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Museums, Borders and European Responsibility

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Museums, Borders and European Responsibility – One Hundred Years after the First World War

Reihe: Beiträge zur Museologie, Band 8

Die Reihe versammelt analytische Aufsätze ebenso wie Praxisbeispiele und bietet somit vielfältige Perspektiven auf die Museumsarbeit. Sie richtet sich an erfahrene Museumswissenschaftler und -praktiker sowie an Berufseinsteiger, die ihre Kenntnisse in den musealen Kernaufgaben Sammeln, Bewahren, Ausstellen und Forschen erweitern möchten. Studenten der Museumskunde erhalten einen Einblick in die Berufspraxis. Die Schriftenreihe erscheint seit 2010 in unregelmäßigen Abständen, mit Band 7 erstmals als Online-Publikation. Die Bände 1 bis 6 werden sukzessive ebenfalls online zur Verfügung gestellt.

The series brings together analytical essays as well as practical examples and thus offers diverse perspectives on the work of museums. It is aimed at experienced museum scholars and -practitioners as well as at newcomers who want to broaden their knowledge of the museum's core tasks, collecting, preserving, exhibiting and researching. Students of museology will gain a valuable insight into professional practice. This series has been published at irregular intervals since 2010, with volume 7 the first to be published online. Volumes 1 to 6 will be made available online in the near future.

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Opening Remarks
Beate Reifenscheid, President ICOM Germany

Welcome to our ICOM members from all over the world, especially the travellers from far, such as from Australia, Canada, Tanzania and China, who are all going to contribute their perspectives during our conference.

Warm welcome of course to all members from Europe and our partners and co-organizers from ICOM Europe; especially it's Chair Louis Raposo from Lisbon and Monika Hagedorn-Saupe from Berlin, who herself is member of the board and to our Deputy Major for Culture, Margit Theis-Scholz.

Together with Luis Raposo we have been planning since last year this joint conference of ICOM Europe and ICOM Germany and soon came to the decision, that the Ludwig Museum in Koblenz would be a fantastic location to host this conference. History has left some remarkable traces here.

Latest since the Romans have been settled here more than 2000 year ago, the city has been a melting area for various cultures influences. Due to its perfect location right at the river banks of the Rhine and Mosel transportation and exchange of goods has been a unique advantage of intercultural communication since ever. In 1798 the city has been declared as capital of the "Département de Rhin-et-Moselle" and after the "Peace of Lunéville" Coblence belonged to France until 1801. As a result of the Congress in Vienna in 1814/15 Koblenz felt under the sovereign of Prussia, which ended only after the First World War. Even before, on 8 November 1918, in the course of the November Revolution workers and soldiers took control over military and civil administration. As late as December 1918, American troops of the 3rd US Army marched into the city as part of the occupation of the Rhineland. After 1919, many fortresses were demolished in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

Only a few days ago, on 11 November 2018, we commemorated one hundred year's end of the First World War, a war that affected almost all of Europe. As the first modern war it was fought in the Atlantic and Pacific, in Europe, Asia and Africa, 38 states went into it, fighting against each other and waged a ruthless battle led by unprecedented brutality and precision of weapons of mass destruction. It is transmitted ingloriously as the first machine war in world history, as the first major trench warfare, the first chemical warfare with warfare gas and contact poisons, as the first aerial warfare

with zeppelins, balloons and fighters. Over 70 million soldiers have been mobilized. About 15 million felt or died, more than 21 million were wounded, including over 4 million German soldiers; nearly 8 million were taken prisoner of war. The suffering of the civilian population with flight and hunger was terrible.

Humanity stayed – as always in these times of war and terror – completely on the track.

Old orders were destroyed; stable new ones hardly in sight. Further crises and upheavals followed, which should not at least pave the way to the "Third Reich" and the Second World War. But even during the First World War, in 1917, 22 museum directors joined forces in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt and founded the Deutscher Museumsbund. Aware of the social role of museums and as a place where cultural and social barriers should not exist, they created a structure that became the first museum-oriented association, in order to create suitable structures on a common base.

Museums re-formed after the First World War, created new goals and structures and very quickly began to expand their international network. The aim was to operate more strategically and to develop further science-based forms of museum presentation, as well as the contextualization of objects and categorization of disciplines. However, McDonald's emphasised in 1991 that the focus was on content expertise more than on relation with the audience.

Remembering the two terrible World Wars it seemed quite astonishing that just one year after the end of the Second World War, one of the largest international organizations was founded for museums: it is the year in which ICOM was established in Paris. Today it is, with more than 44,000 members all over the globe, the second-strongest association for museums worldwide and is at the forefront of networking internationally. With its 118 national committees, it is represented in most countries of the world (based on 194 countries worldwide). From the very beginning, ICOM stands for cross-national and cross-cultural thinking and acting in dialogical openness, credibility of scientific work as well as for professionalism, expertise and mediation skills.

Together with ICOM Europe, it was essential for ICOM Germany not only to commemorate this important date of the end of the First World War in this joint conference, but also to reflect on how museum work has diversified in Europe over the past one hundred years, what cultural breaks and new beginnings it has made and how important is the cohesion of museums in Europe today. In view of the numerous trouble spots in East Europe and

Russia, the Middle East and Africa, the large influxes of refugees and migrants, which are moving towards Europe and an European policy, which in many countries would rather establish borders again instead of reducing boundaries, the situation will be exacerbated for the museums. Especially in an international conurbation, which is determined by powerful leaders, who incessantly incite crises of fear, insecurity and mutual denunciation, culture is in danger on a large scale. People, nature, and environment – all this does not matter to them.

Communication and truth are left behind. Intellectual research, critical reporting, cultural issues on a global horizon – all this is increasingly being put to the test, or simply eliminated. Never before so many journalists have been murdered, assaulted, persecuted, and never before cultural institutions have been indexed, such as in Russia, Hungary and Brazil.

Many actors have no answers and no suitable tools at hand to counter these attacks from politics and right-wing or left-wing activists. The scale is unpredictable and yet, even in Europe those open attacks towards intellectuals and museums could negatively affect the communication within museums. Hungary, Poland and Turkey – even Great Britain are at the forefront.

It is up to us as ICOM members to strengthen the European idea of unity again and solidify with suitable programmes, perspectives and influence into society and politics. This will include that in addition to the major European programmes, especially the countless middle seized and smaller museums strengthen their initiatives of networking, of scientific communication and of profound alliances with the society. We should question more, which are the most urgent issues for our museums today, how to define and to secure relevance, how do we share ideas, visions, tools, education, support, etc?

Looking back on our difficult past and the responsibility Germans have in particular, we want to imagine museums as lively spaces of a European and global community. It is on us to learn what history bitterly had tried to teach us. We commemorate one hundred years after the First World War, but we focus on the future to come.

Opening Remarks
Claudia Roth, Vice President of the Bundestag

Ladies and gentlemen, attendees of ICOM Germany!
Dear Mrs. Reifenscheid, dear Mr. Raposo, dear Mrs. Theis-Scholz,
dear Mr. Forbes, dear Mr. Staubermann,

One hundred years have passed since the end of the First World War, that terrible chapter of human history, which destroyed millions of lives, devastated our continent, wreaked havoc in so many regions worldwide; a war that inflicted untold suffering. We will not forget. Many of us, myself included, might have been born decades later, but our responsibility – to remember, to remind others, to raise awareness – remains. It is not less than a miracle that, after all this terror, former enemies became neighbours, and those neighbours have become trusted friends. More than ever, let us make sure that this great gift be preserved.

I am very glad, therefore, that you have gathered in the beautiful city of Koblenz to discuss the role of museums in all this – museums as indispensable democratic institutions that, very clearly, face numerous challenges in an increasingly digitised world; a digitised world that, in turn, offers many new opportunities.

If you ask me, at least, museums are crossroads and meeting points that no smart phone can replace. They are learning environments that help us turn from pure retrospection towards remembrance, into the present and into the future. In a world like ours, in which violent wars and conflicts continue to cause unimaginable suffering, it is bridges we need – bridges that connect us with the past, and that connect us with each other. Museums can be such bridges.

Indeed, museums incite reflection were science may only describe. They emotionalise, touch our innermost feelings, or cast a critical eye. Almost always, they allow us to shift perspective. It is no surprise, against this background, that the Ludwig-Museum, the wonderful host of this wonderful conference, entitled one of their latest art festivals: Breaking Borders.

Indeed, let us connect beyond borders and overcome divisions, instead of constructing walls. To do so, let us visit as many museums as we can; the world might look differently if everyone could – and if everyone who can, actually did. Above all, however, let us defend museums against any tendency

of political misappropriation. Museums must be free; even more so in times when freedom of expression, diversity and artistic freedom are increasingly being called into question in many places of the world.

As you can see – and as you most certainly know yourselves – there is much to be discussed. Thank you for doing so in the upcoming days! And believe me: I am already looking forward to my next visit at one of your museums – hopefully soon.

Opening Remarks
Margit Theis-Scholz, Deputy Mayor for Culture, City of Koblenz

Dear Madame and Sir,

Welcome to Koblenz, we appreciate your conference in Koblenz and hope you will have a gainful exchange in participating and interesting impressions of our town in the wonderful surrounding of the Ludwig Museum we are very proud of possessing.

In times of low public budgets, the maintenance expenses for cultural institutions are often discussed. Some politicians are convinced and try to share their opinion that our community may dispense with museums and other cultural domains as theatres, concert halls, libraries and so on as well. So key questions for Museums as modern institutions are:

» Which part museums overtake in our civil community?
» Which main tasks have museums in our times?
» With which challenges are they actually confronted?

This week we held our council about the financial duties in our town. In regard to the tribute for the cultural institutions and associations I proclaimed not only to have an eye on the data of annual visitors, but also on their role as an active part due to a huge number of cultural projects in a community.

Museums collect, conserve, research, present and act as agents. Are they necessary and important in guarantee participation in cultural information and civil heritage? A clear and 100 per cent yes from my side as being responsible for cultural affairs in Koblenz.

Art museums are locations to come together and exchange different meanings about the exhibition and aesthetic and creative products and work. But in a modern society museum are furthermore places for people to visit and enjoy an inspiring atmosphere, being entertained by artists and meet other people to exchange. But more than that it is their part in being a source of reflection about our life conditions and political questions resulting from change in our society.

Museums can be a motor and a pulse for thinking and a kind of mirror of change in our world. They are able to set focus and to make aware. They are

rooms for young and old people to come together and to talk about the things which are presented in an exhibition. Therefore, museums play an important role within the foundation of a common sense of cultural understanding.

Visitors can make journey through different ages, may consider daily things from another point of view as usual. They can be enchanting events basing on the paintings of artists or inform about the actual state of researches. The cultural meaning and the function of a museum is a great value in regard to education history and as a meeting point.

Your issue during this European conference is *Museums, Borders and European Responsibility – 100 Years after the WWI*. Let me describe the situation in Koblenz during that time in short sentences. In 1918 German troops and soldiers came on their way back from the war in France to Koblenz having lost a horrible war and were applauded when they arrived in the town. Obviously the public had not learnt from wrong decisions in the past.

American soldiers stayed in the following time in Koblenz and changed daily life: They played baseball on the streets and bettings after getting wages, made little gifts to the children with chocolate and at that time the unknown chewing gum, and made box championships in cages in front of the castle.

Then the French soldiers as the worst enemy in that time for Germans followed and occupied the region for a long time. It was the breeding ground for the preparation of the next terrible Second World War.

Conflicts and wars are spread all over our globe. What museums can do in prevent is to build international bridges by involved artists and contribute being locations of analysing and inform regarding history development. In Koblenz we arranged and organized this year the Koblenzer weeks for democracy for the first time and we will continue for the next years. Our basic is the aim to sensibilize what we would lose in regard to freedom and liberal thinking in our society if we will turn away from a democratic behaviour and government.

All cultural institutions are members of our team and participate beyond schools, the newspapers, the universities and a huge group of other initiatives. We want to achieve a strong and clear commitment for supporting democratic structures and rules in our town and eject other dangerous drifts – our Ludwig Museum is an important player in this team!

Neil Forbes

Museums, European Society and the Legacy of 1918

Abstract The article* considers, among other things, what the responsibilities of the museum are and the challenges that may arise if those responsibilities are to be effectively discharged. In recent years there has been a welling up of interest among the public in remembrance and commemoration, and the museum plays a central role in facilitating such developments. When, for the first time in modern history, the vast majority of Europeans have had no direct experience of the horrors of war or warfare, the museum should be a key repository for the authentic and accurate representation to new generations of war and its awful legacy.

Keywords remembrance, memory, war, Europe, democracy, museums

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The years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the transition of power from communist regimes to democratic governments across Eastern Europe, seemed to herald a new era of peaceful coexistence between countries. To what extent, however, is it possible to retain a high level of confidence that the chauvinistic rivalries and extremist ideology that propelled nation to take up arms against nation and divided citizens within nations are phenomena that are historical in nature and consequently far removed from contemporary experience?

This short article comments on how, in the context of a world in which international relations can never be said to be in a settled condition, the museum is positioned one hundred years after the First Word War. The article considers, among other things, what the responsibilities of the museum are and the challenges that may arise if those responsibilities are to be effectively discharged. On the one hand, it is possible to argue that celebrating societal and cultural diversity should be a way to recapture traditions of civilization rather than be a source of tension; on the other hand, the glorification of national narratives has the potential to sustain old enmities. In recent years there has been a welling up of interest among the public in remembrance and commemoration, and the museum plays a central role in facilitating such processes, sometimes referred to as a vital combination of perpetuation and closure. Above all, when, for the first time in modern history, the vast majority of Europeans have had no direct experience of the horrors of war or warfare, the museum should be a key repository for the authentic and accurate representation to new generations of war and its awful legacy.

Anniversaries serve an important and valuable function in providing an occasion for particular reflection, not least by historians, some of whom are keen to use the opportunity presented by an anniversary in order to bring out publications purporting to offer new interpretation. One hundred years after the guns fell silent on 11 November 1918 is certainly a moment to think about the meaning the past holds and how that meaning should be articulated in terms of contributing to attempts to shape the future. But, in this sense, the act of remembering can be far from straightforward. The Armistice of 1918 was preceded, on 9 November, by the abdication of the Kaiser and the de facto establishment of the German Republic. However, for Germany in the year 2018, 9 November was not only the 80th anniversary of Kristallnacht, it was also the 29th anniversary of the opening of the Berlin Wall.

In today's Europe, the experience and memory of war, the nature of identity and the practices of remembrance are closely connected; they involve issues which continue to generate controversy and stir up passionate debate. Of course, war in Europe has not always been just between states. Spain is slowly coming to terms with the legacy of its terrible Civil War, and dealing with the challenges left in its aftermath, such as the recent decision to exhume and relocate the remains of Franco from the Valley of the Fallen.

It was a widely-held view in 1918 that the war that had just ended was the war to end all wars. Tragically, of course, the twentieth century proved to be Europe's most deadly century. The coming of modern industrial warfare dictated that war became total war, requiring the mobilisation of the state's entire resources in order to sustain the prosecution of the conflict. In this way, therefore, civilians away from the battlefield or conquered territories became, for the first time, legitimate targets in the eyes of the combatants. There was a front line where fighting took place, and a home front where non-combatants contributed to the war effort and paid a terrible price for doing so.

The conditions imposed on Germany under the Treaty of Versailles, concluded in the year following the war, were regarded as disastrously punitive by John Maynard Keynes, the economist, and disastrously lenient by Marshall Ferdinand Foch, Supreme Allied Commander. The 1928 General Treaty for the Renunciation of War – the so-called Kellogg-Briand Pact – attempted to make aggressive war, in the sense of the conquest of territory, illegal. But it took, of course, another world war before Europe – at least the western part of the continent to begin with – resolved to take an internationalist, even transnationalist approach in conducting affairs between states.

Given that European powers were in 1945 still, to some extent, controlling overseas colonies and territories, Europe's experience of war did not come to an end in 1945. Rather, it assumed an extra-European character with, for example, wars of insurgency where the fight was for liberation from colonial domination. After 1945, in some cases, former allies very quickly became enemies – and not just as a result of the coming of the Cold War. During the Second World War, the British set up the Jewish Brigade. Some of those enlisted men, who had fought in Italy in the last year of the war, joined the Irgun – the militant, right-wing Zionist underground organization; on Monday 22 July 1946 they carried out a terrorist bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem – the British administrative headquarters for Palestine was housed in the southern wing of the hotel. Some 90 deaths resulted.

The year 2017 marked the centenary of the commitment Britain had given to the Zionist cause – the Balfour Declaration – to establish a homeland for Jews in Palestine. The dire consequences of failing to give, at the same time, adequate protection to the rights of the majority Arab population have been plain to see ever since.

War is certainly embedded in the national, collective memory. Individual countries have their own traditions, conventions, laws, customs and institutions even if, for good or ill, ideas flow across national borders. There are several potential problems with a statist approach – the promotion and promulgation of a national history and associated national memorialisation. To begin with, "collective memory" is in itself a problematic concept. Memory is malleable – the past may be made to serve present, political aims – and the collective may be defined in ways that are exclusive rather than genuinely inclusive. In this light, dangers may lie ahead in situations where identity is shaped by collective memory. It seems not only appropriate but vital, therefore, to consider why certain acts of remembrance take place and to reflect on the way they are conducted.

There have long been critics who regard communal ceremonies and memorials as beautifying and thereby suppressing the past. To Ian Buruma, such choreographic representations of history replace memory itself and impede reflection; they are viewed as manifestations of a culture of remembrance that is all-pervasive.[1] Neil MacGregor, Director of the British Museum from 2005 to 2015, and a founding director of the Humboldt Forum, has recently suggested that Britain, unlike France and Germany, has been slow to abandon its intensely national acts of commemoration and instead embrace a shared, common memory.[2] What, precisely, should be remembered will always be the subject of debate. Some commentators seek to reframe the terms of the debate by asking why it is necessary to remember at all, and whether society would not be better served if nations, communities and individuals could learn how to forget responsibly.

Yet, just as with officially-sanctioned remembrance, it may be politically convenient, to say the least, for the state to forget whole historical episodes; in the void that then opens up, myth-making tends to flourish. The conflict

1 Buruma, I. (2009) *Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan*. London: Atlantic Books.

2 MacGregor, N. (2018) To End All Wars. *Financial Times* 10/11 November 2018, p. 1.

between rising nationalism and multi-ethnic empires, which had partly caused the First World War, left a bitter legacy of division after 1918, nowhere more so than in the case of relations between Britain and Ireland. The Republic of Ireland came to regard the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin as a foundational moment for the state; for the British Empire, just at the time when 500 Royal Dublin Fusiliers were dying on the Western Front from a chlorine gas attack, it was an existential crisis. It has taken the best part of a century for Ireland to come to terms and acknowledge that 49,400 citizens died fighting for the Allies, for Britain, to acknowledge its colonialist role in Ireland, and for public acts of reconciliation to be undertaken by the Queen, and by Irish Presidents Mary McAleese and Michael Higgins.

History museums are, of course, key venues of history education and history entertainment; innovations in design, layout and in exhibiting, along with a rise in interest among the general public, have allowed heritage sites, sites of memory and memory institutions to enjoy record visitor numbers in recent years. It is suggested that the history museum has become the premier site of negotiation about official historical narratives, enjoying the backing of important institutions, and representing a central element in the purposeful and self-reflective construction of European identity.[3] The important subgenre of the war museum is part of this broad development. In some cases, museums are aligned to a national narrative such as one constructed around victimhood, where the states has suffered under occupation; in other cases, exhibitions that portray the violence of war to the public may give rise to ethical concerns.[4] The current, EU-funded project UNREST is taking a critical look at such official, state-sponsored histories of the European wars of the twentieth century in the light of what is referred to as "Europe's pressing memory problem". The project questions what is referred to as the efficacy of cosmopolitan memory, and is concerned to examine the extent to which critical voices are accommodated.[5]

But there is also a countervailing trend in remembrance away from regarding its primary function as way to signify and even reinforce the idea of

3 Kaiser, W. et al. (2016) *Exhibiting Europe in Museums. Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives and Representations*. NewYork/Oxford: Berghahn Books.

4 Muchitsch, W. ed. (2014) *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representation of Violence in Exhibitions*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

5 UNREST: Unsettling Remembering and Social Cohesion in Transnational Europe [Online]. Available at: www.unrest.eu [Accessed: 30 June 2019].

the national community. Instead of engaging in attempts to achieve certain overarching, strategic policy objectives, remembrance is becoming personalised in order to reflect a more diverse and heterogeneous society. One aspect of this has been referred to as the construction of the "witness" perspective within the museum, whereby individuals, either inside the museum or through online activities, carry the burden of memory; they are charged with a moral duty to ensure remembrance is maintained not just for themselves but also for the family, the community. In the words of one author, the experience of war is recreated as a "lived, contingent trauma".[6] Yet other scholars entertain serious doubts about the value of such an approach: Juliet Steyn has commented that it rests upon notions of empathy and identification, and that an assumption is at work which asserts that experience naturally pertains to comprehension.[7]

Furthermore, the trend of personalisation brings with it significant risks: identity politics is pulling liberal democracy apart. There is an insatiable desire for recognition of the self – a self equal to others. Populism of the right is capturing those who feel excluded, especially by the liberal elites. Whilst diversity should be celebrated, liberal society works only if diverse groups can live together rather than become fragmented into a collection of groups, each with its own set of demands. These fissiparous tendencies make the task of building a majority or consensus around a set of common values all the more difficult, with the result that internationalism based on the post-1945 liberal world order is undermined. As Kwame Anthony Appiah – the philosopher and cultural theorist – has pointed out, what everyone has in common is human identity. Notions of essentialist identity need to be refuted. Nationalists delude themselves when they believe that a nation's citizens are anointed with a set of special characteristics: any close examination of identity based on race, religion or culture shows the extent of cross-fertilisation throughout history.[8]

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6 Wilson, R.J. (2013) *Cultural Heritage of the Great War in Britain*. Abingdon: Ashgate, p. 154.

7 Steyn, J. (2014) Vicissitudes of Representation: Remembering and Forgetting. In: Kidd, J. et al. eds. *Challenging History in the Museum: International Perspectives*. Abingdon: Ashgate, pp. 141–48, p. 143.

8 Appiah, K.A. (2016) The Reith Lectures: Mistaken Identities: Country [Online]. See: www.bbc.co.uk [Accessed: 30 June 2019].

Of all the functions and purposes which the museum sector fulfils, none can be more important than that of a role in educating the public about the horrors perpetrated by fascism – a political movement that not only originated in Europe but was a particularly European phenomenon. Although contemporary, right-wing, extremist parties tend to avoid referring to themselves as fascist, the ideological ingredients are re-appearing – the mobilisation of mass groups based on their perceived social and economic exclusion, xenophobia, racism, nationalistic emotions and desire to attack parliamentary democracy. The mere existence of civil society institutions may not be sufficient by itself to defend democracy. When authoritarian and fascist elites are able to achieve hegemony, war is invariably the end product of this ideological conflict. In 2014, Tony Barber – Europe Editor of the *Financial Times* – wrote an article celebrating the opening, in Warsaw, of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews. Barber praised Poland's young, vigorous democracy, which had a sense of its place in a Europe of unity, tolerance and dialogue. The museum was designed to show carefully, in its core exhibitions, historical episodes of Polish anti-Semitism and violence against Jews.[9] Yet the recent attempts by the Polish state to penalize any suggestion that it was complicit in the extermination of the Jews would seem to fly in the face of the values of tolerance, unity and dialogue that country has only recently been praised for upholding.

It could be argued that experts can be trusted only if they remain above the fray of political debates, or opinion or sentiment. But the distinction between impartial expert and partisan politician has become blurred. Facts are increasingly made to serve a political purpose – conveyed by the usage of the term "weaponised". Indeed, facts are frequently simply denied, and the result is that evidence-based policy is ignored, people's emotions are stirred and demagoguery triumphs. Where does that leave the historian and the museum professional in regard to the question of the use of artefacts and exhibition, representation and interpretation, especially in the age of digitisation?

One example of how bringing a range of such skills and expertise together can have an extraordinarily powerful impact on the public was the creation of the film *They Shall Not Grow Old* – a product of the 14–18 Now:

9 Barber, T. (2014) Life from the Shadows. *Financial Times Magazine* 25/26 October 2014, pp. 26, 45–47.

World War I Centenary Art Commissions.[10] Released on 11 November 2018 to coincide with the First World War Armistice, the film was a collaboration between the Imperial War Museums, the BBC and Peter Jackson, the film director. What Jackson wanted to do with the film was to take away the intervening one hundred years by digitally enhancing original film material – especially through the use of colour – and to be able to convey to viewers a firm impression of contemporaneity. In this respect, and notwithstanding a number of criticisms that were expressed in relation to authenticity, the work was an outstanding triumph. It achieved exactly what the Imperial War Museums had set out to do: inspire audiences to find out more about the events that took place during the First World War.

In conclusion, it may be said that museums have become sites of struggle where issues of power, control and authority, authenticity, ownership, voice and silence are all challenged. They are places where collective and personal memories come together, and where questions related to identity may be reflected upon, formed and perhaps even transformed. Of course, this is frequently contested ground, but museums have a vital role to play in the coming years in helping to defend the values of liberal, democratic society. By means of participatory governance, and co-designing the environment, cultural diversity and the multi-vocality increasingly evident in societies undergoing fundamental change can be respected.[11] Furthermore, conflicting interpretations can be channelled, moderated and mediated. Above all, museums are the repositories of knowledge; those who work in them should never be reluctant in claiming expertise in interpreting what is, and what is not, authentic, reliable and credible evidence and argument. In building a more resilient society, views based on "alternative" facts must be challenged and those holding such views must be confronted wherever and whenever necessary.

10 Jackson, P. (2018) *They Shall Not Grow Old* [Online]. Available at: www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0brzkzx [Accessed: 30 June 2019].

11 For an overview of the scope of the challenges facing the museum sector, see Said Business School (2018) *Museum Leaders' Report*. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Situating Artefacts

Photo by Felouch Kotek, 2014, detail, CC BY-SA, wikimedia.org

Markus Moehring

Commemorating Together 1918/19.

Exhibitions in France, Germany and Switzerland and the Three-Countries-Museum

Abstract Different commemorative cultures between European countries influenced the profile of museums, especially since the last century. This is why the cross-border museum network in the Upper Rhine Valley regularly tries to provide knowledge about the neighboring countries and their history. One hundred years after the end of the First World War it presented 30 interconnected temporary exhibitions in France, Germany and Switzerland. The exhibition in the Three-Countries-Museum gave the general overview of the three countries in 1918 and the following years. The other exhibitions focused on special aspects of national, regional or thematic interest of that time. The essay describes scopes, difficulties and results of the process of four years to realize this cross-border project.

