Gender, Community and the Memory of the Second World War Occupation of the Channel Islands

Nicolle Watkins

A thesis submitted for the degree of:

Doctor of Philosophy in History

Department of History

University of Essex

Awarded: April 2018

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to thank my brilliant supervisors at the University of Essex: Dr Nadine Rossol and Dr Matthew Grant, for their unending patience, words of wisdom, good humour, and guidance. You never failed to believe in me or my research, even when I doubted myself. I cannot imagine two better people to have shared this journey with, and I cannot thank you enough for seeing it through to the end with me.

I would also like to take a moment to thank all of those who have taken the time to read or offer guidance on my work over the course of the past four years. In particular, I would like to thank the following people for their time and their thoughtful comments: Dr Andrew Priest, Dr Laila Haidarali, and Prof. Michael Roper. Similarly, none of this would have been possible without the tireless efforts of the administrative team at the University of Essex, and so I would also like to extend a warm word of thanks to Lisa Willis, Karen Shields, Hannah Onslow, Beatriz Lopez, and Belinda Waterman.

Academic life is tough, and the friendship of the wonderful postgraduate community at the University at Essex has similarly been invaluable through its inevitable ups and the downs. In many ways, we have created our own little support network, and I will be forever grateful for the connections that I made during my PhD. It goes without saying that my thesis would not have been the same had I not met this group of smart, caring, and witty individuals. I wish you all the very best.

Finally, to those that had to live out this winding road to PhD in real time with me, and who experienced both the overly-descriptive ‘eureka’ moments and the moments of despair – I owe you all a pint and I love you all immeasurably. To my parents, Alison and Dean Watkins: I am here today because you were strong enough to let me ask every question, read every book, visit every museum, and to ultimately forge my own path in life. I have never doubted that you have believed in me every step of the way. I can never fully repay the sacrifices you have made to help me reach university and beyond; to the completion of this PhD today. Thank you. To Dominic: I am so incredibly lucky to share my life with someone who believes in me so completely. I could not have done this without your unwavering love, support and superior coffee-making skills. Now, onwards to an exciting new chapter! *Dziękuję, kocham cię.*

Dedicated, with much love, to Patricia Watkins and David Beaugie. Never forgotten.

Also, to my nan and grandad, Michael and Myra Beaugie, who gave me my Islander genes and my inspiration for this PhD thesis.

Summary

This thesis examines the construction of frames of Second World War memory in the post-occupation Channel Islands, and considers the impact of gender on both this memory-making process and the resulting popular representations of their shared past. It first explores the gendered tensions and fractures of the occupation years, and their role in the construction of this usable past. The occupation will be shown to have directly challenged the traditional gendered expectations of British wartime conduct (a key tenet of Islander identity), particularly regarding martial masculinity and feminine virtue. These tensions and fractures were particularly acute in the Channel Islands, as they were the only British territory to be occupied by German forces during the Second World War, having been demilitarised prior to the invasion of 1940. The war memories that were popularly adopted by the Islander communities after the war were, therefore, rooted in these early tensions and fractures, as they sought out retribution, closure, and unity, along with a connection to the desirable British war memory and the image of the victorious soldier hero. This thesis examines how this traumatic period has been built into a necessary and powerful founding myth in the Channel Islands, through the gendered sharing of war stories and rituals, as well as the reclaiming of contested spaces and objects to the present day. This analysis of the war memory of these small Islander communities will inform wider understanding of how gendered wartime anxieties might have similarly impacted the construction of war memory within other previously occupied nations across Europe. It also offers an important insight into the role of gender in the subsequent dissemination, disruption and stabilisation of war stories through generations, particularly within small communities recovering from the trauma of war.

Contents

Introduction

'Whatever may be our opinion on Imperialist matters, I imagine there is hardly one of us who does not feel a very strong reaction to the fact that enemies have walked into our country in this manner and have been able to take possession of our territory without meeting with resistance of any sort. …Only a few days before the evacuation, military equipment and armaments were being poured into the Islands. These were then withdrawn. Only a week or two before the evacuation several hundred airmen were being sent there for purposes of training. Suddenly there was a very violent change, and we fled from the Islands—the Governor being the very first to move, by the by, leaving the Islands to the civil authorities and, largely, leaving the unfortunate people to their fate.'

- Charles Ammon MP, House of Commons, 31 July 1940[1]

The Second World War was a war like no other in many respects, and has defined the very definition of war in the public imagination for generations since. Yet even as the Home and War fronts blurred as Total War took hold, gendered expectations about the morality and security of the British nation persisted. The desire to conform to both the needs and expectations of an embattled nation resulted in a pressure-cooker of state propaganda and a localised 'moral economy', as people sought to survive with their values intact by maintaining concepts of fair play and community ethical frameworks.[2] For the Channel Islands, this was an even bigger task. As the only British territory occupied by German forces in 1940, they were not just caught between personal survival and traditional values, but also between community survival and a sense of national honour, often articulated in highly gendered terms. The

[1] House of Commons debate on the Channel Islands. 31 July 1940. Hansard: HC Deb 31 July 1940 vol 363 cc1349-70.
[2] Mark Roodhouse, *Black Market Britain: 1939-1955* (Oxford, 2013).

Channel Islands were also on the periphery of the fighting in occupied France, and of the eventual Allied victory, and sometimes witnessed the distant flames and sounds of the French war effort from their closest populated position, just 14 miles from the St. Malo coastline. The British war effort could similarly be followed by listening to the BBC on their radio sets, or by recording the movements of planes flying overhead in diaries. Islanders trapped in the Channel Islands between June 1940 and May 1945 were therefore a part of the war story of both occupied Europe and unoccupied Great Britain. Yet many were denied any physical role in contributing to the war effort itself, as they co-existed without weapons or means of escape under German occupation.

Frames of Memory

This thesis seeks to explore how popular frames of memory have been constructed following this lengthy five-year occupation of the Channel Islands, and how gender has intersected with this memory-making process and in representations of the occupation in public history. It examines how this traumatic period has become an enduring founding myth in the Channel Islands through gendered narratives, spaces, objects and ritual. Persistent frames of memory have also been intimately shaped by the *experience* of occupation itself; and this thesis delves into the importance of wartime panic and tensions regarding sexuality, martial honour and the destruction of expected gender roles, in the subsequent construction of war memory. These tensions fractured community relations, with this being detailed as a key battleground for those remembering their own wartime conduct, as well as their community's actions in line with assumed British values, citizenship and enduring loyalty. This analysis is important for two reasons: in challenging the view that memory is a product of the present without consideration of the many continuities in memory, and in examining the role of gendered perceptions, tensions, and points of 'shame' in shaping how small communities frame and transmit war memories through time and generations.

This thesis does not claim that public memory is not subsequently impacted by later political, social, or generational shifts. Instead, it argues that for historians to understand why some narratives, objects, and spaces survive to be revisited by a society through generations, that we must first understand the early tensions, emotions, and moral panics which framed these events themselves, and why certain stories are so important as to be preserved and defended by a society. The Channel Islands offer a valuable case study for this. With an estimated total population of 93,000 people prior to the evacuation of 25,000 people (many of these were children, and this figure also includes almost the entire population of Alderney) to the United Kingdom in June 1940, the Channel Islands offer an important insight into the process and function of war memory within a closed group. This matters because it gives us as historians a glimpse into the intricate relationships and everyday moments that can influence how individuals interpret and disseminate their war experiences. This can then be expanded to consider how a patchwork of local experiences and interactions may grow to become, or respond to, core elements of a national war story. Just as importantly, this can show us how small communities might reconcile their wartime past when it does not match the propagated expectations of the nation state, or gendered understandings of good citizenship in a time of war.

The individual Channel Islands did not all have identical experiences of occupation at all times, but do have in common that they were the only British territories to be occupied by German military forces during the Second World War, and have made this story central to their local identities in comparable ways. This thesis, therefore, addresses the significance of the Islanders' British identity and the tensions inherent in trying to replicate 'correct' British conduct in wartime in such unique circumstances, something which was split along the lines of gender and class. Resulting representations of this past preserve and enhance gendered imagery of victorious Britishness, particularly to displace related counter-memories and spaces

of trauma. This saw an ongoing and renewed focus on representations of martial masculinity (particularly the British 'Tommy' and war trophy collectors) as an image of British-Islander prowess and moral victory, as well as the sustained rejection, sexualisation, and reframing of the story of the female 'jerry bags'. In fact, the 'jerry bags' have endured as the foremost image of collaboration in the Channel Islands through the decades, showing their significance in national understandings of correct conduct and community in wartime. Although there has been much speculation about the veracity of claims about a number of young women, popularly known as the 'jerry bags', who were rumoured to have had sexual relationships (and sometimes babies) with German soldiers, there has been very little consideration for what this says about the gender dynamics of war and memory, with these women having been made 'other' in such an intense and enduring way for their perceived sexual immorality in wartime. This thesis explores the significance of the 'jerry bags', as well as the more recent interest in 'true love' stories and why they have been treated very differently in the Channel Islands in the past decade in order to prevent counter-memories and 'outsider' interpretations of the occupation years from taking root.

Early memories, informed by these fractures and tensions, have passed through generations to protect a local connection to a positive national legacy. The passing down of this unifying legacy has often been a gendered process, publicly glorifying martial masculine narratives in ritual and museums, while private family diaries were more likely shared between female relatives in the first instance, and only later through local archives or publication. Popularised early frames of memory necessarily developed into a powerful founding myth through word of mouth and physical sources, demonstrating above all British moral sacrifice and fortitude, and desirable representations of men and women. This 'moral victory' was in opposition to cautionary tales of gendered profiteering in an unjust war (working-class women using sex for favours from Germans, and young men either profiting from the black market or acting in an

'unpatriotic' pacifist manner); a war which itself was framed as good vs. evil, with few grey areas. Such a war required this construction of a morally exceptional nation (and public) to say with confidence that 'British Victory is Certain', and to secure the perception of a suitably just and righteous legacy as a building block of future unity within divided communities.

Sources

The sources used in this thesis are necessarily wide-ranging to reflect the many spaces where wartime fractures occurred and wartime memory is developed, disseminated, and (sometimes) challenged. It goes without saying that there are still limitations of certain sources, and that those who took the time to record and preserve their stories in writing are often unique in some respects (particularly in terms of educational attainment and social status). However, the study of spaces, objects, popular culture and rituals has opened my analysis to incorporate a more diverse range of perspectives than might otherwise have been possible. With these opportunities and limitations in mind, Chapter 1 will outline wartime reports, diaries, and letters, which map some of these early points of tension, and will discuss how they were communicated within the Channel Islands, particularly in regards to female sexuality and male pacifism. Chapter 2 outlines the dominant rituals of commemoration in the Channel Islands, and considers the enduring prominence of the figure of the British soldier hero in postwar representations of the liberation (namely in the Liberation Day ritual itself, connected monuments, and story-telling connecting the British 'Tommy' with the image of Islanders). Chapter 3 explores the reconstruction of martial masculinity through reclaiming German objects and spaces of war, as well as the gendered practice of men collecting war trophies to display in these public spaces. It will also consider the practice of women writing diaries (formatted as long letters) to pass down to evacuated female relatives, in place of the letters that could not be sent; thus, passing their stories down in private spaces, before latterly being made available for public consumption by the recipients. Finally, Chapter 4 examines popular

fiction and documentary film, and their role in promoting 'true love' stories to stabilise concepts of correct masculinity and femininity in war memory, following the controversial publication of Madeleine Bunting's, *The Model Occupation* (1995), and its focus on wartime collaboration. This thesis explores the role of gender in the construction of war memory, and in the enduring elements of collective memory which have survived generations, even as previously marginalised counter-memories have been made public and incorporated into this community founding story. Problematic narratives will also be shown as being subsumed into existing spaces and rituals of commemoration, as well as into national discourse over time, rather than being allowed to exist on the periphery of public history as a challenge to the popularised war story. This practice has itself aided the preservation of the dominant frames of memory, as representations of the past have been adapted when necessary to ensure the ultimate continuation and control of recognisable and well-established modes of commemoration and story-telling. This thesis, therefore, has an important place in the intersecting areas of memory studies, gender studies, and the historiographies of both British and wider European war memory and postwar societal reconstruction. Drawing upon such wide-ranging scholarly work from these fields will situate the Channel Islands as a case study which can inform wider scholarly debate about how memory is constructed, and how communities make sense of a complex and traumatic national past.

Historiography

It is important to consider key scholarly developments in the historiography and available sources of the Channel Islands occupation itself, before discussing the interconnected British and European historiographies relating to this topic. In fact, the Islander story is not so different when looking at the wider picture of communities surviving and rebuilding from the Second World War. While gender history has been almost completely neglected in the present historiography of the Channel Islands' occupation, one of the most significant historiographical

advances in the past decade has been the addition of historians analysing popular memory and public representations of the occupation. Paul Sanders has sought to explain why occupation memory in the Channel Islands has formed as it has, and why some subjects may have been forgotten or remembered over time.[3] In particular, Sanders writes about the continued fixation on Churchillian imagery in the postwar Channel Islands, with Islanders locking into the wider British war narrative in a way which echoes 'the Gaullest myth in postwar France.'[4] Sanders contends that this construction of memory was an attempt to separate the occupation narrative of the Channel Islands from the experiences and remembered humiliation of the rest of occupied Europe; instead associating themselves with the positive legacy of victorious Britain.[5] This meant that key subjects such as resistance and collaboration, while crucial in understanding the reality of the Channel Islands' occupation, were disregarded in the immediate postwar period so that public memory of the occupation would be in line with that of Britain, not Europe. This is a particularly important argument as it explains why the inherently masculine military and political history of the occupation has received much more attention by Islander historians than social history in the past.

However, the lack of accounts considering gender in relation to the experience and memory of the Channel Islands' occupation is particularly surprising given that women and men had such clearly defined expectations and different ways of articulating and framing their wartime memories. When Hazel Knowles-Smith describes the animosity felt towards administrators and public officials (who she terms a 'rather tarnished group of men' in the postwar period with significant figures awarded knighthoods after the war in place of those who had been seen to have 'risked their lives doing anything that might offend the enemy'), she does not consider

[3] Paul Sanders, 'Narratives of Britishness: UK War Memory and the Channel Islands Occupation Memory' in Jodie Matthews, Daniel Travers (eds), *Islands and Britishness: A Global Perspective* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012).
[4] Ibid, p.25.
[5] Ibid, pp.25-26.

the impact of gendered expectations on how these men have been represented in popular memory.[6] This is the case even when Knowles-Smith addresses the popular belief that regardless of the unique challenges of the occupation, that they had performed badly in the 'execution of their wartime duties', as well as the disillusionment felt when they were honoured by the British government.[7] Knowles-Smith similarly does not consider the impact of gender when addressing the extensive exploration and knowledge of German military spaces and collection of artefacts in the postwar period by 'every schoolboy who has grown up in the Channel Islands since 1945'.[8] Understanding gendered expectations of the wartime and postwar periods is essential for historians researching the way in which the Channel Islands have developed their sense of national identity and constructed a usable past. Knowles-Smith's study of memory in the Channel Islands is also problematic in that it compares the factual similarity of interviews, that she herself conducted, with the diary accounts and other contemporary records from the time of the occupation, without much critical analysis in areas:

> 'far from reflecting changes of emphasis – such as occurred in officially sponsored accounts of a 'moderate' Occupation – the memories of these people seemed to have changed little if at all.'

Forming, what Knowles-Smith terms:

> 'An honourable narrative of the Occupation history, with a few blemishes. It is in fact an overall wartime record of which Churchill himself may well have been proud….'[9]

Knowles-Smith does not interrogate whether this has occurred because diary accounts and contemporary records (predominantly written and published by men) were in fact central to

[6] Hazel Knowles-Smith, *The Changing Face of the Channel Islands Occupation: Record, Memory and Myth* (Basingstoke, 2007) pp.237.
[7] Ibid, pp.237, 240.
[8] Knowles-Smith quoting the Channel Islands Occupation Society *Book 4*, in Ibid, p.243.
[9] Ibid, p.252.

framing dominant occupation memory in the Channel Islands, and have remained accessible and highly publicised within such small communities (especially given the prevalence of local occupation museums, archives, rituals and anniversary commemorations).

This thesis itself shows how these widely-disseminated early diaries, and other male-dominated sharing and shaping of memories, have undoubtedly fed into the now-dominant narrative of the occupation in public history. This narrative has remained focused on heroic masculinity and liberation even before a stronger resistance narrative developed. As Penny Summerfield's contends, highly-visible narratives of patriotic heroism and their focus on the exciting military element of occupation could potentially condition society to accept, and continue to disseminate to certain audiences, popular and often highly gendered representations and expectations of those who experienced the war.[10] This could undoubtedly influence how individuals frame and make sense of their own memories as they share these with the next generation of family members and outside researchers. This is particularly significant when one considers Louise Willmot's argument that while no immediate 'resistance myth' developed in the Channel Islands, instead a narrative developed where 'the honour of the islands was seen to lie in the stoicism with which they had withstood the hardships of occupation and in the courage of the 10,000 islanders – a strikingly high proportion – who had contributed to the liberation of Europe as members of the British armed forces.'[11] Further analysis of the significance of these twin elements of postwar national 'honour' is needed by historians, to examine why a resistance narrative was slower to develop in the islands, in favour of putting the British soldier hero and those who endured enemy occupation until his arrival, at the very centre of representations of the occupation. In fact, this framing marginalises a range of

[10] Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester, 1998) pp.25-30.
[11] Louise Willmot, 'The Channel Islands' in Bob Moore (ed.), *Resistance in Western Europe* (Oxford, 2000) p.82.

occupation experiences and emotions, including anger at the British government who demilitarised and 'abandoned' these communities in 1940. This left the Islander communities largely powerless and too isolated to actively engage the occupying forces. Willmot herself makes the point that 'the part played by women' during the occupation of the Channel Islands also needs greater investigation by historians, particularly as their 'place in organised resistance networks is still obscure'.[12] Instead, a familiar story emerges in Willmot's assessment of this lack of representation of women: that they are represented as 'shadowy figures, participating as the wives, fiancées or blood relative of the male protagonists but rarely portrayed as being involved in their own right'.[13] This is not dissimilar to historiographical and public history battles across Europe, particularly in nations where a clear resistance story was the core of masculine reconstruction in the postwar period, such as in France and Italy. However, as this thesis shows, this is not to say that women did not disseminate their stories in different ways and have their own definitions of what constituted feminine resistance, with some women passing down their war diaries to female relatives for posterity. Such stories, however, are all too often not incorporated into the wider resistance narrative, which has been defined according to understandings of martial masculinity and the perceived problematic nature of women living on the war front. There are exceptions to this rule, however, which this thesis outlines. In particular, some women might not conform to some societal expectations of the period, and yet still have their stories publicly discussed and reframed at a later date in order to emphasise other aspects of their character or background, to make their war story more acceptable or familiar to the wider community. This also ensures that the unifying popularised narrative of the Channel Islands' occupation story, which is strongly aligned with British war memory, has

[12] Ibid, p.84.
[13] Ibid.

been stabilised against counter-memories which might otherwise challenge key tenets of its existence.

Historians of the Channel Islands' occupation have equally found the gendered topics of wartime shame and betrayal difficult to address. This is particularly the case when defining what exactly constitutes fraternisation or collaboration (according to British/international law, in comparison to mainland Europe, or as defined by local opinion) and what this says about the occupation experience and its long legacy in the Channel Islands. Madeleine Bunting focuses much of her own analysis of the Channel Islands' occupation on the topics of collaboration and fraternisation, and, as a result, touches upon one of the greatest points of tension in the experience and memory of the war years.[14] Bunting's research is significant in that she gives voice to people who had previously been marginalised or maligned in the popular memory of the occupation years. As a prominent 'outsider' she also had the potential to disrupt the dominance of the Islander narrative of their own war memories by connecting them more closely with the European experience of the Holocaust and Nazism, as well as questioning the idea of British exceptionalism during the Second World War. This both directly undermines the fabric of Islander war memory, and draws attention to aspects of the occupation years that had previously been forgotten or made 'other' by the local communities for many decades. In fact, Bunting states that Islander women who had affairs with German men are one of the most 'divisive' issues when discussing the occupation, with details of what happened to these women being shrouded in secrecy in the postwar period, as they were seen to have betrayed the thousands of Islander men fighting against the Nazis as part of the British Armed Forces.[15] She also argues that fraternisation has typically been viewed as a crime against the local community, with 'jerry bags' often said to gain special privileges and protections from their

[14] Madeleine Bunting, *The Model Occupation: The Channel Islands under German Rule, 1940-1945* (London, 1996).
[15] Ibid, p.55.

arrangement with German soldiers – privileges and protections that only these German soldiers could provide in the latter stages of the war, thus, deepening feelings of emasculation in Islander men as this became more blatant.[16] However, in *The Channel Islands War,* Peter King goes further: dividing Islander collaboration into three specific headings in his chapter on the subject: 'The Black Market', 'The Informers', and 'Fraternization by the Island Women'.[17] Interestingly, he does not focus upon friendships and working relationships which developed between Islander men and German soldiers in the same way, and instead explicitly refers to feminine modes of collaboration as being unique and exceptional.[18] He explains the animosity felt towards these women as being a result of them having 'comforted the enemy in time of war in return for privileges…they brought dishonour and misery to their families.'[19] In fact, King's study refers specifically to women only in the instance of collaboration, even though he concedes that no crime was committed by many of these women and that the majority were not in fact 'traitors'.[20] His stereotypical claims about 'the more obvious goodtime girls' and 'sorry events of female fraternisation'[21] show the extent to which blame has commonly been attributed to female fraternisers, firstly for 'betraying' the British cause, but also for dishonouring their families and communities during the Second World War. This has been the case even within the historiography, as it tries to tackle this complex and central aspect of the occupation experience and memory. Such debates in the Channel Islands' occupation literature are crucial for informing wider discussion about the historical construction of masculinity and femininity, and to consider how this ongoing debate might have influenced the enduring nature of certain memories in these communities.[22]

---

[16] Ibid, pp.60-61.
[17] Peter King, *The Channel Islands War, 1940-1945* (Suffolk, 1991) pp.76-82.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid, p.77.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Marilyn Lake, 'Female Desires: The Meaning of World War II' in Joy Damousi, Marilyn Lake (eds), *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1995) p.61.

The UK-Islander Relationship

Undoubtedly key to understanding the wartime and postwar construction of memory in the Channel Islands is their connection with the United Kingdom, and a strong identification with a British-Islander national identity. It is perhaps unsurprising that when there were no arms to fight back, Islanders instead turned to recognisable and unifying British symbols and values that were seen to show loyalty and defiance. The resulting framework of moral codes and community expectations following the invasion were inherently gendered. Young women were criticised when they were seen to 'profiteer' from their appearance and sexuality, particularly when this was seen to undermine local men or those fighting abroad. Similarly, in the case of male pacifists, some construction workers, and black marketeers; materially having a 'better time of it' than their neighbours, or partaking in reckless activities that endangered their community, were significant moral offences. This was a fine line, however, and those who were seen to commit one of these acts in a way which also benefited the wider community (such as sharing some of their black market goods with friends, or preventing their neighbours from being harmed by instead following a German order) could be viewed less harshly. The fact that it was recognisable British soldiers who would later liberate the Channel Islands also meant that many men could reconstruct a sense of national pride through affiliating their own wartime conduct with a victorious martial masculinity that endured and defeated the German occupiers. Women, however, were less likely to be forgiven for what was seen to be a significant moral offence. Sexuality was policed through the offensive labelling of female 'jerry bags' and local ostracism, without any consideration given for the power dynamics involved, individual motivations, and how some poorer women might need to work in close contact with German soldiers to support their family, arousing suspicion in the process. This engrained notion of morality under siege was inherently gendered, and interconnected elements of British good citizenship, honour, loyalty, shame and betrayal; repeatedly fracturing these

communities. When analysing these issues, however, it is important to remember the areas where the Channel Islands were not unique, and to seek out similar scenarios that occurred elsewhere during the Second World War, on the British Home Front and throughout occupied Europe. Similarly, these small Islander communities can further our understanding of how national war memory is constructed along gendered lines.

Soldier Heroes and the Pleasure Culture of War

In his study of war in British popular culture, Michael Paris outlines what he terms the 'pleasure culture of war' which has its roots in the mid-nineteenth century when the 'youth of the nation' had to be imbued with 'martial spirit' having existed in a 'constant state of alarm' from various conflicts and challenges linked with the existence of Empire.[23] This study by Paris followed on from a compelling assessment of the 'soldier hero' and adventure stories in British popular culture and society by Graham Dawson, where Dawson argues that:

> 'identification with these heroes meets the wish to fix one's own place within the social world, to feel oneself to be coherent and powerful rather than fragmented and contradictory. It offers the assurance of a clearly recognizable gender identity and, through this, the security of belonging to a gendered national collectivity that imagines itself to be superior in strength and virtue to others.'[24]

As is seen in continental Europe to varying degrees, extended periods of conflict saw particular values and attitudes being promoted as essential to 'national survival', with the eventual reality of war was 'sanitized' in popular culture.[25] War was preserved as a crucial sphere for men to exert their patriotism and define and perform their understandings of masculinity.[26]

---

[23] Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London, 2000) p.257
[24] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994) p.282.
[25] Paris, *Warrior Nation*, p.257.
[26] Ibid.

Representing victory after a war was, therefore, another way to cement proof of their masculinity, and to present to the British public proof that they belonged to a superior nation.[27] Continued remembrance of past victories as part of a national story is a process to preserve 'national vigour', a willingness to fight, and a desire to belong to a renewed concept of the nation state during a period of postwar uncertainty.[28] Penny Summerfield similarly shows how pervasive memory construction on a national scale is problematic when this is closely tied to dominant definitions of masculinity, as this discourse can be promoted to the exclusion of other non-conforming narratives.[29] Summerfield contends that private accounts are inherently tied to 'conceptual and definitional effects of powerful public representations'.[30] This has meant that many women have found their individual voices marginalised in conversations about the Second World War in a variety of ways. The dominant memory which developed in Britain instead intrudes or imposes itself upon these private stories in order to construct a unified 'whole', leaving many women with a 'confusing range of discursive options' when trying to frame their own wartime memories.[31] However, war experience is itself an important part of this process, as this is where gendered expectations, tensions, and perceptions of one's own importance to the national war effort are first rooted in the minds of individuals and communities, and so filter into the subsequent framing of their memories. The Second World War brought to the fore official anxieties about morale and maintaining production and unity, but also heightened tensions within communities and families as they experienced intense physical, emotional or psychological trauma and separation. Societal dislocation and unprecedented social responsibility ensured that any challenge to previously-held expectations

[27] Ibid, p.258.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives.*
[30] Ibid, p.15.
[31] Ibid, p.28.

of gender norms could exacerbate concerns about national unity and fears of an 'enemy within' working against the war effort.

The Gendered Experience of War

In fact, Christa Hammerle, Oswald Uberegger, Birgitta Bader Zaar argue that gender is itself 'a weapon of modern warfare' that puts 'immense pressure on women and men.'[32] In her seminal work, *War and the British*, Lucy Noakes contends that the expected role of women in a combatant war situation is to be the 'moral guardian of the nation, signifying the nation's aims and values', and the female body to act as the 'boundary' of the nation state.[33] In his study of post-Second World War Western European societies, Pieter Lagrou similarly directs our attention to postwar national 'survival' through the reframing of a society's own perceived wartime failures.[34] This sees the fostering and cementing of a suitably heroic national narrative, and thus reclaims 'national honour' and 'national distinctiveness' in a way which can further encourage social cohesion.[35] The role of gender in the experience of war is undeniable, and so it seems wholly necessary to include this in a study of war memory, by extension.

The experience of war is often complex and traumatising, and this can also be true of how people construct or adapt their memories of the past. Robert Moeller examines this in his study of the search for a 'usable past' in the Federal Republic of Germany, while also arguing that historians must consider the early period of 'mourning' within a society to better understand its construction of memory.[36] Examining the interplay between private memories and their framing by public narratives, Moeller shows how a public war story may shift focus through

---

[32] Christa Hammerle, Oswald Uberegger, Birgitta Bader Zaar (eds), *Gender and the First World War* (Basingstoke, 2014) p.4.
[33] Lucy Noakes, *War and the British: Gender, Memory and National Identity* (London, 1998) pp.166-167.
[34] Pieter Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945-1965* (Cambridge, 2000) p.292.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (California, 2003) p.174.

counter-memories or other means, and yet still see earlier understandings of the past survive.[37] It is, therefore, important to resist the temptation to find 'absolutes' in the memory of war, as the 'binary oppositions of perpetrator and victim, guilt and innocence' do not align with many individuals' experiences or memories of war.[38] The witness group's ongoing relationship with the intergenerational legacy of a war can also say a lot about the function of memory within a community or wider society.

Community Memories and Forging Postwar Unity

Since the 1980s it has increasingly been accepted that popular memory of the Second World War is also linked with current national concerns and the need to forge a united imagined community in the aftermath of war, without much consideration of the elements of memory that have persisted through the decades. Angus Calder's important work on the inconsistencies and exaggeration of wartime memory saw him advance the concept of 'The Myth of the Blitz', which, he argued, was almost instantaneously created by the wartime British Press to support 'a myth of British or English moral preeminence, buttressed by British Unity' in the response to the unprecedented impact of war on the Home Front.[39] Calder further argues that public representation of these iconic but traumatic events would later take the standard form of other 'traditional' postwar legends, involving heroes and biblical comparisons of a battle between good and evil, in order to explain the defeat of Nazism.[40] The search for continuity, unity, and comfort in the face of dramatic change and impactful events is thus central to understanding war memory. Mark Connelly similarly contends that the image of the Blitz is particularly powerful in Britain as it has been supplemented and defined by the visual imagery which accompanied it, with these images used to 'impart messages of defiance, solidarity and

[37] Ibid, pp.175-176.
[38] Ibid, p.198.
[39] Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London, 2008) p.2.
[40] Ibid.

togetherness, and improvisation in the face of a powerful enemy'.[41] However, Alan Allport shows that even with such uplifting imagery of national spirit and the unity of men and women in the face of total destruction, the reality of life after the Second World War was often very different to how it has been collectively remembered and represented in public history.[42] Allport explores how in the United Kingdom some of the 'Tommies' who were celebrated as the good and moral defenders of the unified British nation in fact committed horrific crimes against the very women who had helped to maintain the Home Front in their absence.[43] This was particularly the case when these women were seen to have been morally compromised by the new freedoms and temptations awarded to them during the war.[44] It is, therefore, important to remember that some voices and images were instinctively trusted and imbued with power to transmit and engage as part of the framework of national war memory, while others could very easily find themselves excluded from this public process if they did not align with community values at that time. This tells a story of the relationship between war and memory, as certain voices are privileged according to perceptions of their gender, social status/class, race, and sexuality. Even as societies sought unity through a national story and purpose, not everyone was awarded equal weight to actively participate, and this is reflected in later collective memory.

The study of memory has, therefore, evolved a great deal since Maurice Halbwachs' seminal work, *On Collective Memory,* which considers the interconnecting of individual memories within a society, and how social structures go on to frame such memories.[45] For Halbwachs, society is not simply the place where memories are made, but also where they 'recall, recognize, and localize their memories'; shaping them within the group over time.[46] This study

[41] Mark Connelly, *We Can Take It! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War* (Harlow, 2004) p.129.
[42] Alan Allport, *Demobbed: Coming Home After the Second World War* (New Haven, 2009).
[43] Ibid, pp.81-106.
[44] Ibid, p.81-106.
[45] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992).
[46] Ibid, p.38.

is important when considering small communities, such as the Channel Islands, where it is more easy to track group interaction with war memory. These small island groups who first experienced wartime events remained in close contact with one another before, during, and after five years of enemy occupation. This thesis can therefore closely map the localisation and continuation of the recall and recognition of memories through the decades, from historic wartime events to their representation in the present day, to consider the limitations of Halbwachs' theory. In fact, as Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins have shown in their review of the memory studies field, the very term 'collective memory' is now contested, although at its core is an exploration of how people are shaped by the past, and how this past is intertwined with the present.[47] However, there exists a tension between different scholarly schools of thought regarding whether such memory is present and changeable, or informed more closely by events in the past. Is memory malleable in nature and consistently shifting in relation to changing politics, relationships and social attitudes (the dominant theory, developed from Halbwachs' work), or persistent and inseparable from the original historic events, knowledge, and symbols themselves?[48] This thesis hopefully goes some way to offering an answer to this question as well.

Due to the particular circumstances of these small Islander communities, this thesis also looks beyond the malleable 'everyday memory' described by Halbwachs, to explore how early frames of memory may be able to endure for longer periods of time within such an intimate and interconnected society. Jan Assmann's research into the concrete connection between memory and group identity is useful in this regard, with its focus being the social frameworks which enable some established memories to exist beyond the first generation of societal

[47] Jeffrey K. Olick, Joyce Robbins (eds), 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices' *Annual Review of Sociology* (1998).
[48] Ibid, p.129.

witnesses.[49] Assmann's description of the 'concretion of identity' shows a process through which a group can construct a sense of unified and identifiable self through a more enduring collective 'knowledge'.[50] This cultural memory acts through a series of reusable and society-specific texts, images, and rituals; while their 'cultivation' enables the stabilisation and promotion of society's self-image.[51] This process provides a clear framework for subsequent cultural memory within this closed group, both in terms of determining who exactly the group is and what is 'other' to them.[52] Before a memory becomes 'binding', it first passes through six stages:

- Reconstructing meaning
- Crystallization of communicated meaning to become a part of society heritage
- Cultivation through bearers of memory
- An 'obligation' to a 'normative self-image of the group' which 'engenders a clear *system of values* and *differentiations in importance* which structure the cultural supply of knowledge and the symbols', all centred on cultural identity.[53]

This all occurs prior to 'reflexivity', which sees the development of proverbs and rituals; drawing on itself for explanation, reinterpretation, criticism, censorship and control, and reflecting its own self-image and that of the group.[54] Assmann's study is important because it argues that memory is both a self-defining group activity and a process which has clearly defined roots, even if it necessarily reacts and shifts over time. To truly understand memory, you must first understand why a group found it necessary to reconstruct its sense of meaning. Simply put, this understanding of memory derives from the everyday interactions of a specific

[49] Jan Assmann, Tony Czaplicka (trans), 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity' *New German Critique* (1995).
[50] Ibid, p.130.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid, pp.130-133.
[54] Ibid, p.132.

group during their own lifetime, but it can continue for as long as a group draws upon and revisits the established frames of memory as part of their shared group identity. Similarly, Barry Schwartz has challenged the dominant historiography of 'malleable' collective memory. The core of Schwartz's work is the argument that while the memories that are passed on through generations may be modified over time, that their 'essence' remains unchanged in many respects, and that this should be a central consideration for scholars exploring how a group develops a collective memory of a historic event.[55] The process of 'keying' and 'framing' memory further enables a society to interconnect its past with the present as a template to reflect and derive meaning, both as a 'model *of* society [and] model *for* society'.[56] Schwartz therefore takes issue with Pierre Nora's separation of the recording of history and the wide-ranging witnesses of history.[57] Nora has previously identified the importance of the *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory); the ways in which memory is utilised to construct a usable national identity.[58] Nora argues that the imbuing with significance and 'capacity of metamorphosis' of a historic event does not continue beyond the moment of its happening unless there remains a conscious desire by those within society to maintain it in some form.[59] Nora argues that there must also be an identifiable effort to create and establish mechanisms to preserve and recycle particular rituals, sites, and symbols associated with such memories, to cement their significance.[60] Memories associated with particular historical events may then continue to reverberate through these sites, newly imbued with popular meaning, as a society seeks to construct, redefine, or preserve a particular image of the nation and of their 'origins', through physical remnants of a shared past.[61] Nora has himself carefully separated the many

[55] Barry Schwartz, 'Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory' in Anna Lisa Tota, Trevor Hagen (eds), *Handbook of Memory Studies* (2016) p.13.
[56] Ibid, p.15.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire' *Representations,* 26 (California, 1989).
[59] Ibid, pp.12, 19.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

varied realms that memory can inhabit before being reinterpreted by the making of history: 'Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions, to relations between things'.[62] Schwartz, on the other hand, contends that memory cannot be separated from history in such a definitive way, as the essence of the experience of historic events shapes subsequent realities, which then inform our perception of the past.[63] This thesis furthers this analysis of memory to consider the role that gendered expectations and associated societal fractures and tensions (as the only British territories occupied by German forces) had on the framing of this group's war memory, both during and after the occupation.

Unstable Memories and Intergenerational Conflict

When addressing the more contested and traumatic aspects of a shared past in the context of the Second World War, Henry Rousso is an important scholarly source to draw upon. Rousso details the deep internal divisions which erupted in wartime France due to the simultaneous existence of both the Vichy regime and the resistance, which 'left deeper scars than either the defeat or the German occupation' in an 'archetype of Franco-French conflict'.[64] This trauma, and its association with a long legacy of previous French internal conflicts, meant that this wartime experience has remained central in structuring how the war itself has been remembered, and in gradually fostering some level of national consensus through the commemoration of a recognisable national story.[65] However, Rousso also identifies intergenerational 'conflicts' as becoming the biggest single issue forcing 'turning points' of mythmaking in postwar France; finally 'breaking the mirror' in 1971, and enabling some

[62] Ibid, p.9.
[63] Schwartz, 'Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory' p.16.
[64] Henry Rousso, Arthur Goldhammer (trans), *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* (Massachusetts, 1991) p.297.
[65] Ibid, pp.297, 306.

challenges to previously accepted representations of the war years.[66] Generational engagement with the past is an important part of this thesis, but it also considers the continuity of high profile witnesses of the occupation years continuing to publicly reinforce and stabilise war memory in the Channel Islands, often by adapting opposing narratives to fit the dominant community story.

Of those already researching the impact of gender on war and memory, Susan R. Grayzel argues that the Home Front and War Front were 'inherently unstable' and that historians must stop treating these arenas as separate spheres of the war experience or as more or less 'authentic' than the other.[67] Crucially, Grayzel's analysis shows how gender relations and identities in Britain and France did not 'shatter' because of the war, but instead a process of 'reconstruction' was 'constant and ongoing from the first day of the war' and that the 'cues' received by women ensured that, ultimately, the war did not radically alter pre-war gender expectations, or indeed a woman's own sense of national identity, particularly in relation to motherhood.[68] Gendered war memory and commemoration is, thus, rooted in the experience in the war itself as much as subsequent events and shifts within society. In this respect, understanding the gendered experiences, expectations, and emotions associated with the war is crucial to understanding how women and men have framed and disseminated their war records and memories in the postwar period. Grayzel's aforementioned connection between the rooting of gendered identities and anxieties in wartime events and into the postwar period also coincides with Marilyn Lake's argument that war is undoubtedly 'a gendering activity' which 'restructures gender relations in ways that must be taken account of after the war'.[69] However, rather than exploring motherhood and identity as a central theme, Lake examines

[66] Ibid, pp.304-305.
[67] Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, 1999) pp.156, 245.
[68] Ibid, pp. 244-246.
[69] Ibid, p.67.

this topic through the lens of femininity having been structured in an inherently sexualised manner in an uncertain war setting, as citizens increasingly feared that the war 'undermined traditional restraints and disciplines'.[70] When foreign forces arrived, Lake argues that this was seen to sexualise the local female population, with society distancing and recategorising women seen to engage in improper relations and, thus, rejecting established social norms as a result.[71] Similarly, in their joint analysis of gender and the Second World War, which has France as its point of focus, Luc Capdevila, Francois Rouquet, Paula Schwartz, Fabrice Virgili and Daniele Voldman similarly contend that the year 1940 was the point at which most citizens 'lost their normal reference points' as 'values and identities were blurred' and stereotypes were 'mobilized by the propaganda of various different agencies', to ultimately visualise a range of competing and highly gendered ideals.[72] Although they argue that these visual ideals were in some respects 'reassuring' by ensuring that every person had a flexible means of 'interpreting the world in a state of upheaval', these images could be 'rigid', and the gendered imagery of the 'vestal virgin and warrior' was problematic in that it did not 'limit itself only to a positive register' and so could also be used to reject and shame members of the community who failed to live up to these ideals.[73] They see the Second World War as a crucial space for historians to explore the consequences of the war, when the definition of the Home Front and War Front are no longer connected as directly with accepted understandings of masculinity or the femininity, as the war blurred these spheres.[74] Their conclusion considers that the issue most clearly brought to the fore by the war is that previously-held gendered assumptions (and thus, identities) had been inadequate, and threatened the stability of any prior understanding of

[70] Ibid, pp.67-68.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Luc Capdevila, Francois Rouquet, Paula Schwartz, Fabrice Virgili, Daniele Voldman, 'Quite simply, Colonel…': Gender and the Second World War' in Hanna Diamond, Simon Kitson (eds), *Vichy, Resistance, Liberation: New Perspectives on Wartime France* (Oxford, 2005) p.53.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid, p.55.

masculine identity.[75] This can be seen in the mass shearing of female 'collaborators' heads shortly after the liberation, with the authors examining how women were now accepted as 'responsible for their actions'.[76] At the same time, by 'repressing "horizontal collaboration" (or sleeping with the enemy), men affirmed their authority and regained their control over women's bodies' and, thus, 'the gender realignments of the next generation would derive from the reappropriation of women's bodies, one of the most contested sites of male domination.'[77] For this reason then, gendered assumptions that fed into the experiences of the Second World War are important when seeking to understand both the memory of this period, as well as the formation of postwar national identities and legacies. Increasingly though, scholars are beginning to address the crucial interplay between gender and war, and even to consider the role of gender in the memory of war.

Gendered War Memories

In the Channel Islands, early anxieties can be seen through popular representations of resistance and collaboration as gendered concepts in spaces of public history. Finding existing studies which analyse these connected strands of war, memory, and gender is itself a challenge, and usable theoretical frameworks are yet to be fully developed. In their recent edited collection, *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories*, Ayşe Gül Altınay and Andrea Petö have sought to advance a more inclusive feminist analysis of the intersection between war, gender and memory.[78] They argue that the existing field has yet to 'take seriously the ways in which gendered memories and memorializations of past wars shape contemporary lives and politics, as well as the ongoing processes of militarization'.[79] Altınay and Petö call for academics

[75] Ibid, p.57.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ayşe Gül Altınay, Andrea Petö (eds), *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories: Feminist Conversation on War, Genocide and Political Violence* (London, 2016).
[79] Ibid, p.7.

researching the intersection between war/militarism, gender and memory to be mindful of 'the concept of silence', but also 'the gendered politics of silencing [and] the feminist politics of unsilencing'.[80] Those approaching this complex and under-theorised field must be conscious of their own personal selectiveness in the process of 'unsilencing' the voices of women, as well as considering the ethical implications when some groups of women may have chosen silence for a particular purpose. Altınay and Petö consider 'silences' to be particularly gendered and political, and as a result contend that the process of 'unsilencing' these voices can in itself be a highly political act and must be done through the appropriate feminist lens; contextualising, situating and examining the story of each individual in its own terms in order to avoid generalisations.[81] Similarly, in their edited collection on the topic of gender and memory, Selma Leydesdorff, Luisa Passerini and Paul Thompson make clear that the boundaries between masculinity and femininity are fluid and can evolve or take on new forms depending on cultural and generational factors.[82] They also discuss the fragility of individual narratives which are shaped depending on the way a particular culture 'wants to remember and to forget on the level of the individual psychology' and consider that within certain closed communities we must be aware that women and men might share some of the same 'narratives and genres' in order to construct their identity and story.[83] While not the focus of their own study, they also discuss the importance of scholarship of gender and memory in the field of war studies, especially where academics are analysing how societies cope with war. They consider this to be beneficial in the struggle to break down the engrained association between war and 'the domain of masculine memorial culture in which so-called "acts of war" mute the female voice in the civil population'.[84] While their study also makes clear the need to consider other

[80] Ibid, p.9.
[81] Ibid, pp.11-12.
[82] Selma Leydesdorff, Luisa Passerini, Paul Thompson (eds), *Gender & Memory* (New Jersey, 2005) p.vii.
[83] Ibid, pp.viii-ix.
[84] Ibid, p.xiv.

influencing factors in the formation of memory besides gender, Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson similarly see a significant value in the study of war in relation to gender and memory, especially as this opens up the field to consider voices which have otherwise been marginalised by the dominant masculine representations of wartime heroism.

Emotion and War Trauma

Considering how gender intertwined with emotion and war trauma is also important to consider, particularly given that the occupation of the Channel Islands was so isolating, sudden and unprecedented, and for many would have been their first experience of living in a war zone. Men and women needed to reconcile the complexities of this trauma as part of their postwar identity. Michael Roper also explores the importance of moving towards an understanding of the relationship between gender, war and emotion in his study of 'languages of fear', 'emotional experiences' and manliness during the First World War.[85] Roper argues that for decades after the First World War there developed a middle class attempt to 'reflexively' assess 'the codes of "manliness" in Britain', due to the experience of fear during the war years and postwar advances in the societal engagement with psychology and science.[86] War poets who had been exposed to the trauma of war did not reject their potentially problematic connection with the constructed concept of 'manliness' as might be expected, and instead this was reimagined 'around themes of pain and sacrifice', with Roper contending that this even impacted the subsequent generation of men.[87] Central to Roper's work is a reassessment of the historiographical approach to this topic and to encourage a greater consideration of the subjectivities involved in these gendered experiences of war, to examine 'how the effort to represent war's profound personal effects might motivate the search for new

[85] Michael Roper, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950' *Journal of British Studies* (2005) p.346.
[86] Ibid, p.345.
[87] Ibid, p.344.

forms of self-expression or encourage reflection on the old'.[88] This study considers both language and emotion, offering an important insight into a society divided by the gendered experience and expectations of war, and how men reimagined their sense of identity in the aftermath of such trauma. It is again clear, however, that not all experiences of war were the same, and that is why an analysis of language and emotion is valuable to give voice to the complexities, intricacies, and silences in such accounts, and to explore why these might occur.

Good Citizenship and Collaboration

Gendered ideas of good citizenship in a time of war could both be an additional source of tension and act as a blueprint to regain composure in a war and postwar setting. Codified citizenship expectations presented a clear way to perform patriotism under occupation, while making 'other' those who were perceived to be cowards or collaborators. In her study of this complex post-First World War understanding of manliness and masculinity, Sonya O. Rose argues that when it then came to the Second World War 'hegemonic masculinity was constructed in opposition both to a hyper-masculine Nazi-like image, and to images of emasculated or effeminate men personified by old men and cowardly pacifists', at the same time as masculinity and 'good citizenship' were 'were virtually the mirror images of one another'.[89] Rose's study underscores the inherent instability of a nation at war, and the importance of analysing this in relation to gender, with the nation under attack portrayed as 'a violated but supremely moral feminine body' that was later 'cloaked in masculinity'; a masculinity defined in relation to the 'other'.[90] Rose argues that the nation was both 'maternal' and 'masculine', with 'heroic self-sacrifice' and 'impartial reason' being defined against the feminine, and conversations about 'moral purity' being configured around supposedly opposite

[88] Ibid, p.346.
[89] Sonya O. Rose, 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain' in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, John Tosh (eds), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, 2004) p.177.
[90] Ibid, p.178.

characteristics of 'duty and sexuality, bravery and pleasure, and sacrifice and desire'.[91] Women who did not conform to the desired gender norms in wartime, particularly by being seen to seek out pleasure or sexual liaisons, were thus defined as 'anti-citizens' who not only undermined the unity of the war effort, but also the potential reconstruction of a good and moral nation in the aftermath of the Second World War.[92] It is, therefore, crucial that any study of how European societies remember and commemorate the Second World War also takes account of these gendered experiences, expectations, myths, and memories that are all bound up together as part of the construction of a usable past. Noakes similarly argues that memorials to the Second World War again reinforce this gendered symbolism as the home and family, often represented by women, are maintained as the 'site of the national values that the combatant men are told they are fighting to defend.'[93] In fact, the one constant in the way that women are represented can be seen in the 'problematizing of any active female participation in war.'[94] This is particularly significant when assessing the memory and commemorative practices of the Second World War. Women, whether they were facing aerial bombardment at home, undertaking essential war work, living under German occupation, or engaged in resistance activities, were unavoidably thrust into being an active participant in a war where such activities were seen to be inherently problematic.

This thesis explores the centrality of gender in the moral framework of wartime society, as well as the tensions and fractures that were created when this sense of 'order' and fair play were disrupted; shaping subsequent frames of memory. Moving towards a deeper understanding of the gendered nature of war memory is central to any analysis of why particular memories have been marginalised or dominated when representing the nation's wartime story, and which

[91] Sonya O. Rose, 'Sex, Citizenship, and the Nation in World War II Britain' *The American Historical Review* (1998) p.175.
[92] Ibid, p.176.
[93] Ibid, p.167.
[94] Noakes, *War and the British,* p.17.

elements of this memory have been preserved across generations. It is hoped that this study will itself further feed into existing research regarding the development of memory within a range of societies, asking the central questions: how and why do societies forge such strong connections to certain shared memories? And to what extent does gender impact upon this process, following the gendered experience of war? It will be argued that early wartime anxieties and fractures within these small communities directly impacted upon enduring frames of collective memory into the postwar period, while the close-knit nature of the Channel Islands ensured that certain concerns were magnified and established across parishes and islands. Therefore, while this study may focus upon these small British islands, it can in fact tell us a great deal about the development of memory and the gender dynamics of war and postwar societal reconstruction.

Establishing Early Frames of Memory: Diaries, Letters and Reports

The Channel Islands are set apart in their experience of the Second World War, having maintained their position as a British Crown Dependency largely without contest since 1066, and having not faced occupation or such direct contact with warfare in modern memory. The suddenness of the invasion and length of the subsequent occupation were unprecedented in the Channel Islands. With a peak of 30,000 German troops stationed on the islands (a ratio of one soldier to every three Islanders), it is perhaps unsurprising then that this was a time of deep emotional trauma and physical upheaval for these tight-knit communities. Gendered and class-based assumptions would be tested and cause deep anxiety as Islanders struggled to navigate and maintain heavily propagated expectations of correct modes of masculine and feminine British wartime conduct. Many Islanders possessed radio sets for the duration of the occupation and would listen to the BBC on them, all the while living alongside armed enemy soldiers and witnessing their visible militarisation of the islands. Islanders could, therefore, follow British military movements and witness the sounds and sights of war from a distance, yet were unable to actively contribute or serve due to the isolation and the pre-invasion demilitarisation of the Channel Islands by the British government. This effectively left Islanders in a 'no man's land' for five years, and fed into both the local expectations of correct wartime conduct and widespread anxieties about a possible breakdown of moral values and British national identity.

As early as 1940 there was concern within Westminster that the British-led evacuation from the Channel Islands had itself had not been as 'voluntary' as intended, instilling division between officials and the public, particularly where people were told by Islander officials not to be 'yellow' by evacuating.[95] Yet at the same time it was reported that men were being warned

[95] House of Commons debates. 31 July 1940. Hansard: 'Channel Islands. HC Deb 31 July 1940 vol 363 cc1349-70' http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1940/jul/31/channel-islands.

that they were needed by England for the war effort and might be sent to work as slave labour for the Germans if they remained in the islands, while it was implied that women might face an even worse fate were they to remain.[96] The occupation of the Channel Islands was thus fraught with conflicting gendered expectations from the very start, and this has undoubtedly problematized the legacy of these years of separation and trauma, even as this five-year period has effectively become the popularised 'origin story' of Islander national identity.

The immediate postwar period was itself equally characterised by intense emotion and further upheaval and dislocation due to the gradual shift in demographics and lingering wartime tensions. German prisoners of war, and many of the foreign forced labourers who had been brought to the islands by the Germans in the course of the occupation, were transported from the Channel Islands to England or mainland Europe. Islander evacuees, deportees, and servicemen who had been separated from the Channel Islands during the war gradually returned home to the islands. No prosecutions took place for those seen to engage in dishonourable conduct during the occupation years, meaning that local rumours about certain individuals were not necessarily put to rest with the liberation. Thus, this particularly difficult period of reconstruction saw Islanders reclaim the physical manifestations of defeat and humiliation which were now rooted in the landscape in the form of concrete German military installations, and other contested spaces and objects of memory (to be addressed further in Chapter 3). This would enable Islanders to reclaim and reframe the very foundations of British Islander identity which had been reconfigured by this divisive wartime experience. This was important precisely because there had been no public trials to give an official definition of 'incorrect' conduct for the community to define their 'correct' conduct against in a unifying community narrative.

[96] Ibid.

This chapter uses a range of reports, diaries, and letters to argue that clear gendered frames of memory became entrenched in the immediate postwar period to stabilise and reconstruct crucial tenets of masculine and feminine British Islander citizenship that had been so undermined by the very nature of the occupation. As will be further explored in later chapters, these gendered frames of memory have since been enhanced for the next generation through a range of new cultural mediums and spaces of public history, particularly around significant anniversaries, as the bearers of memory pass on. This process has helped to cement this popularised 'origin story' for posterity and maintained the narrative which has been so central to the construction of a stable and unifying post-1945 Islander identity. Through a range of popularised gendered narratives, images, rituals, objects, spaces and other cultural mediums, Islanders have marginalised problematic dissenting accounts of the occupation while constructing and maintaining a 'usable past' on the divisive topics of collaboration and resistance. Reclaiming the dominant narrative in these areas has enabled Islanders to define the 'real' story of the occupation within these small British communities.

This chapter follows the initial development of frames of popular memory and their potential impact on the early representation of the gendered terms of collaboration and resistance, as well as the imbuing with significance particular spaces and objects for the 'authentic' retelling of the communities' shared war story. It seeks to uncover prominent societal tensions, anxieties, and unifying moments in early occupation literature and images, and explore how particular accounts or symbols came to be selected and cemented as symbolic of the collective community experience of the occupation. It takes the approach that the 'beginnings of memory' are not detached from the history and early perception of events, and are rooted before the war's end, as has previously been observed by Henry Rousso, as well as in aforementioned

studies by Assmann and Grayzel.[97] This approach is particularly useful in the case of the Channel Islands, where emotive events, iconic places, and people at the forefront of popular memory often seem to have been mythologised soon after they occurred through word-of-mouth and local publication/promotion of accounts within these small communities.

British-Islander Identity

Paul Sanders refers to a focus on particular events following the liberation of the Channel Islands as the 'Churchillian paradigm' which enabled Islanders to overlook the humiliating defeat of 1940 and the separation between Britain and the Channel Islands throughout the war period.[98] This often resulted in the exclusion of rival narratives of their past in order to achieve 'national reconciliation and unity'.[99] However, whereas Sanders speaks of a suppressed 'rummaging in the underbelly of public opinion' lasting into the 1960s in the Channel Islands,[100] this chapter considers that grievances were aired and that there was active discussion of difficult aspects of the occupation during this period. The idea of British national identity, and indeed the infamous 'People's War', had become so entangled with concepts of correct masculinity and femininity during the war years that for many islanders this also meant reconfiguring and stabilising their sense of identity by separating themselves from those who were seen to have been traitorous; often non-conforming women or men. Reaffirming a sense of masculinity during and after this divisive period of occupation required an early separation of 'us' from 'them'. This corresponds with Tony Judt's assessment of postwar Europe as a place where 'in the circumstances of liberation, everyone sought to identify with the winners…

---

[97] Henry Rousso, 'A New Perspective on the War' in Jorg Echternkamp, Stefan Martens (eds), *Experience and Memory: The Second World War in Europe* (Oxford, 2013) p.6; Assmann, Czaplicka (trans), 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity'; Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War.*

[98] Paul Sanders, 'UK war memory vs. Channel Islands occupation memory: differing perspectives of World War II' Published version of keynote speech at the University of Huddersfield 'Identity and the Other British Isles' conference, 24 June 2010. Accessible via Academia.edu. [Accessed: 01/09/2015].

[99] Ibid.

[100] Paul Sanders, *The British Channel Islands under German Occupation, 1940-1945* (Jersey, 2005) p.257; Nicolle Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection: The Occupation of the Channel Islands, 1940-1945*. MA Thesis. University of Leicester. 2013. pp.50-53.

this in turn entailed distinguishing and distancing oneself from those who had been the enemy (within and without). The question was who and how'.[101] It is argued that in the Channel Islands the 'who' was those who did not conform to gendered expectations at a time of war and enemy occupation, while the 'how' was to label these individuals as 'other' and to marginalise, reframe, or silence their voices in postwar discourse about the occupation. This ensured the continued stabilisation of the original male-dominated hierarchy in public recollections of the occupation, as those who did not conform to the popularised imagery of patriotism and unity either had their stories told for them, or in decades to come would retell their stories to fit in with the accepted public narrative of the Channel Islands' occupation.

