed as a symbol of reward for the deeds done during the War[9].

Jagger used the female figure (symbolizing peace) on the War Memorial at Hoylake and West Kirby, (Fig. 15). On one side of the memorial there is a bronze figure of the 'Soldier' (Fig. 16) is realistically presented through his grim physical presence and the accurate rendering of his attire. His bayonet horizontally crosses his body's weighted stance implying his willingness to use it in 'defence'; at his feet is the result of this will - a helmet of an unfortunate German soldier. In comparison, the female figure of 'Humanity' (Fig.

Fig (13)

Fig (14)

Fig (15)

Fig (16)

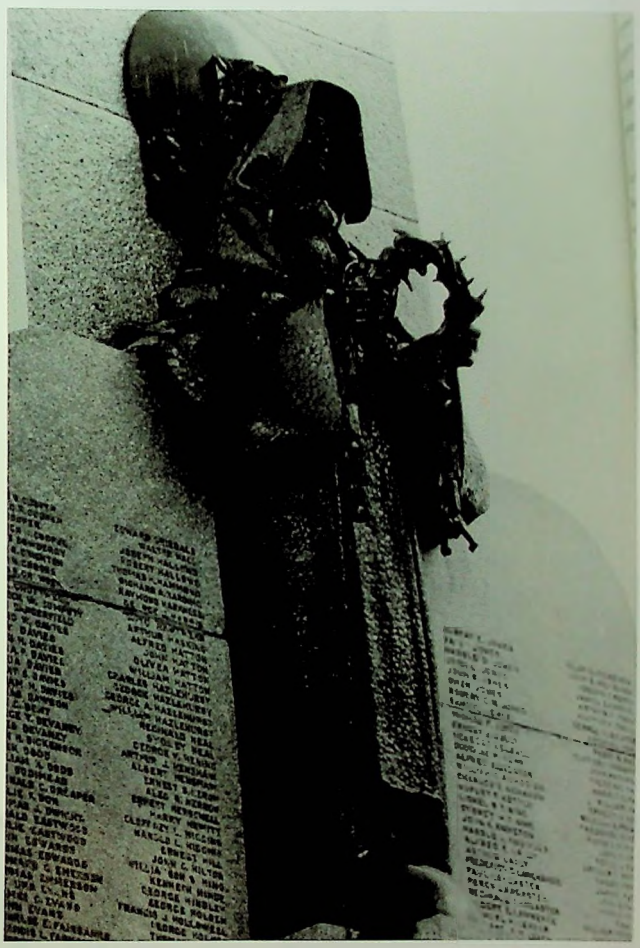

Fig (17)