Keywords Three-Countries-Museum, museum network, cross-border, Germany, Switzerland, France

The culture of remembrance differs significantly between different European countries – especially since the First World War, which created many new nation states. This essay aims to describe the different memories of the First World War, explored in a museum project in France, Germany and Switzerland.[1]

The project referred to the Upper Rhine Valley and its neighboring regions, an area with a population of more than 10 million people. Here a museum passport, the so-called "Museums-PASS-Musées", offers free admission to more than 320 museums in the three countries during one year. The passport costs around 100 euros. Around 50,000 passport owners take the opportunity to also learn more about the culture beyond the border.

A very active special group of these museums is working together in the so-called "museum network". Its aim is to present an exhibition series on a common subject every four years. In 2014, the network presented 35 exhibitions about the First World War, seen from three different national perspectives.[2] The exhibitions were connected by their conceptual contents, a common website and common leaflets. The common catalogue was also presented to the presidents of France and Germany during their remembrance meeting 2014 at the Hartmannswillerkopf, a battle field of First World War in the Vosges (fig. 1, p. 28).

Motor and coordinator of this museum network is the Three-Countries-Museum. It is located in the border triangle of Germany, France and Switzerland and is the only museum of this kind in Europe. Its collections, its permanent exhibition, its temporary exhibitions and its activities consequently compare the history of the three countries in the Upper Rhine Valley.[3] Its publications show the variety of themes of the temporary exhibitions.[4]

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1 I thank Jeanette Gutmann for her support.

2 Moehring, M. ed. (2014) *Der Erste Weltkrieg am Oberrhein: 1 Thema, 3 Länder, 35 Ausstellungen*. Lörrach: Waldemar Lutz.

3 Moehring, M. (2012) Vom Altertumsverein zum Dreiländermuseum. In: Göckel, W. et al. eds. *Lörrach 2012*. Lörrach: Waldemar Lutz, pp. 62–71.

4 Some examples: Moehring, M. and Zückert, M. eds. (2000) *Halt Landesgrenze! Schmuggel und Grenzentwicklung*. Lörrach: Waldemar Lutz; Moehring, M. et al. eds. (2016) *Reiches Erbe – Industriekultur im Dreiland*. Lörrach: Waldemar Lutz; Kunze, P. (2017) *Reformationen. Der große Umbruch am Oberrhein*. Lörrach: Waldemar Lutz.

Fig. 1: The Presidents of France and Germany, François Hollande and Joachim Gauck, with the catalog of the museum network of the First World War and its coordinator Markus Moehring. © Dreiländermuseum Lörrach, 2014

After 2014 the next exhibition cycle of the network museum followed in 2018. It focused on the new epoch 1918/19, one hundred years ago. The German title was *Zeitenwende*, the French *Le Tournant* – in each language the meaning is a bit different. For four years, the partners met each other in the Three-Countries-Museum to discuss and coordinate their exhibition concepts and to learn more about the perspectives in the neighboring countries.

From the beginning the partners realized the great differences in the remembrance between their countries. An example is 11 November: in France this day is intensively remembered as the day of the Armistice in Compiègne in 1918 and a holiday every year. Most Germans do not have this in mind; for them the 11 November is connected with the beginning of the Carnival. Or Germans, like the Swiss, associate the day of St Martin with lantern processions for children.

Consequently, already during the first meetings there was no doubt for French museums: the end of the First World War would become an important subject in 2018. In contrast, German and especially Swiss museums of

Fig. 2: Overview exhibition to *Zeitenwende 1918/19* in the Dreiländermuseum Lörrach, with a special room showing Switzerland (red), France (blue) and Germany (yellow). © Dreiländermuseum Lörrach, 2018

the network hesitated in the beginning, not sure if they would attract public interest with this focus.

Finally the network managed to present 30 exhibitions.[5] As always, the overview exhibition was presented by the Three-Countries-Museum, comparing the situation in Germany, France and Switzerland. Three exhibition departments dealt with the historical situation in the three countries: one room dedicated to the end of the war, the dead and invalids; a second room with the economy and everyday needs; and a third room with the cultural break of the 1920s. Three other rooms illustrated the big differences of the development in France, Germany and Switzerland (fig. 2). It was interesting to see: most of the visitors knew only very little about their neighboring

5 An overview about all 30 exhibitions in: Moehring, M. ed. (2018) *Zeitenwende – Le Tournant* 1918/19. Lörrach: Waldemar Lutz. More publications exist about many of these exhibitions.

countries – although they live nearby. How much the culture of remembrance changes at the border – this audience response is a basic experience every day in the Three-Countries-Museum.[6]

The other exhibitions focused on specific aspects, sometimes with significant differences between nations. Near the former battlefield of Hartmannswillerkopf in France, the Historial showed in its exhibition about the battle a huge tapestry from Aubusson, very famous in France: a pietà designed from skulls. In St Amarin, also in France, proud veterans opened their local exhibition with their flags – an unthinkable ceremony in a German museum. More modern was the opening of an exhibition in Colmar, France, the capital of Southern Alsace – very festive, with the tricolor everywhere, but also the European anthem as emotional highlight. Children with newspapers were shouting "vive la France" and "long live the return of Alsace to France" in French. A fake of course – because one hundred years ago nearly nobody in this region was able to speak French.

In France exists a tradition to remember the victory in 1918 and the horrors of the Great War. Unlike in the UK or the US, the French usually also remember the dead German soldiers of the First World War – even more than the German public does. But two themes were largely taboo in the public until 2018. During the first conferences of the museum network, the French colleagues were not sure how openly they could address them to the public: first, the friction and the resistance against the way this German-speaking region was reintegrated into the French state; and second, the expulsion of 120,000 so-called "Old Germans".

After one hundred years these taboos have largely fallen away. The scenography of an exhibition in Strasbourg showed this impressively. One presentation showed the "selection" of the population, as French government called it that time; another showed the expulsion of people who emigrated (or whose ancestors emigrated) from Germany to Alsace during the German decades.

But why did these taboos exist for such a long time? After the trauma of Nazi occupation, the Alsatians wanted to demonstrate that they now had become good Frenchmen. But today, after decades of Franco-German

6 Moehring, M. (2014) Dreiländermuseum Lörrach. Das Museum für die Deutsch-Französisch-Schweizerische Dreiländerregion/The Three Countries Museum Lörrach. The Museum for the German-French-Swiss Three Countries Region. In: Mele, M. and Peitler, K. eds. *Wem gehört die Geschichte?* Graz: Universalmuseum Joanneum, pp. 66–77.

friendship, the belonging of Alsace to France is no longer controversial between the two countries, and French has become the common language of this region. Now, after one hundred years, these difficult topics can be discussed in the public – even more so because the region is fighting against an administrative reform reducing regional autonomy.

It was hard to understand for the French colleagues: in Germany, the memory of the First World War is much weaker than in France. It took some time for them to realize that in Germany it is suppressed by the trauma of National Socialism, the Holocaust, the Second World War and its consequences. Nevertheless, for the first time, one hundred years later, many exhibitions about the First World War have been shown in Germany. However, they have not focused on the war, but rather on the foundation of the German republic at the war's end. For decades, the Weimar Republic had predominantly been seen as a state of crisis that ultimately led to Nazism. But in 2018, German museums for the first time remembered the Republic's political and social achievements. The House of History in Stuttgart focused on this aspect. In Karlsruhe, in the castle that Frederick II, Grand Duke of the German state of Baden, had to leave in 1918, the phenomenon of revolution was the main topic. And near the Three-Countries-Museum, an event in the pedestrian zone spread more knowledge about the rarely-known revolution one hundred years ago.

It took some time for the museum colleagues of France and Switzerland to understand the importance of the only successful all-German revolution. Both countries are proud of a rich republican tradition; in contrast, the German revolution appeared less important for them. Yet this revolution achieved still more: in 1918/19 Germany became the first large country in Europe to give women the right to vote. The Frankfurt History Museum presented this aspect in its exhibition. Another aspect was presented by the two old German garrison towns Rastatt and Müllheim: along the Rhine, Germany was demilitarized and all military facilities were destroyed.

In 1918, the great multi-ethnic states in Europe were dissolved. Europe was reorganized by national characteristics – especially demarcated by their language. That is why Switzerland – as a country of four languages with equal rights – became a special case in Europe. Switzerland today is still not a member of the European Union. The latter is discussed intensively by the public and right-wing politicians, but not the historical background of the Swiss approach, which began in 1918. In fact no Swiss exhibition presented this item; only the Three-Countries-Museum discussed it.

In Biel and Olten, two museums introduced the Swiss national strike in 1918 – a subject little known to Germans and French. Switzerland was on the brink of civil war because large parts of the population were impoverished by the war. Since that time, Switzerland's biggest crisis of the twentieth century was largely forgotten in public. The country preferred to emphasize its national unity since Hitler threatened it. Only now, one hundred years later, two museums of the network dealt with the topic. And as the Treaty of Versailles gave Switzerland the right to use the Rhine for shipping, an exhibition at the Swiss Maritime Museum in Basel explained how important this is for Switzerland even today.

Finally, art exhibitions enriched the project. In Bern, capital of Switzerland, an exhibition showed the breakthrough of Paul Klee on abstraction. In Ettlingen, Germany, an art exhibition presented an artist who created one of the first anti-war monuments in the 1920s. The artist Schneider, who had to leave Alsace-Lorraine after its return to France because of his German roots, was presented in the town of his exile: Rheinfelden, Germany. Presentations in Esslingen, Rheinfelden (Switzerland), Kehl and Stockach gave an insight into the very different local situation.

The culture of remembrance differs extensively between different European countries. With its projects the Three-Countries-Museum tries to highlight national-forming and strengthen the understanding of the people in the neighboring countries.[7] This ongoing work is significantly intensified by the trinational series of exhibitions which the network of museums conducts every four years, organized by the Three-Countries-Museum since 1995.[8]

7 Moehring, M. (1999) Vergleichende Geschichte. In: Gervereau, L. ed. *Zur Zukunft der historischen Museen*, Paris: Association Internationale des Musées d'Histoire, pp. 43–50.

8 Netzwerk Museen: www.dreilaendermuseum.eu/de/Netzwerk-Museen [Accessed: 14 July 2019]. Publications about trinational exhibition series since 1995: Chiquet, S. et al. (1995) *Nach dem Krieg – Après la Guerre*. Zürich: Chronos; Merk, J. and Moehring, M. eds. (1998) *Lörrach 1848/49. Essays, Biographien, Dokumente, Projekte*. Lörrach: Waldemar Lutz; Haus der Geschichte Baden-Württemberg ed. (1998) *Nationalität Trennt, Freiheit Verbindet: ein trinationales Ausstellungsprojekt*. Stuttgart: Giese Druck GmbH & Co KG; Wunderlin, D. ed. (2005) *Fasnacht, Fasnet, Carnaval im Dreiland*. Basel: Schwabe; and Moehring, M. and Delaine, J. eds. (2009) *Der Oberrhein um 1900 – Le Rhin supérieur vers 1900*. Lörrach: Waldemar Lutz.

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The Centennial of World War I, 1914–1919 and the National World War I Museum and Memorial: Special Exhibitions

Abstract In 2013, the staff of the United States' National World War I Museum and Memorial developed themes and guiding questions for how the museum, which was founded in 1920, should use its international collection and exhibitions in yearly (1914–1919) observances of the Centennial of the First World War. My paper illustrates how this was done and what is still being done. The museum specifically collected new objects and documents for each of the years to enhance what was already in the diverse collection of all nations involved in the war. The exhibitions include *Over by Christmas, August–December 1914* and *Crucible: Life and Death in 1918*.

Keywords global, commemoration, war, impacts

The National World War I Museum and Memorial in Missouri, USA, determined in 2013 that some of the major observances of the First World War Centennial would be through special exhibitions, both on-site and travelling, and associated public programming. Calling upon the diverse and comprehensive collections of the museum, which was founded in 1920, the special exhibitions would cover the global nature of events.

By way of introduction, the Liberty Memorial and World War I Museum, now the National World War I Museum and Memorial, announced its creation in a ground-breaking ceremony in November 1921 in Kansas City, Missouri. Five main Allied leaders attended, the only time in history they were all together in the same place. They were General Jacques of Belgium, General Diaz of Italy, Marshal Foch of France, General Pershing of the United States and Admiral Lord Beatty of Great Britain. The previous year, a fund-raising campaign had raised $2,500,000 for the lasting monument to those who served in the First World War.

Construction started in 1923 and was completed in 1926. President Calvin Coolidge opened it to the world on 11 November 1926. The museum had already been collecting for six years before the building was finished. It has always been the mission of the museum to represent every nation actively participating in the war and it continues that today.

In 2006, the museum expanded its museum and visitor services space to almost 200,000 square feet. In 2018, over 500,000 visitors came from all over the world to the museum, the memorial and the surrounding grounds. Thousands of students come to the museum to learn.

In 2013, the museum hosted an international conference to discuss Centennial observances. A guiding statement came from First World War American Lieutenant General Bullard:

> On this war men will think and write for a thousand years. They will! And the things that will concern, interest and fill the thoughts of the great bulk of humanity who do think and want to know, will not be the great battles, not the tactics and the strategy of generals and mighty armies, but human feelings and actions as fill these little stories.

After the conference, from many brain-storming sessions in the museum came more questions than answers:

» How do we commemorate?

» What is the museum's role internationally?
» How do we make it all relevant to visitors (both on-site and on-line), school groups and the country?
» Where is the museum in the global effort to remember and understand war?

Themes and guiding questions emerged for each year of the war, including 1919 for the Centennial activities of the Museum: 2014_Confrontation: Why global war?, 2015_Escalation: How did the world respond?, 2016_Devastation: What were the costs?, 2017_Revolution: How did the world change?, 2018_Realization: War is over? What have we learned?, 2019_Commemoration: Is peace possible?

2014 – Confrontation: Why global war?

The first special exhibition opened before 2014. It was called *Road to War: World Power and Imperialism, 1904–1914* (fig. 1, p. 36). The exhibition explained that the ten years leading to the outbreak of the First World War, between 1904 and 1914, witnessed a series of small and large conflicts between the major European powers over territory in Europe and overseas possessions.[1] They ranged in geographical distance from Manchuria on the Asian Pacific coast to North Africa to the Balkans. These conflicts only lasted a year or two but provided the world a preview of what twentieth century warfare would be like. The nineteenth century Napoleonic concept of the "nation at arms" was replaced by its twentieth century version of the "nation at war"; limited war had become total war. The small, professional armies fighting each other for limited strategic objectives for short periods of time gave way to massive forces recruited from nation-wide drafts that were armed and supplied by working civilian populations.

Ever-increasing expenditures from national budgets were paid to maintain large standing armies and vast pools of trained civilian-reservists. Allocating these large sums to military establishments, and having a significant

1 This text, and following exhibition descriptions, are provided at www.theworldwar.org [Accessed: 14 July 2019] and related pages of the National World War I Museum and Memorial website.

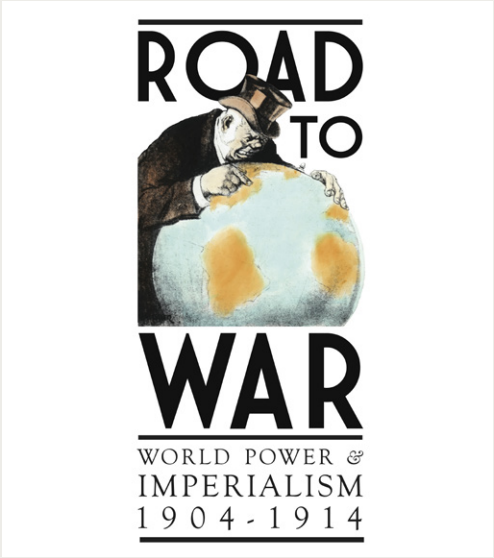

Fig. 1: Marketing for *Road to War: World Power and Imperialism, 1904–1914* exhibition. ©National World War I Museum and Memorial, 2013

number of civilians trained and ready to mobilize at the first call to arms, created a psychological need to use armed force in foreign policy matters. This could be either in self-defence against a perceived threat or in self-interest to expand national territory. Imperialist competition and fears of falling behind in the new world economy led to expansion by the European Great Powers and Japan. The Boer War, the Spanish-American War, the Russo-Japanese War and the Italo-Turkish War were outcomes of the ongoing competition for new territory. The leaders of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia all worried that they would be isolated or become losers in imperial and economic rivalries.

The first special exhibition in 2014 was *On the Brink: June–July 1914*, which illustrated the events of those two months through photographs, graphics and news reports of the time. Outside the museum on the memorial grounds, on 28 June 2014, a living exhibition of young people in character of potential assassins and the actual assassin in Sarajevo stood as mute witnesses to the day's events. Each held a placard which described their actions

on that fateful day. One example was Vaso Čubrilović, 17 year-old Bosnian Serb, writing from Zenica Prison, 1918:

> I first thought of it [the assassination] in October 1913 in Tuzla, incensed by the fights we had with our teachers, the mistreatment of Serbian students, and the general situation in Bosnia. I thought I'd rather kill the one person who'd really harmed our people than fight in another war for Serbia...[2]

Over by Christmas: August–December 1914 opened in August. For so many, war was romantic. War was colorful flags, spiked helmets and flashing sabers. War was an adventure. Those called to arms would be heroes, defending their homelands and way of life. The war would be over in days, surely by Christmas. Christmas was supposed to be a time of peace; but it was not. The exhibition highlighted the first five months of the war through specific topics or case studies. These included "Germany Mobilizes", "Germany's Rush to War", "Invasion: Belgium and France" and "War in the East".

2015 – Escalation: How did the world respond?

Sand to Snow: Global War 1915 opened on 1 May 2015. The year 1915 was pivotal in terms of the world-wide involvement in the war from the Balkans to Europe to Africa. This exhibition illustrated the convergence of diverse military, political, economic and social forces from the nations at war to the neutrals on the sidelines. The faces, actions, voices and objects of the people, often from an individual viewpoint, were our guides. Their contributions and sacrifices were the central themes.

The diversion of European factories to war production disrupted the entire world economy. To fight a global war the combatant nations incurred enormous debts to produce the weapons, ammunition and equipment necessary. Soldiers and sailors fighting across the globe required uniforms, supplies and food. The United States remained politically-neutral, not wanting to be drawn into a European war, but sold war material to both the Allies and Central Powers which included Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire.

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2 Palmer, S. and Wallis, S. eds. (2003) *Intimate Voices from the First World War*. New York: William Morrow Publishers, p. 4.

Fig. 2: Marketing for *They Shall Not Pass: The Somme and Verdun 1916* exhibition.
©National World War I Museum and Memorial, 2016

2016 – Devastation: What were the costs?

They Shall Not Pass: The Somme and Verdun 1916 was next (fig. 2). Mud and mayhem, death and destruction, staggering unnecessary losses, aptly describe the two pivotal battles of 1916 on the Western Front: the Somme and Verdun. An attack along a front of 18 miles from Maricourt, north of the River Somme, to Gommecourt by British and French forces, was meant to break the Western Front stalemate. It did not.

The Battle of the Somme in 1916 was actually the second Battle of the Somme. In September 1914, the British Expeditionary Force was not involved in the battles of Picardy and Albert, so it is not as well recorded or reported.

Although fighting around the ancient fortress city of Verdun had started in 1914 and would continue until 1918, the huge German offensive there starting on 21 February 1916 and lasting until the French counter offensive on 15 December was meant to break the French spirit. It did not. On 23 June French General Robert Nivelle exhorted his men to hold: *vous ne les laisserrez pas passer* (you shall not let them pass). The shortened adopted French battle cry then and forever after the 1916 battle was *on ne passe pas* or *ils ne passeront pas* (they shall not pass).

This exhibition drew on the extensive collection of the museum to show the immense scope of the 1916 Western Front battles and other areas of action, including the Eastern Front. It also illustrated personal experiences: from a Canadian soldier lost in the morass of the unforgiving Somme battlefield to German *Soldaten* at the walls of Verdun.

2017 – Revolution: How did the world change?

The 1917 centennial exhibition, *Revolutions 1917*, showcased the incredible events that occurred worldwide from America's official entry into the war and Russia's upheavals from an Imperial state to popular rule. The battles on the Western Front and in other theaters, and troubles on the home fronts, also led to societal changes, mutinies and revolts.

While the common conception of the United States' entry into the war on 6 April 1917 is one of unbridled patriotism and unified support, the country went through painful transitions and anti-war efforts. The dichotomy of American involvement in the First World War was, of course, that America was in the war fighting to make the world safe for democracy, but many African Americans in the United States did not enjoy that very premise. While the migrations to the north fostered a sense of revolution in attitudes and treatment, it was often not the case.

Russia reeled under two revolutions and a military uprising. German sailors mutinied against low morale and mistreatment. In Berlin, 300,000 workers went on strike, joining protesters against many shortages including food. French soldiers, many of them veterans of three years of fighting, refused to attack. From the Canadian troops' actions at Vimy Ridge, Brigadier-General A.E. Ross declared after the war that "in those few minutes I witnessed the birth of a nation. Vimy became a symbol for the sacrifice of the young Dominion."

Another Centennial exhibition for the year 1917 was *Posters as Munitions*. Soon after the outset of the First World War the poster, previously the successful medium of commercial advertising, was recognized as a means of spreading national propaganda with unlimited possibilities. Its value as an educational or stimulating influence was more and more appreciated. The poster could impress an idea quickly, vividly and lastingly.

Historian Pearl James wrote "when World War I began in 1914, the poster was a mature advertising tool and artistic medium."[3] Lithography, paper rolled over a treated and inked stone, had evolved from the first uses in the late eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century, chromolithography was in use. Improvements in printing techniques allowed for large numbers of posters in the First World War to be produced. Posters flew off the production lines like cartridges, helmets and uniforms.

For the first time, the museum created an outdoor travelling exhibition for 2017, *Fields of Battle, Lands of Peace: The Doughboys, 1917–1918*,[4] of the incredible contemporary photographs of British photographer Michael St Maur Sheil, which depict the battlefields of the Western Front where the Americans fought. They witnessed environmental degradation, obliterated villages, vast cemeteries and continuing massive destruction in a landscape that was already very foreign to them. Large color images – many 7 x 4 feet (213 x 122 cm) – exhibition text and archival documents conveyed those human efforts, actions and feelings in a spectacular fashion.

Online exhibitions included *Make Way for Democracy!*, which portrayed the lives of African Americans during the war through a series of rare images, documents and objects. In an era of federal segregation, the national call as "champions of the rights of mankind" rang hollow. Many African Americans saw the war as an opportunity to redefine their US citizenship and improve social, political and economic conditions. *Wonder Women from WWI* built upon the popularity of the movie, *Wonder Woman*, in showing the incredible efforts of women during the war.

3 James, P. (2009) *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, p. 4.

4 The colloquial name for American Expeditionary Forces troops in the First World War.

2018 – Realization: War is over? What have we learned?

In February 2018 the special exhibition *John Singer Sargent: Gassed* opened in a new exhibition space in the museum. Reaching a British dressing station south-west of the French city of Arras in summer 1918, famed American artist John Singer Sargent found his subject for an overdue painting. Sargent had been commissioned by the British Government to "contribute the central painting for a Hall of Remembrance for the World War". He had procrastinated until he saw the dressing station. The dressing station at the small village of Bailleulval was treating a number of British soldiers who had been blinded by a mustard gas attack. The final product, *Gassed,* would become a monumental work from the war, over 9 feet tall and over 20 feet long (274 x 610 cm), and was loaned from the Imperial War Museums in London for the exhibition.

Representing the final year of the war, the exhibition *Crucible: Life and Death in 1918* is not an illustration or timeline of how or why the 1918 battles were fought. It focuses instead on individuals and their lives and deaths in the crucible of 1918.

For the Doughboys on the Western Front, 1918 was their year. It was the crucible where the Americans forged their fighting force. They fought alongside their main allies – the British Empire, French, Italians, Czechs and the White Russians – from Cantigny to Belleau Wood to the Champagne region; the Piave River to the Marne; St Mihiel to the Meuse Argonne to Vladivostok. The crucible gave American women great and unforeseen opportunities to serve their country in uniform.

Crucible:
a situation of severe trial, or in which different elements interact, leading to the creation of something new.

The British and French generals wanted the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) Commander General John J. Pershing to integrate US units into their armies. But Pershing insisted on a separate American army. At an Allied conference in May 1918, when Allied lines were near breaking, French Marshal Foch demanded, "Are you willing to risk our being driven back to the Loire?" "Yes, I am willing to take the risk," Pershing replied. "The time may come when the American Army will have to stand the brunt of this war, and it is not wise to fritter away our resources in this manner." Except for a few units detached to help stop the German advance in the spring of 1918 and a few other times, the AEF fought as an American force under Pershing's direct command.

1918 was by no means solely an American show: the Allies still shouldered the lion's share of the action. The *Devastated Lands, 2019* exhibit explores the utter devastation that occurred in all areas of the world war where battles were fought through original photographs, artwork and posters from the period.

> It was a waste so utter that even the ruin was ruined. – John Masefield[5]

Adelaide Travis, canteen worker for the American Red Cross Foreign Service, wrote home on 19 May 1919 from France:

> We went to the front a week ago today: to Montdidiers [sic], Amiens, Albert, Lens, Arras, St. Quentin and back through the Forest of Compaigne [sic]. There is no use my trying to describe the destruction and desolation up there. No description, picture or amount of imagination would give you any idea of it. I was awfully shocked and after seeing it all I marvel that any of them are alive to tell what they have been through. It was just a tiny part of the British front that we saw but it has made a lasting impression on me that will last as long as I live.[6]

A French poster, "The Voice of the Ruins" by Victor Prouve, shown in the exhibition, lamented that (translated): "The Voice of the Ruins is rising from the ravaged earth, from the devastated orchards, from the burned factories, from the destroyed villages, from the walls, fallen or gasping, from the moving solitude of phantom cities."[7]

Unexploded ordnance from the war still lurks in the soil of Europe. Trained crews of disposal experts travel constantly through the battle areas finding, transporting and destroying live artillery shells, including poison gas shells, ammunition and grenades. Farmers often turn them up in their fields and place the still-lethal objects alongside roads. Teenagers harvesting potatoes in Belgium must be careful because dirt-covered German "egg" grenades look like *pomme de terre*. It is estimated that it will take another

5 Vansittart, P. ed. (1985) *John Masefield's Letters from the Front, 1915–1917*. New York: Franklin Watts. John Masefield later became Poet Laureate of the United Kingdom.

6 Collection of the National World War I Museum and Memorial Archives

7 Ibid.

one hundred years to find and remove the still-potent remnants of the First World War and the war to follow 20 years later. – The deadly legacy of the war is still with us.

2019 – Commemoration: Is peace possible?

In 2019, the museum will host *Color of Memory: Fabric Art of WWI,* exploring expressions of remembrance through striking and moving works from the collection.

