



LONDON AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

In the Shadow of Big Ben

Stuart Burch

ROUTLEDGE



London and the Politics of Memory

This book provides an original, impassioned exploration of memory studies and the uses of the past in the present. It capitalises on London's global appeal and Big Ben's iconic status. Moving beyond this familiar facade the reader will journey around the hidden histories of Westminster's streets, squares and statues. This tangible heritage supports a diversity of contested memories. The rationale for this approach is that, by linking theory with empirical examples, it becomes possible to tackle complex issues in a grounded, accessible manner. Readers will be encouraged to use this case study as a framework for addressing the politics of memory in their own lives as well as in other places, not just in Britain but around the world. This book will be of interest to scholars and students from a wide variety of disciplines including, but not limited to, sociology, culture and media studies, English literature, film and television studies, global studies, heritage studies, history, politics and human geography.

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Memory Studies: Global Constellations

<https://www.routledge.com/sociology/series/ASHSER1411>

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The ‘past in the present’ has returned in the early twenty-first century with a vengeance and with it the expansion of categories of experience. These experiences have largely been lost in the advance of rationalist and constructivist understandings of subjectivity and their collective representations. The cultural stakes around forgetting, ‘useful forgetting’ and remembering, locally, regionally, nationally and globally have risen exponentially. It is therefore not unusual that ‘migrant memories’; micro-histories; personal and individual memories in their interwoven relation to cultural, political and social narratives; the mnemonic past and present of emotions, embodiment and ritual; and finally, the mnemonic spatiality of geography and territories are receiving more pronounced hearings.

This transpires as the social sciences themselves are consciously globalising their knowledge bases. In addition to the above, the reconstructive logic of memory in the juggernaut of galloping informationalisation is rendering it more and more publicly accessible and therefore part of a new global public constellation around the coding of meaning and experience. Memory studies as an academic field of social and cultural inquiry emerges at a time when global public debate – buttressed by the fragmentation of national narratives – has accelerated. Societies today, in late globalised conditions, are pregnant with newly unmediated and unfrozen memories once sequestered in wide collective representations. We welcome manuscripts that examine and analyse these profound cultural traces.

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First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-4724-4638-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-59291-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

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Minute prologue

The time is just coming up to 11 o'clock on Thursday, May 25, 2017. I'm in my kitchen preparing a much-needed cup of coffee and reflecting on the thought that every morning marks a fresh start. This terribly profound insight was prompted by the song coming from the radio: 'New Day', a recently released single by Take That.¹ This ageing boyband formed in Manchester in 1990 had just returned home to complete the first half of a six-night residency at Manchester Arena. In their latest hit, they urged fans to put aside bad dreams and yesterday's headlines in favour of looking to the future, secure in the belief that no one need fall so long as we all stick together and build for tomorrow.

There is a horrible disparity between this wishful thinking and the event that had occurred at Manchester Arena a few days earlier. Late in the evening of Monday, May 22, with American singer Ariana Grande having just left the stage, a suicide bomber detonated an explosive device that killed 22 children and adults. This tragedy gave particular poignancy to the 'blandly uplifting lyrics' of Take That's latest vacuous pop song.²

Sipping coffee as the refrain 'every morning it is a brand-new day' repeated for the final time, I was invited by the radio DJ to remember the victims of the Manchester attack. A prelude to this shift in mood was provided by a soothing track called 'Somewhere in Time', the title piece of John Barry's score for a film of the same name. This tearjerker is based on Richard Matheson's time-travelling romance novel, *Bid Time Return* (1975), which in turn derives its title from Shakespeare's play, *Richard II*: 'O call back yesterday, bid time return' (Act III, Scene 2). This movie soundtrack was an excellent choice given that it concerns a protagonist who uses music as a 'connective tissue' enabling him to transpose himself from the present to the past; the emotion serving as a temporal 'anchor' is an abiding love for one who once was alive but now is dead (Matheson 1975: 88, 237). And so, as the notes of Barry's music faded, a continuity announcer stated that it was now time to 'pause' and 'join the nation in a minute's silence'.

What followed, however, was not noiselessness but a series of melodious clings and clangs followed by the sonorous sound of a large bell striking 11 times. The reverberations of the final chime ushered in a brief moment of actual broadcast silence before the announcer came back on air to give the hourly news bulletin. This brought an abrupt end to reflections on recent loss as attention shifted to the

troubled present. Striving to stem or even reverse the ceaseless flow of events is futile. Even Richard Matheson's protagonist is compelled to accept a heartrending truth: 'Time, of course, did not and could not stop' (Matheson 1975: 266). Thus, even this act of remembering yielded to the uncomfortable spectre of forgetting: for those not directly affected, a tragedy – no matter how awful – is destined to become 'yesterday's news'. And, as Take That remind us: 'yesterday's blues is just a shade of colour'.

Getting others to 'call back yesterday', therefore, takes conscious effort and planning. Hence the carefully choreographed stratagem deployed by the radio station: a general pause was signalled, preceded by calming instrumental music and then the chimes of an unidentified clock striking the hour. That this was no one-off occurrence was confirmed by the fact that this same procedure was repeated 12 days later. John Barry's strings, flute and piano were replaced by James Newton Howard's main title to another past-in-the-present romantic movie, *The Prince of Tides* (1991). The continuity announcer's words were, however, identical: 'And now we pause to join the nation in a minute's silence to remember ...' This time attention shifted from an arena in Manchester to a river crossing in the British capital: shortly after 10 pm on Saturday, June 3, 2017, a van was deliberately crashed into pedestrians on London Bridge. Three men then abandoned the vehicle and made their way to the nearby Borough Market, knifing bystanders as they went. Eight people were killed before the assailants were shot dead by police marksmen.