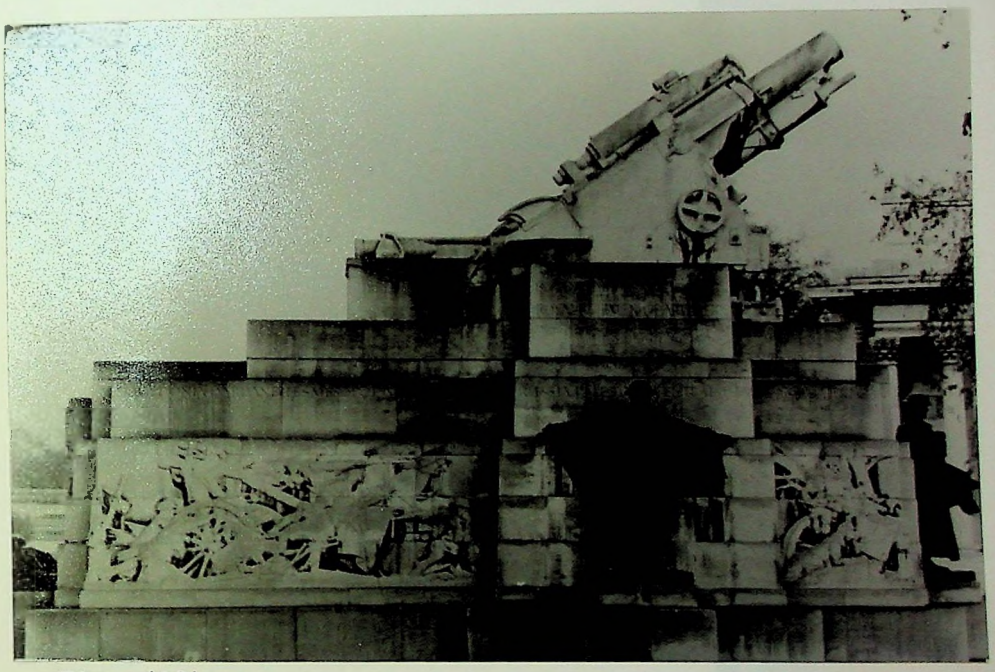

Fig (18)

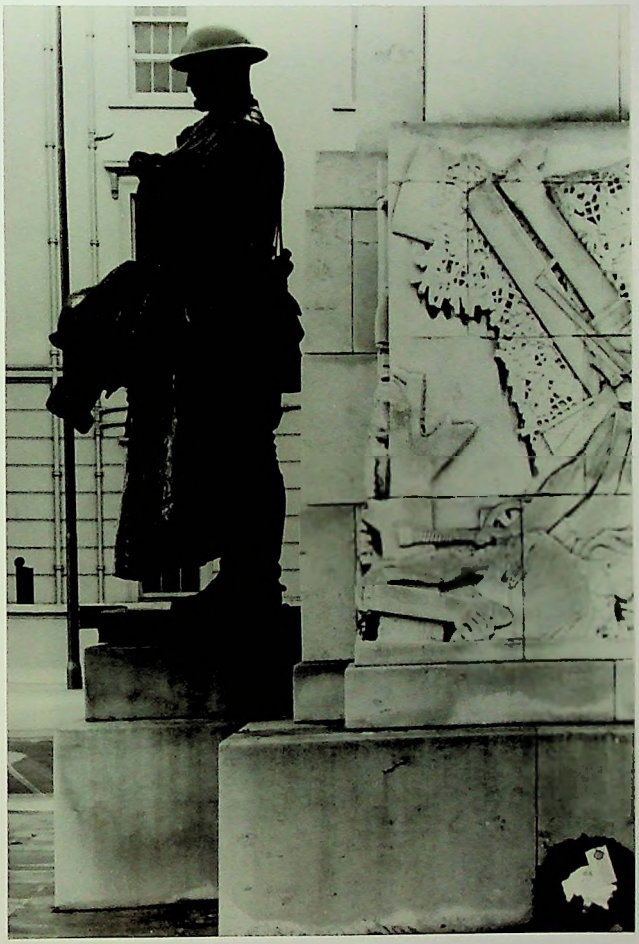

Fig (19)

Fig (20)

Fig (21)

Fig (22)

17) at the back of the memorial is purely symbolic of the peace that (existed before the War) and that has come with the end of the War (or when there is a powerful deterrent to War there will be peace). The figures on the memorial befits the conceived belief of the British 'moral' to defend only in the face of aggression.

The Royal Artillery Memorial at Hyde Park Corner, London (Fig. 18), was a major commission for Jagger. The Royal Artillery War Commemoration Fund Committee had finally been satisfied with Jagger as the sculptor for the work as they had already refused various submissions by artists who had experience in making memorials for the African Wars. The Committee wished that Jagger would do 'a realistic thing'[10]. Jagger in turn explained that he felt the memorial should be of it's time, so it would be impossible to mistake the work for anything but a memorial to the men from The Great War. He felt that the memorial should not embody symbols of peace, it was a war memorial and he wished to reflect this in every sense[11]. This attitude had greatly pleased the Committee.

The monument itself can be described as an architectural pedestal, on which a 'howitzer' (gunner used in the war) sits. Around the sides of the pedestal are relief depictions of battle scenes involving the various members of the artillery. Four bronze figures are placed around the sides of the memorial. Facing south (with the howitzer barrel) stands an 'Artillery Captain', (Fig. 19), to the west a 'Driver', (Fig. 20), on the east-side a 'Shell-carrier', (Fig. 21) and to the north lies the 'Recumbant Soldier', (Fig. 22). Jagger believed that the dead figure gave a 'proper finish' to the memorial. Jagger skilfully executed the figures in a realistic manner regarding their military dress and equipment. The three standing figures imply their physical strength, their faces are solemn and grim, heads slightly bent forward

in a mournful pose but not 'defeated' by the threat of death in war. The dead soldier at the back of the memorial succeeds as a true reminder that in war death is inevitable.