"Remember Me". "Souvenir de France". "Mother Dear". "Merci!" These and countless other sentiments are expressed in the fabric art that came out of the First World War. Romantic and patriotic scenes were created on silk and cotton and wool felt. Needlepoint, silk screen, embroidery, quilting, painting and cross-stitch all served to express love, fear, loss and memory. Many of the objects were made in direct response to loved ones going to war from every country. Others were made for commercial purposes to serve the clamor for souvenirs. Regardless of initial purpose, the fabric art became a colorful reminder of how deeply the war affected those at home and away.
Corporal Walter Bullard, Co. F., 603rd Engineers, wrote home:

> I am enclosing a handkerchief that I bought for you. It is rather pretty with the French flag and Stars and Stripes together. They sell quite a bunch of them to the boys to send home and there is hardly a town that I have been in that you can't find hundreds in stores. They have all colors and with different words and such. Some have all the Allied flags worked in the corner.[8]

Two months after *Color of Memory* opens, the National World War I Museum and Memorial will launch the final exhibition in its First World War suite: *1919: Peace?* This exhibition will explore how the First World War transformed the world, but left a legacy of unresolved issues and conflict.

1919: Peace? shows that after the Armistice men and women still lost their lives – either directly from unceasing hostilities or indirectly from lingering wounds and diseases. The influenza epidemic continued unabated until the summer of 1919. The threat of war reigniting was very real. Although

8 Collection of the National World War I Museum and Memorial Archives

most fighting was over, global volunteers' relief efforts against famine, agricultural failures, destruction of environments and religious persecution persevered. President Wilson's urgent appeals to Americans for help in the "Near East" grew.

Following the outpouring of joy for the Armistice and the triumphant return of the US troops, many African American military veterans and civilians alike found that little had changed and that the fight for equality at home was still many years in the making.

For those world-wide who lost loved ones and comrades in arms, loss was still palpable. Remembrance and memorials could help soothe the pain but could not replace those far from home.

Russia struggled in civil war. Japan's power in Asia and the Pacific grew. China fell into civil war. Arab nations seethed for independence. Under British rule, Jewish settlement expanded in Palestine. The United States assumed an uneasy mantle of world leader. The war transformed the world but left it a legacy of unresolved issues and conflict.

Conclusion

In conclusion, from uniforms to documents, from posters to weapons, from photographs to helmets, the special exhibitions of the National World War I Museum and Memorial effectively explored the trials and triumphs of each of the years from 1914 to 1919. The exhibition programme benefited from its international collection, providing depth and diversity to the topics covered and presenting visitors with touchstones for each of the centennial years. Personal voices and rich collections provided depth and authenticity to this important programme, exploring experience and memory in a global context.

Karen O'Rourke

Museum of Liverpool – Reflecting on the First World War

The Challenges of "Talking War" in a Non-military Museum

Abstract This paper will look at how the Museum of Liverpool's interpretation of the themes and stories of Liverpool and the First World War has reflected our ethos of being an inclusive museum, accessible for all.

Through exhibitions, projects and collaborative activities, we have investigated locally-based "untold" stories on subjects such as patriotism, women's rights, BAME communities, political activism, fundraising and loss. We have engaged in local community collaborations on projects, activities and displays. We have worked on regional events with external partners and we have engaged in media-based activities, reaching considerably wider audiences. The paper will highlight the challenges and triumphs from our four-year rolling programme.

Keywords Liverpool; war; social history; community; access

About us

National Museums Liverpool (NML) is a group of museums and galleries based in Merseyside. The focus of each museum within the group differs, covering subjects as varied as Egyptology, maritime history, international slavery, creatures, costume and pre-Raphaelite paintings. Our remit is to appeal to local, national and international audiences of all ages and backgrounds. Entry into each of our buildings is free, but we do charge for some of our offer, such as temporary exhibitions and staffed school sessions.

As an organisation, we have committed to the following values which are at the core of all of our displays and activities:

1. We are an inclusive and democratic museum service. We aim to maximise social impact and educational benefit for all – museums change lives.

2. Museums are fundamentally educational in purpose.

3. Museums are places for ideas and dialogue that use collections to inspire people; we do not avoid contemporary issues or controversy.

4. Museums help promote good citizenship and act as agents of social change: NML believes in the concept of, and campaigns for, social justice.

5. We believe in sustainable development, and we have a role to play in the conservation and protection of the built and natural environment.

6. We believe in innovation to keep our public offer fresh and challenging, while behaving ethically, and working with partners who support our values.

Museum of Liverpool

Opened in 2011, the Museum of Liverpool (MoL) is our newest venue and tells the story of Liverpool and the surrounding region. The historical timeline for our displays starts with the formation of the local landscape and comes up to the present day. The majority of the visitors to our venue are

from the North West region of England and many are families visiting multiple times. At the time of writing, our offer is completely free.

The Museum of Liverpool is 8000 square feet (743m²) of public space divided into five permanent galleries, and several smaller temporary exhibition and display areas. We also have multi-purpose education and event spaces. Our permanent galleries also contain areas where we change out temporary displays. Where possible, our displays will offer a range of cased and open display objects (there approximately 7000 items in the building at the moment), graphic-based information, audio-visual footage and tactile material.

I was part of the team that began developing content for the Museum long before it was built. We knew that there were many key local stories that needed to be told which would provide the main narrative of Liverpool and the surrounding area. But we knew there were also numerous stories and aspects of the area that we needed to include which would highlight Liverpool's unique and quirky identity, and we wanted local people to have a say in what those would be. Over a period of around four years we consulted with more than 10,000 people, asking for their opinions on the content that we had already devised, but also asking them to contribute additional content or suggest topics they wanted to see. We met with groups at history fairs; we attended local music and sporting events; and we gave talks at church halls, in schools and in other museums. We invited groups to be stakeholders, including school teachers, parents, trade unionists, faith leaders, refugees and LGBT+ and access groups. All of their opinions were relevant and helped us to choose not only the displays that we installed for the day we opened, but also to create a list of future displays that could be swapped-in over time to refresh our offer.

The new museum had to be accessible to all and fully representative of our local population. We regularly carry out visitor profiling and review visitor feedback to ensure that we continue to maintain that representation.

Our First World War "rolling programme"

The Museum of Liverpool opened in 2011 with a First World War offer included. *From Waterfront to Western Front* comes under our temporary exhibition package, but is long-term "temporary" as the plan was for it to remain in place until at least 2019. At the moment there are no plans to change it out and it remains a popular exhibit. The basis of the exhibition is to tell

the First World War story of the local King's (Liverpool) Regiment, which expanded to one of the biggest city regiments in the UK during the 1914–1919 period.[1]

The King's Regiment Collection is loaned to NML from the Regimental Trust on a long-term contract. As we are committed to representing their story, the collection is generally the focus of the military displays we stage in the museum. The layout of the *From Waterfront to Western Front* exhibition is broadly chronological, but also divided into themes of mobilisation, service on the Western Front, letters home and returning soldiers.

Although pleased with the display, I felt that of all of the exhibitions I had curated as part of the content development for the new museum, this one was farthest from our "core" values. The difficulty for me was that the Regimental story for the First World War is one of white middle class or working class males. We managed to include female stories through the letters home. In a city that, at the outbreak of the War, had one of the most diverse populations in the UK and a tradition of strong women bonding families together, where would I tell my "other" stories that didn't fit here?

The following summer I began working on a rolling programme of temporary displays and events for the commemoration period. I wanted to look at some of the First World War themes that were frequently being told in the wider media, but to look beyond the main story and focus on the untold stories behind. We decided our main offer would be an exhibition, *First World War: Reflecting on Liverpool's Home Front*, that divided into themes and would be re-used (fig. 1, p. 49). Each time it was re-displayed it would reflect on local perspectives of the key stories, but it would be accompanied by an "in focus" display that looked at one of the themes in more detail. Themes included female emancipation; a patriotic society; a lost generation; and a country pulling together in the War. Our "in-focus" sections looked at the flip-side of the themes: women who didn't always enjoy a new-found freedom and struggled to cope with the independence and separation that was

1 See the following publications for further reading on the history of the King's (Liverpool) Regiment in the First World War: Giblin, H. et al. (2000) *Bravest of Hearts, the Biography of a Battalion, the Liverpool Scottish in the Great War*. Liverpool: Winordie Publications; Maddocks, G. (1993) *The Liverpool Pals: a History of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th (Service) Battalions. The King's (Liverpool Regiment) 1914–1919*. 2nd ed. London: Pen & Sword Books Ltd; Wyrall, E. (1935) *The History of the King's Regiment (Liverpool), 1914–1919* (3 vols). London: Edward Arnold & Co.

Fig. 1: The Quarless Family attending the opening of the *First World War: Reflecting on Liverpool's Home Front* exhibition. They are pictured in front of their family story. ©Museum of Liverpool, 2014

thrust upon them. Or how the national rush to enlist was reflected in city where 67,000 men attended review boards in an attempt to avoid service. We also looked at the concept of a country joining together to defeat the enemy, when in our region the press was reporting about striking workers, women defrauding the system and local businesses who were profiting from the War Effort.[2]

2 See for example: Aughton, P. (2008) *Liverpool: a People's History*. Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing; Liverpool's Part in the War (series of articles). *The Liverpool Courier*, 1919–1920. McGreal, S. (2014) *Liverpool in the Great War*. London: Pen & Sword Military; Smith, H.L. (1998) *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign, 1866–1928*. Harlow: Longman.

Individual projects

Top of my list was an investigation into the diversity of Liverpool at the time of the war. The city had a Black population that spanned ten generations dating back to the early nineteenth century. It also had the oldest settled Chinese community in Europe. By 1914, 3000 BAME people were living in the city, mainly in an area just south of the city centre. In the most part, their stories had not been documented.[3]

Our first "in-focus" was called *Untold Stories: Black Families in the First World War*. In the decade prior to 2012, there had been an attempt nationally to address the history of British Colonial troops and I was aware of projects in the Midlands and around the south of England. In addition, specific stories such as those of the Indian and Sikh troops who served were reasonably well known. Up to this point, there was virtually nothing documenting the lives of British-born or domiciled Black soldiers.

I joined with local historian Dr Ray Costello, and with the help of funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund (now the National Lottery Heritage Fund) we launched our project in 2013. We asked local people who thought their families might have had a presence in the city in the First World War to come forward, and we offered to help them with their family history research. Initially this was a generic BAME project and the aim was to gather material for our collections. As the project progressed, it became apparent that the local Chinese community were not engaging with the project at all and that the members of the Black community we were working with were not ready to give up their family mementoes.

In fact, the project did not see people rushing to us to tell their stories at all; rather there was a slow trickle of people who made contact. The project began to evolve to fit the people we were engaging with. We decided to focus on the network of Black families who had a footprint in the south end of the city during the War, and who in most cases were still living in the same area. Speaking to one family would lead us to more contacts and so on, and

3 Key texts on this subject include: Costello, R. (2001) *Black Liverpool: the Early History of Britain's Oldest Black Community, 1730–1918*. Liverpool: Picton; May, R. and Cohen, R. (1974) The Interaction Between Race and Colonialism: a Case Study of the Liverpool Race Riots of 1919. *Race and Class* 16(2), pp. 111–126.

so the aim of the project changed organically. Over time we decided the most important thing was to tell the stories, both through an exhibition in the museum and through a publication authored by Dr Costello, and just get the stories out there.[4]

In the end we were able to produce an exhibition that told multiple family stories and was so popular that the run was extended from eight months to over a year. We hosted creative writing workshops and further family history workshops. Although similar projects have since addressed the subject, the Museum of Liverpool was the first to tell the story of Black British families in the First World War. Because of this, interest in the subject continued after the exhibition closed in 2015 and families were asked to participate in other cultural events both in the city and nationally – the last at the time of writing was the commemoration concert at the Royal Albert Hall for the 2018 Armistice anniversary.

After our *Untold Stories* project was launched, the museum then worked with a number of small groups to support projects, often not based around a museum display. These included a choral concert, a walking tour of the city connected to the Tower of London Poppy display and several conferences – sometimes in collaboration, sometimes by just providing information, but always with the city and the surrounding region at the core of the content.

In 2015 our next temporary exhibition in the rolling programme turned to the story of women and conflict. Our timeline was rooted in the First World War, but came up to present day. We looked at 30 women from around the world who had a connection to conflict. We included women who served in war zones, women who lost loved ones, refugees and anti-war campaigners. Of course we have to make a connection to Liverpool, and our most contemporary stories were the mother of the first soldier to die in Afghanistan with the local regiment and a Colonel who had completed two tours of duty with the local medical unit.

In the summer of 2016 we brought the *First World War: Reflecting on Liverpool's Home Front* exhibition back again. This time the focus was on

4 For details of the exhibition, see website: www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/exhibitions/first-world-war-untold-stories [Accessed: 11 September 2019]. Publication details: Costello, R. (2015) *Black Tommies: British Soldiers of African Descent in the First World War*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Fig. 2: Cadets and veterans from the *Memories Lost* project discussing their House of Memories dementia suitcase. © Museum of Liverpool, 2017

"Memories Lost", and the project divided into three parts. The first part of the project was the exhibition, examining the aftermath of trauma and loss – specifically the charities that developed on Merseyside around the time of the First World War and still had a footprint there today. In each case we made a connection between the charity and local people who were involved in the First World War period, but we also worked with each charity to tell the stories of people working there, and the people they support, in 2016.

The second part of the project was an Armed Forces thread of an existing programme based at the Museum of Liverpool called *House of Memories*. This is a museum-led dementia awareness programme which offers training, access to resources and museum-based activities to enable carers to provide person-centred care for people living with dementia. The Armed Forces strand of the programme is a useful tool for connecting with veterans and their families, and is particularly relevant in the North West of the UK where we have a large ex-Services population (fig. 2).

The third part of the project was a cross-generational oral history collecting programme. We trained and supported teenage cadets in interviewing veterans and recording their stories. The veterans were connected to local veteran support charities, and in many cases had experienced difficulties in their lives after service. Being aware of this, we included training in mental health first aid and had PTSD counsellors on site for each of the events. We also ensured that we had staff trained in safeguarding awareness present at each interview. We collected 18 oral histories, covering topics such as addiction, PTSD, boy soldiers and female service. The legacy of the project was the Armed Forces House of Memories strand which is now permanently included in our offer. It means that a veteran's carer can participate in a training day at the Museum of Liverpool and gain skills in managing a veteran's dementia. They can use the museum as a giant memory box, with access to our memory tours, or they can lend, free of charge, a memory suitcase packed full of Armed Forces memorabilia that could help them to re-connect to the person for whom they are caring.[5]

Also in 2016 we staged a display looking at the role of the Catholic, Liverpool Irish community during the Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916. This involved looking at the 50 to 70 people who travelled from Liverpool to Ireland to fight against the British during the First World War period. In a city where religious tension still exists between some of the Catholic and Protestant communities, it was a contentious subject for us to cover, but one that we felt needed to be told.[6]

5 This is an ongoing programme, the details of which can be accessed at http://houseofmemories.co.uk.

6 Key texts on this general subject include: Foy, M.T. and Barton, B. (1999) *The Easter Rising*. Cheltenham: The History Press; for a more local insight, see Belchem, J. (2007) *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: the History of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800–1939*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press; Quiery, G. (2017) *In Hardship and Hope: A History of the Liverpool Irish*. Surrey: G&K Publishing.

Representing these hidden histories as an exhibition or a display was not always an option. With a busy exhibition and display schedule that is currently booked up to 2021–22 we often had to find creative responses to people or groups who wanted to tell their First World War story in the museum. Often when approached to put on an exhibition, the outcome has actually been an event or a digital response. Sometimes we have acted as advisors, such as in the case of our three Royal de Luxe Giant events. Sometimes we have contributed content for off-site activities, and in the case of local cultural partners, provided support and introductions to our ever growing network of "friends".

An example of a partner who came to us with a plan for an exhibition, but instead ended up working with us on a series of events, was the Meridian Society. Their plan was to tell the story of the Chinese Labour Corps (CLC) in connection to the British participation in the First World War. Liverpool was a prime location as there are five CLC graves in the city. Unfortunately, we could not host an exhibition in the museum which would coincide with the society's commemoration activities, so instead we offered the activity space in our venue. We were able to stage a private civic reception and film showing, and then provide the same offer as part of our public programme. As with all of the projects we work on, this also involved activity on social media sites, and interaction with mainstream press and media.

In conclusion

As one of the largest cultural organisations based in Merseyside, we knew that we were expected to take the lead and be at the centre of First World War commemorations and activities in the region. As curator of the local regiment's collection, a considerable amount of my time over the last five years has been spent, and continues to be spent, on the commemoration of the lost and wounded men of the King's (Liverpool) Regiment. However that is only one aspect of my role, and as a curator based in a city history museum I was always going to investigate the Home Front stories too. Maintaining the right balance of stories to accurately reflect the local population, and appeal to all of our visitors, while also maintaining relationships with our cultural partners was an immensely difficult balancing act. Ultimately, along the way there were groups and individuals who we did not manage to represent. Indeed there were groups who specifically came to us with a project or a plan

that we just could not implement within the restrictions of our time and resources. In the end we just had to do the best we could.

Acknowledgements

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The *Memories Lost* project was funded by the Armed Forces Covenant Fund Trust and supported by the King's Regiment Association Liverpool, Veterans In Sefton, Liverpool Veterans, SAAFA, the Royal British Legion and North West Reserve Forces and Cadets Association.

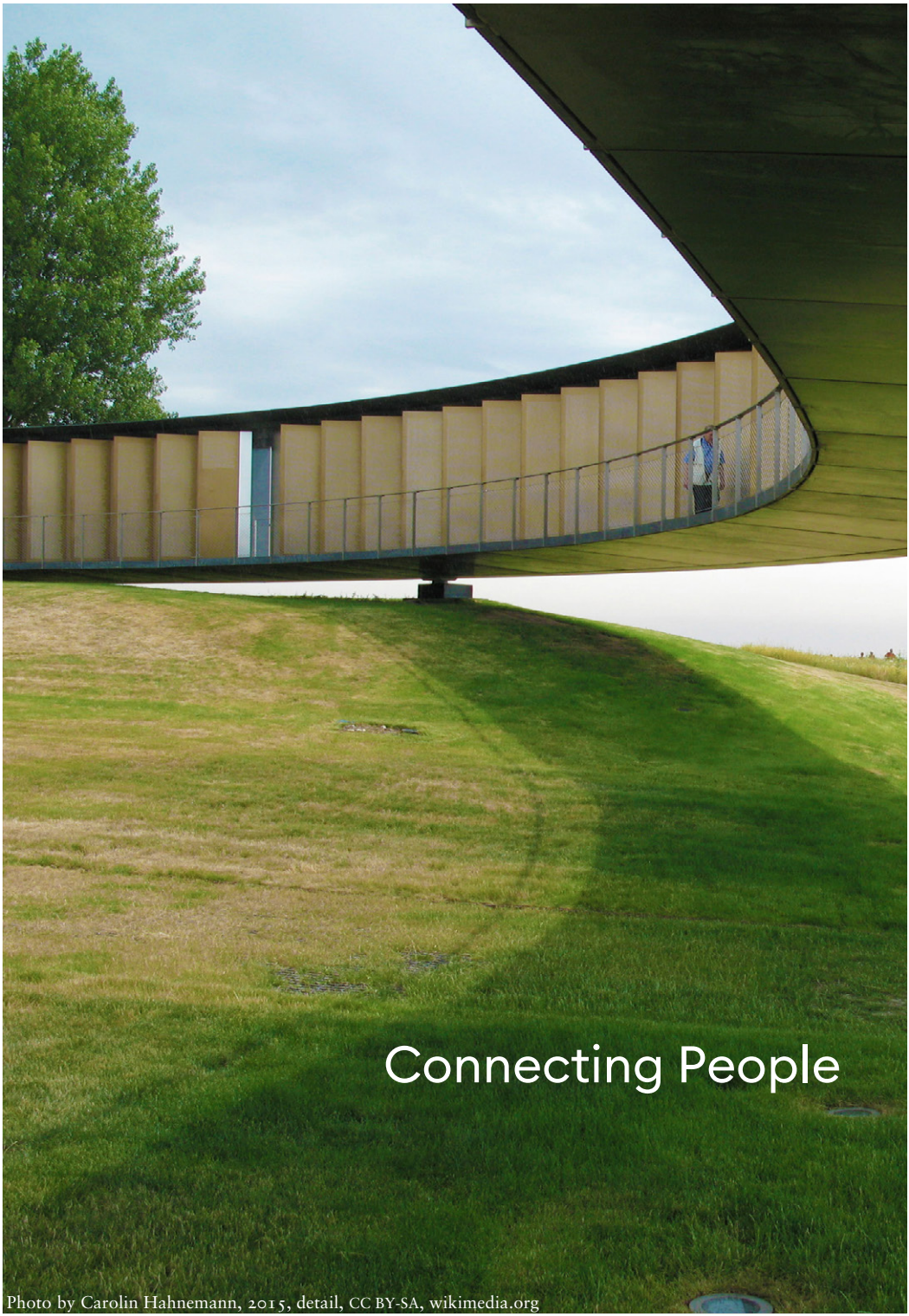

Photo by Carolin Hahnemann, 2015, detail, CC BY-SA, wikimedia.org

Ulrike Smalley

Cymru'n Cofio – Wales Remembers

Commemorating and Researching the First World War at National Museum Wales

Abstract Between 2014 and 2019 Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales (ACNMW) was a lead partner in the Welsh Government's Cymru'n Cofio – Wales Remembers project. This project brought together a variety of partners including the Armed Forces, local history groups, archives, museums and cultural organisations from across Wales. The main focus of the programme was on the impact of the First World War on Welsh society and its legacy. *The First World War Remembered* programme developed by ACNMW included exhibitions, creative projects, events and learning activities, all underpinned by a thorough collections research and digitisation project. Working with communities and creative partners was a key element of the programme, and this article explores the range of interdisciplinary and engagement projects developed across ACNMW sites and departments.

Keywords Wales remembers, remembrance, community, engagement, re-living

Project background

For the Centenary of the First World War Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales (ACNMW) delivered a five-year programme of exhibitions, events and engagement activities, underpinned by thorough research and digitisation of all First World War-related collections held by ACNMW.

Planning for the Centenary started in 2011 when a cross-departmental steering group was set up to develop the framework for the *First World War Remembered* programme. ACNMW's ambition was to deliver exhibitions and events across all its public sites, and to work with partner organisations and community groups across Wales and internationally.

ACNMW has seven public sites across Wales, all of which were involved in the programme: National Museum Cardiff, St Fagans National Museum of History, National Waterfront Museum Swansea, Big Pit National Coal Museum, National Slate Museum, National Roman Legion Museum, National Wool Museum.

The steering group identified three main aims for the programme:

> Our aim is to tell the stories of the people of Wales during and after the First World War, to explore the unique areas of impact on Wales and on Welsh life and to better understand key events and the legacy today through Amgueddfa Cymru's collections.
>
> **The Call to War**: how and why the people of Wales responded to the call to war; **Living through War**: the impact for people at home and those fighting and working in the arenas of war, loss and remembrance, and **Transformation through war**: the changing skills, attitudes and beliefs during and immediately post-war.
>
> Through these themes we will draw out key stories that illuminate the Welsh experience and perspective of the First World War and the universal elements of war.

A set of values was agreed to guide the delivery of the programme:

» Personal: Concentrating on the common experiences of how the First World War touched the lives of ordinary men and women as individuals and in communities

» Welsh Identity: The specific meaning of the First World War to the people of Wales in questioning and shaping their own identity in relation to other home nations and internationally

» Realism: An honest account of the horrors of war on the battlefront and the home front
» Courage: The many aspects of bravery shown by those fighting in the war, civilians, survivors and returning soldiers including acts of dissension against the authorities
» Contribute: Telling the stories yet to be uncovered through living memories and re-living experiences
» Contemporary: Telling stories about the relevance of the WWI today

Project partners and funding

During the Centenary period ACNMW worked with a wide range of partners from across Wales, the UK and internationally to develop exhibitions, events, learning and outreach activities. The main project partners were the Welsh Government, National Library of Wales and the IWM Centenary Partnership.

The Welsh Government brought together museums, galleries, archives, libraries and other organisations under the Cymru'n Cofio/Wales Remembers umbrella to support, encourage and promote a wide range of First World War-related projects and activities across Wales.[1]

ACNMW received three major grants to support the Centenary activities: a grant from Cymru'n Cofio over five years to deliver cross site exhibitions, events and engagement programmes; a grant from the Welsh Government to develop First World War learning resources in partnership with National Library of Wales; and a grant from the Armed Forces Covenant which specifically supported St Fagans National Museum of History's First World War programme.

Collections research at ACNMW

In preparation for the Centenary period curatorial staff worked with digital media, conservation, photography and translation to develop a database of all First World War-related objects from across ACNMW's collections. All objects were digitised and conserved, and object descriptions were enhanced to a consistent level and translated into Welsh.

1 Available at: https://walesremembers.org [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

The database was launched in 2014 and over the next years grew to hold over 1100 objects. In addition to the database ACNMW staff and volunteers wrote a series of blogs and articles exploring the personal stories behind objects, conservation projects and engagement activities.

One of the major finds the in-depth collections research brought to light was Dyddiadur Kate, a Welsh language diary written by Kate Rowlands in 1915. The diary is a rich and nuanced account of life in rural Wales during the First World War. It gives us glimpses into everyday tasks, the names of fields and farms, local characters and dialects, as well chapel and farm life. The diary was first shared with the public via a Twitter project in 2015 and has since been turned into a free e-publication.[2]

The research and digitisation project was invaluable for the development of ACNMW's First World War exhibitions and learning resources throughout the Centenary period. ACNMW's First World War database, and related blogs and articles, are a major legacy of the programme and can be accessed via the museum's website.[3]

In addition to the First World War database and related research, ACNMW collaborated with National Library of Wales to create a comprehensive set of digital learning resources during the early Centenary period. This project resulted in the production of new resources for teachers and young people in Wales to learn about the First World War from a Welsh perspective. The project used the wealth of primary resources digitised by ACNMW and National Library of Wales. The learning resources are free to access on the Hwb website.[4]

Overview of the *First World War Remembered* programme

ACNMW's exhibition programme of eight touring exhibitions and 18 site-specific exhibitions focused on the impact of the First World War on people across Wales. Working with ACNMW's diverse sites, the exhibition programme explored the war often in site-specific contexts – from comparing the

2 Available at: https://museum.wales/media/46765/Dyddiadur-Kate.pdf [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

3 Available at: https://museum.wales/stfagans/first-world-war/digital-legacy [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

4 Due to time constraints the Hwb project was not presented at the Koblenz conference, but is included here as the resources are publicly available and one of the major legacies of ACNMW First World War research project. Available at: https://hwb.gov.wales [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

impact of war in the Roman period with that of the First World War in a series of exhibitions at the National Roman Legionary Museum, to touring exhibitions focusing on the war effort of Welsh industries – including women working in munitions, mining communities, slate quarries and woollen production – developed by Big Pit National Coal Museum, National Slate Museum, National Wool Museum and National Waterfront Museum Swansea.

National Museum Cardiff focused on exhibitions exploring ACNMW's art and natural history collections, and St Fagans National Museum of History worked extensively with the Armed Forces community in uncovering the First World War history of some of its historic buildings and objects from the social history collections. The exhibition programme was further enhanced by a wide range of over 130 events from curator talks and lectures, Remembrance Day gatherings to family workshops exploring how we remember the First World War today.