Rumour and Wartime Expectations

Following the liberation, first-hand accounts of the occupation were spread almost exclusively by word-of-mouth or through the passing around of unpublished diaries within the local Islander community, and to visiting British journalists and historians.[102] The first Islanders to publish their diaries, memoirs, or histories in this window of postwar uncertainty were in the privileged position of shaping the focus of discussion and debate about the occupation in the immediate postwar period. Spreading rumours, as well as widespread familial and community discussion, were central at a time when memories were still relatively fresh and collective trauma still raw, and it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between public perception and historical fact.[103] This helped to shape clear frames of memory in which a handful of people, predominantly male, had a significant influence on what and who was discussed in public or in official spaces, as well as who was considered to be a patriot or a traitor. The voices of those who did not conform to the recognisable and unifying image that was recounted to the public

[101] Tony Judt, 'The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe', *Daedalus*, Vol. 121, No. 4, Immobile Democracy? (1992) p.85.
[102] Alan Wood, Mary Seaton Wood, *Islands in Danger* (London, 1955) pp.10-13.
[103] Ibid, p.9.

were marginalised or self-censored for many decades. Asa Briggs spoke of the power of rumour in the Channel Islands at a time when 'rumour was as significant as propaganda', while also stating that he can 'understand why in the excitement of liberation there was a desire on the part of some to forget (or be forgotten) rather than to remember (or be remembered).'[104] These early frames of memory have undoubtedly influenced the way that women and men have been represented in the public history of the Channel Islands' occupation to the present day, particularly in terms of the central subjects of collaboration and resistance. These gendered frames of memory have remained intact throughout the decades, creating a framework of popular discussion and recollection, while also initiating a recognisable and desirable representation of the Channel Island societies along gendered lines.

Official Reports on Wartime Conduct

This chapter first considers official reports from the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands in the period of 1944-45, and examines what these say about the exchange of rumour as fact at this time, and in particular, what this meant for perceptions of groups of people such as women, conscientious objectors and pacifists whose voices are not heard within these documents. Although it is difficult to gain a contemporary perspective of events on the Channel Islands outside of a handful of diaries, one such official report does exist of Islanders who escaped and were subsequently interviewed by British intelligence in September 1944. This interrogation report compiled by M.I.I9 on 2 October 1944, followed the escape of two men from Jersey on 20 September 1944, and their arrival in the UK via France on 23 September 1944.[105] The anonymous men are described by the interviewer as 'excellent types, keen and loyal' who had never worked for the Germans and had in fact attempted to form a Jersey Resistance Movement

[104] Asa Briggs, 'Memory and History: The Case of the Channel Islands' Fifth Joan Stevens Memorial Lecture, presented 26 April 1996 (Jersey, 1997) Held: Societe Jersiaise, Jersey. pp.14, 20.
[105] M.I.19. Report. Channel Islands, Jersey, M.I.I9. (R.P.S.)/2430, 2 October 1944 (Jersey Archives, Jersey) M/17/A/1/1. Original holding at the National Archives, Kew. WO/208 3741.

shortly after D-Day.[106] However, this was said to have failed due to a lack of popular support from other Islanders.[107] The report itself predominantly focuses on harmful elements within the Islander community on Jersey, and highlights the significance of gendered assumptions in deciding who was perceived to be a danger to the local Jersey community and to Britain, from the perspective of these young men.[108] These men were 24 years of age at the time of recording (two companions, aged 20, also sat in on their interrogation) and had been clerks and farmers by trade, prior to their escape from the Channel Islands. Throughout the report, they seem keen to give detailed accounts of their own patriotic actions, sometimes in opposition to the conduct of the wider Islander community.

Two of the central components to the report are the outlining of information which could be used against male conscientious objectors and against female sexual collaborators in Jersey. One of the informants is the nephew of a conscientious objector, yet goes on to detail how unpopular these men are with others on the island as were seen to (a) profit from the black market for which they are 'very blameworthy', with an unhealthy pull over prominent political figures on this matter, and (b) were viewed as political agitators who wished for radical changes to the Jersey constitution which would see it move closer to the United Kingdom.[109] The report goes on to state that none of the informants are themselves conscientious objectors.[110] It is made clear in this report that the men being informed upon remain identifiable solely by their 'conscientious objector' label even when discussing concerns about the black market and challenges to the future stability and democracy of the islands. That these informants choose to inform against conscientious objectors in this way, at a point when so many other concerns were facing the Channel Islands internally, suggests an alienation from men who did not fit the

[106] Ibid, Context page.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid, p.15.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

traditional mould of 'patriot' or 'resister' at a time of occupation. Similarly, under the heading 'MORALS' the informants also attempt to estimate how many women have had sexual relations with German soldiers, what type of women would have acted in this manner, and why they might have chosen to do so. Finally, a detailed list of women they suspect of being 'jerry bags' is offered, as well as the anticipated punishment facing these women from the 'patriotic youth' on the island.[111]

Morality and the Female 'Jerry Bags'

The word 'jerry bag' had (and still has) widespread usage in the Channel Islands as a deeply offensive term to refer to the women who were perceived to have consorted with German soldiers during the occupation. The general assumption underpinning this term is that a woman had been sexually available to the enemy, offering them entertainment and comfort (sometimes in exchange for profit, protection, or privileged status). A similarly offensive term which was also used in the Channel Islands, 'Quisling' (a reference to Vidkun Quisling, Minister President of the collaborationist government in Norway), could be used to describe men or women who were seen to be traitorous for a wider variety of reasons. Wartime activities seen to warrant this title included profiting from the black market or working for the enemy. However, the term 'jerry bag' is unique in its power to mark a woman for betraying both her patriotic national duty as a British citizen, as well as her feminine duty to remain virtuous and to wait for British and Islander men fighting abroad. While records do not show the root of the term 'jerry bag' in the Channel Islands, the historian Peter King suggests that the term was a corruption of the original term 'jerry baggage'.[112] King believes that this term was initially attached to young and attractive working-class shop girls (especially those working in Boots, with its perfume and make-up counters), if these young women were seen to attract the attention of German

[111] Ibid, p.11-12.
[112] King, *The Channel Islands at War,* pp.76-77.

soldiers.[113] The entrenchment of these class-based assumptions are also such that Channel Islands' occupation historian, Paul Sanders, himself suggests that 'horizontal collaboration was also a revenge of the lower classes, a reaction to the class-riddled British system that appealed to the underdog.'[114] While the definitive origins of the term 'jerry bag' remain elusive (as does definitive proof of how reliable the 'jerry bag' rumours were) the meaning behind it in the present day Channel Islands has not deviated much from wartime accounts; often resulting in the stigmatisation and silencing of women who did not conform to societal expectations for a variety of reasons, most notably, in regards to their sexuality. The term was not applied to men, and in existing accounts of the occupation where Islander men did engage romantically with German or German-resident women, accounts do not use this same terminology to describe these individuals.[115] When considering this intelligence report, then, it is important to understand the gendered dimension to the language used, and the fears and stigma that underpinned terms such as 'jerry bag' in this period. In fact, the informers offer further clues as to the anxieties surrounding women living under occupation under the heading of '"JERRYBAG WOMEN"':

> 'Informants say that women "Jerrybags" are now trying wholesale to "get with loyal islanders", having at length presumably seen some light on the situation as it is with the Germans. The Island authorities are powerless to stop the incidence of illegitimate children by Germans and are paying out subsistence allowance to the mothers. VENEREAL DISEASE: Venereal disease among these women will certainly constitute

[113] Ibid.
[114] Paul Sanders, *The British Channel Islands,* p.169.
[115] For examples of this, see: account of 'Holmes' in Norman Le Brocq, 'Founder member of the Jersey Communist Party, and former Deputy of the States of Jersey, talks about his Occupation experiences' 4 April 1988 (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) 96/162. Also, Miere's own 'no go romance' as described in: Joe Miere, *Never to be Forgotten* (Jersey, 2004) pp.39-40.

> a menace to our forces when they arrive, and some steps should be taken from BRITAIN'S end to protect them, in the opinion of the Island Authorities.'[116]

Such perceptions of the actions of women resulted in fears of a feminine fifth column even after the liberation, with disease and disloyalty presenting twin threats to the patriotic men of the Channel Islands, and to the strength of returning British servicemen. This is seen to be both a present and ongoing threat, with their actions also described as having impacted the Island authorities precarious local power and provisions. This fear is heightened as the informers estimate that 30% of the female population had 'fallen sexually to the Germans', while a further 5% are described as being 'sympathizers with German aims', while another informant comments that 7 out of 10 girls had been involved in such a relationship.[117] The women are referred to as 'fallen' more than once and are categorised as not 'confined to the ordinary prostitute class of normal times…they include women of a much better type'.[118] What is clear from the text is the frustration of the young men that women who would ordinarily have considered themselves 'too good' for them were seen to have chosen the 'scruffiest type' of German within weeks of the invasion.[119] The term 'fallen' is also politically charged in a time of war, and could be seen to connect feminine virtue and sexuality directly with the character of the Channel Islands under occupation, and the failure of local men to protect and police women who had been over-exposed to the enemy at war. Amanda Anderson has herself convincingly argued that the concept of the 'fallen' woman is intimately tied up with masculine feelings of a loss of control within a rapidly-changing society ('to 'fall' is, after all, to lose

[116] M.I.19. Report. Channel Islands, Jersey, M.I.19. (R.P.S.)/2430, 2 October 1944.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid, p.12.
[119] Ibid.

control').[120] Women's sexuality was, thus, seen to be undermining the stability and strength of the nation, and by extension, its men.

This masculine anxiety is further presented through the claim that the mothers of some '800-900 German babies' are believed to be women married to serving British soldiers, something which the informers state will likely mean that 'murder will be done and public opinion in general will approve' when the husbands of these women return and the police 'turn a blind eye'.[121] This again shows that for these informers the perception of widespread sexual collaboration was as much a point of damaged male pride as it was about the Germans being the enemy. The distinction between a 'better type' of woman falling for a German occupier seems to have been a particular point of contention, suggesting that the same level of anger would not have been directed at female prostitutes as was directed at these women who were seen to have fallen from grace by their actions.[122] This also suggests that the sexual element of this 'crime' was the most important to these men; there is no mention here of women being seen to use their leverage with the Germans to gain better rations or to inform on neighbours, as is sometimes seen in later accounts, and only 5% are estimated to be Nazi sympathizers, suggesting that the majority are loyal in a strictly political sense.[123] These are not crimes against the nation but against men, and in particular, patriotic men serving their nation. The title 'MORALS' makes clear that the perceived actions of Islander women were seen to be dishonourable in a more general sense and that this is clearly linked to traditional anxieties over feminine virtue and a denied sense of masculine entitlement. Furthermore, when describing the punishment that they anticipate these women will face in the future, the informers also offer an important insight by mentioning that those in Jersey will not be copying

[120] Amanda Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Falleness in Victorian Culture* (New York, 1993) p.2.
[121] Ibid, p.11.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.

the French by cutting off the hair of all suspect women, but will instead 'publicly tar and feather all "Jerry bags"' with tar that they have already been stockpiling ready for the liberation.[124] This would mean that people in the Channel Islands were aware of what was taking place in occupied France (perhaps unsurprisingly given the prevalence of hidden radio sets on the islands) and that some were seeking to emulate the spirit of the shearing of French 'horizontal collaborators' in some way. The motivation, seemingly, was a means to unify the 'patriotic' Islander community and to gain some measure of retribution. The report itself describes the informers as eager to participate in resistance activities while living in the Channel Islands, having successfully plotted to escape their heavily fortified homes to speak to the British forces abroad. It is clear that the experience of living under occupation, unarmed and unable to actively resist, had caused deep anxiety about the Channel Islands' sense of British citizenship and duty, and the inability of local men to control their fate and protect their national honour.

It is important to note that these men are taken at their word and viewed as 'loyal', the women listed in the report had their wartime conduct discredited (although no charges were brought against them) where they were not seen to conform to a gendered moral code while living under German occupation. Similar events occurred across Europe, with Fabrice Virgili's seminal research on postwar gendered punishment in liberation France showing the true extent of reprisals specifically against 'bad women' who were seen to have aided the enemy or humiliated the men of their community with their immoral conduct.[125] In fact, as a key component of identity,[126] assumed gender roles are highly significant when considering wartime experiences and attitudes of the communities living within these nations at war, as well as the increasingly dominant postwar memory and representations of the Second World

[124] Ibid.
[125] Fabrice Virgili, John Flower (trans), *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford, 2000).
[126] For more on gender as a key 'determinant of identity' along with social, national, generational and cultural factors: Capdevila et al, ''Quite simply, Colonel…': Gender and the Second World War'', p.51.

War.[127] In countries under Nazi occupation 'contemporary mores' demanded 'a higher standard of female behaviour' than of men, with the act of sexual collaboration often viewed as aiding the 'Nazi program of Germanization' and blurring the line between 'Them' and 'Us'.[128] Female fraternisation, particularly when of a sexual nature, has often been viewed by occupied peoples to be the 'most detested' form of wartime collaboration, with women commonly bearing the brunt of postwar community-led retribution and vigilante justice as a result.[129] Fabrice Virgili, Pieter LaGrou, Benjamin Frommer and Paul Lowe argue that this is symbolic of more complex issues, potentially linked to feelings of a nation having been betrayed, a lost sense of masculinity in men, a reassertion of power by a population after years of having none, and changes to previously accepted gender boundaries.[130] Frommer, in particular, makes the point that during the vetting process for cases to be tried at the postwar Czech 'People's Court' some 135,000 cases were initially referred to the court for 'offences against national honor' alone, while the stereotypical image of 'fraternizers and denouncers' was often that of a disloyal and selfish woman.[131] Expanding on this point, Frommer argues that both real and assumed collaboration is, in essence, 'structurally gendered'.[132] This is because women could not enter the public sphere as easily as men, and so modes of collaboration varied to that of men who were seen to have greater public responsibilities.[133] Instead, the idealised role of a woman is for her to be seen caring for the home and family, meaning that the ultimate collaborative act by a woman is for her to renege on her duty to

---

[127] Ibid.
[128] Nancy M. Wingfield, Maria Bucur, 'Introduction: Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe' in Nancy M. Wingfield, Maria Bucur (eds), *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Bloomington, 2006) p.14.
[129] Ibid.
[130] See: Virgili, Flower (trans), *Shorn Women;* Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation;* Benjamin Frommer, 'Denouncers and Fraternizers: Gender, Collaboration, and Retribution in Bohemia and Moravia during World War II and After' in Nancy M. Wingfield, Maria Bucur (eds), *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Bloomington, 2006).
[131] Benjamin Frommer, *National Cleansing: Retribution Against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslavakia* (Cambridge, 2005). p.2; Frommer, 'Denouncers and Fraternizers', pp.111, 117.
[132] Frommer, 'Denouncers and Fraternizers', p.118.
[133] Ibid.

maintain the health and prosperity of the private sphere, with this damaging the social fabric of local communities through increased suspicion and distrust.[134] This is also a much more subjective definition of collaboration to that seen when dealing with men, creating an almost impossible fine line between what could be viewed as acts necessary for a woman's (and sometimes, her family's) survival, and what could be deemed to be collaboration. The aforementioned 1944 British intelligence report suggests that the Channel Islands faced similar gendered tensions and anxieties to those that are known to have existed across occupied and postwar Europe, particularly in terms of female sexuality in wartime. The report is also one of the earliest examples of Channel Islander men exerting authority over the gendered definition of collaboration in an official capacity, seeking resolution or punishment for the perceived wrongs that women had enacted on the community by token of their reneging on their gendered social contract at a time of war.

Illegitimate Births and Marriages

However, rumours of mass illegitimate births are also cited by Enid Amelia Robilliard in her unpublished diaries of the occupation years, with Enid writing as early as 21 April 1942 that: 'A German at The Piette told us that 700 Jersey + Guernsey girls had married Germans – 200 had gone to Germany – 1000 children had been born. The Germans are allowed to marry C.I. girls as they are the same race – but are discouraged from marrying French girls'.[135] Enid is meticulous in recording all 'rumours [and] news' in her wartime diaries, and would even record meeting with her friend, Audrey, where they 'compared notes so as to get them more complete' on both local concerns and military matters.[136] However, it is of note that Enid's account focuses as much on the decision of women to marry German soldiers as on the rumours regarding their children; even explaining the racial reasoning behind the potential marriages.

[134] Ibid.
[135] Enid Amelia Robilliard. Unpublished diary. (Jersey Archive, Jersey) AQ 1108/20-24.
[136] Ibid.

Ones of the concerns which features within the informers' intelligence report of 1944 is that many rumoured mothers of German children are believed to be the wives of British serving soldiers, which is very different to the focus of Enid's diary featuring similar rumours. This shows how local rumours might shift or take another form depending on the audience, time, and interpretation, while maintaining some of the same core points of anxiety. What remains is the foundations of the rumour: that women were seen to be naively or deliberately consorting with the enemy in a sexual manner, and any resulting illegitimate children (even if the numbers of children were estimated) could be used as evidence of this betrayal of the British cause, and as a rejection of Islander men.

Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen argue that the Second World War particularly brought both the 'quality and quantity of children and their nationality' into public debate, with traditional understandings of the family being a necessary and politicised extension of this.[137] One dimension of the anxieties surrounding family values and nationality is that of Islander women who were seen to have children with German soldiers, or those who were seen to have been so naïve or 'bad' that they would seek to correct their actions with an illegal abortion. Madeleine Bunting details some such cases in *The Model Occupation,* arguing that if a woman became pregnant during the occupation years then this was not just perceived to be as a betrayal of their conservative religious community, but was also seen as a rejection of the existing family unit at a time when money was tight and food was already short.[138] Such women were not making do, but rather making life harder for their family by creating more mouths to feed during these difficult war years. A foreign soldier would not necessarily shoulder any of this burden, and so the consequences of such an error of judgement could potentially fall onto the woman's parents or other relatives. The Channel Islands were not included in an initiative to

[137] Kjersti Ericsson, Eva Simonsen (eds), *Children of World War II: The Hidden Enemy Legacy* (Oxford, 2005) pp.6-7.
[138] Bunting, *The Model Occupation,* p.67.

speed up wartime procedures in the case of German military men with claims to paternity, as well as for unmarried local mothers living under occupation, and so women had very few rights or support networks should they become pregnant.[139] As a result of the stigma attached to unmarried motherhood in wartime, most especially when this involved an occupying soldier, stories of forbidden interludes and desperate, illegal attempts to abort pregnancies led to a steady stream of sensationalist abortion stories in local newspapers.[140] This further entrenched the view that a woman's sexuality and rejection of social expectations could lead to other more dangerous forms of social deviance, with some women dying or facing prosecution in the process. Everywhere, women were shown to be both a threat to the fabric or society or under threat from unscrupulous enemy men who could make them forget their community, values, and safety at a time of war.

Official Communications and the Media

On 5 September 1944 the Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey, headed by Revd. Jurat John Leale, themselves discussed the matter of '"War Criminals" and "Quislings"' for the first time.[141] The Controlling Committee sought to determine whether any local people fell under this category and might be 'detained and brought to justice' when Allied Troops arrived on the island, or instead dealt with by the Local Authorities through the 'ordinary process of Law'.[142] Yet, at that time, the only person named by the Controlling Committee to be subject to further investigation was a man linked to Timmer Limited; a company that they had earlier discussed as having made 'considerable profits' on the black market throughout the

[139] Monika Diederichs, 'Stigma and Silence: Dutch Women, German Soldiers and their Children' in Ericsson, Simonsen (eds) in Kjersti Ericsson, Eva Simonsen (eds), *Children of World War II: The Hidden Enemy Legacy* (Oxford, 2005), pp.154-155.
[140] Bunting, *The Model Occupation*, p.68.
[141] Minutes for 5 September 1944, in Minutes of the Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey, Minutes Vol. II, 52-240, 6 January-24 September 1945 (Island Archives: Guernsey).
[142] Ibid.

occupation.[143] Although seemingly optimistic about the conduct of the majority of their citizens, and how they themselves would be received, an extensive Home Office Memorandum dated 17 August 1945 shows that unnamed Islander escapees and members of British Force 135 (who liberated the Channel Islands and collected information over three months about the 'deportment of the Channel Islanders under German occupation') would be much more damning in their judgement.[144] The memorandum's contributors write that a range of informers from the Channel Islands had, since 1941, alleged that men at the top had displayed a 'spineless attitude' towards the Germans, while also alleging widespread collaboration within the civilian population, with 'the chief offenders being women who consorted with the Germans', as well as informers.'[145] Guernsey's Bailiff, Victor Carey, and other officials are also condemned by the report on a range of charges, including discouraging sabotage and resistance and not protesting anti-Jewish measures on the island.[146] It goes on to divide the types of collaboration that were seen to deserve some kind of punishment, even where 'it will be difficult to accumulate sufficient satisfactory evidence for prosecution'.[147] These categories of collaboration are listed as: profiteers, informers, women who consorted with the German troops, and 'intelligent people and people of considerable social and official standing' who had favourable attitudes towards the Germans or had entertained them.[148] Of all the categories, the one given the greatest amount of detail is that of 'Women who consorted with the German troops'. This section goes beyond outlining the alleged crime, and referring to the class of the women ('not all confined to the lower classes or to professional prostitutes'), by estimating the number of illegitimate children born to Islander mothers and German fathers (between 180-

[143] Minutes for 26 June 1945 and 5 September 1944, in Minutes of the Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey.
[144] 'The Channel Islands Occupation' Memorandum for the Home Office, 17 August 1945 (Jersey Archive, Jersey) p.1. L/F/437/A7/1. Copy of file from National Archives, Kew. HO 45/22399.
[145] Ibid, p.1.
[146] Ibid, p.1-2.
[147] Ibid, p.4.
[148] Ibid.

320 babies), referring to photographs of over one hundred and twenty three Guernsey-based 'close friends' of Germans found in the possession of German prisoners of war, and making reference to one hundred and ten girls being treated for venereal disease 'contracted by reason of their association with Germans' in Guernsey.[149] The memorandum goes further, stating that 'there is a strong feeling among respectable Islanders that something ought to be done about these women, but in fact it is clearly not possible to take any steps, and local ostracism will probably provide the most suitable punishment.'[150] Previously, on 31 May 1945, a letter marked 'Top Secret' had already been sent to Captain Dening from Major J.R. Stopford to discuss these matters. Captain Dening was himself from the liberating Force 135, and was one of the key figures to investigate and report on these claims. The letter suggests that since they could not bring prosecutions against these women, and 'possibly some of the men' that they should proceed to interview them about their wartime activities, record their answers, and then make public the list of interviewees and why they had been interviewed: 'so that their fellow citizens can make their lives as unpleasant and uncomfortable as possible. The way these girls behaved is a perfect disgrace and the more people who know about it the better…' [151] The letter goes on to suggest that they would like to keep a record of those seen to have been friendly with the Germans and that it would be a 'good thing' if local newspapers were made aware of these names in order to publish them; 'quiet work' to see this done is, therefore, encouraged.[152] Suggesting that the local media might report on women who fraternised with the enemy is to suggest a significant punishment within such small communities, where the local media is widely read, and family names would have been known to many of the readers. It would, therefore, appear that both informers and government officials were in the midst of a moral

[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] 'Top Secret' letter from Major J.R. Stopford to Captain Dening, 31 May 1945 (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/F/437/A7/1.
[152] Ibid.

panic about the women of the Channel Islands, and viewed them as a source of national shame even at this early point. This is also a perfect example of the way in which rumour about non-conforming individuals could easily be transferred into fact towards the end of the war, without trials having taken place or verified statistics having been gathered. Instead, word-of-mouth is seen to be central to the spread of information about who was perceived to be a patriot or a traitor to the nation, with the impact of this having lifelong ramifications for those named.

While the contents of this memorandum, and the subsequent correspondence, help us to examine the perceptions held about certain groups of men and women towards the end of the occupation, and following the liberation; equally important is how this was eventually reported by the local media, and how some within the local community engaged in acts of vigilante retribution. On 20 August 1945, just three days after the Home Office Memorandum about the state of collaboration in the Channel Islands, the *Guernsey Press* newspaper reported on the 'British Government Verdict on Channel Isles'.[153] The sub-headline of this article states, "They Have Every Reason to be Proud of Themselves and We of Them" in reference to a discussion led by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons, before making reference to the 10,000 Channel Islanders who served in the British armed forces, as well as the Islanders 'loyalty to the crown' and 'unwavering allegiance'.[154] Although the article does address what it calls 'difficulties and problems' it also says that everything was done for the good of the people during the occupation, and on 'allegations of a very limited number of persons engaged during the occupation in conduct which might come within the scope of…giving assistance to the enemy' this is offset by referring to acts of heroism 'in helping secret service agents, sheltering allied airmen arranging escapes, and in keeping wireless sets'.[155] It is clear then that although the British Force 135 investigations and information from informers present a rather negative

[153] 'British Government Verdict on Channel Isles', *Guernsey Press*, 20 August 1945. p.1.
[154] Ibid, p.1-2.
[155] Ibid.

picture of the Channel Islands, that the local media within the islands themselves chose to focus on positive, unifying elements, and on acts of patriotism and heroism. Although tensions may have existed within the Channel Islands at this time, as can be seen through the words of informers and investigating officials, the official narrative in the Channel Islands in 1945 was one that connected Islander conduct to that of the British national pride at having overcome Nazism together. Those stories which did not conform to this narrative are simply marginalised at this point, yet appear again later in this chapter as part of published personal accounts of the occupation, often as a contrast to the 'patriotic' members of society. This again makes the Channel Islands' war story about 'us' and 'them' rather than associating everyone with the 'other' individuals, and shows the development of these accounts to shame these individuals where officials did not do so. While the honour of Islander men is judged according to their willingness to serve their nation and to protect their family or community, an Islander woman's honour is shown to have been intricately tied to her sexuality and the perceived corruption of moral values within society. The animosity shown to women who transgressed in this area, at least in the eyes of their community, by being seen to profit from their sexuality or to betray local men at the expense of their British identity and values, did not fade readily after the war. Instead, records of these moral 'crimes' have been preserved along with the thoughts of all but the accused women themselves, in most instances. In many respects, then, while men were trusted to construct their own stories of the war through words and objects in public spaces in the early postwar period, women's own bodies were political when in public spaces and acted as battlegrounds for maintaining order and control of British honour and identity.

Gendered Acts of Retribution

Instances where Islanders recorded their reactions to acts of retribution, committed by local vigilante groups and individuals, also tell us a great deal about the intense politicisation of women's bodies in the wartime Channel Islands, as well as the silencing of their voices when

defining their perceived moral 'crimes'.[156] There was also little sympathetic conversation about the power dynamics at play when women were confronted by armed members of the occupying forces. The hand-written and unpublished version of the occupation diary of Edward Le Quesne (Labour Minister for Jersey during the occupation), offers details of the violence and intimidation faced by some accused women, with Le Quesne recording attacks of 'retribution' in his 1944 and 1945 diary entries.[157] On 1 November 1944, Le Quesne wrote:

> 'One of my best foremen murdered his unfaithful wife and then committed suicide. It appears that like many other women she had been consorting with "Jerries" during he husband's absence at work. An indication of what will happen when many men, no longer absent, return home.'[158]

This contemporary account is important, as reflects the complex power dynamics of war that women had to navigate while living under occupation, with perpetrators of violent acts not always facing justice, and some even receiving sympathy for their actions. This can similarly be seen in the account of 11 May 1945, following the liberation of the island, when Le Quesne recorded the violent retribution that some partook in against suspected 'jerry bags': 'Another day of thrilling experience. More troops arrive and planes & shops much in evidence. Many Jerry bags & collaborators severely dealt with, and in some cases stripped down almost naked & paraded in the streets'.[159] In Mark Lamerton's history of the liberation, he also describes how only one letter to the local newspapers showed sympathy for the 'jerry bags' in this period (by instead placing the blame for their actions on a wider breakdown of society) while others

[156] For details of liberation retribution and how these stories have been overlooked in the Liberation Day ceremony, see: Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection*, pp.54-58.
[157] Deputy Edward Le Quesne, Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) F/C/205/A1/6.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Deputy Edward Le Quesne, Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) F/C/205/A1/7.

instead called for an inquiry into the 'friends of the enemy'.[160] The diary of teacher Mabel Ahier, written during the occupation years, also highlights that as early as 26 October 1944:

> 'People's anger blazed up against those who had entertained and had dealings with the enemy. Swastikas were daubed on doors and gate posts with tar. Windows were broken. (Jersey girls) Unmarried mothers of German children were naturally unpopular.'[161]

In another instance of postwar retribution in Jersey, Alexandrine Baudains became an iconic figure of collaboration for her alleged wartime conduct and relationship with a German soldier, having given an interview to the *Sunday Pictorial* on 10 March 1946, during her 11-month protective stay in Jersey's Gloucester Street prison.[162] This followed the destruction of Baudains' house by a mob after the liberation.[163] Having lived in a cell for almost an entire year following the liberation (alongside her son, George, who was residing in the jail with her), reporting on her wartime background and protection by within a local prison resulted in Baudains' ejection from the prison, and her subsequent lifelong banishment to England from 23 March 1946.[164] In his occupation memoir, Dr John Lewis recounts witnessing Baudains' punishment (having been her doctor prior to the occupation of Jersey and so able to recognise her), as he was paying a visit in St. Clement.[165] Lewis describes how Baudains was 'hunted', having been identified by others from the community while out for a walk in the park, as 'more people, hearing the hullabloo, came running into the park from the nearby streets and joined the pack'.[166] In his account of the attack on Baudains, Lewis continues:

---

[160] Mark Lamerton, *Liberated by Force 135: The Liberation of the Channel Islands, May 1945* (Wiltshire, 2000) p.277.
[161] Mabel Ahier, Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/C/03/A/10.
[162] *Sunday Pictorial,* 10 March 1946 (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/F/05/C/11. Also, see: Peter Tabb, *A Peculiar Occupation* (Surrey, 2005) p.194.
[163] Information obtained from Jersey War Tunnels, Jersey.
[164] Ibid.
[165] John Lewis, *A Doctor's Occupation: The Dramatic True Story of Life in Nazi-Occupied Jersey* (Kent, 1982) pp.71-73. Also, see: Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* pp.55.
[166] Ibid.

> ‘Ginger Lou [Baudains’ nickname], twisting and turning to avoid the crowd, took refuge in a shrubbery, but was soon flushed from there and made for the rosebeds. Hands grabbed at her clothes but she tore herself away and rose thorns completed the havoc to her toilette. By the time she was caught she was almost naked. The rosebushes were festooned with tufts of fur, and looked like the scene of the plucking of a number of grey and black chickens. As no tar was available, someone produced a tin of sump oil, and after this was poured over her, she was rolled in the dusty soil. …In the meantime the police arrived, and having sent for a taxi, stood guard before the porch to hold off the crowd. The taxi eventually drove up and the driver, after one look at his prospective fare, said: “Not bloody likely, not on my cushions!” However, the police, after begging an armful of newspapers, covered everything that might be soiled and helped her in. Then they took her, for her own safety, to the prison. There she was presumably cleaned up, for a short time afterwards she appeared before the court, who ruled that she be given ten pounds and deposited on the quay (at Weymouth, I think) with a heavy penalty against attempting to enter the Island ever again.’[167]

Baudains’ story is particularly significant as it shows that while there were no official trials to determine the guilt of these women, vigilante justice and acts of retribution were accessible to local people and became a key part of the subsequent retelling of the ‘jerry bag’ story, making these women ‘other’ to the rest of the unified and patriotic Islander community who rejected them both socially and physically. Lewis’s account of Baudains’ punishment is also significant, as it shows that even some decades after the events transpired, it was still remembered vividly and sees him imagining the conclusion of events that he did not witness in order to give the story ‘closure’. The description of Baudains having her clothes torn from her by a mob, described as a ‘hunt’, makes the situation sound both predatory and about reasserting power

[167] Ibid, pp.72-73.

over a woman who was seen to have betrayed the community, with the official justice that followed seeing her banished from the community in place of any trial or criminal conviction. This is all the more powerful as it shows the community taking matters into their own hands when the British Crown would not prosecute such women, thus reclaiming control over their local population through gendered acts of retribution and a 'cleansing' of those who are considered to be 'other', having not conformed to expected standards during the occupation years.

War Rumour and Community Fractures

It is important to understand the intensity of these community fractures in order to assess later modes of remembering and forgetting, as well as to acknowledge the gendered hierarchy which often saw women positioned as deserving of punishment and stigmatisation for sexual 'crimes', without having ever faced trial. The emotions and perceptions underpinning the responses to women's victimisation or guilt in wartime, and often the public silence of women's own voices in their own stories, are central to understanding why the story of the 'jerry bags' has remained so powerful and adaptable. The 'jerry bag' rumours always had a function within these communities; to give a face to their worst fears and a way to 'other' collaboration as an exceptional failing on the part of some select, morally deficient women. Punishing these women and keeping their story alive was another way to reclaim masculine power over the narrative of occupation, and to reassert one's own loyal patriotism during the liberation.

However, these community anxieties and fractures did not begin at the war's end, and it is also important to consider other key aspects of the occupation which so politicised and gendered elements of this experience, and the creation of compelling and unifying war stories. For example, Islander men were very aware that surrendering the Channel Islands to the Germans meant surrendering the first part of Britain, something that was difficult to come to terms with

for many and resulted in some small acts of defiance when raising the white flags.[168] The act of putting out the white flags and crosses notably recurs in contemporary accounts, as well as in subsequent recollections of the occupation, showing this symbolic moment to be both traumatic and memorable to those left on the Channel Islands with no weapons and no other option available to them to fight back. Similarly, rapidly shifting gender roles meant that the perceptions of women seen to be encroaching into a traditionally male domain or risking their morality were often as powerful as the reality. In societies where female sexuality has been considered dangerous, women who were seen to seek out men and sexual adventures could be considered 'subversive'.[169] Many of these anxieties seem to centre on fears of moral degradation as a result of changed circumstances for women (including the lack of resources and food) or the close-proximity of hyper-masculine soldiers while local men were away fighting, both of which might tempt women (particularly young, working class women) to surrender their virtue, and with it their national duty.[170] Angela K. Smith suggests that the changing face of warfare in the Twentieth Century disrupted 'expectations [of war], many of them gender-based, that have altered little for generations', with women and children increasingly being impacted as much as men by armed conflict.[171] Yet, Western men had for a long time constructed the basis of their masculinity around their willingness 'to fight and die' and on their ability to 'defend one's community, to demonstrate prowess and courage in battle…the ultimate location for 'being a man'.[172] If changes to the modes of warfare were to 'shift the battlefield into the midst of civilian society' then 'age-old understandings of gender difference may be problematised, if not destroyed'.[173] Smith argues that by participating or

[168] Deputy Edward Le Quesne, Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/C/205/A1/1; Lewis, *A Doctor's Occupation;* Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection*.
[169] Rose, 'Sex, Citizenship, and the Nation in World War II Britain', pp.148-149.
[170] Marilyn Lake, 'Female Desires: The Meaning of World War II' in Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (eds), *Gender and War: Australians At War In the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1995).
[171] Angela K. Smith, 'Introduction' in Angela K. Smith (ed.), *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations* (Manchester, 2004) p.2.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

being involved in war in any form, even as victims, women further 'break traditional codes of femininity' which should see them far away from the enemy so as not to 'trespass into a male arena'.[174] Even within occupied nations, expectations were clear for men and women:

> 'The figure of the hero, far from being exceptional, is established as a model for men to emulate. Their role is to be fighters, prepared to kill and to die, behaviour which is unthinkable in peacetime but expected of them during war. It is one of the crucial tenets of patriotism. …Women are only allowed to carry arms in very exceptional cases, but the main expectation is one of intransigence towards the enemy; they are expected to go hungry rather than compromise themselves, to show contempt rather than to seduce.'[175]

This last part is particularly pertinent in the case of the Channel Islands, where the report into the health and diet of Jersey shows women more willing to be noted as having gone without food for their families than admit where they sourced additional food sources from.[176] Between the unavoidable close contact between women and the occupier, indiscriminate bombing and liberation fighting which impacted both sexes, the 'distinction between the war front and the home front was no longer the same as that between masculine and feminine' by the end of the Second World War.[177] The nature of the Second World War and of the lengthy, complex occupations faced by many nations, ensured that these gendered expectations were not always met for a number of reasons. Yet this did not necessarily alter the fact that breaking from these gender roles was still a societal taboo for many people. Considering the community tensions that this evoked is therefore crucial to understanding the selection of popular memory,

---

[174] Ibid, p.4.
[175] Capdevila et al, 'Quite simply, Colonel…', p.56.
[176] R.N. McKinstry O.B.E., M.D., D.P.H., Medical Officer of Health in the States of Jersey, 'Survey of the Effects of the Occupation on the Health of the People of Jersey' (Jersey Library, Jersey) Catalogue number: J 942 34084 M0005772JE / Jo4 7 P7/2.
[177] Ibid, p.55.

particularly in the case of the Channel Islands, where this 'triple tension' of some women being seen as unpatriotic, of loose-morals, and unsupportive of local men, is a central component to memories of collaboration and resistance up until the present day.

Tensions did not simply exist between men and women, however, but also between men and their idealised image of manliness. As is alluded in the informers' report of 1944, conscientious objectors are one such group of men who sometimes faced mistrust from others within the community. This, in itself, connects to wider tensions surrounding shifting gender roles during the period of war and occupation. Sonya O. Rose argues that, 'Like young British girls who were chastised for endangering the future of the nation by being sexually irresponsible and promiscuous, pacifists were often constructed as irresponsible and sexually suspect anti-citizens'.[178] In the case of the Channel Islands, W.G.W. Gardner (himself a conscientious objector in Jersey), in his account of the wartime The Peace Pledge Union, states that over 200 pacifists travelled to the Channel Islands from the United Kingdom in May 1940 to work the potato harvest as part of Hugh Alexander Flinn's work scheme.[179] Due to the atmosphere in the Channel Islands at that time, with evacuees being denounced as 'rabbits and rats' by some public figures, the pacifist men entering the Channel Islands initially assumed that they would face less social stigma than they might in the United Kingdom at this time, due to their decision to stay to work the land in place of evacuated Islander men.[180] However, by 1948 the Flinn Scheme seems to have ended with bad blood between the pacifist workers and their Islander employer, Hugh Flinn, culminating in an ongoing dispute over reputation (Flinn) and fair payment (the workers). Flinn states in a letter to Jersey's Bailiff Sir Alexander Coutanche:

---

[178] Rose 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain', p.189.
[179] W.G.A. Gardner, *The Peace Pledge Union: the story of a group of British war-resisters who fell into enemy hands in the German occupied Channel Islands in World War 2.* Self-published 1990 (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) No page numbers in book.
[180] Ibid.

> 'We were not known to one single person in our care, we did not share their opinions nor were we in any way in sympathy with them, but, we did try right from the beginning to keep them quiet and orderly, to see they had a home and food to eat and clothing etc.'[181]

Even three years on from the liberation and the end of the Second World War, Flinn still chose to distance himself from the pacifist views of his workers, and indeed, from any association with them beyond making sure that they were healthy and housed. The continued negative connotations associated with the conscientious objectors in the postwar period can also be seen in Horace Wyatt's 1945 poem, 'Konschies', in which he makes joking reference to their poor work ethic and suggests that they are thieves who 'get on well with the Huns' considering their dislike of weapons, echoing similar sentiments to the Home Office informers report.[182] The poem ends with 'Go, seek them (in shorts)/Masquerading as "sports"/Among sun-bathing girls on the sands/Go, seek them where Nancy-boys giggle and smirk/But for God's sake don't seek them where men really work!'[183] In the postwar period, this small group of male conscientious objectors continue to be blamed not only for rejecting their nation and local community ways, but also for rejecting their wartime masculinity by being seen to take the easy route while 'real men' in the Channel Islands worked and provided for them. In the diary entry next to Wyatt's poem, he further refers to the conscientious objectors as 'undesirables' and accuses them of laziness and becoming friendly with the Germans.[184] Edmund Blampied's illustration in the same book paints a similar image, showing two deliberately effeminate men disregarding their work in order to gossip.[185]

---

[181] Ibid.
[182] Horace Wyatt, Edmund Blampied (Illust.), *Jersey in Jail* (Jersey, 1945)
[183] Ibid, p.60
[184] Ibid, p.57-58
[185] Ibid, p.59

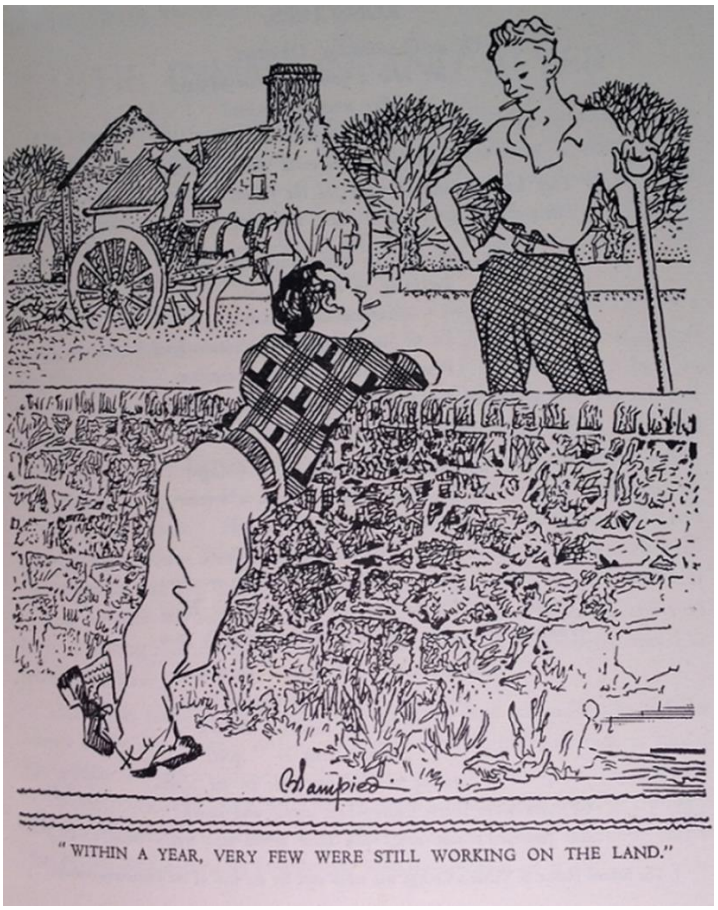

Figure 1: *Edmund Blampied's illustration, Jersey in Jail (1945).*
Caption reads: 'WITHIN A YEAR, VERY FEW WERE STILL WORKING ON THE LAND.'

Gender divisions between men did not end with the Second World War and liberation, as this issue continued to be discussed, referenced, and pacifists vilified in the immediate postwar period; particularly as a way to measure the wartime honour and trustworthiness of different groups of men as a contrast to themselves and to promote a positive image of the 'ordinary' male Islander by comparison. In fact, when occupation-era President of the Labour Committee, Deputy Edward Le Quesne's diary was eventually published in January 2000 (with the hand-written original, which was written on tomato box packaging as well as note paper, available in Jersey Archive) it was only done so with additional footnotes included by Channel Islands Occupation Society member and historian, Michael Ginns, 'who gives balance to the book'.[186]

[186] 'Days of Conflict' *Jersey Evening Post*, 19 January 2000, p.12.

Throughout the *Jersey Evening Post* article about the publication of the diary, they refer to Le Quesne as a 'socialist' and a 'pacifist', with his grandson commenting (under the sub-heading 'A pacifist who said what he thought') that he has 'no idea from where came Edward's pacifist beliefs, to which his grandfather often refers in his diary'.[187] Michael Ginns meanwhile notes that Le Quesne received no honours or commendations after the war, unlike other officials, reasoning: 'Perhaps his attitude to certain sections of the Island community, as well as his socialist views, were responsible for this omission.'[188] That Le Quesne's diary was published with annotations is surprising in itself, but the focus upon his pacifism and socialist beliefs in the promotional article for the published version of the diary itself tells us of the enduring distrust felt for pacifist men of the occupation era. In fact, the article is at pains to stress that he was 'a socialist but not a communist, a group he saw as dangerous agitators' and that 'he retained a particular bitterness towards farmers, who he saw as greedy and self-serving, and, as did many Islanders, towards the foolish young women who consorted with the Germans.'[189] In this way, Le Quesne's pacifism and socialism are put into the context of 'worse' groups in wartime, emphasising that he himself was not a collaborator or a fifth columnist regardless of his political beliefs. Le Quesne's diary was not allowed to speak for itself, as a historic record which presented how he alone had viewed local events, politics, and individuals, without intervention from an 'accepted' local historian who could depoliticise Le Quesne's background and words:

> 'This book will undoubtedly ruffle feathers and those who want to cause the maximum amount of bad publicity for the Island will find what they want, but only if they ignore the thorough footnotes by local historian Michael Ginns, who gives balance to the book

[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid, p.13.
[189] Ibid, p.12.

> from his extensive knowledge of the facts of those years that were not always apparent at the time to those living through them.'[190]

It is clear to see that male pacifism (and indeed, socialism) have themselves remained complex and fraught topics within the Channel Islands, and difficult to reconcile when the individual expressing such beliefs also served his community and was part of a State apparatus that had been defended against accusations of collaboration with the enemy by the local community. Pacifist men continue to be viewed through the prism of the words of other 'acceptable' men, either to 'other' them or to make such beliefs palatable if they are seen to reflect upon the politics of the wider community or its political institutions.

Similarly, while the interactions and relationships formed between Islander women and German soldiers were the biggest source of anxiety for many, there was also another group of men who had become problematic in the eyes of some within the local community: foreign forced workers who had been brought to the Channel Islands by the occupying forces. These workers were often subject to appalling living conditions, and the work that they were forced to undertake was predominantly connected with the building of concrete fortifications across the Channel Islands. The majority of these men were transported to the Channel Islands from 1943 onwards, and were most commonly from Spain, Russia, Poland, Ukraine, or France. These men presented a unique challenge for Islander officials seeking to preserve 'traditional values' in the community, as they were not technically the enemy (although they had been forced to work building enemy fortifications) and yet were not British or trusted within the community either. When some Islander women began to forge romantic relationships with foreign nationals, this was another example of women not conforming to the expectations of the state in wartime, with ramifications even after the liberation of the islands. Islander officials

[190] Ibid.

recorded their detailed discussions about their distrust of such matches, particularly when marriages occurred and Guernsey Identity Cards were sought for these new husbands. The desire to preserve feminine honour through traditional marriage rights and duties then warred with the desire to prevent foreign nationals from gaining easy access to British citizenship after the war, or women 'getting away with' breaking the rules for a foreign lover through marriage. In many ways, this period explored the accepted limits of a woman's right to choose a non-Islander romantic partner in wartime when such relationships were highly political, even if they were not illegal. Decisions made by Islander officials could determine the most basic of rights that could be awarded to foreign nationals who were married to Islander women (and potentially the rights of any children resulting from such a union) for the duration of the war. In fact, from May 1943 the point is made that previous leniency was to be the exception rather than the rule, and that offering a foreign national documentation to allow him to live with his Islander wife was not to be continued:

> 'Mr. Leale [Vice-President of the Controlling Committee] recalled that a French O.T. worker who had married a Guernsey woman had recently been allowed to have a Guernsey Identity Card and Ration Cards to enable him to live with his wife, but it had been pointed out that this was not to be regarded as a precedent. A further similar case had arisen. It was resolved that local civilian status should not be granted in this or any further cases of this kind.'[191]

Perhaps the most significant point within this section of the Controlling Committee minutes is that Islander officials in Guernsey are shown to be making a conscious decision to deny equal treatment to future spouses where one was a foreign national, and that this was not imposed upon them by the occupying forces. By refusing future men 'local civilian status' following

[191] Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey, Minutes Vol. II, 52-240, meeting held 18 May 1943 (Island Archives, Guernsey) Alongside the President and other Controlling Committee members in this meeting was the acting Attorney General, Advocate J.E.L. Martel.

marriage to an Islander woman, they are choosing to exclude both from fully acting as part of the wider Channel Islands' community, and denying them a settled home life. This is both a rejection of the legitimacy of the marriage and could impact any children resulting from it, due to the stigma attached to an untraditional match during the war.

This policy expands further on the 28 September 1943, when the Controlling Committee again discusses whether to award foreign nationals civilian status upon marriage to an Islander woman.[192] Crucially, the blame for the States actions are placed on the Islander women who chose to marry foreign nationals, as they were seen to have knowingly broken accepted codes of conduct, or were naive in choosing to marry someone not known to the community in a time of war:

> 'He [President of the Controlling Committee, Revd. John Leale], had now received a letter from a woman whose husband had been left in the Island when his employers had left. He had been given a card freeing him from German control, which meant that the German Authorities were not responsible for his maintenance. This letter had been taken to the Feldkommandantur, and Inspector Zachau had stated that if this man applied at Saumarez Park, he would obtain employment and be fed by the German Authorities. He would, however, have to live in a camp with other workers. The President thought it might be possible to publish a notice in the newspaper stating that the Controlling Committee was willing to issue Guernsey Identity Cards to foreign workmen who had, before the date of the notice, married Guernsey women, but that it could not undertake to issue cards to such men who were married after that date. What he was anxious about was not to encourage these marriages, as he felt that in a number of cases the husbands would go back to the Continent and this was the last that would

[192] Ibid, meeting held 28 September 1943.

> be heard of them. Mr. Dorey [Controlling Committee member] said that previous decision should be adhered to, as these women knew the position before being married. Nothing was known of these men and some of them were perhaps already married.'[193]

Underpinning these anxieties about the marriage of Islander women to foreign-born forced workers is the sense that 'fairness' must be observed at all costs, and that Islander women should not seek to benefit as a result of going against the expectations of their community. Similarly, their husbands should be willing to suffer separation from their wife and marital home in the same way that serving soldiers suffered on the Continent. However, there is still no desire for Islander women to become pregnant outside of wedlock, and so the Controlling Committee sought to navigate a complex set of gendered expectations to deter or penalise these marriages where possible, without preventing couples marrying in the event of pregnancy.

> 'The Supervisor pointed out that in cases where children were born, it would be better if the parents were married as the man thus accepted responsibility. He also pointed out that if these men had to live in camps they were no worse than men in the Forces, who were also separated from their wives.'[194]

Perhaps surprisingly given the level of concern, the number of foreign nationals thought to have married Islander women in Guernsey since the beginning of the occupation is recorded as being only 25 in total, although it was not possible to find final figures for such marriages following the liberation.[195] Much of the conversation in these minutes focuses upon their living arrangements and ration allowance following a foreign national's marriage to an Islander woman, with the central point of contention being whether or not these men 'merit' British citizenship as a by-product of gaining a Guernsey Identity Card during the war. The Controlling

[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.

Committee ultimately sought to limit the 'benefits' of such marriages, by not putting foreign nationals on par with local men through marriage rights alone, so long as there was no risk of an illegitimate child being born. Foreign nations are therefore first considered for a Guernsey Ration Card based on 'merit', as judged by Islander community leaders, enabling an element of control over such marriages and any resulting postwar claims to British citizenship by these 'outsiders':

> 'Dr. Symons wondered whether it would be possible to issue Guernsey Ration Cards without issuing a Guernsey Identity Card. He thought a Guernsey Identity Card might assist these men in obtaining British nationality after the war. Sir Abraham Laine suggested that each case be dealt with on its merits. …it was resolved that, in the case under review, the women should be informed that her husband can obtain employment by application at Saumarez Park and thus obtain rations from the German Authorities. It was further resolved that future cases would be considered on their merits, which would be decided by the President, Sir Abraham Laine and Mr. R.H. Johns, who would, in the event of the case being proved, direct the Food Office of the Essential Commodities Committee to issue Ration Cards to workers.'[196]

Both Guernsey and British citizenship, as well as the right to reside with one's own wife, are seemingly perceived to be advantages that would unfairly privilege these foreign nationals over that of serving soldiers abroad. Underlying this anxiety is the fear that foreign born men and their Islander wives could somehow benefit from their wartime marriage, and that this could be both detrimental to the wider community and risk encouraging more women to take up with unfamiliar non-Islanders, with a view to the postwar future of the island. Yet, given the level of concern, it is clear that very few women would go on to marry foreign nationals during the

[196] Ibid.

war, with this official concern again speaking more of the community fears of social change, and of wartime profiteering by women and non-British men in a way which might unfairly penalise Islander men, than of any notable shift in marriage patterns. This fear and distrust did punish those affected, however, as they were subject to uncertainty over the rations available to their family and their status within the community (if a foreign national husband was not awarded local citizenship rights), as well as creating further stigmatisation of young women whose sexuality and romantic choices were seen to be a constant source of threat to the status of British or Islander men, and to the stability of the community.

Men's War Stories

In the decade following the liberation of the Channel Islands, however, a clear shift in predominantly-male public discourse about the occupation occurred, as local people first started explicitly writing about their experiences with non-Islanders in mind. One of the things that categorises these accounts of the occupation is the attempt to market them as more than simply personal memoirs. These are as much about selling a gripping account of British men facing down the German enemy on British soil, as they are about facts or accuracy, and even women's accounts are framed by acceptable documents and a timeline which was presented to them by the States themselves. They are presented as 'authentic', 'thrilling' and 'fantastic' histories of the Channel Islands' occupation, written by someone who was there on the islands or who has insider knowledge of what happened, with colourised images of 'the enemy' on their covers making these appear to be stories of wartime adventure and military action on British soil, although the authors did not engage in fighting themselves. This claiming of first-hand experience of the occupation inevitably gives these semi-autobiographical histories a level of legitimacy even as they blur the line between rumour, fact, and personal memory, and would aid the production of acceptable frames of memory within a society dominated by male discourse and documents relating to the occupation years, as well as expectations of 'correct

conduct' and 'resistance'. In fact, while writing the first detailed history of the occupation in 1957, Alan Wood and May Seaton Wood discuss the deep impact that the occupation had on men in particular, as part of their own 'fantastic story of the German occupation', and describe how the memories would not go away for these men, regardless of the realities of their new postwar lives:

> 'And if, to the casual tourist, all the fear and dreariness of the Occupation seems forgotten for ever in the summer sunshine, the secret stories of those five years still live on in the memories with which each man is rewarded or tormented, and which each man keeps to himself. Memories which cannot be explained, in a few words, to outsiders who could never imagine what an Occupation is like; memories of heroes and cowards and true friends and informers; memories of humiliation and memories with half a smile; memories sour and memories proud.'[197]

The measure of war to some extent, then, was in many respects a measure of masculine reconstruction from humiliation and pride, the choice between heroism and cowardice proving to be a quite stark and defining element of the Channel Islands framing of the acceptability of their own war memories, and how these were transmitted to the community at large.

One book which is unique in this early period is the aforementioned Horace Wyatt's *Jersey in Jail* (1945), which is illustrated extensively by the famous Channel Islander artist, Edmund Blampied. This collaboration is a mix of occupation-themed illustrations, poems, and diary writings, and places women at the fore as almost symbolic of the British national spirit. The book itself is dedicated to the 'Housewives of Jersey' who 'in spite of ever-increasing difficulties and with ever-decreasing supplies, both of food and fuel, kept the home fires burning and saw their families through a most trying ordeal.'[198] The role described in this

[197] Wood, Seaton Wood, *Islands in Danger,* p.308.
[198] Wyatt, Blampied (Illust.), *Jersey in Jail.* Dedication written by Ernest Huelin.

dedication is very traditional, with the woman seen to be responsible for home and hearth. However, this does suggest that in 1945 there was still a positive view of women being promoted for those who were seen to have fulfilled their feminine duties in the Channel Islands, and who stood in support of their family and nation at a time of war. In the opening poem and illustration, Wyatt and Blampied portray a 'purposeless depression', illustrated with the image of a praying woman.[199]

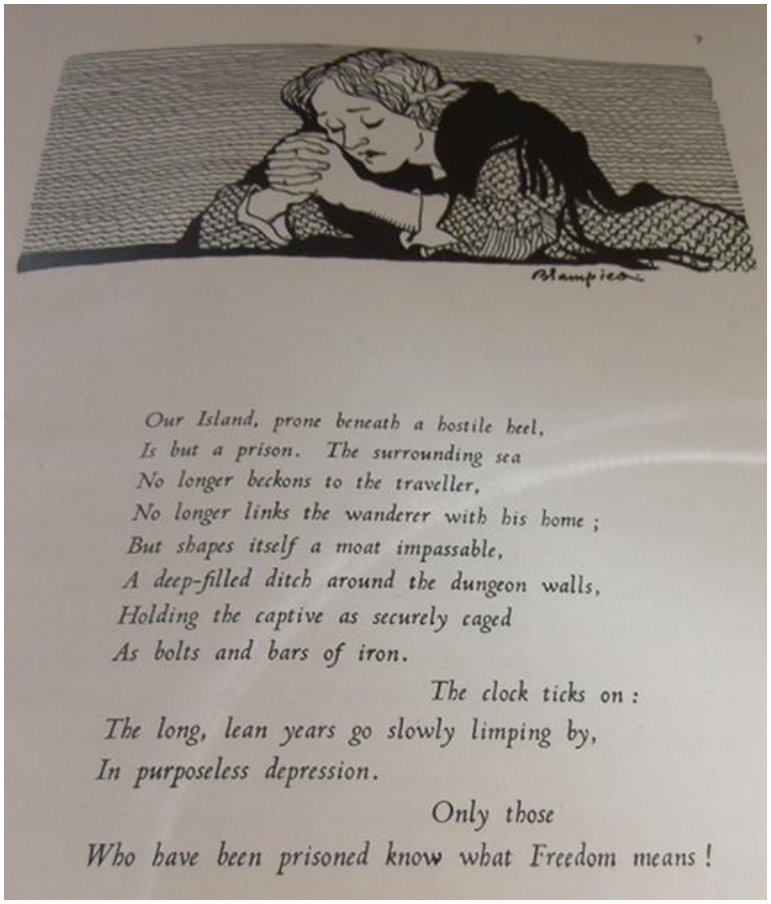

Figure 2: *Illustration by Edmund Blampied. Words by Horace Wyatt. Jersey in Jail (1945).*

> '[The page reads] Our Island, prone beneath a hostile heel, Is but a prison. The surrounding sea / No longer beckons to the traveller, No longer links the wanderer to his home; But shapes itself a moat impassable, A deep-filled ditch around the dungeon walls, Holding the captive as securely caged / As bolts and

[199] Ibid, p.7.