The two radio silences recalling these heinous crimes made no mention of the bell deployed to 'bid time return'. However, an internet search provided a visual clue as to its identity. Archived on the radio station's website is a close-up photograph of an ornate clock face set into a richly decorated and apparently ancient stone tower. The image is dated midday on July 3, 2015. This was the moment of another act of collective mourning, this time for the 30 Britons who had been shot dead exactly a week earlier during a terrorist attack on a tourist resort near the Tunisian city of Sousse.³ Advance notice of the commemoration was provided in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister. He informed parliament that this interim act of remembrance would be followed by a 'fitting memorial' to be designed 'in consultation with the families'.⁴ Such tangible edifices take time to build. The immediate need to remember necessitates more ephemeral, intangible acts. Hence the sight of a flower-strewn St Ann's Square in the wake of the Manchester attack: each bloom was a fleeting tribute to the victims, living and dead.⁵ Their families received memorial books into which were pressed petals from the bouquets. The remaining organic waste was composted 'to help new life flourish'. Charities were given the various toys and other tributes left in the square. The written messages were documented and preserved in the city archives and museum to form a new chapter in Manchester's social history. In addition, this commemorative act prompted a fresh commitment to remembering with the cleaning and restoration of an already-extant memorial in the square: Hamo Thornycroft's bronze statue erected in 1908 to commemorate those members of the Manchester Regiment who died in the South African War (1899–1902). These individuals are listed on plaques attached to three sides of the granite pedestal

together with a reference to ‘those others who cannot be named’ – a memorial reminder of forgetfulness and a frank admission that ‘not all those killed in the war were recorded’ (Wyke & Cocks 2004: 126).⁶

But coming together in a show of support does not require a physical pilgrimage or a tangible token. Even a solitary coffee drinker sat at home listening to the radio was able to participate in a ‘Minute Prologue’ whereby the healing power of a carefully chosen song followed by a brief hiatus provided a temporary salve to the pain and dissension bedevilling the world.⁷ I was encouraged to believe that everyone in the nation was observing the same ritual of remembrance. Each person was of necessity alone with his or her thoughts. But there was a sonic glue binding us together: an amplified bell. The sound it produces has been heard on the air-waves since 1923. As a result, its reach extends around the world. Today the bell and the tower in which it is housed are global icons. Consequently, their symbolic significance far exceeds practical considerations of keeping and transmitting time.

That utilitarian objects readily accrue commemorative associations and memorial functions became grimly apparent as the sun rose over London on Wednesday, June 14, 2017. Shortly after midnight, a faulty domestic appliance caused an electrical fire to break out in Grenfell Tower, a 24-storey, 67m tall residential high-rise in North Kensington. Combustible cladding recently attached to the façade was swiftly blamed for having exacerbated the blaze, with devastating consequences. Five days later – at 11 o’clock on June 19 – firefighters and local residents paused to observe a minute’s silence at the foot of the gutted building. They were joined by people across the nation. And so, for the third time in quick succession, I found myself sat in my kitchen communing with a distant bell that was chiming a little over five miles from the site of this latest national tragedy.⁸

On the day of the official minute’s silence for those children and adults left dead, injured and bereft, the number of Grenfell’s fatalities was estimated at 79, although such was the intensity of the fire that only five of these victims had been formally identified.⁹ The political fallout from this calamity was addressed at length on BBC Radio 4. Its extended bulletin at 6 pm began – as usual – with those same chimes from the bell that seven hours earlier had rung from one London tower to mourn the fate of another. Reporting from the site, journalist Peter Hunt likened Grenfell’s charred silhouette to an accusatory finger singling out the authorities for the official failings that had contributed to the catastrophe. He added that this ‘visible reminder’ of the dead was continuing to garner a great deal of attention, not all of which was welcome. Sadly, one thing guaranteed to attract a crowd is fire (Canetti 1978: 20). Admonishments appeared on social media decrying Grenfell selfie-takers.¹⁰ The BBC’s correspondent noted that the police had felt obliged to erect a sign at the perimeter cordon reading: ‘Stop taking pictures please, this is not a tourist attraction’.¹¹ That this was a vain hope is clear to anyone familiar with ‘thanatourism’, a term derived from the Greek word for death and used to characterise an (un)healthy fascination with sites of human suffering. Agonies of an unimaginable kind had transformed an otherwise unremarkable concrete skyscraper into a fatal attraction sought out by eager tombstone tourists.

Grenfell Tower was completed in 1974, the same year that *The Towering Inferno* received its cinematic release. Such was the extent of the former's devastation that the media resorted to references to this fictitious precursor and other comparable 'disaster movies'.¹² The copious compendium of such films means that all manner of preternatural fates have been imagined for the world's most recognisable monuments. The clock tower at the heart of this book is no exception. It has been variously frozen, incinerated, sunk, mutated, detonated, occupied and abandoned by a litany of natural disasters, manmade assaults and extra-terrestrial attacks. Thus, even if you have never seen or heard it with your own eyes and ears, this very special timepiece will exist in your mind. So, before continuing, pause for a minute in silent remembrance of this polyphonic memorial.