Working with creative partners, schools and universities, young people and community groups was a major element in the development of exhibitions and events across all sites, and this paper looks at creative projects from across ACNMW's sites.

Working with communities and creative partners

The *First World War Remembered* programme relied heavily on collaboration with a range of creative partners as well as community co-curation and co-production. The collaborative projects addressed the legacy of the First World War through performances, re-discovering and re-interpreting buildings and memorials, as well as exploring the stories behind objects in the ACNMW collection, from war art to personal artefacts.

National Slate Museum: From *For Freedom and Empire* to *Cofeb*

During the Centenary period, National Slate Museum focused on the impact the war had on Welsh slate miners. To start their Centenary programme they consulted audience through the *A Call to Remember* display to share their thoughts on how the First World War should be commemorated and the responses gathered then underpinned the development of their First World War exhibition programme.

The first exhibition that was developed focused on the reaction of the slate miners to the call to war and its impact on the industry through the touring exhibition *For Freedom and for Empire*.

The Welsh language play *I'r Gad* was commissioned by the National Slate Museum and developed by the theatre company Bara Caws. The performances were programmed to support the exhibition *For Freedom and for Empire*. The play focused on the campaign to enrol young quarrymen from north Wales into the British Army during the First World War. The play was set at various locations at National Slate Museum, and visitors were guided promenade-style between locations. The play focused on the experiences of two brothers, Gruffydd and Gwilym. Portraying the storyline from two different viewpoints provided an opportunity to convey different interpretations and a more balanced approach. The audience was encouraged to empathise with both characters leading them to a better understanding of the complexities of the situation and of the reasons behind the actions taken by both characters.

The audience was very much part of the action. An immersive experience was encouraged with the movement between locations. Visitor comments reveal the play's impact.

> Felt the power of propaganda and its effect on common people. My grandfather was killed in Belgium in 1916 – and my mother was left without a father as a child of one year and 10 months. The power of the whole experience was agonisingly painful.

> I was in France and Belgium visiting the graves and museums etc. in November 2012. Today has broadened my understanding.

The culmination of the Centenary programme at National Slate Museum was the community exhibition *Cofeb – Memorial* which opened in 2018. Each element of this exhibition was inspired by the Dyffryn Nantlle Pen-yr Orsedd Quarry memorial, which was commissioned to commemorate the quarry workers who died in the First World War. The unique carvings, research into the names inscribed on the memorial and the idea of commemoration itself were used to inspire local school groups and artists, as well as special interest and community groups, to contribute creatively to the exhibition. The outreach work undertaken in this project resulted in valuable new information – for example, a pupil involved in the project discovered a direct connection with a name on the memorial. The family connected to the memorial loaned

pictures and a bracelet which were shown in the exhibition, rediscovering the personal story behind one of the many names on the memorial.

National Waterfront Museum Swansea: *GRAFT*

National Waterfront Museum developed a number of First World War exhibitions such as *Munitionettes and Canary Girls*, an exhibition focusing on women working in munitions factories in Wales, and two exhibitions on the impact of the war on Welsh industry as a whole, both during the war and in its aftermath (*1918: Return to Peace and Working for Victory*). These exhibitions were enriched by personal stories of the impact of the First World War on Welsh people, uncovered by staff members researching their own family histories.

For 2018, National Waterfront Museum Swansea received funding from 14–18 NOW to contribute to the major Swansea-based art project *Now the Hero* by artist Marc Rees.[5]

The resulting project *GRAFT*: *A soil based syllabus* was developed in collaboration with artist Owen Griffiths. *GRAFT* brought together groups from The Wallich and Crisis homeless charities as well as other groups and individuals from the area, and continues as a major creative learning and community resource for National Waterfront Museum Swansea. The community garden created by the volunteer team as part of *GRAFT* was inspired by the "Brangwyn panels" which were originally commissioned by the House of Lords in 1924 to commemorate the First World War. The panels eventually went on display at the Guildhall in Swansea, as the scheme developed by artist Frank Brangwyn was rejected as too colourful and lively.

A culmination of the work undertaken by *GRAFT* volunteers was the soup made from the produce they had grown, which was given to the 2500 strong audience at the five *Now the Hero* performances in Swansea in 2018.

GRAFT continues to provide a place for community learning, a long-term resource to foster engagement from a variety of local groups as well as a contemplative space in the centre of the museum.

5 Available at: https://www.nowthehero.wales [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

National Museum Cardiff: *Come and Sing* and *Poppies for Remembrance*

National Museum Cardiff focused on its art and natural history collections to explore the impact of the First World War on Wales. Christopher William's painting of the battle formed the centre of a major art exhibition *War is Hell*, as well as inspiring the creative partnership project *Come and Sing*. The Battle of Mametz Wood, part of the Somme offensive, had led to the death or injury of 4000 soldiers in the 38th (Welsh) Division.

Come and Sing was a partnership project with Welsh National Opera (WNO), Arts and Humanities Research Council and Literature Wales. Young writers produced pieces of creative writing, and music students composed music and songs inspired by Christopher William's *Battle of Mametz Wood* painting. At the final event at National Museum Cardiff pieces were performed by young people and opera singers from the WNO, followed by a public singalong of trench songs.[6]

For the centenary of the Armistice in 2018, National Museum Cardiff extended a small touring exhibition *Poppies for Remembrance* into a major display. *Poppies for Remembrance* opened at National Museum Cardiff in July 2018 and explored how the poppy became the symbol for remembrance in Britain after the First World War.

The exhibition took a cross-disciplinary approach, drawing on ACNMW's natural history, art and social history collections as well as borrowing from Cardiff University Special Collections, Porthcawl Museum and private individuals. At the heart of the exhibition sat the "Well of Remembrance", offering visitors an opportunity to write on paper poppies their reflections on the impact of the First World War and subsequent wars on their families, and their thoughts on how they connect to the legacy of the war (fig. 1, p. 66).

Nearly 15,000 paper poppies were deposited in the well over the eight-month run of the exhibition. A team at National Museum Cardiff is sorting and evaluating the responses with the aim of sharing the insights on the public perception of, and reaction to, the First World War with other institutions and museums internationally engaged in similar audience surveys.

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6 *Come and Sing* was not presented at the Koblenz conference due to time constraints, but is included here as an example of ACNMW's work with communities and creative partners to engage audiences with First World War events and collections. Available at: https://youtu.be/aDQgOfjDxpQ [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

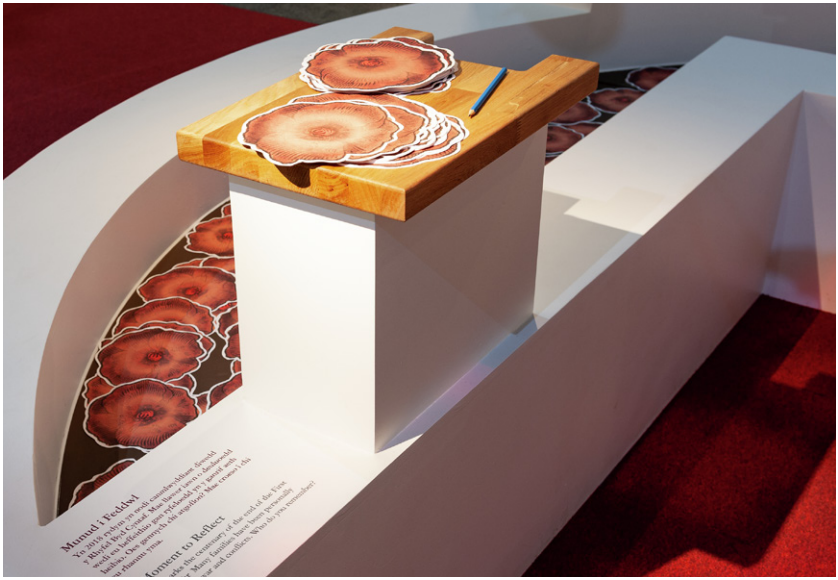

Fig. 1: Close up of the Well of Remembrance in *Poppies for Remembrance*. © The National Museum of Wales, 2018

Fig. 2: Performers in the gardens of St Fagans Castle. © The National Museum of Wales, 2015

Many visitors reacted by providing family stories and naming relatives involved in either the First or Second World War, and in some cases more recent conflicts, thus reflecting the ongoing impact of wars since 1918. A majority of the reactions, though, express a more generalised gratitude towards the sacrifices made by past generations and pledges to remember them. Phrases such as "Lest We Forget", "We Will Remember Them" and "RIP" were frequently evoked.

> Peace and love make the world better. Remember those who lost their lives and those who continue to lose their lives as victims of war in the 21st century.

> To my Great Grandfather Herbert Crowther Foxton who was injured at Villers Bretonneux in 1918 and lived until aged 90. I never met you but your memory and story shall live on in the lives of our family.

> My Great Great Uncle William Hobbs aged 19 Drowned at Sea in the 1st World war. He was from Barry, S. Wales

> I will forever remember the sacrifices made by all who fought the war so we can live as we do today. We will remember them.

> Remembering those who lost lives in the Falklands War 1982

St Fagans National Museum of History: working with Armed Forces communities

David Anderson, Director General ACNMW:

> What the *Make an Aria* project achieved was to combine different locations within and around the Castle in a way which brought hitherto hidden parts of its history to light. It wove together testimonies from different parts of our collections in ways which directly engaged our emotions. The challenge is how we build on that to engage emotionally with a greater number of people.

Make an Aria was a project in which staff at St Fagans worked with Music Theatre Wales, Royal Welsh College of Music & Drama (RWCMD) and members of the Armed Forces. Ten young music students were invited to

create new work responding to the history of St Fagans castle as a Red Cross hospital during the First World War. During the initial stages of the project, the students viewed objects from ACNMW's First World War collections alongside serving members of the Armed Forces who provided personal and contemporary perspectives on past conflict.

Following the workshop, the participants were paired up to begin the composing process. Four months later, a public masterclass was held at the RWCMD to culminate the first phase of the project, at which the newly-composed arias were performed and critiqued.[7] The accompanying publication is available on issuu.com.[8] The project culminated in July 2015 with a series of public performances in the grounds and interiors of St Fagans Castle (fig. 2, p. 66).[9]

Lieutenant-Colonel N. O. Crewe-Read, 3rd Battalion, The Royal Welsh: "I thought that the musical drama was outstanding and when coupled with the magical backdrop of St Fagans Castle, truly thought provoking. I felt very privileged to have been invited and proud to have been associated with the event."

The research undertaken and personal perspectives brought to the subject by members of the Armed Forces also underpinned the new *Scarred by War* display in St Fagans' *Wales Is…* gallery which links the First World War to the experiences of current conflicts through historical and contemporary objects alongside personal accounts.

One of the last major collaborative projects of the *First World War Remembered* programme was the development and performances of *Y Dychweliad – The Return* in March 2019 at the Oakdale Workmen's Institute.[10] Originally erected at Oakdale, Caerphilly in 1917, the institute is now located at St Fagans National Museum of History.

Re-Live is an award-winning charity providing a dynamic, inspirational programme of Life Story Theatre work based in Cardiff. Re-Live created a performance with veterans, family members and community members which re-imagined a Victory Ball held at Oakdale Workmen's Institute

7 Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rnERj01VK7A&feature=youtu.be [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

8 Available at: https://issuu.com/amgueddfacymru/docs/make-an-aria-brochure2 [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

9 Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C7RaTaGauVs [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

10 This was not presented at the Koblenz conference as Y Dychweliad/The Return performances took place in March 2019.

for returning veterans in 1919, echoing Victory Balls that took place across Wales. *Y Dychweliad – The Return* also shared the experiences of 21st century service men and women returning to their communities from conflicts such as Falklands and Northern Ireland.

Y Dychweliad – The Return was an immersive live story theatre performance which merged past and contemporary experiences of conflict and its impact on both the combatants and their families. It brought a war which has now moved out of living memory into focus and investigated similarities of experiences through the voices of veterans and military families today.

Conclusion

ACNMW's First *World War Remembered* programme focused on the impact of the war on Welsh society by exploring personal stories through objects and places. The resulting exhibitions and events invited audiences to experience an imaginative and emotive involvement with a conflict that has moved out of living memory, but the effects of which still echo with families and communities today. The work undertaken by the museum has not only created a deeper understanding of the existing First World War collections and their relation to events and places, but also provided new ways of working through co-curation, creative responses and audience participation which will inform future projects.

Juliane Haubold-Stolle

Why Does Germany Tend to Forget 1918?

Abstract There was a huge difference between the public attention the centenary of the beginning of the First World War received in 2014 and the arguably lesser attention for the centenary of the end of the war in 2018. Is it easier to remember going to war than to remember peace-making?

My first argument is: lessons learned from the beginning and the end of the First World War differ – indeed, there is a "European lesson" learned from the beginning of the First World War, but the conclusions drawn from the end are national ones. These lessons tell much about concepts of nation and democracy in different European countries as well as the lived reality. Therefore it is time to discuss those differences and to change history museums into institutions where democracy and nation are debated and not only presented.

Keywords commemoration, culture

> This day, the 9th of November 1918, is a milestone in the history of German democracy. It stands for the birth of the republic in Germany. It stands for the breakthrough of parliamentary democracy. And this is why it deserves pride of place in our country's culture of remembrance,

German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier said during the official ceremony on 9 November held in the German Bundestag.[1] Titled "German Schicksalstag" (day of destiny/fateful day) it did not only celebrate the founding of the first German republic in 1918. It also pointed out that 9 November was the 80th anniversary of the anti-Jewish atrocities of 1938, the "*Reichskristallnacht*", as well as the 95th anniversary of the Hitler's putsch in Munich – and also the 29th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall. Understandably a day like this is no easy jubilee. If you had wanted to especially celebrate the end of war, you could have chosen 11 November. But that did not happen. That shows it is still not easy to talk about the First World War in Germany – even one hundred years later.

This is even more astonishing if you remember the huge attention the centenary of the beginning of the war received.[2] In 2014 there had been a "commemorative avalanche"[3] in Europe – an enormous public resonance to the commemorative events centering around the one hundredth anniversary of 1914, surprising even in Germany where traditionally the First World War was, and is, overshadowed by the Second World War.

Indicating that in Germany the events of November 1918 would not be as prominently remembered as they could and should be, I remember a visit from French colleagues in 2012. They asked the director of the German Historical Museum, where I worked then, to organize a joint exhibition about the end of the Great War and the changes it brought about in Eastern Europe – and he declined because he didn't want to go along "with all these anniversaries". You can think as you like about anniversaries, but to pass over

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1 Speech by German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier in the German Bundestag, available at: www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/577898/1fabb911443e38b78dc622d2b7d1aee6/Rede_BPraes_09November2018-data.pdf [Accessed: 13 July 2019].

2 Fenn, M. (2016) Der Krieg, der Fern War, ist Jetzt Nah. Staatliches Erinnern an "1914" im Mega-Jubiläumsjahr 2014 in Deutschland. In: Fenn, M. et al. eds. *Auf dem Weg zur transnationalen Erinnerungskultur. Konvergenzen, Interferenzen und Differenzen der Erinnerung an den Ersten Weltkrieg im Jubiläumsjahr 2014*. Schwalbach: Wochenschau Geschichte, pp. 66–96.

3 Wolfrum, E. et al. (2016) Introduction. In: Wolfrum, E. et al. eds. *European Commemoration: Locating World War I*. Stuttgart: ifa Edition Culture and Foreign Policy, pp. 5–11, p. 5.

the centenary of the end of a war, which influenced Germany's history for the next 50 years, or to ignore the revolution of 1918, which produced the first German republic, was in my view a political mistake.[4] The end of a war that killed about 9 million soldiers and 7 to 10 million civilians is worthwhile remembering vividly. The beginning of the first German republic two days earlier is worth being celebrated! Nevertheless, back in the year 2012 the then acting director of the museum was not alone in his unwillingness to talk about the revolution of 1918 – for what reason?

The most important difference was that, though in 2014 most of the stories told were national ones, an overall European lesson was repeated again and again: the importance of diplomatic talks and the prevention of war, because 1914 showed how very easy is it to start a war and how very difficult to end it.

While the conclusions drawn from the end of the First World War are primarily national ones, and each country narrates its own lesson, these lessons learned tell us how nation and democracy are seen in the different European countries. That is one of the reasons why there is an uncertainty about how to remember 1918 in Germany: the lessons learned from 1918 are not easy to determine. We still have not come to terms with this war and its end. There is no "easy" German narrative covering 1918. This became evident in 2018, when we could not hide behind a European narrative like we did in 2014. It is easy to join in when everybody mourns the dead of war. But in 2018 you had to define what the war meant for your country or for Europe. Almost no one in Germany was willing to answer – because if you did you would have had to talk about the concepts of nation and democracy today – and about the Second World War.

For other countries this seems to be easier. In France the memory of the First World War constitutes an important part of the national identity. *La grande guerre* is widely and vividly remembered – across the country, in towns, villages and families. The memory concentrates not only on the victory but foremost on the joint national effort, and the suffering of soldiers and civilians.[5] The fact that France won this war gives – or seems to give – the suffering a meaning, as President Macron did when he explained that

4 They are planning to do a smaller exhibition about Weimar democracy in 2019.

5 Dalisson, R. (2017) Du Héros à la Victim: le Mythe du Poilu dans les Fêtes Nationales, de 1945 à nos Jours. In: Jalabert, L. et al. eds. *La Longue Mémoire de la Grande Guerre. Regards Croisés Franco-Allemands de 1918 à nos Jours*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presse Universitaires du Septentrion, pp. 183–198.

the French soldiers not only died for France but for democracy and human rights. In Macron's eyes, in 1914–1918 France was the carrier of universal moral rights and beliefs. The president even tried to include those French into his narrative whose ancestors only fought for France because they were forced to – as colonial soldiers – i.e. the approximately 100,000 soldiers and forced labourers from Africa. Considering the socially-fractured condition of today's France, this is an attempt to unite the nation through memory. But the French national narrative does not only include the French. Since 1963 and the beginning of the French-German process of reconciliation, the way the Great War was remembered in France changed: as an experience not dividing but connecting France and Germany. An example is the 370-meter-wide elliptical "Ring of Memory", opened in 2014 in the Lens area of northern France, commemorating 580,000 dead of several nations. The names of the fallen are listed alphabetically and no mention is made of their nationality. This is a new way to remember war victims – friends and foes alike.

One of the main French lessons learned from the "Great War" is the importance of keeping peace with Germany – or at least to keep Germany under control. Without peace between France and Germany, there is no peace in Europe. This lesson even meant that in 1939 not every French person was willing to go to war to defend Poland's freedom. And this lesson was repeated after 1945.

This year on 11 November President Macron not only invited the German Chancellor to commemorate the Armistice – but over 60 heads of government. It was an international event and a very French ceremony at the same time, aiming to demonstrate that France still is a great power.

Great Britain, to no one's surprise, had its own commemorative ceremony. Like the French, but in a different way, the British memory concentrates on the dead and the suffering of the First World War and the joint national effort. British commemorations emphasize the "military aspects, prioritize the stories of combat soldiers and honour the memory of our nation's military dead".[6] The red poppy as a symbol for this highlights the heroic

6 See, for example, Sharp, I. (2016) How do Germany and Britain Remember the First World War, and Can the Differences Explain Brexit? Available at: http://beyondthetrenches.co.uk/how-do-germany-and-britain-remember-the-first-world-war-and-can-the-differences-explain-brexit/ [Accessed: 13 July 2019]; Badsey, S. (2017) A Hundred Years On: Recent and Changing Views on the History of the First World War. In: Hain, J. et al. eds. *The First World War in the British and German Commemorative Culture*. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, pp. 13–30.

patriotic sacrifice made by young men in times of war – there is no discussion whether their sacrifice was necessary. Britain's approach to the Centenary is more inward-looking, aiming to use something uniquely British in the past to fix today's fractured national identity.[7]

Yet the commemorations in both Great Britain and France had elements in common. Both invited Germany to join their commemorations. This year marks the first time a German head of state was invited to the ceremony at the Cenotaph in London – President Steinmeier laid a wreath. By this gesture Great Britain included the fallen enemy soldiers from Germany into the memory of loss.

Both countries also tried to take this day as a point of departure towards better French-German and British-German understanding. There is no triumphalism. The national stories of France and Great Britain do not exclude a European story. To both countries international cooperation between equally strong partners poses no threats. This is – for good reasons – different in the eastern European countries.

On 11 November we saw 200,000 Poles in Warsaw remembering Independence Day. After the great Central and Eastern powers were defeated (first Russia, then Germany and Austria-Hungary) the disarmament of the German military in Warsaw at the end of the First World War was the beginning of the rebirth of Poland; 11 November became Polish National Independence Day (*Narodowe Święto Niepodległości*). Since the inter-war years this day has been marked as a national holiday. After 1945, the communist authorities banned it from the official commemorative calendar, but it survived in opposition memory, and since 1989 it has been celebrated again. Because 2018 is dedicated to remembrance of the one hundredth anniversary of independence, we see that in Poland the First World War is remembered for its end.[8]

As the existence of Poland and a free life for its people was threatened once again by Germany during the Second World War, and because after 1945 the sovereignty of the Polish state was limited by the Soviets, the independent Poland of today is even more celebrated and cherished by the Poles. Curiously enough, though the Polish soldiers in the Russian, German and Austrian armies suffered as much as the French or British soldiers, and that is

7 Sharp, op. cit.

8 Górny, M. (2014) All Quiet? The Memory and Historiography of the First World War in Poland. *Rubrica Contemporanea* 3(6), pp. 37–46.

also true for the civilians who died of hunger or sickness during the war – the Poles do not mourn these dead and losses in public. To be clear, the families did mourn their dead, but the nation remembered the gain of independence. The monument for the "unknown soldier" in Warsaw, erected in 1923, does not represent the fallen soldiers of the whole war but only those who fought for the independent Poland in the battles 1918–21.

The lesson learned from the First World War in Polish political thinking reads like this: It is good for the small nations of Europe if the so-called "great European powers" are weak. In Polish experience, democracy and republic are linked to the nation. Knowing this, it is no surprise that many Poles are hesitating and somewhat hostile about the political European Union. Darius Kosiński put it:

> In Poland and in many countries of Central and Eastern Europe, 1918 has a completely different meaning. For us, it is the year of regaining independence after 123 years of joint occupation by Russia, Prussia, and the Austro-Hungarian empires. For us, this is our moment of liberation from a captivity that 'old Europe' had treated us together with its Great Other – Russia. The memory of this captivity, which returned 20 years later, together with an affirmation and consent of 'old Europe', not only has fed nationalist resentment causing Poland to transition so easily from leader to hooligan of the European Union, but also complicates to the extreme our sense of European identity. We feel European, however, it is clear that we are not the same as the countries of 'old Europe', which, through all the changes, still act as arbitrators of Europeanness.[9]

He ends by suggesting that 1918 reminds Poles – and Europeans more broadly – that they live "in contrast" in Europe.

For Poland, the outcome of the war was positive; in Germany the end of the war is marked by the *"traumatisme de la défaite."*[10] The end of the war

9 Kosiński, D. (2018) 1918–2018: Why Remember? The Importance of the Year 1918 for Poland. Available at: www.culturepolonaise.eu/3,3,831,en,1918-2018_Why_remember [Accessed: 13 July 2019].

10 Weinrich, A. (2017) Le Traumatisme de la Défaite. Mémoires et Politiques Mémorielles en Allemagne 1918–1939. In: Jalabert, L. et al. eds. *La Longue Mémoire de la Grande Guerre. Regards Croisés Franco-Allemands de 1918 à nos Jours*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, pp. 109–122.

as well as the German revolution are linked to the defeat and the Versailles treaty. In 1918 no victory gave meaning to the tremendous German losses. All the effort, given in the same amount as in France or Great Britain or Poland, was given in vain. The deaths could not be justified by victory. But we always aim to give death a meaning. After 1918 in Germany there existed two ways of doing this.[11]

1. For the political left the only sense of this war was to ensure that there never again would be a war. To remember the fallen soldiers should prevent a next war. This pacifist interpretation stood in contrast to the militarist interpretation of the political right.
2. The political right – and many of the men and women in the political centre, too – were convinced that the only way to make sure the war victims had not died in vain was to seek revenge.

For this reason, only some of the war monuments built in Germany in the inter-war years had a pacifist message. The idea of a revenge was mixed with the belief of the political right that the defeat was the outcome of the revolution and not the other way around. The Republic was burdened with the defeat but only because the political right did not accept the regime change in 1918. That is why

> in German national memory the name 'Versailles' remained for a long time the placeholder for this war. It was bound up with a memory of guilt, shame and an ignoble peace. For this reason, the First World War never really ended in the minds and hearts of many Germans, who prepared themselves for a subsequent war that was to give them back everything they had lost in terms of territories, pride and self-image.[12]

11 Kramer, A. (2016) "Too Early to Say?" Centennial Perspectives on the First World War. In: Wolfrum, E. et al. eds. *European Commemoration: Locating World War I*. Stuttgart: ifa Edition Culture and Foreign Policy, pp. 17–30, p. 25.

12 Assmann, A. (2016) European Commemorations of the First World War – from National to Transnational Memory Cultures. In: Wolfrum, E. et al. eds. *European Commemoration: Locating World War I*. Stuttgart: ifa Edition Culture and Foreign Policy, pp. 55–66; p. 55.

To put it clearly: the Weimar Republic did not fail because of the Versailles treaty. The Republic failed because during its last days there were not enough men and women who defended it. Nevertheless, the Republic has not yet been fully accepted as a part of a democratic German heritage. And though there exists a plan to build a museum dedicated to the Republic in Weimar, during a ceremony dedicated to 9 November President Steinmeier called it "our poor relation of our democratic history": "However, in spite of all this, the revolution barely even features in our nation's consciousness to this day. While the 9th of November 1918 is listed on the map of German places of remembrance, it has never been accorded the importance it actually deserves."[13]

This is true for the Armistice as well. We are pleased to be invited to ceremonies in France and Great Britain, to be included in a family of European nations mourning their dead, because if we talk about 1918 it is always connected with the end of the Republic in 1933. It is a lot easier just to join the mourning. But we are not at all able to pretend that 1914–1918 German soldiers had fought for democracy and human rights. And we cannot easily join the positive assessment of the war's outcome in Poland. That is why we do not have an undisputed national narrative of 1918.

As often in German history, the *national* narrative is told by *regional* museums. But they do not aim to tell a general story. They concentrate on the events, places and people in their region. But in doing this together they form a national narration. This, historically seen, is the way nation was, and is, taught to the Germans. Museums in Germany, as elsewhere, were part of the construction of the nation-state. They taught people in the different regions what it meant to be German. And so – though they may not intend it – they continue to do this work, although in a different style. If we look at these exhibitions and at those in Paris, London or Warsaw, we see that the way the conflict is told changed. No nation ignores the historical experience of its neighboring countries.

» The First World War Galleries in London represents mainly the British war experience, but do not omit Germany's experience.
» In Poland, the Army Museum in Warsaw opened an exhibition about the First World War, which tells the story of the war – and not only of its end.