> bars of iron. The clock ticks on: The long, lean years go slowly limping by, In purposeless depression. Only those / Who have been prisoned know what Freedom means!'[200]

However, although the illustration on the page is of a woman, the poem itself refers to 'his'.[201] This suggests that while the mothering women is symbolic of the island and the home, it is the man that is trapped by the 'cage' surrounding him. This is perhaps in reference to the fortifications which were constructed across the Channel Islands at this time, and the sense of powerlessness experienced by the author. The fact that the woman in the illustration is praying further promotes this view of a virtuous woman in the face of enemy invasion. The final line of the poem, 'Only those/Who have been prisoned know what Freedom means!' also cements the idea that the only people who can truly understand the occupation are those who were 'imprisoned' by it. However, this account was a group effort between male friends who had experienced those years together; with contributions from Horace Wyatt, Edmund Blampied and Ernest Huelin. Discussing memories and then publishing them was indeed a community or group project for many, with other accounts (to be examined in the course of this and subsequent chapters) referring to conversations with friends impacting on their writings, or their decision to publish. Perhaps this was a means of making sense of the past through the sharing of words, images, and objects, as well as regaining control of the way in which the Channel Islands' occupation was discussed and remembered. By sharing this deeply personal experience, Islanders were seeking out a mutually acceptable and engaging retelling of the occupation years, sometimes with a level of conscious performance involved in accounts and representations of recognisable heroes and villains. This is something which has continued to

[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.

the present day in the public history of the occupation through popular re-enactments of the liberators on Liberation Day, and of the German occupiers within Occupation Museums.

Subsequently, Victor Coysh of Guernsey and Leslie Sinel of Jersey wrote two of the most prominent of the early postwar accounts as part of the 'The 'Swastika over…' series, a two-booklet print by the two separate authors in the 1950s.[202] Both wrote a short booklet of just over 30 pages about their respective island, with the Guernsey account published in 1955, and the Jersey account published in 1958. Leslie Sinel was already known on the Channel Islands as had previously serialised his occupation diary in the *Jersey Evening Post*, with whom he was employed during the occupation, from 1945-1946. This diary would later prove popular enough that it was published as an illustrated book in 1969. Victor Coysh became a reporter after the liberation (described as 'legendary folk' in the context of his local journalistic reputation) and worked for the *Guernsey Evening Press*, and so was also relatively well known within the small communities of the Channel Islands prior to this publication.[203]

Victor Coysh's 35-page account of the occupation of Guernsey, titled *Swastika over Guernsey*, was the first attempt at writing about the five-year occupation in such a concise way for an audience who may not have experienced the occupation themselves. In fact, at the start of his account Coysh makes clear that he is writing not only with a local audience in mind, but also to aid tourists who may be interested in the occupation of the island but who did not experience it themselves.[204] It is important to note that at this point the major occupation museums and monuments which now exist on the islands were not yet developed. Anyone interested in the many derelict German fortifications littering the Channel Islands would therefore have needed to refer to such books, or have relied on word-of-mouth information from locals, to find out

[202] Victor Coysh, *Swastika over Guernsey: An Outline of the German Occupation and the Liberation of the Island* (Guernsey, 1955) and Leslie Sinel, *Swastika over Jersey: An Outline of the German Occupation and the Liberation and the Island* (Guernsey, 1958).
[203] 'In our hearts and lives...' *Guernsey Press*, 24 June 2013.
[204] Ibid, Preface.

more about what happened to the Channel Islands during the Second World War. This undoubtedly awarded these early accounts an even greater influence over public perception and opinion of the occupation prior to the 1960s, when there was a significant drive to preserve or reconstruct such sites and to research the occupation in a more inclusive and subjective way.

In *Swastika over Guernsey,* Victor Coysh predominantly focuses on the patriotism of Islanders and the hardships they faced. In one notable paragraph, he sums up his own view on the conduct of Islanders during the occupation years:

> 'Collaboration there was, but it was trivial. The average Guernseyman is British to the core and he refused to heed the blandishments of his unwelcome "guests". He, too, was "correct" in his attitude towards them, treating them with wary formality.'[205]

Addressing women however, Coysh states that 'There was a certain degree of liaison between the troops and some young women but this was entirely voluntary on the part of the girls. There was no compulsion about it.'[206] It would appear that young women, in this account, are seen as more susceptible to collaborating with German soldiers than their male counterparts. This also brings into question the patriotism of these women as Coysh links being 'British to the core' with a refusal to be welcoming to the German soldiers occupying the island. It would appear that this contrast of patriotic, loyal Guernseymen, and the disloyal young women who acted contrary to British values, was one that by 1955 was acceptable in popular discourse about the occupation years, even when directed outside of the internal Islander audience.

A similar account (also explicitly aimed at attracting a readership of visitors to the Channel Islands) is Leslie Sinel's *Swastika over Jersey,* published in 1958.[207] This account similarly fuses Sinel's experience with a more general overview of the occupation of Jersey. Sinel

[205] Coysh, *Swastika over Guernsey,* p.31.
[206] Ibid, p.27.
[207] Sinel, *Swastika over Jersey,* Preface.

recounts that 'The Germans mingled with people on the pavements, but we just looked right through them'.[208] Again there are multiple references to the explicit patriotism of Islanders, as Sinel recounts young boys 'singing patriotic songs and shouting in various parts of town', then reacting badly when a German patrol interfered with this; eventually laying out a German officer: 'while others played football with a soldier's helmet…fourteen boys of about 16 years were arrested and taken to the German section of the local prison.'[209] At the end of the short booklet, Sinel also briefly outlines a very different scenario in regards to women on the island:

> 'Since the liberation there have been some incidents involving some females who consorted with the Germans and earned the name of "Jerry-bags"; a few collaborators and black-marketeers were roughly treated, and but for the intervention of the troops two women at least would have probably been murdered, one, who was notorious [presumably Alexandrine Baudains], asking for protective custody.'[210]

Again, there is this divide between the proudly and openly patriotic men who risked punishment to display their Britishness and opposition to German forces, and those women who collaborated; with sexual fraternisation being singled out in particular on the subject of collaboration. This is an even more direct contrast than is seen in Coysh's book, in that the boys Sinel describes faced prison for their actions against the German officers, while a woman who collaborated with the Germans had to ask the British liberating troops for protective custody to avoid punishment for her wartime actions. The fact that these two scenarios have both been selected for such a short account of the five-year occupation, and in such close proximity to one another, shows how easily these perceptions of male resisters and female collaborators may have made their way into popular imagination of the occupation years. Men

[208] Ibid, p.8.
[209] Ibid, p.12.
[210] Ibid, p.35.

went to prison for their patriotism and loyalty to Britain, whereas women asked to be put in prison to avoid punishment for their unpatriotic and disloyal actions with German soldiers.

R.C.F. Maugham CBE, writing in 1946, saw a quite different challenge facing Jersey in the year following the liberation of the island. Maugham calls upon the States to stop focusing on attracting tourists and to instead offer Jersey a rebirth to take it back to the time prior to 1940, when life was 'happy' and 'care-free' with 'easy prosperity'.[211] To a certain extent he even challenges his countrymen to achieve this goal rather than focusing on outside concerns: 'In such planning and work Jersey statesmen have their opportunity. Will they rise to the occasion?'[212] He also connects his own authority to discuss the matter of the Second World War and its aftermath to the First World War, stating in the very first chapter that he himself had 'regarded the future with almost complete equanimity' at that time, although all had resolved itself without conflict in the Islands themselves.[213] Yet, Maugham's view of the Channel Islands' occupation is entwined with his knowledge of European battles and war movements, and of the idea of British exceptionalism which is tied up in his description of the Empire and Dunkirk. Maugham concludes that the Channel Islands had been of great symbolic importance at the time of their invasion: 'World-wide dominion foreshadowed by the bold German occupation of the British Channel Islands!', connecting the Islands with their British heritage immediately, but also ensuring that Maugham's story is of a longer legacy of British war and glory rather than a repeat of the much less active experience of the First World War in Jersey.[214] Although Jersey did not do battle to defend itself as it had been demilitarised before the invasion, Maugham's connecting the Island to the British war effort against Nazism and the fall of Europe ensures that theirs is a story interconnected with that same imagery of

[211] R.C.F. Maugham, *Jersey under the Jackboot* (Kent, 1946) pp.7-8.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid, p.9.
[214] Ibid, p.11.

bravery and honour, as a part of something bigger than themselves, simply by existing. This sense of 'knowing' the outcome of the war before it happened because of historic inevitability and British superiority in battle is a theme running through the account. Maugham also comments on the body of the German soldier, to show the gradual disintegration of both their militaristic and masculine command of power as the war raged on, and contributing to a view that the hardships and geography of Jersey had broken these men as much as their battles abroad, and that Jersey had come to imprison them rather than the other way around:

> 'But the troops had neither heart nor stomach for holding the Fortress of Jersey. What they yearned after was food and tobacco and beer; something more to put into their tight-belted bellies than horse-flesh sausage, nettle soup, stolen turnips and rotting potatoes. By this time, their physical condition was pitiable. A high German medical officer, sent over for the express purpose of conducting an inspection with a view to ascertaining what number might be found fit for service elsewhere, had been compelled to report that, of the thousands of men shut up in the Fortress Jersey, not five per cent, were fit to stand up in the ranks. Death was taking a heavy toll of them. Many had become insane. Tuberculosis had laid its icy hands upon scores, and the remainder, sick to death of the daily duty of turning out on fatigue in search of nettles, sorrel and other wayside ingredients, lounged about the Island the picture of misery and dejection. They knew quite well that Germany had lost the war; that she was well and truly beaten. Few if any had any illusions on that point. All they longed for, apart from creature comforts, was to return home to find out for themselves what had become of their families and their homes, in their absence. They yearned for the end of the war.'[215]

[215] Ibid, pp.140-141.

By connecting the Second World War occupation of the Channel Islands both with the wider war effort and with the earlier victory of the First World War, Maugham is able to present an image of the Islanders being their own 'Fortress' and an integral part of this active and exciting war history. Jersey itself is seen to be depleting the Germans so much that they mentally and physically surrendered to it even before British Troops arrived in the Channel Islands to liberate them. This offers the author and audience a vision of the past where the Channel Islands were at no point truly defenceless, and were in fact a part of something much larger than themselves by helping to defeat this corner of Nazism in their own quiet way, enduring the occupation beyond the point that the German soldiers themselves could. This both further militarises the memory of the occupation years and ensures that the body and health of Islander men is elevated above that of the weaker occupiers, with Islanders able to outlive, outperform, and even pity these German soldiers; all while remaining loyal to their own country's war effort to the very end, thus restoring prestige to Islander martial masculinity through this narrative of ultimate wartime virility.

Women's War Stories

While women were often consumers of official documentation and public war information, rather than shaping this themselves, they also had a clear role in shaping the narrative as presented by others within the community, and many also sought to preserve their family's memories of this period in history for posterity. Their accounts, although often less publicly known in this period, also have crucial functions to inform us of how women experienced the war, as well as how they recorded and disseminated their war memories in the decade afterwards, and the impact of gendered expectations of this male-dominated society on the framing of their own wartime accounts. V.V. Cortvriend's *Isolated Island* was published in 1947, and is one of the first accounts of the occupation published by a woman in the postwar period, yet blurs Cortvriend's identity as a woman experiencing war through its militaristic

cover focusing on the image of soldiering men. Similarly, the decision to present her forename in gender-neutral initials, with the words and structure of the account offering very little personal information about her own experience of the occupation, and instead focusing on constructing a narrative around State official documents and some connected 'reminiscences'.[216] Based on a mixture of historical research, conversations with other islanders, and some limited personal memories, Cortvriend details the occupation using documents from the occupation years themselves. She credits Juriat and Rev. John Leale for making available files from the Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey, as well as making use of local newspapers *Guernsey Star* and *Guernsey Evening Press*. Her own thoughts are framed by this official version of events, and align with key themes of the demilitarisation and bombing of Guernsey, the evacuation (Cortvriend's own children are said to have been evacuated during the war but this is only briefly addressed), labour and agriculture, Red Cross letters, community betrayal, deportations, relief efforts, and the liberation. Yet there are moments when Cortvriend's own personal thoughts are connected with these documents more strongly, and in one rather personal section Cortvriend details the role of the nature of the Hague Convention, before then going on to explain her personal way of dealing with the day-to-day experiences of living under occupation:

> 'We soon discovered that there were means of helping our country whilst keeping within the bounds of the Hague convention without jeopardising others or bringing collective punishment upon the community, and passive resistance was brought to a fine art by some of us and no opportunity of practising it was ever missed. The ignoring of German orders and requisitions and the refusal to give up anything of use to the occupiers was our easiest means of passive resistance, for the Germans -contrary to

[216] V.V. Cortvriend, *Isolated Island* (London, 1947).

> reputation- were not thorough, and house to house searches were rarely made after requisitioning.'[217]

Cortvriend is both presenting the community as morally correct in a time of war, and removing any assumption that she herself might have engaged in active resistance outside of the home; instead, she engages in 'passive resistance' in her efforts to preserve her home and its contents form the enemy. At the same time, the complexity of wartime labour is itself made acceptable as she goes on to explain that those who did work for the Germans were the 'least skilled' of 'glasshouse workers', and only participated as a response from German orders which had previously been avoided by putting men and women into work unrelated to military sites.[218] The author generally avoids discussion of her own contact with the enemy, until going into particular detail about a sole interaction with a German official as her husband was ill and due to be removed from the island, explaining that this interaction was important enough that the 'next morning I wrote down every word that had passed between us while it was still fresh in my memory. It was my first and last conversation with a Nazi'.[219] Cortvriend starts this section by declaring to this German official that it would not matter if her husband could not be evacuated after all, as the war would not last more than a 'few weeks' more, with Cortvriend then outlining the German official's response to her statement, and their subsequent conversation:

> [German official]: "Whatever happens in Germany we shall never surrender the Channel Islands. It is our avowed intention to stay here. Here, in these Islands we are a law unto ourselves. We shall not recognise any new Government which may be set up in Germany as the result of an Allied victory. We are well aware." he went on in his cold voice, "that the British do not want to land here. The Island are too well fortified

[217] Ibid, p.99.
[218] Ibid, p.86.
[219] Ibid, p.152.

> and it would mean the loss of too many British troops as well as civilians. Therefore we shall stay. We shall be the last outposts, perhaps, but we shall hold out until the British can re-take the Islands!"
>
> I said: "That would be a terrible thing. Our people here are at the end of their tether, Colonel G. Even with the little Red Cross help they are getting, they are practically starving!" I added, for I could not help myself: "Your own men are starving, too. They are not fit to fight!"
>
> He answered: "They are hungry, perhaps, but they are not starving. They can exist. Soon we shall be harvesting the new crops and then we can carry on even for another year if they have not suffered. You have had no bombing, no bloodshed, you do not know what war is!"
>
> My husband said: "That is not so. We have suffered. We have all been undernourished for years and our mental strain has been severe. We have been cut off from our country and from those we love for nearly five years." He added. "Germany is virtually beaten now and it can do her no possible good for you to hang on to the Channel Islands. It would serve no purpose whatever and would cause unnecessary suffering to thousands of innocent people."[220]

There are a number of aspects to this section and its placement that are significant, in an otherwise rather impersonal account of the author's experience of war. Firstly, the emphasis on this being a unique interaction with a Nazi in Cortvriend's account of the occupation and so preserving her own position within the community as someone who did not regularly converse with Germans, as well as highlighting interest in this conversation due to the total lack of this interaction with 'the enemy' until this point very late in the book. It is also important to note

[220] Ibid, p.152.

that this section concludes the 'war', and is the final paragraph before moving onto further official documents and reminiscence of the liberation and declarations of British victory, further emphasising both the historic nature of the victory over Nazism and the fate that could have befallen the Channel Islands had this not occurred. The way that the interaction is written presents defiant British values in the face of Nazism; from the Nazi laying down the position of 'never surrendering' and yet on the next page being brought to heel by the British, to Cortvriend's defence of starving men and suffering populations, before concluding with her husband further defying the Nazi official to present his own story of wartime endurance even as he lay there sick and needing treatment. It also illustrates their belief that the British would prevail, as is seen in the next page of the text. Cortvriend's book is a manifestation of accepted gender roles, presenting her account of the occupation in a way which is both framed, and sometimes overwhelmed by, official State documents which had been written by men, rather than simply presenting her own account of the occupation years. This results in an account where particular 'moments' of memory are chosen to give added impact to a State narrative, rather than being chosen as a result of their own perceived historical significance without need for further evidence to support them.

The only woman to have widely published her war letter/diary writings in book form during this first postwar decade was Dorothy Pickard Higgs, with her diary being printed in 1947 and republished by her family under the title 'Life in Guernsey under the Nazis, 1940-45' thirty years later, after a long period of the original title being out of print.[221] Higgs' wartime writings, published as a diary but comprised of letters addressed to her sister, Phyllis, in particular engage with the complexities of being a British woman 'isolated' on the war front. Higgs was at times torn between pacifism and the new reality of life on a front line of conflict, reconciling her increased fear and anger through greater connection to her British national identity, and her

[221] Dorothy Pickard Higgs, *Life in Guernsey Under the Nazis* (Guernsey, 1979).

strengthening faith in the British war effort being fought away from the Channel Islands, musing that:

> 'It is the most heavenly weather possible and normally we should be out sun-bathing and playing tennis, but we just haven't the heart for anything while all this is going on. It is terrible to sit and watch all these preparations against England—and yet one's feelings are oddly mixed, for now we dread to see an English plane. At first it almost felt as if we had changed sides, as one did in "Nuts in May" as a child, and hardly knew which side one wanted to win. That seems inexplicable. It is that taking sides is an artificial thing or is it that one's thoughts have grown beyond nationalism? I think the former is nearer the truth, as there is something very primitive in it. Just self-preservation perhaps.'[222]

She later continues with her thoughts on living as a British person under occupation at a time when the free British were still engaged in the war above their heads, 'I have forgotten all about being a pacifist—I just want England not to be hurt' and, later, ''Sfunny how primitive one becomes at these times. I even get wet eyes when I hear 'There'll always be an England' and 'Land of Hope and Glory,' though I hated their sentiment before' following the dropping of RAF leaflets with war news and a message from the King.[223] Higgs makes detailed notes of her changing attitude towards pacifism throughout her letters, eventually deciding that 'Naziism [sic] has *got* to be wiped out before the world can be decent place and I know now that England was right to fight', as well as showing the emotional toll that the years of war had on her, frequently referring to episodes of 'depression' before noting that she had returned to writing when she was in a less pessimistic frame of mind.[224] Higgs' account is that of the experience of occupation for a pacifist woman who had previously kept out of the political and

[222] Pickard Higgs, *Life in Guernsey,* pp.9-10.
[223] Ibid, pp.11, 15.
[224] Ibid, pp.18-20.

military implications of war talk, in many respects never thinking that she would be faced with a war on her own doorstep, yet was deeply impacted by her experience of occupation. She increasingly came to describe the actual fighting of the war as a distant thing that could be won by England alone, while she sought to 'keep calm and carry on' and commit herself to her British identity rather than continue to question the war effort. In fact, throughout the occupation, Higgs describes maintaining a role as States' Cookery Expert and providing weekly recipes to the local newspaper as rationing became more intense (although she was not overly impressed with this role initially, writing: 'Did I tell you I am the official cookery expert? It is the one thing I did *not* want to do. But it is no good minding, if the job needs to be done').[225] As a result of this assigned role, cooking experiments and rationing are central themes in her writing. This is especially the case when the local community reject her efforts on their behalf, and so undermine her attempts at good citizenship and sacrifice for the community:

> 'People are beginning to slate me in the papers for not giving recipes that can be used. It is becoming an impossible task as food is so limited that it means mostly living on vegetables. Those who can afford it have meat; and bread is still unrationed. It needs much imagination to make interesting meals out of so little—and I can't supply that!'[226]

This gives an insight as to how food and rationing could itself become a battlefield for many women as sacrificing for their family and community through the essential war work of sourcing and preparing food was a key tenet of their gendered wartime identity. Such work enabled women to help their neighbours and preserve elements of their pre-war identity and culture within the less problematic domestic space at war. In a later extract, Higgs recounts her sister's story about the toll this took on some women within the community, and shows Higgs

[225] Ibid, pp.11-12.
[226] Ibid, p.19.

rally to try to help others in some small way, through the medium of food as another act of good wartime citizenship:

> 'The milk woman told Mu yesterday that she had called with milk at the cottage of an old woman of 76 and found her sitting by the empty gate, weeping. She has a grandson of 19 to look after and had had to send him to work with no breakfast, as she had not anything in the house. She had walked to the Bridge and all the nearest shops and could not buy a single thing for his dinner. Monday is always the worst day. We can only get bread on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and the weekly parcel of grocery can't be had till Tuesday. We are going to send her some of the goats' carrots every Sunday, and what bread we can spare. But there must be hundreds more like her that we can't help.'[227]

Higgs is also very blunt in assessing how other gender-specific shortages impacted women, such as when proper sanitary products became unavailable in January 1941.[228] Yet, she also goes into detail about informal networks that existed between women to source materials and rationed items that the States themselves could not provide. She describes how her sister let her borrow night clothes that she was unable to acquire in the shops during this period (to buy this in the shops would have cost 30% of Higgs' yearly ration allowance), as well as making use of the soles of shoes and sanitary products borrowed from a friend's disused house before the Germans requisitioned it, and being given disused clothes which had previously belonged to evacuees.[229] Higgs' account shows how her activities expanded throughout the war, with her also providing ready cooked meals to the local community through a States' restaurant, sharing information with others about upcoming shortages and black market availability through her

[227] Ibid, p.42.
[228] Ibid, p.19.
[229] Ibid, pp.19-20, 26.

local connections, and raising a number of animals to supplement her family's diet and trade.[230] In many ways the very writing of Higgs' war letters are part of a commitment and faithfulness to her extended family network and to British victory and liberation, with her noting at the end of her diary that she had made a pact while on her last phone call with family to not destroy any of their wartime letter writings.[231] Yet Higgs did not see the historical value of her writing at the time of the occupation, instead focusing upon this being an account written for the information of this close family network, not considering that her own day-to-day life might in itself be historically significant or worthy of attention, at one point stating:

> 'In writing this long letter I seem only to tell you the private and personal things. I did intend making it a sort of record of German orders and suchlike, but actually those things matter little. We live our ordinary lives—rather restricted by having no transport but legs and by so many people who matter being away. We just feel a bit annoyed about each order and then it slips into the background.'[232]

Dorothy Higgs' account thus encapsulates a key aspect of many women's accounts of the Channel Islands occupation in terms of what motivated her writing, and what dictated the survival of her letters and the acceptance of her narrative by the Islander community. This is an account of family life, as well as of a middle class, married woman who limited interactions with the enemy, and sacrificed for her home and loved ones. This account thus perfectly represents the idealised image of femininity at a time of war and is bigger than Dorothy Higgs herself. It is a universal image of a community helping and representing Britain in a positive and unassuming manner rather than seeking glory or controversy, of preserving common decency and values associated with feminine and national good citizenship, and keeping calm while the British won the war against Nazism. This is very different to representations made

[230] Ibid, p.20.
[231] Ibid, p.65.
[232] Ibid, p.24.

by others about young, unmarried, working-class women, who have more often been defined according to their sexuality in reports and other written records by others, and who did not publish their own accounts of the occupation years.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the way in which these small Islander communities maintained their sense of British identity, framed by expectations of wartime masculinity and femininity, during the war years and postwar period. Central to the reconfiguration and stabilisation of Islander British identity was the 'othering' of non-conforming men and women, and the way in which the Channel Islands' war story was retold to exclude dissenting narratives and difficult moral questions. Rumour was incredibly powerful in such closed conditions, with gendered tales of masculine heroism and feminine collaboration quickly gaining traction.

The chapter addressed the role of oral and written accounts of the occupation in spreading powerful rumours and anxieties during the war years, and into the postwar period. Those people who first had their stories published had significant power at a time when rumours and fact were easily blurred, and when the community was seeking out a unifying war narrative, as well as retribution. The official report from M.I.I9 was an example of how these early rumours could even impact British correspondence relating to collaboration in the Channel Islands. The intensity of the feeling towards men and women who did not conform to gendered expectations in wartime is highlighted by this report, as well as the desire for retribution. Sexualised women and pacifist men were not simply seen to be slighting patriotic local men, but also betraying the British war effort by extension. Virtuous femininity and heroic masculinity were inherently bound up with what it was to be patriotic and British in wartime.

The anger directed at the female 'jerry bags', and the ongoing use of this ostracising terminology was also explored within this chapter. While the image of the sexualised woman

undermined the masculinity of the Channel Islands' men, wielding the term 'jerry bag' and defining feminine sexuality as a treasonous offence was itself a form of control and retribution. A woman could have her reputation irreparably damaged by this title, particularly as the term became associated with venereal disease and the widespread birth of illegitimate babies; an indicator of social deviancy as well as treachery. Naming and punishing perceived 'jerry bags' enabled the community, and its men, to regain power over their wartime legacy by selecting the 'true' traitors who had proven themselves to be morally weak, and defining the rest of the unified community against them.

Therefore, while the conduct of Islander men was judged according to their willingness to fight for their nation and family, an Islander woman's honour was inherently tied to her sexuality. Where women were perceived to have profited from their sexuality and, therefore, betrayed their community and the British troops fighting abroad, these moral 'crimes', real or imagined, were carefully recorded and remained flashpoints of anxiety into the postwar period. The sexualisation and politicisation of women's bodies ensured that women's stories were unavoidably tied to the anxieties and social divisions of the war years, with few women seeking out public recognition of their own wartime experiences in the immediate postwar period.

Islander men, however, were fairly unconstrained when navigating public spaces to tell their war stories, with many choosing to publish their accounts or to form groups to explore occupation history; inserting themselves into the wider narrative of the British war effort and presenting authoritative accounts of the occupation years. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that the framing of occupation memory has largely maintained the gendered concepts of masculine heroism and feminine collaboration throughout the decades. The earliest published war stories aligned with wartime rumours and anxieties to provide a recognisable gendered framework of 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' conduct to be repeatedly shared and built upon within the community.

This chapter has shown, then, that retribution against 'jerry bags', and the continued stigmatisation and sexualisation of this imagined group of women, has remained an important device for the community to 'other' collaboration as the act of some selfish, morally deficient women. Maintaining the story of the 'jerry bags' also enabled the community to reclaim a lost sense of masculine power and construct an honourable and victorious war story; a story which both marginalises difficult moral questions and silences those who might undermine this narrative. Community anxieties, rumours and fractures relating to pacifists and forced workers also shows how Islander masculinity was seen to be undermined by the actions of other men who were unwilling to fight or otherwise work towards the British war effort, or who were foreign outsiders seen to be seeking a 'better time of it' through marriage and domesticity with local women. This all highlights a deep fear of wartime profiteering by women and non-conforming men within the wartime Islander community, as such acts further undermined an already-fragile British-Islander identity and community relations.

Finally, it has been noted that prominent war stories grew out of these gendered expectations and wartime fractures. Horace Wyatt and Edmund Blampied's book, *Jersey in Jail*, illustrated the importance of fraternal collaboration when constructing postwar accounts of the occupation. These men worked together to create an acceptable version of wartime events, to speak to the universal experience of war. This foreshadowed the work of groups of young men across the Channel Islands to construct occupation museums to tell their collective war stories in decades to come. Meanwhile, the accounts of Victor Coysh and Leslie Sinel show us how accessible and concise these war stories could be; distributed as short pamphlets to both a local audience and to foreign tourists who might wish to explore local fortification sites. These early accounts have in common their grappling with the gendered anxieties of the wartime Channel Islands, as they defined collaboration, heroism, virtue and honour according to recognisable wartime tensions and expectations. They, along with R.C.F. Maugham, intertwined the

experience of Islanders with that of the wider British war effort, and were unafraid of directly contrasting the actions of patriots with that of deviant figures who undermined heroic actions within the community. These accounts made 'other' questions of collaboration while also popularising the story of the Channel Islands actively participating in the defeat of Nazism, creating a compelling and desirable image of martial masculinity and virtuous femininity under occupation.

V.V. Cortvriend's *Isolated Island*, meanwhile, provided a rare insight into how an Islander woman framed her own published occupation story; relying heavily on official States' documentation in between the fragments of her own war stories. Cortvriend minimised her own interactions with German soldiers, while emphasising the brave actions of the wider community and official figures. Dorothy Pickard Higgs' published diary, meanwhile, offered a more personal account of a woman navigating and ultimately rejecting her earlier pacifist leanings, as well as the community's rejection of her attempts at good citizenship through her published recipes. However, Higgs also recorded seeing little historical value in her own personal writings at the time, and instead preserved her 'long letter' to honour a promise to her extended family network. This chapter, therefore, highlights a key difference between the early published accounts of men and women: men did not shy away from immediately making connections between their own personal war experiences and that of the wider British war effort, and could see immediate historical value in their own thoughts about the occupation. Women were more likely to minimise the historical significance of their own words by supplementing these with authoritative contributions, and would sometimes even highlight any perceived gaps in their knowledge of the war. It is, therefore, crucial to understand that the gendered experiences and anxieties of war not only framed who was seen to be a collaborator or resistor, but also shaped the way that men and women shared their war stories in public and private.

‘And our dear Channel Islands are also to be freed today’: Liberation and the British Soldier Hero

The nature of any nation’s liberation after an extended period of enemy occupation and subjugation will undoubtedly be significant in any retelling of their national war story. As Pieter Lagrou explores in his study of postwar societies within Western Europe, the dominant *experience* of occupation was often not that of heroism, but of ‘economic hardship, individual suffering, humiliation and arbitrary persecution.’[233] Yet for many liberated but traumatised societies within Europe:

> ‘their now fragile national consciousness was in urgent need of…[a] patriotic epic… Mourning without triumphalism would undermine postwar national recovery. The threatening memory of, at best, impotence, humiliation and loss of meaning and, at worst, complicity could be dealt with only through the prism of resistance and patriotism.’[234]

To understand how a nation’s sense of community is reconstructed after such collective trauma, it is important to first assess the ‘style’ in which this community is reimagined at this point of national rebirth, often around a common narrative or myth, to reclaim a level of self-esteem and fraternity in the postwar period.[235] In this way, the Second World War differed greatly from the First World War in its absence of a clear cut ‘soldier hero’ from within a nation’s local community. Yet with national reconstruction so dependent on this narrative of resistance, patriotism, and triumphalism, the question becomes whether foreign liberators and civilians of the resistance movement could themselves become national heroes to those they helped

---

[233] Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation,* p.2.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 2006) p.6. Also, Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation,* pp.2-3.

liberate, as part of this retelling of the national story and in establishing accepted frames of collective memory.[236] For the Channel Islands, this was perhaps a slightly easier transition to make than for other communities, as they were liberated by their 'own' British soldiers, and it was the Union flag that was raised over the islands in May 1945. An estimated 10,000 Islanders fought within the British Armed Forces during the Second World War, with many having evacuated the islands to volunteer in the June of 1940. In 1945, eager young Boy Scouts are described as having been 'needed' to support their own liberating British troops in recovery efforts, with one boy writing: 'How good it is to be liberated once again and to be able to get into our old Scout uniforms', before detailing Scouting as a form of wartime resistance.[237] Liberation freed young boys and men to serve their nation and to rebuild their community, with no ban on the recognisable uniforms of boyhood or of British military service. It was also the British government that exonerated the Channel Islands of any wrongdoing in August 1945, through a public speech from Home Secretary J. Chuter Ede, given in the House of Commons. The *Guernsey Press* headline of 20 August 1945 declared: 'British Government Verdict on Channel Isles: "They Have Every Reason to be Proud of Themselves and We of Them."'[238] Thus, a renewed sense of national pride within the Channel Islands was being fostered as a result of actions from within the distant ranks of the British government itself. Within a year, officials of the wartime establishment were offered honours by the British Crown, further underscoring this sense of British-Islander fraternity and loyalty in the aftermath of the war and five years of separation.

However, as is shown in the previous chapter, this British decision-making also meant that no official trials would be held for those who had been investigated over rumours of wartime

---

[236] Ibid, pp.3-4.
[237] Words of a young Channel Island scout printed in 'Scouting in the Channel Islands' *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 13 June 1945, p.2.
[238] 'British Government Verdict on Channel Isles' *Guernsey Press*, 20 August 1945, p.1.

collaboration, regardless of popular opinion and a desire for retribution and closure in the early postwar Channel Islands. This early support by the British government therefore proved problematic in other ways, as it only papered over the cracks of discontent and disunity. In the absence of a transparent legal process to decide whether individual blame could be assigned for acts of collaboration or profiteering, these difficult questions about the conduct of Islanders never truly went away and have continued to flare up around significant anniversaries.[239] The unifying liberation narrative of the postwar Channel Islands helped to shore up these foundations, however. It developed in later years as the islands were repeatedly subject to internal debates and external questioning by British journalists over the nature of their wartime conduct and whether it truly lived up to the British ideal. Liberation Day still offers the perfect public platform on which to answer this, and to celebrate the endurance, patriotism, and defiance of Islanders; while offering a constant reimagining of Islander identity that both fits with an accepted view and language of the past, and addresses developments in the socio-political climate of the day. In this way, the Channel Islands are also able to distance themselves from the divisive European experience and memory of the Second World War, and instead attach themselves to a more usable and desirable story that is intrinsically linked to that of Britain's popularised memory of the Second World War. As Paul Sanders argues in his official history of the occupation years, 'with no place other to fit their war memory than the straightjacket of UK war memory – the Churchillian Paradigm – islanders locked into the celebration of sublime heroism and unwavering steadfastness.'[240] Rather than focussing on the open wound of remembered Nazism in the Channel Islands, Islanders, like those in many other occupied nations during the long and short-term process of reconstruction, would adopt a

[239] Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection*. pp.15-17.
[240] Sanders, *The British Channel Islands under German Occupation,* p.256.

'forward-looking perspective' that would similarly emphasise 'overcoming and selective remembering rather than a public reckoning with the lasting impact of war and fascism.'[241]

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that this almost familial British-Islander relationship has remained so prominent in public and private discourse surrounding the liberation. It enabled the popular memory of the occupation years to be reframed by the visual and engaging imagery of defiance, patriotism, and certain British victory, and the reciprocal loyalty shown by their brothers in arms. Their own British 'Tommies' are remembered for bringing supplies and for freeing the Channel Islands in 1945 – just as Churchill had promised. Key figures and events to appear in both the popular liberation narrative and post-1985 Liberation Day re-enactments include the everyman British 'Tommy', civilians who engaged with the BBC's V for Victory campaign, the raising of the Union flag, and the triumphant Winston Churchill (who is fondly remembered for saying the line 'our dear Channel Islands are also to be freed today' in his V.E. Day speech of 8 May). This chapter explores how over time the repeated retelling and reimagining of the liberation story, as a unifying narrative through which to view the occupation experience, has seen it develop into an iconic Liberation Day ritual and public holiday.

The chapter also examines the ritual's consolidation of the liberation narrative, into a fixed and recognisable language of accepted words, objects, and images that since the 1980s have increasingly been cemented into the physical landscape of the Channel Islands. This has also been incorporated into spaces where a growing number of counter-memory monuments have developed, preserving the predominant position of the popularised liberation story at the forefront of occupation collective memory and commemoration. In the process, this preserves the legacy of family members and the imagined community of British-Islander national

[241] Frank Biess, 'Introduction' in Frank Biess, Robert G. Moeller (eds), *Histories of the Aftermath: The Legacies of the Second World War in Europe* (New York, 2010) p.3.

identity, as well as the assumed common traits of loyalty, endurance, patriotism, and heroic masculinity, which are rediscovered through the liberation narrative.

This chapter also examines the adaptability of the liberation narrative, from commemorating a defined historical event according to traditional modes of war commemoration, to expanding into a repetitive series of easily-relatable and simplified ritual re-enactments, symbols, and images which are seen to define modern Islander character, as much as that of the witnesses of the occupation. This has ensured that the liberation narrative remains relevant and at the centre of Islander heritage, culture, and identity to the present day.

Intergenerational Commemoration

Historians Gilly Carr and Daniel Travers both argue that from 1985, which was the 40th anniversary of the liberation, that there was a notable shift in commemoration in the Channel Islands.[242] This was due to a gradual transition in the commemorations, from being about first-hand witnesses of the occupation remembering their experiences, to the next generation retelling the story of relatives and the wider community.[243] While this is clearly a crucial element to the shift in the modes of commemoration, it is also undeniable that the strengthening and simplification of the liberation narrative around certain iconic themes and images has acted to stabilise occupation memory at a time of particular tension and questioning of Islander character and identity. This period saw Islander wartime conduct increasingly challenged by British journalists and historians after the opening of controversial archive files (to be further discussed in Chapters 3 and 4), even as a greater platform was given to a range of previously marginalised narratives in an increasingly globalised and post-Cold War world. If the initial

[242] Gilly Carr, *Legacies of Occupation: Heritage, Memory and Archaeology in the Channel Islands* (New York, 2014). Daniel Travers, 'Raising the Flag: Public Sculpture, Liberation Day and Second World War Remembrance in Jersey' in Jodie Matthews, Daniel Travers (eds), *Islands and Britishness: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2012).
[243] Ibid.

popularisation of the liberation narrative was born partly out of circumstance and a desire for closure and unity within fractured and fragmented communities, then the development of the large-scale Liberation Day public holiday has sought to reaffirm a sense of Islander identity during yet another period of tension and transition. This is made possible through the adaptability of the liberation myth. After all, as Sanders suggests, with this early 'interlocking' of the Islander memory of occupation and British war memory, any revisions to this memory 'had to pass through a reappraisal of war memory in Britain, a victor nation where war memory is inevitably tied up with identity.'[244] In this way, the repetitive focus on a recognisable language and ritual of the liberation protects the legacy of family members who are elderly (or may have passed away) and so not always able to defend their wartime conduct against 'outsider' revision. It also reinforces the powerful founding myth of these Islander communities who had never before been drawn into a modern conflict or experienced collective defeat, humiliation and trauma on such a scale, and still regularly have their claim to Britishness judged according to British standards of perceived 'correct conduct' in wartime. However, in terms of the early development of the liberation narrative, it is clear from contemporary diary accounts that certain events of the islands' liberation were almost instantly mythologised in the Channel Islands, often when these involved particularly strong emotion or a group experience which was thought to be of historical significance. Most record having attended public speeches given by Islander politicians on 8 May, the emotion felt when hearing Churchill speak on the radio that same day, or the importance of flying the Union flags that they had hidden away from the Germans so that they might use them at the liberation. Marc Yates of Jersey Military Tours recounts how his grandfather, described as a decorated Great War military man and the 'Guardien' of Gorey Castle (Jersey), had saved his Union and Jersey flags from the Germans for the entirety of the occupation, before defying the occupiers on 8

[244] Ibid, p.257.

May 1945 to be the first to declare an end to their rule, by replacing the German flag flying at Gorey Castle with his own Union and Jersey flags.[245] The unpublished diary of Ruby Whitehorne, a Guernsey housekeeper born in England, contains scribbled autographs over her entries for 9 and 10 May 1945; autographs and regiment numbers from the British 'Tommies' who had seemingly become immediate icons in this person's experience of the liberation.[246] Many record a lengthier process of liberation than one single date (notable considering that Liberation Day is traditionally marked on 9 May for Jersey and Guernsey, and 10 May for Sark), or refer to V.E. Day as being a more significant moment at the time of writing than that of the official German surrender in the Channel Islands the following day. It is often 8 May when Islanders first record having heard of the end of the war, and Churchill's promise that they themselves would be freed. However, over time the most significant moments of 8 May have been transferred into the 9 May commemorations, fusing the emotion of V.E. Day with the symbolic significance of the German surrender to the British forces on 9 May, and the concluding iconic image of the raising of the Union flag.

The reproduction of Bert Hill's 'Liberation' cartoon is a good example of this process of connecting a range of liberation events and experiences into the commemoration of one iconic moment, driven by remembered emotion and symbolic significance rather than historical accuracy. Although dated 8 May 1945, or V.E. Day, it was popularised and distributed as souvenir postcards of the liberation due to the emotional resonance it had for the people of Guernsey, and for Bert himself (after all, he did title the piece 'Liberation').[247] Appealing to the ideal of Islander defiance and showing a reclaiming of national pride and Guernsey's identity, the cartoon's cultural significance is such that replica postcards can still be bought at

[245] Marc Yates, 'Liberation Day – The Story Of One Of The First British Flags Flown 72 Years Ago' *History Alive!* 9 May 2017 http://www.historyalive.je/2017/05/09/liberation-day-first-british-flag-flown/ [Accessed: 20 May 2017].
[246] Ruby Whitehorne, Unpublished diary (Island Archives, Guernsey) AQ 1082-01/02/03.
[247] Gilly Carr, Paul Sanders, Louise Willmot, *Protest, Defiance and Patriotism in the Channel Islands* (London, 2014) pp.35-37.

the German Occupation Museum (Guernsey) to the present day, where the full-colour original is also on display for visitors.[248] The cartoon is unique in its early visualisation of the key elements of the liberation story in Guernsey: Guernsey men have traditionally been referred to as 'donkeys' in the Channel Islands, and here a donkey can be seen forcibly kicking the German officer out of Guernsey. The 'V' at the top of the image is the symbol of the BBC's V for Victory campaign which became a recognisable symbol of resistance and loyalty to the British Crown during the occupation years.

Figure 3: *Bert Hill mural on display at the German Occupation Museum (Guernsey).*

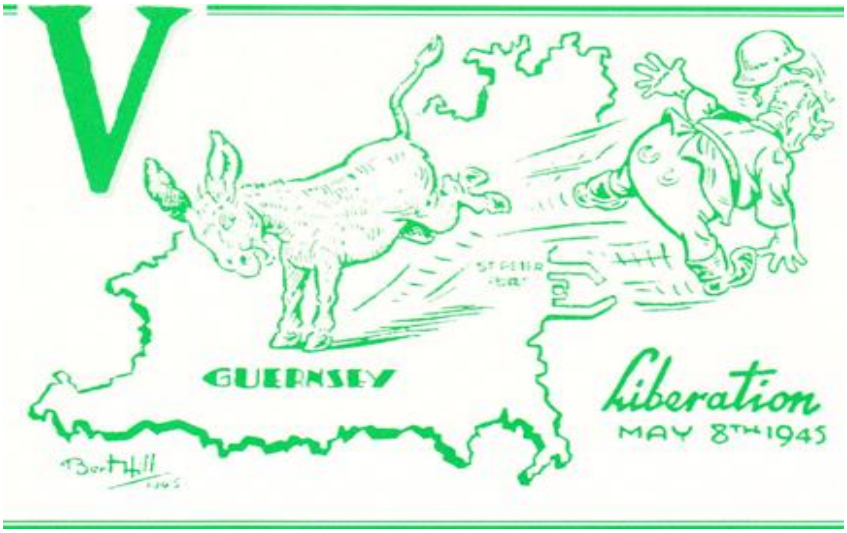

Figure 4: *Replica postcard purchased within the German Occupation Museum (Guernsey).*

[248] Ibid.

The public awareness and emotional significance of the V for Victory symbol has always been especially heightened in Guernsey after an infamous incident on 8 July 1941 when the island's Bailiff, Victor Carey, offered a £25 reward for information leading to the arrest and prosecution of anyone involved in painting the V for Victory sign. This has continued to be a source of much contention for decades after the liberation, with many who lived through the occupation years seeing this as an act of collaboration and, more importantly, a betrayal of both his own people and of the British war effort.[249] This cartoon reconciles the politics of the 'V' sign by including it within the context of the liberation of Guernsey, thus establishing it as a unifying symbol in the context of Islander defiance and support for British victory, rather than something which divided the occupation community. It was also a clear statement on behalf of ordinary Guernsey men (or 'donkeys') that they were an active part of the British victory over Nazism in their corner of the world, not simply passive observers.

Adolescent Discipline and Morality

The necessary use of the liberation as a device to engage listless young people, and particularly young boys, with heroic figures and stories of wartime adventure is also significant given immediate postwar concerns about the discipline and moral decline of young people during the occupation years. This is explored in a segment on 'Discipline' in a lecture given by Jersey Education Office member, A. A. H. Downer, to the British and Allied Teachers at Dulwich College, London, in August 1946. This talk details the experiences of schools and teachers during the occupation in the Channel Islands, and would subsequently be published as a pamphlet by the *Jersey Evening Post* to circulate within the Channel Islands themselves (this copy was accessed within the main Jersey Library).[250] Downer suggests that moral discipline had 'declined sharply' following the occupation, with the widespread stealing from 'Jerry' first

[249] For more on this subject, see: Madeleine Bunting, *The Model Occupation* (London, 1996) pp.206-207, 235.
[250] A.A.H. Downer, *The Channel Islands Schools, 1940-1945: Records of Events as given in a Lecture to British and Allied Teachers at Dulwich College, London, August 1946* (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) OCC 942 DOW.

fracturing children's understanding of morality, and subsequently leading to a complete 'breakdown' in the authority of parents.[251] Downer sees this collapse of the traditional family unit during the occupation, and of moral learning and discipline by extension, as first presenting itself along gendered lines, with girls and boys both seen to rebel against societal expectations in their own ways.[252] When boys' energy could not be properly channelled through an engagement with heroic adventure stories, it resulted in senseless delinquency and fighting rather than productive citizenship and brotherhood. Meanwhile, sudden social change risked girls no longer adhering to their parents' guidance, instead succumbing to the dangerous charms of the ever-present occupying soldiers.

> 'senior girls in particular became difficult to handle, and unfortunately many, with or without a parent's consent, openly fraternized with the enemy. Lack of adventure books, so necessary to a young adolescent, caused the senior boys to make their own daily round less monotonous by fighting, and in some districts definite hooliganism set in.'[253]

The way in which young people under occupation were perceived also makes evident the fears that existed about the breakdown or separation of the family unit (following not just the occupation, but also the evacuation on 1940), and a rise of teenage delinquency as a result of the erosion of old British values and authority. This in itself is gendered, as young boys are presented as having an instinct to fight unless they have a steady extra-curricular education of acceptable boyhood adventure stories, while fears around young girls focus upon the dangers of their unchecked sexuality. Teachers and the local authority, then, are described as being

[251] Ibid, p.15.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid.

essential pillars to defend against such lapses in discipline until the liberation, almost as a form of moral resistance and emotional commitment to the war effort:

> 'Teachers felt their disciplinary powers strained to the utmost, and often the question was asked: "Are we losing our grip?" We were not, but coupled with our personal lack of energy, we were strained mentally to the limit, but at no time could a head teacher say that the discipline in the school was not well in hand. So the Occupation plodded wearily on, livened for some of us at least, after the Invasion of Northern Europe, by the reception of the B.B.C.'s Allied Expeditionary Forces' programme on crystal sets. Despite high hopes for an early liberation for us, we had to ensure a siege lasting 10 months.'[254]

Maintaining discipline in schools until the liberation was a way to resist the occupation on a wider scale, by pushing through personal difficulties to secure the future of the nation: in this case, its children, until the British forces liberated the Channel Islands and secured these values. The success of the teachers in overcoming the trying period of occupation is presented in the concluding section, titled 'Liberation!', which begins with the schools' engagement with both the resistance and the events of liberation. The Underground News Service (a resistance news group) are said to have first informed the Education Office that the tide was turning in the war, with head teachers being authorised to close schools in the event of military action, thus, showing them to be actively engaged with both the resistance and liberation themselves.[255] The children, however, are truly saved by the actions of the British soldiers 'of Freedom', with this proving a turning point in attitudes and values as they could receive a proper education once more:

---

[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid, p.16.

> ‘fortunately, the handing over of control to a handful of British Tommies took place without incident, and it was to shouts of delirious joy that the children were given sweets and gum by those laughing, joking soldiers of Freedom. Once again, we are able to obtain supplies from England. Once again children have text-books to interest and instruct them. Supplies may still be limited compared to pre-war standards, but to us, who have gone across the desert of a “New Order”, everything is ideal as we swing along on the camel of progress to the near oasis. We see there on the horizon a mirage of an Educational Utopia.’

Here, the experience of the liberation of the Channel Islands also opens up children to the concepts of freedom and knowledge, towards a promised land of progress. The British troops liberating the Channel Islands are significant as only they returned these children to their joyful and active British childhood once more, as opposed to the previous descriptions of their falling in with the Germans, or becoming juvenile delinquents. The perfect image of British civilisation returning to turn these children into good citizens is expanded upon in a paragraph detailing the opportunities afforded to education in the Channel Islands following the English Education Act of 1944, which offered structure and addressed the mental and physical needs of all students, even those described as ‘delicate’ or ‘retarded’.[256] This was not just a return to how things had been, but a rediscovery of British values and morality through the Channel Islands’ renewed connection the Great Britain: ‘Out of the old establishment into the new will pour hundreds of compulsory school age, eager to fit themselves more fully for the splendid new life which must surely await them.’[257] The anxieties surrounding a generation of listless young people forgetting their moral values and rejecting societal expectations was seen to be resolvable following the liberation by the ‘soldiers of Freedom’ and the Utopia that it promised.

[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.

In the diary of Mr and Mrs G Attenborough, similar concerns about morality are recorded in their account of the 1945 liberation day, again connecting the joy of freedom with local tensions about the moral state of the community (with the loss and militarisation of the local landscape also described in gendered terms) having spent five years under occupation:

> 'May 9: Our beautiful island bleeds from gaping wounds inflicted on her so as to shelter those disfiguring block houses, bunkers, and other frightfulness. Our fields have been furrowed with Nazi steel and railways laid across fertile growing crops. Our cattle, our much prized Jerseys, have been wantonly slaughtered. ...We are FREE! FREE! FREE! But the memory of those terrible days from the invasion to the debacle from July 1st 1940 to May 8th 1945, are imprinted on our hearts as deeply as the burin engraves on the stone. Morals suffered, as is usual during a war, many of the girls were quite unable to resist the sight of a uniform. The unfortunate proclivity, not unknown elsewhere, had landed us with a batch of semi-German babies, their number had not been officially stated but it must be considerable: nor is that all. These young women must, often unintentionally, have acted as potential informers for when out with Fritz, their Carl, their Hans, as the case might be.'[258]

In contrast to these thoughts on morality and decline that are recorded on 9 May 1945 (Liberation Day itself), Mr and Mrs G. Attenborough also wrote on 8 May, or V.E. Day, in a more celebratory tone, detailing their wish to 'bless the boys who have made the loosening of our chains and fetters possible'.[259] Those soldiers who died fighting in the war are described as the 'heroes' buried across Europe, the near East, the Far East and Africa, 'who gave their last drop of blood in the supreme sacrifice, so that we, who live on, may be spared from the

[258] Mr & Mrs G Attenborough, 'Diary of the Occupation and Other Documents' Attenborough Box. File: 'Attenborough 1945' (Imperial War Museum, London) Documents.11646.
[259] Ibid.

talons.'[260] The soldier hero represents freedom and victory to the Attenboroughs, as well as a willingness to sacrifice for one's country and people in order to preserve their nationhood. Meanwhile, declining moral standards and the weakened local landscape are perceived as having been feminine. Again, the British soldier hero not only liberated the Channel Islands, but is seen to confirm the just and moral nature of Britain's victory in the Second World War, as well as the British identity of Islanders as they returned to unity, moral correctness and, therefore, good citizenship in their image.

Morality, good citizenship, and the necessity of teaching the values of heroic masculinity to young people did not dissipate after the liberation of 1945. Liberation commemorative events in the 1950s and 1960s increasingly featured a range of activities to engage young people with the day (such as football matches and an inter-school race) alongside the sombre thanksgiving service with military personnel and British symbols.[261] This is perhaps unsurprising when one takes into account the significance of the 'pleasure culture of war' and the inspirational warrior hero figure in shaping and preserving popularised notions of British masculinity and national identity.[262] Michael Paris argues that memories of a past victory are 'enshrined in the nation's story', while war itself was presented through sanitized images and promises of adventure for boys and men which 'demonstrated their patriotism and defined their masculinity. War...brought out the best in men – a sense of duty, honour, and loyalty to cause and comrade.'[263] In many ways, although the specifics of how the Channel Islands choose to mark Liberation Day have altered over time, the key focus of the anniversary has always been a celebration and commemoration of martial masculinity, patriotism, comradery, and a connection to British victory. By engaging young people in the popular war narrative through

[260] Ibid.
[261] For a brief description of the yearly breakdown of Liberation Day activities, see Carr, *Legacies of Occupation,* pp.213-214. Also, see: 'Anniversary of Liberation Day' folder (Jersey Archive, Jersey) B/A/L41.
[262] Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London, 2000).
[263] Ibid, p.257.

community sporting and adventure activities, as well as commemoration featuring both military personnel and their own families, they are being shown these compelling images about what it means to be a British Islander, as much as learning about the occupation story itself.

A key theme that emerged in the liberation narrative before the 1980s is that of the British war story providing a bridge between a dark past and a more desirable future, with the liberation being a memory that has been treated with a particularly high degree of levity. In the 1975 memoirs of former Bailiff of Jersey (between 1935-1961) and occupation-era Head of the Superior Council, Alexander Coutanche, he records one incident of the liberation of Jersey which he remembers most vividly: 'A woman, with a small child in her arms, held the child out to a soldier and said "Kiss him. Make him clean."'[264] The scene described is undoubtedly biblical in nature, with the British soldier taking on the role of the Messiah. This is then linked to the subsequent memory of the returning presence of British liberating officers at the first major liberation anniversary in 1970. The almost biblical and worshipful scenes of liberation are also recorded in the first reporting of the events of May 1945, with a journalist who witnessed the liberation of Guernsey describing the reception of the British soldiers in a similar way:

> 'The tiny force formed up on the docks, fixed bayonets and marched towards the dock gates. Behind those gates was a seething, cheering, crying mob of men, women and children. Over them the church bells of St. Peter Port were clanging tumultuously. Every house had its Union Jack and bunting, saved through five long desperate wearing years for this moment. Then the crowd broke through the dock gates. The gunners were

[264] Lord Alexander Coutanche, H.R.S. Pocock (comp.), *The Memoirs of Lord Coutanche* (London and Chichester, 1975) p.50.

> torn from the ranks, kissed, hugged, cheered. Somehow the soldiers re-formed. Two girls with great Union Jacks led them into the town.'[265]

By the 25th Liberation anniversary commemorations in Jersey, Coutanche refers to 'a service of Thanksgiving', with an interdenominational Christian service at Howard Davis Park attended by the island's officials, British officers who had served on H.M.S. *Beagle* (the head ship involved in liberating the island), and the First Officer of the Red Cross ship S.S. *Vega*.[266] These references to an almost biblical role of the liberation British soldier, and then of making them central features in the subsequent commemoration of the liberation, suggests that the role of the British 'Tommy' was iconic not just as a symbol of British victory, but also in promising a rebirth for the islands in the image of their undiluted, heroic masculinity. This could be shared with their Islander brothers through the original process of liberation from German subjugation, and in joining the islands in their annual spiritual communion to revisit this moment. Coutanche goes on to describe how 'a procession of floats, depicting various scenes from the Occupation, and illustrating the organisations which play an important part in the life of Jersey, was formed in People's Park and, led by a Military Band, proceeded to the Howard Davis Park. Representatives of all these organisations were present at the service. At its conclusion, some wreaths were laid in the War Cemetery.'[267] It is clear then that this recognition and inclusion of the British military heroes continued even within the more celebratory element of the commemorations, and that the liberation was remembered on a large scale even at this early stage, with this fusion of patriotic and religious themes.

Memory Boom

[265] '22 Men in a Boat Take Over from 10,000 Nazis: Kisses, Hugs and Cheers for Gunners', *Daily Herald*, 11 May 1945, p.1.
[266] Ibid, p.200.
[267] Ibid, p.201.