Notes

- 1 Gary Barlow, Howard Donald, Mark Owen & Simon Strömstedt, 'New Day', *Wonderland*, Polydor, 2017, #3, 3:30.
- 2 David Smyth, 'Business as usual for Gary's gang', *The Evening Standard* (London), 24 March 2017, pp. 36–7.
- 3 'One minute silence', Friday July 3, 2015, 12:00, BBC Radio 2, www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b062x1tg.
- 4 *Hansard*, HC Deb 29 June 2015, 597 (24), cc. 1172–1173, 1181. This was the 'National memorial to British victims of overseas terrorism' at the National Memorial Arboretum in Staffordshire, completed in December 2017 and inaugurated on Thursday May 17, 2018.
- 5 Beth Abbit, 'Flowers of tribute will never fade', *Manchester Evening News*, 9 June 2017, p. 5.
- 6 Among the missing names was Edward Daniel Scott (born in Disley, Cheshire on February 7, 1853), a freelance correspondent for the *Manchester Courier*. His headstone at Monton Unitarian Church in Eccles, Greater Manchester, states that he 'was accidentally killed at Rietfontein, South Africa, July 26, 1902'.
- 7 Such sentiments are best articulated by the poet Leonard Cohen in his song, 'Minute Prologue', *Live Songs*, Columbia, 1973, #1, 1:12.
- 8 The comforting music on this occasion was provided by the Hallé orchestra playing 'Suo Gân', a Welsh lullaby about a child enveloped in its mother's protective, loving arms. During this period, a fourth minute's silence was observed at midday on Monday June 26, 2017, one week after a vehicle attack on worshippers exiting Finsbury Park Mosque in London. The musical prelude to the chimes of Big Ben was provided by John Barry's 'The John Dunbar Theme' from the film, *Dances With Wolves* (1990).
- 9 The total number of fatalities was later deemed to be 72. Of that total, 18 were children, including a stillborn baby and a pensioner who died in hospital seven months after her rescue from Grenfell Tower's 19th floor.
- 10 Selfie: 'A photographic self-portrait; esp. one taken with a smartphone or webcam and shared via social media'. Source: www.oed.com/view/Entry/390063. Anon, 'How can Grenfell Tower selfie addicts be so crass?', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 30 June 2017, p. 11; Maya Oppenheim, 'Grenfell Tower residents urge visitors to stop taking selfies: "You want to slap the phones out of their hands"; Local says there has been a "party atmosphere" among certain visitors', *The Independent* (London), 20 June 2017, www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/grenfell-tower-residents-selfies-angry-grief-tourism-party-a7799591.html.
- 11 Peter Hunt, Six O'Clock News, BBC Radio 4, 19 June 2017.
- 12 Christopher Brooker, 'Grenfell: tombstone to a megalomaniac dream', *The Sunday Telegraph* (London), 18 June 2017, Business section, p. 22.

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Picture time preamble



Figure 0.1 Palace of Westminster, c. 1915.

Credit: The Art Archive/NGS Image Collection.

Stop reading. Study this picture instead. I mean really *look* at it. What did you see? Pause and reflect on the associations and impressions that the image has inspired. And don't continue reading until you have collected these thoughts. Now sneak another peek. Because you can't unring a bell. This image will not be quite the same once you turn the page and begin reading. This is your last chance to form your own ideas before my written words start to take over even more than they have done already.

So take time to look.

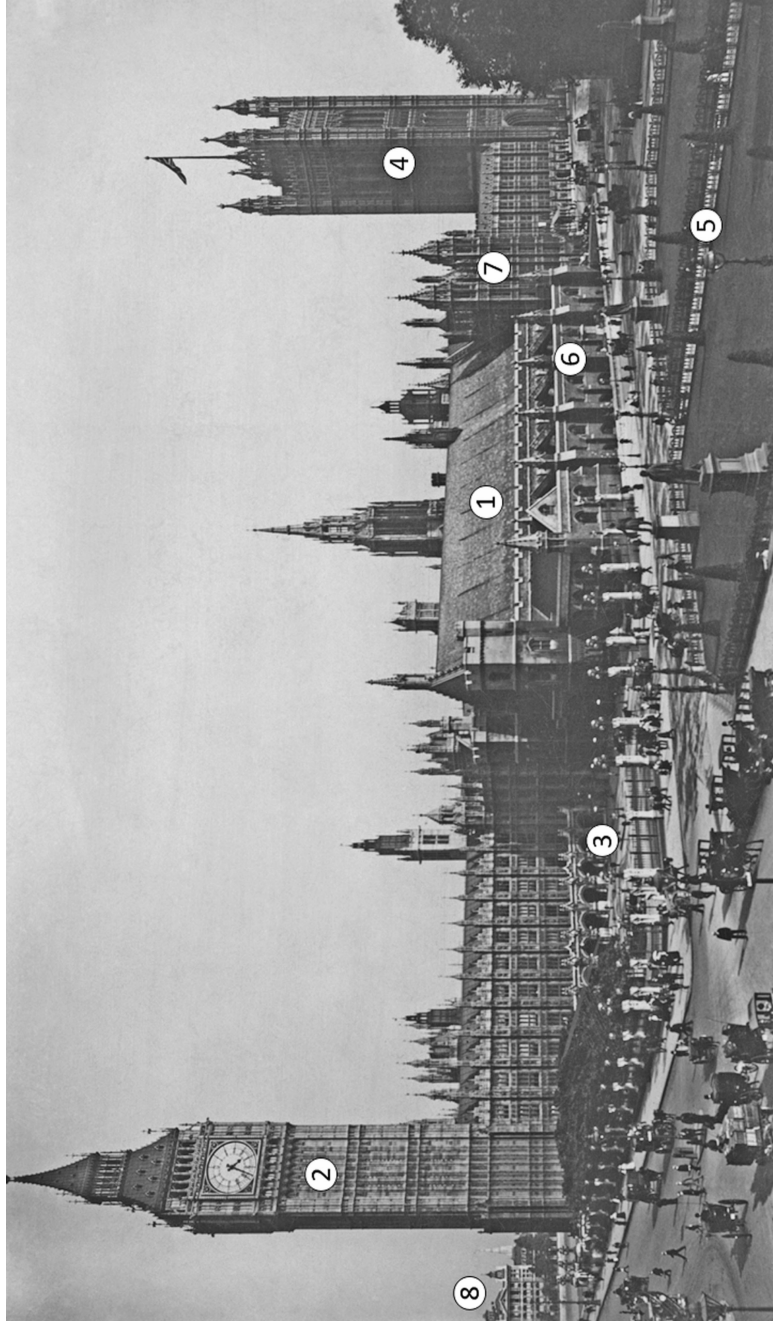


Figure 1.1 Palace of Westminster (annotated by author), c. 1915/2019.
Credit: The Art Archive/NGS Image Collection.