13 Speech by Frank-Walter Steinmeier, op. cit.

» And the French Army Museum in Paris opened an exhibition about the *War in the East, a War Without End, 1918–1923* last autumn, trying to inform the French public that the fights didn't stop in 1918, which is important, because the history of the inter-war years is crucial to understand Eastern Europe today.

This is a positive and truly European development. All three Army museums – and army museums tend to be conservative institutions – tried to use a more European way of narrating history. But in my opinion, it should not stop here.

It is not only necessary to understand that other nations' perspectives are important. We have also to realise who our national narrative excludes – this "national" narrative being as faulty today as it was in 1914. The nation then included some but not all inhabitants – the same is true today. History museums should try to make people feel that they, too, belong to the city, the region and the country they are living in.

The Polish Army Museum, for example, should try and collect the history of the Polish, but also Yiddish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Latvian men and women who lived in the Polish regions during the First World War – even if the great-grandsons and granddaughters of these Poles often do not live in Poland anymore, but in Great Britain, France and Germany. The history of the Poles in the First World War is also part of the "national" narrative in other countries – or at least it should be. The same is true for the descendants of the colonial soldiers fighting for France and Great Britain: they do not live in these two countries; they live in many countries all over the world, and also in Germany. And just as these stories are even nowadays neglected in the "German" narrative of the First World War, so too are the stories of Turkish, Arab, Serbian or Russian migrants. They have totally different stories to tell of this European and global conflict.

Nations in 1914–1918 were more diverse than we think – and they are even more diverse in 2018. This has to have consequences in the way history is told and taught. We cannot expect people to develop a feeling of belonging if we do not listen to their family's history. Museums should constantly try to get in touch with their audiences and collect their stories. These stories are not just something we should add to our existing national narratives. We should take them as the point of departure towards a discussion about how and what we should remember from 1918.

Often enough, we will find that the different stories contradict. But that is no reason to stop collecting and exhibiting them. We need history to explain

and define who we are today. And yes, that will lead to discussions. Shying away from these discussions only conceals the problems our societies are facing. Let us develop museums into venues where discussions about the interpretations of history and about identity politics take place. Or, as Duncan Cameron put it, let museums be "forums for confrontation, experimentation and debate".[14]

14 Cameron, D. (1971) The Museum, a Temple or the Forum. *Curator* 14(1), pp. 11–24.

Crossing Borders – Real and Digital

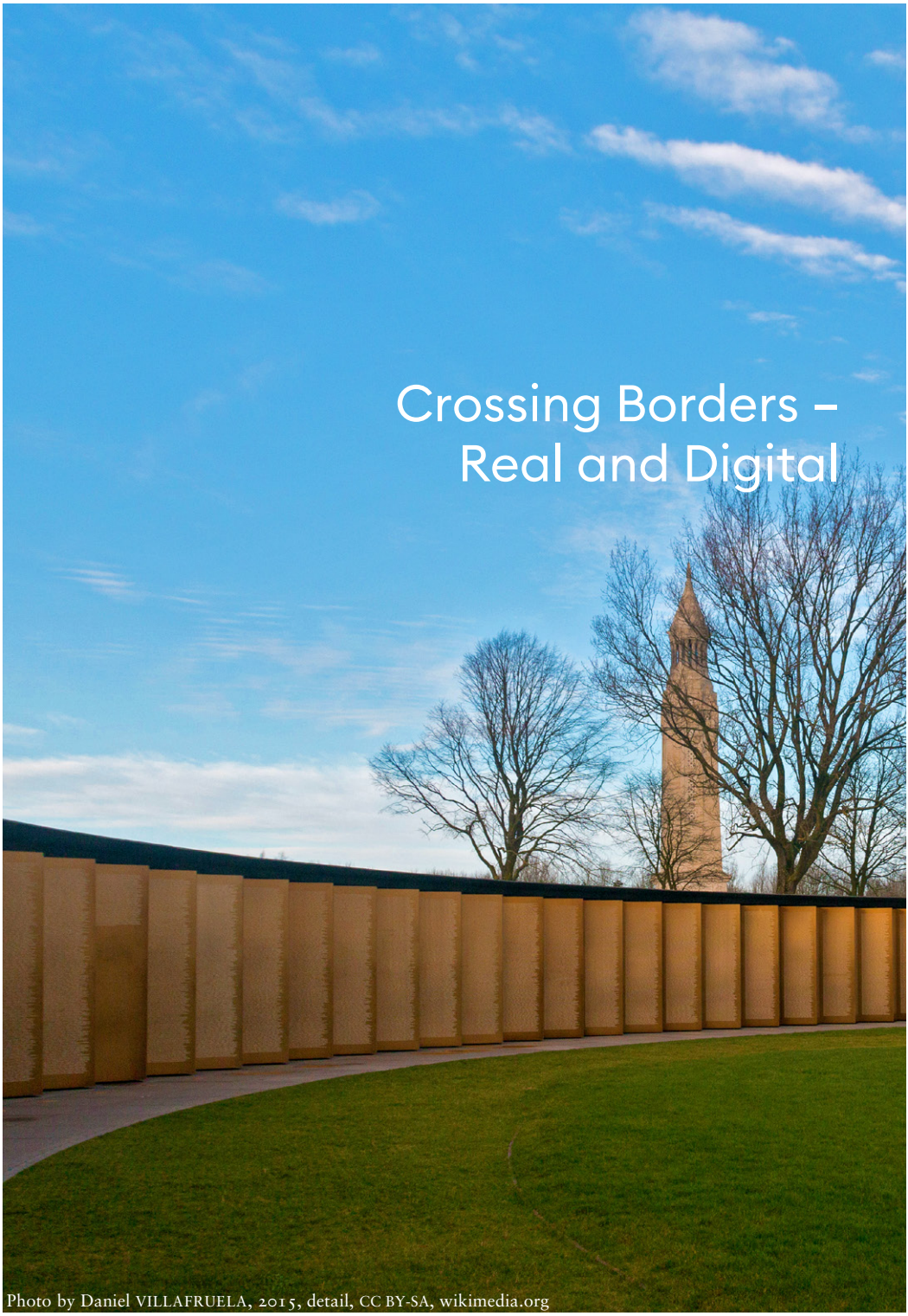

Photo by Daniel VILLAFRUELA, 2015, detail, CC BY-SA, wikimedia.org

Kieran Burns

Shaping European Lives, Then and Now

Placing the First World War in the Narrative of the House of European History

Abstract The House of European History opened in Brussels in 2017. It takes a transnational approach to the history of Europe and in its narrative, the First World War, is presented as a conflict which changed subsequent European history and constitutes a fundamental part of European memory, albeit one which is viewed from a variety of different perspectives. The House of European History aims to convey this profound and lasting impact by adopting a museological approach that goes beyond the traditional confines of the national museum and the military museum, and places particular emphasis on the impact of this conflict on the lives of ordinary Europeans.

Keywords Europe, museums, museology, transnational, narrative, perspective

Introduction

When the Imperial War Museum North opened in Manchester in 2002, an aluminium plaque outside the Daniel Liebeskind-designed building bore the inscription "War Shapes Lives". It embodied the simple idea that war is not exclusively a military endeavour. Instead, its impacts are felt far beyond the theatre of conflict – both in societies as a whole and in the lives of citizens through fighting, labour and loss. That this impact continues to be present and shapes our modern world is perhaps self-evident for museum curators and professional historians. As noted by Jay Winter, "the colours and shapes we see in the contemporary world are shaded and shaped by the staggering consequences of war."[1] It may be less apparent for wider society, especially since much of the representation of conflict in European museums in general, and of the First World War in particular, is filtered through a national lens, with some notable exceptions.[2] It was with these two elements in play – the impact of war on society and its transnational dimension – that the House of European History set about developing its gallery on the conflict of 1914–1918. If war shapes lives then it stands to reason that a European war which killed 10 million soldiers alone must have had a profound effect in shaping many European lives, not just in the historical moment but over subsequent generations.

1. Placing the First World War in the exhibition narrative

The House of European History adopts a chrono-thematic approach for the structure of its permanent exhibition. In that framework, a main narrative line starts with the late eighteenth century and treats the major developments of the nineteenth century, the great cataclysms of the first half of the twentieth century, and the post-war reconstruction, political division and reunification of Europe. It continues up to the age of globalisation and greater European integration, and to contemporary events such as Brexit. This approach

1 Winter, J. (2013) Museums and the Representation of War. In: Muchitsch, W. ed. *Does War Belong in Museums? Representations of Violence in Exhibitions*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 21–38, p. 37.

2 Some instances of museums which present war in a transnational context include l'Historial de la Grande Guerre at Péronne in France, In Flanders Fields Museum in Ypres in Belgium and Kobarid Museum in Slovenia.

follows that set out by the foundation document of the project, the *Conceptual Basis for a House of European History* from 2008, which stated that "the broad thrust of European history must be presented so that more recent history, and the present, can be understood."[3] In keeping with more recent trends in museology, however, within that thrust (or narrative line) thematic treatments form the main clusters through which the visitor encounters a given historical event or phenomenon.

This hybrid methodology necessitated two tasks for the curatorial team in relation to the First World War. The first of these was placing the conflict within the overall arc of the exhibition's narrative. The second was creating an accessible yet academically-sound thematic framework through which the constitutive transnational elements of the conflict might be organised and presented to the visitor. Concerning the first of these tasks, it was originally suggested by the academic experts who oversaw the *Conceptual Basis* that the museum narrative should start principally with the First World War, albeit with surveys of earlier periods of European history in the *longue durée*.[4] One of the chief challenges in this approach, however, was how to explain the complex causes of this conflict to visitors via a narrative that started with 1914 as a year zero. The war did not burst upon the European stage fully-formed, but rather was brought about by an intricate web of causes in the long and short term, combining in 1914 to create the deadly reaction for which the Sarajevo assassination was the catalyst.

For the curatorial team it became clear that the outbreak of conflict would be more understandable if visitors were also familiar with historical phenomena such as nationalism, colonial tensions, industrialisation and social Darwinism that began to coalesce in Europe in the nineteenth century. In the House of European History, therefore, the section entitled *Europe, a Global Power: 1789–1914* shows the radical upheavals and changes of the long nineteenth century in the areas of politics, economics, industrialisation, science and colonialism. The endpoint of this segment of the exhibition provides the immediate pre-figuration of the outbreak of the First World War in physical space, narrative line and on a symbolic level. Here, in a

3 *Conceptual Basis for a House of European History*. Brussels 2008, p. 5 [Online]. Available at: www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721_en.pdf [Accessed: July 2019].

4 Ibid., see point 22, p. 8.

Fig. 1: *Notions of Superiority and Progress*. A display inspired by the industrial exhibitions of the nineteenth century. ©House of European History/European Parliament, 2017

sub-section entitled *Notions of Superiority and Progress*, the rapid advances of European science and technology from the railways, to electric light, the moving image and Darwin's theory of evolution are presented in a symbiotic relationship with Europe's colonial expansion, with its vast abuses and oppression underpinned by spurious notions of scientific racism and social Darwinism. A rich panoply of objects is displayed in a showcase which mirrors in its architectural form the pavilions of the great industrial exhibitions of the nineteenth century (fig. 1).

The last objects in this showcase relate specifically to the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900. One of them, an engraving from the exhibition's catalogue, depicts elegantly dressed visitors strolling casually among the weapons of mass war displayed in the exhibition's *Palais des Armées de Terre et Mer*. It is a foreshadowing of future events.

2. Thematic framework

The central gallery devoted to the First World War is structured around three main themes: *From European War to Global War*, *Mass War* and *Aftermath*. In keeping with the overall approach of the exhibition, although the main flow of the section follows a chronological sequence from 1914 to 1918, it is not presented as a simple timeline but rather a series of thematic explorations. In selecting the topics to be addressed the team was cognisant of several current trends in historical writing and research. In the first instance, the arrangement shows that war was not something fought only in the trenches of the Western Front, but also largely, and in a different way, on the Eastern Front; and that through the colonial connections of the European powers it spread into Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Secondly, the themes were also established to capture what John Horne has referred to as the trend in First World War writing towards studies of "heterogeneity and richness – of soldiers in combat and prisoners of war, of women maintaining the home but also engaged as nurses and munitions workers, of children caught up in the conflict, and of civilian victims of violence."[5] But perhaps above all, in line with the overall mission of the House of European History, the main aim of this thematic arrangement was to capture the essentially transnational and European nature of the conflict, acknowledging the fact "the spaces of World War I have begun to be denationalized" and positing one version, in museum form, of what a "truly European or global history of the war might consist of."[6]

2.1 From European war to global war

The most difficult task of this section was to address the causes of war. It is, after all, a subject which has been much debated and considered by historians from the moment the war began. Christopher Clarke refers to John W. Langdon's estimation that by 1990 the number of books and articles on the origins of war numbered some 25,000. Clarke also notes that "the debate over why it [WWI] happened began before the first shots were fired and has been

5 Horne, J. (2012) Introduction. In: Horne, J. ed. *A Companion to First World War*. Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell, p. xxiv.

6 Ibid., p. xxv.

running ever since. It has spawned an historical literature of unparalleled size and moral intensity."[7] Of the myriad of potential causes of First World War the curatorial team identified six which it wished to focus on: Nationalism, Colonial Competition, Militarism, the Mood of the Times, the Alliance System and the Chain of Events, specifically focussed on the reaction to the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie. The challenge was how to render these historical phenomena in a clear and comprehensible way that did not over-simplify or omit salient facts for the sake of brevity. The decision was taken therefore to confront this complexity and to make interconnectedness a central part of the interpretation in this section. This was done in the following ways.

In the first instance a large showcase displays objects and object ensembles, each related to one of the aforementioned causes. A quote from Marinetti's *Manifesto of Futurism* (1909) "We will glorify war – the world's only hygiene"[8], along with an enlarged version of the brooding etching *Der Krieg* (1903) by Alfred Kubin, both capture the prevailing spirit. An array of cadets' rifles from Hungary and from France, together with a school boy's training manual *Tu Seras Soldat!* (1888) by Émile Lavisse, convey the sense of militarism common in Europe. Colonial tensions, meanwhile, are represented by two propaganda pieces: a colonial clock from the German Empire, circa 1905, and a British plate made to commemorate the jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign in 1887. Crucially, both are decorated with a variation of the slogan "the Empire on which the sun never sets", highlighting the competing imperial ambitions of both powers.

On the hand-held tablet device, given to every visitor to the House of European History, a series of six short movie narrations delve deeper into each cause using one of the objects in the display case as a trigger. Rather than shy away from the complexity of the outbreak of war, this interactive embraces it by representing each phenomenon as a junction in a tangled web of intimately-connected causes. These dynamic connections are highlighted throughout each short movie, allowing visitors to move laterally through the interactive as their curiosity is piqued.

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7 Clarke, C. (2013). *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*. London: Penguin, p. ii.

8 Marinetti, F. (1909) *The Manifesto of Futurism*. Cited in Kramer, A. (2007) *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 168.

Fig. 2: *From European War to Global War*. An integrated scenography on the causes and spread of the First World War. ©House of European History/European Parliament, 2017

The central element of this opening section involves a stand-alone showcase that contains a FN 1910 Browning pistol, the same model used by Gavrilo Princip and his co-conspirators. It points directly at the main audio-visual which supports the narrative of the exhibition and leads into the rest of the gallery. This audio-visual, entitled *To End all Wars*, uses some of the immense photographic legacy of the conflict to focus on images which display people and faces, reiterating the theme that war shapes lives. Significantly, the presentation is without commentary. Instead, more than one hundred images are set to music, utilising to strong effect a contemporary rearrangement of Igor Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*. Rather than deploying a "closed" narrative commentary, the audio-visual opens the interpretative transaction and allows the visitor the space to contemplate and reflect on the immense scale of this conflict on a human level. The effect of this scenographic juxtaposition of the causes of war – a large-scale audio-visual and the small hand-held pistol made by the *Fabrique Nationale* in Belgium – is to convey that the fragility of Europe in 1914 was such that two shots from such a small weapon could ignite such an such an intense and sustained conflagration (fig. 2).

2.2 Mass war

The central section of the House of European History's First World War gallery meditates on the phenomenon of a mass war, which although still largely confined to the battlefield, is of such a scale that it impacts all of society. The space which the exhibition occupies plays a key role in the establishment of this narrative, being one of the lateral wings of the museum's original historic building. This structure dates from the 1930s and was part of the dental clinic founded by the American philanthropist and photographic innovator George Eastman for the poor children of Brussels. Designed as a hospital ward, it is a long and narrow space with high ceilings and was quite easily adapted as a museum gallery. The brief given to the designers was to create a space with a functional aesthetic, taking inspiration from the strong block forms used in war memorials and military installations. In its footprint the gallery is the mirror image of the space dedicated to the Second World War in the museum, which focuses on the theme of total war. The relationship between the two galleries thereby provides a consistent spatial arrangement through which the visitors might contemplate the similarities and differences between the two conflicts.

The focus is several sub-themes: industrial and technological war, war and civilians, and war propaganda. A full-scale showcase displays artillery shells from across Europe, among them a donation of French, German and British artillery shells unearthed in the very recent past from the fields of Flanders by DOVO (*Dienst voor Opruiming en Vernietiging van Ontploffingstuigen*), the unit of the Belgian Army specialising in bomb disposal.

The theme of mass is further underlined in a showcase that deals with the technical innovation represented by the introduction of poison gas as a weapon of war. This showcase functions in part as object display showing, for example, the evolution of gas mask technology from early French cotton masks of 1915 to complex British box-filter models of 1917–18. It also functions in part as art installation, capitalising on the fear-instilling nature of gas and its function as a dehumanising innovation of mass industrial war. As noted by Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, "the use of [poison] gas left an enduring memory of terror."[9]

Civilians were also victims of the war, though generally to a lesser extent in the First World War than later wars. The exhibition references some of these instances, including the 1914 German Army attack on civilians in

9 Audoin-Rouzeau, S. (2012) Combat. In: Horne, J. ed. *A Companion to World War I*. Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell, pp. 173–187.

Belgium, as well as attacks by the Austrian Army in Serbia in the same year. It mentions the British naval blockade from 1914 to 1919 which caused hunger in Germany and Austria, as well as the German U-boat campaign which inflicted civilian deaths at sea. Crucially, it also addresses the 1915 Ottoman Government attack on the Armenian population within its empire and the resulting genocide, involving mass executions of civilians and soldiers, as well as starvation and disease. Finally, in this section, war propaganda is presented not only through the medium of graphic art and satire, but also through everyday propaganda items from homes across Europe. From a French mustard pot which shows the head of a German soldier in the form of a pig to the child's football game from England where a goal can be scored in the Kaiser's mouth, the section explores how enemies were demonised and dehumanised, marking a low point in European relations. It also pointedly illustrates how the conflict was represented as a struggle between civilisation and barbarism, each country believing its cause was just.

2.3 Aftermath

The last section of the First World War gallery deals with the end of the conflict and addresses two of its chief legacies in subsequent European history. Firstly, it explores the changes in European memory and memory practices brought about by the immense loss of life generated by the war. It also shows the far-reaching consequences of the war's conclusion including the dissolution of old empires, the emergence of new states and the treaties negotiated in Paris from 1919 onwards which resulted in a radical redrawing of the map of Europe. In relation to memory, the exhibition mentions the concept of the unknown soldier as well as the elevation of the ordinary soldier, rather than the general, as the true hero of the war, represented in the gallery by Émile Pinchon's *Le Poilou*, a plaster model for a memorial raised by public subscription in Bois des Colombes, outside Paris. From the east, a concrete and barbed wire grave marker from the Soča/Izonzo front (in modern-day Slovenia) bears the names of two young soldiers from the Austro-Hungarian Empire who were killed in action March 1916. As a back-drop to this ensemble, Wilfred Owen's immortal lines "The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est Pro patria mori." (*Dulce et Decorum est. 1917–1918*) are deployed to suggest an awareness of the limits of patriotism and nationalism, phenomena which can be understood as underlying causes of the conflict itself.

3. Guiding museological principles

Each visitor brings to a museum visit their own social and familial narrative, and processes what they see in a given exhibition in that light. A museum therefore is the site of interaction for multiple historical and personal perspectives. This process is amplified in a museum such as the House of European History, which attempts to formulate a common transnational narrative from a multiplicity of historical points of view. Evidence suggests that narrative, or storytelling, plays a fundamental and positive role in the acquisition of knowledge and learning, especially among young people, helping in the process of meaning-making and improving understanding of their lives and the world around them. According to Falk and Dierking, "Universally, people mentally organise information effectively if it is recounted to them in a story or narrative form."[10] For this reason, throughout the development of our gallery on the First World War, the project team attempted to conceive an exhibition that would tell a story, and that story should have a strong internal dramaturgy and natural flow. Not only has this meant the deployment of a clear and concise narrative line; it has also necessitated the adoption of non-textual and visual tools designed to capture the visitor's attention and engagement. Objects and images with a strong iconic and auratic appeal were therefore selected to help create a narrative top line which would be clearly understandable to the visitor and engaging on an emotional as well as a cognitive level. An inherent part of that methodology was to step away from the traditional representational strategies deployed in war museums – what Jay Winter has referred to as the "boys with their toys" model[11] – and to offer instead a meditation on the truly profound ways in which the First World War in Europe shaped lives and became a watershed in its history. Our efforts are of course only a beginning, but they underscore the possibilities opened up when the conflict of 1914–1918 is addressed on a pan-European level, commensurate with its true historical significance and its enduring relevance. As Paolo Monelli noted prophetically in 1918 "this is going to be our evil inheritance or our good inheritance, in any case our irrevocable inheritance – and we are going to be fettered by our memories for ever."[12]

10 Falk, J.H. and Dierking, L.D. (2000) *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*. Plymouth: Altamira Press, p. 51.

11 Winter, op. cit., p. 36.

12 Monelli, P. (1921) *Le scarpe al sole (Cronaca di gaie e di tristi avventure d'alpini, di muli e di vino)*. 2008 ed., Milan. Cited in Englund, P. (2012) *The Beauty and the Sorrow: An Intimate History of the First World War*. New York: Vintage, p. 506.

Deborah Tout-Smith

"Compelled to Act"

Museums in a Post-Centenary World

Abstract The Centenary of the First World War has coincided with a shifting museum landscape in Australia. Exhibitions exploring emotional experience, and the longer-term impacts of actions and behaviours, have increasingly found favour.

Museums Victoria's exhibition *World War I: Love & Sorrow* depicts the war with confronting honesty, focusing on its challenging physical and emotional impacts. The war is represented through eight personal stories that unfold through the chronology of the war and post-war years. The exhibition uses film-like interpretative techniques to build the visitor's emotional experience.

The post-Centenary museum landscape provides a critical opportunity for museums to lead re-thinking about war, and to re-assess ideas of borders, divisions and conflicts, past and present.

Keywords museum, emotion, empathy, responsibility, evidence, absence

In Australia, war history has long been contested. The focus of this paper is an exhibition project at Museums Victoria, Australia: how it was received, and the broader context of museums and commemoration in Australia during the Centenary of the First World War.

The Centenary has coincided with a shifting museum landscape in Australia. Exhibitions exploring emotional experience, and the longer-term impacts of actions and behaviours, have increasingly found favour, particularly in major museums. Although part of a larger trend towards personal voice and individual experience, the First World War has arguably accelerated these changes.

Museums Victoria's exhibition *World War I: Love & Sorrow* (2014–2018) depicted the war with confronting honesty, focusing on the most difficult experiences including facial wounds, "shell shock" and mourning. The war was represented through eight personal stories that unfolded through the chronology of the war and post-war years, right up to the present day, including a teenage soldier, a mother, a nurse, two Aboriginal brothers and two brothers who fought for Germany. Diversity of experience and plurality of readings were critical principles. The exhibition was deliberately drafted to create an emotive and emotional experience, and to drive new and deeper perspectives of the war. It ended with a film of a family member for each of the personal stories, drawing the narrative to the present day, and underlining the war's continued relevance.

Key experiences in the exhibition included a walk-in space of panoramic photos of Glencorse Wood, east of Ypres in Belgium – called Nonnebossen on German maps. By coincidence both German and Australian official photographers documented the landscape between 1915 and 1917, so we're able to show the course of its destruction. We also sent photographers back to the location, to document the green wood that now grows there. Visitors' own shadows are projected dynamically as the scene changes. Behind them are the names of the 1771 men of the Australian, British and German armies killed in the vicinity in little over a week. The names are organised alphabetically, no matter for whom they fought, in the same way that the remains of so many of them now lie together in the forest, indistinguishable.[1] We're most grateful to the archives of all three nations for providing these names.

1 Three months after *Love & Sorrow* opened, the "Ring of Memory" memorial was inaugurated in northern France, naming in alphabetical order almost 580,000 killed, again with no distinction of army or rank.

Fig. 1: The "dreadful abyss" – display about the treatment of facial wounds at Queen's Hospital at Sidcup, England. Australian artist Daryl Lindsay, left, documented the treatment of patients. Photographer: Benjamin Healley, Museums Victoria, 2014

Also central to *Love & Sorrow* was a walk-in space representing the Queen's Hospital, in Sidcup, England, opened in 1917 to treat facial wounds (fig. 1). The display includes plaster casts of terribly damaged faces, an operating table, facial splints and tin prosthetics made to cover the worst of the wounds. It is confronting and distressing; yet the inclusion of personal stories, including Bill Kearsey, one of the eight key characters in the exhibition, humanises the display. I should note that I owe much to the *Faces of Battle* exhibition at Britain's National Army Museum in 2008 – the highly positive feedback they received of a similarly confronting exhibition empowered Museums Victoria's decision to include such confronting content.

Back in 2013 I strongly argued for a story-based, emotional, non-partisan approach to the First World War in a Museums Australia conference panel with Australian War Memorial and National Museum colleagues. And now the Australian War Memorial, once a bastion of conservative views which avoided graphic depictions of war and the depths of grief, includes stories of

facial wounds and post-war grief in its new First World War Galleries.[2] And the Western Australian Museum's National Anzac Centre, launched after *Love & Sorrow*, also follows personal stories in a life-long journey. And this is a key, I think, to the shift for the representation of the war in Australia: war is shown as part of people's lives, rather than people's lives as part of war. War as the central entity has been, at least to some extent, de-throned. Emotions, the personal, have been the principal agents of this shift.

With *Love & Sorrow*, I also wanted to create an exhibition that supported new ways of thinking and seeing, where social responsibility and accountability might find a voice, and which could be a stage for the community's own experiences and ideas, in the past and today. These ambitions can be seen in Museums Victoria's earlier exhibitions *Identity: Yours, Mine, Ours* (opened in 2011, Immigration Museum) and *First Peoples* (opened in 2013, Bunjilaka Aboriginal Cultural Centre), both developed with close community contact, rich with personal voices, and including challenging and sometimes confronting content. Each includes consciously affective elements and deep emotional content, strengthening the impact of the story on visitors and bringing the narrative into the present.