The ideology that had been developed in the publicly perceived 'character' of the soldier stands out in this monument. The 'moral' strength that the soldier had and his bravery in facing death for and on behalf of his country, is evident in this work. Jagger's bas-reliefs have more emotion and involvement through actual depictions of warfare and come closer to describing the truth which was the difficultly of trench warfare that allowed little chance to demonstrate the physical strength to oppose the enemy and indicates the required endurance in the situation.

Jagger's concern in showing the soldier as he knew him and his disinterest in making any statements for or against the war have left his work in the arena of politically controlled art. His work in particular indirectly suits the desired wish of the ruling class to reimpose their position upon those beneath them and to ultimately maintain that society structure. The outwardly expression of reverence for the dead in Jagger's work is subtly charged with meaning that had been defined in the established institutions throughout 19th century Britain.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2.

1. White Chapel Art Gallery *British Sculpture in the Twentieth Century* p. 63

2. Ibid. p. 63

3. Ibid. p. 63

4. Hichberger *Imager of the Army* p. 14

5. Ibid. p. 16

6. Ibid. p. 69

7. Ibid. p. 38

8. Ibid. footnote 21, p. 69

9. Ibid. p. 68

10. Ibid. p. 83

11. Ibid. p.84

CHAPTER 3

A war is often engaged not simply as a military activity but as a process of persuading those involved that it is right and just. The limitations under which a military conflict is conducted had very much to do with what is perceived as being acceptable in the main area of public opinion.

The humiliation of the Vietnam experience caused lasting damage to America's self image. These negative feelings were manifest in some art works in the years after the War, sometimes specifically pinpointing this disappointment in the 'soldier' himself. The erection of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in 1982, which was funded through public contribution, appeared to be the beginning of a public 'healing' process. Before the erection of the memorial there was little public acknowledgement of the Vietnam Veteran. The memorial became a focus for public feeling about the War. When the memorial was inaugurated a large crowd gathered for the ceremony. Since then, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington, has been visited almost continuously by people wishing to pay tribute. In order for the memorial to be perceived in this context one must try to understand the various changing attitudes towards the War itself.

American involvement in Vietnam was influenced by the various changing political global power structures. With Russia's development as the Communist Superpower, the United States were becoming increasingly anxious about threats to their powerful position in World politics. In the 1950's suspicious tension grew more intense between the 'Democratic West' and the 'Communist East'. The United States had evoked these tensions by revising the bilateral security treaty of 1951 with Japan. Japan had sent it's Foreign Minister to Washington in 1958, to initiate negotiations that allowed the increase of Japan's self defense forces (which had been restricted since World War II). As Japan is geographically close to Communist

ruled China and Russia, the support of the United States in this island greatly irritated them. The communist party in Japan tried to direct public opinion against American involvement in their country. The summer riots in Japan in 1960 were the result of their efforts. In Europe the 'left' mobilized public opinion against United States deployment of intermediate range missiles through their support for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

In the United States, ideologies which promoted anti-communist attitudes, were developed in the secret services and political circles. In the early sixties the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, announced a call-up in military reserves. He began to increase military expenditure while at the same time sending the United States negotiator for Disarmament, John J. McCloy, to conduct talks on possible disarmament with President Khrushkev of the Soviet Union. The 'double-standards' of the United States was perceived negatively in the Communist States, at one point forcing Khrushkev to declare that the United States had begun a 'preliminary war'[1] (referring to the increase in the United States military resources and to it's involvement in Japan). The tension between the opposite power structures eventually came to the fore in Vietnam.