1 Rock around the clock

The image seen in the preamble (Figure 1.1) shows one of those ‘sights [that] fix themselves upon the mind’ (Woolf 2015: 58). It was photographed just over a century before the publication of this book. The views then and now are remarkably similar. The ancient building, unchanged over the centuries, exudes *monumentality*: ‘a spiritual quality inherent in a structure which conveys the feeling of eternity, that it cannot be added to or changed’ (Kahn 1991: 18). It is surely destined to remain inviolate, frozen in time like this black and white image.

But is this really the case? Firstly, how old are the things we see? The precise date of the photograph is uncertain, but it was probably taken during the First World War. If so, the building had stood complete for less than 50 years. Imagine if one of the taxis captured on camera carried an improbably elderly passenger in her late 80s. Born a decade after Queen Victoria this octogenarian would have had childhood memories of a very different scene. Picture her as a babe in arms, her wide eyes aglow with the flames that began to lick the building in the early evening of Thursday, October 16, 1834. She would have clutched her mother tight as they jostled for space alongside crowds of spectators marvelling at the sublime devastation wrought by an inferno then engulfing parliament. This is captured for perpetuity in a series of paintings and sketches by J.M.W. Turner, who is believed to have numbered among the swarm of people eager to feast their eyes on the dazzling sight.

So, whilst this pseudo-Gothic building looks terribly old, it is in fact a Victorian building – *with a notable exception*. The sloping roof at the centre covers a far older structure that escaped the flames (see [1] of Figure 1.1). This is Westminster Hall erected in 1097. I remember when the 101-year-old body of Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother lay in state there in April 2002. And I am part of a group whose intergenerational cultural memory recalls things that happened there long before any of us were born (Assmann 2006: 3). This includes the trial of King Charles I that took place in Westminster Hall in January 1649.

Such is the brilliance of the nineteenth century building that it seamlessly incorporates this phoenix into the new structure. The hall runs parallel with the spine of the replacement building. The two houses of parliament are at either end: lords to the right, commoners to the left. This arrangement was the brainchild of Charles Barry (1795–1860). He, together with Augustus Pugin (1812–52) and a phalanx of labourers, created one of the most famous monuments on the planet. Indeed, it is so well known that people the world over recognise this building and

2 *Rock around the clock*

equate it with Britain, England and Westminster as well as power, politics and democracy. The edifice's most famous facet is the cynosure of this book: Big Ben (see [2] of Figure 1.1). I deliberately avoided naming it in the prologue. This is because its most familiar moniker is as misleading as the specious antiquity of the building. 'Big Ben' refers to the great bell inside the Clock Tower, which today goes by the official title of 'the Elizabeth Tower'. Names matter. Another epithet for the Houses of Parliament is the New Palace at Westminster. And it *is* a palace. Or, rather, two: with one built on the embers of the first. Its current façades are swathed in statues and insignia of monarchs through the ages. Looming over them are the apparitions of two matriarchs: Elizabeth II at one end and Queen Victoria at the other. The Victoria Tower (see [4] of Figure 1.1) houses the grand Sovereign's Entrance, the use of which is reserved solely for the reigning monarch. The presence of so much unelected nobility – dead and alive – is remarkable given that this 'mother of parliaments' is so closely associated with democracy.

Stretching out beneath each tower are two 'yards', one ancient and the other slightly more modern. At the foot of Big Ben is New Palace Yard (see [3] of Figure 1.1) while to the south end of Westminster Hall is Old Palace Yard. In the foreground of the photograph is another clearing: Parliament Square. It links with Westminster Bridge spanning the River Thames to the east whilst, to the north, Trafalgar Square is reached via a thoroughfare whose name is a metonym for the government of Britain:

Surely *Whitehall* – including in the place-name that historic half-mile from Westminster Abbey to Trafalgar Square, containing the Houses of Parliament, Downing Street and the Government Offices – is the heart of the Realm. Here our laws are made and our affairs administered. More than ever to-day [August 1916] Whitehall is the centre of the picture.

(MacDonagh 1935: 116)

Regnant over this traditionally male zone of influence is 'the large white clock of Westminster' (Woolf 1960: 171; Woolf 1943: 86, 92–95).

This landscape encompasses key components of the architectural and administrative bastions of the state. Yet shadowing this control 'from above' are protests 'from below'. One such manifestation in recent times is the Million Mask March organised by a loose affiliation of activist groups known as Anonymous. In 2013, they began an annual tradition of marking Guy Fawkes Night – the commemoration of November 5, 1605 and the abortive 'Gunpowder Plot' to blow up the House of Lords. The facial coverings worn by the masked marchers are inspired by the film, *V for Vendetta* (2006), the denouement of which sees the Palace of Westminster besieged by thousands of veiled protestors. They uncover their faces in time to see parliament's spectacular destruction by a bomb delivered via a London Underground train. To date, masked marchers in the real world have achieved more 'limited mayhem'.¹ In 2015, for instance, the Metropolitan Police sanctioned the Million Mask March, but insisted that static assembly could only take place in Trafalgar Square plus the centre of Parliament Square and within a

tightly defined area running down the eastern side of Whitehall opposite Downing Street.² Nevertheless, some participants departed from the agreed route and congregated outside Buckingham Palace and the Churchill Museum and Cabinet War Rooms. This led to a series of public order offences, including the torching of a police car.³

Such illegality and violent protest serve as regular reminders that these places of officialdom also provide forums for all manner of peering, jeering, cheering people, a narrow selection of whom feature in the pages that follow. These actors play out their impromptu performances, then clear the stage in readiness for the next drama to unfold. Yet the environs of parliament are never devoid of memory and meaning, even during the hiatus between shows. Indeed, these ceremonial spaces were once bustling with everyday life – and death. Parliament Square, for example, occupies land that once provided the burial ground of St Margaret's Church. This religious building is situated between parliament and the far larger Westminster Abbey, invisible just beyond the right edge of the photograph. In the early nineteenth century the bodies buried in the abandoned churchyard were exhumed and the headstones expunged as part of a long-running effort to sanitise the area (Burch 2002).