Understanding *Love & Sorrow*

From the day of its launch *Love & Sorrow* far exceeded expectations, and Museums Victoria quickly doubled its lifespan to 4½ years. The exhibition has been praised as "the most exquisite, moving, and intense exhibition on aspects of the First World War that I have seen anywhere in the world"[3] and Jay Winter called it "one of the best which the Centenary of the Great War has occasioned" (pers comm). (I quote these words to stress the exhibition's relevance to wider discussion about centennial projects.)

2 I particularly note that Dr Kerry Neale, who has done important research into facial wounds and their impacts on communities, is now employed as a curator by the Australian War Memorial. Dr Neale was on the academic advisory committee for *Love & Sorrow*, with Professor Joy Damousi, Professor Alistair Thomson, Dr Marina Larsson, Professor Peter Stanley and Dr Bart Ziino.

3 McKernan, M. (2015) WWI: Love & Sorrow. *reCollections* 10(1). [Online], available at: https://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/volume_10_number_1/exhibition_reviews/wwi_love_and_sorrow [Accessed: 9 July 2019].

Love & Sorrow is probably the most evaluated exhibition ever mounted by Museums Victoria, in part because we wanted to understand its success with visitors. Evaluation showed that the exhibition had a high level of impact. Summative evaluation indicated that almost three-quarters of visitors said it had given them new perspectives; 89% learned new things; and 97% said it made them think of the impact of the First World War on Australian society. About the same number again said they would share what they had learned with others. Of the messages received by visitors, the repercussions of the war emerge as a leading theme – a "continuation of the sorrow". I discuss this further in my chapter of *Emotion and the Researcher*, published recently.[4]

This is much deeper and more nuanced than the conventional "learning lessons" take-out observed (with disappointment) by Jenny Kidd and Joanne Sayner in their analysis of visitor responses to the British poppy artwork "Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red".[5] A successful exhibition is measured not only in quality of experience, including how it meets expectations and needs, but also in its ability to expose the visitor to something new, such as new feelings or ideas or ways of seeing.

We now know that this receptiveness to learning and new perspectives was the result of three things: content that created deep empathy through unfolding personal stories; content that was graphic and unsettling; and content that was new to visitors. Emotion sits at the top of these: 84% of respondents in online summative evaluation believed that their learnings and new perspectives resulted from their emotional connections. Their deepest emotional connections came from the combination of personal stories and graphic or medical content – the Sidcup immersive space, images of wounds, and images of damaged veterans such as Geoffrey Carter, shown in underwear so the stumps of his missing legs are graphically visible.

A significant number mentioned the power of objects such as a baby's booties, letters and stories – objects with "peculiar vibrancy" or "stickiness",

4 Tout-Smith, D. (2018) Love & Sorrow: The Role of Emotion in Exhibition Development and Visitor Experience. In: Loughran, T. and Mannay D. ed. *Emotion and the Researcher: Sites, Subjectivities, and Relationships*. Bingley, England: Emerald Publishing Limited, pp. 159–176.

5 Kidd, J. and Sayner, J. (2018) The Power of the Poppy. Unpublished. See also Kidd, J. and Sayner, J. (2018) Unthinking remembrance? Blood-Swept Lands and Seas of Red and the Significance of Centenaries. *Cultural Trends* 27(2), pp. 68–82.

to use Sarah Ahmed's term (Australian academic Andrea Witcomb is amongst others who have used this term in describing *Love & Sorrow*). This vibrancy resonated with visitors' own experiences of loss, longing, fear and grief. Visitors also connected with the stories of war in their own families – three-quarters in one survey had family members who had served in some conflict. Their stories almost always come back somewhere to grief and suffering.

Our physical design was very effective in making personal stories emotive too: 95% of the quantitative group of visitors agreed or strongly agreed that the showcases and the casual layout of the objects in them made the space feel personal and intimate.

Text (and labels) were also important to visitors. I used a strongly narrative style, with headings such as "Days of War and Years of Suffering". And I incorporated significant first person voice, including the words of heartbreaking farewells. As many as 97% of the quantitative group *noticed* that the text was "written as a story and described how people were feeling". And nearly three-quarters of the quantitative group reported that large images had an emotional impact on them. One visitor described the photographs as "really touching but also very informational" (female, 83); another felt photographs are "a very good way to tell the story because they're real" (male, 60s). For so many visitors this was a new (or unexpected) type of exhibition, and as education theorist Howard Gardner[6] notes, when creative people "alter their practices" they become more effective mind-changers.

Digging deeper, Gardner identifies "principles" or "levers" that change people's minds: resonance, reason (and data), research, representational re-descriptions, resources and rewards, real-world events and resistances. Each resonates in some way with *Love & Sorrow*. I don't have scope to consider them all here, but focussing on the notions of reason and data, *Love & Sorrow* was credible in Gardner's terms simply because we focus on real-world events; and of course we've got a head-start as a museum, and are therefore considered highly trustworthy and believable by the public, notably argued by Ashton and Hamilton among many.[7] Gardner says, "Much of

6 Gardner, H. (2006) *Changing Minds: the Art and Science of Changing Our Own and Other People's Minds*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press, p. 121.

7 Ashton, P. and Hamilton, P. (2003) At Home with the Past: Background and Initial Fndings from the National Survey. *Australian Cultural History* 22, pp. 5–30.

one's capacity to change the minds of others hinges on whether or not one is trusted, seen as trustworthy, deemed to be a trustee".[8] As Gaynor Kavanagh notes, there is "no real parallel with the museum and the way it works with such a complete spectrum of evidence".[9]

Love & Sorrow has deliberately included as many primary sources as possible, and in some areas laid our process of historical enquiry bare, such as the interactive that allows visitors to see what was happening in every house in the street where butcher Albert Kemp farewelled his family for the last time. Visitors are able to see digitally the documents including rate books, newspapers and war records that were used to build the story of each house and each source is specified. This authenticity applies to all of Museums Victoria's exhibitions: they must have a high level of accuracy, and be shaped and approved by content experts who include both scholars and the community members whose stories are represented.[10]

Another of Gardner's levers is resonance. Considered collectively, *Love & Sorrow* is clearly resonant: it is an unusually film-like artifice – rapidly engaging, with sights, sounds and stories, building empathy, immersing, reaching climaxes (Glencorse and Sidcup) and even a denouement at the end, with the films of family members. Hans Appel is not alone in describing the exhibition form as simply "between book and film" and arguing that exhibitions should be more cinematographic.[11]

I think you'll sense my optimism about what we've gained from this Centenary experience. I see a few key markers that suggest a new maturity in our approach to representing war. I see them in the language we use (much less about sacrifice, the fallen, eternity), the depictions of war (more graphic and brutal and realistic), the visibility of a lifetime of suffering after wounding and bereavement, the profiling of diseases of war such as mental illness

8 Gardner, op. cit., pp. xiv–xv.

9 Kavanagh, G. (2000) *Dream Spaces. Memory and the Museum*. London: Leicester University Press, p. 173.

10 Tout-Smith, op. cit.

11 Appel, H.H. (2009) The Exhibition: Between Book and Film. In: Kjeldbaek, E. ed. *The Power of the Object: Museums and World War II*. Edinburgh: Museumsetc, pp. 100–137, pp. 106–107. See also Droit-Volet, S., Fayolle, S.L. and Gil, S. (2011) Emotion and Time Perception: Effects of Film-Induced Mood. *Frontiers in Integrative Neuroscience* 5(33). Available at: https://doi.org/10.3389/fnint.2011.00033 [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

and venereal disease and tuberculosis, the range of stories told, the interweaving of anti- and pro-war sentiments, and the divergence of narratives of experience and understanding.

We also represent the war in a much more nuanced way, now less an attempt to conquer another army than to conquer one's own fears, an emotional landscape in which the visitor as much as the actors are central. We have a deeper understanding of how individuals and communities navigate the landscape of distress, how they build memory structures or narratives that make sense and are possible to live with.

In the brief and fleeting format of the exhibition the agents of this process remain elusive, but the objects, documents and photographs that survive tell much. They show which moments are the most remembered, and how they are remembered. They provide important clues about how and why some memories are bedded-down for the long term. Some symbolize particular moments when the world tips up and can never by the same again, such as a death telegram or a baby's booties never seen by her father.

I see it too in the deeper scholarship that accepted the war as a primary agent of the Great Influenza, and in the work of archaeologists who have caused us to consider a landscape marked in deep geological time by the firestorm of artillery and the ferocity of destruction. There is more sensitivity to the incorporation of weapons in some museums too – *Love & Sorrow* is not the only exhibition to consciously respond to the perspective championed by Jay Winter that the weapons of war should only be shown when their consequences are also shown. In *Love & Sorrow*, weapons only appear above the Glencorse Wood interactive, where visitors see progressive panoramas of the destruction of that landscape wrought by those same weapons.

From a practical viewpoint, too, the Centenary has provided impetus for us to better document our First World War collections, make them accessible to a world-wide audience through Collections Online, and build the collections into a more balanced representation of the war and its aftermath. We are "trustees", to use Gardner's term.

Our collections now include powerful and significant accounts of the impacts of war, such as the suffering of Bernie Haines, who struggled to make a new life after having his leg amputated in the field in 1917, while still a teenager. He spent the rest of his short life in hospital, where he was known as "baby Haines" due to his size and youth. Forty operations failed to improve his condition, and Bernard's cheerful personality gradually gave way to anger and distress. He died in 1926.

Fig. 2: Ethel Kemp with her mother Annie and brother George. Melba Studio, Private Collection, 1917

And there's Annie Kemp, who like so many widows struggled to make ends meet after she lost her dearest love Albert in the war. A poignant little postcard was written to Albert by his daughter Ethel (fig. 2), who writes "dear daddy / I am waiting / and watching / day by day / for you".[12] She never saw him again, and never really recovered from his loss.

There are still, of course, great absences in our telling of the First World War in Australia: women, children, participants from the furthest corners of the conflict, dissidents… I think, too, of what smaller organisations, such as branches of our Returned & Services League in Australia, and local

12 Museums Victoria collection MM 91075, Postcard – Ethel Kemp to Private Albert Edward Kemp, "Fond Thoughts of You", 1917.

governments, have made of the Centenary. The cultural shiver of the Centenary has passed through them too, and I think brought with it some changes, though fewer.

So – in the Centenary of the aftermath of the war, I hope we can find opportunities to work more closely together, across nations and former divides, to understand those years and look for parallels between our nations. Australia also came perilously close to social break-down in the 1920s, racked by riots and strikes; some communities pushed extremist views and even more extremist measures; and even the heroic Lieutenant-General Edmund Herring became a regional commander of the paramilitary White Guard. The Great Depression shook society even further, and pushed more veterans and their families to the brink.[13] And at some point, for a terrible number of veterans, the distress was turned inwards to become an epidemic of suicide, which I know was paralleled in amongst the veterans of other nations that participated in the First World War, including Germany.

The Centenary itself is a moment in a continuum of understanding about the war, and the sense we have made of it will surely puzzle scholars and curators one hundred years from now. Tragedy must take a long journey.

For us, today, the post-Centenary museum landscape provides a critical opportunity for museums to lead re-thinking about war and its impacts, and to re-assess ideas of borders, divisions and conflicts, past and present. To quote Museums Victoria's strategic vision, it is a time when we should all feel "compelled to act".[14]

13 See, for example, Larsson, M. (2009) *Shattered Anzacs: Living with the Scars of War*. Sydney: New South Wales Press; Damousi, J. (1999) *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and Thomson, A. (2013) *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*. Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing.

14 *Museums Victoria's Strategic Plan 2017–2025*. Melbourne: Museums Victoria, pp. 3, 5–6.

Museums in the 21st Century

Maria Vlachou

Where Do We Go From Here? This is the Real Dope

Abstract As our world becomes illiberally democratic and authoritarian, a look at the legacies of the First World War might help museums reconsider their place in society, their mission and responsibilities. When their surroundings change, museums cannot go on doing things the way they have always done them and keep allocating resources on superficial solutions. There is an urgent need to defend the principles of a free, tolerant and just European society, and museums must be part of this collective effort. Either they will assume their responsibilities, or they will continue aggravating the state of their irrelevance.

Keywords museums, democracy, human rights

Fig. 1: Booklet, Where Do We Go From Here? This is the Real Dope, 1919. Contributing Institution: Missouri History Museum (missourioverthere.org)

The *déjà vus* of an increasingly illiberal world

I'll start by explaining the title of my presentation. "Where Do We Go From Here? This is the Real Dope" was a handbook for soldiers, written by William Brown Meloney, an American journalist and writer who served in France (fig. 1). The book covered a variety of topics about life after the military, from dos and don'ts for finding a job and wearing your uniform after being discharged, to artificial limbs and vocational training. One reads in the forward that "Its single purpose is to bring to you in the simplest, quickest, and most accurate form the things which every man who has served in The Great War must know to put him in touch again with God's Country."[1] The War Department published five million copies.

1 Published in 1919 by Thomsen-Ellis Press, Baltimore. Full reproduction of the handbook is available at: https://www.gjenvick.com/Military/WorldWarOne/Brochures/1919-Where-DoWeGoFromHere-TheRealDope.html [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

These days, I often think how handy it would be to have a handbook that could put us back in touch with the world "in the simplest, quickest and most accurate form". If Donald Trump's election and the Brexit vote took us by surprise, we were nowhere near imagining the result of the Brazilian election. We are trying to deal with the fact that our world increasingly looks illiberally democratic and authoritarian, and wondering what we did wrong.

In a recent speech in Australia, British actor, writer and presenter Stephen Fry put my feelings into words when he proclaimed that "We are irrelevant and outdated bystanders". He went on to say that

> 'A grand canyon has opened up in our world,' Fry said. On one side is the new right, promoting a bizarre mixture of Christianity and libertarianism; on the other, the 'illiberal liberals', obsessed with identity politics and complaining about things like cultural appropriation. These tiny factions war above, while the rest of us watch, aghast, from the chasm below.[2]

Perhaps not all of us share this kind of perplexity and anxiety. This is certainly what I thought when I recently read that the European Union announced a two-million-euro investment to investigate the feasibility of a European Museum Card.[3] In the heat of the moment, I wrote on Facebook:

> I hate to disappoint you, but if we continue thinking about and spending money on cards, without demanding fundamental changes in the ways most museums exhibit and interpret objects and engage with people, we'll be wasting time and money. Populism and fascism are growing, what have museums done about it? Described objects?

A month later, away from the heat of the moment, I stand by the views expressed at that moment.

What brings us here today is the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the end of the First World War. In his State of the Union Speech

2 Convery, S. (2018) Stephen Fry pronounces the death of classical liberalism: 'We are irrelevant and outdated bystanders'. *The Guardian* 5 November 2018 [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

3 NEMO (2018) The European Parliament Allocates 2 Million Euros for the Creation of a European Museum Card [Online]. Available at: https://www.ne-mo.org/news/article/nemo/the-european-parliament-will-allocate-2-million-euros-for-the-creation-of-a-european-museum-card.html [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

in September, the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, reminded us that

> History can also show up, unannounced, in the life of nations and be slow to leave. Such was the fate of Europe's nations during the Great War starting in 1914. A war which took the sunny, optimistic and peaceful continent of the time by surprise. In 1913, Europeans expected to live a lasting peace. And yet, just a year later, a brutal war broke out amongst brothers, engulfing the continent.[4]

So, one hundred years ago, people were taken by surprise. Perhaps just like some of us are today. What did that war mean for the world, apart from the redrawing of the geographical map (resulting from the fall of four empires, the restoration or creation of nine independent states, the sharing among the winners of German colonies and the drawing of new political boundaries in the Middle East – issues that still haunt us today)? The First World War also changed the nature of warfare, with technology becoming an essential element and new techniques for building armaments, revolutionising other industries in the post-war years. The first chemical weapons were used; modern surgery was born. And the League of Nations was formed with the aim of preventing any repetition of such a conflict.

Today we know something that not everyone who lived at that time knew. That it did happen again and it can happen again. At that time, the new successor states were weak, the economic depression brought many people to their knees, there was a feeling of humiliation (especially in Germany) and nationalism flourished. It makes me think of people today who feel afraid because the world they know is changing, who feel afraid of their future and that of their children, who say they feel foreigners in their own country and vote for the Trumps and Bolsonaros of this world, who say they will protect them and put their world back in order, the order they know and value, where there is usually no place for "others" (we should not forget that white supremacist Steve Bannon was a consultant to both Trump and Bolsonaro). These are things that museum professionals ought to think about.

4 Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/state-union-speeches/state-union-2018_en [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

Museums, Borders and European Responsibilities

I'll start from the end: European responsibilities. The Copenhagen Criteria were set 25 years ago, in 1993, and marked a milestone in European history as they set out the essential conditions that all countries must satisfy before becoming a member state of the European Union. Essentially, they require stable institutions that can guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights. These principles form the foundation of a free, tolerant and just European society; but more and more citizens (voters) in different member states seem to believe that these principles have been overvalued and have created a fertile ground for threats, rather than guaranteeing safety and prosperity. Some member states have turned into illiberal democracies or partial democracies, with the blessing of voters, in return for the safety promised by democratically-elected authoritarian leaders. Are we willing to consider the reasons that led so many people to distrust the European institution and are we able to safeguard the values that helped us set it up in the first place?

Museums claim to be spaces of memory, which allow us to learn about the past, and promote social cohesion and tolerance in the present. I often wonder how many museums in Europe are actively dealing with the Copenhagen Criteria today. I also wonder how many of us think museums have something to do with all this. Which past are we preserving and researching? Whose past? What ways are we using to allow people to learn about it? And what can we claim to be achieving with that?

I left borders for the end, because this is what I would specifically like to discuss. The word first brings to mind countries on a geographical map. But I would like to consider another kind of border first, that which does not allow us to know the people next to us, with whom we share the space of a city, before migrants and refugees come into the equation.

This year, 2018, is the European Year of Cultural Heritage. My association, Access Culture, decided that the theme of this year's conference should be the LGBTQI+ heritage: a heritage that we consider to be unpreserved or even hidden, ignored, silenced, inaccessible, uncomfortable, undervalued. It was the least-attended conference ever. We had 32 participants. Most of our colleagues (some of whom attend every year, no matter what the subject is) wondered what there was to discuss. Everyone talks about LGBT rights, they are safeguarded in Europe – what is there to discuss?

When Odete, a trans artist, asked us if we knew who Valentim de Barros was, there was silence in the room. Valentim de Barros was a classical ballet

dancer. He lived for 70 years, 40 of which held in a psychiatric hospital for being a homosexual. He died in 1986. In 1986 I was 16 years old. My home country, Greece, had been a member of the European Union for five years and Portugal for one.

Recently, I found out that one of the First World War's most enduring legacies is also largely unknown or forgotten: it sparked the modern gay rights movement. The partner of a German soldier who died in the front, known from the archives as S., called it deplorable that good citizens, soldiers willing to die for their country, had to endure the status of pariahs. "People who are by nature orientated toward the same sex… do their duty", he wrote. "It is finally time that the state treated them like they treat the state."[5] Many veterans agreed with S. When the war ended, they formed new, larger groups, including one called the League for Human Rights that drew 100,000 members.[6]

Where are these stories? How many museums include them in their narratives? "But why must we discriminate", a person asked us on our Facebook page, "aren't we all one?" We shall all be one when people stop having to hide who they are; when silence will not be enforced on them; when they will see that they are also represented in museum narratives and that they can be proud of who they are and of those who came before them. We are still far from that, despite what we might think, for as long as a person advises us on our Facebook page to see a good psychiatrist, for choosing this subject for our annual conference; for as long as the now President-elect in Brazil, the country with the highest rate in the world in trans murders, says that he would be unable to love his child if he was homosexual; for as long as the Identitary Shield, a group that is making its presence more and more known in the public space in Portugal, feels free to put up posters in schools warning of the danger of gender ideology.

Are museums able to promote critical thinking about these issues? Not just gay rights, but more. It is worth having a look at three recent incidents in Portugal.

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5 Marhoefer, L. (2017) The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Gay Rights Movement in WWI. *The Conversation* 12 May 2017. Available at: https://theconversation.com [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

6 Kaye, H. (2018) The Forgotten Gay Soldiers of the First World War. *Attitude* 10 November 2018. Available at: https://attitude.co.uk/article/the-forgotten-gay-soldiers-of-the-first-world-war-1/19583/?fbclid=IwAR2f-F9afoZz9xVPytiZ9yr7d7lz9M009pZsdHzQKoa7jMm3wql9ANQaLsg [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

The Portuguese police published degrading photos of arrested criminals, an action that was criticised by the Minister of Justice and later by the President of the Republic. One Police Union defended the act, by publishing photos of beaten elderly people (only that they were not the victims in Portugal) and by claiming that not everyone deserves our respect. Isn't this extremely serious in a state subject to the rule of law, when some policemen seem to believe that they are there to interpret the law and not to enforce it?

A judge considered that a 15-year-old Roma girl does not have to finish school, like everyone else, in the name of tradition. Aren't judges supposed to defend individual human rights and aren't we all equal before the law?

A Law Professor claimed that homosexuals should not work with boys and that it is OK not to hire a recently married woman as a model, because she might become pregnant.

These are a few episodes in Portugal's recent contemporary history; I am sure other countries have similar cases to present. These, in my view, are small, everyday aggressions to democracy, the rule of law, human rights, looking for fertile ground to flourish. How many museums are working on these issues? How many even think they have something to do with this and that there should be a good reason for investing so much in preserving, researching, exhibiting and interpreting the past? A reason such as defending the principles of democracy, the rule of law and human rights which we claim are the pillars of the European Union.

Finally, we need to consider, of course, the other kind of borders, those some of us feel must be protected at any cost from the threat posed by Muslims, Africans or the poor. These are cases where sometimes Europe seems to be at a loss. President Juncker, on one hand, says in his State of the Union speech that "Europe must remain a tolerant, open continent. Europe will never become a fortress turning its back on the world, notably the part of the world which is suffering". Yet Malta and Italy disregard both international law and the principles of the European Union by putting people's lives in danger by not allowing their boats to dock and refusing them refuge; or while people are still kept in appalling conditions at the Moria refugee camp in Greece, waiting for their asylum requests to be processed.

Museums and the promotion of critical thinking

I believe that museums should promote critical thinking about issues that mark contemporary societies. At the same time, I am thinking what a difficult task this is at a time where, in the words of Cameroonian philosopher and political theorist Achille Mbembe, reason is once again on trial and many don't trust any longer its power to free us or to lead us to the path of truth. Mbembe was in Lisbon last month (this time he made it, as on a number of occasions before he hadn't shown up because of visa issues up to the last moment). He said that "Many turn their back on reason in favour of other faculties: affection, feelings, emotions. Passion is tramping on reason. Acting with one's guts is becoming the norm."[7]

So many decisions taken by so many people (voters) in different parts of the world based on feelings and emotions: anxiety, fear, anger. Populists know it and base their rhetoric on it. They spread fake news because they know that many people do not have the capacity or patience to question.

It seems to me that we need to build our own "Where do we go from here?" handbook and help museums get back in touch with the world. I believe we should consider the following:

» We need to rethink what we do, how and why we do it. If the European Union has 2 million euro to spend, it is better spent on promoting this reflection at a European level. We cannot go on doing things the way we have always done them. The world has changed dramatically.

» We need to be aware of the world around us, to be in touch with society and not to live in a bubble. We need to know who those people we wish to engage with are, how they live their lives, what their anxieties are, what matters to them. We need to read newspapers (also the populist ones) and find the courage to read the comments in them from time to time: this is a hard task, I assure you, but it is an excellent way of becoming aware of realities we ignore.

7 The podcast of Achille Mbembe's speech "For a World Without Frontiers" is available at: https://www.culturgest.pt/pt/programacao/para-um-mundo-sem-fronteiras-achille-mbembe [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

» We need to help people make connections between past knowledge and contemporary life. Yes, we must remember; yes, we must share knowledge. But humans have proved again and again that they don't learn from history. We need to find ways of relating our research and collections to what matters to people and to issues that concern the communities we wish to engage with. In a recent interview Françoise Benhamou, a specialist in the economics of culture who had also been an advisor to French Minister of Culture Jack Lang, discusses a number of known difficulties in attracting diverse audiences, but the word "relevance" is not mentioned once![8] It is indeed hard to attract people whom we prefer to ignore, and when all we wish is to impose a culture we consider worthy, without further thinking.

» There's no point in just bombarding people with facts. We have to be empathetic and use clear language. We need to communicate with people, and plan exhibitions and activities, in a way they understand and find relevant.

» We need to be places of encounter. Many people express fear, anger and contempt against people they have never really seen or talked to. Even living in the same city, certain people don't get to see and meet each other. Museums can be the place where this happens.

» Museum teams and boards must be as diverse as the society around them. And by diversity I don't mean "We are all under the same roof: white men as directors and black women as cleaners". There is a clear intention behind rapper Killer Mike's appointment to the Board of the Atlanta Art Museum[9] and there is a reason why actor John Leguizamo's performances are so engaging.[10]

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8 Campos, J.M.G. (2018) Culture Belongs to the Upper Classes. It is Hard to Attract Families with Lower Education Levels. Available at: https://observatoriosociallacaixa.org/en/-/entrevista-francoise-benhamou [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

9 Sutton, B. (2018) The Rapper Killer Mike Joined the High Museum of Art's Board of Directors. Artsy 13 August 2018. Available at: https://www.artsy.net/news/artsy-editorial-rapper-killer-mike-joined-high-museum-arts-board-directors [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

10 Genzlinger, N. (2018) Why John Leguizamo is so Invested in Telling the Country About Latino History. *Smithsonian Magazine* December 2018. Available at: https://www.smithsonianmag.com/innovation/john-leguizamo-invested-telling-latino-history-180970680/?fbclid=IwAR3b4umzR3Cr2vGCVlC7rXEJ2YY50O9tSOlWF6aN4QZSyPlCSmjG35srqo8 [Accessed: 1 June 2019].

» We need to take responsibility for our actions and choices. Everything we do sends a message, endorses or confronts human rights violations. I was very displeased to see non-Iranian women colleagues willingly covering themselves in a celebratory end-of-the-symposium photo of the ICOM International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM), last month in Tehran. I was displeased because this might look exotic to us, but many Iranian women put their freedom at risk every day by going out uncovered in order to protest compulsory hijab. Last year the women's chess champion refused to participate in the World Championship in Saudi Arabia, despite what this decision meant for her career, because principals were more important for her than professional gains. I can't imagine what kind of an excuse a cultural organisation like ICOM might have to not only go to a conference in a country with a severe record on human rights violations, but also to willingly comply with those violations.

» Finally, I believe we should reflect upon these points, and others, expressing less arrogance, less certainties, more doubts.

These are some of the issues I think we should consider for our "Where do we go from here?" handbook. And this is not something we should put on our five-year plan. This is urgent. We have European elections in May 2019 and Steve Bannon is alive and kicking also on European territory.

Going back to Achille Mbembe's conference in Lisbon, "Europe has a choice: to contribute to a new imagination of how we share the earth or to face the political and moral consequences." Museums also have a choice: to assume their responsibilities and be part of this effort or to continue aggravating the state of their irrelevance.