However, with growing public commemoration also came the issue that memories of the liberation now existed within an established framework, characterised by this set of dominant themes and emotions taken from the public representation of the liberation. Some who had made public their own accounts of the occupation found themselves having to explain why their own experience of liberation did not match the grandeur and emotion increasingly displayed in the annual commemorative events. In the 1980 reprint of her 1972 account of the occupation of Guernsey, K.M. Bachmann adds an epilogue to discuss this heightened level of expectation surrounding the 'conclusion' to her 'story' of the occupation years.[268] She explains that others 'failed to understand why this diary had ended so calmly. They had expected vivid ravings of ecstasy and unbridled joy.'[269] Bachmann goes on to add details of her own interactions with British 'Tommies' which extended beyond the day of liberation itself, before she concludes that:

> 'To have invented a date for a pseudo letter…in order to give five years of correspondence a sensational climax, would have made a nonsense of all that had gone before. …The concert pitch of ecstasy could not be maintained – nor rekindled with any hope of credibility.'[270]

In many ways, this is a critique both of the growing obsession with 'accepted' elements of the liberation story, and of those who have sought to recreate it with any accuracy given the deep emotional connection of each individual to their own experience of that unique historical moment. It is not dissimilar to Nick Hewitt's study on the 'sceptical generation' and war commemoration after the Second World War, where he identifies a clear shift in the post-1984 attitude towards commemorating among those who experienced the war.[271] Before this point,

---

[268] K.M. Bachmann, *The Prey of an Eagle* (Guernsey, 1985) p.230.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid, p.232.
[271] Nick Hewitt, 'A Sceptical Generation? War Memorials and the Collective Memory of the Second World War in Britain, 1945-2000' in Dominik Geppert (ed.), *The Postwar Challenge, 1945-1958* (Oxford, 2003).

Hewitt argues that there was little interest in creating an influx of new memorials after the Second World War, due to growing scepticism, cynicism, and a clear commitment to utilitarian rather than symbolic commemoration by that generation.[272] Much of what was publicly commemorated about the war was thus 'official or semi-official projects sanctioned and paid for by the nation or the military'.[273] After 1984 a shift occurred, however, with an 'explosion' of Second World War commemoration and the erecting of a wave of war memorials in the 1980s and 1990s.[274] Hewitt argues that this change was both a result of a new generation taking the lead in commemoration for the first time, a conscious decision to 'educate the visitor' about the heroic deeds of the past through monuments and, crucially, of a period of war-obsession and commemorative journalism within the British media 'on a scale which had never been seen before'.[275] In particular, this is seen in relation to the anniversary of D-Day, which was a key part of the continued revisiting and reproduction of the past.[276] Since 1984, this has led to an intense reassessment and reconstruction of wartime memories in public spaces by those who witnessed the war and the next generation. Hewitt concludes that this once 'sceptical generation' now inevitably has had their own collective memory shaped by these new myths and traditions, culminating in a sudden desire to memorialise that what they had not wished to publicly remember in stone immediately after the war's end, and to now preserve for posterity the 'Uncommemorated Generation'.[277] The Channel Islands clearly witnessed a similar shift following repeated public revisiting of the liberation story. This saw a movement from marking the liberation at existing First World War memorials and focusing on more traditional and official-led modes of commemorations in the pre-1980s period, to increasingly questioning why the ordinary person and their extraordinary and exciting war story was not being

[272] Ibid, pp.82, 87.
[273] Ibid, p.89.
[274] Ibid, pp.89, 90.
[275] Ibid, p.93.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid, pp.96-97.

commemorated in their own right. The period had moved on from the initial search for a unifying narrative and sense of closure in the immediate decades at the end of the Second World War, to needing to celebrate the exceptionalism of the Islander experience and their links to the triumphant British war narrative. While elements of these early beginnings of the liberation narrative remained central in developing a new direction for liberation commemoration, these were further simplified around themes that people recognised and could relate to on an emotional level or that had notable symbolic significance, while nonconforming or 'less exciting' narratives (such as Bachmann's) were gradually lost or made to justify themselves within the accepted storyline of events.

In many ways, the modern Liberation Day ritual is now such an inescapable and highly-marketed aspect of yearly life in the Channel Islands (particularly in defining the unique features of just who the Channel Islanders are for tourism purposes), that it often appears that this itself has existed since the liberation of May 1945. Yet this modern ritual which has quickly reached iconic status in the Channel Islands, and is central in the strengthening of key tenets of the liberation myth through the performance and reproduction of a fixed commemorative language, was in fact only established at a point in transition and tension in occupation memory in 1985. By 1995 this accepted language and imagery of the commemoration was cemented in public spaces for posterity, with this 50th anniversary commemoration currently being the last point of significant change in the public ritual. Here the theme of 'freedom' took on a more central role than ever before. Similarly, this period saw the unveiling of liberation monuments that were to be a focus of interaction both during the ceremony and in daily life, and the beginnings of officially recognising for the first time the counter-memories which had traditionally existed outside of the dominant framework of the liberation narrative. This defused much of the tension surrounding the popularised narrative, resulting in a stabilising of

the dominant memory through permanent liberation landmarks, the appearance of greater inclusion, and a simplified, fixed language of commemoration.

Becoming the British 'Tommy'

The fixed language of the post-1985 Liberation Day commemoration developed out of popularised aspects of the earlier liberation narrative and ceremonies, with the continuation of holding a Christian thanksgiving service, public procession (with military elements involved through a convoy of military vehicles or military band), and the inclusion of the liberating British 'Tommy' in the day's events. Where the actual liberating British soldiers are increasingly elderly or have passed away, the ritual now sees local actors (often, young Islander Cadets in the Jersey ritual, as well as including other groups of young people across the islands) appearing as soldiers to re-enact the liberation, or donning uniforms and featuring in military processions on Liberation Day, thus linking even closer the image of the British liberating soldier hero and the image of defiant, patriotic Islanders.

Figure 5: *Jersey Cadet's taking on the role of the liberating British 'Tommies' on Liberation Day.*

Figure 6: *Liberation Day re-enactment of liberating British 'Tommies', Jersey.*

Figure 7: *Guernsey convoy of military vehicles on Liberation Day.*

Figure 8: *Boy dressed up as soldier for Guernsey's Liberation Day.*

The central space used for the Liberation Day ritual is also the same as some of the most highly recorded, symbolic and emotive events of the 1945 liberation, making use of memories and iconic photographs of the day and giving this re-enactment an added sense of legitimacy. The inclusion of the Union flag is also central to concluding the ceremony, something that is particularly important in Jersey where the Pomme d'Or Hotel (which had once been the German Naval Headquarters) still exists. As a result, the raising of the Union flag from the balcony, something which occurred in 1945, can be re-enacted, enabling a mirroring of this iconic image that Islanders can physically engage with, in living colour, rather than simply being a generic black and white photograph of a distant occupation-era event. However, as much as there remains a significant emphasis on the 'authenticity' of these re-enactments, the German soldiers themselves are notably absent from these recreated scenes. A previous attempt by the Guernsey Military Vehicle Group to re-enact the German occupiers' movements, based on iconic occupation-era photographs of them marching past Lloyds Bank in Guernsey, was cancelled following local complaints and negative press attention.[278] Instead, this group's re-

[278] See: 'Condemned 'German march' called off' *Guernsey Evening Press,* 17 June 1996. pp. 1-2. Also: 'Deputy condemns 'German' march' *Guernsey Evening Press,* 15 June 1996, pp. 1-2.

enactments of occupying German soldiers have remained restricted to local fortification sites around the islands, where 'no criticism was received' and where they have previously focused on enacting 'the garrison's daily duties'.[279] Chapter 3 considers the significance of these fortification sites and their unique role in the reclaiming of difficult memories of defeat and impotency. The dominance of the Liberation Day ritual also aids the control (and, sometimes, the erasure) of the imposing figure of the hyper-masculine German soldier outside of designated fortification sites, as 'the enemy' is not needed when the British 'Tommy' has become such a potent figure to represent victory and freedom on these streets, and as part of the Channel Islands' popular re-visiting of their shared past.

Figure 9: *Liberation Day, Pomme d'Or Hotel, 9 May 1945*.

[279] *Guernsey Evening Press,* 17 June 1996. p.1.

Figure 10: *An example of the re-enactment of the Pomme d'Or Hotel scene.*

The focus on 'freedom' as an over-arching theme since 1985 might explain why Churchill's 8 May speech ('our dear Channel Islands are also to be freed today') has achieved an even greater status in this period in terms of memorialisation. However, where in the past this was seen as a memory of V.E. Day, and so of wider victory in Europe, the new Liberation Day ritual and commemoration increasingly concreted this as an example of the exceptionalism of the Islander occupation experience. This speech not only became fused with their national day on 9 May as if it was originally spoken on that date, but also saw the selection and repetition of this particular line of speech without its wider European context, as if Churchill was simply talking to the Channel Islands at the liberation, rather than announcing Victory in Europe. This focus on Churchillian freedom has in many ways further strengthened the separation of the popular imagining of the Channel Islands' occupation from that of the rest of Europe at a key point of tension and transition.[280] As first-hand memory of the occupation faded the world was also becoming increasingly globalised, while the Cold War was also drawing to a close (which was significant for the memorialisation of the wartime Organisation Todt forced workers, some

[280] See: Sanders, *The British Channel Islands.* Also, see: Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection.*

of whom had been Russian). During this same period, archive files were opened which revisited difficult questions about Islander wartime conduct. It is impossible to understand the development of this construction of Liberation Day without this wider context, as it shows how the connection to British war memory was once again being used to patch over Islander communities at a time of transition and division with communities. This time, however, there was a much closer fusing between this and any conflicting aspects of the Islander experience and identity, to make it a part of the next generation's story and identity, rather than simply focusing on popular recollections of the past that could be challenged or forgotten.

While there has always been some form of thanksgiving service to mark the end of the Second World War and the liberation (with Jersey making 9 May a public holiday in law as early as 1952, with Guernsey eventually following suit in 1994), Daniel Travers argues that the large-scale Liberation Day ritual is something that really 'kick started' with the 40th anniversary of the liberation in 1985, as a similar increase in D-Day and V.E Day commemoration occurred in the United Kingdom.[281] The 1980s saw the beginnings of today's interactive Liberation Day ritual, and its use of a recognisable language and iconic imagery. As part of this new direction for the Liberation Day commemorations in 1985, the Duchess of Kent was invited to unveil a memorial stone in St Peter Port to the 'British Liberating Forces', as well as Jersey's memorial stone at the balcony where Alexander Coutanche announced that the islands would be liberated on 8 May 1945.

[281] Travers, 'Raising the Flag', p.230.

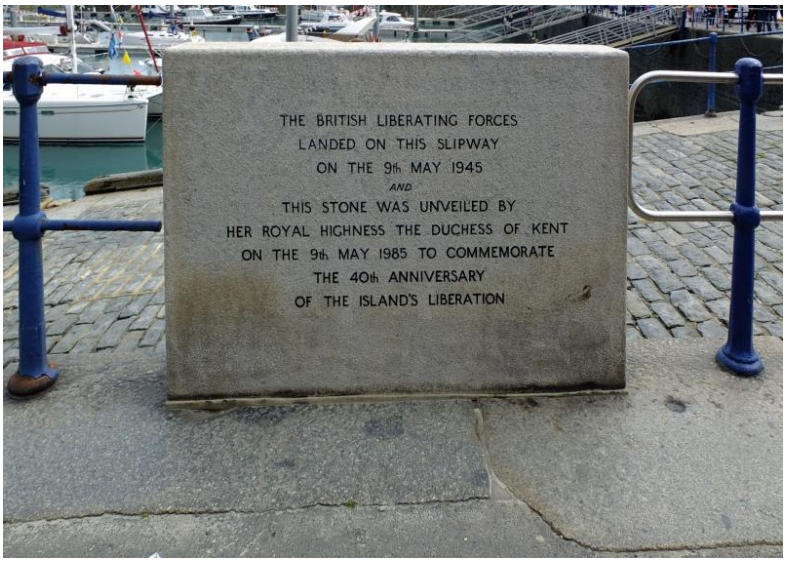

Figure 11: *Liberation Landing Memorial, St Peter Port, Guernsey*

Figure 12: *Coutanche Liberation speech memorial, St Helier, Jersey*

40th Anniversary Liberation Day Commemorations

Perhaps even more significantly, the island of Guernsey adopted a new island flag to mark the 40th anniversary of the liberation (which was to be first flown on Liberation Day): the St George flag was to include the gold cross of William the Conqueror. In the words of the Bailiff of Guernsey, Sir Geoffrey Rowland, this flag: 'ties us back into our constitutional roots… here

we are of Norman stock but linked indissolubly to the English crown.'[282] This fusing of elements of Islander and English heritage settles some of the conflict between the two identities, to be reborn once again on Liberation Day. In total, seventy designs were put forward by the Guernsey public for this new flag, and it was decided that the winning design would need to represent the unique Norman heritage of the island, with a reference to William the Conqueror achieving this while also symbolising 'the moment of Guernsey's first constitutional link with England…the retention of the St George's Cross as a basic element of the flag also demonstrates the island's link with the Crown.'[283] Writing in 2010, one *Guernsey Press* article comments that: 'The island will be colourfully festooned with flags and bunting as we celebrate Liberation Day, but most prominent will be our bright and bold symbol of Guernsey's independence, constitution and heritage.'[284]

Figure 13: *The post-1985 Guernsey flag, flying outside Royal Court and with Islander officials.*

Through this, the island is also remembering another military triumph in their own history: the conquering of England, and are linking this to the victory of the British over their German occupiers on Liberation Day. It is apparent then that the 40th anniversary of Liberation Day in

[282] '25 years under the Guernsey flag' *BBC News*, 15 April 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/guernsey/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8622000/8622080.stm [Accessed: 05/10/2014].
[283] 'Guernsey Flag', *Guernsey Press* http://guernseypress.com/community/history-heritage/guernsey-flag/ [Accessed: 05/10/2014].
[284] Ibid.

Guernsey was unique in its attempt to fuse a dominant postwar British national identity with distinctive features of local Islander identity and triumphant heritage, rather than have these twin identities acting in opposition to one another.

Similarly, the 40th anniversary souvenir booklet for Liberation Day in Jersey continues with the general theme of reclaiming local identity in difficult circumstances, displaying a range of images of German fortification sites covered in overgrown grass titled, 'Nature wins back her property.'[285] It includes both a section on the internal struggle of 'Dismantling a Fortress' and reclaiming the local landscape, but also a section on the liberation being 'A Royal Occasion'.[286] It concludes that:

> 'Jersey is strewn with reminders of the war years. The bunkers, gun-pits, anti-tank walls and observation towers left by the Germans will remain long after the last person who experienced the Occupation has departed. Liberation Day will live on too, an important reminder of joy which attended the end of an important, if black phase of the Island's rich past.'[287]

It is clear that Liberation Day is set apart in its defiant and enduring challenge to the lingering trauma of the past; the reminders of which are still equally visible all around the island. The joy and sense of pride associated with the British role in the liberation, and the friendship that continued to be extended by the British Crown to remember this shared occasion, are seen to be as important as the dark memories of German occupation that are uniquely held by Islanders who had lived through those years. It is perhaps unsurprising then that when an official

[285] Rob Shipley (ed.), *The 40th Anniversary of the Liberation of Jersey: An Historic Souvenir of Jersey and Programme of Celebrations* (Jersey, 1985).
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.

proposition was made in 1988 to rename Jersey's Liberation Day 'Jersey Day', that it was met with mass disapproval on the island, and the proposal dropped.[288]

The 40th anniversary of the liberation also saw the first attempts to officially recognise, if not necessarily fully include, previously marginalised counter-memories as part of the Liberation Day events, with the privately-run slave workers memorial service (organised by Francisco Font, who himself had been a Spanish Republican slave worker during the occupation years) being attended by a Jersey establishment official for the first time, with the attendance of Deputy Bailiff Peter Crill.[289] Gilly Carr argues that support for commemorating the islands' Organisation Todt Workers would thus become increasingly visible from this point onwards, particularly at the 50th anniversary of the liberation in 1995.[290] However, Carr also states that while it was the role of the next generation to 'de-stabilise' the dominant memory of the liberation, that this did not happen at this point due to a continuing Cold War animosity and popular additions to the main Liberation Day ritual.[291] She argues that it was deliberate that a re-enactment of popular memories of 9 May 1945 would be introduced at this particular point, as this was the last anniversary where a number of the witnesses of the dominant memory of the liberation would be in attendance.[292] This all suggests that this reimagined and large scale Liberation Day of the 1980s was attempting to reconcile memories of liberation and its links to a shared British identity, triumphs, and institutions, with a unique Islander identity, occupation memory (and counter-memory), relics of their shared trauma, and the conflict that this might increasingly cause with the next generation. The end result was a reaffirming of the connection between the Channel Islands' experience of the liberation and their sense of British identity, at a time when occupation memory itself was fading as witnesses passed away but

[288] *Jersey Evening Post,* 11 October 1988; discussed by Carr in *Legacies of Occupation,* p.223
[289] Gilly Carr, *Legacies of Occupation,* p.220.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid, p.223.

relics and conflicts resulting from the occupation remained.[293] In this way, this new Liberation Day ritual further stabilised popular aspects of the liberation narrative within the public imagination and landscape at a time when memory of the occupation was at a point of transition, and increasingly would be in the hands of the next generation. It did this by literally cementing key themes of the liberation narrative and the Islander connection to the British war narrative into daily life. This can be seen through the first liberation memorials being erected and the beginnings of annual public re-enactment, which included the next generation's input, on the popularised liberation story. The reconciling of the uniqueness of Islander identity with their British heritage through the platform of Liberation Day was also key, as this brought the next generation's conflicting identities closer together rather than letting this division challenge the accepted founding myth on which the postwar Channel Islands are built.

As a result, the 40th anniversary of the liberation was not the end of this process of transition in the collective memory and commemoration of the liberation narrative. Again, at the 50th anniversary of the liberation, new challenges meant that there was another significant shift in Liberation Day commemoration. This can be seen in the concretion of the dominant memory of the liberation through well-publicised, central, and highly engaging Liberation monuments which sought to cement popular myth, community identity, and a day-to-day interaction with the islands' occupation past through the lens of liberation. The fact that the 50th anniversary saw central, prominent liberation monuments erected in the capitals of Jersey and Guernsey, rather than monuments to the five years of occupation, highlights the now-dominant mythology surrounding British victory and of the defiant, patriotic Islanders under occupation. In fact, there is no specified 'Occupation Monument' in the Channel Islands; only monuments that

[293] Ibid.

relate to the moment of Liberation or separate memorials that relate to some of the marginalised groups who do not fit this narrative.

50th Anniversary Liberation Day Commemorations

Due to the significance of the 50th anniversary of the liberation, it is perhaps unsurprising that new spaces of memory would be developed and old spaces redeveloped to coincide with this landmark year, particularly considering the intense public dialogue and interest that this initiated. For Jersey, this ensured that any plans for commemorating the anniversary were highly political, as can be seen in the complexities of planning what would become the central Liberation Monument positioned in the capital of St Helier. Originally intended to be a monument to fifty years of peace and freedom, popular outcry initiated a complete rethink of the monument design in the planning stages, to align the monument more closely with the popular and accepted image of the Second World War occupation: that of Liberation and the victorious British troops.[294] A petition that circulated in Jersey attracted 200 signatures in protest at the original 'peace' design, as it did not 'directly celebrate the liberation of the island and ignores the essential truth of the events at the liberation site.'[295] Local newspapers widely covered this period of redesign and ensured that this remained a popular public concern that drew a number of suggestions from the local community. While the suggestion of portraying an armed British soldier defeating the German occupiers was eventually mooted, one of the strongest calls was to commemorate the military aspects of the occupation and the British liberating soldiers.[296] Instead of the original doves of peace, a number of sculpted Islander

[294] Travers, 'Raising the Flag', p.237-239; Occupation and Liberation Committee Files, 'Notes on briefs to potential artists' (Jersey Archive, Jersey) Item: C/C/L/C4/1/12; Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* p.63.
[295] Travers, 'Raising the Flag', p.237-239; '200 sign letter of protest over Liberation Sculpture' *Jersey Evening Post*, 18 August 1993, p.1.
[296] Notes of the Société Jersiaise Library 'Statues in Jersey' webpage: http://members.societe-jersiaise.org/geraint/statues/lib.html [Accessed: 05/07/2014]; Travers, 'Raising the Flag', p.237-239; 'What You Think of the Liberation Maquette' *Jersey Evening Post*, 2 August 1993, p.12.

figures (and now also the addition of a British liberating soldier) were to be depicted unfurling the Union flag in the centre of St Helier.[297] In the *Jersey Evening Post* report of the unveiling of the monument, the reaction to this image was shown to be much more positive: 'As soon as the official programme ended…those in the stands behind, who had only been able to see the back view of the sculpture, flocked forward to see the faces of the seven Forties-style figures, which include a British Tommy, as they wave a Union Jack which is threatening to fly from their grasp.'[298]

Figure 14: *Liberation Monument on Liberation Day.*

[297] Travers, 'Raising the Flag', p.237-239; Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* p.63.
[298] Notes of the Société Jersiaise Library 'Statues in Jersey' webpage; Travers, 'Raising the Flag' pp.237-239; 'Statue of Liberty' *Jersey Evening Post,* 10 May 1995.

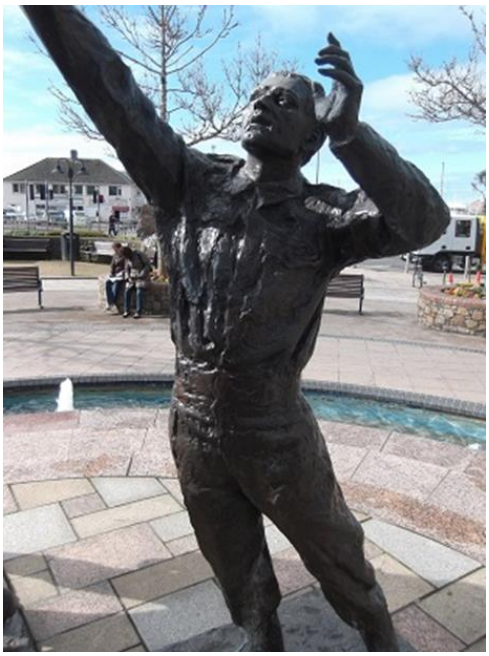

Figure 15: *Close-up of the figure of the British 'Tommy' on Liberation Monument.*

Within this description, the 'British Tommy' is the only figure given a clear identity and, thus, is awarded central significance to the meaning of the monument, along with the Union flag. Both are symbols of British victory rather than the Islander experience of occupation and so cement the link between these two memories, with the actors and symbols of liberation being given a raised status above the actors and memories of occupation. As part of the monument itself, the British soldier also stands slightly apart and is instead placed centrally between both groups of Islanders; a symbol to unite them. This layering of one memory over another ensures that the Islander figures within the monument can borrow from this clear image of military prowess and victory, making this a symbol of shared British-Islander patriotism and unity. This is further reinforced by the fact that this soldier figure is not based on any specific war hero, so can instead be any and every man who was seen to heroically fight to free and unite the Channel Islands with Britain once more. The only identifying features of the soldier are his British Army uniform and the Union flag that he is gazing at, making him the perfect image of martial masculinity, patriotism, and British military prowess. The sustained centrality of the soldier hero's image in the Liberation Day ritual, now preserved as a monument, is also

powerful in its ability to connect across generations of young people, as a figure to construct war stories around, identify with, encourage imagination, and as a powerful representative of the values of that moment in time.[299] Kelly Boyd's work on heroes and boyhood argues that 'boys experienced stories from the heroes viewpoint and triumphed over adversity in his stead.'[300] The image of the soldier hero is significant in the Channel Islands because it is both constant in its connection to British victory and good masculine citizenship, and yet flexible enough to be constantly reimagined by Islanders, involving each new generation in this process of popular imagining through war stories, re-enactment rituals, and monuments.

To further concrete the validity of this Liberation Monument scene within not just popular memory of the liberation, but also within modern Islander identity, in February 2010 the £1 Jersey banknote was reissued to include an image of this 'Monument of Freedom' liberation monument, as part of the first redesign of local banknotes since 1989.[301] This further extends the reach of the monument, as all Islanders now regularly handle a pocket-sized representation of it, with the monument's image being circulated through the lowest value (and so, very widely used) note as part of their everyday life. This ensured that the monument has quickly been adopted as a defining feature of both the Jersey landscape, and of how the States wish to be perceived in terms of local and national identity, going beyond simply commemorating a moment in collective war memory.

---

[299] Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Basingstoke, 2003) p.175.
[300] Ibid.
[301] 'Jersey's banknotes have been given a new look', *BBC News*, 1 March 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/jersey/hi/people_and_places/arts_and_culture/newsid_8528000/8528064.stm [Accessed: 01/12/2014].

Figure 16: *One pound Jersey bank note.*

The Guernsey Liberation Monument follows a similar theme, although this is less explicit than in the Jersey Liberation Monument. It too was commissioned to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the Liberation in the Channel Islands. However, unlike Jersey, the Guernsey Liberation Monument does not use sculpted figures to depict their Liberation. Instead it takes the form of a granite obelisk (fifty layers of granite for fifty years of freedom) which acts as a sundial as 'the tip of the shadow of the five-metre high obelisk falls on a curve of the surrounding stone seating throughout the day and provides a link between 1945, 1995, and each Liberation Day in the future.'[302] Carved into the surrounding stone seating (which is tracked by the obelisk shadow throughout the day) are stages of the German surrender and British military actions in the lead-up to Liberation. The key themes of this are: freedom, German surrender, and British victory (before linking this victorious British imagery to the Channel Islands through reference to the unfurling of the British flag on the island itself). The inscriptions read: '7.15am The signing and surrender of the German forces', '8.00am The landing of the British liberating force', and '10.15am The unfurling of the union flag'. Carved into the surrounding stone seating is a quote from Winston Churchill's iconic speech, which references the Channel Islands: '…our dear Channel Islands are also to be freed today'. It is

[302] Visit Guernsey, St Peter Port guide page: http://www.visitguernsey.com/media/pdfimage/l/l/01-seafront__bombings_and_historic_gardens.pdf [Accessed: 16/08/2014].

undeniable that both prominent monuments draw strongly on the legacy of British victory at the end of the Second World War rather than referencing the trauma and defeat of occupation.[303]

However, similarly to what occurred in Jersey, the Guernsey Liberation monument also inspired fierce debate. In Guernsey this occurred after its official unveiling, with the final wording on the monument being soundly rejected by the public due to omission of the word 'German'.[304] In January 1997, the *Guernsey Post* advertised the original 'first stone' of the monument as being for sale, as a result of the 'politically-correct wording on the stone' having been criticised so strongly by Islanders, as well as by the Former Lt-Governer, some States members and unnamed military organisations.[305] The 'politically-correct' issue had been the wording on the original first stone, which had read: 'To Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Guernsey from Occupying Forces 1945-1995', without including reference to it being a German occupation.[306] Having decided to create a new first stone as a result of the criticism, the Liberation Day Committee President, Pat Mellor, decided to sell the original, telling the Guernsey Post:

> 'We've asked everybody and tried every which way to find a use for this stone, but basically nobody wants it… If there's anybody out there who would like to buy it, at least the taxpayer will get some money back on the replacement value. But if nobody does buy it, it probably will be broken up, which is a shame, because it's part of the story.'[307]

[303] Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection*, p.64.
[304] 'Who wants the cast first stone?' *Guernsey Post*, 18 January 1997.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid.

Billed as a 'personal Liberation monument', it was not expected to reach the original production cost of £2,000, and went on to sell for less than £1,000 at auction to a local resident who decided to place it in his garden as a garden seat and 'conversation piece'.[308] Locals, therefore, became actively involved in the creation of these monuments in a variety of ways, something which can also be seen in Guernsey when the States recorded the names for posterity of all private individuals who chose to donate money to the Liberation Monument fund, to be held in a 'commemorative…leather-bound book' with 'the name of each contributor… held at the Greffe'.[309] These examples highlight just how closely Islanders have engaged with the retelling and memorialisation of the occupation story, even fifty years on from the liberation itself, as well as making clear the continued significance and presence of the defeated 'enemy' in spaces of occupation commemoration. At the same time, there remains a rejection of the enemy body from being a part of any re-enactment ritual, with the popularised liberation rituals of Liberation Day being constructed to celebrate a carefully crafted image of British martial masculinity and forging a direct connection between this and Islanders themselves, either by 'becoming' or cheering on the British 'Tommy' and all that he represents.

Figure 17: *Liberation Monument, St Peter Port, Guernsey.*

[308] 'Romance in the Stone – from 'obsolete' to country seat' *Guernsey Post*, 10 February 1997.
[309] 'Avoid a Monumental Error' *Guernsey Post,* 16 February 1996.

Concretion of the Liberation Narrative

The simple and focussed message of these monuments also provides an illusion of total unity of experience and emotion at the point of liberation, rather than referencing experiences and memories that diverge from the dominant representation, or indeed those who perished prior to the liberation, or who were not in the Channel Islands on this date. This is particularly notable considering the reassessment of the Second World War and occupation history which has continued in the Channel Islands and across other European nations throughout the 1990s. Paul Sanders suggests that the initial 'interlocking of Channel Islands and British war memory' has ensured that any significant reassessment of the past, like that which occurred in France, Germany or Italy, has had to:

> 'pass via a reappraisal of war memory in Britain, a victor nation where war memory is inevitably tied up with identity. …Certain aspects of those five years were blanked out in the public discourse; these were the 'dark years', best forgotten (or repressed), together with the people involved in those forgotten episodes.'[310]

These Liberation Monuments provide a way to cement this popularised connection between Channel Islands and British war memory at a time when diverging memories have been increasingly made public, as societies began to challenge long-held myths about their wartime pasts. By creating a physical anchor to this popular memory of Liberation, Islanders hold on to the key themes that have been so intrinsic to their and their forefathers' community identities, that had been forged in the postwar period to cope with their wartime trauma and to divert difficult questions and memories. Daniel Travers similarly argues that over a period of time 'the story of liberation has become a metanarrative, utilised to justify Jersey's role in British victory, allowing islanders to delimit their role in the Second World War while at the same

[310] Sanders, *The British Channel Islands,* p.257.

time celebrate their part in British victory.'[311] The Liberation Monuments therefore show the dominant theme of liberation in sites of memory in the Channel Islands, as well as the central role of the victorious British soldiers within representations of their occupation past. This image is further cemented through the physical reconstruction of a unified population alongside a British soldier and Union flag in Jersey, and through monument inscriptions which reference British military prowess over German forces in Guernsey. This has enabled difficult memories of the occupation to become layered beneath repeated commemoration of the glorious Liberation. Popular memory of the occupation has thus been aligned with popular representations of patriotic citizenship, the figure of the victorious British soldier hero, and victory over the German occupiers.

Reframing Counter-Memories

This renewed obsession with occupation and liberation memory during the 1990s and the 'commemorative zeal' of the resulting two decades,[312] was partly the result of a number of factors that saw the necessary cementing of old rituals and 'heroes' to offset the challenges to popular memory and community identity during this period. Firstly, the end of the Cold War was felt across Europe and opened a wide range of debates about the 'meaning and function of the wartime past in contemporary European societies.'[313] Secondly, the 1992 opening of twenty-eight official UK files relating to the Channel Islands' occupation, as well as the declassification of Russian State Archive files relating to Alderney, and the establishment of the State Archives in Guernsey (1993) and Jersey (1994) meant that a range of highly sensitive documents were suddenly released to the public and into the hands of journalists. Finally, the

[311] Travers, 'Raising the Flag', p. 230.
[312] Joly uses this term when referring to the intense period museum and monument building in France in the 1980s and 1990s. Hélène Joly, 'War Museums in France,' in Sarah Blowen, Marion Demossier, and Jeanine Picard (eds), *Recollections of France: Memories, Identities and Heritage in Contemporary France* (New York, 2010) p.70.
[313] Rebecca Clifford, *Commemorating the Holocaust: The Dilemmas of Remembrance in France and Italy* (Oxford, 2013) p.108.

publishing of Madeleine Bunting's *The Model Occupation* (1995) directly challenged the dominant occupation narrative that had developed in the Channel Islands. Bunting used many divisive and newly-available archive materials (as well as her own oral history interviews) to challenge popularly held myths and repressed memories relating to the Jewish population of the wartime Channel Islands, sexual collaboration, state collaboration, war crimes, and the experience and remembrance of forced and slave workers.[314] The 50th anniversary of the Liberation also occurred in 1995, which only heightened the instability of memory, as this was seen to be the last major Liberation Day anniversary that would be attended by those adults who experienced the occupation. This instability in war memory did not happen in isolation however, with France facing a similar fracture in 1990-1993 that saw traditional ideologies fading alongside the mythology surrounding Gaullist Resistance, with this not only challenging the legacy of the Resistance but also 'Jacobin values and the nation's Republican identity'.[315] This period saw civil groups call on the French State to recognise Vichy's crimes against France's Jews, as well as overseeing the creation of an official Holocaust commemoration in 1993.[316]

A similar pattern of commemoration and revision occurred within the Channel Islands at this time. Because of these new challenges and discoveries relating to the experiences and memories of the Channel Islands' occupation, Liberation Monuments that were constructed in the 1990s-2000s were not the only new sites of memory established during this time of fracturing memory. The opening of official archive files and a range of prominent books which disseminated the newly available information ensured that marginalised groups briefly came to the fore of popular discussion during this period.[317] The States authorities and curators of

[314] Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection*, pp.18-19.
[315] Clifford, *Commemorating the Holocaust*, p.109.
[316] Ibid, p.110.
[317] Madeline Bunting, *The Model Occupation.* Also: Frederick Cohen, *The Jews in the Channel Islands during the German Occupation, 1940-1945* (Jersey, 2000). David Fraser, *The Jews of the Channel Islands and the Rule*

Occupation Museums were faced with a difficult balance: to answer this criticism without compromising the popular mythology of Liberation and a legacy of correct conduct and defiance. The Channel Islands were challenged over their lack of commemoration of the Jews who had suffered and perished due to the implementation of anti-Semitic measures on the Islands, and the foreign workers who were brought to the islands as forced and slave labourers. International attention was drawn to the Channel Islands as journalists questioned their complicity in the injustices and atrocities of the occupation. There were also questions relating to the apparent lack of formal postwar recognition for those who had perished and suffered. In 1999, Vitali Vitaliev wrote a piece for *The Guardian* questioning both the ethics of promoting 'sites of shame' as tourist attractions in the Channel Islands, while also condemning the 'peculiar pride' on display by Islanders in their public history of the occupation.[318] Around this time (2000) Jersey Heritage made the decision that displaying German war 'memorabilia' at the underground command bunker at their La Hougue Bie museum site was 'inappropriate'.[319] A German military installation that had once had the distinction of being the first Occupation Museum on Jersey was instead to be transformed into a memorial space for the forced and slave workers who had suffered while constructing it, and other military installations like it.[320] At the same time, Jersey Heritage commissioned a new memorial sculpture to be built outside of the bunker, also in memory of the forced and slave workers.[321] However, this is the exception rather than the norm, and most memorials consist of small memorial plaques which recognise the suffering of all forced and slave workers on the Channel Islands. Crucially, none of the later memorials to victims and 'dark' subjects are in any way comparable to the Liberation

---

of Law, 1940-1945: "Quite Contrary to the Principles of British Justice" (Brighton, 2000). Peter King, *The Channel Islands War*.

[318] Vitali Vitaliev, 'Channel Islanders showing off their sites of shame' *The Guardian*. 3 January 2009; Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* pp.27-28.

[319] Jersey Tourism, 'Memorial Sites' webpage. http://www.jersey.com/english/discoverjersey/occupationtoliberation/Pages/MemorialSites.aspx [Accessed: 03/04/2014].

[320] Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* pp.29-30.

[321] Ibid.

Monuments in terms of size and location, and due to only being established when a number of survivors and their relatives had already passed away, they are also not associated with established rituals or memories within the majority of the community of the Channel Islands. Even with Holocaust Memorial Day having been established in Jersey and Guernsey in 2001, historian Gilly Carr questions why so few attend this event in Guernsey, and suggests that these new commemorative sites have not altered popularised and well-established modes of remembrance and ritual.[322]

Figure 18: *Jewish Women's Memorial, St Peter Port, Guernsey.*

Hierarchy of Commemorative Space

The original memorial plaque to the three Jewish women who perished after being deported from Guernsey was unveiled in 2001. This simple Jewish Women's Memorial plaque lists the names and basic information of the three women who perished (Marianne Grunfeld, Auguste Spitz and Therese Steiner), and states that they were 'Deported to France by the German Occupying Forces on 21 April 1942. They later died at Auschwitz-Birkenau.' The monument

[322] Gilly Carr, 'Why so few at Holocaust Memorial Service?' *Guernsey Press*, 21 January 2012. p.27; Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection.*

is set into the wall of the pier at St Peter Port, Guernsey. One point of note about the Jewish Women's Memorial plaque is the decision that was made to describe these three Holocaust victims according to their country of origin, as well as explicitly listing them as 'Jewish residents of Guernsey'. This not only disassociates their lives from the Channel Islands to some extent, but also their fate as a result of the islands' occupation, as the emphasis is instead placed on their migrant status rather than any other identifiable or humanising information about their time living and working in Guernsey prior to their deportation. In a sense, this also disconnects these women from the wider remembered Islander 'experience' of the occupation years, instead connecting them with the 'other' European experience of Second World War atrocities. The brief words limit knowledge of them as individuals, and the persecution that they faced in Guernsey as a result of the actions of the very German soldiers that people lived with, traded with, and passed in the street each day. The Holocaust had touched the Channel Islands, but this reality has been deflected by showing these deaths to be something exceptional and 'other' to the unifying and very British experience of occupation and liberation that most know and commemorate on a yearly basis.

As is the case with the majority of these new memorials to marginalised groups, they also do not offer spaces for engagement in the same way that the Liberation Monuments do; the latter acting as a central meeting point in the performance of the Liberation ritual and remaining visible and usable throughout the year. Memorials to marginalised groups also do not act as dominant landmarks for their respective island. Instead the main purpose of these memorials seems to be to draw a line under difficult questions and reopened trauma. The spaces chosen for these memorials are isolated from discussion and interaction for much of the year, or are easy to pass without noticing their existence, and have in many ways become places to forget the difficult debates surrounding issues of persecution and collaboration as much as to record those who perished. Therefore, while it is undeniable that marginalised groups have been

incorporated into public understandings of the Channel Islands occupation since the mid-1990s, and into its increased public memorialisation, they have yet to pose a direct challenge to the dominant narrative of masculine defiance, or to the Churchillian paradigm. Yet these groups are now increasingly recognised on the peripheries of memory and through other forms of public history (to be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). The cementing of these stories into the landscape remains significant as a subtle counter to the popular representations of the Channel Islands' wartime past within public spaces.

Liberation Day and the Post-War Generation

With all that has been said about the development of the liberation narrative into a singular national day and performative ritual, what are Islanders' thoughts on this event and its prevailing and dominant narrative in the post-1995 era, following on from these challenges to dominant frames of war memory? In July 2001, results were made public from a survey carried out by the Liberation Celebrations Committee, which had sought to analyse the popularity of the annual Liberation Day ritual. These results were published in the *Guernsey Press* at the time, and indicate that 94% of respondents would like the celebrations to continue, 91% would come to the celebrations again, 75% would not like to see any changes, and 70% would be fairly upset or very upset if the celebrations were to stop.[323] Commenting on the report, the Committee's president, Deputy Pat Mellor, says:

> 'As time goes on, even when we haven't got the people who remember 1945 anymore, we will still celebrate freedom on the actual day and that is why we have the schools' concert, because it illustrates to future generations how important freedom is.'[324]

[323] 'Our 'National Day' Must Not Die Out', *Guernsey Press*, 21 July 2001, p.5.
[324] Ibid.

As has previously been mentioned, this popular imagining of Liberation Day as an event that can pass down and celebrate the concepts of 'freedom' and British values for the next generation, is one that really became a central theme with the 50th anniversary celebrations in 1995. This can particularly be seen through the explicit definition of the 'raising of the Union Flag' that was included as a component of Philip Jackson's final design for the Jersey Liberation Sculpture, calling this flag raising 'a universal symbol of freedom' rather than a specific moment of triumph or victory.[325] This also speaks of a historical moment when there were some marginal and often controversial calls to make the liberation more about reconciliation and peace than about British victory and triumph, with the eventual Twinning of the towns of St Helier, Jersey, and Bad Wurzach, Germany, eventually occurring in 2002 (with Holocaust Memorial Day also becoming a feature in the island by this point, although not attracting the crowds of Liberation Day). However, the reported Liberation Celebrations Committee survey results would suggest that for many, Liberation Day is as significant now as it was in 1945, if not for different reasons, and that its new style and language have been accepted in the main. This is also clear from Yvonne Ozanne's opinion piece in the *Guernsey Press* on 16 April 2005 (the year of the 60th anniversary of the occupation, with the explicit theme of 'Freedom') in which she recalls her experiences of Liberation Day since the very first event that she attended in 1946.[326] From the first ceremony she remembers the importance of the presence of British soldiers in their smart uniforms, the crowds of people and the cavalcade.[327] In particular, she recalls that she 'didn't realise then what the cavalcade was for or what it signified. But I remember my mother helping me to choose things to wear in red,

[325] Irene Hanson (ed.), *Fiftieth Anniversary, Liberation of Jersey, 1945-1995, Souvenir Booklet* (Jersey, 1995).
[326] Yvonne Ozanne, 'Liberation Day is More Than Just a Party', *Guernsey Press*, 16 April 2005, p.19.
[327] Ibid.

white and blue and it was a real occasion.'[328] She goes on to link her original experiences of liberation commemorations as a child with the present-day celebrations as an adult:

> 'We knew nearly everyone around us. The whole island celebrated. Crowds stretched either side of us on both sides of the road all the way into Town. The island was united: those who had endured the Occupation those who had served abroad and those who were evacuated. Guernsey was ours again at long last. This year, a lot of people have worked very hard and a great deal of imagination has gone into giving us the 60 Years of Liberation celebration. We are joining together once again in giving thanks for our way of life and seizing a chance to show how much we love this indomitable isle and how proud we are of our history. Our Queen, as Duke of Normandy, and Prince Philip are coming to mark the importance of our freedom. We look to Guernsey's future with the courage and determination all Guernsey people have inherited. As we unite and show the world what it is made of, nothing has been lost.'[329]

In this respect, then, the Liberation Day ritual, symbols and performance transcend the historical event that they seek to represent, becoming the basis for the very Islander identity which was so shaken by the occupation and Islanders' separation from the majority British experience of the war years. It offers a space and narrative to reconnect with, and even perform, Islander definitions of Britishness; for men and boys to 'become' the British 'Tommy' who liberated their islands, and who represents a heroic ideal both in wartime and for a society which is so defined by its remembered wartime experiences. While women are positioned in supporting roles within this dominant liberation narratives, this further entrenches the image of the heroic soldier hero, arm-in-arm with the population that he liberated, and remaining a potent figure in community memory to the present day.

---

[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.

This image is further secured through recent Liberation Day representations of romance between female Islanders and the 'Tommy', creating an inverted 'jerry bag' narrative whereby the British 'Tommy' reclaims the Channel Islands through recapturing the hearts of its women. This image was vividly presented on a banner which displayed prominently in Guernsey and Jersey, and which was further reproduced as a full-page advert in *The Sunday Times* on 1 March 2015, as part of Jersey Tourism and VisitGuernsey's first connected Heritage Festival, to mark 70 years since the liberation of the Channel Islands.[330]

Figure 19: *The Sunday Times advert, 1 March 2015.*

The words 'And our dear Channel Islands are also to be freed today' feature on both the banners and *The Sunday Times* advert version of this image, further framing the liberation of the

[330] *The Sunday Times*, 1 March 2015, p.42.

Channel Islands as being a matter of British soldiers rescuing Islander women, who themselves were waiting for 'their' Tommies to return for them. The romanticism of the image of the liberating British soldier, and the Islander woman that he is holding, shows the value of the liberation narrative. This value extends beyond the Channel Islands themselves, as part of their unifying national story, as is also another way to 'sell' the occupation story to the wider British public, and to draw them into this story through tourism and engaging with this nostalgic and idealised imagery of the occupation. This is done through a snapshot of liberation and the figure of the 'everyman' British soldier hero who connects the Channel Islands with the United Kingdom to the present day.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the powerful Liberation Day narrative and the commanding image of the victorious British soldier. Both have been central to the Channel Islands' construction of a usable past and a desirable image of wartime masculinity which Islander men could themselves adopt and incorporate into their own war stories. The British liberating soldier has been a significant device for marginalising remembered feelings of wartime impotency; enabling Islander men to become an active part of the British war effort through their performance of the liberation. The Liberation narrative, therefore, had an important role in unifying the Channel Islands following the divisive community experience of occupation.

Crucially, when trials for collaborators did not take place, and widespread discontent existed towards both neighbours and leaders within the Channel Islands, Liberation Day commemorations enabled Islanders to connect their war story with that of the less problematic story of British victory. This, in turn, minimised their connection with the European experience of the Second World War and the trauma associated with this. When difficult questions have been asked of the Channel Islands over the decades, Liberation Day has become a significant

public platform to instead focus upon the heroism and endurance of Islanders, and to marginalise topics which continued to divide the community, and Europe.

The intergenerational element of the Liberation Day ritual has also been addressed by this chapter, as it is important to understand how commemoration has remained connected to many of the earliest popularised accounts of the liberation. This ritual has consolidated the British iconography, heroic figures and themes used to define the origin story of the Channel Islands and their British-Islander identity since the end of the Second World War. Such is the power of this imagery that over time the emotion, memories and resonance of VE Day (with Churchill's iconic freedom speech of 8 May 1945) have themselves been transmitted through the 9 May Liberation Day commemorations and re-enactments of the 'everyman' British 'Tommy'; reasserting control over iconic local landmarks. This has ensured that unifying frames of occupation memory have stabilised even as fresh counter-memories have come to the fore since the 1990s. These counter-memories have been increasingly present in the post-Cold War world when new archive files were made accessible to historians, who began to explore these previously marginalised aspects of the occupation years. Yet the power of the Liberation Day narrative and its associated rituals and iconography has continued to be revisited annually, and has remained secure.

This chapter has also addressed how early expectations of the liberation were inherently gendered, with teenage delinquency and immorality seen to be wiped clean through access to heroic boyhood adventure stories and a return to the good moral guidance imposed through pre-war family units. The figure of the British soldier hero could exonerate perceived wartime deviancy and moral lapses, enabling Islanders to project this sense of British exceptionalism and heroism onto the population through their connection to this 'everyman' civilising figure. The soldier hero was bigger than the individual, and represented the idealised image of wartime masculinity returning to the Channel Islands. Passing down concepts of good citizenship and

morality through the image of the liberating soldier hero continued into the postwar period, with liberation commemorations being used to engage young Islanders with these values. This also acted to sanitize the story of the occupation years, to focus ever-more on Islanders' connection with the glorious British war story and with martial masculinity, to the exclusion or marginalisation of difficult counter-memories which undermined this.

Both the re-enactment and concretion of recognisable elements of the Liberation Day story were shown to be increasingly common from the 1980s, with the ritual being cemented not only in terms of a recurring performance, but also through central memorials to key themes of Liberation Day. During this period of transition, when the next generation was increasingly taking over the mantle of occupation remembrance, recognisable frames of memory were made ever-more simple, accessible and engaging for those who did not live through the war; continuing to focus on the image of the British soldier hero and Churchill as the spiritual leader of the wartime Channel Islands. When popularised war memory became increasingly unstable in the 1990s, due to resurfacing counter-memories about Islander conduct, Islanders were able to paper over these difficult memories and stabilise the occupation story partly through the recognisable themes and figures of British victory at the liberation. A hierarchy of commemoration grew over time, as difficult counter-memories were increasingly acknowledged and memorialised, but would continue to be marginalised by the sheer scale and centrality of the Liberation Day memorials in central Channel Islands' locations. These Liberation Day memorials would become parts of everyday life, due to their interactive designs and recognition as local landmarks, far surpassing the visibility of the small memorials constructed for these counter-memories in this same period.

It is undeniable that the Liberation Day performative ritual has been central to the maintaining of a usable past in the Channel Islands, and remains a key point of reference to frame occupation memories to the present day. It is the adaptability of the myth into a series of

relatable and consolidated themes, emotions and images that made it accessible to both first-hand witnesses and, now, to the next generation. The accepted liberation story and ritual have offered a powerful challenge to recurring difficult questions about the Channel Islander wartime experience, morality and national identity; all of which has ensured that it has remained at the centre of Islander heritage, culture and commemoration to the present day.

Gendered Spaces, Contested Objects and the Sharing of War Stories

The form, content, and dissemination of war stories are irreparably connected with the gendered experience of war and the social norms associated with the gathering, construction, and retelling of these communities' war stories. Powerful memories and their associated anxieties were retold, refined and reframed within different sections of the community. But what of the spaces that transmitted these community war memories to a wider cross-Islander and outside audience, particularly as a generation of children grew up having consumed the stories and interacted with the relics of this defining period in Islander history? Which stories and items were selected to become part of museum spaces? And which memories were marginalised as a more cohesive collective memory cemented itself within popularised and accessible public history representations of the occupation years? This chapter addresses the ways in which young boys and men discovered and reclaimed a sense of heroic masculinity and adventure through their explorations of the spaces and artefacts of war, German fortifications, and becoming a 'British tommy', as they sought to cement the connection between their communities' war stories and that of British war memory. This has predominantly been done through the writing of authoritative histories and memoirs (their very own 'war stories') as well as the reclaiming of contested spaces and weapons of war associated with German militaristic dominance; turning these instead into spaces to transmit their own accepted version of events. Women have been largely excluded or self-excluded from these prominent public activities, and yet, as Chapter 1 begins to explore, women also held a crucial role in preserving their own family and community ephemeral documents of the occupation years. Even if this is not always as publicly acknowledged, this itself fed into the separation of masculine 'war stories' and feminine 'family' stories, with women's accounts more often kept privately or eventually placed into archives, rather than having their words transmitted through

museum spaces in these early decades. Women whose diaries or memoirs were published often saw their name attached to an editor, or reference family members for aiding the final production of their account; again, framing women's words according to the wider community's standards of how best to present one's memories, and which memories to privilege over others for public consumption. As a result, it is also important to consider the gendered accessibility of the narrative of heroism and victory, and where women have been incorporated into this, as well as how women might disrupt such a narrative to carve out their own spaces of memory alongside more public representations of women's occupation experiences.

As Iwona Irwin Zarecka has shown, people are themselves central in giving space a wider historical significance, with some spaces and objects remaining dormant within collective memory although they were a part of events.[331] At other times, a group emerges which might establish a new frame of remembrance by removing the necessity for a particular space or object to 'speak of the old days' in an individual and personal way, and instead imbue it with a meaning by recognising or marking it in some way.[332] This 'sedimentation of meaning' leads to some of the initial symbolism being preserved even as it is viewed from a future point of time and perspective, while elements which are left out can become 'muted' over time due to a lack of active interaction.[333] The quiet, private 'infrastructure' of memory within our 'memory household', and the work needed to maintain it, is not always consciously accessed, and yet without its existence it is possible to feel 'threatened in our identity' by the familiar items all around us.[334] In this way, the spaces which inspire or anchor remembrance practices also offer insight into what people have chosen to forget (at least for the time being). The

[331] Iwona Irwin Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (London, 2009) p.90.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid, pp.90-91.
[334] Ibid, p.89.

importance of tangible spaces and objects to cement 'realms of memory' has been notably discussed by Pierre Nora in his consideration of French national memory and identity in the 1970s, where he argues that iconic sites within the national landscape are crucial to any understanding of collective memory in France:

> 'This national memory has congealed in a historical tradition, a historiography of landscapes, institutions, monuments, and language which the historian can treat as so many lieux de mémoire. In these symbols we discover the 'realms of memory' at their most glorious.'[335]

Nora further contends that memory is 'rooted in the concrete: in space, gesture, image, and object.'[336] Memories of the past, then, are also directly linked to these spaces and symbols being present, which are necessary to construct a recognisable and relatable narrative of an event, and, by extension, an anchor for understandings of national identity. This argument corresponds with Alistair Thomson's study of the Anzac legend, where he describes the importance of commemorative sites, objects, and repeated rituals in the obsession with memory surrounding Gallipoli.[337] Of commemorative spaces associated with Gallipoli and the memory of the Anzacs, Thomson writes: 'From war stories and memorials I had learnt that Australians, typified by Australian soldiering men, were the courageous and resourceful adventurers of the New World, and that the Anzacs had established Australian nationhood.'[338] Thomson also discusses how this conscious 'remembering' of the past also leads to repressed memories and silences, with some 'private' memories gaining 'public' significance, while others do not.[339] Central to this argument is the masculine and militaristic lens through which memories of war

---

[335] Pierre Nora, Arthur Goldhammer (trans), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past* (New York, 1998) p.xii.
[336] Pierre Nora, 'General Introduction: Between Memory and History' in Pierre Nora, Arthur Goldhammer (trans), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (New York, 1996) p.3.
[337] Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford, 1994).
[338] Ibid, p.4.
[339] Ibid, p.4-5.

are transmitted, which then leads to a gendering of spaces where memories are popularly shared by men (public spaces) and women (private spaces).[340]

As the Channel Islands are made up of such small (geographically and socially) communities, the remaining military spaces of the Second World War occupation act as inescapable reminders of the occupation years even to the present day. The concrete German military defences were (and are) extensive, with Charles Stephenson estimating that one-twelfth of the materials available for the Atlantic Wall defences were used in this construction programme on the Channel Islands.[341] These contested military spaces have in many ways come to define the occupation, with such sites continuing to play a central role in the commemoration, ritual, and sharing of occupation memories. This chapter addresses the significance of these spaces in the reconstruction of postwar Islander masculine identity, and in the construction of a dominant representation of the Channel Islands wartime past. It also considers why these spaces have been privileged over more private spaces of memory (such as the home) in subsequent historical enquiry. This is especially significant given that women's accounts of the occupation, published with much greater frequency since the 1960s, make clear the importance of the home as a space to share and build upon stories of love, food/rationing, and even acts of 'acceptable' resistance, through oral testimonies and familial dissemination of wartime letters and diaries. It also considers the role of other spaces of memory and commemoration, such as monuments, memorials, and occupation museums (often constructed within German military installations, post-1960s) in selecting which memories have been remembered and which memories have been marginalised or forgotten within the collective memory of the Islander population. In particular, this chapter seeks to address the gendering of postwar spaces of

[340] Ibid.
[341] Charles Stephenson, *The Channel Islands, 1941-45: Hitler's Impregnable Fortress* (Oxford, 2006) p. 33. For a detailed breakdown of the reconstruction period, divided by island, see: Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* pp.40-41.

memory due to a privileging of certain spaces, objects, and testimonies which has developed over time; with the immovable, constant reminders of defeat and German militarisation in itself inspiring a reactive narrative of Islander patriotism, defiance, and victory. In this sense, these recognisable sites and objects supported a 'concretion of identity', as well as providing a space and means to reconstruct, imagine, and organise occupation memory; reclaiming the legacy of the occupation landscape and constructing a postwar community identity that most could accept.[342]

There are a number of parallels to be drawn between the postwar Channel Islands and other nations who sought to construct a sense of national unity amidst the trauma and chaos of war and liberation. Jacqueline Vansant argues that the initial public and private process of 'making the past German' and 'externalising' difficult elements of their past (while also commemorating the 'national hero') enabled Austria to avoid not only questions of guilt, but also of complicity.[343] Pieter Lagrou similarly argues that in Belgium, France and the Netherlands:

> 'mourning without triumphalism would undermine post-war national recovery. The threatening memory of, at best, impotence, humiliation and loss of meaning and, at worst, complicity could be dealt with only through the prism of resistance and patriotism. Any study into of the consequence of the occupation must take into account the tremendous effort to reconstruct the nation's self-esteem.'[344]

In James E. Young's cross-continental analysis of Holocaust monuments, *The Texture of Memory*, he attests that the continued mass-construction of sites of Holocaust remembrance is a testament to 'a government's need to explain a nation's past to itself' even decades on from

---

[342] Assmann and Czaplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity' p.130-131.
[343] Jacqueline Vansant, *Reclaiming Heimat: Trauma and Mourning in Memoirs by Jewish Austrian Reémigrés* (Michigan, 2001) p.61.
[344] Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*, p.2.

the end of the Second World War.[345] Yet one element that has often been missing from analysis of German military spaces in the Channel Islands is the question of how these contested spaces were eventually rehabilitated in the postwar period, and why they remained central sites of occupation memory rather than being forgotten or left to wither away (as was the case in Alderney). Another is a lack of analysis into the driving force behind the gendered activity of young boys collecting German weapons of war as artefacts in the postwar period, and the initial destruction of German military sites and other relics in the aftermath of liberation.[346] Altogether missing from the current historiography is any assessment of the spaces that women used to pass down occupation memories and how these would be constructed into narratives that the community could also accept. This chapter contends that these male actions were a mode of unifying communities in the immediate postwar period, acting to 'other' and enact a form of retribution against the defeated German soldier, but, more importantly, to forge a connection to the story of British victory. This saw men reasserting authority over the militarised ('British') landscape and reconstructing an image of masculinity in opposition to symbols of the defeated hyper-masculine German superiority. These contested spaces subsequently became subsumed into the fabric of postwar community identity, as the resulting sites of memory were reclaimed as symbols of endurance and fortitude rather than humiliation and defeat. At the same time, women's accounts of the occupation show a sustained focus on reuniting with evacuated family members after the war and renewing connections with them (as well as examining their own wartime values and citizenship) through their wartime letters and diary accounts. This chapter contends that the spaces used to transmit their memories of the occupation, and the process by which some of these accounts were made public in the post-1960s period, presents a picture of women's memories first being used to reconstruct the family

[345] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meanings* (New Haven, 1992) p.2.
[346] Gilly Carr does discuss collecting war objects, but gender is not a focus of her study, so this area of analysis is not developed. See: Carr, *Legacies of Occupation.*

after war, and then being reframed to incorporate their family into their stories of war. These stories thus focus upon their enduring love and devotion to both family and, by extension, community, rather than as actively militaristic and authoritative war stories which are so dominant within the local Occupation Museums.