The vista reproduced here is thus the product of careful effacement and occlusion combined with selective accretion and imposition. Hence the commemorative ring of statues encircling the island square (see [5] of Figure 1.1). These are just a small sample of the plethora of petrified people pedestaled across central London. Walking the streets of Westminster, it is impossible to avoid bumping into the living dead in a realm that positively 'bristles with monuments' (cf. Ward-Jackson 2011: xix; Augé 1997: 60). Turn left at the photograph, go past two cenotaphs, four Field Marshals, a couple of dukes and the spot where Charles I was beheaded and you will find yourself in another commemorative forum: Trafalgar Square with its admirable column.

Many of these men (and occasional women) are transmogrified into metal and elevated on stone pedestals. Like the buildings around which they orbit these 'bronze heroes' exude an aura of immutability (Woolf 2015: 18, 46). In truth, however, monuments and memorials are far more capricious. The pantheon of statesmen seen in this image still exists, albeit in a different guise. Parliament Square's ornate railings were melted down during the Second World War, and, soon afterwards, the statues were cleared out of the way to make room for the purported 'greatest Briton'. He glares at Big Ben to this day. The walking stick supporting his gargantuan frame skewers a plinth just to the right of where those Edwardian taxis are waiting. This colossus will emerge from the shadow of the Clock Tower later on in our story. For the time being, all you need know is that Big Ben was so upset by the death of this esteemed statesman that it declined to chime.

This absence of sound reminds us that, although the opening photograph affords us a glimpse into the past, it leaves our other senses deprived. What was the quality of Westminster's acoustic landscape in, say, October 1914? Listen in later to hear the answer to this question and to enjoy a splash of colour. Like the

missing audio track, black and white photographs of a century ago make it impossible to determine the precise palette of parliament's ornate architectural details, not least the mighty clock faces so sumptuously decorated by Pugin. We shall see how this generated some colourful language during a subsequent restoration. Regular renovation is essential if this historic building is to endure. The fact that the Palace of Westminster is currently in a dilapidated state is a painful reminder that, without timely maintenance, Big Ben 'is nothing but steel rods consumed by rust' (Woolf 2012: 3).

Tellingly, the degradations wrought by atmospheric pollution are evident in the very earliest published book of photographs: William Henry Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* (1844). In it, its author bemoaned the 'swarthy hue' of London's 'stately edifices'. The city's polluted air robbed stonework of its natural colour and texture. Talbot chose to illustrate this with a photograph of Westminster Abbey. The ecclesiastical building's blackened stone would have looked particularly lamentable in comparison with the fresh masonry of the nascent Palace of Westminster then taking shape across the road.

Our photograph, shot several decades later, reveals how rapidly it too had succumbed to the 'smoky atmosphere' so detested by Talbot. Its 'swarthy' appearance is mitigated by the glorious afternoon sunshine captured as it cascades over the west front of the Houses of Parliament. The Union Jack fluttering over the Victoria Tower indicates that parliament is in session.⁴ As the sun set on that day the flag would have been lowered and succeeded by the 'Ayrton light' shining from the top of the Clock Tower. This is in itself a memorial, named as it is after the politician who introduced it in 1873. Originally the lamp faced in only one direction and addressed a single person: Queen Victoria, who could peer out from a Buckingham Palace window to see if her parliament was in session (McKay 2010: 21).⁵ Now omnidirectional, this beacon still shines during hours of darkness and remains lit until all the politicians have gone to bed, exhausted after another hard day in the debating chambers. During the two world wars, however, this lamp of democracy was extinguished. This is far from the only occasion that conflict has cast its fearful shadow. Indeed, a central concern of this book is the extent to which war and its memory form the bedrock of parliament and its environs.

Interestingly, I experienced a palpable sense that London was on a war footing whenever conducting primary research. Each visit to the Parliamentary Archives then housed inside the Victoria Tower gave rise to an elaborate screening process designed to root out persons of a nefarious disposition. That such people pose a genuine threat received tragic confirmation on Wednesday, March 22, 2017. On that day, a man forced his way into New Palace Yard and fatally stabbed a police officer before being shot dead. This was a grim echo of an earlier attack on the Canadian parliament in Ottawa. On October 22, 2014, a gunman was killed within the main building. He had stormed inside after murdering a soldier standing on duty at the nearby National War Memorial. This is adjacent to Canada's parliament, which is dominated by the Peace Tower – just as the Palace of Westminster has Big Ben and the nearby Cenotaph on Whitehall. The fact that these are highly recognisable and significant landmarks that connect with sacred causes accords

them special status and attention. They require constant monitoring and safeguarding against ‘attack[s] on all boundaries’ (Canetti 1978: 20), be they physical, ideological or – increasingly – cyber. For instance, the British parliament’s computer network came under a sustained but largely ineffectual assault on June 24, 2017. The firewalls that helped keep these virtual intruders at bay constitute digital analogues to the barriers that ring the architectural perimeter.⁶ When any of these defences fail, the results can have far-reaching consequences. A notable date in the history of insurrection is October 30, 2014 – the day when the National Assembly of Burkina Faso was stormed by thousands of protestors and set ablaze. Violence had already occurred in the country’s second city, Bobo-Dioulasso, where demonstrators toppled a statue of Blaise Compaoré, sending this erstwhile president scurrying into exile and ending his 27-year reign.