Vietnam had been a French colony since the middle of the 19th century and the French had been successful in continuing nationalist aspirations through their efficient and well informed secret police force. The French position in Vietnam was greatly weakened during the World War II, leaving opportunity for liberation organizations to develop. In May 1941, Ho Chi Minh (political activist) and other leaders from the I.C.P. (Indochina Communist Party) set up the Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh in short, the Vietminh. This was a people's army which would engage in guerilla tactics to destabilize

French colonial rule in Vietnam, and thus eventually rid the country of the hated French altogether.

Ho Chi Minh used nationalism as a guise to obtain his ultimate goal which would be a Communist ruled Vietnam. The Vietminh army grew in size until finally defeating the French army in 1953 - 54. The French wanted to pull out of Vietnam (as they were receiving domestic pressure on the high cost of the war) but wanted to save face while doing so. The Geneva Accords signed in July 1954 ended the French-Vietminh conflict, but launched a new situation in Vietnam. Vietnam as a result of these accords had been divided into two parts: the North (led by the Communists) and the South (democratically ruled).

Ho Chi Minh had not been satisfied with this outcome and wanted to reunite Vietnam under his Communist party. Ho set about destabilizing the South through political agitation, propaganda and eventually terrorism. With the gradual withdrawal of the French forces American intelligence recognised the weakness of the South and the threat from the Communist North (President Khrushkev of Russia in the meantime had announced his support for, 'just wars of liberation and popular uprising'[2]). Initially the United States had sent over military advisors to train the South Vietnamese Army. The situation resulted that, by the early 1960's the United States involvement in South Vietnam had become similar to that of the Colonial French, they were now the dominant Western Power in Vietnam. In 1961, Kennedy had organised a top-secret war against the North and had chosen the C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency) and the Green Berets (an elite force within the United States military) to conduct this secret war. When those forces were not achieving any significant results, Kennedy started to send in the conventional military so that by the end of 1963 (when Kennedy was assassinated), there were over 16,000 United States military personnel in South Vietnam.

The United States policies of intervening in South Vietnam were supported by media coverage.

With the recognition of the power of media (especially television/film) to portray events that could effectively influence the public, there was an increased awareness on the means of representation that would ultimately support the actions of the American government. Reports were made that focused on the atrocities carried out by the North Vietnamese Army (the Vietcong).

In 1965 'Why Vietnam' a television film was scripted by the State Department to support the then President, L. B. Johnson's bombing of North Vietnam. A woman had sent a letter to the President asking why her son was fighting in Vietnam and he had answered that he (the son) was fighting to help, 'free people to defend their sovereignty'[3] against terror tactics described and compared to those of Hitler. Television Networks (often under pressure from the White House and sponsors) transmitted documentaries which reflected government rationale. Many available documentaries which presented questions and opposition to the government were not transmitted. As the war escalated and it was becoming more apparent to the public just how deeply the United States army were involved in the war against the Vietcong. Demonstrations were held (in opposition to the war) across the country.

Ian Burn (Australian artist) had said that art was 'voiceless, incapable of conveying their [artist's] rage at the United States involvement in Vietnam'[4] . Art, especially painting had been developing through a Minimal and Pop era. Art had paid little attention to social issues and was ill-equipped (stylistically) to deal with the situation in Vietnam.

The Art Workers Coalition (set up in 1969) comprised of artists who were actively involved in changing existing structures firstly, in museums and eventually in using performance and other visual means to raise public conscience about the war.

The Guerilla Art Action Group focused on the war. In November 1969, members of the group (Jon Hendricks, Jean Toche and Poppy Johnson) went into the Museum of Modern Art, New York, dropping leaflets on the floor that stated their demands. The three artists began to rip each other's clothing crying rape as they did so. Underneath their clothing were concealed bags of animal blood that burst during the 'rape' scene (Fig. 23). The artists fell to the floor covered in this blood moaning. The performance was doubly directed to museum control and America's involvement in Vietnam. Jean Touche had stated 'to fight for control of the museums is also to be against the war'.[5]

G.A.A.G. (Guerilla Art Action Group) had sought the resignation of Rockerfellers from the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Modern Art in 1969. They stated that David Rockerfeller (Chairman of the Board) had through Standard Oil Corporation leased one of it's plants for the production of Napalm (used in Vietnam). They stated that these trustees were indirectly involved in Vietnam through the use of their corporations in developing chemical and biological warfare (which was also used in Vietnam). The tactics of these art groups parallelled the guerilla warfare tactics employed in Vietnam. Though these artists were trying to mobilize opinion against the war, they had to compete with more 'effective' means of communications that were mainly controlled by the ruling interest class.