Madeleine Bunting was one of the first to publicly challenge the way in which the Channel Islands have used and reconstructed German military installations to remember the occupation. Bunting argues that they have long 'lost their power to disturb', as community divisions have been erased, popular memories promoted, and as the forced and slave workers who built so many of the military installations have had their memories and trauma marginalised.[347] However it is important to consider the process and purpose of constructing this dominant narrative through these adopted sites of occupation memory, and the hierarchy of objects (and related memories) and symbols of the occupation quickly established within them.

Reclaiming Enemy Space; Reconstructing Islander Masculinity

The surrender and occupation of the Channel Islands directly challenged Islander constructions of masculinity and, as a result, community identity. Just as the occupation challenged pre-war social structures, the post-1945 period required a reconstruction of the masculine self-image as a way to regain national pride and unity. The German military installations became central to this, having been steeped in symbolic importance, and as fixtures in rumour, myth and popular debate since their wartime construction by an estimated 16,000 forced and slave workers throughout the occupation years.[348] It is perhaps for this reason that so many (often male) accounts of the occupation are given titles or cover imagery which reference the military fortification of the Channel Islands as a symbol of what the author suffered. These concrete

[347] Bunting, *The Model Occupation,* pp.4, 154.
[348] Although exact figures remain unclear, it is estimated that around 16,000 forced and slave workers were brought to the Channel Islands to work on the Atlantic Wall Defences. Figures: Stephenson, *The Channel Islands*, p.45.

structures are representative of a moment in time which was both deeply traumatic for those who constructed these military spaces, but also for those who witnessed this construction and saw it as a symbol of their own impotency. In an interview between historian June Money and Michael Ginns (an Islander who was deported during the occupation and later became President of the Channel Islands Occupation Society in Jersey), Ginns outlines the mix of rumour and anger that surrounded the German military spaces in the immediate postwar period:

> 'After the war the Bailiff of Jersey was so concerned about all these atrocities that he had a court of enquiry… Bob Le Sueur [another prominent occupation-era figure in Jersey] said "It makes me so angry when these journalists say there was nothing done, bcause[sic] it was and I was there."
>
> [imitates conversation] The Spaniard said "Oh yes, it happened."
>
> But [when] he was asked: "Did you see it?"
>
> "Well, no…but we all knew."
>
> …It was all hearsay. Nobody saw it.'[349]

The intense circulation of rumour about these spaces (and the lack of postwar trials to investigate claims of atrocity and to bring perpetrators to justice) ensured that these German military installations have remained a source of mythology for many decades, as well as being highly visible blights on the local landscape. Some of these rumours and 'dark' memories persisted and were even posted on the walls of the German Military Underground Hospital occupation museum (now Jersey War Tunnels), as Joe Miere recollects:

[349] June Money interview with Michael (W.M.) Ginns, 8 October 1993. Item 'Working Notes for Interviews for the author's 'ASPECTS OF WAR'. Transcribed oral history interviews (Société Jersiaise, Jersey) File *OCC 942 MON, pp.8-9.

> ‘When I first worked at the German Military Underground Hospital in 1976, I was very surprised by the amount of distorted information on big display boards placed on the walls around the tunnel complex. One large board stated that women and little children had worked in this tunnel and had died or were killed and are buried where they fell in this tunnel. Another large notice stated prisoners working in this tunnel are buried where they fell. …All this was replaced with the Joe Miere Collection giving the true history with photographs of the Occupation. An entire chamber was devoted to my collection recalling the courage of Islanders who resisted and suffered for their heroism.’[350]

This is an example of a phenomenon which would spread across the Channel Islands (particularly from the mid-1960s onwards);[351] that of displaying personal collections of war artefacts at German military sites and their gradual organisation into a system of eight popular Occupation Museums. This followed the widespread collection of German war trophies in the war and postwar period, some of which were used to counter what was seen to be misinformation and rumour (or simply traumatic memories) of the period. This instead began to position the story of masculine resistance and heroism in direct opposition to the dark reality and mythology that had built up around the German military installations. Writing in their occupation history monograph in 1955 (having previously collected local recollections of wartime and postwar events in the Channel Islands and detailed a recognised mix of fact and rumour) Alan Wood and Mary Seaton Wood refer to the German Atlantic Wall defences in the Channel Islands as having been Hitler’s ‘private obsession.’[352] They continue, ‘It became a common saying that Hitler has put the islands under a glass case.’[353] Wood and Seaton Wood

---

[350] Joe Miere, *Never to be Forgotten* (Jersey, 2004) p.278.
[351] Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* pp.34-37.
[352] Wood, Seaton Wood, *Islands in Danger,* p.153.
[353] Ibid.

detail the often contradictory way in which Islanders both wanted to remember, but also wanted to forget: 'For the general desire seemed to be to forget everything to do with the Occupation as quickly as possible.' As for the German military installations, however:

> 'Jersey… was soon charging 6d. a head to see the underground German hospital; and 25,000 people a year paid to visit the Museum of Occupation relics, including whips found at "Gestapo Headquarters". Guernsey tried to grow mushrooms in its underground hospital, failed, boarded it up and then followed Jersey's example…tales of the Occupation became a recognised tourist attraction for wet days, with the Celtic Jerseymen leading the way in gay stories of how they had led the Germans a merry dance and generally defied them.'[354]

In this way, it is possible to see how from 1945-1955 Islanders had begun to use German military installations as the central spaces in which to construct a unifying postwar legacy of defiance in opposition to symbols of Nazism and German oppression, which was then built upon over the decades; one which also allowed them to forget or divert their difficult memories of the occupation years. At the same time the returning deportees (some of whom had been members of resistance groups, such as Frank Falla) were marginalised, as stories of defiance against the German occupation became normalised and developed into an 'everyman' story, rather than something specific or unique.[355] In 1967, Frank Falla went on to term these resistors and deportees as being the 'Forgotten People' over the commandeering of their memory by individuals in the Channel Islands and the refusal to offer financial help to those who had been deported.[356] He states that:

---

[354] Ibid, p.303.
[355] For more, see: Frank Falla, *The Silent War: The Inside Story of the Channel Islands under the German Jackboot* (Guernsey, 2004); Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* pp.59-60.
[356] Ibid.

> ‘It is ironic that the very officials who chose to ignore the obvious needs of distressed deportees were the ones who gave George Dawson permission to clear Guernsey and Alderney of tons of German scrap metal which, in Dawson’s own words in a newspaper article, ‘yielded me my first million’. Surely the island government officials could themselves have released a similar sum from the German scrap and devoted the proceeds to those who were in need.’[357]

He continues that those who arrived after the initial period of liberation, as a result of having been deported, had not been allowed their opportunity to ‘extract our ‘pound of flesh’ direct from the enemy.’[358] Falla’s memoir offers an insight into the internal island politics of individuals beginning to profit from the earlier destruction and collection of German military installations and relics. While many people were using these spaces and objects to forge a new identity, Falla’s account suggests that this was often at the expense of marginal groups who were not recognised within the larger group narrative. Instead they either saw their legacy commandeered by ‘elite’ individuals, or were simply ‘forgotten’ by both the States and by Britain. Underlying this is the feeling that these ‘forgotten’ people deserve both their ‘pound of flesh’ from the German state, but also official recognition for their particular acts of ‘patriotism’.[359] In a way, the developing narrative of collective defiance had in fact marginalised many of those who were deported as members of the resistance. There was a clear desire for public (and, in particular, British) recognition of the patriotism displayed by the deportees, which shows the importance placed on public and official recognition of an individual’s honour, sacrifice, and heroism in the postwar Channel Islands. This was not just an issue of reparations or of the ‘correct’ memories being remembered, but also of masculine and Islander identity.

---

[357] Frank Falla, *The Silent War*, p.165-166.
[358] Ibid, p.167-168.
[359] Ibid, p.156-168.

War Trophies and Adventure after the Liberation

Central to this discussion of reclaiming space and establishing a postwar legacy, is the objects held within these sites and why these were initially selected and considered significant. In her interviews with those who collected German military 'memorabilia and paraphernalia' in the post-1945 Channel Islands, Gilly Carr makes an important note: 'I never found any female collectors'.[360] Although this absence is not expanded upon, it is an important distinction to make: the postwar collection of war trophies and destruction/looting of German military spaces was a largely male event. That boys and young men have preserved these weapons of war for seventy years within private and public collections says a great deal about their continued currency within Islander communities to transmit occupation memory. The Channel Islands Occupation Society (the group of young local men who founded, and continue to maintain, many of the resulting Occupation Museums)[361] themselves created a video to recount the process of collecting war relics for these museums, titled 'The Summer of '45'. In this video, the narrator recounts that 'the summer of '45 was a great time in which to be young, and boys of all ages were afforded the splendid opportunity of inspecting in close quarters all those former enemy weapons to which they had been denied access for years'.[362] The video goes on to show a number of images of boys and young men in possession of German military items, which they proudly display or perch upon while smiling at the camera. The symbolic importance of both the collection of these German military items, as well as the number of people choosing to take photographs of this phenomenon, is clear. Not only were these photographs taken in the first place, preserving the significance of the moment, but were also carefully documented and kept by individuals and groups (alongside other relics of the

[360] Carr, *Legacies of Occupation,* p.4.
[361] For more on the formation of the CIOS under Richard Heume, see: Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* pp.34-37.
[362] *The Summer of '45. Interned.* Channel Islands Occupation Society (Jersey Branch). Video. Tape 2. (est. 1984). (Jersey Archive, Jersey). Item L/D/25/J2/2.

occupation years) and later made public as a shared experience of boyhood in the aftermath of war, almost as a rite of passage into manhood.[363] In a later section of the same video, the narrator details the dumping of heavy German artillery pieces from the cliffs at Les Landes in Jersey, before commenting that this was an act which 'may have appeared at the time as a grand gesture of retribution against the newly-defeated Germans.'[364] At the same, time powerful imagery is included of German prisoners of war clearing mines and barbed wire while Islanders look on. Through the deconstruction of military spaces, the Islander population were also witness to the deconstruction of the image of hyper-masculine German militarism in the Channel Islands, and were able to set themselves apart as a member of the victor British nation who oversaw these acts of retribution and punishment. Perhaps, most tellingly, the video ends with the statement: 'Nothing, whatsoever, could begin to equal, let alone surpass, those thrilling days of the summer of '45. I remember them well, because I was there.'[365] Similarly, in an article written in September 2001 and titled 'History repeats itself in Gunpit', the *Guernsey Press* presents the story and images of a group of young friends who had taken an iconic photo atop a 22m gun at the Batterie Dollmann at Pleinmont in October 1945, then returned to retake the same image over 50 years later.[366] The article states that the gun barrel had been found, having been rescued from the base of the cliffs at Les Landes, and brought back by a local occupation heritage group, Guernsey Armouries.[367] The barrel had been fitted to a replica carriage by the group and was repositioned where it had first sat during the occupation years, with the original photographed group deciding to reunite and travel to Guernsey to recreate their 1945 image upon hearing this news:

[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid.
[365] Ibid.
[366] 'History Repeats itself in Gunpit' *Guernsey Press,* 3 September 2001.
[367] Ibid.

> 'It occurred to me that it would be nice to re-create the picture once I heard that the gun barrel had been found on the coast of Jersey…I thought: "Wouldn't it be great if we could get together the remaining members" …One of the members [of the original photograph], David Hamon, lived in Australia so it would be difficult to get everybody together.'[368]

However, Hamon did make it to Jersey for the recreation of the photograph, along with all but two of the surviving members who could not travel at short notice.[369] Maurice Sangan, who organised the recreation of the photograph, had featured in the original image alongside another couple [the Friars] who he had lived with during the war years, and members of another local family [the Hamons].[370] Sagan comments that retaking the photo after so long 'was creepy really. It was nostalgic and unearthly to see this being re-created. So much had been done to do away with all these war images. Here we are recreating it for personal pleasure whereas before it was designed for death.'[371] Sagan's postwar group adventure and photograph with an imposing relic of the occupation, in many respects, redefines his connection with the gun itself, as it is now a 'personal pleasure' which he sought to revisit, rather than an enemy object with the power to kill or inflict pain upon him, his family, or the British people. The memory of taking the photograph has changed the meaning of the object itself. Previous studies have similarly shown the role of the 'pleasure culture of war' and the continued significance of adventure stories and the figure of the 'soldier hero' in constructions of British masculinity and warfare, most notably defined by Michael Paris (Warrior Nation) and Graham Dawson (Soldier Heroes).[372] These studies show how British constructions of masculinity have been built

---

[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Ibid.
[372] See: Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London, 2000) and Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994).

through ‘cultural artefacts that are created for the youth of the nation’ thus transforming war into an ‘entertaining spectacle’ and ‘an exciting adventure’, while minimising awareness of the true horror of war.[373] Such wide-ranging artefacts as ‘novels, story papers, toys, games and visual images’ are connected with representations of the ‘just cause’ and moral superiority in the British waging of war, all acting to legitimize and romanticise modern warfare, while teaching boys that the optimum and most accessible model of masculinity could be achieved through becoming a soldier hero.[374] It is perhaps unsurprising then that when surrounded by physical objects and spaces of their defeated occupiers, that young Islander boys and men felt compelled to play with, photograph, and otherwise claim war trophies, to preserve them as proof of their own war stories and of British victory in the Channel Islands. War games and toys not only allowed a nation’s youth to ‘enact their martial fantasies’ but also made war a ‘part of normal everyday life’, rather than something tragic or repellent.[375] In *Soldier Heroes*, Graham Dawson also assesses his own experiences of playing soldiers as a child, demonstrating how such war fantasy and play repeated over a period of time can result in the development of distinct and stable war stories and characters:

> ‘In essence, though, they were characterized as heroes and villains. …Play involved me in an answering of questions, a gradual placing of my soldiers in imaginative terms: who were they? where did they belong? what qualities did they possess? who were their enemies? …Adventure stories provided me with a conception of historical events and of my own imaginative relation to them.’[376]

Young boys in the Channel Islands were in an even more unique position, surrounded by free and genuine objects of war that could be readily collected, played with, used to create desirable

---

[373] Paris, *Warrior Natio*n, p.8.
[374] Ibid, pp.8-9.
[375] Ibid, p.73.
[376] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, pp.246-247.

stories of their own occupation and liberation, and then retained and passed down to the next generation with these postwar memories and fantasies still associated with the objects. It could be argued that these objects in fact helped generations of young boys and men to make sense of their place in the Second World War when they had not fought themselves, by claiming some of the spoils of the British soldier heroes' victory over their German occupiers for themselves. While the occupation has often been remembered in terms of Liberation Day, this shows that the nostalgia extends beyond that single day and into the period of deconstruction of German superiority, and the reconstruction of Islander identity.

Similarly, even as recently as December 2012 a new discovery of occupation-era documents was announced, as 90 pieces of personal mail that had been stolen from an Army Field Post Office during the occupation years (written by German occupying soldiers and intended for their families) were handed in to Jersey Archive.[377] The items were donated anonymously, having been 'liberated' (in the words of the *Jersey Evening Post* and *BBC Jersey*) in 1941, and then hidden inside of a family piano for decades by a boy (described as being aged 14 at the time by *Jersey Evening Post*, although *BBC Jersey* reported that he was aged 16) who had taken a 'vow of silence' with the rest of the 'gang of youths' responsible, all of whom were aged 15 and 16 years old at the time.[378] As the donor chose to remain anonymous, *BBC Jersey* explained the reasoning for this wartime theft by making reference to the unrelated wartime diary of Leslie Sinel (previously mentioned in Chapter 1) in order to describe the 'defiance' of Islanders in 1941, with it being 'at that time the group of young men took letters from the field

[377] 'German soldiers' letters from Jersey delivered 71 years late' *BBC Jersey*, 19 December 2012. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-jersey-20767527 [Accessed: 03/09/2017].
[378] 'Letters home from occupied Jersey' *Jersey Evening Post*, 19 December 2012. https://jerseyeveningpost.com/news/2006/12/19/letters-home-from-occupied-jersey/ [Accessed: 03/09/2017]; *BBC Jersey*, 19 December 2012. Also: 'Wartime German Christmas letters stolen by Jersey youths finally delivered to soldiers' relatives' *The Telegraph*, 19 December 2012 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/history/world-war-two/9755289/Wartime-German-Christmas-letters-stolen-by-Jersey-youths-finally-delivered-to-soldiers-relatives.html [Accessed: 03/09/2017].

post office.'[379] Meanwhile, *The Telegraph* speculated that this might have been a 'rash bid to give the hated occupiers a bloody nose'.[380] Similarly, *Jersey Evening Post* described the actions of the young boy who preserved the letters as having been 'an act of rebellion by a Jerseyman'.[381] In this way, the claiming and preservation of German items (and its fusion with one of the original 'war stories' of the Channel Islands, in one instance) can be used by others to prove the defiance of the wider community under occupation, while also highlighting how seriously this group of boys took their wartime actions that this vow of silence was successfully maintained for 66 years, long after the liberation of the island. As the donor remained anonymous, this could become an 'everyman' story of Islander resistance and fraternity in wartime.

Similar new discoveries of occupation-era objects are also still reported regularly by The Channel Islands Military Museum (with recent donations including a German helmet which had been stored in a barn until the summer of 2017, a roll of occupation-era barbed wire donated by a 'Mr Norman', a German Red Cross armband and occupation-era documents donated by a man who had been clearing out his effects upon retirement, as well as a wide-ranging set of German badges, weapons and uniform items from a local family's collection).[382] The daughter of one of the soldiers of Force 135, who liberated the Channel Islands, was also featured in the *Jersey Evening Post* on 27 May 2017, having chosen to donate the Swastika flag war trophy that her father had taken from Jersey in 1945 to The Channel Islands Military Museum, with museum-owner Damian Horn commenting:

---

[379] *BBC Jersey*, 19 December 2012.
[380] *The Telegraph*, 19 December 2012.
[381] *Jersey Evening Post*, 19 December 2012.
[382] Social media account photo updates from *The Channel Islands Military Museum.* Posts dated: 13 June 2017, 25 June 2017, 30 July 2017, 31 August 2017 https://www.facebook.com/The-Channel-Island-Military-Museum-1411840822456023/?ref=br_rs [Accessed: 01/09/2017].

> ‘The mother wanted the flag to be burned but luckily the daughter said that it was an important part of Jersey’s history and that it should come back to the island, and then she made contact with me.’[383]

It is clear that museums dedicated to occupation era military items, often growing out of personal boyhood collections, still have an important place within society as spaces to retell the occupation story through the militaristic items and spaces of German soldiers, with private collectors or their families choosing to give their own items to these local museums as they themselves grow older or pass away. Horn, the owner of the Military Museum has himself detailed how his collecting began as a child, when his father picked him out a refinished helmet for Christmas when he was aged 8 or 9 years old, adding ‘it was pride of place…I still have this helmet and it’s a rarity now.’[384] Carr has similarly collected testimonies relating to the passing down and swapping of military items by boys and men in the postwar Channel Islands.[385] Collecting military items was, thus, both a group activity, and one which connected fathers and sons (and, in the case of the aforementioned donated flag, latterly fathers and daughters) in the aftermath of war, with the relics of this period of intense trophy hunting still finding their way into public spaces as the original owners are unable to keep them any longer or want them preserved for posterity, as part of the Channel Islands’ retelling of its occupation story.

---

[383] ‘Occupation Flag Flies Home to Find a Place in Museum’ *Jersey Evening Post*, 27 May 2017, p.9.
[384] Social media account photo updates from The Channel Islands Military Museum. Post dated: 16 June 2017 https://www.facebook.com/The-Channel-Island-Military-Museum-1411840822456023/?ref=br_rs [Accessed: 01/09/2017].
[385] Carr, *Legacies of Occupation*, pp.33-41

Figure 20: *'A group of boys play on a gun turret left at Mont á l'Abbé following the Liberation of Jersey from German Occupation in 1945'.*[386]

In his 1957 memoir, Guernseyman Michael Marshall similarly details the exploits of a gang of boys in postwar Guernsey, describing how German military objects were often sought out and claimed as the 'spoils of war'.[387] This again shows the emotional banding together of boys and young men around German military objects and installations following the liberation, and a sense of renewed pride and excitement. Yet his account also adds an additional layer of meaning behind this hunt for trophies, with Marshall describing how this same gang of boys also sought to arm themselves to enact retribution against Guernsey's 'Quislings' and would sometimes dress and act as soldiers through town in view of the remaining German prisoners of war and liberating British soldiers.[388] Through this account, it is also possible to link this

[386] Image reproduced on Jersey Heritage's official 'Liberation Day' page (posted 7 May 2016) following an online campaign to get people to share their Liberation photos and memories: https://www.facebook.com/LiberationDayCI/photos/a.1420819008216922.1073741829.1420785668220256/1571133496518805/?type=3&theater [Accessed: 21/06/16].
[387] Michael Marshall, *The Small Army* (London, 1957) pp.171-178; Carr, *Legacies of Occupation,* p.29.
[388] Ibid, pp.178-9.

wave of postwar deconstruction of German military sites, and the collection of war trophies, to the symbolic acts of postwar retribution enacted against the 'other' across postwar Europe, as a way to forge a new sense of national identity within fractured communities. In his analysis of 'dark' war trophies, Simon Harrison contends that bringing home relics to one's family and community is considered an achievement in many cultures, with these trophy-taking expeditions often taking on the character 'of a rite of passage into manhood.'[389] Paul Cornish argues that during the First World War, military trophy-taking was 'endemic' amongst enlisted men, to the point that it was perceived as a 'threat to discipline' by some officers in the British army.[390] He contends that 'war souvenirs in particular resonate with memories of life and death situations, suffering or glory.'[391] The public display of captured enemy war trophies was also significant, as they 'satisfied a number of desires – victory was plainly announced – you cannot capture enemy guns while retreating; civilian morale was likely to be bolstered; and (by no means a lesser consideration) the *esprit de corps* of the unit responsible for the capture of such war trophies was enhanced.'[392] However, Cornish makes a distinction between 'war trophies' and 'war souvenirs' in the case of their First World War collection by enlisted men, with war trophies being defined as having been forcibly acquired on the battlefield.[393] Yet enemy occupation is a separate scenario and it could be argued that in the Channel Islands (completely demilitarised and forced to surrender without 'a shot having been fired' during the invasion, with no attempts made to retake the Islands prior to 1945) that their defining military moment was perceived to be that of the arrival of British troops on Liberation Day, and the subsequent public capture and internment of their German occupiers. Similarly, postwar debates that raged

[389] Simon Harrison, *Dark Trophies: Hunting and the Enemy Body in Modern War* (London, 2012) p.6.
[390] Paul Cornish, 'Just a Boyish Habit…' British and Commonwealth War Trophies in the First World War' in Nicholas J. Saunders, Paul Cornish (eds), *Contested Objects: Material Memories of the Great War* (London, 2014) p.16.
[391] Ibid, pp.24-25.
[392] Ibid, p.12.
[393] Ibid, p.11.

around the subjects of complicity and collaboration ensured that it was especially important to forge a strong connection to this positive moment of military victory and heightened social status; thus making relics collected during this moment of 'liberation fever', and defeat of the occupying forces, comparable with that of the emotionally-charged 'war trophy' in many respects.

The period of 1945-53 heralded a period of 'erasure' across the Channel Islands as bunkers and fortifications were looted by the local population, while the States sanctioned widespread 'filling in' and destruction of German military sites.[394] By 1948 Guernsey had sanctioned an official programme called 'Operation Coastline Clean Up' to remove the remaining guns, armour plates and steel bunker fittings (such as doors), to be dismembered and sold for scrap.[395] This is significant when one considers Henry Rousso's theory of the initial stage of what he has terms the 'Vichy Syndrome'; a period of *deuil inachevé* ('Unfinished Mourning') in the ten years during and following the liberation of France.[396] Rousso argues that this 'mourning phase' was the period '[dealing] directly with the aftermath of civil war, purge, and amnesty… [it] had considerable impact on what came afterward.'[397] In Ruth Kitchen's reassessment of the 'Vichy Syndrome' in postwar France, Kitchen identifies within the timeframe of 1944-1954:

> '[the] melancholic tendency to interiorize the shame of defeat and the Occupation highlighting an inability to accept and integrate the personal losses sustained by the war and the collective blow dealt to national honour. This blow resulted in the shattering of national identity.'[398]

---

[394] Carr, *Legacies of Occupation.*
[395] Ernie Gavey, *A Guide to German Fortifications on Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1997) p.6.
[396] Rousso, Goldhammer (trans), *The Vichy Syndrome.*
[397] Ibid, p.10.
[398] Ruth Kitchen, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of War and Occupation* (Bern, 2013) p.32.

The group act of asserting control over these sites of trauma in the Channel Islands, by stripping them of their old identity and establishing a new perception of such sites, enabled the community to avoid questions of shame, loss and defeat; focusing instead on reconstructing a community identity which aligned itself with the liberating British soldiers on the Channel Islands and their victory over Nazism. The German fortifications had become symbolic of both German oppression and of Islander fortitude, as local communities positioned postwar masculine identity as being something which was defined against the 'other' in public and in private. This is a theme which runs throughout much of the later Channel Island commemoration rituals, and which has often influenced the way in which memories of the occupation have been selected and presented within later occupation museums and monuments.

The Occupation Museum and Sharing Usable War Stories

Although they may have different names and apparent purposes, the post-1960s Occupation Museums of the Channel Islands and the Resistance Museums of France had a common purpose: to forge a common understanding of the past and, thus, a shared identity and honourable legacy in the aftermath of occupation. They also follow similar patterns of formation. The Resistance Museums were often conceived by those who had identified as members of the Resistance during the Occupation of France, who in the decades following the Liberation collected objects and documents relating to the Resistance.[399] The Museum of National Resistance began to be planned out in the 1960s, and there are now Resistance Museums spread across France.[400] Since 1985, the collection of objects and documents which

[399] Sarah Bowen, 'Lest We Forget: Memories, History and the Muse de la Resistance et de le Deportation de'Isere,' in Sarah Bowen, Marion Demossier, Jeanine Picard (eds), *Recollections of France: Memories, Identities and Heritage in Contemporary France* (London, 2000); Chemins de Memoire, 'Museum of National Resistance', http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/en/museum-national-resistance-champigny-sur-marne [Accessed: 04/05/2016].
[400] Ibid.

had been established by this early group of Resistance veterans has been supported by the Museums of France Administration (Department of Culture) and assimilated into the popularised image of the occupation within history and memory.[401] Jean-Claude Duclos (assistant curator for Musée dauphinois) has commented that the mission of Resistance Museums in France is first to be museums of society, and second museums of history, so as to post warnings about the past and call up 'moral and possibly even utopian sentiments' for the future.[402] When commenting on the exhibitions of the Jersey War Tunnels occupation museum in 2009, Collections Manager, Christopher Addy, similarly refers to the importance of moral and societal issues within the museum.[403] He comments that there was never a sense of closure for many Islanders at the end of the occupation years due to the absence of any official trials, which led to a continued desire to engage with these spaces and objects of memory.[404] It is undeniable that members of the Islander community have remained influential within the heritage sector in the Channel Islands, with the local Channel Islands Occupation Society (founded by local men in 1961 in Guernsey and branching out in to Jersey in 1971) itself being placed in charge of the restoration and presentation of a number of occupation sites in the Channel Islands, as well as sending free copies of its own annual *Channel Islands Occupation Review* to members.[405] Occupation Museums, thus, became spaces to deal with a difficult past that was never fully resolved, and which saw no official punishment for those seen to have caused suffering and, therefore, no exoneration for the community at large.[406] Addy's words support the view that the establishment and preservation of occupation museums, and the

---

[401] Chemins de Memoire, 'Museum of National Resistance'.
[402] Jean-Claude Duclos, 'Les resistants, les historiens, les historiens et le museographe: histoire d'un transaction et de ses enseignements' Unpublished conference paper, 1996; translated in: Bowen, 'Lest We Forget: Memories, History and the Muse de la Resistance et de le Deportation de'Isere', p.76.
[403] Christopher Addy, 'Jersey War Tunnels' in Esben Kjeldbæk (ed.), *The Power of the Object: Museums and World War II* (Edinburgh, 2009); Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* p.29.
[404] Addy, 'Jersey War Tunnels' p.229.
[405] See: 'Channel Islands Occupation Society' Jersey Heritage description: https://www.jerseyheritage.org/collection-items/channel-islands-occupation-society [Accessed: 01/05/2017]. Also: Channel Islands Occupation Society, http://www.ciosguernsey.org.gg/ [Accessed: 01/05/2017]
[406] Ibid, p.229-230.

displaying of emotive objects, speak as much about a desire for postwar 'closure' and the need to construct (and later maintain) a unified postwar community and sense of national identity, as it is about telling the story of the occupation for tourists. This has culminated in a complete shift within a generation, as these sites which were first destroyed or scouted for war trophies, have been reconstructed by those same people who experienced the occupation (using collected war trophies and 'authentic' military components from abroad). This rehabilitation is largely due to German military installations offering a space through which to reinforce, rather than undermine, the narrative of Islander defiance through collected trophies of the immediate postwar period, and in establishing a recognised and accepted image of the occupiers, Islanders, and the Liberators for the community and later generations. This transformation was complete by the 1980s, when these German military installations gradually became known as sites of Islander Heritage rather than referenced as German 'scars on the landscape'.[407] Many such sites now appear in designated 'Occupation Trails' in the Channel Islands and are featured in brochures for the official States heritage and tourism boards. In this way, these scars on the landscape have been refashioned into spaces to display Islander defiance and patriotism.

Positioning the Enemy Body

One important 'object' that appears extensively within Occupation Museums on the Channel Islands is the figure of the German soldier; often armed, in full uniform, and positioned next to 'authentic' Nazi emblems. In Jersey War Tunnel's recent 'co-operation' exhibit, they also include an interactive element to these German figures, with an interactive screen in place of the figure's head, which then engages visitors as they pass and asks simple everyday questions (such as whether the visitor would like an ice-cream or would be willing to help the soldier with his washing). The display is designed for the visitor to interact with the everyday

[407] Michael Ginns M.B.E, 'Scars on the Landscape' Video Tape. Date unknown. *Channel Islands Occupation Society.* Jersey Archive. Channel Islands Occupation Society (Jersey) Collection, L/D/25/J2/1; Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* pp.46-47.

'experience' of occupation, where enemies could become neighbours or close acquaintances. Notably, unlike in the rest of the museum's exhibitions, these German figures do not appear in military uniform and are only identifiable as German by their accent and surrounding displays. However, the most noticeable aspect to this particular exhibition is the way in which it renders the German soldiers' body both passive and 'voiceless' in the sense that it is positioned to show that wrongdoing was not committed by Islanders who were simply doing good turns for others rather than 'collaborating'. It is a commentary on Islander, rather than German, conduct. The soldier's body becomes a device to share a message about the Islander population under occupation, rather than the story or memory of a German soldier himself. Hazel Knowles-Smith states that this approach, presenting 'pleasant German soldiers' is not supported by all, as it does not match the original 'ethos' of the tunnels.[408] The more common representation is to portray the German soldier's body as an extension of the militarisation and suppression experienced during the occupation. The German soldier is shown in military garb and is presented as armed, or is placed beside military items/objects associated with Nazism. The physical recreation of military 'scenes' of the occupation, often within old German military installations, is one that shows the German soldier at his most powerful and masculine, yet renders him powerless and emasculated by the fact that he has been placed there by Islanders (with the surrounding museum space similarly controlled by Islanders). This is also influenced by the visitor's knowledge that this is a recreation of a defeated foe within a captured German military space. The clear connection drawn between the German soldier and military equipment/installation of Nazism also elevates the image of Islander masculinity, as a direct contrast can be made between this image and that of the liberating British 'Tommy', or the defiant Islander, which are such powerful and central images in many popular representations of the Channel Islands' occupation. In this way, the German soldier is a device to provide a

[408] Hazel Knowles-Smith, *The Changing Face of the Channel Islands Occupation*, p.230.

contrast to this narrative of defiance, patriotism, and victory, as without a clear and Islander-controlled 'opposite', the popular legend would not hold the same power. The 'body' of the German soldier therefore provides a way to cement the image of a British population at war with Nazism, who not only triumphed, but did so without surrendering or being seduced by an alien enemy.

Figure 21: *Two of the German soldiers on display at the 'co-operation' exhibit, Jersey War Tunnels.*

Figure 22: *La Vallette Underground Military Museum, Guernsey.*

Carr similarly notes the importance of the German soldier within the dominant representation of the Channel Islands occupation, as recited through local museums, often containing 'a German soldier lurking in the background' even though 'only the few were the victims of Nazism.'[409] She contends that:

> 'While the prime subject of Occupation museums in the islands is the German soldier, this character type can more accurately be described as an anti-hero. Although he is not described locally in these terms, this is the way that he is treated. The soldier's possessions and instruments of war are fetishised, his clothes (uniform) are carefully curated, and scenes or dioramas are constructed in which he, as a mannequin, can 'live'. Although not exactly glorified, this anti-hero is housed, dressed and armed and kept in good working order; at the same time, he is safely contained in a static display inside his steel-reinforced bunker.'[410]

[409] Carr, *Legacies of Occupation*, p.79.
[410] Ibid.

The spaces that contain these recreations of the German 'body' are important, as were previously perceived as being 'scars on the landscape', while the relics of the German soldiers' wartime presence were once war trophies for young boys and men. The destruction, or eventual assimilation of these contested spaces and objects into the popular narrative of occupation, has been necessary to construct and maintain the postwar legacy of Islander defiance, heroism, and unity. This also shows the pervasive and well-established connection between the memory of the traumatic Channel Islands' occupation and that of British victory. This British-centric narrative necessitated the exclusion of any stories that might challenge this view of a patriotic, defiant Islander population, in a similar way to the postwar Austrian 'externalising' and 'making the past German' when particular memories challenged their 'victim thesis' and raised questions over guilt and complicity.[411] While Austria initially established extensive, popular monuments to the rehabilitated *Wehrmacht* servicemen (as the embodiment of a courageous and steadfast 'national hero') the Channel Islands normalised their dark past by reclaiming the 'scars' which raised difficult questions and trauma. It is notable, for instance, that these military installations predominantly became spaces to revisit the interactions and skirmishes between German soldiers and Islanders, rather than being established as memorials to the foreign workers who were forced to construct them, and who sometimes died doing so. This move to 'make the past German' through these sites has enabled Islanders to move past a sense of guilt and complicity, while also reclaiming a sense of masculine pride and honour through the physical reclaiming of the Channel Islands' landscape. Both were necessary to forge what Paul Sanders has termed the 'Churchillian Paradigm' in the Channel Islands, and to legitimise a connection between Britain's 'finest hour' and Islander war memory.[412]

---

[411] Vansant, *Reclaiming Heimat*, p.61. Also: Anton Pelinka, Gunter Bischof (eds), *Austrian Historical Memory and National Identity* (New Jersey, 1997).

[412] Paul Sanders, *The British Channel Islands*; Daniel Travers, 'The Churchillian Paradigm and the "Other British Isles": An Examination of Second World War Remembrance in Man, Orkney, and Jersey' Doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield. 2012.

Remembering Domestic Space

However, the Channel Islands' occupation museums have recently also sought to bring stories of domestic life to these militaristic spaces. Interestingly, unlike the other topics and exhibits within the museum, scenes of the domestic are set apart from the rest of the military objects and German figures that feature so prominently throughout other exhibits. Two significant examples of this are within the German Occupation Museum (Guernsey) and Jersey War Tunnels. While these domestic exhibits are not a central component to the museums in question, this in itself shows the hierarchy that has developed within these sites and suggests that the dominant (military) objects have largely dominated representations of the occupation within these museums.

Figure 23: *Domestic scene in the German Occupation Museum, Guernsey.*

Figure 24: *Domestic scene within Jersey War Tunnels.*

Figure 25: *Domestic scene within Jersey War Tunnels.*

In the case of the German Occupation Museum, the figures presented within the domestic scenes are as central as the setting itself.[413] The website for the museum lists the adult figures as representing a 'father' and 'mother', with the mother having just made potato flour cake, while also serving up a dinner to her family in the 'occupation kitchen', as a fresh loaf cooks on the fire.[414] The father, meanwhile, listens to the 9 o'clock BBC news, in a defiant act of patriotism (crystal sets were illegal in the Channel Islands for a time), as the mother stands apart from him to support his task by also keeping watch for German patrols.[415] A meal of fried onions is laid out on the table in front of the father, as he listens to his crystal set.[416] While the man is placed in the role of patriotic resister, the woman appears as mother, wife, and as a 'good' woman supporting her husband. Jersey War Tunnels has similarly constructed a scene of the domestic, although their scene does not include figures to represent Islanders in this way. Instead, two rooms within the vast military tunnels have been totally redesigned and decorated to represent domestic spaces, even as the rest of the museum makes use of the tunnel structure itself as part of the occupation museum's 'authentic' wartime atmosphere. The space is still within the existing tunnel structure, yet has been given the appearance of a 1940s house, complete with wallpaper, stairs, and family photographs on the walls. The decoration of the space separates the domestic experience of the war from the reality of the 'military occupation' outside. This results in the separation of the domestic space from the otherwise inescapable military surroundings, and instead sees the visitor walking into a sanitized and homely environment which appears wholly detached from what comes before and after it. There are no difficult questions addressed within the domestic space, nor is there any reference made to the hardships experienced by Islanders or the challenges faced (particularly by women) as they

[413] Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection*, pp.38-39.
[414] 'Occupation Kitchen' Featured Item. *German Occupation Museum (Guernsey)* http://www.germanoccupationmuseum.co.uk/index-3.html [Accessed: 12/09/2017].
[415] Ibid.
[416] Ibid.

tried to contend with shortages and other pressures at home. Crucially, military objects and images of the German soldier do not touch the domestic space in either instance. Instead the domestic space appears to have been preserved in a state of pure nostalgia, as a moment of 'good' amongst the dark. The domestic space is both separated from the masculine and militarised public space and is held up as a place of safety and continuity of a recognisable British way of life, while not addressing the realities of requisitioned or billeted homes, German raids, hunger, or the fractured family and community relationships that could spill over inside the domestic space. Nostalgia for the wartime home neglects to address that it was also a place directly threatened by the military nature of the occupation in the same way that public spaces were (including being occupied by German soldiers), as well as the precarious nature of continuing to own or seeking to control your own property during the occupation years. Women were often at the forefront of such battles in the domestic space, yet the museum representations of this front of the wartime occupation remain sanitized and full of nostalgia for past 'traditional' gender roles of motherhood and loyal wives, alongside 'authentic' domestic imagery which completely overlays any hints of the military structure or objects of the museums themselves. Such representations of the domestic space preserve the image of it having been separate to the wider, threatening militarisation of the Channel Islands, and show the loyal family unit and recognisable features of a 1940s British home as being protected within the four walls provided, rather than examining the tensions, fractures and threats of the war in the home.

Gendering Collaboration in the Museum Space

By contrast, these same museums show the subject of 'fraternisation' as being both a public affair, but also one that involved young, working class women, who ventured too far from traditional values and the domestic to form sexual relationships with German soldiers. This both sexualises the woman and moralises her actions, with photographs on display seeming to

show her enjoying the occupation and being given preferential treatment by the occupying soldiers in full view of other Islanders, and without a care for the British soldiers fighting on the front.

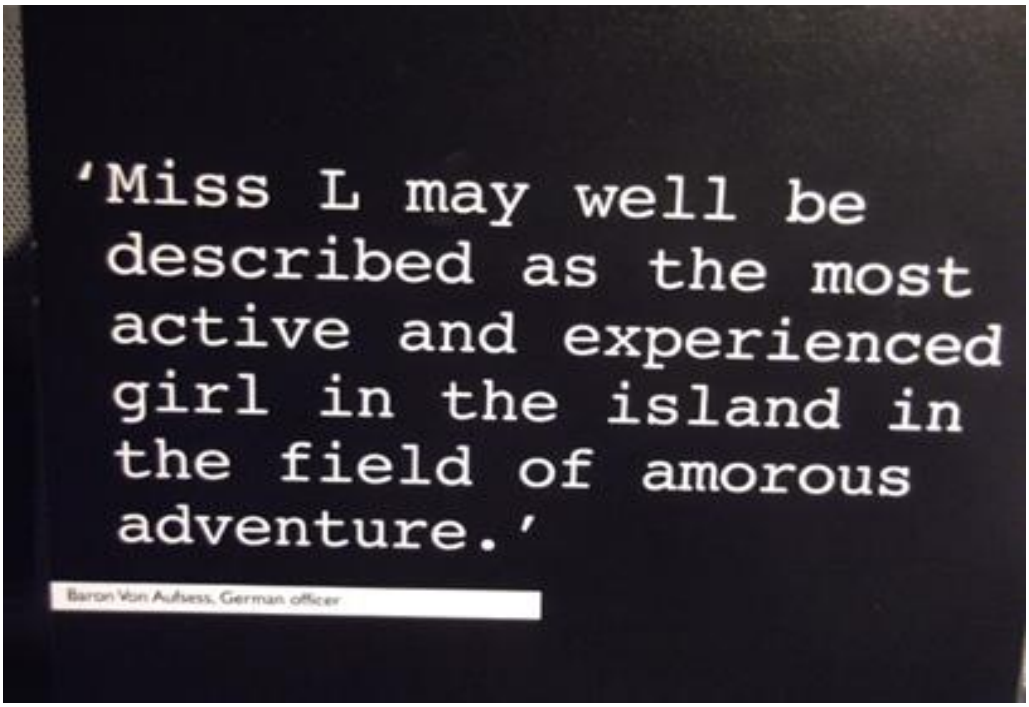

Figure 26: *From the 'Fraternisation' display at Jersey War Tunnels*.

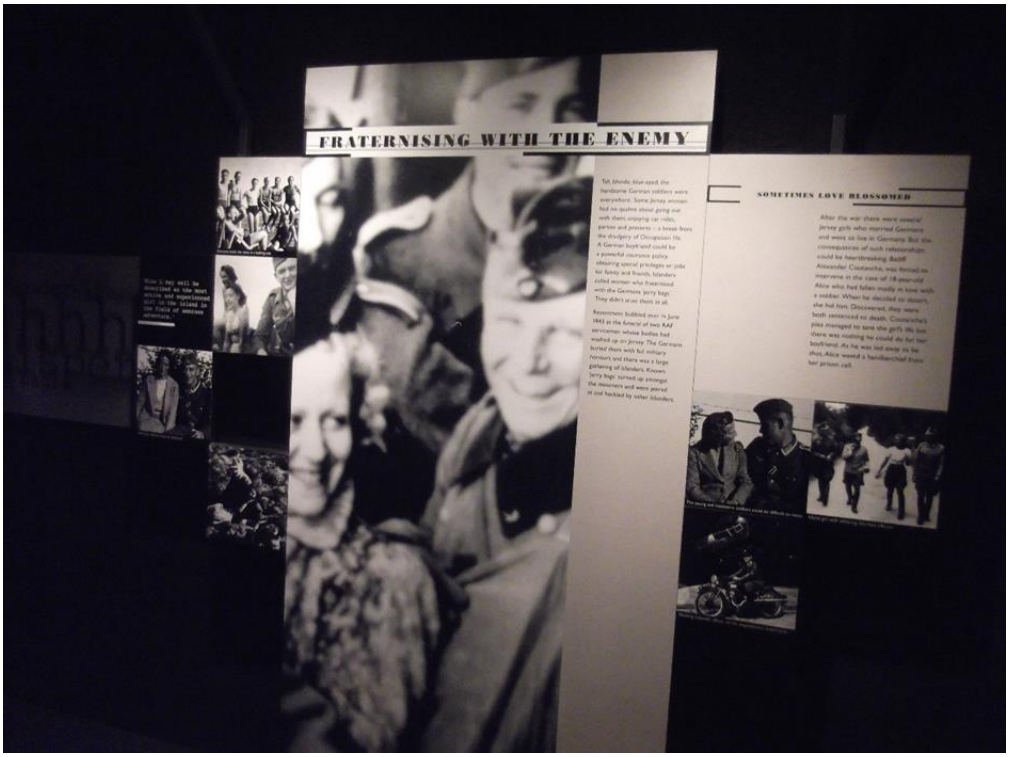

Figure 27: *From the 'Fraternisation' display at Jersey War Tunnels*.

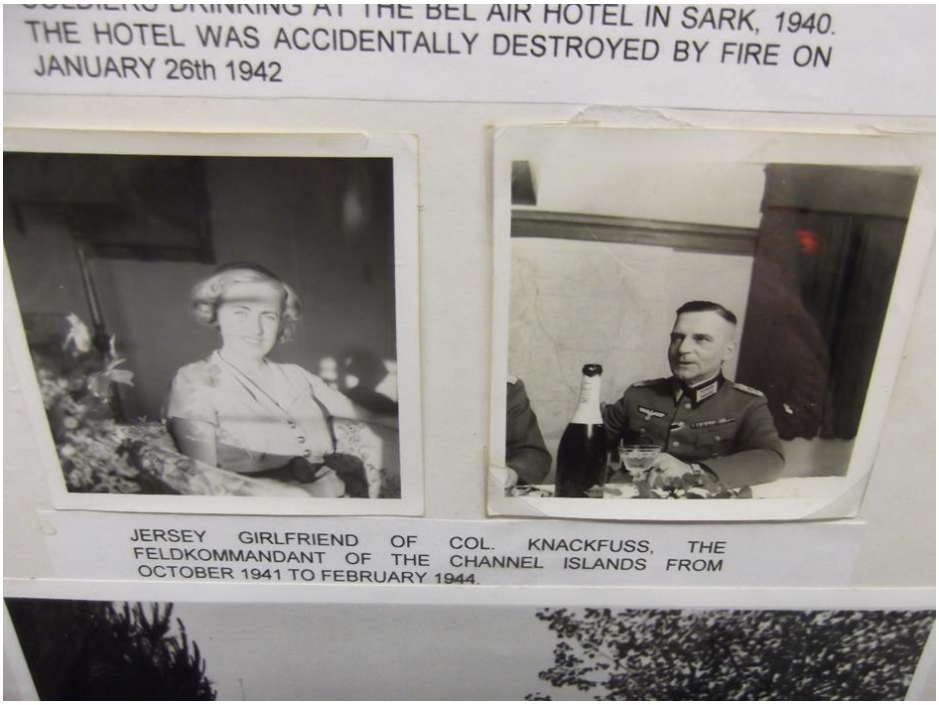

Figure 28: *German Occupation Museum, Guernsey*.

Figure 29: *German Occupation Museum, Guernsey*.

These same museums display the subject of fraternisation as both a gendered issue, but also an issue which is defined in moral terms rather than according to any broken laws, or even in terms of its impact on the war effort. No questions are asked regarding the photographer or the context of the photographs. Neither are these women given a voice or a chance to discuss the images on display. In both the domestic and public spheres, femininity has become both symbolic of the 'good' preservation of the home, community and British values, and the 'bad' public fraternisation with the enemy, moral degeneration, and of bringing shame on the nation. These representations of women have either been used to support the image of the patriotic and loyal nation at war, or have been separated from imagery of the home and made 'other'; instead becoming a focus for feelings of national humiliation, shame, and a desire for retribution. Just as the military objects and image of the German soldier have been positioned in opposition to the defiant Islander and liberating British Tommy, so the image of the female 'jerry bag' is in opposition to the 'good' motherly woman and the patriotic Islander community. Both have enabled the Channel Islands to 'other' difficult questions and memories of the occupation years, while also maintaining the dominant narrative of a defiant, patriotic population who played their own role in British victory rather than in the shared European experience of defeat and trauma.

The Occupation Tapestry

Increasingly, however, women have themselves found ways to engage and create objects to represent the popularised story of the occupation in public space; crucially, without displacing these dominant and well-established masculine spaces and militaristic relics of war memory. On the 50th anniversary of the Liberation Day ritual, the first majority women-led space of public occupation history was unveiled. Although still separate from both the traditional spaces and objects of war in its retelling of the community's occupation story, the frames of memory within The Occupation Tapestry are themselves rather familiar. The Occupation Tapestry is

housed in Jersey's Maritime Museum, a space largely unrelated to the occupation itself, but the value of the tapestry is such that it was immediately made a permanent exhibit with its own admission and designated room, and remains so to the present day.[417] With the basic design combining a range of iconic photographs of the occupation years (selected according to the most visually appealing) and under the slogan 'using local skills to show life during the occupation', the sections of the occupation's 'storyline' were reimagined in colour and were carefully placed into twelve separate panels.[418] These panels were then divided between representatives of all twelve local parishes, to be embroidered over a period of seven years and unveiled by the Prince of Wales on Liberation Day in 1995.[419] Of the 233 embroiderers involved, all were women, with 76 of these women having experienced the occupation of the island first-hand.[420] However, the designs themselves were commissioned from artist Wayne Audrain, ensuring that the panel scenes were still ordered according to a male interpretation of occupation history. The Occupation Tapestry combined the islands' unique Norman heritage and the Islander experience of the occupation with the iconic commemoration of Liberation Day, thus observing old traditions while still remembering shared British values. However, it was local women who volunteered their time to collect and reproduce photographs through the medium of embroidery; giving otherwise ephemeral shared photographs new life alongside the next generation of women who had not experienced the occupation years themselves. Women were themselves constructing a recognisable story for the community at large, not from their own collection of private artefacts which had held personal meaning to them in the war years, but from shared public photographs and narratives that had survived and remained iconic precisely because the wider community had deemed them important and acceptable. Instead of asking these women to present their own personal memories of the occupation years through

[417] Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection*, pp.43-44, 75-77
[418] The Occupation Tapestry, illustrated souvenir booklet. No publication date given.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Ibid.

the tapestry, they were each allocated their separate embroidery roles according to their location on the island. However, this was the first woman-centered event seeking to publicly retell and produce iconic occupation stories and imagery for a wider audience, and their fingerprints are visible in the successful creation of this complex and colourful tapestry which deals with public and domestic spaces in wartime.

Figure 30: *'Restrictions' Panel, The Occupation Tapestry, Jersey.*

In fact, The Occupation Tapestry panel on the topic of 'Restrictions' is itself of interest due to the fact that the 'domestic' scene looks remarkably similar to that found in the German Occupation Museum in Guernsey. However, the gender roles have themselves been altered, with Tessa Coleman's accompanying booklet addressing this by simply stating:

> 'To the right of the panel we find 'The Family' in a typical Jersey home. The little boy is pulling the blackout curtains, whilst his mother fiddles with an illegal crystal set and the daughter cuddles her teddy bear. Father, of course, is absent.'[421]

[421] Tessa Coleman, *Threads of History: The Jersey Occupation Tapestry* (Jersey, 1995) p.15.

The only men in this panel are German soldiers appearing in the outside 'public' space, featuring darkened skies and militaristic uniform. The domestic 'family' scene beside this shows a woman listening to the crystal set (although it is a man who does this task in the Museum's scene) while her son is placed at the window (replacing the woman in the Museum's scene) and her daughter stands in the corner (in the same place as the Museum's scene). In a later edition of the accompanying Occupation Tapestry booklet, the scene is described in this way: 'The Family, like many other islanders, risks imprisonment by listening to the BBC news from London'.[422] In fact, although this is not always obvious (except in the Occupation and Liberation panels) the same family recurs throughout the entire Tapestry.[423] This scene is of particular importance due to its similarity with the German Occupation Museum domestic space exhibit, yet also because it has erased the presence of a man from the domestic 'family' space in this instance, while presenting the image of a young boy as a lookout. Instead, their 'mother' is illuminated as she engages in a form of resistance within the home. The threat is outside, and the boy is peering out into this space while his mother listens at the dining table. The image of the ID card in the centre of the panel also features a woman, while the other addition to the 'domestic' scene is the additional 'window' which shows the RAF dropping information leaflets to the Island to provide information and news from England. This, again, connects the Channel Islands with the wider, active war effort when the community was under threat, but also keeps explicit military matters outside of the home itself. Throughout the tapestry, women are embroidered at the forefront of scenes involving family/mothering, the home and rationing (evacuation, the Red Cross delivery, buying food at Communal Kitchens or from bread delivery men, teaching children in the classroom, or as onlookers in crowds). Men more often feature throughout scenes relating to military activities, physical labour and recreational activity alongside the Germans, as well as leadership of the Islands. The tapestry

[422] *The Occupation Tapestry,* Souvenir Booklet.
[423] Coleman, *Threads of History.*

both creates space for women's own interpretations of popular frames of memory, but also reaffirms much of what has already been cemented into the public history of the occupation years in the Channel Islands along gendered lines.

The panels which show the greatest contrast are those representing 'Occupation' and 'Liberation'. Colour in many ways adds an element of emotion into this memorial, and this is most apparent when comparing these two panels, representing perhaps the greatest 'high' and 'low' of the war years. While much of the rest of the occupation tapestry uses images of a darkened, cloudy sky, which often appears to be burning (with dark shades of purple, red and yellow alongside one another to create this effect, similar to those seen developing in the 'Occupation' panel) the 'Liberation' panel is set to the backdrop of a cloudless blue sky, with red, white, and blue bunting fluttering in the air. This gives the impression of the community emerging from the darkness, almost as if from under a black cloud, to a brighter future. This is clearly a deliberate technique, with the 'Occupation' panel which deals with the physical invasion of the island by German forces showing the once-blue sky fading into the background as the German soldiers come marching in, with the darkened sky taking its place behind the iconic image of a German fortification.

Figure 31: *'Occupation' Panel, The Occupation Tapestry, Jersey.*

Figure 32: *'Liberation' Panel, The Occupation Tapestry, Jersey*

Both the 'Occupation' and 'Liberation' panels are significant in that they show women engaging directly with the dominant martial figures of the invading German forces, the heroic soldier hero and the commander Churchill (who did not in fact visit the Channel Islands after the liberation, as is suggested by the scene depicted in the panel). While a man is seen painting the white cross of surrender in one scene, the centre-piece of the panel is of the occupying German forces marching over such a cross while a woman and two small children look on, almost appearing to be trampled under the soldiers' boots. A fortification site also features against the darkening sky, as another representation of the militarisation of Jersey and the power imbalance at that time. However, it is notable that it is a familiar woman and her children who are presented as the sole bystanders to the soldiers marching through, with no crowds around them to represent how busy the street was; symbolic figures of the innocent community whose lives and identities had been put on hold, and who had no more control over their land. The 'Liberation' panel is a total contrast, with huge crowds depicted and Churchill taking centre stage against the backdrop of the Union and Jersey flags. This panel is in many ways a reaffirming of the place of British war memory and Liberation Day in the popular framing of the occupation years. In fact, the 'Liberation' panel goes further to show the Union flag physically obscuring the Jersey flag. The small-print on the museum display also explains that

one of the men in the boat (featured within a rectangle on the far left of the panel) is Jersey's Bailiff Alexander Coutanche with the General Major Wulf, the islands' Kommandant, on their way to H.M.S. *Beagle* for the signing of the German surrender. Yet, it is Churchill who takes central position on this panel and who needs no introduction. In fact, Coutanche's liberation speech is not referenced, and his single inclusion in the 'Liberation' panel occurs within a small frame, almost as if deliberately separated from the main story of British triumph being told by the panel. This is significant for two reasons: firstly, because it offers greater prominence to the British wartime leader than to Jersey's own occupation-era leader, almost as if Churchill has been adopted as the islands' symbolic wartime leader. Secondly, because it shows just how much the events of 8 May and 9 May have become connected in the popular memory of the liberation, to the point that Churchill's V.E. Day speech is now seen to be a key moment in the liberation itself, to a greater extent than Coutanche's confirming of the surrender of German forces or even his own speech. These two panels also present another striking contrast; showing both the recognisable image of Islander freedom as the triumphant British 'Tommies' are observed raising the Union flag on the Pomme d'Or Hotel, but also the reverse image on the left-hand side of the panel which sees German prisoners of war being shipped out to prison camps in England. This evacuation of German prisoners of war did not actually begin until 13 May 1945, when the original black and white photograph of that scene was taken, but the purpose is to offer an emotive contrast to the reclaiming of British identity, freedom and prestige. The historical accuracy of the 'Liberation' panel does not matter so much as the emotion and symbolism behind it. It offers a fitting climax to the Occupation Tapestry's 'storyline' of endurance and patriotism, and speaks to a recognisable language of Liberation Day, with many recognisable stories and images included. Those elements that are marginalised are not any less significant historically and, arguably, are sometimes more important to the history of the liberation than other better remembered events. However, they

simply do not have the same emotional or symbolic resonance with the general population and so have not maintained a central role within popular memory as time has passed. Perhaps most notably, women are also obscured by Churchill and the British soldier heroes in this 'Liberation' panel, with the few women included in this scene of the tapestry having their faces mostly turned from view as they gaze at the Pomme d'Or Hotel or hug children close. In fact, the most prominent female figure in the 'Liberation' panel is seen to be wearing the same hat and coat as is seen on the sole woman on the 'Occupation' panel, thus acting as a symbolic bystander to both the horrors of defeat where she was shown as being effectively 'under the Nazi heel', before having her story concluded by gazing at the heroic, liberating British 'Tommies' in the 'Liberation' panel. Whereas she had held a young boy in the 'Occupation' panel as she gazed out at the marching occupying soldiers, now she is seen embracing a teenage girl (the girl also wearing the same red coat as seen in the previous panel) at the liberation. The woman is in each of these scenes looking to these fighting men, friend and foe, with the future of her family in her hands, while the men are representative of something else; freedom lost and found through flags, uniforms and weapons of war. The representation of freedom and victory over Nazism in the Channel Islands remains inherently a celebration of British martial masculinity at its core, with the selection of this public liberation scene (rather than any other, such as in the home) a testament to the dominance of the liberation narrative and its soldier heroes in framing the story of the occupation years. Yet, at the same time, the surrender and isolation of the occupation itself weighs heavily in the 'Occupation' panel, as a reminder of the values and fighting spirit that could have been lost if not for their 'Tommies' returning to make the islands victorious in their Britishness once again.