Taja Vovk van Gaal

Out of the Comfort Zone

Abstract This article explores the issues and dilemmas which resulted from the development of a museum on European history, focussing on the twentieth century, called the House of European History. The House opened in 2017 in Brussels, featuring multiple perspectives on the main processes and events which have shaped Europe in last century. Through the ten-year process of building the new museum, the team of curators, educators, conservators, communicators, etc, encountered and debated many emerging questions in connection with the role of museums in today's quickly-developing society. The House of European History team chose to bring critical voices forward and open a debate on the recent European past. It acknowledges different situations of museums, their collections and their position in society throughout the continent.

Keywords Europe, museums, memory, politics, responsibility, criticism

The conference *Museums, Borders and European Responsibility* – organised in November 2018 by ICOM Europe and ICOM Germany – gathered museum professionals from museums in Europe, USA and Australia to reflect on different perspectives and developments in museums during the last century from the end of the First World War.

The last session of the conference featured a speech entitled "Out of the Comfort Zone" and was dedicated to museums in the 21st century, focusing on the challenges, responsibilities and perspectives facing museums and curators.

The memory and commemorations of the First World War Centenary coincided with other anniversaries such as the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1943), the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia and student movements (both 1968), and many more which have impacted Europe and the world. As usual, many discussions, evaluations and museum exhibitions were organised, touching different aspects of these historical events along with the tradition of regular commemorations. The memory of the First World War was, in different parts of Europe, for a long time in the shadow of the Second World War. The Centenary gave an opportunity to evaluate it again from different perspectives. In other words, the remembrance of the First World War in 1918 struck with great intensity.

Considering a density of events which happened a century ago and which permanently reshaped our continent, and the strong stream of emotions which has been still running through collective national memories, we should not be surprised that the First World War and its political, economic and social consequences seem much more current than maybe a decade or two ago.

The commemoration of the first mass war in human history came during rather turbulent (and not only) political changes in Europe, when yesterday's assumptions – which Europe had agreed upon – have been strongly challenged. European values, politically-correct rhetoric and agreements found new voice in a way unthinkable and inappropriate even a decade ago. The core elements of the European Union seemed to be fragile. Worries and warnings about the dark shadows emerging from the past have been heard from the highest political representatives.

The political, economic and social tensions were visible also in the methods of commemoration of the Centenary of the First World War in European countries: a rainbow of different sentiments and expressions of collective remembrance in juxtaposition with current political "big" themes. The sense of "victors" and "defeated" were visibly present in some rhetoric,

especially amongst more recently-formed countries or those regaining their independence. Drastic changes of political geography and changing borders on the ashes of fallen empires after 1918 were echoed in politically-organised commemorations.

One did not need to be an attentive observer to confirm how much history, remembrance and current political processes have been intertwined. Sentiments which have survived, sometimes with a deep feeling of injustice, can be kept as a part of national remembrance and maintained through different channels. They become useful when appropriate, and instigate emotional responses among different generations.

For decades the focus of commemoration for many European countries was the Second World War. The phenomenon of presentations of the First World War in museums only became more numerous in recent decades in many parts of Europe. New museums and new exhibitions contributed to the bigger significance of the First World War, leading to greater recognition of that conflict among citizens.

There are excellent museums which have been dedicated to this event and have been recognised by museum experts for their courage to open up discussions about contested chapters of the history of the twentieth century.

The conference organised by ICOM Europe and ICOM Germany in Koblenz in November 2018 has rightly recognised the "historic consequences" of this first mass war as well as the importance of "social responsibility and awareness of democracy" for "establishing museums and their contexts".[1]

From this perspective, a relationship between museums and politics has been identified. Different examples from museums in Europe as well as around the globe show that museums, in their role of opening difficult and sensitive questions of the past, or reinterpreting them anew, could be challenged by politicians and interest groups. This could be as a direct intervention or an indirect one, visible even through museums' self- censorship.

The House of European History in Brussels, which was opened in May 2017, was clearly a political project. The idea was presented in the inaugural speech of former President of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering, in February 2007. The museum was a project of the European Parliament and developed as a part of, and within, its administration.

1 ICOM Europe, ICOM Germany, Programme, *European Conference 2018: Museums, Borders and European, Responsibility – 100 Years after WW1*.

In creating the House of European History, it was clear from the beginning that making this museum would be a very sensitive as well as difficult process in many ways. The book *Creating the House of European History* features contributions from 40 authors, all involved in one or another way in the project.[2] Being a project of a political institution also means that the academic independence for the Academic Project Team responsible for the content was paramount. From the beginning, it was secured by an international Academic Committee and its Board of Trustees.

With the Conceptual Basis, a document that was prepared by an international group of experts (historians and museum professionals) and accepted by the Bureau of the European Parliament in 2008, the Academic Project Team had a solid foundation on which to create a "modern exhibition, documentation and information centre."[3]

Becoming a connector of different interpretations, our main goal was thus to create a place for academic debate and interdisciplinary interactions on European history. The permanent exhibition should serve as the first of its type, as an attempt to start a discussion to find answers for the most sensitive questions and dilemmas of our common past. Among other things, the Conceptual Basis clearly stipulated that a teleological approach should be avoided. Since the House of European History should become a "bridge between an academic world and the general public"[4] and attract visitors from all over Europe (and the world), the Academic Project Team decided in the conceptual phase of the narrative that the permanent exhibition should be multi-layered. That means that there is a first, general chronological narrative, which provides visitors an overview in 90 minutes, as well as different specific themes, presented as the second and third layers for visitors with more specific interests. Different surveys were made during the process, and they confirmed an expected low level of general knowledge about processes, phenomena and historical events of nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which had been a focus for the House's permanent exhibition. The permanent exhibition is therefore not a sum of different national histories, nor been limited to the member states of European Union. Indeed, a rather new approach has been taken. To become the only museum dealing with processes

2 Mork, A. and Christodoulou, P. (2018) *Creating the House of European History*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

3 Committee of Experts (2008) *Conceptual Basis*. Brussels, p. 7.

4 Ibid.

and phenomena, which have shaped the continent in the last two centuries, the team decided to deconstruct these phenomena and processes, and to build on their fundamental principles a narrative of diverse examples from across Europe. With this approach, a visitor – be they young or old, from East, North, South or West Europe – can get a wider context with concrete, compared examples.

The museum exhibition should be an experience for all senses, but should also challenge the visitor to confront their knowledge and experiences with different views and with the experiences of the others. The structure of the permanent exhibition is therefore rather complex: it gives a lot of food for thought and is emotionally intensive. It enables different views and interpretations; yet it also stands clearly for democracy, human rights, rule of law, social inclusions and solidarity.

A museum for the 21st century can hardly be apolitical. It cannot and should not avoid researching and presenting contested chapters in history – however painful and divisive they might be. The twentieth century, with many upheavals, revolutions, two World Wars, with all the terrible consequences, have marked Europe and Europeans for good. In the last decades – with democratization processes in former dictatorships, with accessible archives and numerous historiographical researches – many chapters of history have been rewritten and new perspectives presented. In making the House of European History, we acknowledged them and presented them with the remaining dilemmas and controversies. We did not shy away from sensitive events in a clear attempt to enable our visitors to compare, to get to know different views and interpretations, and to talk about them.

From the very beginning we were aware that in spite of how much we tried, would be impossible to satisfy everybody. With the broad theme of European history, we had to make drastic choices. For example: in June 2011 the team prepared a list of 330 proposed topics which were later transformed and distilled down to six themes with 24 topics.

The permanent exhibition was intended to serve as the first of its type, an attempt to start a discussion to find answers for the most sensitive and complex questions and dilemmas of our common past. Becoming a connector of different interpretations, and thus a place for debate and interdisciplinary interactions on European history, was among our goals. Thus we expected the criticism and welcomed it as an opener for debate.

A year and a half after its opening, the House of European History has welcomed tens of thousands of visitors. Through visitors surveys we have

heard that a large majority of our visitors have been "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with the quality of their visit.

Critical remarks have been taken seriously and since the opening there has been an ongoing process to improve the exhibition. However, there has also been a campaign of criticism which partially surprised us, not only with the manner in which the criticism was made, but because political stakeholders were called to make reactions.

Some months after the opening of the House of European History, the President of the European Parliament received a critical letter from the Minister of Culture of Poland which, among other points, accuses the authors of the permanent exhibition of the House of European History of violating historical truth. A long report from the "Platform of European Memory and Conscience" followed in October 2017 with accusations – among others – that the exhibition had been "influenced by an ideological Hegelian or neo-Marxist interpretation of European history".[5] According to the authors of the report,

> a panel of experts should be nominated by different political groups and MEPs from different regions of the EU to evaluate and consequently propose changes. In the opinion of the members of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience the best solution would be work out a new concept of the exhibition properly defining its goals. The new concept of the exhibition should be worked out and consulted with broader circles of scholars, museum professionals and experts from institutions of remembrance and history education from all EU member states.[6]

We took the criticism very seriously, checked all comments accordingly and informed the Academic Committee and the Board of Trustees, as well as the European Parliament hierarchy.

In the end what was interesting is the fact that the criticism was expressed not toward the House as an academically-independent body, but as a political review, which is not a usual practice for a professional academic debate on critical issues. We were surprised that the academics and museum professionals who wrote the report were actually calling for politicians to select the

5 Platform of European Memory and Conscience, P. Ukielski ed. (2017) *The House of European History. Report on the Permanent Exhibition*, p. 3.

6 Ibid., p. 14.

experts who should prepare a new concept for the permanent exhibition of the House of European History. The members of the Academic Project Team for the House of European History had been selected through an international open call in 2010.

Museums, if they are aware of their role in society, cannot be passive observers in a fast-changing political reality. They have to take a position, in spite of the fact that – or especially because – it has become obvious that history as always can be hijacked for political goals.

Therefore it might be good to remember a discussion at the ICOM Committee for Management in 2011 which called "for museums to have fundamental responsibility to confront political issues, and to inspire and provoke public debate in the quest for freedom of speech, rather than attempt to maintain a safe and spurious neutrality."[7] Following this advice, the House of European History has been a museum which stepped out of the comfort zone, and tries to raise interdisciplinary debates on sensitive and debatable questions from the recent European past.

In doing so, we sincerely believe that with interdisciplinary academic discussions supported by arguments, and in good faith, we can contribute to maintaining and strengthening the values on which Europe has been based.

7 ICOM INTERCOM, Annual meeting, Copenhagen, Denmark 2011, Announcement of the Conference

Photo by Carolin Hahnemann, 2015, detail, CC BY-SA, wikimedia.org

Jan Behrendt

Three Pilots – One War (3p1w/#3p1w/3p1w.eu)

War Letters from Three Young Men Who Served in the First World War

3p1w.eu is a blog, run by the Royal Air Force Museum London, the Musée de l'Air et de l'Espace Paris-Le Bourget and the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr (MHM) – Flugplatz Berlin-Gatow. Its purpose is to publish a total of 183 letters, each of them exactly one hundred years after they were written. The blog presents every letter with its digital image, a transcript of its text and a comment designed to explain the letter's content and its historical context. All contributions are translated into all three project languages, i.e. English, French and German. The seemingly cryptic project name serves as a short and easy-to-remember hashtag on social media and facilitates finding 3p1w on search engines and on Europeana. The project started in August 2014 with the beginning of First World War in August 1914 and ended in December 2018, with two of the three pilots returning to their homes after the end of the war in 1918 (fig. 1, p. 123).

The three men we are getting to know intimately in the project are Peter Falkenstein, a German miller, Jean Chaput, a French rugby and tennis player, and Bernard Rice, a British car enthusiast. By reading their letters, we are with these young men, in moments of joy and of grief, of boredom and of anxiety.

The editors of the project didn't want to look at aces or well-known propaganda figures; they were not interested in "knights of the air". 3p1w is about ordinary men who made their way into the often perilous cockpits

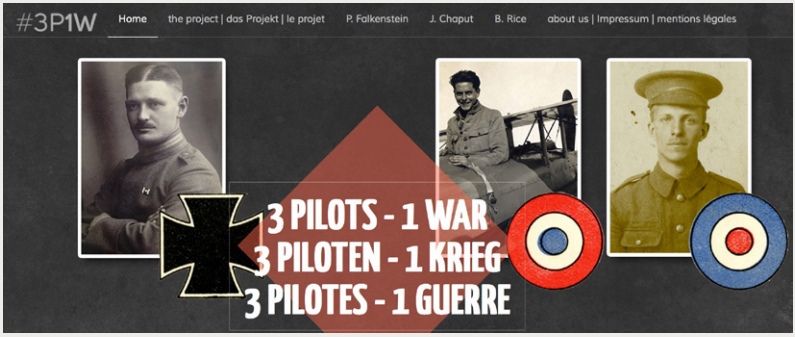

Fig. 1: Header, 3p1w.eu website. Christian Nimpsch, MHM Gatow. CC-BY-SA, by kind permission of MHM Gatow, 2014

of the First World War. It allows us to learn how a normal man got into the war, what he lived in his everyday life and what worries he had.

The protagonists are individuals and do not represent their respective nations intentionally. They come from different social backgrounds and have received different educations and professional training. In the First World War there will have been French Peter Falkensteins, just as there were English Jean Chaputs and German Bernard Rices.

One thing that was crucial for the project design, however, was that the protagonists were reliable and steady writers of letters and that they provided documents throughout the whole of the First World War, so that the three-sided project could remain balanced on a quantitative level.

In times when a pilot didn't write due to illness, holidays or other reasons, imminent publication gaps were filled with representations of museum objects related to the contents published before or after the respective gap.

Fig. 2: Exhibition space. 3p1w: Falkenstein 1914 and Ralf Heldenmaier. MHM Gatow CC-BY-SA, by kind permission of MHM Gatow, 2014

With 205,000 individual visitors and almost 7.5 million hits on the website in 2018 alone, the online project exceeded all expectations on a statistical level. But more importantly, manifold responses by an interested public, especially students and teachers who were using the website as resource in class, have also shown that 3p1w was able to address its readers on a personal level.

All three museums have, therefore, decided to use the online project as a starting point for physical exhibitions. MHM Berlin-Gatow has opened a successively growing exhibition with the title *Peter Falkenstein Is Going to War*. The German exhibition started in 2014 with three exhibition spaces, addressing a political history of the First World War (as a context for the 3p1w narratives), a prologue (addressing childhood in the German empire) and the year 1914 in Peter Falkenstein's life (fig. 2). In the following years,

four additional rooms were opened successively, allowing the museum visitors to follow up on Peter Falkenstein's life, similar to the online project. The Royal Air Force Museum chose to collaborate with schools in the greater London area to present *Three Pilots – One War* exhibition in their education space, open 26 March to 9 December 2018. The Musée de l'Air et de l'Espace was presenting their *3p1w* exhibition to the public, with a remarkable amount of objects directly linked to Jean Chaput, from October 2018 to March 2019.

Visit the project website on: http://3p1w.eu

Christina Freund

Constructs of "Nation" in First World War Exhibitions

An Analysis of the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, and the Museum der Bundeswehr, Dresden

In the context of the whole of human history, the concept of "nations" is still a relatively young phenomenon: it was developed in the eighteenth century. Some scientists may argue that national identity has lost its importance these days. Nevertheless, it still seems to be a very powerful concept even today. My understanding of "nation" adheres to the concept introduced by Benedict Anderson,[1] who claims that nations are inventions, so-called "imagined communities". It is not self-evident that people identify themselves as, for example, German or French. Instead, this process is a historical, political and cultural development. Museums contribute to the formation of "national identity" by demonstrating a "common past" and suggesting unity. By determining what to include and exclude in these concepts, they influence the construction of "national identity".[2] The construct of nation is so powerful that people are willing even to murder and to die for it. Not many imaginary concepts can release this kind of power and emotion.[3] There is a multifarious connection between museum, nation and war.

1 Anderson, B. (2005) *Die Erfindung der Nation. Zur Karriere eines folgenreichen Konzepts*. Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verl.

2 See Macdonald, S.J. (2000) Nationale, Postnationale, Transkulturelle Identitäten und das Museum. In: Beier-de Haan, R. ed. *Geschichtskultur in der Zweiten Moderne*. Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verl., pp. 123–148.

3 See Echternkamp, J. and Müller, O. eds. (2009) *Die Politik der Nation. Deutscher Nationalismus in Krieg und Krisen 1760 bis 1960*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter.

The First World War is now considered historicized. However, it does not get a lot attention in Germany. It seems that the remembrances of the Second World War and the Holocaust are considered more relevant. The French, on the other hand, seem to be more interested in *la Grande Guerre*. It has a greater meaning for its culture and politics. In my master's thesis,[4] I have explored how the different perspectives on the First World War influence the exhibitions in the national war museums in Paris and Dresden. For around 75 years, most German and French people have considered one another enemies. Now their special bilateral relationship is often emphasized as the motor of the European Union. French president Emmanuel Macron wants to particularly enhance multilateralism. However, both countries currently face populist movements from right-wing parties, who are the biggest critics of the EU and fear the loss of national sovereignty. In this context, I have taken a closer look at the constructs of the "own nation" and the constructs of the neighboring country. For this end, I have chosen a multi-step analyzing procedure, as proposed by Lisa Spanka.[5] It combines discourse-analytical and semiotic approaches, and takes place on three levels: institution, exhibition and display. In general, my results show that the "nation" is presented in the Musée de l'Armée as something taken for granted. Furthermore, three central strategies for the construction of nation can be identified in this museum:

1. the connection of "nation" and army;
2. the distinction between "own" and "foreign"; and
3. the stereotyped representation of masculinity and femininity.

Although war is connoted as destructive and a cause of human suffering, the French soldiers are presented primarily as victims and not as perpetrators. Their deaths serve a higher purpose, that of maintaining the "nation"; thus they are connoted as martyrs. A narrative that separates the nations and clearly defines what is "own" and "foreign" dominates the exhibition. The French white man is in the focus of depictions and narratives, and therefore constitutes the "norm". French citizens from the colonies are clearly distinguished from the European members of France, so that they appear as a

4 Publication expected in 2019.

5 See Spanka, L. (2016) Zugänge zur Zeitgeschichte mit dem Museum. Methodologie einer Ausstellungsanalyse. In: Spanka, L. et al. eds. *Zugänge zur Zeitgeschichte: Bild – Raum – Text*. Quellen und Methoden. Marburg: Tectum Wissenschaftsverlag, pp. 183–222.

deviation from this norm. Furthermore, a clear distinction is made between the Alliance and Entente: the latter are repeatedly put in a positive light, whereas the Central Powers are often strongly criticised. Femininity is connoted with weakness and passivity, while masculinity is connoted with power, heroism and patriotism. The representation of the sexes confirms and reproduces conventional gender stereotypes without questioning them.

Although the Museum der Bundeswehr likes to present itself as self-critical, my results suggest that German war crimes are often relativized. In this case, four strategies to construct "nation" could be identified:

1. the relativization of German perpetration during the First World War;
2. the hierarchization of "nations", whereby the German Reich is predominantly presented as a superior hegemonic power;
3. the soldier as a representative of the "nation" and an opportunity for identification; and
4. the heteronormative and unequal representation of gender.

In most cases, perpetrators are not named or even explicitly criticised. The museum in Dresden also tends to emphasize the dominance of the German Reich in terms of war technology and economic power. The "women's corner" may lead to an increased visibility for women, but the separating narrative reduces them to their gender attributes and makes the dominance of men appear as a matter of course.

Each generation looks upon historical events in its own specific way. Ever since its inception, the First World War has been on display. During the last one hundred years, exhibitions on the First World War have been installed in various forms with a range of perspectives. In depicting war, museums encounter limits of visualization and appropriateness. In my view, their most important task is to provide information about, and contribute to, the preservation of democratic values. It is therefore of central importance that events such as the First World War and its consequences are presented to the public without the intention of ideological influence. Creative and innovative solutions are required if museums are to meet this challenge. Exhibiting is highly complex, and requires empathy and reflection.

It is very likely that our world will change significantly over the next one hundred years and the First World War will be seen from a completely different perspective. Perhaps other wars will even oust the First World War from public consciousness.

Heather Hughes

Inclusivity and the Difficult Heritage of War

Two decades after the First World War, the one hundredth anniversary of which was the occasion for this conference, there was yet another world conflagration – or possibly a continuation of the 1914–1918 conflict, as some historians have suggested.[1] This contribution to the conference slam describes a project related to the intense conflict between 1939 and 1945.[2]

All war-related heritage ought to be treated as "difficult", as the many and diverse papers offered at the conference reveal. However, there are some aspects of war heritage that are more difficult than others. One that is still capable of causing strong and divided reactions is the bombing of urban areas and civilians during the Second World War.[3] Even on the "victor" side, there is deep sensitivity about the way that veterans of RAF Bomber Command were sidelined post-war, not least because the losses in Bomber Command were higher than in any other Allied service. Again, there is an extreme reluctance to consider the human cost of the area bombing initiative over Germany and Occupied Europe. Rather, when bombing is discussed, the immediate

1 See for example the discussion in Mosse, G. (1986) The Two World Wars and the Myth of the War Experience. *Journal of Contemporary History* 21(4), pp. 491–513.

2 I am extremely grateful to Prof. Monika Hagedorn-Saupe for the opportunity to participate in the conference and discuss our work in Lincoln.

3 See for example Knapp, A. (2016) The Horror and the Glory: Bomber Command in British Memories Since 1945. [Online]. Available at: www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/horror-and-glory-bomber-command-british-memories-1945 [Accessed: 20 May 2019].

Fig. 1: International Bomber Command Centre in Lincoln. ©IBCC, 2018

reference points tend to be the so-called "Dams Raids" – the precision bombing of the Eder and Möhne Dams in May 1943[4] – or the Blitz: in other words, what British people themselves experienced at the hands of the Luftwaffe.

A new site whose focus is RAF Bomber Command and the European bombing war recently opened in Lincoln, UK. Funded in part by a grant from the National Lottery Heritage Fund, the International Bomber Command Centre (IBCC; see fig. 1) is a partnership between the Lincolnshire Bomber Command Memorial Trust, a charitable trust, and the University of Lincoln.

The IBCC has used the theme of inclusivity to present the heritage of the bombing war. What has this meant in practice? First, it meant that as many perspectives as possible on the bombing war would be presented: military, civilian, young, old, black, white and from both sides of the conflict. We called this our "orchestra of voices". Accordingly, one gallery in the exhibition tells

4 Witness the continued popularity, for example, of the 1955 film *The Dam Busters*, starring Richard Todd and Michael Redgrave, and based on Paul Brickhill's book of the same name.

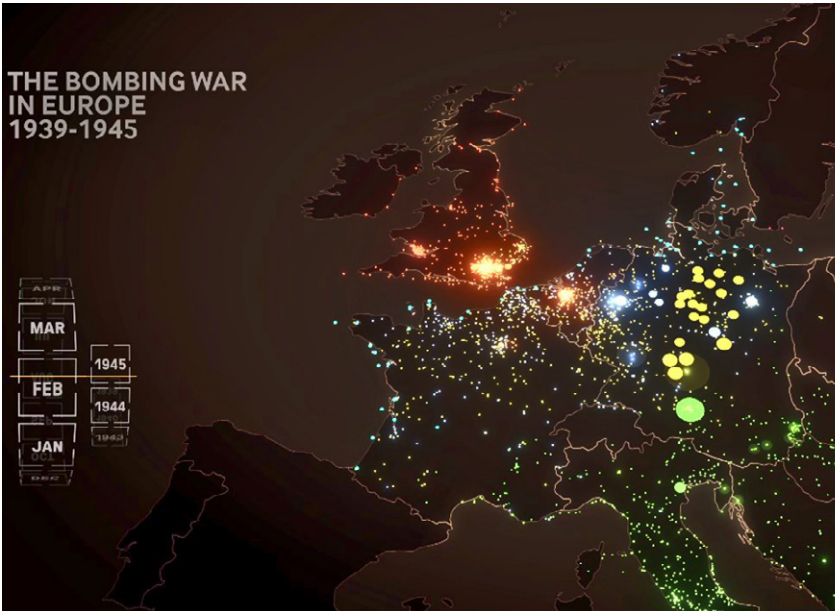

Fig. 2: Still from the video data visualisation of the bombing war, IBCC exhibition. ©IBCC, 2018

military stories, one tells civilian stories and one looks at the aftermath of the bombing war. Second, we decided to focus on the stories of ordinary individuals coping with total war, revealing their shared suffering and common humanity. We tried to present as many untold stories as we could from eyewitnesses themselves: those who flew on operations, who were pulled from the rubble of German cities, who volunteered from all over the Commonwealth and British Empire as aircrew as well as ground personnel, who operated "flak" battery defences, and so on. Third, we adopted as values the "three Rs" of Remembrance, Recognition and Reconciliation, projecting an attitude of reflection and respect for all those caught up in such terrible times.[5]

This is not a museum – a small number of personal objects is on display, but mostly we have relied on digital interactives, data visualisation (fig. 2), graphic panels and audio recordings. Content for these has mostly

5 These issues are explored in greater detail in a series of blog posts relating to the IBCC Digital Archive. Available at: http://ibccdigitalarchive.blogs.lincoln.ac.uk/2017/09 [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

been drawn from the IBCC Digital Archive, which started collecting material in 2015. Over 1000 interviews with eyewitnesses have so far been recorded. Hundreds of individuals have come forward with personal collections of photographs, letters, diaries and so on. The result has been a vast resource of very personal accounts, at the heart of which are the same principles of inclusivity. The archive is freely available at https://ibccdigitalarchive.lincoln.ac.uk.

We are aware that being inclusive and promoting reconciliation may be somewhat less problematic in the UK than in many other European countries, where the legacy of the bombing war is far more divided: the Allies were, after all, liberators as well as tormentors. We are currently working with several institutions in Italy to investigate how this approach might be adapted; we have much to learn from them.

Natacha Le Duff, Anne Cogan-Krumnow

Colours – From the First World War to the Museum

Since 2014, the Museum of Colours association has worked on a multidisciplinary concept to explore colour in a museum context. In the frame of the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the end of the First World War, this topic may seem unexpected. However, there at least three ways to look at this major conflict through the prism of colours.

First, our imagining of the First World War is deeply related to black and white, reflecting most documentation that we have of it. It shows how strongly our representation is impacted by media, even if we know that the world wasn't black and white back then. The autochrome technology, developed in 1907 by the Lumières brothers, allows us to get a colourful insight of this chapter of history, even if the colours of the autochromes appear quite unreal to us. Re-colourisers of historical pictures and movies spend hours in research to pick up the right colours and give "life" back to these documents – providing us the feeling that these actions are taking place closer to us.

Colours are an important part of military strategy during war. The First World War saw the invention of camouflage patterns and the creation of specialised units in the different armies comprising artists and craftsmen: painters, carpenters, sheet metal workers and plasterers. Camouflage became an important defensive technology of trench warfare between November 1914 and August 1918.