Film was one area where these interest classes could formulate opinion to support the war. Hollywood attempted to deal with the Vietnam War with the film 'The Green Berets' 1968. The film clearly demonstrates how the powerful control of media production inextricably linked to the politics of war. The film addressed the 'obligation' of the press to produce domestic consensus about the war. A sceptical journalist is invited by a Marine Captain, played by John Wayne to go to Vietnam to share the everyday experience of The Green Berets. The film follows the conversion of the journalist who realizes that the aggressors, the Vietcong, were the villains trying to destroy the South's right to democratic freedom. The proof of the destruction was accepted by the evidence of the atrocities carried out by the Vietcong. The fact that these atrocities occurred seemed alone to validate the situation. The reporter returns home determined to report the 'truth' about Vietnam. The very fact that the reporter in the film was originally sceptical about the situation was a contradiction in itself as many sceptical reporters were not given passes to go to Vietnam. The film is structured around the 'education' of a reporter, but this education is limited to the realities of war as opposed to any outside political questioning. The film was produced at a time when public opinion was already beginning to swing against United States presence in Vietnam. The gradual realization of the loss of American life in the war questioned the involvement in South East Asia.

In the pursuit of public support for the war, deliberately misguiding information was often released through the media. Posters (developed from a photograph) of the massacre at My Lai in Vietnam released by the Art Workers Coalition revealed the atrocities carried out by the American campaign (Fig. 24).

Fig (23)

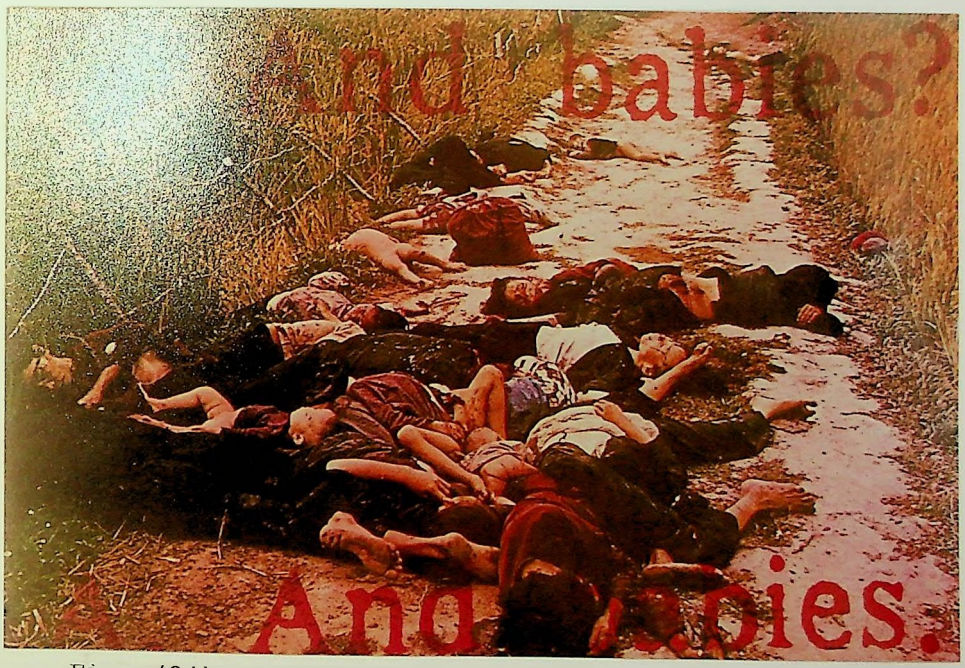

Fig (24)

The captions on the poster asked 'Q. And Babies A. And Babies', referring to the disbelief of such a horrible and pointless war. As the truth began to emerge the backlash of public opinion rendered these earlier attempts (to validate the conflict) counter-productive.