Since its original unveiling, The Occupation Tapestry has become significant enough that it was even extended to include an additional panel, with Jersey Heritage commissioning this

new project as part of the 70th Anniversary of the Liberation in 2015.[424] The final embroidered panel is interesting in that it now explicitly commemorates other established rituals and monuments, making these a part of the occupation story too, while drawing a clear connection with the next generation through the reference to young people taking a 'selfie' at Liberation Day. This further entrenches the commemoration of original frames of memory rather than seeking to challenge them, or enabling women to reframe the occupation narrative to fit their own individual wartime experiences. The focus on the Liberation ritual and Liberation monument, as well as the Lighthouse monument to those deported from Jersey, and the Slave Worker's Memorial, ensures that this panel is simply further stabilising the popularised memories which framed the original tapestry. While it acknowledges marginalised groups such as the forced workers and deportees, it does this through monuments which have been constructed by Islanders rather than through their own words. Meanwhile, the Liberation monument remains at the forefront of the panel to displace the counter-narratives associated with the history of deportation and slave labour in the Channel Islands, and to reaffirm the unifying themes of victory, liberation, and British war memory. However, the women-led nature of the project is still central to the identity of the tapestry, with the *Jersey Evening Post* sharing a photo of the panel with its female creators and declaring that the final stitch was done by the Lieutenant-Governor's wife, Lady McColl, having taken '100 volunteers 11 months and 3,790¼ hours to complete'.[425] Women have, therefore, been a key part of stabilising existing dominant frames of occupation memory, even around the figure of the soldier hero, as the panels that they have worked tirelessly to create still leave little room for new interpretation, instead offering a mirror to existing commemoration and popular narratives. The same

[424] 'New Occupation Tapestry Panel on Tour' *Jersey Evening Post,* 7 June 2015 http://jerseyeveningpost.com/community/2015/06/07/community-news-round-up-fundraisers-ready-to-take-on-the-peaks-and-occupation-tapestry-panel-going-on-tour/ [Accessed: 2 November 2017].
[425] 'A stitch just in time for the Liberation Day celebrations' *Jersey Evening Post,* 7 May 2016 http://jerseyeveningpost.com/news/2016/05/07/a-stitch-just-in-time-for-the-liberation-day-celebrations/#AP71sJoM06cprW2m.99 [Accessed: 02/11/16].

recognisable militaristic spaces and heroic figures have been reinforced as central to the occupation story, with women still more often portrayed as the 'bystander' or incorporated into existing male-dominated frames of memory, rather than promoting new voices and stories in this women-led space.

Figure 33: *Jersey Evening Post* description of new panel: 'The panel…depicts how Islanders continue to remember the victims of Nazism, acts of heroism and the events of Liberation itself'[426]

Disseminating Women's War Stories

It is also important to acknowledge another local space that has been central to the preservation of women's memories of the occupation years since the 1990s; the archive. Domestic spaces were also crucial in the preservation and retelling of family stories up until archives became more accessible in the Channel Islands, sometimes ensuring that such accounts survived to be made public by younger generations (or the author themselves) in later years. Far fewer women took the path of publishing their occupation stories in the immediate postwar period. Instead,

[426] Ibid.

a feature of early occupation diary accounts that were published by women is how many had instead been written to family members as long letters in the first instance, and only shared publicly after decades of remaining within the family. For this reason, these accounts are still being discovered by the wider local population through the family members' of deceased (and sometimes still living) Islanders who experienced the occupation, and sometimes feature as local news when made public, such as when Gert Corbin's diaries were uncovered in 1991, described in the *Guernsey Press* newspaper as 'a housewife's view of the war'.[427] Corbin was noted as having been 'second wife of Thomas Corbin, of Les Cambrees, St Peter's' who 'wrote every month, giving general information as near to the truth as she could get, and also domestic and social facts' with the article being dedicated to recounting an abridged version of her diary entries, as selected by Guernsey historian, Herbert Winterflood.[428] Guernsey's Dorothy Pickard Higgs, Guernsey's K.M. Bachmann, and Sark's Julia Tremayne published three of the first diary accounts by adult women after the occupation concluded, both written for and about family members, intended for a family audience when first recorded, and marketed in this way as a story of family survival under occupation. Jersey's Alice Flavelle also provides an example of an unpublished diary which was nevertheless later shared within both Jersey Archive and Societe Jersiaise, but had originally been written as dated letters to Alice's sister in Australia, Mrs Leonard, during the five years of occupation. Dorothy Pickard Higg's diary was originally constructed as a series of letters to her sister, Phyllis (residing in England during the Second World War) before gradually taking on the form of a diary and being published as such in 1947. K.M. Bachmann's diary had similarly been written as a long diary-format letter to her evacuated mother (residing in England during the Second World War) while also addressing her evacuated daughter, while Julia Tremayne's diary had been written for her youngest

[427] Herbert Winterflood, 'Occupation Diary Records Many Facts That Have Been Long Forgotten: A Housewife's View of the War' *Guernsey Press*, 9 May 1991. p.5.
[428] Ibid.

daughter, who was also living in England during the war years. This is even more remarkable given the fact that none of these letters could actually be sent during the war years as sending letters was restricted, and so these women maintained their letter writing throughout the occupation without knowing if their family members would ever be the ones to read their stories and recollections. However, this does correspond with previous studies about women's writing during wartime being a space through which to navigate trauma, separation, shifting and sometimes conflicting identities, and even as an ambiguous response to male war stories when women's accounts are perceived to be 'less exciting'.[429] Women's writing, and women's consumption of the writing of other women, helped to identify -for each individual- what their role as a citizen was in wartime, and helped many to navigate additional wartime roles in a way which aligned with their own understanding of feminine duty.[430] In her analysis of British women's writing in the Second World War, Gill Plain has also contended that the choice made by some women to turn away from a 'direct representation' of war in their writing does not mean that it was any less influenced by war, but that the decision to write at this time must in fact be seen as an act of 'resistance and release' by women.[431] This is because even when describing domesticity or talking of familial relationships, women that wrote down their war stories for any audience were themselves acknowledging that war touched the domestic and the feminine, something which was radical in itself as required an acceptance that war was 'beyond assimilation'.[432] Similarly, Julie Summers has discussed the role of letter writing for women dealing with wartime separation (and the return) of lovers and family, arguing that those women who did not have official organisations to turn to for support during the war years could instead write letters as a way of making sense of a changing society and familial

[429] Sharon Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women* (London, 1994) p.36. Also, Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives.*
[430] Ibid, pp.7-131.
[431] Gill Plain, 'Women's Writing in the Second World War' in Maroula Joannou (ed.), *The History of British Women's Writing, 1920-1945* (Basingstoke, 2012) p.233.
[432] Ibid, p.247.

relationships.[433] Sharing thoughts and emotions with family members through letter writing could help with readjustment and a renewed understanding of one another after the war was over, when people had been altered by their war experiences and by years of separation that had weighed on their minds.[434] Making sense of defeat was also no less significant when considering why women might structure their accounts of occupation in particular ways, with Nicole Ann Dombrowski's study of women's stories of the Second World War German invasion of France showing how correct conduct could be codified in women's war stories according to 'selfishness' and 'solidarity'.[435] Dombrowski explores this through a narrative of a young girl, Jackie, searching for a lost family member (in this case, Jackie's grandmother), and her descriptions of communal sharing of information, food, and shelter with others during Jackie and her mother's perilous journey; all helping to redefine what good citizenship was at this point of defeat and danger, through the trials and commitment of this close family of women.[436] Dombrowski also argues that had this story been told by a boy then it might have focused more on military matters, but instead it had been constructed in such a way as to offer a very different insight into the central values and shifting identities of people shattered by war, through these women's familial and community relationships, and interconnected concepts of wartime solidarity.[437] Irina Rebrova, in her gender analysis of Russian women's stories of war, similarly argues that women more often name their friends and family members as the main actors in their war stories.[438] Women's accounts are shown to be rooted in family and in their everyday life, rather than seeking to become part of a larger master narrative of the war: 'thus,

---

[433] Julie Summers, *Stranger in the House: Women's Stories of Men Returning from the Second World War* (London, 2008) pp.15-20.
[434] Ibid, p.21.
[435] Nicole Ann Dombrowski, 'Surviving the German Invasion of France: Women's Stories of the Exodus of 1940' in Nicole Ann Dombrowski (ed.), *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with or Without Consent* (New York, 1999) p.122.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid, p.134.
[438] Irina Rebrova, 'Russian Women about the War: A Gender Analysis of Ego-Documents' in Maren Roger, Ruth Leiserowitz (eds), *Women and Men at War: A Gender Perspective on World War II and its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe* (Gottingen, 2012) pp.272, 280.

the individual pronoun "I" in the women's memories dissolves into collective "we".'[439] Men would more commonly build up a picture of their own role in the eventual victory and in military missions, before their accounts were polished further as they were first to be published and standardized according to the official version of events.[440] Both women and men are seen to seek out what they felt their strengths were in war in order to tell their story, although women are perceived as being more 'modest' as focused on the 'everyday' while men instinctively saw themselves as part of a wider military picture (and impacting the waging of the war itself, by extension).[441] It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that women in the Channel Islands addressed their war records to female family members, who had themselves experienced a similar horror and separation of war in different areas of the British Isles, rather than beginning their diaries as authoritative accounts of war events for a wider audience. Theirs is a personal account of the war, focused on everyday matters, conflicts, and familial concerns, rather than seeking to present an account of martial glory or masculine adventure. That so many women's early public accounts of the occupation years started out as letters to other female relatives, before transforming into a five-year record of events that more closely resembled a diary, is therefore important in its own right. It suggests that while men recorded their stories and war trophies for their male friends, the wider community, and to sell to the British market; women constructed their accounts in a very different way. Women are particularly open to discussing their feelings of loss and fear due to separation from family members in these records, as well as food shortages and a lack of security within the home, as they are writing for a different audience and with different frames of reference in terms of wartime expectations. It is therefore important to remember that these accounts were first private letters within families, constructed and shared within private spaces, and to consider why it is that women would write to their

[439] Ibid, p.280.
[440] Ibid, pp.272-280
[441] Ibid, p.273, 280

female relatives at a time when such letters could not be sent, and then continue to retain such letters through the decades as an incidental diary of events.

The involvement of subsequent generations of the family in some of these accounts being made public also reinforces that these are precious family stories as well as accounts of the occupation by the author, and that this is a significant element to these stories having been recorded and preserved in the first place, as well as some eventually being made available in public spaces. This is an important difference between the framing and publication of women's and men's accounts of occupation in the Channel Islands. It ensured that while all accounts are valued and analysed in the islands, that men's accounts are often used to determine 'fact' on local military history within museums and spaces of war memory, while women's accounts are more often used to present snapshots of emotion, nostalgia and the 'personal' impact of the occupation on Islander families as a whole. Margaretta Jolly makes the point that female letter-writing has a history and has often proven central to the mother-daughter educational and intimate relationship, as 'letters have long expressed the idea that mothers have a particular legacy to give to their daughters, that daughters have a particular duty to their mothers, and that this exchange must be maintained even when the daughter leaves home.'[442] In this way, it could be argued that while men used spaces of war to construct a usable narrative of reclaimed masculinity and military prestige; women constructed their usable narrative within the home to reclaim their lost familial connections and, for many women, this crucial maintaining of a powerful feminine solidarity and identity that transcended war. By continuing to write to their female relatives they were not 'leaving them behind' and continued to think about their shared values even as the world changed around them as a result of the war.

[442] Margaretta Jolly, *In Love and Struggle: Letters in Contemporary Feminism* (New York, 2010) p.100.

Alice Flavelle's unpublished wartime diary, written as a long, dated letter to her sister, Mrs Leonard, and eventually sent to her sister in Australia after the war, makes clear the emotional importance of disrupted and lost social networks during the occupation years, largely a result of the evacuation of large numbers of women and children:

> 'I am much cut off from some of my friends which is a pity as so many of them left in the evacuation. Luckily the few who are reasonably near make frequent calls and bring in news, often hearsay and conjecture, but it adds a little zest to this backwater of waiting.'[443]

Additionally, the issue of accessing food for herself and the wider community are recurring themes in Alice's account, which was written for close relatives and friends and not intended as a record of the war itself, with Alice clearly concerned that writing about the war was risky:

> '…but I must not write war news for one never knows into whose hands this might fall since the Gestapo are here now. …But I am talking too much of the war and you know by the time this reaches you – if ever it does – the whole story. As yet we can only hope.'[444]

This focus on food is in itself political at times, with Alice writing that her 'chief anxiety' was 'the food problem', and focusing upon the Jersey government in particular as having 'muddled and spoiled everything it touches….the milk more than anything'.[445] Later in her diary, Alice grows angry after being short-changed in compensation for her requisitioned car, but again blames the Jersey government rather than the Germans for her hardship, before going on to discuss the growing food shortages:

---

[443] Flavelle, unpublished diary. p.3.
[444] Ibid, p.4, p.7.
[445] Ibid, p.6.

> ‘Of course they blamed Jerry but we feel our Govt. lets us down and the state will have to be wiped clean after the war. …The poor people are much underfed and those of us who play the game but make the best of things are underfed…but those in power go short of very little and help themselves freely. But I refrain from politics. This is simply the private story of an old woman and how we make the best of things.’[446]

Reflecting upon her written record of the war on 17 June 1945, over a month since the Liberation occurred, Alice muses that she had ‘forgotten how often I was ill…the food question seems to take up all the space but it needed all ones energies and I look back on it all and feel that my people were better fed than most’ as well as explaining that she ended recording her experiences ‘when the Gestapo got too dangerous’.[447] Alice’s last sentence again focuses upon both the German soldiers and domestic troubles, explaining that she ‘must stop writing now. Most of the Germans are gone and we are trying to get houses in order.’[448]

Throughout her account, Alice is clearly torn between wanting to record her experiences for her relatives and friends, to connect with the outside world in some small way (‘We are still isolated. No letters. No papers. The only thing is to concentrate on one’s daily routine since one cannot get in touch with the world outside’),[449] and the reality of living in fear of military occupation where German soldiers could discover her written records and punish her, as they had already deported some of her friends.[450] This sense of fear of the militarisation of Jersey is clearly illustrated in her writing about listening to fighter planes over the Channel one night: ‘The planes disturb ones equanimity and its curious how one tries to shrink into oneself to make oneself smaller while they are overhead’.[451] The diary is rather disjointed and does not

[446] Ibid, pp.19-20.
[447] Ibid, pp.47-48.
[448] Ibid, p.48.
[449] Ibid, p.9.
[450] Ibid, p.42.
[451] Ibid, p.4.

follow a daily pattern due to the author's fears of being discovered writing about the war, and so highlights that while there was a desire within some women to write down their war stories for family members, that there was a feeling of transgressing into the dangers of the war front by engaging in such an act of 'resistance' which in turn could prevent them from being published outside of a public archive after the war, due to their incomplete and partial nature. Yet this way of writing is important to understanding women's narratives of occupation, and their enduring sense of needing to connect with family, and to have an outlet for pain, loss, anger, and fear about the war which it was felt could not be expressed openly during that period when Islanders were faced daily with the occupying forces.

In 1979, *Women's Realm* magazine ran a five-week serialisation of Julia Tremayne's diary detailing the occupation of Sark, with Julia Tremayne having passed away thirteen years previously and permission to publish the diaries granted by the diary's guardian, her granddaughter, Suzanne Franks. It would later go on to be published in book form in 1981, under the title of: *War on Sark: The Secret Letters of Julia Tremayne.*[452] The *Women's Realm* short introduction to the diary also makes clear how unlikely its creation and survival was, referring to Tremayne as a 'indomitable old lady' for daring to write about her day-to-day experiences at a time when doing so was considered risky and while the Germans were occupying the island.[453] In fact, her daughter, Norah, who remained on Sark with her throughout the occupation years, is said to have 'constantly asked her to destroy her writings'.[454] The diary itself is written in letter form to her youngest daughter, Betty, who was living in England at the time of the occupation, and so was clearly intended to be shared between mother and daughter at the conclusion of the war when sending and discussing such

[452] Julia Tremayne, *War on Sark: The Secret Letters of Julia Tremayne* (Exeter, 1981).
[453] Ibid, p.28.
[454] Ibid.

information would be possible.[455] This interaction between three generations of women about this diary is particularly important, as shows that even if this diary had never been intended for a public audience, it nonetheless was a central point of communication and tension for the women in this family as they used it to make sense of the occupation. This occurred during the occupation years themselves, in the years immediately following the liberation, and even to the present day with Julia's granddaughter valuing its importance highly enough to see it published in a magazine targeted at other women thirty-four years after the liberation.

Similarly, in the second published account of Molly Bihet's memories of the occupation, she discusses the reception to her own previous book of published occupation memories, pointing out that:

> 'I have lost count of the letters I have received thanking me for writing down in simple terms what family life was really like during those dark days of German occupation. It has been rewarding hearing from so many people who I look upon as friends and so many old acquaintances and old school friends who have taken the time to write. Many had left Guernsey shores and had written from the mainland and from all over the world. All just wanted to write and usually finished their letters with "Do hope your mother is well". Even through my small book, her character shone through and so many admired how she coped and looked after the family of nine with such shortages. Because of the respect and love I had for my mother and father, I have never forgotten the anxious and worrying times they had to face from 1940 to 1945 and can always remember my mother telling our mainland guests who stayed with us, that one day she would write down her own experiences of that period and write her story. As time went by, she lost the enthusiasm I expect and it was about ten or twelve years ago that I started putting

[455] Ibid.

> pen to paper and also told my guests that one day, "I'll see my book in print," and they all agreed it should be done. It was not until early in 1985 when the fortieth anniversary of our Liberation was looming and the celebrations and thoughts were in everyone's minds that I decided it was now or never.'[456]

Bihet is not simply writing down her own occupation memories, but ensuring that her mother's spirit and experiences are captured for posterity and acknowledged by the local community. Writing did not come easy to Bihet either, but she persevered after being reminded of the historic significance of the occupation years by the anniversary of the most prominent and long-standing ritual to commemorate the liberation of the islands. This suggests that she felt that the story of herself and her family was not yet fully represented by the official commemoration, and that she had a role to play in filling this void. This is not dissimilar to the urgency felt in K. M. Bachmann's letters to her mother during the occupation years, or her decision to publish them in later life with artistic contributions from her own daughter.[457] Both Bachmann and Bihet seem to frame their own narratives of the occupation around their mother's actions and remembered character. They show a strong desire to preserve family conversations and to make sense of memories relating to their family, their home (particularly as it was under threat during these five years), and their place within their family and their community both during the war and since that time.

K.M. Bachmann's *The Prey of an Eagle: A Personal Record of Family Life Written Throughout the German Occupation of Guernsey 1940-1945* was, thus, also written for a narrow family audience, with her account constructed as a series of letters all addressed to her mother, Minnie, following Minnie's decision to evacuate the island of Guernsey suddenly without having informed the rest of the family of her decision.[458] Bachmann's young daughter,

---

[456] Molly Bihet, *Reflections of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1993) pp.1-2.
[457] Bachmann, *The Prey of an Eagle*.
[458] Ibid.

Diana, who was 8 years old in 1940, was also evacuated to England, while Bachmann herself remained on the island with her husband, Peter. They would go on to have another child during the course of the war, who they named Peter John. Bachmann's daughter, Diana, would later provide sketches and the cover design for the published version of the book. The resulting publication is in many ways an intergenerational conversation between three generations of mothers and their daughters who experienced the war in different places and circumstances, without being able to converse with one another (other than a few lines on a Red Cross postcard every few months for five years), as well as detailing Bachmann's day-to-day experiences of the occupation years. Bachmann's *The Prey of an Eagle* thus shows a continuation of women publishing their war letters as diaries, with this case interconnecting three generations of women from the same family in understanding and transmitting their shared history. Bachmann's given name remains obscured in the published account, blurring the importance of her own identity and instead reinforcing the universal theme of 'family' and the 'personal' nature of the testimony through its title. Interestingly, in an additional section within the published book Bachmann lists a 'cast' of family and friends who would be mentioned in the course of her account of the occupation, although no further historical context of the war or occupation is given, almost as if this were a family drama, rather than a war story. This helps to frame the account in such a way as to emphasise the author's family relationships rather than the war front that she inhabited.

Bachmann uses writing as a way to keep open an imagined conversation and connection with her absent relatives above all else, and refers to her mother as: 'my abiding Inspiration for these letters' while describing her separation from her mother and daughter as 'a virtual mass bereavement…I felt a compulsive urge to keep in spiritual contact by the only means left me'.[459] Bachmann explains that after the liberation she was too busy writing lengthy letters to

[459] Ibid, p.230, vi.

a range of relatives for the first time in five years to record these liberation events in the way that most people seemed to expect, upon reading her account in the postwar period.[460] Instead, Bachmann explains that she continued her postwar thoughts in subsequent unpublished letters rather than as part of the longer account that she had been recording throughout the occupation years, with the now-published record specifically presenting the stories that she had intended for her mother, rather than anyone else.[461] This again shows the focus upon family story-telling and connection rather than creating a seamless account of war, or one to appeal to a universal audience. It is clear that Bachmann's story-telling and recording of her experiences and memories of the occupation are intrinsically tied to her imagined role within the community as a devoted daughter, wife, and mother who wrote for her own emotional wellbeing, and for her closed, private family audience. The narrative that she constructs reflects this central element of her wartime identity through its focus upon these figures and themes, at the expense of this being viewed as an 'authoritative' and 'factual' account of iconic occupation events by others within the community who were comparing her framing of those years to dominant narratives that had already been popularised through earlier published accounts and conversations about the occupation.[462]

Similarly, the first time that Bachmann hesitates over her role recording her family's experiences of the occupation years is when on 8 March 1944, her husband, Peter's, brother and sister-in-law (Emil and Elsie) who had been deported from the Channel Islands during the course of the war, were interned abroad and began writing home to relay their own experiences thus far. Interned deportees were permitted to send and receive full-length letters from the Channel Islands, unlike evacuees living in the United Kingdom or soldiers fighting abroad. Bachmann details Emil and Elsie's correspondence to her mother through the diary, explaining

[460] Ibid, pp.230-231.
[461] Ibid.
[462] Ibid, p.vi.

how she offered for her husband Peter to take over writing duties from that point forward, as the war front became an increasingly present concern within the family home:

> 'Emil wrote that as soon as Elsie caught sight of him behind the wire she broke ranks and flung herself upon him in paroxysms of joy. For their part they must have felt the war was over. Nothing else mattered, and you may imagine how happy we were on reading Emil's news. He reads all Peter's letters aloud and, I must say, Peter is adept at giving them universal news. We live in an age of 'cloaking and dissembling' as the Book of Common Prayer will have it. I often tell Peter that he should be doing this task, whose pen is abler than mine but he will have none of it and wants me to continue.'[463]

This section is informative in showing the different roles taken on by Bachmann and her husband during the war, in terms of recording the occupation experience and in letter writing to family members in such a way as to cryptically pass on news. Peter is shown taking on the writing role which is perceived as being more 'skilled' and part of the war effort, by surreptitiously getting news to his brother on the continent which might then be passed on to others involved in the war effort. Bachmann, meanwhile, is tasked with writing a private account of domestic and family experiences of the occupation which would only be shared with family immediately after the war was over (and would not be published more widely for decades). Yet, Bachmann questions how 'able' she is to do their experience justice when she perceives Peter to be a more competent war writer, and suggests that she might have given this written account of the occupation over to Peter at this late stage if he had wished it. This presents an interesting dynamic, whereby, this husband and wife had separate roles when it came to writing their war experiences, and in perceptions of the value and skill involved in this writing by the author of this account, yet came together to read letters from loved ones before

[463] Bachmann, *The Prey of an Eagle*, p.170.

taking on the respective duties. This again suggests that men and women not only recorded their war stories in different ways, but that they also disseminated them in different ways and to different audiences, to be read in very different spaces and circumstances.

Another key element of Bachmann's account is how her version of good citizenship is displayed through her sacrifice of her own comfort to secure her daughter's safety, and her enduring connection with both her daughter and her mother as she continues to 'converse' with them. She also fiercely protects her mother's house and belongings against the threat of it being billeted by the Germans, rotating people to check on and live in it, and explaining her efforts to her mother in her diary.[464] Similarly, when it comes to Bachmann's understanding of good conduct when faced with the enemy, she again explains this in a way which connects directly with her role as a mother in wartime. Her protection and teaching of Peter John (her son) is symbolic of the role that women were expected to fulfil within a warring society as guardians of Britishness and morality:

> 'One day last week when I was rambling in these parts with junior, we looked up from picking wild flowers to behold a German soldier standing a few paces away. Peter, always ready for a new thrill, eagerly rushed into his out-stretched arms as though he were a long lost uncle. Imagine my dilemma with or without the possible raised eyebrows in upper windows along our lane! There was our little renegade fingering the German epaulettes and hat displaying the Eagle of the Third Reich as though, here at last, was a completely new diversion exactly to his taste. The German, his broad smile revealing his gold-filled teeth, looked for all the world as though ready to include me in his fond embrace. Now I long ago discovered that cheap heroics only let down those who display them, whilst doing nothing to enhance the prestige of one's country, and

[464] Ibid.

> so with, I thought, an admirable mixture of good nature, firmness and aplomb, I said to Peter John: "Say Good-afternoon"; which he did. I then said: "Now say Goodbye" which he also did, somewhat reluctantly. This done, the German took the hint, put him gently down and, clicking his heels, Heiled Hitler and departed, seemingly unoffended and quite unabashed. I was satisfied that honour had been served on both sides for, after all, let us give tribute where it is due, I was also satisfied that in case of possible witnesses, only the most gossip-starved could have made anything of the incident. The slightest sign of encouragement and the German would have accompanied us back home and probably become a frequent visitor: we should then have certainly been branded as fraternizers, if not actual collaborators, which we decidedly are not. Needless to say, like a dutiful wife, I told my husband of this encounter. His only comment was: "The poor devil--- he is probably missing his own youngsters." Our son was far more voluble as he described his great adventure to Peter and Nan. To think that he had seen these men all this time, never have spoken to one at all, suddenly to find himself in the arms of a German---'Oy' was just terrific. The reason why he calls them 'Oys' (pronounced 'Boys' without the 'B') is as obscure to us as it will be to you.'[465]

The sentence about 'cheap heroics' suggests that her own actions were in fact a more subtle but enduring kind of resistance which did not risk infringing upon her society's expectations of individuals in such a situation, to avoid dishonouring or endangering the wider community. Bachmann's description shows both the way in which she sees her own actions during the occupation, as a British Guernseywoman and as a mother, and how she fears others within the community might see her. By detailing this encounter with a German soldier alongside her young son, she is displaying how she as a mother guided him to actions which were more

[465] Ibid, pp.157-159.

within the ‘acceptable’ boundaries of wartime interactions. At the same time, she is explaining how she, as a patriotic woman, preserved her and her family’s honour by being polite but dismissive of the enemy, and ensuring that the interaction did not become anything that her neighbours or husband might find dishonourable or inappropriate. In this way, Bachmann uses this interaction as a device to reinforce her credentials as a committed and patriotic member of the local community, as well as a ‘dutiful wife’ and careful mother who ensures that good moral values are observed by those around her. The concluding section about her son calling the German soldier ‘Oy’ (‘Boy’ without the ‘B’) shows Bachmann’s own interpretation of her son’s words following on from his experience. While he was at first enamoured with the experience of meeting a uniformed soldier, Peter John is now describing the soldier as a ‘Boy’ and not a man; an innocent diversion for a young child rather than an authoritative soldier figure to emulate. Bachmann’s husband, Peter, meanwhile chooses to pity the enemy for not being with his own son and instead coveting the son that Peter has, in a way showing that while the enemy soldier may appear powerful, that he is also just a man, and the one who is truly at a loss from the war years due to separation from family. This section of text remained significant enough to the author and her family that before publication Bachmann’s daughter, Diana, drew a sketch of her young brother meeting this German soldier, which is itself included next to the text in the published version of the diary. Interestingly, Bachmann herself is not present in the sketch alongside the German soldier and Peter John, while her words which surround the image fully explore the emotional implications of this meeting for her and how this moment was symbolic of her own careful fight to maintain her identity and honour during the occupation years. This in itself shows a certain intergenerational reinterpretation of this memory and the continued importance of this scene in the family narrative of occupation for these two women, which itself had originally been recounted to be read by the author’s mother. Considering that encounters between Germans and Islanders were daily or weekly occurrences

much of the time, it is perhaps the underlying considerations about citizenship and the value of family which have ensured that this memory was recorded, and subsequently revisited to be made into a piece of art by the next generation of women in this family. This account shows how Bachmann agonised over the 'correct' way to act in a variety of circumstances. This can be seen when she decided to have her daughter evacuated to the United Kingdom in 1940, in how she chose to record some events over others (and the language that she used when doing so, as well as her maintaining a written record of war at all to explain complex decisions and emotions to family members). Underpinning many of Bachmann's descriptions is anxiety about how best to interact with German occupying forces and how to preserve her family homes (both her own and her mother's) from them.

Wartime and postwar concerns about being perceived as a 'good citizen' also turn up in other unrelated reports about the wartime health and diet of the general population of Jersey, compiled in the immediate postwar period.[466] It had become apparent to the Medical Officer of Health in Jersey that few Islanders were willing to disclose how they had maintained the health of their family under the system of rationing. Commissioned by the Jersey States at liberation (but published in 1946), the 'Survey of the Effects of the Occupation on the Health of the People of Jersey'[467] details the difficulties encountered when seeking personal or morally problematic occupation-era information from citizens:

> 'It was originally intended to have a far greater selection of these, but they proved very difficult to obtain. Almost everybody seemed to have some source of food which they thought was illegal, and so refused to give full details of their dietaries, even though they were approached by people who held no official position, and assured that they

[466] R.N. McKinstry O.B.E., M.D., D.P.H., Medical Officer of Health in the States of Jersey, 'Survey of the Effects of the Occupation on the Health of the People of Jersey' (Jersey Library, Jersey) Catalogue number: J 942 34084 M0005772JE / Jo4 7 P7/2.
[467] Ibid.

> would remain anonymous and that I was in no way interested in their "black market" activities.'[468]

Nevertheless, the report makes use of German records to piece together the impact of the occupation on the health of the population. It found that while there was no mass starvation and most people found ways to supplement their diet where necessary (especially if they were friends with local farmers):

> 'during the winters of 1941-1942 and 1942-1943, there were a few people whose dietaries probably fell below these figures to points between 1,500 and 2,000 calories. These cases were mainly amongst the elderly people living alone and amongst mothers who sacrificed their own food for their children or husbands.'[469]

This shows that on a topic as important as rationing and health, there were very different experiences of the occupation which were impacted by gender, age, and ease of access to a wider social network within the community. This unwillingness to talk about diet and health in the postwar period obscures a central element of the occupation experience for those who did face particular hardship within these social groups; notably mothers and the elderly living alone, due to a fear of being seen as a 'bad' citizen. Food was political in wartime, and Islander mothers in particular shouldered the double burden of appearing morally correct in public (both in terms of their interactions with German soldiers and the black market), while also sacrificing to preserve the domestic space and necessary provisions at home. However, such memories are themselves so tangled up in the tensions surrounding correct conduct and morality that it is difficult to assess the full impact of the war on women and the family at home, with private

[468] Ibid, p.34.
[469] Ibid, p.12.

diaries themselves offering us a further glimpse into why women may have recorded their war stories and sacrifices in different ways and (sometimes) for very different audiences.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the importance of various spaces of memory in the postwar Channel Islands, and explored how spaces and objects have been used to construct a popular narrative of the occupation years, often along gendered lines. It has addressed the ways that war stories have been told and reframed through the reclaiming of contested spaces and objects; defusing the tension inherent in having such painful reminders of wartime subjugation rooted in the landscape and scattered around the islands.

One example of this was the way in which German military sites and war trophies were collected and explored by young Islander men in the postwar period, and then preserved for posterity to retell and popularise heroic war stories. As was explored in this chapter, this was, in many respects, an act of reasserting control over the body of the defeated enemy soldier. While women have largely been excluded or self-excluded from these public activities, they have had a central role in the passing down of war stories and ephemeral memories between family members from within the home, principally by writing to their female relatives abroad in place of the letters that could not be sent.

This chapter has also shown how the destruction of German military sites and objects could act as a form of retribution when trials were not forthcoming, and initially led to a period of erasure as the community sought to grapple with deep fractures and difficult memories. However, by the 1960s, when it became clear that Islanders could never fully erase these imposing features of the German military occupation, they had begun to be refashioned into symbols of Islander fortitude rather than being allowed to exist unopposed as symbols of defeat. This was largely due to the efforts of local men giving these spaces and objects new

meaning. The public dissemination and collective discussion about these men's collected war trophies, and shared stories within these reclaimed spaces, made clear their imagined victory over their German occupiers, and connection to the British experience of the Second World War. By the 1980s, these spaces and objects were considered to be Islander heritage rather than 'scars on the landscape', showing the transition from symbols of shared trauma, to defining reminders of victory, fortitude and heroism.

Collecting objects of war also tied boyhood adventuring with the reclaiming of these emotive symbols of German military power, ensuring a direct connection with the British victory over the enemy forces who had been forced to lay down their arms. Islander men and boys could be a part of the British war effort by claiming these defeated enemy spaces and trophies to construct usable stories of the occupation, associating them with victory and renewed power rather than with their own defeat. Instead of remembering shared trauma, this process, again, reasserted the romanticised image of modern warfare and found a place for Islander men within a shared British victory. Crucially, this also asserted the image of the soldier hero as being the optimum model of British-Islander masculinity.

The passivity of the German soldier's body within Occupation Museum displays similarly ensured that any 'good turns' done for these soldiers were shown not to amount to collaboration. Instead, they were presented as being an act of co-operation, and of hospitality, to aid these hapless young men who were far from home; much as if they were visitors, not invaders. This, again, built upon the acceptable story of the occupation rather than leaving unanswered outsider critiques of Islander collaboration. More militarised representations of the German soldier within Occupation Museums had a similar role; this time to enforce an opposite image to that of the liberating British 'Tommy', rendering the German soldier both powerless within the reclaimed and liberated space, and imagining him as a formidable foe who was nonetheless no match for the British soldier hero. Forging this connection was essential to the

establishment of the ‘Churchillian Paradigm’, restoring unity and masculine pride in the Channel Islands by drawing direct connections between the symbols of their occupation and that of righteous British victory over German forces.

As has been discussed, commemorating the domestic space within Occupation Museums yielded very different results; representing good feminine citizenship as being untouched by the German soldiers outside, and instead associating this space with family. The precarity and tensions within the home under occupation were not addressed, with it rather being nostalgically presented as a space of pre-war continuity through these imagined scenes. This is in direct contrast to the portrayals of fraternisation and collaboration on separate museum displays, which depict real photographs of young, sexualised Islander women in public spaces interacting with German soldiers, again, without giving these women their own voice within the display or identifying the sources of the photographs and stories about them. Collaboration in the wartime Channel Islands has thus been presented as a gendered matter which focuses on traditional expectations of feminine morality, self-sacrifice and virtue. The image of the voiceless ‘jerry bag’ was thus positioned in opposition to that of the good woman caring for her family within the domestic space, making ‘other’ the topic of collaboration, not just in the context of womanhood, but also within the wider community.

While women have themselves become more involved with public representations of the Channel Islands’ occupation in recent years, most notably, through The Occupation Tapestry, this chapter has shown that this has mainly stabilised the accepted story and recognised symbols that had already been established by male-dominated museums, rather than disrupting this too drastically. However, The Occupation Tapestry was significant in that its ‘lead’ character was a woman throughout the tapestry, even reimagining a recognisable domestic scene from Guernsey Occupation Museum to feature this woman defying the Germans by listening to the BBC, in place of her husband. However, in most panels, this lead character is

still presented more as a bystander rather than an active participant in the war, with the Tapestry mirroring the existing popularised representations and memories of the occupation years (including the centrality of the victorious British 'Tommy' soldier hero, Churchill, and the Liberation narrative).

While the opening of archives in Jersey and Guernsey made these women's stories public, it was often their families who these stories had originally been recorded for, who preserved them, and who even contributed to the final published version of these war writings. This chapter has thus contended that while men constructed their stories through military spaces and objects to reclaim lost masculine pride and military prestige, women more often constructed their stories within the privacy of the home to reclaim a connection with distant relatives, feminine solidarity and shared values throughout their wartime separation. This enabled women to explore their place within the family and community at war, without transgressing into the arena of war itself; sometimes even stepping back from discussing military elements of the occupation experience in their diaries. These accounts were instead framed by familial relationships and women making sense of what it was to be a good citizen when faced with an enemy occupation of imposing male soldiers. While many men sought to construct authoritative accounts connecting their experiences of the occupation with that of the wider British war effort, often disseminating these stories widely as part of the shared history of the Channel Islands, women more often focused on conveying private moments and emotions to their family members, without necessarily seeing the wider historical value in their own writings or seeking out publication until many decades after the events.

This chapter has therefore examined the imposing nature of the physical reminders of the occupation years, and the fragile process of societal reconstruction using these spaces and objects. Without this, these small postwar communities would have been left in a state of perpetual 'mourning', and any unifying postwar narrative would have been undermined by the

'scars' of their shared trauma. Through these spaces, Islanders were able to construct a past that they could accept; one which aligned itself closely with the British memory of the Second World War, and which constructed an image of defiant masculinity in opposition to the German occupying soldier and hyper-masculine Nazism. While women's stories and memories have often been preserved through family networks, archives, oral testimonies and some limited publications, men's postwar collection of war trophies was a public event, particularly during the 1960s' push to open up (often male-dominated) Channel Island Occupation Societies, and to display these war trophies within a range of reconstructed German military installations. This not only heightened the currency attached to related objects, perspectives, and recollections of the occupation years, but also led to a gendering of spaces of memory.

Battling 'The Model Occupation': Love Stories, Drama and Documentary

Madeleine Bunting's, *The Model Occupation*, first published in 1995, was perhaps one of the greatest watersheds in how the Channel Islands have dealt with the occupation's legacy. The intense and protracted debate surrounding *The Model Occupation*'s oral history-led research, and Bunting's unearthing of new documents relating to foreign forced workers and the Channel Islands' Jewish population, resulted in a significant tear in the already unstable 'fabric' of dominant frames of occupation memory.[470] Bunting was a known journalist, as well as a trained historian, and the media coverage garnered by *The Model Occupation* and its content in the British media was seen to further undermine Islanders' attempts to control their own narrative, which itself relied on a positive connection with British war memory. Bunting's book ensured widespread discussion of the Holocaust and state collaboration in the context of the Channel Islands, in a way that made many in the islands increasingly uncomfortable, due to its focus on masculine impotency (being forced to work alongside or with the Germans, as well as the actions of the States in response to memorandums from the occupying authorities) and feminine sexuality. It offered the first public platform for an Islander and ex-German soldier to retell their love story in their own words, rather than having their wartime experience written by others, or simply defined by the heading of 'jerry bag'. This marked a dramatic shift in the Channel Islands' public history of the occupation years, as those engaged in writing and commemorating local occupation heritage sought new ways to reframe the difficult topic of collaboration during the war years, as new oral histories and archival documents were seen to be increasingly weaponised by UK-born 'outsiders' to inflict maximum damage upon the postwar foundations of British Islander identity, and their framing of the community's war memories. In many respects, the fact that Bunting was a journalist from the United Kingdom

[470] Bunting, *The Model Occupation.*

made the emotional impact of this publication more intense, as this itself undermined the long-standing link between the Channel Islands and British war memory. The publication of *The Model Occupation* instead saw a retelling of their war story in such a way as to highlight their own occupation's close resemblance to the wider European experience of the Second World War, including the Holocaust, rather than the image of the heroic and undefeated British people during the 'People's War'. The Channel Islands are not unique in Bunting's account, and are in many respects presented as a case study to question the dominance of the popular narrative of British exceptionalism against Nazism, rather than her seeking to undermine the islands' sense of Britishness. Yet the publication of *The Model Occupation* made it impossible to avoid aspects of the occupation which had previously been marginalised in published war stories, museums, commemorative spaces, and in liberation rituals. Bunting gave voice and agency to previously muted voices, and found archival evidence connecting the Channel Islands more closely with the Holocaust and the European experience of the Second World War, as well as the lack of recognition of, and even complicity in, wartime atrocities in the islands. In her conclusion, Bunting even goes as far as to challenge the Channel Islands to do more to commemorate those who lost their lives during the occupation years, directly undermining the existing frames of war memory in the islands by publicly declaring the erasure of certain marginalised groups and figures in postwar representations of their past:

> 'It is in their failure to remember and acknowledge those who were sacrificed to the islands' welfare that the islanders must be judged. How can they belittle the suffering of the slave labourers by denigrating their characters and dismissing them as criminals and paedophiles? How could Therese Steiner, Marianne Grunfeld and Auguste Spitz be forgotten for forty years? Why were the names of people such as Louisa Gould, Harold Le Druillenec, Marie Ozanne and Charles Machon left to fade, unrecognisable to future generations? Only when there are exhibits in all the islands' museums to these

> people, and well cared-for memorials and plaques in their memory, only when islanders talk freely about the Jews as they do about how they made tea out of bramble leaves, will they have begun to tell the whole story of the Occupation. And only then will the British people have begun to accept that the memory of the Second World War does not serve merely to reinforce the separation caused by twenty miles of water which has shaped British destiny. If Britain's national identity is to adjust to the development of European integration in the late twentieth century, so the stock of British wartime legends will have to be expanded to encompass a common European legacy of 1939-45; the history of sixty-thousand British citizens under German occupation offers a vital link to the Continental experience of the Second World War.'[471]

This chapter explores how the Channel Islands responded to this challenge by seeking the help of other UK-born 'outsiders' to give weight to the community's dominant framing of their shared history, and rallying to prevent Bunting's own account of their history from taking root in popular culture. This itself threatened the very basis of the Islander connection to wider British war memory. This chapter also shows how Islanders drew upon existing frames of memory to consolidate the image of collaboration in a more palatable form of gendered fraternisation; true love stories between Islander women and German soldiers. In fact, occupation historian Hazel Knowles-Smith comments that when there are cases of love for a German soldier, the story of female fraternisation becomes 'a very human consideration, which should be advanced to qualify what has often been represented as a shameful and unpatriotic pastime', thus, showing how historians have also accessed such stories to show that the stories of the 'jerry bags' are exaggerated or unfair.[472] However, this once again gives collaboration a female face, but this time sees a depoliticization of the narrative due to the erasure of wartime

[471] Ibid, p.336.
[472] Knowles-Smith, *The Changing Face of the Channel Islands Occupation*, p.179.

anxieties associated with the sexuality of the 'jerry bags'; redeeming these women and their stories through a focus on marriage, family and nostalgic 'true love' in a time of war. The chapter considers the early backlash to Bunting's book from prominent figures in the Channel Islands, and the communities' strong rejection of ITV's attempt to dramatize many of the themes touched upon by Bunting in their fictional television drama series, *Island at War*. It then moves onto discussing the adoption of John Nettles as a mediator between Islander and United Kingdom perceptions of the Channel Islands' war record on television and in print (particularly due to a combination of his Jersey-connected *Bergerac* fame and his existing interest in occupation history). This shift ensures that Bunting's original explosive accounts about the States' collaboration in the Holocaust, and 'jerry bags' sleeping with the enemy, no longer hold the same power in opposition to the Islander narrative of heroism, good conduct, and British patriotism. Most importantly, it ensures the consolidation of the Islander connection to British war memory in the Channel Islands. Women, meanwhile, continue to be the face of 'collaboration' (even where this is made acceptable by removing the sexual element to their story) rather than addressing the more difficult question of State and community involvement in forced labour and deportations, and their failure to fully acknowledge a past which connects them directly with European experiences of the Holocaust.

Redemption through Wartime Love Stories

The recent interest in 'forbidden' love stories is a particular focus of this chapter, as it shows how gender continues to frame memories and representations of the Channel Islands' occupation, as well as how romance can be used as a device to 'redeem' women, and by extension, the wider community. Such love stories preserve the centrality of faithful marriage as a foundation of wartime feminine citizenship, and with it, 'a public commitment to

participate in national life through the social institution of the family.'[473] This separates nostalgic representations of the feminine and masculine in war, with femininity being ever more aligned with stories of private acts of love in a variety of ways, and with public sexuality being the enemy. Meanwhile, desirable masculinity in war is presented as heroically engaged with a brotherhood of like-minded men, or through individual endurance, enhanced through the commemorative and ritualistic focus upon the imagery of Churchill and the victorious British 'Tommy'. A core element of this framing of commemoration and memory is to codify women's experiences as acts of love and preservation of the family, and men's experiences as acts of defiance for the protection of the nation within the wider militaristic framework of waging war. This in itself is a way to remove the tensions around the topics of female 'jerry bags' and the impotency of Islander men. Kate Darian-Smith argues that according to Western conventions, 'the romance narrative is composed and consumed as a female form, while traditional war stories of adventure are generally male.'[474] This is significant because it also continues the gendering of audiences and retellings of some stories, which have themselves been framed by understandings of gender, creating a situation whereby:

> 'men's war occurs in a space where women worthy of love are usually absent…romance, in contrast, situates women during war as being psychologically dependent on males, who are also typically absent, and resolves the contradictions of the female position through the social, economic, and emotional actions of these males. By selecting the genre of romance, with its recognizable literary parallels and stereotypes, the women were selecting a canon that was appropriate in cultural and gender terms, and suited the thematic concerns of their narratives.'[475]

---

[473] Kate Darian-Smith, 'Remembrance, Romance, and Nation: Memories of Wartime Australia', in Selma Leydesdorff, Luisa Passerini, Paul Thompson (eds), *Gender and Memory* (London, 2009) p.156.
[474] Ibid, p.159.
[475] Ibid.

Miranda Pollard argues that in the case of post-Liberation France, the women that society presented as their heroines were often depicted as heroines 'precisely because they transcended their "feminine" attributes of pacifism, inaction, or ignorance. Women were not recognized as heroes for surviving the war against *them*, but for enabling their families' survival'.[476] It is little wonder, then, that true love stories have proven to be increasingly compelling at a time when Islander society is seeking a broader definition of heroism in the 21st century, to delimit outsider debates about collaboration. However, these stories in fact intensify the way in which society views women's war experiences through this prism of self-sacrifice and devotion to ones' family; giving collaboration an acceptable face as part of one's national duty in some respects. If sexual fraternisation was perceived as a dangerous and selfish way of passively submitting to the enemy for personal gain, then 'true love' provides the antidote to this by giving an acceptable framing to a difficult past through the upholding of feminine virtue first through marriage and family. A core aspect of the popularised 'true love' occupation story (as featured in documentaries, fiction novels and in oral histories from the late 1990s and into the 2000s) is the idea that it was the German soldier who chose to conform to the expectations of his British love and her values and customs, rather than the Islander woman submitting to an enemy soldier or turning her back on her community and their core values. The woman in this scenario is not the enemy within, but rather a civilising influence seeking to preserve, and even to extend, British values in a time of war, through family and an adherence to feminine virtue and patriotism. Islander masculinity is also preserved through this narrative, as these German men are themselves stripped of their power over the community and as military figures who sought to corrupt these women and their British values.

[476] Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago, 1998) p.200.

Amy Bell argues that within wartime Britain any 'love story' had to abide by a set of strict moral codes.[477] Public concerns about sexuality were bound up with anxieties about the impact of the war on the institution of marriage and its societal function of both regulating sexual activity and a shared economic security.[478] These concerns were both heightened at a time when national security and the desire for 'stabilizing societal institutions' were especially prominent in the public consciousness.[479] Bell also addresses the impact that the war has on existing romantic relationships and the 'militarized language' that occurs due to the strains of the period, as well as her own frustration regarding the 'marital silence' of many diarists who do not detail their intimate relationships in any great detail.[480] Only women who 'had a vested interest in presenting themselves as the new avant-garde of Blitzed London, living outside the conventional moralities of British society' would write about their wartime experiences of 'sexual abandon and excitement during the Blitz'.[481] Sexuality, in particular, is closely intertwined with the twin wartime concerns of civilian morale and national unity, while 'maintaining faithfulness and adhering to pre-war sexual morality also implied a belief in ultimate victory and a return to 'normality' in the postwar future'.[482] One of the central features of Bell's work is understanding why accounts of sexual experiences disappear from published accounts of the Blitz in later years. This chapter similarly seeks to explain the shift between the reports and diaries as discussed in Chapter 1, which addressed wartime tensions regarding sexuality explicitly, and later accounts which have increasingly focused on chaste 'true love' stories.

---

[477] Amy Helen Bell, *London Was Ours: Diaries and Memoirs of the London Blitz*, (London, 2008) pp.160, 164-165.
[478] Ibid.
[479] Ibid.
[480] Ibid, pp.168-169.
[481] Ibid, p.174.
[482] Ibid, pp.142-43.

Peter Davies questions why 'true love' between a local girl and an occupier has sometimes been presented as having been acceptable, while in other instances (such as when Simone De Beauvoir was herself accused of collaboration for visiting a particular coffee shop favoured by German soldiers in occupied France) a woman has been judged much more harshly for her wartime actions than her male counterparts, who may have worked with the Germans on a daily basis.[483] If sexuality is political, particularly at a time of war, then having 'witnesses' come forward to suggest that women selflessly resisted even the German men that they loved, or insisted upon marriage to uphold the values of their community, also acts to cement the status of the society at large. If 'unrestrained female sexuality' endangers the nation, because 'any deviation from chastity/virtue involves the collapse of republic/virtue' then there is a particular power in the words of a woman who remained 'virtuous' and was able to uphold the Christian, marital and domestic values of her own family, community, and nation, without seeking personal gain.[484]

Creating an Acceptable 'true love' story: the Joanknechts

In *The Model Occupation,* Bunting not only published accounts of a range of women who had relationships with German soldiers, and the impact this had on both these women and the wider community, but also presented the value of her open approach to this topic in an adapted abstract, published in *The Telegraph Magazine* in 1995.[485] The abstract, detailing an interview with the Joanknechts, was part of an 8-page article on this topic, provocatively titled 'Sleeping with the Enemy'.[486] Bunting focuses very much on the 'forbidden romance' of Dolly and Willi Joanknecht's relationship. The article is framed according to Dolly's sexuality and wartime allegiances, before describing the married couple as '*Romeo and Juliet* with a happy ending',

[483] Peter Davies, *Dangerous Liaisons: Collaboration and World War Two* (Harlow, 2004).
[484] Claire Duchen, Irene Bandhauer-Schoffmann, *When the War Was Over: Women, War, and Peace in Europe, 1940-1956* (London, 2001) p.237, in reference to the work on Dorinda Outram.
[485] Madeleine Bunting, 'Sleeping with the Enemy' *Telegraph Magazine*, 28 January 1995, pp.36-45.
[486] Ibid.

emphasising that 'when they married in 1947, they were told that theirs was the first Anglo-German marriage to take place after the war' and that this would be the first time that they shared their story, with 'shy pride'.[487] Bunting explicitly argues that their 'deep love for one another was in direct conflict with their patriotism' and points to the fact that after the war was over, Willi was offered work on the Channel Islands but was never allowed a work permit.[488] This resulted in the couple needing to relocate to their life in Devon as 'it was made very clear to the young couple by officials in the Guernsey government that it was preferable for them to stay on the other side of the Channel'.[489] Dolly and Willi are, thus, given a unique level of agency in the retelling of their story from the perspective of both sides of the occupation experience, as an Islander woman and a German soldier, yet also have their words framed by the other research findings within Bunting's book. In particular, there continues to be a focus on the wartime moral panic surrounding women becoming sexually involved with 'the enemy'. However, there is much about their story to depoliticise it: for a start, Willi was a German army medic rather than a traditional combatant soldier who might be seen to have directly impacted Islanders in a military capacity, while Dolly tells anecdotes of various defiant acts that she would engage in, to defy both Willi and other German soldiers, before and after falling in love with Willi.[490] They also married themselves in secret during the occupation rather than having an 'illicit' extramarital relationship, which has traditionally been a point of anxiety and anger in the Channel Islands, after which Dolly became pregnant with their first child and Willi willingly surrendered himself to British liberating soldiers to accept his punishment.[491] Willi was then taken to England as a prisoner of war, while Dolly followed him to the mainland; accepting that she may never settle in her home island with her husband as a result of her

[487] Ibid, p.36.
[488] Ibid, pp.36, 38-39.
[489] Ibid.
[490] Ibid, pp.36-45.
[491] Ibid.

choice. This story in many respects corresponds with key elements of collective memory of the occupation experience: defiant patriotism, endurance, and making do with what they had at that time, as well as respect for the moral codes established within these small communities, and acceptance of the justice meted out at the end of the conflict.

In the account of their love story which features both in *The Model Occupation* and in *The Telegraph Magazine* abstract, Dolly explains how Willi had often saluted her without them having conversed, and that she did not further engage with him until after he came to her house to ask for help with washing his clothes, at which point her aunt commented 'Isn't he a nice boy?' before Dolly and Willi's relationship developed further, seemingly with some pre-existing level of family permission.[492] Dolly further makes their love story acceptable in its wartime context as she breaks down the politics of Willi's uniform and her belief that the Christian values conveyed through his belt buckle meant that he was not so 'bad' after all. By focusing on Christian values, rather than the German military uniform's more common associations with the threat of the Nazi regime, Willi is thus described as a kind man of God rather than as an enemy soldier:

> 'I hated Willi's uniform. I used to look at him and wish he was a Guernsey boy. I'd look at his belt and see 'Gott mit Uns'- 'God with Us' - and that gave me some security. I used to think, well, if he's with God, he can't be bad – and he wasn't, he was very kind to me.'[493]

On the one hand, this is immediately significant in that it reimagines Willi's uniform in positive moral terms, and by extension marginalises the fact that it was the uniform of a man serving the German military machine, and with a slogan given to him by the regime itself, rather than of his own religious conviction. By suggesting that the words 'God with Us' gave her security,

---

[492] Interview with Dolly and Willi Joanknecht, in Madeleine Bunting, *The Model Occupation*, p.71-73.
[493] Ibid.

Dolly is also highlighting her own precarious position in wartime, and that Willi was in fact conforming to expected modes of masculinity in wartime to make her feel safe, with his nationality being almost incidental. Their story is seen to transcend obvious national allegiances and again comes down to an identity defined by 'correct' gender roles and British values, with Dolly also explaining how a male relative had raped her before she met Willi, and how other men she had met had wanted to be a woman's master, while Willi was her 'saviour', acting with honour and care for her.[494] Perhaps the core of their story, and why it was so powerful in both the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands, is that it touches upon the central image of the Second World War which has been increasingly fostered over many decades; that of a battle of good versus evil, with heroic men acting as protectors, while women maintained the values of society through their own virtue and self-sacrifice. In many ways, this love story reinforces this narrative rather than challenging it, with this being further cemented in the conclusion of Dolly and Willi's interview:

> [Dolly]: 'It was strange. We loved each other so much, but we were confused about what would happen after the war. Would we be able to stay on Guernsey or would we go to Germany? We married ourselves because we couldn't marry legally. A Quaker lady who was very kind to us said we could marry ourselves: all we had to do was stand in front of an altar, ask God and say 'We love one another, we are now man and wife.' So we went to a little chapel and married ourselves in August 1944. Willi gave me a curtain ring for my finger. I know by man-made laws, and if we were being patriotic, I should never have gone with Willi, and he should never have gone with me. By law we did wrong. Don't you think?
>
> Willi interrupted: 'Why?'

[494] Ibid.