Parliamentary landscapes in nations around the world serve as democratic touchstones. The balance between freedom and control takes physical form at the legislative heart of every country. In the century-old photograph of the British parliament, for example, it is notable that gates and railings have always encircled the Palace of Westminster. Barriers and checkpoints are an easily overlooked and sadly taken-for-granted aspect of our increasingly securitised world. The consequences of this in terms of architectural heritage are apparent in relation to the statue of Oliver Cromwell (see [6] of Figure 1.1). In the mid-1980s the parliamentary authorities contemplated adding extra railings to bolster security whilst maintaining a ‘reasonable view’ of the sculpture. This was a response to the attempted assassination of the Prime Minister in the bombing of Brighton’s Grand Hotel on October 12, 1984. The challenge, however, was to provide ‘the necessary level of protection, without spoiling the look’ of the Palace of Westminster, which was deemed to be ‘the most famous and distinguished secular building in the country’. It was heritage concerns such as these that prevented the authorities from topping the temporary fencing with ‘a roll of barbed wire’.⁷ On August 15, 2018, newspapers published dramatic photographs of Cromwell’s statue. The bronze Lord Protector of the Commonwealth could be seen mournfully surveying a scene of crushed bicycles and injured riders following a car attack on parliament’s perimeter. This incident was a vivid reminder that such threats continue, even after the enemies have changed.⁸

Defensive measures were strongly in evidence each time I made my way to the archives. Visitors to parliament were directed along a path running parallel with the wall adjacent to the Cromwell statue. This led down to a temporary structure housing an airport-style screening area (see Figure 1.2). This checkpoint together with the unsightly barriers had hindered would-be suicide bombers since 2003. The barricades have now been extended to include Westminster Bridge following the attack of March 22, 2017. This is because the knife-man who forced his way into New Palace Yard had driven a CUV into scores of pedestrians on the bridge before crashing the vehicle into the perimeter railings on the north side of parliament. In the wake of this and the subsequent London Bridge attacks it is difficult to imagine a foreseeable future in which visitors would once again be able to enter parliament through St Stephen’s Porch as



Figure 1.2 Temporary entrance to Palace of Westminster (August 12, 2014).

Credit: Author.

Charles Barry had originally intended (see [7] of Figure 1.1). Instead, the array of defeat devices has been likened to a noose strangling parliament: ‘a form of paranoid urbanism that suggests the terrorists have already won’.⁹

Denials of access are manifest in other ways. Gaining physical admission to the Parliamentary Archives, for example, does not guarantee entry to the records therein. Researchers consulting its catalogue are informed that ‘[w]here files contain sensitive information about security or access to the Parliamentary Estate or plans of the buildings, access is restricted for security reasons’. A case in point is item PWO/25/10 entitled: ‘Historic Building Inspection Zones – Victoria and Clock Tower, 1975–1976, Records about Parliamentary buildings’. This is closed and my bid to see it was rejected.

In June 2018, a Freedom of Information request laid bare another form of concealment. It transpired that the House of Commons had spent £2.4m on non-disclosure agreements relating to a total of 53 settlements concerning staff who had left since 2013. There were a variety of reasons for this, including the circumstances surrounding a payment of £86,000 to Angus Sinclair, secretary to the Speaker of the House of Commons. He signed a non-disclosure agreement which, he later claimed, was intended to prevent him from alleging that he had been bullied by his boss.¹⁰ This fed into a wider scandal. In October 2017, Big Ben took on a rather different connotation when the erection was photographed on the front page of the *Metro* newspaper alongside the headline: ‘Pestminster crackdown’.¹¹ An alternative moniker then in use was ‘The Palace of Sexminster’. This stemmed from a Channel 4 News investigation undertaken in 2014 that concluded that

‘sexual harassment in parliament ... is something that’s really part of the fabric’.¹² It found that ‘a third of the young men and women working in Parliament ... had suffered sexual harassment’.¹³ A subsequent independent inquiry concluded that the culture of the House of Commons ‘has actively sought to cover up such abusive conduct’.¹⁴

Look again at the photograph of parliament. Knowledge of its shadowy history and secretive inner workings inject a sense of mystery into a hitherto humdrum archival relic. This serves as an inducement to look beyond the visible in order to speculate about the goings-on behind the façade – both then and now (cf. Sontag 2005: 2–4). What else remains tantalisingly out of sight? This question is appropriate given that a great deal is going on beneath the surface. Bored beneath Big Ben are some of the earliest and most recent lines of the London Underground plus an associated warren of subway entrances and underpasses. Their existence came to widespread attention when it was reported that the ringleader of the London Bridge attack of June 2017 worked at Westminster Tube station, giving the ‘maniac... access to tunnels under the Houses of Parliament’.¹⁵ A *V for Vendetta* in the making, in other words.

Such fears are nothing new. During the period 1883–5 Londoners were terrorised by a bombing campaign that saw explosive devices planted at Westminster Bridge Tube station and the Palace of Westminster, one of which exploded inside the Chamber of the House of Commons. Things had changed little almost exactly a century later. On March 18, 1986, the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Security wrote to the government regarding architectural measures that might hold back ‘violent crowds’ and hinder ‘small groups of clandestine attackers with terrorist intentions’.¹⁶ Fast-forward to March 22, 2017 and the Westminster Bridge attack. A few metres from where the knife-wielding terrorist lay mortally wounded is a driveway piercing the surface of New Palace Yard. This juxtaposition evoked memories of a deadly incident that took place on that very spot 40 years earlier.¹⁷ On the afternoon of March 30, 1979, a blue Mk. I Vauxhall Cavalier was being driven up the ramp facing parliament when a bomb attached to the car exploded. Photographs of the wrecked vehicle show it motionless on the incline directly in front of the Clock Tower. As the sound of the explosion died away, the critically injured driver would have heard Big Ben striking three times.