Sam Wiener, an artist concentrating on the American dead soldiers made an open box sculpture (1970) originally titled 45, 391 . . . . . and counting, (Fig. 25). This work effectively captures the reality of the increase in American deaths in the Vietnam War. The box is lined with mirrors inside and there are two rows of coffins with the American Flag drapped over them. The illusion creates a repetitive image of the coffins into infinity. Wiener changed the title and called it Those who fail to remember the Past are condemned to repeat it.

The governments attempt to justify the war appeared increasingly threadbare. From 1970 onwards the American government were under severe pressure to get out of Vietnam. In 1975 Congress decided to cut off military aid to the South Vietnamese Army. Following this move South Vietnam collapsed. The American military forces were withdrawn and all United States citizens were evacuated from the country.

With the advent of the war it became more acceptable to express hostility to the whole enterprise whereas, previously it had been more normal to fall in line with the governments sabre-rattling approach.

Ben Sakoguchi made attacks on the American Soldier through a series of painting completed in 1979. The G.I.'s appear to be stupid or evil. In Hawk from the Vietnam (Fig. 26) the soldier is saying how he would proudly go back (to war) even though his present physical disability is the result of being

Fig (25)


Hawk
"GO BRAVELY, GO BACK"
SAID THE BRAVE
CAPTAIN CLACK
U.S. ARMY
ATLANTA
ROUGH & READY, CAL.

Fig (26)

involved in the war in the first place. The paintings are based on orange carton box labels. The orange symbolic of the use of the chemical 'Agent Orange' in the war. This chemical was used by the Americans (first in 1962) to 'defoliate' the forest that served as a cover for the Vietcong at the same time destroying their food supplies. The medal to the right of the painting refers cynically to official recognition of the efforts of the soldier and his part in the war was a reflection of the attitude of the American public immediately after the war. America had not won the Vietnam War. For the soldiers returning there had not been the great 'Welcome Home' receptions that were associated with this type of home coming.

The idea for a memorial to the veteran had not come from the 'state'. It was conceived by a veteran Jon Scruggs in 1979. He felt that the veteran could be honoured without taking a political stance on the war itself. Two attorneys, both veterans, Robert Doubek and John Wheeler began working with Scruggs on the idea. They organized the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund to raise funds for the monument from the public. The veterans organized a National Sponsoring Committee which included the then President's wife Rosalyn Carter and many other Senators.

Jack Wheeler warned against taking a political stance on the Vietnam War. The veterans had gone to Congress to get the site for the memorial which would be in a public park near the Linclon and Washington Memorials. The bill for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund was passed early in 1980 and President Carter signed the bill into Law in July 1980.

The design for the Memorial was selected through an open competition. Bob Doubek devised the basic philosophy for the

design which stated:

> Because of inequities in the draft system the brunt of dangerous service fell upon the young, often the socially and economically disadvantaged. [However], the memorial will make no political statement regarding the war or it's conduct. It will transcend those issues. The hope is that the creation of the memorial will begin a healing process .(National Geographic, 1985, p. 562)

Maya Lin's (a student at the time) design was chosen unanimously for the memorial. When details of the design had been released it received the support from the New York Times and The Commission of the Fine Arts. However, when a veteran called it a 'black gash of shame'[6] repercussions were evoked in the press. This resulted in halting the project. The Secretary for The Interior, James Watt sent a letter to the Committee informing them of this decision. As a compromise to the situation it was decided that a separate sculpture representing three 'G.I.'s' be placed nearby facing the monument. The three (slightly over life-sized) G.I.'s were realistically executed by Gary Hart (Fig. 27).

The completed Vietnam Veterans Memorial was simply a wall of black polished granite which lists in chronological order of death the 58, 138 Americans from the Vietnam conflict. Lin said she, 'wanted to return the veterans to the time-frame of the war, and in the process, I wanted them to see their own reflections in the names'[7] (Fig. 28). The black stone had been interpreted by another Veteran as 'the universal colour of shame'[8] . The simplicity of the material used and the direction of the perspective line aids the visual impact of the memorial (Fig. 29). For those who visit the memorial it is deeply moving experience.