> ‘Because you fell in love with the enemy.’ said Dolly.
>
> ‘There’s no law against it,’ said Willi. ‘Man-made law doesn’t count at all.’
>
> Dolly: ‘But when there’s war, it’s illegal.’
>
> Most islanders, recognising how much they loved one another, were sympathetic to Dolly and Willi. It was not until after the war that anybody ever called Dolly a jerrybag. But one girl with whom she was working at the town hospital was openly critical. Dolly’s retort was swift: ‘You’re doing worse than what I’m doing. You’re going round with a married man whose wife is in England. If you believe in the Bible, I’m loving my enemy, you’re committing adultery.’’[495]

This final section of the interview again shows the central role of British values and Christian morality in Dolly’s framing of her own ‘true love’ story. Dolly makes her audience aware that she knew of the unwritten wartime boundaries that separated Willi and herself, as well as the Christian values within her society which could blur these man-made boundaries and make their actions acceptable. Feminine sexuality is central to Dolly’s own understanding of the acceptability of her wartime actions with Willi, placing her own relationship in opposition to that of her judgemental friend’s adulterous relationship. If, as Marilyn E. Hegarty contends in her study of the regulation of female sexuality during the Second World War, the ‘equation of female desire with deviance simultaneously oversexualized and desexualized many wartime women’ then the real perceived threat within wartime societies and memories of those wartime societies was women’s sexuality and the perception of associated moral transgressions.[496] The act of marrying a German in wartime for love, and observing expected gender roles enshrined through marriage in a Christian church, is a past that Dolly could reconcile for a public

---

[495] Ibid.
[496] Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II* (New York, 2007) p.158.

audience. However, within the context of Bunting's book, this account of a woman being married to the 'enemy' is framed by the further accusations of political collaboration, and of the Channel Islands' 'model' experience of occupation, which so rocked the islands following its publication. This problematises their interview due to the context in which it is given a public platform. Islanders would subsequently seek to reframe this love story through the dominant Liberation Day celebrations that same year, to further stabilise their existing frames of war memory, by focusing upon the elements of their story which correspond with this unifying historic moment. Love stories, and the women connected with them, were also increasingly made the face of difficult discussions about wartime collaboration.

As part of this 50th anniversary Liberation Day commemoration of 1995, Dolly and Willi's accounts were included, along with 48 others, as part of a published collection of short, personal memories, which would also be shown on Channel Television and displayed at Guernsey and Jersey Museums. In these one-page memory segments, Dolly's and Willi's stories are each centred on their love for one another as part of a short introduction about who they are. In fact, the accounts from Dolly and Willi, as recorded in this published set of interviews, both address the immediate postwar period rather than the war years themselves. The dominant Liberation Day narrative ensures that the complexities of the war years are erased, and their story is instead framed by British victory at the end of the war, as well as their attempts to remain together as Willi accepts that he must become a prisoner of war in England, even as Dolly finds herself expecting their first child:

> 'At Liberation I was overjoyed because I was going to see my mother, brothers and sisters, but on the other hand I was worried about Willi. Half of me was happy and the other half was sad. I cried. I cried all the time. Willi came to see me and said, "I'll be taken prisoner-of-war on Thursday." So he spent quite a lot of time with me those three days. On the Thursday he came to say "good-bye" and he said, "If I can stay on the

> Island, I will." "Please don't go," I said, "I'll hide you." I would have, but he said, "No, that will make things worse."[497]

Dolly's account then goes on to detail their search for the boat and their enforced separation, before Willi's one-page memory segment follows on from this to conclude that they settled in England together after he was refused a work permit in Guernsey, with some information about his time in a prisoner of war camp in Devon being completed, enabling them to officially (re)marry in 1947.[498] This parallel use of the Joanknecht love story, framed very differently here than in the interview with Bunting, excludes the complexities of war and largely mutes the animosity that they feel towards some within the community.

In addition to this, Dolly and Willi also appeared on GMTV in an interview with Lorraine Kelly on the morning of 9 May 1995, during the 50th Anniversary celebrations of Liberation Day.[499] In the interview, Dolly takes the lead in retelling much of the story, while black and white photographs of the couple during the war years are shown over a background of the Union flag; visually aligning their postwar allegiances. Their marriage remains the focal point of discussion, as a wartime challenge to be overcome both during the war itself (recounting their unofficial marriage in 1944) and after the liberation, with Dolly trying to reconcile her sense of wartime duty with her wartime love, as she states: 'I realised that, well, I knew all along that Willi was the enemy, but he was never the enemy to me. He was so kind and -', before Lorraine herself interjects to conclude that 'He was just the man that you loved, and you wanted to spend the rest of your life with.'[500] The segment further emphasises the correctness of this decision by not only highlighting the longevity of the marriage, but also the children that Dolly and Willi raised together in England, with Lorraine finishing the segment with the

---

[497] Ibid, p.61.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Televised interview with Dolly and Willi Joanknecht, GMTV, 9 May 1995. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14Ohotq7-eo [Accessed: 05/08/2016].
[500] Ibid.

words: 'Well done, they're obviously still totally in love fifty years on.'[501] Wartime allegiances and complexities disappear under the weight of their depoliticised love story and their years spent in a faithful marriage within the United Kingdom with their UK-born children, all made possible by the liberation of the Channel Islands and the fair treatment of Willi as a prisoner of war. In many ways, Bunting's book saw an explosion of interest in the words of her interviewees who had previously been marginalised in the retelling of war stories in the Channel Islands, but who were now making national news coverage in an unavoidably public way in the United Kingdom, and being included in the Liberation Day commemorations.

Dolly and Willi's story also illustrates the impact of different audiences on this narrative, as well as the power of such love stories in constructing or challenging a usable past in relation to a key point of lingering tension: the ongoing debate surrounding the role of bystanders and collaborators under occupation. In many ways, it further cements the image of the 'collaborator' being that of a young, working-class woman who fell helplessly in love with the enemy, and makes 'collaboration' less political and more human, rather than addressing the wider moral questions that the Islander communities and States officials faced in the 1940s and, again, in the 1990s. By reframing their story through the powerful anniversary of the liberation, and its associated narrative and ritual for the Islander community, this story is no longer threatening because of its first association with Bunting's book, and has instead become part of a wider effort to stabilise dominant frames of war memory. This was similarly seen in the introduction of new Holocaust commemorative spaces in this period which, nonetheless, maintained the relative marginalisation of these difficult war stories, partly as a result of their placement being overshadowed by popularised spaces otherwise used to commemorate the liberation and heroic masculinity.

[501] Ibid.

Rejecting 'Outsider' Revisionism and Counter-Memories

However, writing in the *Channel Islands Occupation Review, No. 25,* Ward Rutherford and Linda Holt issued a strong denunciation of Bunting's book, and of the British historians who supported its findings (among those named here are Norman Stone, Hugh Trevor-Roper, Robert Rhodes James, Alan Clark and Angus Calder), and their incorrect connection between the Channel Islands and the 'Vichy' experience of occupation, as well as the 'fashionable' desire to undermine the exceptional British war legacy:

> 'Bunting's British reviewers shared her unquestioned assumption that the Channel Islands were, in John Mortimer's words, like "Basingstoke totally surrounded by water", and that their Occupation could be used as a model for the (hypothetical) Nazi Occupation of Britain. While this is a powerful source of the Occupation's continuing fascination for the British media, it ignores what is distinctive about the Channel Islands and their Occupation (Hitler made the same mistake), and encourages prejudices derived from Vichy about Channel Islanders' culpability. As it has become fashionable to express unease about Britain's Second World War record in particular, and her heroic past in general, so the Channel Islands Occupation has become a ready – and conveniently off-shore – scapegoat for this unease.'[502]

The article reasserts that Bunting's support by Angus Calder in regards to her 'false allegations about the treatment of the Channel Island Jews' (whose deportation and, in some cases, death in European concentration camps, has been further researched and confirmed by Frederick Cohen and David Fraser since the publication of Bunting's book) was ill-informed.[503] It also

[502] Linda Holt, Ward Rutherford, '*The Model Occupation* – Setting the Record Straight' in Matthew Costard (ed.), *Channel Islands Occupation Review, No. 25,* (Jersey, 1997) p.53; Watkins, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection,* p.18.
[503] Ibid, pp.53-54.

states that a small group of Islanders would be publishing their own occupation 'facts'.[504] The article explains that they sought to contact Bunting's publisher, HarperCollins, with a list of 'errors and corrections' (compiled by local historians, Michael Ginns and Bill Bell), as well as a suggested bibliography, and a copy of a review of *The Model Occupation* that Linda Holt had written for *The London Review of Books.*[505] However, the article goes on to state that as HarperCollins refused to revise Bunting's conclusions, 'the only remedy is to publish work on the Occupation whose method and content is not determined by the newspaper deadlines or headlines and to ensure that it is read outside the Channel Islands'.[506] This shows a remarkable shift in the Islander construction of war memory. This was no longer insular, with some influential local historians actively seeking validation from outside of the Channel Islands. These known figures are seen to be declaring a desire to both challenge British representations of their past which do not align with the accepted Islander memory and public history of events, and wishing to disprove the Bunting version of their history by promoting acceptable content that would also be read *outside of* the Channel Islands. This is perhaps the first clear example of Islanders seeking to preserve the basis of their connection with British war memory by fostering an international space to export their own approved histories of the war years to outside audiences.

In fact, when writing her review of *The Model Occupation* in *The London Review of Books* on 10 May 1995, Linda Holt was not simply reviewing the historical details and style of Bunting's history of the occupation, but also the emotional impact that Bunting's new research findings had on Holt herself. Holt links the review to her remembered nostalgic adventures, growing up surrounded by wartime bunkers in postwar Jersey:

---

[504] Ibid.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Ibid, p.54.

> ‘Next door’s garden pond had formerly been the camp’s well, while just over the fence at the bottom of our garden there were grey concrete bunkers covered in brambles and bracken. As children we picked blackberries off them and speculated about what they might contain, but never found a way in. Like our parents, and like many native Channel Islanders, we didn’t give the recent past a second thought: the bunkers, gun emplacements and massive sea walls seemed to have always been there, like the beaches and granite cliffs they overlooked.’[507]

This paragraph emphasises the importance of settling Islander memory along a composed and acceptable community line, rather than encouraging too much adventure or speculation about the war years. In Holt’s memories, by the 1960s the weapons of war which littered the local landscape for so long had been depoliticised, to become an intrinsic part of Islander identity rather than spaces of trauma or reminders of military occupation. In fact, while reviewing Bunting’s oral history interviews with foreign labourers who had been brought to the Channel Islands and forced to work on the defences that would stretch across the islands, Holt herself writes of returning to the Channel Islands to confront this testimony in the context of her own childhood home that she knew had housed some such workers during the Second World War.[508] Holt goes on to challenge Bunting’s findings by constructing a narrative which better fits that which she grew up with: there were forced labourers, but their experiences were not comparable to that of European victims of the Holocaust and forced labour, and the stories of these spaces of war should be framed by Islanders who have lived alongside them ever since the end of the war, rather than those who were forced to build these spaces during the war:

> ‘In a pointed prelude to the testimonies of slave labourers, Bunting describes what these ‘nameless and faceless’ thousands left behind; and there, ‘now overgrown with

[507] Linda Holt, ‘Our Dear Channel Islands’, *London Review of Books, Vol. 17, No. 10* (25 May 1995) pp.9-11 https://www.lrb.co.uk/v17/n10/linda-holt/our-dear-channel-islands [Accessed: 02/01/2017].
[508] Ibid.

> brambles' or 'dotted with the brightly coloured towels of holidaymakers', are my bunkers again. Apparently we had always believed that thousands of slave labourers had died as a result of German brutality, that countless bodies had been tipped into the liquid cement of the islands' fortifications. Bunting's 14 witnesses press home the harrowing details. Before long, I was wondering how many skeletons lay concealed in the bunkers at the bottom of my mother's garden.
>
> Intent at last on excavation, I went to Jersey. I discovered that from January 1942 Lager Udet, the Organisation Todt camp on the site of my childhood home, had housed Spaniards, and from August 1942, Russians and Poles, until the bulk of the OT were withdrawn from the island in the autumn of 1943. The Spaniards, who numbered about two thousand, were Republicans who had fled to France after Franco's victory in 1939. Later, the Vichy Government had handed them over to the Germans. As conscripted labourers they received the same rates of pay as the volunteers recruited by the OT. They were free in the evenings and on Sundays to come and go as they pleased, to mingle with the local population and visit shops, cafés and public entertainments. Beatings were not part of the routine and they had access to medical treatment – the OT established hospitals, with ambulance services, in all three islands. …My bunkers were separate, built as air-raid shelters for the German troop billeted at Hotel La Moye across the road.'[509]

Holt both systematically erases the voices of the forced workers that Bunting interviewed and reclaims ownership of the retelling of this aspect of occupation memory, and connected spaces of war, rather than letting this be defined by 'outsiders'. This is further emphasised by Holt discussing 'my bunkers', which itself imbues her words with authority over the retelling of

[509] Ibid.

their story, and tries to reframe the narrative according to her own interpretation of the space and the stories connected with it, rather than enabling others to define them according to their own lived experiences, or as a result of the interviews that Bunting herself conducted. Bunting's book undoubtedly created an atmosphere by which these debates came to the fore within the Channel Island Occupation Society membership. Holt's book review followed on from a publication by the *Channel Islands Occupation Review* which sought to systematically discredit Bunting's research by presenting a range of alternative facts that she was either seen to have misinterpreted or wilfully excluded to create a negative view of Islander actions during the war and in the postwar period.[510]

Island at War (2004)

The debate raged into the 2000s, with ITVs decision to air *Island at War* (having given its cast a copy of *The Model Occupation* to read before filming) creating further anger in the Channel Islands, due to the related topics being addressed within the drama.[511] In particular, there was a focus on women engaging in a range of sexual and non-sexual relationships with German soldiers, as well as the mistreatment of the islands' Jewish citizens.[512] Michael Ginns, of the Channel Island Occupation Society (who was still President of its Jersey branch when the drama was first aired in 2004), would offer his thoughts about the show in *The Independent*, having been shown an advance version of two episodes of the 6-part series: 'Frankly it's all a bit irritating. …But maybe that's the view of a perfectionist who likes to see the truth being portrayed. It's undramatic 'dramatic licence', containing events that never happened."[513] Another Islander, interviewed about her views of the drama series, was Iris Le Feuvre, who

[510] Holt, Rutherford, '*The Model Occupation'* in Costard (ed.), *Channel Islands Occupation Review*.
[511] Nicholas Pyke, Hamish Marett-Crosby, 'TV drama reopens war wounds in Jersey' *The Independent*, 10 July 2004 http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/tv-drama-reopens-war-wounds-in-jersey-5356186.html [Accessed: 01/12/2016].
[512] Ibid.
[513] Ibid.

states that she would be boycotting the series in 'protest' because 'when you see a programme dealing with a subject you know a lot about and they have it wrong, it makes you query other programmes which you once took at face value. Television itself is called into question'.[514] This, again, highlights the significance placed upon a certain framing of wartime events to the exclusion of all others, and the tension associated with 'outsiders' attempting to re-examine aspects of the occupation through their own research (particularly when reference was made to Bunting) rather than following the popular narrative which is known to Islanders themselves through their own stories, spaces, and rituals of war memory. The focus upon the 'jerry bags' was particularly problematic in this instance. Peter Tabb similarly tells *The Independent* that: 'Even today the worst epithet you can apply to a woman of a certain age is to call her a Jerrybag', before defending the Islander record on this score:

> 'I'm not sure that such liaisons were that common…my figures show that 90 illegitimate children were born in the island during the occupation. Given there were some 12,000 fit, active and lonely young men sent here and 10,000 locals had left, this is remarkably low'.[515]

Iris Le Feuvre, similarly, comments:

> '…those I can't forgive are the Jerrybags who used their bodies to benefit themselves at the expense of others and who gave information to the Germans. As for the others, well, life is life; they were lonely and attracted by some good-looking and equally lonely young men.'[516]

This itself demonstrates that for some, the sexual element of women's relationships with German soldiers remained the most difficult to reconcile with their occupation history, yet

[514] Ibid.
[515] Ibid.
[516] Ibid.

when confronted with this topic they were also able to subtly reframe the story by deflecting this difficult sexual narrative into one which focuses upon the loneliness (and thus, sexual weakness) of the German soldiers as well. In this way, this difficult topic is made acceptable by 'othering' the women sexually involved with German soldiers by referring to them by the term 'jerry bag', while presenting their German soldier partners not as a superior occupying force, but as lonely men who nonetheless found it difficult to attract interest from Islander girls in significant numbers. This, again, underscores the lack of women to actively engage in sexual relationships during the occupation years, and provides an explanation for those few women that did become involved with German soldiers. As has previously been explored, it was seen to be important for women to maintain their familial and emotional networks during the war years, and so a 'lonely' woman excluded from such a network could be pitied rather than being seen as a threat to the (now liberated) community.

The subsequent failure of *Island at War* to secure a second season offered an opportunity to claim a small victory over controversial 'outsider' portrayals of the occupation years (particularly in Guernsey); again, cementing the accepted frames of occupation memory and 'real' testimonies and occupation sites as being the only way to properly construct the occupation story. The *Guernsey Press* declared that 'local campaigners' were 'celebrating' the decision not to make a second series, with some who were interviewed for the article seeing this as being a direct result of their own actions in defence of the 'correct' story of the occupation years.[517] Enid Campbell Bell (a wartime evacuee) and Pearl White Rose (who experienced the Guernsey occupation) were said to have collected over 1,000 signatures to send to producers who were seen to have distorted the islands' wartime history: 'I always felt that there was a possibility that they wouldn't do another series and I think they were surprised

[517] 'Island at War is Axed' *Guernsey Press*, 26 October 2004 http://guernseypress.com/news/2004/10/26/island-at-war-is-axed/ [Accessed: 01/03/15].

with the reaction they got from Guernsey'.'[518] The main point of contention in the Channel Islands was that the events portrayed in the fictitious drama, which was only loosely based on the occupation of Guernsey (although the island is referred to as St. Gregory throughout the series), is that it did not stick to the historical facts as known by Islanders, nor did they film in Guernsey or make clear the islands' distinctive identity.[519] This shows the extent to which the community who had lived through the occupation years were willing to come to the defence of the history that they themselves had written. Local historians, who had themselves experienced the occupation, also gave their thoughts about the series being cancelled, with Herbert Winterflood arguing that the series did not correctly convey the 'atmosphere' of the Guernsey occupation, causing 'heartache' in the process; while Deputy Bill Bell again focuses his thoughts on the 'correct' version of occupation history, stating:

> 'It was a programme that I don't believe achieved the high standards of historical record that many people would have wished. … The biggest error was recording it in the Isle of Man, when they should have recorded it in the Channel Islands. There was so much more here that they could have used that would have made it much more authentic.'[520]

Bell and Winterflood are both arguing similar points; the only correct way to represent the occupation of Guernsey is to make use of the 'authentic' spaces and narratives of the occupation, which itself captures the facts and atmosphere of the war years as the Islanders chose to remember, commemorate and otherwise record it. The idea of 'outsiders' using the story of the occupation, without consulting Islanders or using their own established spaces of war memory, was not only seen as hurtful, but also as threatening enough to mobilise a campaign against the series. This was a battle for ownership over their accepted war memory and the popular representation of the Channel Islands' occupation at home and abroad. In this

---

[518] Ibid.
[519] Ibid.
[520] Ibid.

way, this televised event acted as an active and performative platform for Islanders to play out, explore and challenge accepted memories and controversial counter-memories of the occupation years for the first time since the publication of *The Model Occupation*.

Island Destiny (2006)

The power of the occupation-era 'forbidden' Islander-German love story was further developed through the publication of *Island Destiny* on Liberation Day in 2006. This was compiled by Richard Le Tissier to tell the wartime love story of Sarkee Phyllis Baker and a German Army medical orderly, Werner Rang, who met during the occupation of Sark and went on to marry in 1948, before settling in Sark and setting up a jewellery business. Werner was also awarded the British Empire Medal for services to the community for his work in the ambulance service and as a Constable.[521] Again, this story focuses upon a couple where the German man was in the medical profession rather than an active soldier waging war against the British, while Phyllis first meeting Werner is described with additional information about her own soldiering father:

> 'Phyllis's father, Jack, most certainly did not encourage visits of German soldiers at La Ville Farm. Like most young Sark men he had fought with the Royal Guernsey Light Infantry (RGLI) in the First World War. The First Battalion of the RGLI went to France in 1917 and suffered heavy casualties at the battle of Cambrai and later battles. Seventeen Sark men were killed in action, and Jack was perhaps fortunate to be taken prisoner. He was a POW in Germany for almost two years and, although he stated that they were not treated badly, for the second time in just over twenty years he found his freedom restricted by men in field-grey uniforms with guttural German accents. His attitude was perhaps understandable. Jack, however, sustained a poisoned thumb which

[521] Richard Le Tissier, *Island Destiny* (Jersey, 2006).

> required treatment and frequent changes of dressing. Werner was only too pleased to call and perform this task. He had the opportunity of trying to engage that pretty Sark girl in conversation and her grandmother, Nan, made a great fuss of him. Freshly bandaged, Jack would return to his farming duties, and the womenfolk would offer Werner a glass of the delicious Sark milk. Soon Nan was darning Werner's socks and attending to minor repairs to his uniform.'[522]

That their first meeting is framed by Phyllis's father's war service, although many of the details are unrelated to her own love story, is central to making their meeting conform to expected modes of Channel Islands' war memory. Through her soldiering father, Phyllis is defined by the image of the soldier hero who defied the German war machine, while Werner's actions to aid him in a time of war separate him from the image of threatening martial masculinity. Instead, this shows him being incorporated into the values of this family, with their line of unapologetic British patriotism; heroic masculinity through the father and traditional Islander feminine values and customs from the 'womenfolk' caring for Werner and making him more 'Sarkee' in the process. In this way, it is framed to show Werner as the collaborator, while Phyllis and her family do not compromise their own war loyalties, customs, or gendered roles within their community while Werner is present. Werner's marriage proposal to Phyllis is similarly framed by the response of her father, who did not approve of the marriage and was not in attendance at their wedding, before detailing how Phyllis fought to be married in a Methodist Church rather than a Registry Office.[523] Phyllis is described as becoming angry at the suggestion by the Registrar that they were rushing to get married because it might be 'like *that*', when really they needed to be married before Werner was repatriated to Germany after his time in an English prisoner of war camp.[524] Again, this shows the importance of such love

[522] Ibid, pp.43-44.
[523] Ibid, pp.85-86.
[524] Ibid.

stories being defined by the maintaining of both Christian values and feminine virtue, with marriage providing a way to cement both of these, and, by extension, the symbolism of an enduring commitment to both traditional British values and the wider community. Crucially, four years after Le Tissier published this love story, it would be used as a device to frame the topic of collaboration in John Nettles' popular television documentary, *The Channel Islands at War*, which was heavily promoted in the Channel Islands and directly challenged many of the themes that were first discussed in *The Model Occupation*, and that had been the focus of fierce debate ever since. Islander-German true love stories had successfully made the transition from being a point of tension due to the coverage of Bunting's book in 1995, to being reimagined alongside accepted frames of Islander memory. This still maintained women as the face of collaboration, but also asserts that such collaboration in the Channel Islands was in line with preserving its British values, not a European-style betrayal connected with remembered anxieties of feminine sexuality and masculine impotency.

The Channel Islands at War (2010)

The Channel Islands at War was commissioned by the *Yesterday* channel and was first aired in 2010, as the first in what would become a series of television programmes focusing on different aspects of the Second World War. Written and produced by John Nettles, the series focusses on the Channel Islands' Occupation and was set to coincide with the 70th anniversary of the year 1940, when the Channel Islands were invaded. *The Channel Islands at War* features three separate hour-long segments, each detailing different aspects of the Second World War experience in the Channel Islands: Invasion, Occupation, and Liberation. The DVD series was quickly reproduced in the Channel Islands by Channel Islands Publishing, and was officially launched in Jersey that same year. A press release to advertise the launch was produced by official tourism body, Visit Jersey, with the launch ceremony taking place in the presence of Michael Bert, Bailiff of Jersey, as well as many Islanders with first-hand memory of the

occupation who were interviewed for the series, giving it an 'official' local seal of approval in the islands.[525]

As an established and recognisable British actor from popular daytime television shows *Bergerac* and *Midsomer Murders*, presenter John Nettles' image was used heavily in the promotion of the series, and so added a sense of popular authority and trustworthiness to this representation of the occupation years. That Nettles, rather than an academic historian (or even a native Islander), was chosen to present the series suggests that Nettles' authoritative storytelling, derived in part from his own public image as a recognisable British actor from two iconic British television shows, was as significant as the events and memories being detailed by Islanders. In fact, Nettles' popular title role in *Bergerac* previously resulted in him writing a book, titled, *Bergerac's Jersey*, in 1988.[526] Nettles' own on-screen 'tough and fearless' persona was an important selling point for his story of the twelve Parishes of Jersey, as well as their local laws, customs, and history to readers, given that Nettles had not been born on the island:

> 'BBC tv's tough and fearless policeman, John Nettles has made the beautiful landscape of Jersey familiar to millions of viewers. …After filming over sixty episodes on Jersey, the television series has come to enjoy a unique relationship with the islanders, and no one is better place than John Nettles to tell the story of the programmes and the people who make them.'[527]

Nettles frames *The Channel Islands at War* documentary's segments of Islander memories and experiences with his own thoughts about wartime morality and 'correct' or 'heroic' conduct,

---

[525] 'The Channel Islands at War DVD', *Visit Jersey*, 8 November 2010 https://www.jersey.com/business/press/pressreleases/Pages/PressReleaseDetails.aspx?PressReleaseItemId=294 [Accessed: 03/11/2015].
[526] John Nettles, *Bergerac's Jersey* (London, 1988).
[527] Ibid, Cover description.

with Nettles' recognisability and status within British popular culture giving his interpretation additional power, as Nettles was already a trusted and authoritative figure. Nettles' defence of Islander conduct is in many ways symbolic of the British mainland passing favourable judgement on the Channel Islands' own popularised and ever-further cemented core narratives of occupation within the context of British war memory.

One of the commissioning editors behind *Yesterday*'s original decision to commission the series explained the role of John Nettles in the series as "another strategy we feel has worked…He was an unexpected historian who was brilliant on many levels…he brings with him a different audience to the one we have already, but also has a passion a normal presenter would not and gets under the skin of the topic in a different way.'[528] In fact, *The Channel Islands at War* received such positive feedback that it is credited with encouraging the *Yesterday* channel's commissioning team to seek more programmes to mark the 70th anniversary of the Second World War as part of a *Spirit of 1940* series.[529] The commissioning editor of *The Channel Islands at War* listed the major elements that she would look for when commissioning Second World War documentaries as being: anniversaries which 'resonate' with their core audience, 'British stories or British angles on stories', 'human interest' and an 'emotional hook' to a story, and 'a fresh perspective on events'.[530] The series was viewed by two million people in the year that it was shown on the *Yesterday* channel, showing that this account of the occupation was marketed and accessed far beyond the shores of the Channel Islands themselves, as a relevant and timely story of British sacrifice and struggle around this major Second World War anniversary.[531] The use of Nettles to present Islander memories, and

[528] Alex Farber, 'Catherine Whelton, Yesterday (UKTV)', *Broadcast* http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/catherine-whelton-yesterday-uktv/5015351.article [Accessed: 01/12/2015].
[529] Ibid.
[530] Ibid.
[531] Visit Jersey, 'The Channel Islands at War DVD' https://www.jersey.com/business/press/pressreleases/Pages/PressReleaseDetails.aspx?PressReleaseItemId=294 [Accessed: 01/12/2015].

to compile this history of the occupation, ensured that the accepted narrative of the occupation years in the Channel Islands, and its close association with the popularised British war story, was renewed once more.

Even the DVD version of *The Channel Islands at War,* which was marketed largely for an Islander audience, still has Nettles' image front-and-centre on its cover. In the trailer produced by Simon Watkins (of Channel Islands Publishing) to promote the sale of the DVD in the Channel Islands, John Nettles is seen examining a military display at an occupation museum, complete with the caption 'with John Nettles' appearing at the bottom of the screen before any explicit reference to the Channel Islands or the occupation are even made by the narrator.[532] The promotion of the DVD connects with a very recognisable image of the Channel Islands' occupation: the prominence of the Union flag is still assured in order to show the unity of the Channel Islands, and their commitment and connection to the British Crown. The trailer draws a connection with the war trophies and military memorabilia on display in Occupation Museums across the islands, while the cover of the DVD emphasises the public, masculine, and militaristic image of the Channel Islands' occupation above all else. This suggests an attempt by Channel Islands Publishing to market the documentary in the Channel Islands in a way that people would best connect with, and which most clearly presents the link between the Islander and United Kingdom experiences of the war years; patriotism even in the face of adversity, and Islander masculinity under siege by Nazism. Yet, in many ways, *The Channel Islands at War* asks many new variations on old questions regarding resistance and collaboration, this time through an iconic British actor, before finding its answers in accepted frames of memory which have long existed in both the Channel Islands and in British war memory. Nettles simply provides a public platform to challenge difficult counter-memories,

[532] Simon Watkins, 'The Channel Islands at War by John Nettles' DVD Trailer, available to view on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zZgdk8smAG4 [Accessed: 01/12/2015].

by privileging those Islander memories and iconic speeches that best represent the 'People's War', with stories of romance and true love forming a central pillar of this assessment.

The first 45-minute episode of *The Channel Islands at War* addresses the subject of 'Invasion'; significant given that this was such a short period in the overall occupation of the Channel Islands. Yet this episode encompasses a range of subjects under this title. It draws clear parallels between the British and Islander experience of the Second World War, and carefully builds up a picture of a quintessentially British people in the Channel Islands who experienced similar pre-war class divisions and ties to mainland British society. The episode also touches upon recognisable elements of popular memory of the 'People's War' in Britain: evacuation and bombing. Demilitarisation and surrender make up other significant subjects of discussion, but, again, are linked back to the relationship with the British war effort at a time when Britain 'stood alone against the might of Hitler's Germany'.[533] In this way the decision to make the entire first episode about 'Invasion' ensures that the scene is set to show the Channel Islands as an outpost of Britain during the Second World War. Its people are shown as part of the 'People's War' who maintained true defiance under the strain of an even greater threat: an unavoidable surrender by Islanders to the invading German forces, as part of the bigger British war effort to fight on 'alone' and to sacrifice as necessary in order to defeat Nazism and Hitler's Germany once and for all.

The opening credits of each episode of *The Channel Islands at War* shows the Union flag fluttering over the ocean, before ending on a re-enacted image of German soldiers standing guard on a fortification site. The first episode then begins with John Nettles making reference to the 70th anniversary of the occupation, before constructing an explicit link between himself and Channel Islanders, as he calls them his 'friends and neighbours' within the first

[533] John Nettles, 'Invasion' episode of *The Channel Islands at War* (2010).

introductory minutes of the series.[534] Within the first five minutes of the episode, Nettles positions the Channel Islands according to their British credentials once again, discussing the gap between the rich and the poor in Islander society as being 'much the same as on mainland Britain' at this time.[535] This creates an image of pre-war Islanders as being not so dissimilar to ordinary British people in the United Kingdom, living in a recognisable society and with recognisable customs, problems and British way of life. This is important, as Nettles then discusses why it was that the Channel Islands were invaded by German forces and yet were not defended by Britain given this connection:

> 'But in truth the islands had no strategic value, and could not adequately be defended without stripping Great Britain of resources at a time when she stood alone against the might of Hitler's Germany.'[536]

Soon after this, Winston Churchill's 'We Will Fight On the Beaches' speech plays to a backdrop of the Union flag and a statue of Churchill. The documentary thus positions the invasion of the Channel Islands as part of the wider British war effort; a necessary sacrifice in the fight against Hitler's Germany, with this sacrifice being one which is described in military rather than human terms. The Channel Islands were supporting the fight against Nazi Germany in their endurance of the occupation at a time when Britain could not defend them without stripping the nation as a whole of its wartime resources. At the same time, there is a clear narrative being constructed of resistance and defiance in the face of the invasion, with Jerseywoman Marion Rossler saying of the evacuation of Jersey:

---

[534] Ibid.
[535] Ibid.
[536] Ibid.

> 'My brother wasn't very well, but I don't know if that wasn't a bit of an excuse for my father to stay, because he was an out-and-out Jerseyman and he wouldn't have wanted to go. Of that I know. Although we had the opportunity.'[537]

This interview shows that amongst the fear of what was to come, and the desire to keep one's family safe, an out-and-out Jerseyman such as Marion's father would not have wanted to leave behind their island for the relative safety of the United Kingdom. Instead they stayed the course where possible, in order to maintain their loyal presence on this outpost of British soil, even with the German invaders coming ever closer and with the United Kingdom offering them an opportunity to escape an inevitable encounter with the enemy. Similarly, in his description of the bombing of the islands, Leo Harris describes how amongst the horror and death he also found a way to face the coming war directly and without shying away or hiding from the enemy's superior military power: 'I was down in the crater digging out with my little arm, my sleeve rolled up, nice hot pieces of shrapnel and treating them as souvenirs.'[538]

By the time the episode considers the surrender and the invasion itself, a strong picture has already been constructed of a connection to the popular memory of the 'People's War' in Britain, and of the defiance of ordinary Islanders to the threat of German invasion. In describing the surrender itself, Nettles uses just one first-hand account to show popular attitudes to the order for Islanders to put out white flags of surrender; taken from Dr John Lewis's sometimes controversial memoir of the occupation years, where he states that rather than flying a white flag, he put out a pair of white underpants as a small act of defiance.[539] Again, this use of sources supports the image being constructed of Islanders, and particularly Islander men, doing what they could to stand their ground and not waver in their loyalty to their islands and to Britain, even in the face of an invasion that they would not be defended from by the United

---

[537] Marion Rossler interview in 'Invasion', *The Channel Islands at War.*
[538] Leo Harris interview in 'Invasion', *The Channel Islands at War.*
[539] Nettles, *The Channel Islands at War.* Also, see: John Lewis, *A Doctor's Occupation.*

Kingdom. Leo Harris is again interviewed to describe his father's reaction to seeing the German soldiers in the streets of Jersey for the first time:

> 'German soldiers were in the streets and they were kicking the doors of the houses, he said, to get the women to come out to clean their jackboots. But that soon stopped because I think it was the mood of the German army, the Wehrmacht, that now they were in England they would not treat the English population in the same way they treated the Belgians, the Dutch, the French. They seemed to have a higher regard for us and wanted us to be friends.'[540]

This is a particularly interesting account of the invasion, as it suggests that the Germans themselves recognised the inherent Englishness of the Islanders and that this in fact placed the Islanders in a position of greater power than would be the case in other occupied nations because of this difference in attitude. This point is further made when an example is given of the leader of the island of Sark, Dame Sybil Hathaway, who 'invited [Germans] to lunch' following the invasion of her island, yet 'the surrender was duly taken' only after Hathaway had made the Germans sign in to the visitors' book.[541] Nettles narrates that this was another small act of defiance to show that the invading German forces were visitors rather than residents of the island, and that this signing of the visitors' book would continue throughout the occupation years. The lack of fighting to resist the invasion is framed as another very British trait, with Nettles stating 'So Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark had fallen with hardly a shot fired in anger.'[542] Meanwhile Ambrose Sherwill, leader of Guernsey at this time, is exonerated of claims of weak leadership and possible collaboration, with words from his own memoirs read to show that he had intended to 'Run their [the German's] occupation for them', and with the official historian of the occupation, Paul Sanders, supporting the claim that

[540] Harris interview in *The Channel Islands at War.*
[541] Nettles, *The Channel Islands at War.*
[542] Ibid.

Sherwill had good intentions within this segment.[543] Reference is then made to a woman who was deported for saying 'Heil Churchill!', before Nettles goes on to describe a failed British commando raid on the Channel Islands (an error in judgement by the UK government). Discussing the failed commando raid, local Guernsey historian, Herbert Winterflood, explains that Ambrose Sherwill is seen to have handled this British military failure well, as he tried to save these British soldiers by having them hand themselves in while dressed in their military uniforms, so as to be treated as prisoners of war by the Germans. [544] These examples show Islanders and their leaders to have maintained their composure under intense pressure, and to have outwitted the Germans with their good nature and fighting spirit without giving into despair and creating a messy military situation for the rest of the British authorities to deal with. They are shown to 'Keep Calm and Carry On' and to maintain their unity of purpose throughout the invasion period. This all sets the scene for how Islanders would be shown to handle the many trials and hardships of the rest of the occupation, and begins to frame scenarios to explain how acts which had commonly been referred to as 'collaboration' might have been examples of Islanders getting on with things so that mainland Britain could get on with the war effort abroad without concern for them. The only time that Nettles questions the testimony of his witnesses to the invasion period is when the documentary plays an old interview with Otto Speer, a former foreign inmate and slave labourer in the occupied Channel Islands, who attests to the fact that some such workers were buried in the concrete of the fortifications that they were building for their German captors.[545] Yet Nettles does not seek to further explore this or similar narratives on this topic, instead concluding: 'The fate of the slave workers building defences in Alderney was witnessed by no one but their captors. And we only have the memories of a rare survivor.'[546] Rather than interviewing family members of the forced

[543] Paul Sanders interview in *The Channel Islands at War*.
[544] Herbert Winterflood in *The Channel Islands at War*.
[545] Otto Speer interview in *The Channel Islands at War*.
[546] Nettles, *The Channel Islands at War*.

workers or reading accounts of forced workers which puts their experiences into their own words, Nettles proceeds to make this another story of the Islander experience of occupation. As part of this, interviews of Islanders who witnessed the deprivation faced by forced workers and how this changed their opinion of the Germans are shown. The episode ends on this subject, with the unquestioned testimony of Jerseyman G. Norman, who details how he was a child witness to the beating of an unnamed forced worker, before following on from his testimony to question the current political decision to foster reconciliation with Germany.[547] He refers to the twinning of St Helier and Bad Wurzach (where 600 Islanders were interned during the occupation years) in 2002: 'I've never forgotten how helpless I felt [watching the slave labourer being beaten] and you want to twin my island, or twin St Helier or tell me to be nice to these people? You're out of your bloody mind.'[548] The trauma of the forced workers is in this way tied to the struggle of Islanders to co-exist with the Germans during the occupation, and to modern day political questions about whether or not to move on from the past, as a new generation who did not experience the occupation years begins to take over its commemoration for posterity. This tension between the memories of those who experienced the occupation and the judgement passed on them by those who did not, as well as the politics of modern day commemoration on the eve of 70 years since the invasion in the Channel Islands, is a recurring theme throughout the three-part series. Nettles provides a public platform to challenge difficult counter-memories by privileging those Islander memories and iconic speeches which best represent the 'People's War' and the popular memory of British defiance and unity in the face of an impending German invasion and the spread of Nazism.

Episode 2 of *The Channel Islands at War* begins with another controversial counter-memory which had only been developing more strongly in the 2000s, with the introduction of Holocaust

[547] G. Norman interview in *The Channel Islands at War.*
[548] Ibid. For more on the process of twinning St Helier, Jersey, and Bad Wurzach, Germany, see: 'Your Parish Online: St Helier' website, http://www.sthelier.je/twinning/ [Accessed: 01/11/2015].

Memorial Day in the Channel Islands of Guernsey and Jersey; the difficult subject of the treatment, deportations, and deaths of Jewish citizens during the occupation of the islands. Much like in the first episode's segment on the foreign forced workers in the Channel Islands, the second episode's particular angle to address the subject of the Jews in the Channel Islands seems to be shown within the context of the accepted memory of the occupation years. The historians who offer comment on the Islander authorities' conduct are Jerseyman Frederick Cohen and official Channel Islands' occupation historian Paul Sanders. While the subject of an Islander official, Clifford Orange, working with the Germans in registering Jewish citizens on the island of Jersey is addressed, it is decided that he was under 'a lot of stress'.[549] Jersey Bailiff Alexander Coutanche's memoir is used to make the statement that 'I've never heard they suffered in any way.'[550] In the case of Guernsey, where three Jewish women who were deported would later die at Auschwitz, the focus is on Theresa Steiner. Here it is claimed by the child of a nurse that worked alongside Steiner in Guernsey that 'she decided, against all warnings from friends, to approach the authorities and beg their help in contacting her family'.[551] This suggests that although the authorities may have had some influence in the registration of the Jews in the Channel Islands, that the Jewish victims were not treated poorly due to anti-Semitism or because of people wanting to disown them, but because of bad decisions and mistakes by authority figures and, sometimes, even the Jewish citizens themselves. Cohen concludes that while the Islander authorities 'could have done more' that they were not anti-Semitic, and instead 'got the balance wrong' in co-operating with the German occupying forces.[552] This is an important conclusion, and particularly important given that this is made in the opening section of analysis as part of the 'Occupation' episode. One of the biggest criticisms faced by Islanders in recent years has been in regards to the level of

[549] Nettles, *The Channel Islands at War*.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Ibid.
[552] Frederick Cohen interview in *The Channel Islands at War*.

collaboration in the Channel Islands, and to what extent they were responsible for 'Britain's role in the Holocaust'.[553] By opening with this incredibly controversial subject, Nettles immediately addresses a key counter-narrative that had developed around the occupation since the success of Madeleine Bunting's monograph, crucially, enabling this subject to be reframed by the popular memory of the occupation years rather than by outside critics. It also sets this subject as being an issue for the elites of the Channel Islands. The ordinary local people are shown to be the ones who encouraged Steiner to keep quiet about her Jewish identity, while the elites got caught up in the games of power and were unable to ultimately protect their citizens having tried too hard to work alongside the occupying forces. Much like the section on the forced workers, this story is told from the perspective which best fits the popular imagining of the occupation and the 'People's War', and by being addressed in this way also ceases to exist as a challenge to the overall narrative being constructed by Nettles.

This narrative is further developed as the next section of the 'Occupation' episode focusses on another counter-memory of the occupation: the deportation of 2,300 UK-born citizens from the Channel Islands to prison camps in mainland Europe, as a reprisal for Britain taking German citizens captive in Iran. Rather than being framed as a debate about whether the Islander authorities could have done more in this situation, this is presented as an event which showcases the community spirit and defiant patriotism of Islanders under impossibly difficult circumstances. Bob Le Sueur, a Jerseyman who witnessed the deportation, recounts the strength of character of the deportees: 'Nobody was in tears. It was incredible.'[554] Meanwhile, Dr John Lewis tells a story from the deportation which has particular symbolic connotations due to the well-circulated and iconic Bert Hill image in the Channel Islands, of a German soldier being kicked out of Guernsey by a Guernsey donkey:

---

[553] See: Madeleine Bunting, 'Britain's Role in the Holocaust', *The Guardian*, 24 January 2004.
[554] Bob Le Sueur interview in *The Channel Islands at War*.

> ‘A German officer who was already unpopular in the island was taking films of these grotesque and horrible, heart-wrenching scenes, and suddenly a young man jumped out and while this chap was bending over, taking a particularly good shot, he gave him a kick up the backside as hard as he could kick!’[555]

Leo Harris, another witness to the deportation, recounts the emotion, patriotism and unity of the crowd:

> ‘Suddenly a very clear voice began to sing “There Will Always Be An England” and we all joined in, we all knew the words. And then they sang “Red, White and Blue (What Does It Mean To You?), and they sang “God Save The King” in those days, and all of a sudden the people aboard the boat started to respond to us… singing back and joining in. And it was quite an emotional moment.’[556]

All of these witness statements appear to describe the character and defiance of Islanders, before iconic but unrelated images are then shown of striped uniforms, death camps and the branded arms of concentration camp victims. It is significant that these images are shown after the aforementioned witness statements above, rather than when describing the fate of the Jewish victims of the Channel Islands’ occupation. Rather than emphasising the devastating impact that the co-operation of Islander officials with the German occupying forces had on the Jewish citizens in the Channel Islands, it instead plays these images at a point where it will draw a connection with the defiance of Islanders and with their apparent willingness to risk their lives in order to display their patriotism and endurance. It ensures that acts of defiance are given more weight, particularly as the next section of the ‘Occupation’ episode puts forward the argument that ‘resistance activities’ occurred during the Channel Islands occupation, which

[555] Dr John Lewis interview in *The Channel Islands at War.*
[556] Leo Harris interview in *The Channel Islands at War.*

has often been a subject of debate from historians.[557] Again, this resistance is linked to the patriotism and largely symbolic acts of defiance of Islanders, with Nettles focussing on G.U.N.S (Guernsey Underground News Service) and their attempts to allude German censorship to share news of the war effort with their fellow Islanders. Nettles also discusses the illicit use of crystal sets to listen to the BBC by some Islanders, and the hiding of some forced workers by others. Nettles claims that the sharing of news in the Channel Islands shows 'Spirit, courage and defiance in the community at large.'[558] Crucially, this section begins to present a particular theme in Nettles' analysis of the Channel Islands' occupation: the search for heroes and villains. He does not hide from naming those who are rumoured to have betrayed others, such as 'an Irishman, Paddy Doyle' who is said to have betrayed the men who ran G.U.N.S. Similarly, he names 'two elderly sisters… Lily and Maud Vibert' who are accused in the documentary of denouncing Louisa Gould and her brother Harold for hiding an escaped forced worker in their home. Gould, a well-known icon of female resistance in the Channel Islands since Bunting's *The Model Occupation* discussed the lack of recognition for her story, with Gould remembered for having said the words 'I have to do something for another woman's son' after her own son was killed in action.[559] Gould is the focus of this section in the documentary, rather than her brother or the forced worker in question. Gould is described as 'sentimental', as she kept items that would eventually incriminate her and see her perish at Ravenbruck concentration camp. In many ways, Gould has become a symbol of every woman who sacrificed everything she had to protect the men fighting for their homelands, and every mother who would be forced to bear devastating news due to their sons or husbands being sent to fight for Britain against Nazism. Nettles contrasts Gould's own selflessness and sentimentality with those who he claims denounced her, even though it is also acknowledged

[557] Nettles, *The Channel Islands at War*.
[558] Ibid.
[559] Bunting, *The Model Occupation.*

that there is no definitive proof that these women were responsible for her having been denounced. Nettles nonetheless shares rumours of these two women having motives such as 'jealousy' or wishing for some 'petty money'.[560] The sharing of rumour about who denounced individuals offers a stark contrast to the good character of those who defied or resisted the Germans. It also offers a positive perspective on the rest of the community who are described as having shunned these individuals for the rest of their lives; disassociating the population at large with a minority of individuals who were not part of the united, selfless, and patriotic community during or after the occupation.

Finally, while Nettles also revisits the topic of sexual fraternisation, he himself privileges the accounts of those who experienced 'true love' and separates this from the memory of 'jerry bags' entirely, including filmed interviews with Islander Phyllis Rang and her German husband Werner Rang (whose love story was previously detailed in the book, *Island Destiny*). In the 'Occupation' episode of *The Channel Islands at War*, Phyllis Rang's testimony is also part of a defence of Islander conduct during the occupation years:

> 'There is a vast difference between collaboration and fraternisation. Fraternisation, yes, collaboration, no. Because how can you live on a small island like this for four or five years without fraternising?'[561]

The more controversial elements of the original accusations regarding the 'jerry bags' are not addressed at all until the last three minutes of the episode, when Nettles states:

> 'These were women who had consorted with the enemy. A practise elegantly described as horizontal collaboration…some were, you know, just young girls seduced by the glamour of handsome soldiers in a society robbed of most of its own young men. Some

[560] Nettles, *The Channel Islands at War*.
[561] Phyllis Rang interview in *The Channel Islands at War.*

> were older women anxious to improve their circumstances. And some just fell in love…'[562]

Again, the screen cuts to an interview with Phyllis Rang and her husband Werner Rang, concluding the segment with their story of true love, with Phyllis recounting:

> 'He says he fell in love with me there and then. Well, I don't react quite as quickly as that. Besides, in, you know, it just wasn't on in these days. Somebody asked me one day "did you walk out together?" I said, "Well, gracious, you couldn't be seen walking out with a German soldier." [563]

Through this description, Phyllis shows how she remained faithful to her community and their expectations throughout the occupation, whilst also remaining faithful to her true love for Werner. Nettles further concludes this final section of the 'Occupation' documentary episode with his own analysis of this 'true love' narrative, using the story of the Rangs to define the discussion of collaboration and fraternisation in the Channel Islands in these final moments of the episode:

> 'The Second World War may have pitted them against each other but with the peace came marriage, three children, nine grandchildren, and eight great grandchildren. Perhaps it was the particular circumstance that brought these two people together. Perhaps people were different then. Different rules, different expectations. But whatever the reasons, to swim against the tides of war and live a lifetime of devotion ever afterwards; that surely demands our admiration. Love. The most enduring of human emotion.'[564]

---

[562] Nettles in *The Channel Islands at War.*
[563] Ibid.
[564] Ibid.

This final segment anchors the story of the occupation in the importance of maintaining marriage and family as a continuing indicator of good female citizenship, and by extension, the good citizenship of the 'People's War' nation.

The response to *The Channel Islands at War* was largely positive, with an article from the *Guernsey Press* interviewing a range of Islanders about their thoughts of the show in December 2010.[565] Joan Coutanche chose to attend the DVD launch for the series at the Occupation Museum in Guernsey, and shared these thoughts on the role of the series:

> 'Of course there should be books and documentaries. It's part of Guernsey's history, a big part. We were very young during the Occupation, I was 19 and my husband was 20. We married during it, actually. We stayed away from the Germans as much as we could but you're busy getting on with it as best you can, so you don't really know what's going on…It's only as time goes on that you find out more about what happened and to be honest, the people who were in charge had an intolerable job. It's only as I've got older that I have appreciated that. They had to deal with the Germans, who were doing a job themselves. When you look back, it's not so easy to judge. …We actually saw these healthy Germans turn into skeletons. If anything, they were worse off in the end.'[566]

Dorothy Langlois, who was one of those interviewed for *The Channel Islands at War* was also interviewed for the article:

[565] Nicci Martel, 'To Let Sleeping Dogs Lie is to Belittle What Occupied Islanders Went Through' *Guernsey Press,* 2 December 2010. p.10.
[566] Ibid.

> ‘I think it has opened a lot of old wounds for some. The evacuation was very painful and those who were evacuated had a very different war to those who were occupied. But it’s important to know what happened and to remember.’[567]

For these women, then, the documentary is not only acceptable, but also helped them to make sense of their own war memories, ensuring that the documentary and its interaction with the local community became a part of this sharing and remembering of occupation stories in the Channel Islands, and was not simply a television documentary by another British historian. Crucially, the article also shows local historians giving their support to the documentary, with Brian Bonnard offering his opinion that he is pleased to see ever-more emphasis on occupation history, and explaining how he noticed it increasingly being addressed in Islander schools.[568] Howard Butler Baker is said to have helped with Nettles’ research for the documentary, and reaffirms his own view that:

> ‘the issue of collaboration is one that stirs the strongest feelings, but…the evidence available on the Occupation does not point to widespread collaboration…but enforced cooperation. There is a marked difference between the two and if the documentary somehow suggested otherwise…it was absolutely not the intention. …He [Nettles] shows that while there was so-called collaboration, it fell into the category of enforced cooperation and I think that most people would accept that. …It is a delicate subjects, but I think John did a good job. He’s a trained historian and he came to the conclusion that by and large, people acted with dignity and honour.’[569]

This shows that Nettles’ documentary being presented not just as a history of the occupation, but as a history that Islanders could accept and one which could be exported to a wider market

---

[567] Ibid.
[568] Ibid.
[569] Ibid.

to challenge the claims made by historians such as Madeleine Bunting, herself a qualified historian with qualified reviewers, whose account of the occupation years was nonetheless rejected by the community. In this way, Nettles took on the role that the Channel Islands Occupation Review had previously called for others to fill; for British historians to present the 'correct' version of Islander conduct to a wide audience, while intimately involving Islanders in its creation and storytelling. Nettles himself took this role seriously, saying that his aim had been to write and produce the documentary himself, using his 'high profile' to 'help ensure the story of the Occupation reaches as many people as possible and help change international perceptions of the islands for the better.'[570] Crucially, Nettles does address the topic of the Jewish population of the Channel Islands in the documentary, but makes clear that he consulted with Islander Frederick Cohen on this topic (rather than Bunting, who first addressed the Jews of the Channel Islands in some depth).[571] While there were some people who were unhappy with the documentary due to it addressing the topic of collaboration at all, it was nonetheless defended strongly by the media, the local population, and was promoted heavily by local institutions, making this a much greater success in the Channel Islands than previous 'outsider' accounts. Where others had previously dared to challenge the Islander reconfiguration of this difficult memory (such as in the ITV drama series, *Island at War*) there was a much fiercer backlash in the Channel Islands, which can be viewed through reading newspapers of the period, and further connection made with Bunting's original book to discredit the 'outsider' narrative being presented. Meanwhile, since his documentary, Nettles has become a central UK-born figure to continue presenting an acceptable version of events in the Channel Islands and beyond, with his 2012 history of the occupation, *Jewels and Jackboots*, being published by Channel Islands Publishing in association with Jersey War Tunnels. It was initially only available for local purchase at the Jersey War Tunnels itself (accompanied by a new historical

[570] Ibid, p.11.
[571] Ibid.

audio tour, voiced by Nettles, for the Jersey War Tunnel's shuttle bus), before being rolled out to major retailers at the end of this launch period exclusivity, with all royalties from the book's sales going to Jersey-based charities.[572] In honour of Nettles' acting career on the Island, Jersey Museum are also due to put on a major exhibition featuring local photographs and relics from the 1980s, titled *Bergerac's Island*, further cementing his iconic status as a UK-born representative of Islander history in the face of outsider controversy, and cementing the special and enduring relationship between the Channel Islands and their British heritage through him.[573]

Finally, *The Channel Islands at War* undoubtedly brought more attention to the aforementioned love story of Islander Phyllis Baker and German Army doctor Werner Rang, as a result of Nettles' use of their story in his conclusion to the series. Their memories of the occupation years were subsequently compiled as a 'true story of love and war in the Channel Island of Sark' and made widely available in the Channel Islands.[574] Le Tissier writes that their love story shows 'an intensely human story and one which demonstrates the folly of war and the triumph of love between two young people from opposing sides of the conflict'.[575] This, again, frames such a love story in terms of British values and good versus evil rather than according to the wartime complexities of their association, and gives what had once been termed 'collaboration' an acceptable face which does not involve the wider community or charges of State collaboration with the enemy.[576] It is undeniable then that Bunting's very public addressing of many controversial and neglected narratives in the experience and memory of the Channel Islands' occupation, and her description of the postwar treatment of Dolly and

[572] Press Release from Jersey War Tunnels, 18 October 2012 https://www.jerseywartunnels.com/wp-content/uploads/Jewels-and-Jackboots-Jersey-press-release-FINAL.pdf [Accessed 05/12/2016].
[573] 'GALLERY: The 1980s in Jersey' *Jersey Evening Post*, 23 May 2016. http://jerseyeveningpost.com/news/2016/05/23/gallery-the-1980s-in-jersey/ [Accessed 05/12/2016].
[574] Le Tissier, *Island Destiny.*
[575] Ibid.
[576] Ibid.

Willi, saw the beginnings of an unlikely popularised narrative in the 21st century intergenerational commemoration of the Channel Islands occupation. This was of true love stories as examples of patriotism, rather than collaboration, or at the very least, as an acceptable feminine face to mask other more complex questions about State and community collaboration. Not only did another Islander couple come forward to publish their own account of their 'forbidden' wartime romance (Phyllis and Werner Rang of Sark), but the topic of 'true love' as an example of Islander sacrifice and patriotism also appears in the popular documentary series *The Channel Islands at War,* as well as in the fictional series *Island at War.* It is no coincidence that libraries and book shops in Jersey and Guernsey now include such romantic and thriller fiction titles as *The Collaborator* (UK title)/*The Soldier's Wife* (US title) by Margaret Leroy (2011), *We'll Meet Again* by Lily Baxter (2011), *Not the Enemy* by Damian Cavanagh (2007), and *Island Madness* by Tim Binding (1998). These are all fictional accounts which deal with the topic of wartime love stories between Islanders and German soldiers. One of the more recent romantic fiction titles, *Time to Tell* by Geraldine Pratchett-Hultkrantz (2009) includes a review from a high-profile local occupation historian, Bob Le Sueur, who himself lived through the occupation, and again makes the comparison between an occupation-era love affair and:

> 'a retelling of the lessons from 'Romeo and Juliet' or 'West Side Story', that deep relationships will always exist regardless of international politics, public opinion and even of military conflict. The author is to be congratulated on her meticulous research into the authentic factual background of that strange period in island history'.[577]

The fact that these comments not only embrace the 'factual background' of the romantic fiction novel and its one-time controversial content shows just how far the Channel Islands have

[577] Bob Le Sueur commenting on the cover of Geraldine Pratchett-Hultkrantz, *Time to Tell* (Jersey, 2009).

adjusted to adopt this narrative in the intervening years since Madeleine Bunting's publication, and more than that, how the occupation 'true love' story has become synonymous with a positive moral lesson about war and human emotion, of which Islander women remain the gatekeepers.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the new challenges to the dominant frames of Channel Islands' war memory in the post-1995 period, magnified by the shock publication of Bunting's *The Model Occupation* and accusations regarding Islander collaboration within it. This was exacerbated by its promotion in an article titled 'Sleeping with the Enemy'. This occurred at a time of generational shifts in occupation commemoration, as the war generation were increasingly not leading commemorative events or reaffirming old war stories, and with the next generation beginning to take over this responsibility of preserving their community war story and interconnected British-Islander identity. As new oral history and archival documents were made accessible to 'outsiders' such as Bunting, their publication was in many respects seen as an attack on the legacy, identity, and memory of Islanders who had experienced the occupation years and constructed the authoritative and 'true' version of events. This chapter has therefore analysed some of the ways that Islanders sought to stabilise existing frames of memory, and stabilise their connection with British war memory.