This unfortunate motorist was exiting a vast five storey subterranean car park. Built in the early 1970s it is all but invisible from street level. In our photograph this fantastic feat of engineering remains hidden in what was then an unimaginable future. So too does Portcullis House, a seven-storey office block built in conjunction with an extension to London Underground’s Jubilee Line. These additional parliamentary facilities would come into view if the camera panned left and jumped forward approximately 90 years. A private passageway under Bridge Street provides an internal link between this service building and the Houses of Parliament. I walked this route at 11 o’clock on October 27, 2014 on my way to see Big Ben in a tour of the Clock Tower arranged via my local Member of Parliament.¹⁸

The existence of Portcullis House expands the bounds of the Palace of Westminster prompting one to ponder where parliament stops and the public realm begins. This greatly troubled gentleman members of the House of Commons when parliament came under attack by muliebral militants in the early twentieth century.¹⁹ ‘What is the Palace of Westminster?’ mused one. To which the answer was: ‘The Palace of Westminster is a very big thing’. It is a leviathan that breaks out of its physical confines, incorporating statues outside its curtilage as well as vanished features of the old Palace of Westminster lost in the fire of 1834, including ‘what is now a cab-stand, and where a good deal of disorder has occurred during the last few months’.²⁰ These remarks date from 1909. Some of the bad behaviour that took place in and around parliament just over a century ago will be considered in Chapter 4.

The longstanding requirement to police parliament’s borders is confirmed by the presence of an elaborate system of surveillance cameras, steel fences and bomb-proof barricades. These are therefore as much a part of the fabric of the Palace of Westminster as are its ornate walls and windows. Although utilitarian in nature, they have as much memorial potential as the statues and plaques.²¹ Together they constitute the multiple framings of parliament. These metal and stone edges are physical and tangible. In addition, at times of heightened security, temporary restrictions are established, which – if necessary – will be enforced by living barriers in the form of police cordons (cf. Pankhurst 1911: 267).

Complementing all this are discursive frames. The book you are reading constitutes a textual analogue to the actual building. Its publication comes at a crucial juncture for the Palace of Westminster. Its ‘picture postcard appearance’ belies the fact that the fabric of the building is in crisis and at imminent risk of a ‘Big Ben Catastrophe’.²² In order to avert this, extensive repairs to the tower were initiated in August 2017. As a result, Big Ben fell into several years of abeyance, broken only when it was permitted to ring out on special occasions. Prior to that, in 2012, a study group established that the parliamentary estate as a whole faced a raft of pervasive environmental and security threats compounded by infrastructural decay and architectural dilapidation. The commission ruled out the option of parliament moving to a new, purpose-built home, arguing instead for a ‘fundamental renovation’ of the existing fabric. A subsequent report envisaged that this could commence no earlier than 2020, cost between £3.5bn and £5.7bn and take anything from 6 to 32 years depending on the extent of change and whether or not parliament remained sitting during the restoration or moved to temporary accommodation.²³

The end result of that time-consuming and costly process will in all probability be a building that looks remarkably similar to the photograph at the start of this book. That is why I have chosen to foreground this picture. Interweaving visual evidence into a written argument does, however, come with potentially undesirable consequences. This is because ‘as soon as photographs are used with words, they produce together an effect of certainty, even of dogmatic assertion’ (Berger & Mohr 1982: 91). This is strengthened by my second, annotated version of the

same picture: ‘enumerated’ and ‘available for analysis’ it becomes ‘a manageable surface’ onto which authoritative histories can be written (Certeau 1988: 200). Many such tomes exist, including the most recent ‘official guide’ to the palace (Anon 2012; see also Port 1976; Riding & Riding 2000; Leston-Bandeira & Thompson 2018). A review in the journal *Parliamentary History* praised it for being ‘lavishly illustrated’, with ‘each image accompanied by a brief, accurate caption’. The reviewer goes on to argue that it qualifies as more than a ‘mere picture book’ thanks to the main text, the logical divisions of which ‘are models of clarity and succinctness’. This provides the means of establishing a logical, coherent, sensible summary setting out ‘the emergence and evolution of parliament and of parliamentary practice and procedures, as well as other facets of the building and institution’ (Hawkyard 2013: 408–9).

I, in contrast, have abandoned the pretence of producing ‘*the* biography’ of parliament (Bryant 2014). Nor does this book seek to be a straight, ‘objective’ biography of Big Ben. These, too, have been written, which is hardly surprising given that it is ‘probably the most discussed bell in the world’ (Gillgrass 1946: 24). Rather, the book you are currently reading attempts ‘another way of telling’ (Berger & Mohr 1982: 92). It provides a somewhat unorthodox view from the outside that is idiosyncratic and antithetical to the sort of sanctioned account cited above. It seeks to appreciate the architecture of the Houses of Parliament, not as an ‘impervious whole’ but as something that exists ‘in the perception of the beholder’ (Shonfield 2000: 160). An inspirational precedent for this sort of approach is the work of John Berger, and in particular his classic television series and best-selling publication, *Ways of Seeing* (1972). On the screen and in the pages of his book, Berger explains how additional stimuli – such as music, words and other images – influence our appreciation of visual evidence. Berger demonstrates this by showing a reproduction of a painting by Vincent van Gogh. We are invited to study it in detail. In the published version of *Ways of Seeing*, the reader then turns the page, only to encounter the exact same image. On this occasion, however, it is accompanied by a caption which, unlike the rest of the book, is handwritten. This holography lends a human touch and poignancy to the statement, which reads: ‘This is the last picture that van Gogh painted before he killed himself’. On the screen this is overlain with mournful music. Berger notes that the impact of this extra information is undeniable, but the exact nature of the change it brings about ‘is hard to define exactly’ (Berger 1972: 28).

For a less overtly dramatic and rather more cryptic equivalent of Berger’s van Gogh example I would like you to reconsider the opening photograph (see Figure 1.3).