Regarding uniforms, the shift from moving battle to trench warfare, and the impossibility, after the declaration of war, of importing chemical dyes from Germany, were the reasons why French uniforms changed colour from red (garance) to blue (so-called horizon blue).[1]

1 Cochet, F. and Porte, R. eds. (2008) *Dictionnaire de la Grande Guerre 1914–1918*, "Tenue de Campagne". Paris: Robert Laffont, p. 1119.

The introduction of camouflage and changes to uniform colour were underpinned by changing ideas about visibility and identity in war-time,[2] and shifting codes of honour in military societies.[3]

Finally, the opposition of nations in the First World War was fundamentally represented by the symbolic colours of their flags and other elements of identification which accompanied all armies in the conflict.

These examples illustrate that colours are everywhere, and their presence, absence or shade has an impact of our perception of different times, without us noticing their true value.

Our project for a Museum of Colours is meant to raise awareness about the role and influence that colours have in our environment. Since 2014, we have created an international network of colour professionals and a cycle of exhibitions, which have allowed us to develop a general plan for the Museum of Colours.

Following an anthropological approach to colours related to humans and vice versa, the pathway through the museum will guide visitors from the perception of colours to the symbolic meanings of colours, through the colours in nature, the production and use of colours, and colours linked to artistic creation.

Beyond being a place of information, we believe the Museum of Colours will become a place to convey values such as the protection of the environment and multiculturalism.

2 Delouche, D. (2012) "Le Camouflage". In: Audoin-Rouzeau, S. and Becker, J. eds. *Encyclopédie de la Grande Guerre* 1, Paris: Bayard Culture, p. 760.

3 Coutin, C. (2012) *Tromper l'ennemi: l'invention du Camouflage Moderne en 1914–1918*. Paris: coédition Ministère de la Défense (SGA/*DMPA)* et les éditions Pierre de Taillac, p. 240.

Thomas Steller

Sick of Peace

How Small Museums Can Collaborate for Impact and Outreach in the Countryside

The following article provides a short account of the programme initiated in fall 2018 by the DBK-Stiftung and its partners on the occasion of the anniversary of end of the First World War in 1918 and the genesis of the first German republic afterwards. To explore the significance of these events two temporary exhibitions, workshops for local schools and a small symposium were organized. The projects took place in a rural region with rather impoverished cultural infrastructure. They were also limited by scarce resources. Thus networking and collaboration were of paramount importance.

Schloss & Gut Liebenberg is a large manor in a village 50 kilometres north of Berlin. The manor, owned by the DBK-Stiftung für gesellschaftliches Engagement, is commemorating 750 years of history and today hosts a hotel, a park, a small museum and some agriculture.

In the historicized courtyard of the castle, two boulders at the foot of the stairs to the church are impossible to ignore. In 2018, this special anniversary year, they became stumbling stones in the truest sense of the words. On one of them the phrase *Am Frieden krank – 1919* is inscribed (fig. 1, p. 136). It translates: "to be sick of peace" or alternatively "sick of the peace". The aristocrats who commissioned them clearly refused the Treaty of Versailles and the new social and political order that followed.

On the occasion of the end-of-war anniversary the DBK-Stiftung wanted to contextualize the inscriptions and commemorate, inform and enable discussions with the regional population of Oberhavel and Prignitz-Ruppin about the historical events that ensued during the post-war period.

The question was how to offer a programme for the public to engage with in a structurally-impoverished, thinly-populated countryside, when there is

Fig. 1: Boulder at the foot of the stairs to the church at Schloss & Gut Liebenberg.

no real museum collection and resources are generally scarce. Networking and cooperation were powerful instruments that helped us to fulfil one responsibility of museums in such regions: to provide easy access to various educational and cultural activities, and places where citizens can engage locally with their historical and cultural heritage. For small institutions like Schloss & Gut Liebenberg, with only one staff member for museum work, this is challenging.

Four institutions – the Brandenburg-Preußen Museum in Wustrau, Jagdschloss Schorfheide, Schloss & Gut Liebenberg and Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand in Berlin – formed a partnership in order to create a coherent programme around this Centenary. The programme dealt with topics that were relevant or took place in the counties of Oberhavel and Ost-Prignitz Ruppin. Under the slogan "*Am Frieden krank" oder Wege in die Demokratie* ("Sick of Peace" or Paths towards Democracy) the programme spanned the fall of 2018. It was designed with the long-term objective of fostering democracy and peace. The concept bound together two exhibitions and three workshop

days for young adults in Liebenberg and Wustrau, six educational plays on peace at primary schools as well as an afternoon symposium in Liebenberg.

In Wustrau, about half an hour's drive from Liebenberg, an exhibition called *1918 Kriegsende / Koniec Wojny* on the end of the First World War and the homecoming soldiers raised questions of identity, rupture and discontinuation. This exhibition was the result of a German-Polish youth project. Students from both countries researched the end of the war in their home countries and engaged with newly-collected source materials written by veterans. On the basis of their findings the exhibition was curated by Claudia Krahnert of the Brandenburg-Preußen Museum.

The only exhibits in Liebenberg on the topic were the aforementioned memorial boulders. Thus the Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand in Berlin assisted with an easily transportable exhibition *Für Freiheit und Republik! Das Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold 1924 bis 1933*. The Reichsbanner was an association of war veterans that supported the Weimar Republic by direct action, demonstrations, social work and election campaigns. Contrary to that, the aristocratic owners of Liebenberg, the von Eulenburg family, were members of the right-wing veterans' association Stahlhelm. The idea was to contrast the two positions to counter the argument of the "weak republic".

Furthermore an educational programme was developed, with three institutions – the Brandenburg-Preußen Museum in Wustrau, Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand and Schloss & Gut Liebenberg – pooling their staff, expertise and other resources. In day-long workshops pupils visited and engaged with both exhibitions in Wustrau and Liebenberg. The aim was to initiate learning processes around dealing with exhibitions, historical artefacts and sources, and thus to enable the pupils to develop their own positions on the matter of war and peace – and ways to secure peace. The workshops reached 90 pupils from two schools, despite the generally-minimal contact with cultural institutions in this region.

On 11 November, the day of the Armistice in 1918, a public symposium was organized to complement the programme. Three talks covered different aspects of the post-war world. Afterwards questions like "Why should we remember the First World War?", "How did contemporaries deal with the aftermath of the war?" and "How did they support or why did they despise the new political and social order?" were discussed enthusiastically.

Through active networking and the pooling of resources, small institutions in the countryside are able to provide high-quality educational opportunities and can thus strengthen their impact and outreach.

Vera Zahnhausen

Weimar – The First German Democracy

A Portal for Sources from the Federal Archives

Facing the upcoming centennial of the November Revolution of 1918 and subsequent centennial anniversaries commemorating the Weimar Republic, and in view of the considerable public attention that these events would receive, the Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives) started a long-term project in 2015. Since then, a great amount of records, films, photographs, posters, maps and audio recordings have been digitised and made available online on a newly-designed website – the Weimar Republic portal.[1] This work is still ongoing. Over the next two years the portal will continuously be complemented and help the visitor to find special sources from the time of the Weimar Republic (fig. 1, p. 139).

As a "custodian" of significant and unique historical sources documenting that period, the Bundesarchiv aims to direct public attention toward the "treasures" that are kept by the archives. At the same time, we are hoping that the project will enhance the overall public perception of the Bundesarchiv as one of the most important institutions for preserving history and cultural memory in the Federal Republic. We also hope that making digitized sources available online will stimulate collaboration with universities and research projects, and that the new Weimar Republic portal will attract new users while strengthening the bonds with existing users. Finally, and not least, the Bundesarchiv is eager to protect its original sources through the use of digital copies.

1 Available at: www.weimar.bundesarchiv.de [Accessed: 10 July 2019].

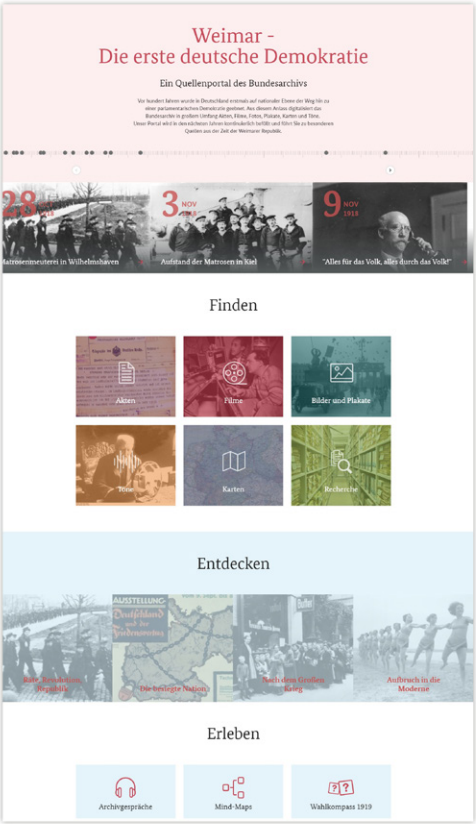

Fig. 1: Detail of the front page. © Bundesarchiv, 2018

Current state of digitisation

Hitherto, approximately 8000 files, 70 documentaries and 30 audio recordings have been digitized for the Weimar Republic portal. Furthermore, there are digitized photos and posters on a large scale: for just the years between 1919 and 1924, more than 4000 digitized photos and nearly 1500 posters are available.

Even if this seems to be a lot of digitized material at first sight, just slightly more than 1% of all textual materials at the Bundesarchiv have been digitized so far; the share of digitized images is only marginally higher.

Different user groups and different ways of access

Digital sources are increasingly interesting for scholarly research, especially if a significant volume of digital copies is made available online, thereby making a visit to the physical archives, if not unnecessary, then at least shorter and easier. The Weimar Republic portal not only aims at scholars and journalists, who – as experts in the areas of research and interpretation – frequently find their way into the archives anyway. We also hope to attract new user groups, such as high school, college and university students, as well as people interested in history who haven't had any previous contact with archival collections. In order to address these different user groups the Weimar Republic portal offers different ways of access:

The *event-orientated access* is a timeline highlighting important political events over the years from 1918 to 1929. An exemplar – normally a document or a photo with a short explanation – illustrates the event and leads to further sources or whole collections.

The *structured access* refers to the different categories of archival material and is a guide to the different databases of the Federal Archives, such as the *Filmothek* or the search application *invenio*.

The *thematic access* includes four subject areas focusing on political upheaval, domestic and foreign policy, and cultural aspects. Virtual galleries accentuate and contextualize exemplar sources.

A kind of *playful access* – particularly suitable for pupils and teachers – invites the visitor to experience history and historical research. There are special offers for listening, watching and simply trying out: expert interviews concerning the background, objectives and perspectives of the source portal; mind maps of sources; and two interactive elements, *Wahlkompass 1919* (Election Compass) and *Spiel der Lebenswege* (Life Courses: A Game).

With these interactive elements the Bundesarchiv explores new methods of historical education and attracts new users. The idea for the *Wahlkompass* (fig. 2, p. 141) and the *Spiel der Lebenswege* was born in close cooperation with the "Verein Weimarer Republik" and with the consultants of "Musealis", an enterprise specializing in developing museum exhibitions.

Fig. 2: Detail of the Election Compass 1919. ©Bundesarchiv, 2018

Conclusion

The Weimar Republic portal aims to attract new users and focus on the user's interest. The Bundesarchiv also is interested in developing relationships with its users: the new portal is meant as an invitation to users to provide feedback.

With a great amount of digitized material the portal is the first step on the road to establishing a digital platform for research and science. It is considered a prototype for the development of future ways of presentation and accessibility.

About the Authors

Photo by Régis Picart, 2014, detail, CC BY-NC, flickr.com

Jan Behrendt is head of research and collections at the Museum of Military History on the Berlin-Gatow airfield. Within ICOM, he is an elected CIDOC board member, responsible for the supervision of the CIDOC Training Association. He is the chair of the CIDOC Working Group for Digital Strategy Development.

Kieran Burns is a senior curator at the House of European History, Brussels, curating its sections on European heritage and memory, 19th century colonialism and science, and the First World War. He is also project leader for *Restless Youth*, the second temporary exhibition of the House. With over 20 years of museum experience, he has written on the need to represent a diversity of historic experiences within the traditional museum environment.

Doran Cart is senior curator at the National World War I Museum and Memorial, Kansas City, Missouri, USA. He has been the Curator since April 1990 and Senior Curator since 2011. He has been in the museum field since 1974. He was involved in the restoration of the memorial, the creation of the current world-class museum and the continuing growth of the museum collection into the most diverse on the war. Doran Cart is a recognized authority in First World War material culture.

Anne Cogan-Krumnow graduated in history, archaeology and cultural management, and has worked for institutions such as the Kulturhistorisches Museum in Magdeburg and the Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin.

Professor Neil Forbes is Associate Dean, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Coventry University, UK. His recent publications include *Cultural Heritage in a Changing World, and Multinational Enterprise, Political Risk and Organisational Change: from Total War to Cold War.* He led the RICHES project – "Renewal, Innovation and Change: Heritage and European Society", and he is currently coordinator of the REACH project – the EU-funded social platform for cultural heritage.

Christina Freund is a cultural scientist, museum expert and curator based in Oldenburg, Germany. After completing a bachelor's degree in cultural anthropology and French philology at the University of Göttingen, she completed the master's degree programme Museum and Exhibition Studies at the University of Oldenburg, where she currently works as a research associate.

Dr Juliane Haubold-Stolle studied history and political science in Göttingen, Torun and Geneva. She worked as a curator and research assistant in different museums. Her current position is in the Nazi Forced Labor Documentation Center (which is part of the "Topography of Terror") in Berlin.

Heather Hughes is Professor of Cultural Heritage Studies at the University in Lincoln. She worked in South Africa for many years and was a researcher for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. She has an interest in difficult and neglected heritage. She has a PhD in History from the University of London and currently also heads up the work of the IBCC Digital Archive.

Natacha Le Duff has directed and curated the Museum of Colours project since its inception. After graduating in 2012 from Sciences-Po, having undertaken studies in cultural management, she created the foundations for a Museum of Colours in Berlin. In parallel, she worked as a cultural mediator in museums and memorials in Berlin.

Markus Moehring is director of the Three-Countries-Museum in Lörrach in the border triangle of France, Germany and Switzerland (www.dreilaendermuseum.eu). He is founder and coordinator of the cross-border museum network in the Upper Rhine Valley. He also organized the project New epoch called "Zeitenwende/Le Tournant 1918/19". During six years Moehring was speaker of the history museums in the German Museums Association.

Karen O'Rourke has worked for National Museums Liverpool since 2002. As a content developer for the Museum of Liverpool development, she researched most aspects of Liverpool history. The Museum opened in 2011 and is the most visited English National Museum outside of London. She maintains the King's Regiment Collection and has managed a rolling programme of exhibitions and events commemorating the First World War Centenary.

Ulrike Smalley studied at Aachen University, focusing on the British First World War artists in her MA thesis. She worked at the Imperial War Museums as senior curator in the Art Department before moving to Wales in 2012. After several years as Creative Producer at Ffotogallery, Ulrike joined Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales as First World War commemoration project coordinator in 2018, where she now works as Exhibitions Project Manager.

Dr Thomas Steller is head of museum and education at the DBK-Stiftung. He studied cultural sciences, European cultural history and history of science, and in 2014 received his PhD for a study on the development of the German Hygiene Museum. He has worked in museums on the cultural history of nineteenth and twentieth century and has curated exhibitions and educational programmes on a variety of topics – for example food consumption and nutrition, the writer Theodor Fontane and the Olympic Village of 1936.

Deborah Tout-Smith is Senior Curator, Home & Community, in the Society & Technology Department of Museums Victoria. She has curated major exhibitions including *World War I: Love & Sorrow* (2014), was co-curator of *The Melbourne Story* (2008), and curates Museum Victoria's Military History, Home & Community and Childhood collections. Deborah is Vice-chair of the Board of ICOM Australia.

Maria Vlachou is executive director of Acesso Cultura and author of the blog Musing on Culture. She was previously Communications Director of São Luiz Municipal Theatre and Head of Communication of Pavilion of Knowledge – Ciência Viva (Lisbon). She was a Board member of ICOM Portugal (2005–14) and *Alumna* of the DeVos Institute of Arts Management at the Kennedy Center in Washington (2011–13). She holds an MA in Museum Studies (University College London, 1994).

Taja Vovk van Gaal is a historian, sociologist and museum advisor. She studied at the University in Ljubljana and has spent most of her working life as a curator of contemporary history, a museum director and cultural manager. Her roles have included Director of the City Museum of Ljubljana, Head of Support at the European Cultural Foundation and Academic Project Leader for the House of European History.

Vera Zahnhausen graduated in archival sciences from the University of Applied Studies for Archival Science in Marburg, and in art history and research from the University of Koblenz. She works at the department for Archival Principles, Standards and Research at the Federal Archives in Koblenz and is in charge of the project of digitisation and online presentation of sources "Weimar – The first German Republic".

Conference Programme

Photo by Guillaume Baviere, 2015, detail, CC BY-SA, flickr.com

Friday, 23 November 2018

15:00–16:00 **Opening Remarks**
Claudia Roth, Vice-President, German Federal Parliament
Beate Reifenscheid, Director, Ludwig Museum, and President, ICOM Germany
Luís Raposo, Chair, ICOM Europe Alliance
Margit Theis-Scholz, Deputy Mayor for Culture, City of Koblenz

16:00–17:00 **Keynote Lecture**
Museums, European Society and Legacy of 1918
Neil Forbes, Professor of International History, Coventry University (USA)

Ab 17:00 **Reception and Tours**
at Ludwig Museum with special exhibition "Pierre Soulages – Noir lumière. Form and gesture in the 1950s"

Saturday, 24 November 2018

9:30–11:00 **Situating Artefacts: How Did Museums Collect, Interpret and Display History from WWI till Today?**
Session Chair: Giuliana Ericani

Commemorating together 1918/19: 30 exhibitions in France, Germany and Switzerland
Markus Moehring, Three-Countries-Museum, Lörrach (D)

The of World War I and the National World War I Museum and Memorial: Special Exhibitions
Doran Cart, National WWI Museum and Memorial, Kansas City (USA)

Reflecting on the First World War
Karen O'Rourke, Museum of Liverpool (UK)

11:30–13:00 **Connecting People: How Has the Perception of Museums Changed between a Hundred Years Ago and Today?**
Session Chair: Luís Raposo

Cymru'Cofio/Wales Remembers – Commemorating and Researching the First World War at Amguddfa Cymru
Ulrike Smalley, National Museums Wales (UK)

A Democratic Way of Understanding the Great War
Jonathan R. Casey, National WWI Museum and Memorial, Kansas City (USA)

Why it is so difficult to remember 1918?
Juliane Haubold-Stolle, Topographie des Terrors, Berlin (D)

14:00–15:30 **Corssing Borders – Real and Digital**
Session Chair: Monika Hagedorn-Saupe

Beyond Borders: Representing the First World War in a transnational museum
Kieran Burns, House of European History, Brussels (B)

"Compelled to act": museums in a post-centenary world
Deborah Tout-Smith, Museums Victoria, Melbourne, and ICOM Australia

From the trenches to the web – Europe's "hidden" history on Europeana 1914–1918
Ad Pollé, EUROPEANA Foundation (NL)

16:00–18:00 **Project Slam**
Host: Klaus Staubermann

Presenters include Jan Behrendt, Giuliana Ericani/ Daniele Jallà, Christina Freund, Marc Holzheimer, Heather Hughes, Natacha Le Duff, Thomas Rössler, Thomas Steller and Vera Zahnhausen.

Sunday, 25 November 2018

9:30–10:30 **Museums in the 21st Century: What Are the Challenges and Perspectives for Museums?**
Session Chair: Jacques Terriere

Where do we go from here? This is the real dope
Maria Vlachou, Cultural Management and Communications Consultant, Lisbon (P)

The House of Austrian History: Establishing a 21st century museum in a changing political landscape
Monika Sommer, Haus der Geschichte, Vienna (A)

10:30–11:30 Closing lecture: Out of the comfort zone
Taja Vovk van Gaal, Creative Director, House of European History, Brussels (B)

11:30–12:00 Joint ICOM EUROPE and ICOM Germany Statement
Luís Raposo, Chair, ICOM EUROPE, and
Beate Reifenscheid, President, ICOM Germany

Lieferbare Publikationen von ICOM Deutschland

Museums, Borders and European Responsibility – One Hundred Years after the First World War. Proceedings of the ICOM European conference 2018. Hrsg. von Deborah Tout-Smith. Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net 2019. 156 S. Beiträge zur Museologie, Bd. 8. e-ISBN 978-3-947449-90-3. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.564

Difficult Issues. Proceedings of the ICOM international conference 2017. Hrsg. von ICOM Deutschland. Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net 2019. 216 S. Beiträge zur Museologie, Bd. 7. ISBN 978-3-947449-22-4 (PDF) DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.428. ISBN 978-3-947449-23-1 (Softcover). 15,00 Euro*

Von der Weltausstellung zum Science Lab. Handel – Industrie – Museum. Tagungsband der Jahrestagung von ICOM Deutschland 2016. Hrsg. von ICOM Deutschland. Berlin: ICOM Deutschland 2017. 168 S. Beiträge zur Museologie, Bd. 6. ISBN 978-3-00-056206-8. 15,00 Euro*

Waentig, Friederike; Melanie Dropmann, Karin Konold, Elise Spiegel, Christoph Wenzel: Präventive Konservierung. Ein Leitfaden. Berlin: ICOM Deutschland 2014. 84 S. Beiträge zur Museologie, Bd. 5. ISBN 978-3-00-046939-8 (Gratis)

Zur Ethik des Bewahrens. Tagungsband der Jahrestagung von ICOM Deutschland 2013. Hrsg. von ICOM Deutschland. Berlin: ICOM Deutschland 2014. 148 S. Beiträge zur Museologie, Bd. 4. ISBN 978-3-00-045736-4. 15,00 Euro*

60 Jahre ICOM Deutschland. Ein Rückblick auf die deutsch-deutsche Geschichte von ICOM Deutschland 1953 bis 2013. Hrsg. von ICOM Deutschland. Berlin: ICOM Deutschland 2013. 56 S. (Gratis)

Die Ethik des Sammelns. Tagungsband der Jahrestagung von ICOM Deutschland 2010. Hrsg. von ICOM Deutschland. Berlin: ICOM Deutschland 2011. 176 S. Beiträge zur Museologie, Bd. 3. ISBN 978-3-00-034461-9. 15,00 Euro*

Museen und Denkmäler – Historisches Erbe und Kulturtourismus. Tagungsband des Internationalen Bodensee-Symposiums 2009. Hrsg. von ICOM Deutschland. Berlin: ICOM Deutschland 2010. 176 S. Beiträge zur Museologie, Bd. 2. ISBN 978-3-00-028961-3. 15,00 Euro**

Definition des CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model. Hrsg. und übersetzt aus dem Engl. von K.-H. Lampe, S. Krause, M. Doerr. Berlin: ICOM Deutschland 2010. 208 S. Beiträge zur Museologie, Bd. 1. ISBN 978-3-00-030907-6. 10,00 Euro

Ethische Richtlinien für Museen von ICOM. Hrsg. von ICOM Schweiz, ICOM Deutschland und ICOM Österreich. Dt. Fassung. 2., überarb. Aufl. Zürich: ICOM Schweiz 2010. 32 S. ISBN 978-3-9523484-5-1. 4,00 Euro

Wissenschaftskommunikation – Perspektiven der Ausbildung – Lernen im Museum. Hrsg. von ICOM Deutschland, ICOM Frankreich und Deutsches Technikmuseum. Frankfurt am Main u.a.: Peter Lang 2009. 166 S. ISBN 978-3-631-58095-0. 15,00 Euro*

Das Museum als Global Village. Versuch einer Standortbestimmung am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Internationales Symposium am Bodensee 2000. Hrsg. von Hans-Martin Hinz. Frankfurt am Main u.a.: Peter Lang 2001. 162 S. ISBN 3-631-37692-8. 15,00 Euro

Museen unter Rentabilitätsdruck. Engpässe – Sackgassen – Auswege. Bericht zum internationalen Symposium am Bodensee 1997. Hrsg. von Hans-Albert Treff. München 1998. 279 S. ISBN 3-00-002395-X. 20,00 Euro

Reif für das Museum? Ausbildung – Fortbildung – Einbildung. Bericht zum internationalen Symposium am Bodensee 1994. Hrsg. von Hans-Albert Treff. Münster: Ardey-Verlag 1995. 258 S. ISBN 3-87023-050-9. 10,00 Euro

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Museum und Denkmalpflege. Bericht über das internationale Symposium am Bodensee 1991. Hrsg. von Hermann Auer. München u.a.: Saur 1992. 257 S. ISBN 3-598-11107-X. 12,00 Euro

Museologie – Neue Wege – Neue Ziele. Bericht zum internationalen Symposium am Bodensee 1988. Hrsg. von Hermann Auer. München u.a.: Saur, 1989. 289 S. ISBN 3-598-10809-5. 5,00 Euro

Chancen und Grenzen moderner Technologien im Museum. Bericht zum internationalen Symposium am Bodensee 1985. Hrsg. von Hermann Auer. München u.a.: Saur 1986. 241 S. ISBN 3-598-10631-9. 5,00 Euro

Das Museum und die Dritte Welt. Bericht über das internationale Symposium am Bodensee 1979. Hrsg. von Hermann Auer. München u.a.: Saur 1981. 357 S. ISBN 3-598-10346-8. 5,00 Euro

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Museen sind die Schatzkammern des Kulturerbes, Orte der Erinnerung und der Selbstvergewisserung. Aber wessen Geschichten erzählen sie und warum? Woran wird in Museen erinnert und was vergessen? – Hundert Jahre nach dem Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs befassen sich Museumspraktiker und Wissenschaftler aus Europa und anderen Teilen der Welt aufs Neue mit dessen Auswirkungen. Sie reflektieren die Rolle, die Museen bei der präzisen und authentischen Darstellung des Krieges, der Gestaltung des Gedenkens und der Bewahrung seines Vermächtnisses spielen. Sie untersuchen komplexe Themen, darunter widersprüchliche Wahrnehmungen des Krieges, seine politischen Folgen und die Frage nach der europäischen Verantwortung. Sie plädieren für die selbstbewusste Berücksichtigung kritischer Stimmen und unterschiedlicher Perspektiven sowie dafür, die Auswirkungen von Gewalt und Dogmen auf die europäische Gesellschaft zu überdenken.

Museums are the treasure troves of cultural heritage, places of remembrance and self-assurance. But whose stories are they telling, and why? What is remembered in museums, and what is forgotten? – One hundred years after the end of the First World War, museum practitioners and scholars from Europe and beyond reflect anew on the impacts of the war. They consider the central role museums play in the accurate and authentic representation of war, the shaping of commemoration and the preservation of war's legacy. They explore difficult issues including conflicting perspectives of war, political influence and the question of European responsibility. They argue for the confident inclusion of critical voices and diverse perspectives, and deeper thinking about the impact of violence and dogma on European society.