The chapter first explored the significance of Madeleine Bunting, herself a journalist from the United Kingdom, associating the Channel Islands with the European experience of occupation and the Holocaust, rather than with positive imagery of Britishness during the Second World War. This undermined memories of British-Islander exceptionalism in the face of Nazism, and highlighted areas of erasure and trauma that had not been fully addressed in the Channel Islands, making these topics unavoidable in future retellings of the occupation story. The

Joanknecht story was an important example of this, with the chapter exploring how an article which had once graced *The Telegraph Magazine* under the heading 'Sleeping with the Enemy' could be made acceptable by Islanders. While the original retelling had seen this framed by Bunting's research regarding widespread Islander collaboration, the subsequent publishing of their account in the Channel Islands instead framed this with the most potent example of British-Islander loyalty and righteous victory and loyalty to the Crown: Liberation Day. This enabled Islanders to both take control of this story, but also to marginalise difficult elements of it on a day which celebrated this enduring British-Islander relationship and shared values.

This chapter has also shown that the backlash to Bunting's book was such that prominent Islanders who were involved in occupation history and heritage in the Channel Islands began to seek out acceptable 'outsiders' who could tell the 'correct' story of the occupation and disseminate this to a wider British audience. Some Islanders even went as far as to try discredit or secure retractions following Bunting's research, with Holt in particular asserting her right to reinterpret sites associated with forced labour, as they were also 'her' heritage, having had a very different experience of these spaces growing up. Islanders in this period, therefore, both sought to undermine and reframe these difficult issues, finally selecting their own British 'outsider' figures to present their 'correct' version of history with the involvement of Islanders and existing spaces of memory.

The issue of wartime collaboration was also increasingly made palatable by selecting redemptive true love stories between Islander women and German soldiers. This presented a more acceptable, yet inherently gendered, face to the topic of wartime collaboration. This in itself marginalised bigger questions about State and community complicity in atrocities and deportations in the Channel Islands, making women representative of collaboration once more, but redeeming them (and the Channel Islands, by extension) through positive associations with marriage, motherhood and family in these stories. In this way, these women remained loyal to

their British values by preserving their feminine virtue in wartime. This enabled a stabilisation of dominant frames of memory, as Islanders could once again separate themselves from the European experience of occupation and focus upon their connection with British values and victory.

By 2004, when *Island at War* was televised (with the cast having been given Bunting's book prior to filming) the Islander population was mobilised within the local media, with many hoping to protest 'outsider' revisionism of their own war stories, particularly when this strayed from popularised representations of the occupation within the Channel Islands. The publication of Le Tissier's *Island Destiny* in 2006, was therefore significant in providing a wholly acceptable 'true love' story to counter ongoing debates about widespread Islander collaboration. This detailed not just the story of two people falling in love, but of two people who could be depoliticised due to their particular wartime roles, their insistence on marriage, and the descriptions of Werner's early interactions with Phyllis' family, ensuring that Phyllis was very much a figure of honourable and loyal feminine virtue. This not only ensured that collaboration had a female, and less problematic face, but also preserved many of the key tenets of Islander memory and expectations of British values and conduct during the war. The failure of *Island of War* to secure a second season may have rejuvenated the desire to protect popularised frames of Islander memory from 'outsider' revision in future, but Le Tissier's *Island Destiny* provided an Islander-led example of how the unavoidable topic of collaboration could exist alongside popularised frames of memory.

Similarly, in *The Channel Islands at War,* John Nettles addressed the difficult questions raised by Bunting in ways that minimised discussion of widespread collaboration and atrocities; himself making use of the Rangs from Le Tissier's *Island Destiny* as a depoliticised example of what collaboration really was. Nettles also emphasised recognisable frames of memory through the privileging of certain Islander voices, speeches, and by making use of Islanders'

established martial spaces of memory to shoot, disseminate and gain local approval for this televised documentary. *The Channel Islands at War* found answers to difficult questions within the existing frames of Islander war memory, and did not stray far from presenting the occupation as an extension of the 'People's War'. John Nettles' presentation of the occupation story was appreciated to such a degree that he was supported in launching and distributing the documentary within the Channel Islands when it aired on the *Yesterday* channel, while his iconic *Bergerac* status meant that Nettles was immediately able to command authority within the Channel Islands. This was a period when such authority was valuable, as the Islander community's popularised frames of memory risked being shattered due to an increasing number of counter-memories being shared outside of the confines of the Channel Islands. However, Nettles' documentary is an example of how established war stories could simply be reframed to answer these difficult questions in a new era, stabilising the connection between the occupation and British war memory in the process.

Following on from the fierce backlash to Bunting's *The Model Occupation* and the subsequent production of *Island at War*, 'true love' stories and their adoption by both Islanders and John Nettles - who himself became a desirable UK-born figurehead through whom Islanders could transmit their usable past to a wider audience - neutralised the most difficult aspects of these debates about wartime collaboration. This reframed the collaboration conversation to focus upon a complex but more acceptable image of wartime femininity which was able to maintain community values through marriage and converting German men to Islander customs. Women were thus seen to be winning the battle of virtue, morality, and putting their family first, even as their love for the enemy blurred the lines of acceptability in wartime.

This chapter has therefore shown how increased visibility of acceptable true love stories made the damaging 'outsider' debate about Islander collaboration palatable. The Channel Islands were once again able to reclaim and reaffirm their connection to their accepted frames of

gendered war memory, which hinged upon patriotic iconography of the British war effort, shared values of heroic masculinity and virtuous femininity, and minimising that which connected the Channel Islands to the traumatic and divisive European experience of occupation during the Second World War.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the connection between the experience and memory of war, and the role that gender has played, and continues to play, in community understandings of the past, as well as what, who, or where should be remembered (or forgotten). The flexibility and durability of these early frames of memory has also been examined, showing where they have developed in commemoration, ritual, and popular culture. It has been argued that these 'new' narratives and ways of addressing the past have in fact ensured the continued prominence and stabilisation of the original male-dominated narratives, spaces, and recording of this public history above all others. This maintained the imagery of martial heroic masculinity, alongside women who have either been presented as the face of 'collaboration' or who were seen to represent the values of the community in a nostalgic view of the home, family and love, as supportive rather than active figures in the war years.

This thesis, thus, builds on the body of work by such historians as Jan Assmann, Susan R. Grayzel, Marilyn Lake and Henry Rousso, by seeking to understand memory through a more detailed examination of intersecting gendered identities, emotions, and societal anxieties of the past, particularly at a time of war. Such an approach helps us to explore the early foundations and enduring frames of memory, as well as why certain narratives, spaces, objects and rituals hold strong meaning to communities and nation states in the present. This thesis can further contribute to the growing body of academic work focused upon gender and memory, as well as considering the intersection of gender and memory at a time of war. Through a study of these small, closed, Western European communities, and a range of influential public history sources that impact their interaction and sharing of their war memory, this thesis shows that gender not only impacts the very formation of wartime anxieties and identities, but that these

then feed into the subsequent distilling of memory and the ways in which memory is recorded, disseminated, discussed, and commemorated.

The Channel Islands' construction of a usable past has been impacted throughout the decades by the gendered expectations of the war years, gendered ways of engaging with subsequent war stories, and the gendered audiences and architects of memory and public history in the aftermath. The necessity of gender to draw conclusions about this topic is clear, and highlights the importance of looking more closely at the individual strands of developing memory within communities when assessing the general population. The interplay between the personal and political is very apparent when considering how memories have been produced, transmitted, and remembered, and who might reassess these memories when the War Generation is no longer with us. The pursuit of heroism and virtue was, therefore, not just important to maintain gendered social identities. It was also central to the image of the 'just' nation that was victorious because it was inherently 'good' and righteous; defining the national community as having fought and won a fair war, smoothing societal divisions and providing a unifying national identity and sense of exceptional personhood. This enabled a national and community recovery when justice was not seen to be provided, and when the lines of 'correct conduct' were blurred at a time of war, as the usual indicators of good citizenship were being constantly undermined and challenged by uncontrollable events.

Intergenerational Consistency and Inconsistency in the Transmission of Memory

This thesis shows that these early frames of memory were in fact necessarily flexible enough to account for new societal events, politics, recovered narratives and intergenerational pressures, and that their very existence was itself rooted in the community's response to early wartime and postwar anxieties. These responses were powerful enough to reverberate through the decades, with the primary actors, spaces, historical moments, symbols and objects which

had been so imbued with national meaning or were the focus of moral panic in the wartime and early postwar period, continuing to occupy a powerful and influential place in popular representations of the war years. Where these popular frames of memory have been challenged, they have been found to adapt and to become a part of new popular mediums, resulting in the continued cementation of the recognisable gendered narratives through which the Channel Islands' occupation has been understood by this small community.

This thesis has gone further, to consider how the stories told by the war generation impacted later generations and their own understanding of Islander citizenship, and the resulting consistencies and inconsistencies apparent in public representations of the past. It has detailed how popular culture has played an increasingly important role in the transmission and refining of frames of memory since Bunting's controversial history book in 1995. The Channel Islands' version of the past was under threat in an increasingly global and intergenerational world (and community), and quickly adapted its connection with British war memory through 'acceptable' outsider figures, to continue to share difficult memories along more palatable lines. Islanders acted to depoliticise and defuse the most painful aspects of the collaboration debate, and once again centred women as the face of 'collaboration'; this time through 'true love stories' so as to redeem the community at large by focusing on British values and maintaining feminine virtue within these stories. Underpinning all of this was Islanders' active attempts to construct a past that most could accept, and yet could be reconciled with modern notions of citizenship and community (thus, increasingly acknowledging that the Holocaust did touch the Channel Islands, but still distance local people from accusations of collaboration, through use of the more acceptable term 'cooperation'). The story of the occupation continues to be presented through the lens of British victory and war memory, with this itself bound up with imagery of the heroic British 'Tommy', the defiant Churchill as war leader, and virtuous women who were

in direct contrast to those who were seen to betray the community through their sexual transgressions and immorality.

The power of wartime anxieties and rumours were explored in some depth throughout this thesis. Such anxieties could take the form of diary segments regarding a woman's perceived sexual interactions with the enemy, or even the collection and dissemination of military trophies and spaces. These rumours and anxieties fed into a public history which continued to celebrate the militaristic elements of the occupation, with the liberating British soldier becoming a figure that young boys and men could 'become' and imagine their own role in British victory through generations, having grown up surrounded by the reclaimed objects and spaces that littered their relatives' war stories. Similarly, women have passed down written accounts which themselves explore the daily anxieties of being separated from family, coming into contact with the enemy, and recounting how to be good citizens in wartime. These stories were themselves preserved, some being published by the authors or their relatives in later years; further entrenching certain voices and exploring correct modes of femininity in wartime. This was in contrast to the image of the 'other' undesirable woman, who was ever-present and yet ever-voiceless within these stories; the jerry bag.

Just as important, however, were the inconsistencies in the stories and commemorative practices that were passed down within the Channel Islands. Most significantly, how the occupation story has been flexible enough to adapt to direct challenges to its' credibility following outsider revisions to the Channel Islands' war history. While spaces such as the bunker at La Hougue Bie would be adapted to commemorate the slave workers who perished, and new memorials would be established to commemorate Jewish and slave worker victims on the periphery of war memory; these would continue to exist in less central public spaces and their memorialisation would coincide with the creation of significant memorials to Liberation Day and the traditional story of the occupation in the capitals of Jersey and Guernsey.

Similarly, when Islanders began to lose control of the discussion regarding wartime collaboration (as Madeleine Bunting published widely connecting the Channel Islands' occupation to Britain's role in the Holocaust) two things changed; first, the story of the female 'jerry bags' was made acceptable with stories of true love which nevertheless ensured the continuation of collaboration being inherently associated with femininity. Secondly, Islanders sought out their own 'outsider' figures to reaffirm the accepted story of the occupation for the British and Islander public, most particularly, by utilising the image and story-telling skills of iconic British *Bergerac* actor, John Nettles, in print and on television. Crucially, none of these responses denied the counter-memories being published, directly. Instead, they sought to retell popular stories in new, unavoidable and compelling ways for future generations, while ensuring that the face of collaboration remained that of the sexualised woman, and the stories of atrocities were never given the same space as stories of wartime heroism and glory. As such, war memories in the Channel Islands have been both consistent and adaptable over time and, in many respects, it is that adaptability that has enabled the occupation to endure as the founding story of Islander identity. Recognising difficult stories has been crucial to marginalising them and preserving the popular narratives of the war years in increasingly concrete ways, across the generations.

The Flexibility of Gendered Memory

This thesis has also explored how women would pass down their war stories, collecting the ephemeral memories of domesticity, separation from loved ones, and anxiety about living life in an occupied zone and experiencing public scrutiny in their daily interactions and emotions. During the occupation, and throughout subsequent decades, women have had to contend with the problematic nature of their war experiences; tasked with ensuring their family's and community's survival, all without being seen in the presence of the enemy within this militarised landscape. Women's diaries show the need to reconcile their experiences in the

wartime public space with expectations of maintaining their reputation within their community. K.M. Bachmann and V.V. Cortvriend offer examples of how women would frame necessary interactions with the enemy according to their roles as loyal wives and mothers, thus minimising the risk of being associated with 'jerry bags' or profiteering. At the same time, Alice Flavelle shows how writing could itself be an act of feminine resistance, by choosing to record the war even though she feared deeply about the consequences of her diary being found. Molly Bihet's writings, meanwhile, show how even the next generation of women might preserve and retell their family's story, to ensure that the everyday sacrifices made by people like Bihet's mother were incorporated into the wider understanding of the occupation years.

Women's war stories often focused on different aspects of the occupation years rather than the militaristic rituals and spaces which had long dominated the public remembrance of the occupation. These stories were generally rooted in family and navigating very different wartime expectations and roles in contrast to pre-war lives. However, these stories were framed in such a way as to fit, rather than undermine, the dominant memory framework of British-Islander unity, defiance, and eventual victory. The Occupation Tapestry is itself a perfect example of how the tools and stories selected by women to tell their war stories could offer both a different perspective (with a female-headed family becoming the focal point of this set of reimagined images) and yet still maintain the key symbols that made such a retelling acceptable to the community at large. These symbols continued to emphasise the founding myth of 'certain' British military victory and defiance under military occupation, alongside the image of a good woman who was the guardian of her family and home while Churchill's men waged war. Such stories of the occupation years could co-exist alongside the careful rebuilding of Islander masculinity that was occurring within public spaces and ritual in the Channel Islands, and these were increasingly made public in later years as the appetite for occupation stories continued to grow around Liberation Day anniversaries.

The spreading of rumours about the dangerous and selfish female 'jerry bags' was also particularly influential in terms of how women framed their war stories. Whether or not there was any truth in the majority of the 'jerry bag' stories is almost irrelevant, as the universal awareness and anxiety about the 'jerry bags' portrays a perception of spreading wartime deviancy that felt real to Islanders. This also provided a figure for women writers to define themselves against, while continuing to ensure the centrality of the conversation about good moral conduct in wartime. Men, meanwhile, were able to 'other' any reference to wartime collaboration by making reference to these imagined women, who were symbols of feminine betrayal rather than flesh and blood. Perceptions of women's sexuality in wartime were undoubtedly used to measure their enduring loyalty to Crown, country and community, as well as resistance to the enemy soldier and his continued presence within the public space.

As was explored in this thesis, women's war stories were often disseminated within their family, often between generations of women. Some provided a compelling counter-narrative of the experience of occupation (critiquing the government, neighbours and even wrestling with their past pacifist beliefs), yet often, for many decades, remained outside of the public spaces where men shared their war stories and collected trophies as part of an established retelling of the Channel Islands' war story. As a result, women's stories were often not adopted as authoritative accounts of the occupation itself, and their authors did not swiftly publish their work or form public groups comparable to the Channel Islands Occupation Society. Yet, the act of articulating their thoughts and anxieties during this tumultuous period was, in many respects, an act of defiance by women who were expected to navigate the militaristic landscape without engaging with the enemy (or even with the Islander resistance activities that could place them in danger). These stories also provided a crucial unifying narrative for families torn apart by war and for women trying to make sense of their own place in the British war effort, particularly when they had children or other relatives who had lived out the Second World War

in the United Kingdom, and so had their own expectations and questions for the only British communities to experience German occupation. Men's war stories, meanwhile, have remained cemented in the landscape of the Channel Islands through their establishing of extensive Occupation Museums, ensuring that the public representation of the war years is one that continues to concrete and celebrate the narrative of masculine defiance and heroism under occupation, as a founding stone of Islander identity.

Masculinity and the Problem of Occupation

In fact, masculine heroism and feminine collaboration have been two unwavering features within Islander occupation memory through the decades, with Liberation Day undoubtedly offering the most powerful example of Islanders projecting the image of Islander masculinity onto the iconic British 'Tommies' and their victorious return to the Channel Islands. Male-dominated reports and early accounts of the war have offered clear indications of the impact that this period had on the male population, who were unable to resist the occupying forces, or to gain resolution for their anger and sense of impotency. Chapter 1 has shown how many seemingly turned to writing, or otherwise shared their stories in public spaces, which were then framed according to the desirable themes of adventure and defiance in the face of the enemy. While women did write their own accounts during this period, their publication was much less common for decades after the occupation ended, and these rare diaries were often recorded and disseminated very differently, instead being informed by documents which had been produced by the States, or with the influence of their initial family audience. It was often men who shaped the early discussion about the war years in public and official spaces, through official reports, prominent spaces of memory, and in writing for wider audiences to access and debate. Men also sought to reclaim their connection to a performative martial masculinity through the image of the heroic British 'Tommy' and British victory. Chapter 2 outlined how these 'Tommies' became instant icons, much more so than the Islander politicians working behind the scenes to

secure the German surrender. The ‘Tommies’ not only represented freedom and masculine strength over the enemy, but were also wholly accessible as a familiar and unproblematic soldiering figure that British-Islander men had been taught to aspire to in wartime. In many ways the British ‘Tommies’ presented an idealistic image of British-Islander manhood, and their existence was easily transformed into an ‘everyman’ local story for young boys surrounded by military relics of the war years to emulate.

In later years, this strong connection with the figure of the liberating British soldier as representative of Islander masculinity in wartime was strengthened into local rituals. This fused the emotion of V.E. Day on 8 May, when Churchill declared the Channel Islands to be free, with the compelling image of ordinary British men returning to remove the German occupiers from their positions of power on 9 May. This not only enabled boys and young men to act out their own liberation, ‘becoming’ the figures in this concluding chapter of their community’s war experience, but also reimagined these local men as having an active part of the wider British experience of the Second World War. This has become a defining moment of Islander identity – with the image of the British ‘Tommy’, an exciting figure of adventure and freedom, becoming central to occupation memory, with liberation commemoration in many ways marginalising difficult discussions about the occupation itself.

The Liberation Day ritual has built upon this desirable image of Islander masculinity that transcends generations; redefining the occupation experience as being intimately tied to Churchillian attributes of righteous victory and Home Front unity, rather than facing the divisiveness and complexity of Islander communities that lived beside the enemy for five years. Concrete memorials further entrenched the dominance of the liberation narrative, ensuring that this will remain an immediate point of reference when remembering or learning about the occupation years for years to come, and making the occupation synonymous with masculine

pride and glory, while marginalising difficult counter-narratives that have emerged in recent years.

Similarly, the way in which Islander memories have been shared through the appropriation of German military objects and spaces has also been explored. The collection and passing down of war trophies has been particularly significant in the postwar lives of many young men and boys, resulting in the creation of a framework of occupation museums and history societies that sought to collaboratively piece together a unified narrative of the war years and reclaim the masculine power and pride that was lost through years of occupation. As Chapter 3 has shown, when old German military spaces could not be effectively destroyed, local people did not allow these spaces to undermine their war stories or act as reminders of their impotency and trauma. Instead, collaborative efforts saw these spaces used to choreograph an acceptable version of a shared past where Islander masculinity could be reaffirmed. This was done through locally collected military trophies (as well as some imported from other countries in Europe) and passive German figures that could be contrasted with the 'living' ritual of the heroic 'Tommy', alongside tales of Islander defiance. In particular, these stories, objects and spaces were also necessary to reclaim a sense of lost masculine pride, with this culminating in the Liberation Day ritual where Islander men and boys could 'become' the British Tommy and a part of the wider war memory of British victory over Nazism, rather than passive, unarmed observers who were freed by the actions of other men. This is typified by Islanders re-enacting the British movements on the day of liberation without the presence of German figures; themselves relegated to the sterile fortification sites where they can be disarmed by the Islander retelling of occupation history. This use of public space to reclaim symbols of wartime oppression is perfectly complimented by the Liberation Day ritual, as the 'Tommies' (and, thus, Islander men) are instilled with even greater prestige when viewed against the backdrop of preserved fortification sites and the figure of their defeated foe within local museums. This

has also provided space to retell Islander stories of the occupation to an audience of regular local and outside visitors, as these sites increasingly became Occupation Museums and popular tourist attractions. This transmission and repetition of early frames of memory through these spaces, and their marginalisation and compartmentalising of war stories that did not fit with this heroic ideal, has ensured the continued dominance of the Liberation and 'soldier hero' narratives in Islander war memory.

The Trope of the Sexualised Woman 'Jerry Bag' as Collaborator

The consistent association between femininity and collaboration has also been explored at length, with the Islander community being shown to project the most negative aspects of the occupation onto young, often working class, women. Regardless of the truth of such rumours, the enduring *perception* that there were a large number of young women enjoying the occupation, betraying their menfolk, and gaining favours from the powerful enemy in a time of shortages, was compelling and long-lasting. Women's diary accounts have been used to illustrate the anxiety felt by some women when explaining their interactions with the enemy; often seeking to minimise such encounters or gain approval for their responses. The significance of the enduring trope of the selfish, hyper-sexual 'jerry bags' aligns with the work of Sonya O. Rose, who has argued that sexualised women were framed as 'anti-citizens' in direct comparison to the idealised image of the nation at war, where British people were expected to be ceaselessly patriotic, self-sacrificing and willing to die for the national cause.[578] 'Good time girls' did not fit this image, however, they did prove to be a powerful tool for a nation which sought something concrete to define good conduct against, and to encourage civic virtue as a marker of British exceptionalism and unity.[579] In this way, a woman's sexuality could be directly contrasted with ideas of wartime good citizenship, as 'libidinal femininity'

[578] Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain, 1939-1945* (Oxford, 2003) p.79.
[579] Ibid.

became the enemy within, and the face of any moral and social weakness within the wartime community.[580] In the case of the occupation of the Channel Islands, being able to make 'other' acts of collaboration was particularly important to community unity. The myth of the female 'jerry bags' has remained particularly potent as a way to separate the majority of Islanders from un-British and immoral conduct during the war years, and to make these voiceless, sexualised women the face of collaborative acts. This trope came to the fore again in the 1990s, following the publication of Madeleine Bunting's *The Model Occupation,* before being used to undermine difficult questions about the war years by centring discussion of wartime collaboration on increasingly 'acceptable' love stories between Islander women and German soldiers. This shows the extent to which discussion of collaboration and wartime good citizenship have remained inherently gendered in the Channel Islands, with women remaining the face of the 'other', and of questionable moral choices within the wider Islander community.

However, the scope of this thesis was necessarily limited, and future research could be done to further explore the themes that it has addressed, and to make visible aspects such as women's war work and gendered resistance activities, particularly in the case of unmarried or working-class women who appear to be less represented in the primary literature. These stories have often been lost due to the dominance of other memories and commemoration of the occupation years. Without this information it is difficult to achieve a complete picture of the unique experience of women under occupation, and to understand how they interacted with the community before and after the war, when the community was so focused on the policing of women's bodies and 'correct' conduct with the enemy. As part of this, it would also be fruitful to include studies of non-Islander women living in the Channel Islands (particularly within the forced worker camps) and how their ethnicity, trauma, and social status impacted their memories of the occupation. Very few references are made to such non-Islander women in the

[580] Ibid, p.92.

current historiography, and the Channel Islands' archives rarely hold first-hand accounts from these groups of women. Further study could also consider the specific emotional experience of servicemen returning to the Channel Islands after the Second World War, and how they themselves made sense of their wartime memories within this context, especially when their family remained in the Channel Islands during the occupation years and had to adapt to a spectrum of conflicting war memories and legacies. If nothing else, this thesis has shown the importance of gender in any analysis of the Channel Islands' occupation past, and any further research in this field would offer further insights into both the construction of wartime and postwar identities in the Channel Islands, and act as a case study for similar wartime experiences in other previously-occupied nations.

This thesis has, therefore, provided a new point of reference for those examining the relationship between gender and memory, particularly when war infringed upon the tightly-bound relationships, customs and societal norms of small communities. It has examined how these same communities then sought to construct a usable past through the lens of the much larger and victorious nation state. This was central to providing the necessary unifying narrative for people to heal from wartime trauma and the anxiety, which came from an imposed occupation which directly undermined their gendered values, and brought into conflict the sexuality of women and perceived impotency of men. The intensity of some wartime anxieties split the experience and recollection of war along gendered lines, from the way that narratives were first constructed and disseminated, to the spaces, rituals, and popular culture used to share and preserve war memories in later years. This, in turn, privileged the masculine as 'authoritative' when discussing the war in public spaces, and when representing martial victory, while the 'feminine' remained connected with national values, family and the home. Terms such as 'collaboration', 'fraternisation', 'defiance' and 'resistance' have remained gendered constructs in representations of the Islanders' wartime past, as imagery of heroic

masculinity and virtuous femininity have been reimagined and stabilised in public history with the help of iconic sites, symbols and popularised memories of the occupation. As this thesis has shown, such explorations into the established war stories, spaces, objects, rituals and cultural representations of the Channel Islands' occupation past are necessary to achieve greater understanding of the gendered process of postwar memory construction and dissemination. These have all been essential components to the construction of a usable past in the Channel Islands; a process that has spanned generations and remains cemented in the landscape to the present day.

Bibliography

Monographs, Articles, and Theses

Abousnnoliga, Gill, Machin, David, *The Language of War Monuments* (London, 2013)

Addy, Christopher, 'Jersey War Tunnels' in Kjeldbæk, Esben (ed.), *The Power of the Object: Museums and World War II* (Edinburgh, 2009)

Allisette, Richard, *Islanders in Kitbags* (Guernsey, 1985)

Allport, Alan, *Demobbed: Coming Home After the Second World War* (New Haven, 2009)

Altınay, Ayşe Gül, Petö, Andrea (eds), *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories: Feminist Conversation on War, Genocide and Political Violence* (London, 2016)

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities* (London, 2006)

Anderson, Amanda, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Falleness in Victorian Culture* (New York, 1993)

Assmann, Jan, Czaplicka, Tony (trans), 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity' *New German Critique* (1995)

Bell, Amy Helen, *London Was Ours: Diaries and Memoirs of the London Blitz* (London, 2008)

Biess, Frank, Moeller, Robert G. (eds), *Histories of the Aftermath: The Legacies of the Second World War in Europe* (New York, 2010)

Bourke, Joanna, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, 1999)

Bowen, Sarah, 'Lest We Forget: Memories, History and the Muse de la Resistance et de le Deportation de'Isere,' in Bowen, Sarah, Demossier, Marion, Picard, Jeanine (eds), *Recollections of France: Memories, Identities and Heritage in Contemporary France* (New York, 2010)

Boyd, Kelly, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Basingstoke, 2003)

Bunting, Madeleine, *The Model Occupation: The Channel Islands under German Rule, 1940-1945* (London, 1996)

Calder, Angus, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London, 2008)

Capdevila, Luc, Rouquet, Francois, Schwartz, Paula, Virgili, Fabrice, Voldman, Daniele, 'Quite simply, Colonel…': Gender and the Second World War' in Diamond, Hanna, Kitson, Simon (eds), *Vichy, Resistance, Liberation: New Perspectives on Wartime France* (Oxford, 2005)

Carr, Gilly, *Legacies of Occupation: Heritage, Memory and Archaeology in the Channel Islands* (New York, 2014)

Carr, Gilly, Sanders, Paul, Willmot, Louise, *Protest, Defiance and Patriotism in the Channel Islands* (London, 2014)

Clifford, Rebecca, *Commemorating the Holocaust: The Dilemmas of Remembrance in France and Italy* (Oxford, 2013)

Cohen, Frederick, *The Jews in the Channel Islands during the German Occupation, 1940-1945* (Jersey, 2000)

Coleman, Tessa, *Threads of History: The Jersey Occupation Tapestry* (Jersey, 1995)

Connelly, Mark, *We Can Take It! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War* (Harlow, 2004)

Cornish, Paul, 'Just a Boyish Habit…' British and Commonwealth War Trophies in the First World War' in Saunders, Nicholas J., Cornish, Paul (eds), *Contested Objects: Material Memories of the Great War* (London, 2014)

Crouthamel, Jason, *An Intimate History of the Front* (New York, 2014)

Cruickshank, Charles, *The German Occupation of the Channel Islands* (Guernsey, 1975)

Diamond, Hanna, Kitson, Simon (eds), *Vichy, Resistance, Liberation: New Perspectives on Wartime France* (Oxford, 2005)

Darian-Smith, Kate, 'Remembrance, Romance, and Nation: Memories of Wartime Australia', in Leydesdorff, Selma, Passerini, Luisa, Thompson, Paul (eds), *Gender and Memory* (London, 2009)

Davies, Peter, *Dangerous Liaisons: Collaboration and World War Two* (Harlow, 2004)

Dawson, Graham, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994)

Dombrowski, Nicole Anne, 'Surviving the German Invasion of France: Women's Stories of the Exodus of 1940' in Dombrowski, Nicole Anne (ed.), *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted With or Without Consent* (New York, 1999)

Dombrowski, Nicole Anne (ed.), *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted With or Without Consent* (New York, 1999)

Duchen, Claire, Bandhauer-Schoffmann, Irene, *When the War Was Over: Women, War, and Peace in Europe, 1940-1956* (London, 2001)

Ericsson, Kjersti, Simonsen, Eva (eds), *Children of World War II: The Hidden Enemy Legacy* (Oxford, 2005)

Fraser, David, *The Jews of the Channel Islands and the Rule of Law, 1940-1945: "Quite Contrary to the Principles of British Justice"* (Brighton, 2000)

Frommer, Benjamin, 'Denouncers and Fraternizers: Gender, Collaboration, and Retribution in Bohemia and Moravia during World War II and After' in Wingfield, Nancy M., Bucur, Maria (eds), *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Bloomington, 2006)

Frommer, Benjamin, *National Cleansing: Retribution Against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslavakia* (Cambridge, 2005)

Gavey, Ernie, *A Guide to German Fortifications on Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1997)

Grayzel, Susan R., *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, 1999)

Gledhill, Christine, Swanson, Gillian (eds), *Nationalising Femininity: Culture, Sexuality and British Cinema in the Second World War* (Manchester, 1996)

Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992)

Hammerle, Christa, Uberegger, Oswald, Bader Zaar, Birgitta (eds), *Gender and the First World War* (Basingstoke, 2014)

Hanson, Irene (ed.), *Fiftieth Anniversary, Liberation of Jersey, 1945-1995, Souvenir Booklet* (Jersey, 1995)

Harrison, Simon, *Dark Trophies: Hunting and the Enemy Body in Modern War* (London, 2012)

Haug, Frigga, *Female Sexualization: A Collective Work of Memory* (London, 1999)

Hegarty, Marilyn E., *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II* (New York, 2007)

Hewitt, Nick, 'A Sceptical Generation? War Memorials and the Collective Memory of the Second World War in Britain, 1945-2000' in Geppert, Dominik (ed.), *The Postwar Challenge, 1945-1958* (Oxford, 2003)

Higonnet, Margaret Randolph, Jenson, Jane (eds), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (London, 1987)

Hillsdon, Sonia, *German Soldiers in Jersey* (Guernsey, 1994)

Holt, Linda, Rutherford, Ward, '*The Model Occupation* – Setting the Record Straight' in Costard, Matthew (ed.), *Channel Islands Occupation Review, No. 25,* (Jersey, 1997)

Holt, Linda, 'Our Dear Channel Islands', *London Review of Books, Vol. 17, No. 10* (25 May 1995)

Joly, Hélène, 'War Museums in France,' in Bowen, Sarah, Demossier, Marion, and Picard, Jeanine (eds), *Recollections of France: Memories, Identities and Heritage in Contemporary France* (New York, 2010)

Jolly, Margaretta, *In Love and Struggle: Letters in Contemporary Feminism* (New York, 2010)

Joannou, Maroula, *Women's Writing, Englishness and National and Cultural Identity* (Hampshire, 2012)

Joannou, Maroula (ed.), *The History of British Women's Writing: 1920-1945* (Hampshire, 2012)

Judt, Tony, 'The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe', *Daedalus*, Vol. 121, No. 4, *Immobile Democracy?* (1992)

King, Peter, *The Channel Islands War, 1940-1945* (Suffolk, 1991)

Kitchen, Ruth, *A Legacy of Shame: French Narratives of War and Occupation* (Bern, 2013)

Knowles-Smith, Hazel, *The Changing Face of the Channel Islands Occupation: Record, Memory and Myth* (Basingstoke, 2007)

Lagrou, Pieter, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945-1965* (Cambridge, 2000)

Lake, Marilyn, 'Female Desires: The Meaning of World War II' in Damousi, Joy, Lake, Marilyn (eds), *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1995)

Lamerton, Mark, *Liberated by Force 135: The Liberation of the Channel Islands, May 1945* (Wiltshire, 2000)

Lennon, John, Foley, Malcolm, *Dark Tourism* (Hampshire, 2010)

Leydesdorff, Selma, Passerini, Luisa, Thompson, Paul (eds), *Gender & Memory* (New Jersey, 2005)

Lorcin, Patricia M.E., Brewer, Daniel (eds), *France and its Spaces of War: Experience, Memory, Image* (New York, 2009)

Lowe, Keith, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II* (London, 2013)

Machon, Nick, *Liberation! The Story of Guernsey in Captivity and the Long Road to Freedom* (Guernsey, 1985)

Roger, Maren, Leiserowitz, Ruth (eds), *Women and Men at War: A Gender Perspective on World War II and its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe* (Gottingen, 2012)

Marshall, Michael, *Hitler Invaded Sark* (Guernsey, 1967)

Moeller, Robert G., *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (California, 2003)

Mosse, George L., *Fallen Soldiers* (Oxford, 1990)

Noakes, Lucy, *War and the British: Gender, Memory and National Identity* (London, 1998)

Nora, Pierre, Goldhammer, Arthur (trans), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past* (New York, 1998)

Nora, Pierre, Goldhammer, Arthur (trans), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (New York, 1996)

Nora, Pierre, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire' *Representations*, 26 (California, 1989)

Olick, Jeffrey K., Robbins, Joyce (eds), 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices' *Annual Review of Sociology* (1998)

Ouditt, Sharon, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women* (London, 1994)

Paris, Michael, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London, 2000)

Pantcheff, T.X.H., *Alderney: Fortress Island* (Sussex, 1981)

Pelinka, Anton, Bischof, Gunter (eds), *Austrian Historical Memory and National Identity* (New Jersey, 1997)

Plain, Gill, 'Women's Writing in the Second World War' in Joannou, Maroula (ed.), *The History of British Women's Writing, 1920-1945* (Basingstoke, 2012)

Pollard, Miranda, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago, 1998)

Rebrova, Irina, 'Russian Women about the War: A Gender Analysis of Ego-Documents' in Roger, Maren, Leiserowitz, Ruth (eds), *Women and Men at War: A Gender Perspective on World War II and its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe* (Gottingen, 2012)

Rivett, Peter J., A Tiny Act of Defiance (Devon, 2001)

Roodhouse, Mark, *Black Market Britain: 1939-1955* (Oxford, 2013)

Rousso, Henry, Goldhammer, Arthur (trans), *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* (Massachusetts, 1991)

Rousso, Henry, 'A New Perspective on the War' in Echternkamp, Jorg, Martens, Stefan (eds), *Experience and Memory: The Second World War in Europe* (Oxford, 2013)

Roper, Michael, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950' *Journal of British Studies* (2005)

Rose, Sonya O., *Which People's War?: National Identity and Citizenship in Britain, 1939-1945* (Oxford, 2003)

Rose, Sonya O., 'Sex, Citizenship, and the Nation in World War II Britain' *The American Historical Review* (1998)

Rose, Sonya O., 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain' in Dudink, Stefan, Hagemann, Karen, Tosh, John (eds), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, 2004)

Sanders, Paul, *The British Channel Islands under German Occupation 1940-1945* (Jersey, 2005)

Sanders, Paul, 'Narratives of Britishness: UK War Memory and the Channel Islands Occupation Memory' in Matthews, Jodie, Travers, Daniel (eds), *Islands and Britishness: A Global Perspective* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012)

Saunders, Nicholas L., Cornish, Paul, *Contested Objects: Material Memories of the Great War* (Oxon, 2009)

Schwartz, Barry, 'Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory' in Tota, Anna Lisa, Hagen, Travor (eds), *Handbook of Memory Studies* (2016)

Shipley, Rob (ed.), *The 40th Anniversary of the Liberation of Jersey: An Historic Souvenir of Jersey and Programme of Celebrations* (Jersey, 1985)

Stephenson, Charles, *The Channel Islands, 1941-45: Hitler's Impregnable Fortress* (Oxford, 2006)

Starostina, Natalia, *Memory and Mythology: Modern War and the Construction of Historical Memory* (California, 2014)

Smith, Angela K. (ed.), *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations* (Manchester, 2004)

Summers, Julie, *Stranger in the House: Women's Stories of Men Returning from the Second World War* (London, 2008)

Summerfield, Penny, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester, 1998)

Tabb, Peter, *A Peculiar Occupation* (Surrey, 2005)

Thomson, Alistair, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford, 1994)

Travers, Daniel, 'Raising the Flag: Public Sculpture, Liberation Day and Second World War Remembrance in Jersey' in Matthews, Jodie, Travers, Daniel (eds), *Islands and Britishness: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2012)

Travers, Daniel, 'The Churchillian Paradigm and the "Other British Isles": An Examination of Second World War Remembrance in Man, Orkney, and Jersey' Doctoral thesis. University of Huddersfield. 2012.

Vansant, Jacqueline, *Reclaiming Heimat: Trauma and Mourning in Memoirs by Jewish Austrian Reémigrés* (Michigan, 2001)

Virgili, Fabrice, Flower John (trans), *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford, 2000)

Watkins, Nicolle, *Reconstruction, Remembrance and Recollection: The Occupation of the Channel Islands, 1940-1945.* MA Thesis. University of Leicester. 2013.

Willmot, Louise, 'The Channel Islands' in Bob Moore (ed.), *Resistance in Western Europe* (Oxford, 2000)

Wingfield, Nancy M., Bucur, Maria (eds), *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Bloomington, 2006)

Wood, Alan, Seaton Wood, Mary, *Islands in Danger* (London, 1955)

Young, James E., *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meanings* (New Haven, 1992)

Zarecka, Iwona Irwin, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (London, 2009)

Published Diaries and Memoirs

Bachmann, K.M., *The Prey of an Eagle* (Guernsey, 1985)

Bihet, Molly, *A Child's War* (Guernsey, 1985)

Bihet, Molly, *Reflections of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1993)

Bougourd, Tony C., *Stolen Childhood* (Exeter, 2002)

Cortvriend, V.V., *Isolated Island* (London, 1947)

Coutanche, Lord Alexander, Pocock, H.R.S. (comp.), *The Memoirs of Lord Coutanche* (London and Chichester, 1975)

Coysh, Victor, *Swastika over Guernsey: An Outline of the German Occupation and the Liberation of the Island* (Guernsey, 1955)

Dalmau, John, *Slave Worker in the Channel Islands* (Guernsey, 1956)

Drawmer, Gwen, *My Memories of the German Occupation of Sark, 1940-1945* (Sark, 2001)

Falla, Frank, *The Silent War: The Inside Story of the Channel Islands under the German Jackboot* (Guernsey, 2004)

Hathaway, Sibyl, *Dame of Sark: Autobiography* (Sussex, 1961)

Keiller, Frank, *Prison Without Bars: Living in Jersey under the German Occupation, 1940-45* (Wiltshire, 2000)

Le Page, Martin J., *A Boy Messenger's War* (Birmingham, 2005)

Le Ruez, Nan, *Jersey Occupation Diary* (Jersey, 1994)

Lewis, John, *A Doctor's Occupation* (Kent, 1982)

Le Tissier, Richard, *Island Destiny* (Jersey, 2006)

Marshall, Michael, *The Small Army* (London, 1957)

Maugham, R.C.F., *Jersey under the Jackboot* (Kent, 1946)

Miere, Joe, *Never to be Forgotten* (Jersey, 2004)

Mollet, Ralph, *Jersey under the Swastika* (London, 1945)

Ozanne, Ruth, Parker, William (ed.), *Life in Occupied Guernsey* (Gloucestershire, 2011)

Pickard Higgs, Dorothy, *Life in Guernsey Under the Nazis* (Guernsey, 1979)

Sherwill, Ambrose, *A Fair and Honest Book* (Self-published, 2006)

Sinel, Leslie, *Swastika over Jersey: An Outline of the German Occupation and the Liberation and the Island* (Guernsey, 1958)

Stroobant, Frank, *One Man's War: The Dramatic True Story of Life in the Channel Islands under the Jackboot of German Occupation* (Guernsey, 1970)

Tremayne, Julia, *War on Sark: The Secret Letters of Julia Tremayne* (Exeter, 1981)

Weithley, Richard, *So It Was: One Man's Story of the German Occupation from Boyhood to Manhood* (Jersey, 2001)

Wyatt, Horace, Blampied, Edmund (Illust.), *Jersey in Jail* (Jersey, 1945)

Unpublished Diaries, Memoirs and Letters

Alice Flavelle. Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/C/290/AI/I.

Anonymous woman. 'My Dear Carolina' Unpublished letter (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) MIL/GO/D/13.

Anonymous 'Two Sisters'. Unpublished letters (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey)

Mr & Mrs G Attenborough, 'Diary of the Occupation and Other Documents' Attenborough Box. File: 'Attenborough 1945' (Imperial War Museum, London) Documents.11646.

Audrey Anquetil, *Wartime Memories.* Unpublished memoir (Weiner Library, London)

Audrey Falla, *Slaves of the Third Reich: Jersey 1940-1945.* Unpublished memoir. (Weiner Library, London).

C.C.F Monckton. Unpublished diary (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) MIL/GO/D/1 (95/5).

Dorothy Monckton. Unpublished diary (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) MIL/GO/D/1 (95/4).

Edward Le Quesne. Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/C/205/A1/ (1-7).

Ella Frampton. Unpublished diary (Island Archives, Guernsey) AQ 1220/01-01

Emma Huchet. Unpublished letters (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) MIL/GO/D/14.

Enid Amelia Robilliard. Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) AQ 1108/20-24.

Kathleen Livesey. Unpublished diary (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) MIL/GO/D/8.

Mabel Ahier, Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/C/03/A/10

Phyllis Clark. Unpublished diary (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) MIL/GO/D/17.

Rev. A. Bernard Clark. Unpublished diary (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) MIL/GO/D/18.

Rev. Douglas Ord. Unpublished diary (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/C/144 (1-6)

Ruby Whitehorne. Unpublished diary (Island Archives, Guernsey) AQ 1082-01/02/03.

Misc. Documents and Pamphlets

'Anniversary of Liberation Day' folder (Jersey Archive, Jersey) B/A/L41.

'Lament' poem. Author unknown (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) MIL/GO/D/21/14a.

The Occupation Tapestry, illustrated souvenir booklet. No publication date given.

W.G.A, Gardner *The Peace Pledge Union: The Story of a Group of British War-Resisters who fell into Enemy Hands in the German Occupied Channel Islands in World War 2.* Self-published, 1990. (Société Jersiaise, Jersey).

Geraldine Pratchett-Hultkrantz, *Time to Tell* (Jersey, 2009).

Television and Video Footage

John Nettles, *The Channel Islands at War* (2010). DVD of television series.

Island at War (2004). DVD of television series.

'The Summer of '45. Interned.' Channel Islands Occupation Society. Video. Tape 2. (Jersey Archive, Jersey) Item L/D/25/J2/2.

'Scars on the Landscape' Video Tape. Date unknown. Channel Islands Occupation Society. (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/D/25/J2/1.

Televised interview with Dolly and Willi Joanknecht on 9 May 1995 (GMTV, YouTube) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14Ohotq7-eo Accessed: 1 July 2017.

Newspapers and News Sources

Daily Herald, 11 May 1945

Kirkintilloch Herald, 13 June 1945

Guernsey Press, 20 August 1945

Sunday Pictorial, 10 March 1946

Jersey Evening Post, 11 October 1988

Guernsey Press, 9 May 1991

Jersey Evening Post, 2 August 1993

Jersey Evening Post, 18 August 1993

Telegraph Magazine, 28 January 1995

Jersey Evening Post, 10 May 1995

Guernsey Post, 16 February 1996

Guernsey Evening Press, 15 June 1996

Guernsey Evening Press, 17 June 1996

Guernsey Post, 18 January 1997

Guernsey Post, 10 February 1997

Jersey Evening Post, 19 January 2000

Guernsey Press, 21 July 2001

Guernsey Press, 3 September 2001

The Guardian, 24 January 2004

The Independent, 10 July 2004

Guernsey Press, 26 October 2004

Guernsey Press, 16 April 2005

The Guardian. 3 January 2009

BBC News, 1 March 2010

BBC News, 15 April 2010

Guernsey Press, 2 December 2010

Guernsey Press, 21 January 2012

BBC Jersey, 19 December 2012

Jersey Evening Post, 19 December 2012

The Telegraph, 19 December 2012

Guernsey Press, 24 June 2013

Jersey Evening Post, 7 June 2015

Jersey Evening Post, 7 May 2016

Jersey Evening Post, 23 May 2016

Jersey Evening Post, 27 May 2017

Official Reports and Minutes of Meetings

M.I.19. Report. Channel Islands, Jersey, M.I.19. (R.P.S.)/2430, 2 October 1944 (Jersey Archive, Jersey) M/17/A/1/1.

'Top Secret' letter from Major J.R. Stopford to Captain Dening, 31st May 1945. (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/F/437/A7/1.

'The Channel Islands Occupation' Memorandum for the Home Office, 17th August 1945 (Jersey Archive, Jersey) L/F/437/A7/1.

Minutes of the Superior Council of the States of Jersey. 24 June 1940- 7 May 1945 (Jersey Archive, Jersey) C/B/P1/1.

Minutes of the Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey, Minutes Vol. II, 52-240, 6 January-24 September 1945 (Island Archives: Guernsey).

McKinstry R.N., O.B.E., M.D., D.P.H., Medical Officer of Health in the States of Jersey, 'Survey of the Effects of the Occupation on the Health of the People of Jersey' (Jersey Library, Jersey) Catalogue number: J 942 34084 M0005772JE / Jo4 7 P7/2.

Department of Labour Report on work done during the German Occupation of Jersey, July 1940-May 1945, by States Department of Labour (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) G.O. Liberation Box 12, Document 93/212.

A.A.H. Downer, *The Channel Islands Schools, 1940-1945: Records of Events as given in a Lecture to British and Allied Teachers at Dulwich College, London, August 1946* (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) OCC 942 DOW.

House of Commons debate, 31 July 1940: 'Channel Islands. HC Deb 31 July 1940 vol. 363 cc1349-70'. Hansard.

Occupation and Liberation Committee Files, 'Notes on briefs to potential artists' (Jersey Archive, Jersey) C/C/L/C4/1/12.

Transcripts of Oral History, Speeches and Debates

Asa Briggs, 'Memory and History: The Case of the Channel Islands' Fifth Joan Stevens Memorial Lecture, presented 26 April 1996 (Jersey, 1997) Held: Societe Jersiaise, Jersey.

Jurat John Leale, President of the Controlling Committee of Guernsey, 'Report of Five Years of German Occupation' (Guille-Alles Library, Guernsey) LL 940.53 LEA.

Item 'Working Notes for Interviews for the author's 'ASPECTS OF WAR'. Transcribed oral history interviews (Société Jersiaise, Jersey) File *OCC 942 MON.

Norman Le Brocq talks about his occupation experience. Text of address to the Channel Islands Occupation Society in Jersey, 4 April 1988 (Societe Jersiaise, Jersey) 96/162

Paul Sanders, 'UK war memory vs. Channel Islands occupation memory: differing perspectives of World War II' Published version of keynote speech at the University of Huddersfield 'Identity and the Other British Isles' conference, 24 June 2010. Academia.edu: https://www.academia.edu/9467176/UK_WAR_MEMORY_VS._CHANNEL_ISLANDS_OCCUPATION_MEMORY_DIFFERING_PERSPECTIVES_OF_WORLD_WAR_II_2010_ Accessed: 1 September 2015.

Museums and Exhibitions

Jersey War Tunnels, Jersey

The Channel Islands Military Museum, Jersey

The Occupation Tapestry (Jersey Maritime Museum), Jersey

La Hogue Bie (on-site bunker and memorial), Jersey

The German Occupation Museum, Guernsey

La Vallette Tunnels German Underground Museum, Guernsey

The German Underground Hospital, Guernsey

Website Resources

Notes of the Société Jersiaise Library 'Statues in Jersey' webpage: http://members.societe-jersiaise.org/geraint/statues/lib.html Accessed 5 July 2014.

Marc Yates, 'Liberation Day – The Story Of One Of The First British Flags Flown 72 Years Ago' *History Alive!* 9 May 2017 http://www.historyalive.je/2017/05/09/liberation-day-first-british-flag-flown/ Accessed 20 May 2017

'Channel Islands Occupation Society' Jersey Heritage description: https://www.jerseyheritage.org/collection-items/channel-islands-occupation-society Accessed 1 May 2017

Channel Islands Occupation Society http://www.ciosguernsey.org.gg/ Accessed 1 May 2017

German Occupation Museum (Guernsey) http://www.germanoccupationmuseum.co.uk/index-3.html Accessed 12 September 2017

Visit Guernsey, St Peter Port guide page: http://www.visitguernsey.com/media/pdfimage/l/l/01-seafront__bombings_and_historic_gardens.pdf Accessed: 16 August 2014.

Jersey Tourism, 'Memorial Sites' webpage. http://www.jersey.com/english/discoverjersey/occupationtoliberation/Pages/MemorialSites.aspx Accessed: 3 April 2014.

Jersey Heritage's official 'Liberation Day' page (posted 7 May 2016) https://www.facebook.com/LiberationDayCI/photos/a.1420819008216922.1073741829.1420785668220256/1571133496518805/?type=3&theater Accessed: 21 June 2016.

'The Channel Islands at War DVD', *Visit Jersey*, 8 November 2010 https://www.jersey.com/business/press/pressreleases/Pages/PressReleaseDetails.aspx?PressReleaseItemId=294 Accessed: 3 November 2015.

Alex Farber, 'Catherine Whelton, Yesterday (UKTV)', *Broadcast* http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/catherine-whelton-yesterday-uktv/5015351.article Accessed: 1 December 2015.

The Channel Islands Military Museum. Posts dated: 13 June 2017, 25 June 2017, 30 July 2017, 31 August 2017 https://www.facebook.com/The-Channel-Island-Military-Museum-1411840822456023/?ref=br_rs Accessed 1 September 2017

Simon Watkins, 'The Channel Islands at War by John Nettles' (DVD Trailer, YouTube) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zZgdk8smAG4 Accessed: 1 December 2015.

'Your Parish Online: St Helier' website http://www.sthelier.je/twinning/ Accessed: 1 November 2015.

Press Release from Jersey War Tunnels, 18 October 2012 https://www.jerseywartunnels.com/wp-content/uploads/Jewels-and-Jackboots-Jersey-press-release-FINAL.pdf Accessed: 5 December 2016.

Chemins de Memoire, 'Museum of National Resistance', http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/en/museum-national-resistance-champigny-sur-marne Accessed: 4 May 2016

List of Illustrations

Figure 9: 1945 Liberation Day at the Pomme d'Or Hotel. Image: *The Island Wiki* https://www.theislandwiki.org/index.php/Liberation [Accessed: 09/10/2016]

Figure 10: 2012 Re-enactment of Pomme d'Or Hotel liberation by Jersey Cadets. Image: *BBC News,* 'Jersey Celebrates 67th Anniversary of Liberation Day' 9 May 2012. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-jersey-17997001 [Accessed: 11/04/2016]

Figure 11: Liberation Landing Memorial, St Peter Port, Guernsey. Image: *War Memorials Online https://www.warmemorialsonline.org.uk/memorial/174320* [Accessed: 20/07/2016]

Figure 12: Coutanche Liberation speech memorial, St Helier, Jersey. Image: *Alexander Coutanche Wiki* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Coutanche,_Baron_Coutanche [Accessed: 20/07/2016]

Figure 13: New Guernsey flag. *BBC News*, '25 years under the Guernsey flag' 15 April 2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/guernsey/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8622000/8622080.stm [Accessed: 05/10/2014]

Figure 14: Liberation Monument on Liberation Day. Author's own image.

Figure 15: British 'Tommy' on Liberation Monument. Author's own image.

Figure 16: Jersey £1 bank note. *Jersey Journey Boutique* https://jerzzy.co.uk/jersey-bank-notes/ [Accessed: 05/06/2016]

Figure 17: Liberation Monument, St Peter Port, Guernsey. Author's own image.

Figure 18: Jewish Women's Memorial, St Peter Port, Guernsey. Image: *Guernsey Museums & Galleries,* 'Monuments and Memorials' http://www.museums.gov.gg/monuments [Accessed: 10/07/2016]

Figure 19: Advert featuring soldier and Islander woman kissing. *The Sunday Times,* Heritage Festival advert, 1 March 2015. p.42

Chapter 3

Figure 20: A group of boys play on a gun turret left at Mont á l'Abbé following the Liberation of Jersey from German Occupation in 1945. Image: reproduced on Jersey Heritage's official 'Liberation Day' page, 7 May 2016:

https://www.facebook.com/LiberationDayCI/photos/a.1420819008216922.1073741829.1420785668220256/1571133496518805/?type=3&theater [Accessed: 21/06/16]

Figure 21: Two of the German soldiers on display at the 'co-operation' exhibit, Jersey War Tunnels, Jersey. Author's own image.

Figure 22: La Vallette Underground Military Museum, Guernsey. Author's own image.

Figure 23: Domestic scene in the German Occupation Museum, Guernsey. Image: German Occupation Museum website. http://www.germanoccupationmuseum.co.uk/index-3.html [Accessed: 12/09/2017]

Figure 24: Domestic scene (featuring chairs) within Jersey War Tunnels, Jersey. Author's own image.

Figure 25: Domestic scene (featuring dress and wheel) within Jersey War Tunnels, Jersey. Author's own image.

Figure 26: White text on black background – jerry bags. From the 'Fraternisation' display at Jersey War Tunnels, Jersey. Author's own image.

Figure 27: 'Fraternising with the Enemy' display. Jersey War Tunnels, Jersey. Author's own image.

Figure 28: Girlfriend of Col. Knackfuss display. German Occupation Museum, Guernsey. Author's own image.

Figure 29: Guernsey girls at pool with soldiers. German Occupation Museum, Guernsey. Author's own image.

Figure 30: 'Restrictions' Panel, The Occupation Tapestry, Jersey. Image: *Geoff Wright's Genealogy Pages,* 'The Jersey Tapestry' http://www.avoncliffe.com/genealogy/jersey/photos/tapestry/index.htm [Accessed: 19/06/2016]

Figure 31: 'Occupation' Panel, The Occupation Tapestry, Jersey. Image: *Geoff Wright's Genealogy Pages,* 'The Jersey Tapestry' http://www.avoncliffe.com/genealogy/jersey/photos/tapestry/index.htm [Accessed: 19/06/2016]

Figure 32: ‘Liberation’ Panel, The Occupation Tapestry, Jersey. Image: *Geoff Wright’s Genealogy Pages,* ‘The Jersey Tapestry’ http://www.avoncliffe.com/genealogy/jersey/photos/tapestry/index.htm [Accessed: 19/06/2016]

Figure 33: New Panel, The Occupation Tapestry, Jersey. Image: *Jersey Evening Post*, ‘A stitch just in time for the Liberation Day Celebrations’ 7 May 2016. https://jerseyeveningpost.com/news/2016/05/07/a-stitch-just-in-time-for-the-liberation-day-celebrations/#AP71sJoM06cprW2m.99 [Accessed: 9 May 2016]