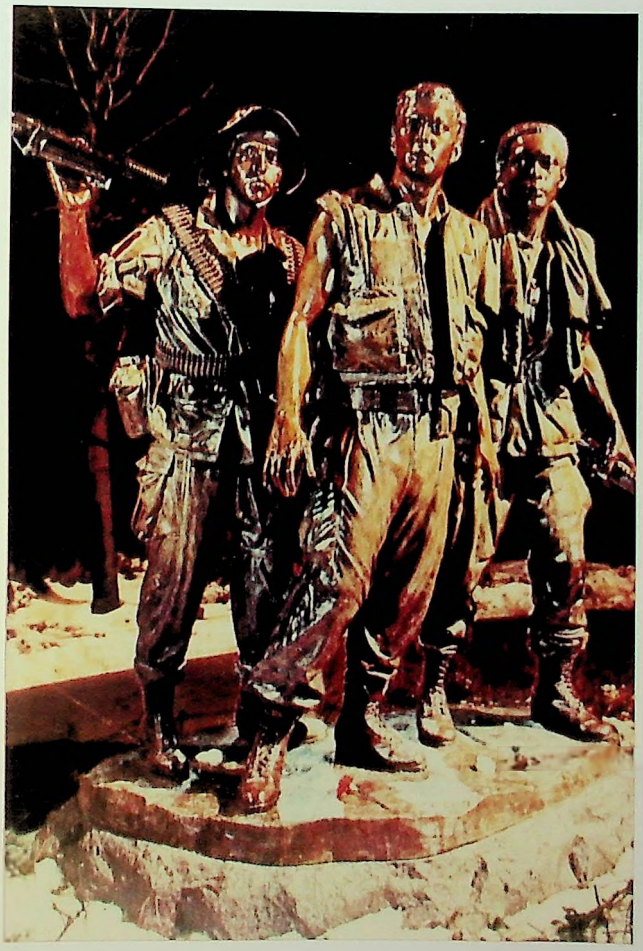

Fig (27)


ROBERT L WELLS · RODNEY A JAMES · PAUL
BROWN · RONALD G DAVENPORT · ALVIN FORD
RICHARD D KALER · JARVIS C LOWDER
ROY FLORES MENO
EDWARD W BUTLER
ROBERT E PULLIAM Jr · WILBERTO CABRERA SANCHEZ
DENNIS L HARMON · SAMUEL G HARRIS
STEPHEN K DIBB · DOUGLAS R FRENCH
ROBERT · BRADLEY A PEARSON · DAVID E PETERS · CHARLES S RIDOUT
BILLY D NELSON · DOUGLAS M KYSER
TIMOTHY S DAVIES · BRENT I GRIGGS · EDWARD F HAP
DAVID A DILLON
ROBIN L ARNOLD · BRUCE A BAKER · RANDY D BROSNAN · PRUITT H CHEANEY · RONALD P COATES
GEORGE E COKEY · OSCAR CRUZ · RICHARD J CURRIER Jr · LAWRENCE E DANIELS · LAWRENCE E DENNY
GEORGE G DUKE · FRANKLIN C EUCKER · RONALD L FENSTERMACHER · HUGH C GALBRAITH · CHARLIE GRAY
JERRY LEE HAILEY · DANIEL W HARMON · WILLIAM H HAWKINS · ROBERT M HULSE · ROBERT M JOHNSON
JOE MAC KEMP · STEPHEN R KITTLE · DENNIS C KNUTSON
SIDNEY J MALONE Jr · CHARLES G McINTOSH
CARROLL T MORROW · BENJAMIN S NEWSOM · ROBERT L WENGER · STEVEN O SCHULTZ
WILLIAM H SMITH · WILLIAM F VOHS · ORVILLE D WELLS · GENE T PEMBERTON · WILLIE W WILKERSON

Fig (28)

Fig (29)

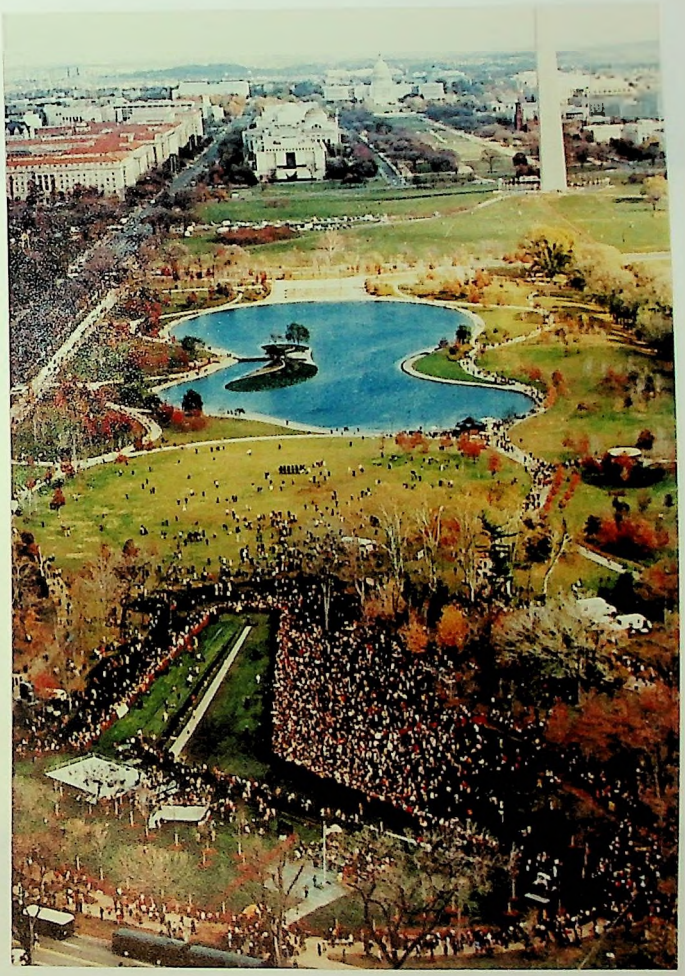

Fig (30)

The memorial concentrates on the death of the soldier, it is in a state of continuous mourning. The deliberate omission of any visual narrative or symbols focuses attention on one aspect of the reality of war - death. The memorial is afraid to pose any questions about the United States' globed policies and it's willingness to use strength to enforce their power at high costs. Hence, the War Memorial by directing attention away from America's 'Lost War' conforms to the status quo by directing focus away from the causes of the war and onto the casualties of war. The very attempt to realize any indirect attack (through the public war memorial) on the war and it's causes would more than likely not succeed when one considers the hold-ups and compromises that were encountered when erecting the existing war memorial. Hence, the Vietnam Veterans War Memorial (though addressing the death of these soldiers) is restrained by the very power structure who wagged the war in the first place. (Fig (30))

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3.

1. Smith — An International History of the Vietnam War, p. 257

2. Generous — Vietnam the Secret War, p. 76

3. James — Allegories of Cinema, p. 202

4. Whatcom Museum of history and Art — A Different War - Vietnam in Art p. 21

5. Ibid. p. 22

6. Ibid. p. 564

7. Whatcom Museum of History and Art — A Different War - Vietnam in Art, p. 88

9. Ibid. p. 90

C O N C L U S I O N

The needs of a nation as perceived in political cirlces were best transmitted in the form of allegorical figures which carried reference to a previous classical civilisation which were perceived as being great. The individual was separated from, but was guided by these semi-gods who represented such ideals as peace, war, victory, courage etc.

In the British memorials to the 1914 - 1918 war the emphasis was largely placed upon the role of the soldier, the British 'Tommy'. Making a connection between ordinary men and the larger issues in which they had become embroiled, they are shown as being transfigured by a higher ideal but still maintain a human quality. These figures are shown as relating to the mass of people for whom the war was supposed to have been fought.

The Vietnam Veteran's Memorial focused solely on the massive loss of life and consciously avoids any attempt to evoke high ideals, heroic gestures or a sense of moral justification. In an age of mass-media communication, (which might be thought to lessen the impact of monumental sculpture on public thought) we find a tacit understanding that the memorial could still provoke. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a conscious attempt to avoid the disturbing implication of global politics and instead concentrates on personal loss. As a piece of public funded and officially controlled art it could hardly have been expected to explore the downside of this on-going situation.

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