The inclusion of graffiti has turned the image into an aide-mémoire. But to remember what? The specific moment is presumably significant given that even the weekday and time are recorded. Did that particular instant witness a momentous event in history? Or was it an occurrence of only limited importance? To answer this, it is necessary to pose a number of other questions. Such as: when does an event move from a small-scale, personal happenstance to something deemed newsworthy – and who decides? What factors cause something to shift



Figure 1.3 Palace of Westminster (annotated by author), c. 1915/2012–19.

Credit: The Art Archive/NGS Image Collection.

from the realm of current affairs to being a matter of long-lasting, historic significance? Does it make a difference if the affair is celebratory or calamitous? Or perhaps that moment in time is all these things simultaneously: personal and public, important and inconsequential, ephemeral and enduring? After all: ‘The day of Hiroshima was a birthday or a wedding anniversary, or the day an old dog, dying in the sunshine on the lawn, took a childhood with it’ (Christopher 1962: 9–10). That patch of grass would look like any other bit of lawn to anyone else. But it would hold significance for a bereft dog owner long after the removal of the canine corpse.

Our lives are full of ordinary places made special by private associations. Some individuals and groups have the power and means to impose a tangible monument or change a place name to suit their wishes. However, the vast majority of people leave little or no physical trace on the public domain. Instead, their commemorations take the form of mental asterisks that overlay the landscape. These supplementary meanings, associations and usages are rarely officially endorsed or formally planned but instead accrete over time through observation by individuals and shared among delineated groups (Burch 2015: 206). I have added two asterisks to the photograph of the Palace of Westminster to illustrate this point. One sits alongside a date that features prominently in my familial calendar. The other is positioned next to an easily missed architectural detail: the building partially visible on the far left (see [8] of Figure 1.1). This medical institution still stands on the opposite bank of the River Thames, even if its main

block has been completely transformed in the course of the 100 years that have elapsed since the photograph was taken.

Adopting asterisks as memorial markers is appropriate given the long and varied history of this centuries-old glyph. Its typographical usage includes annotating texts, helping with proofreading, providing a symbol linking different sections, giving emphasis to a word and covering up a profanity. The author Kurt Vonnegut embraced the asterisk and turned it into an intrinsic part of his work. Among his illustrations for *Breakfast of Champions, or Goodbye Blue Monday* (1973) is a 'picture of an asshole' (Vonnegut 2000: 5). Vonnegut's mischievous anus-asterisk became a proud token of the childish delight he took in scrawling over national emblems and other such 'junk'. This explains the scatological title given to another of his asterisks: *Back Door*. In Vonnegut's writings and drawings, asterisks serve as playfully crude devices masking a subversive intent. These ludic distractions allow alternative readings to be slipped in through the rear entrance, rather like a disenfranchised activist sneaking into parliament to insult the establishment.

One other traditional use of the asterisk is to append it to a date to indicate the year a still-living person was born, e.g. Stuart Burch (*1973). Characteristically, however, in Vonnegut's novel *Galápagos* (1985) they are instead placed before the names of characters who are just about to die.

And so, in homage to Kurt Vonnegut, please allow me to belatedly introduce my mother, *Barbara Burch. She is my Palace of Westminster asterisk: an insignificant nobody who is entirely incidental to London and the politics of memory. What follows is not a recounting of her life story. Instead, capitalising on what Gaston Bachelard terms 'the values of intimacy', I hope to inspire 'recollections of a... human being who dominates the corner of [your] most cherished memories' (Bachelard 1994: 14). If this should happen, this account of 'my' Big Ben will be supplanted as '[a] different world (the reader's) slips into the author's place' (Certeau 1988: xxi). These memory worlds will be addressed in relation to a series of literary examples and more theoretical texts in the first two chapters. The pair that follow discuss women and politics in terms of the fight for universal suffrage, culminating in the election of the first female Prime Minister – an individual who is proof positive that memory is politicised. So too is the subject of the succeeding chapter: the aforementioned 'greatest Briton'. He is considered in relation to the architectural history of the Palace of Westminster and its past, present and future heritage values. The study concludes in the same familial manner as it began. This is, therefore, in part an attempt at what might be termed 'first-person history', 'life-writing' or 'ego-histoire' (Popkin 1996; Popkin 2017). As such, this book's point of origin falls within the broad field of 'biographical research' or autoethnography. Ellis (2004: xix) defines the latter as 'research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political'. She goes on to observe that 'autoethnography claims the conventions of literary writing'. This (hopefully) legitimises my sometimes-unconventional tone and approach whilst also sanctioning the use of novels as well as comics,

films, souvenirs and other non-standard sources as a means to set the scene for an expansive cultural, social and political account.

With luck, this deliberately cryptic introduction provides just the right level of irritation. How preposterous to give precedence to an ordinary person whose life amounted to nothing in the grand scheme of things. And what of all those heroic individuals who feature among Britain's glorious lineage of noble politicians, valiant warriors, consummate celebrities and regal kingpins?

Well, f*ck them.

Shocked? Affronted? Good. Because, you see, memory is selective and politicised. Having the wherewithal to remember entails having the power to forget. So far, this book has made reference to a motley crew of assailants, bystanders, heroes and villains. Take your pick. For my part, I have thus far deliberately tried to avoid naming them or the causes for which they and their victims suffered and died or survived and prospered. To do so would promote a select few to posthumous renown or infamy whilst the rest would be consigned to oblivion; mere statistics that don't even merit mentioning in a footnote.²⁴ There is nothing neutral about memory. Never forget that.

Notes

Minute prologue

- 1 Gary Barlow, Howard Donald, Mark Owen & Simon Strömstedt, 'New Day', *Wonderland*, Polydor, 2017, #3, 3:30.
- 2 David Smyth, 'Business as usual for Gary's gang', *The Evening Standard* (London), 24 March 2017, pp. 36–7.
- 3 'One minute silence', Friday July 3, 2015, 12:00, BBC Radio 2, www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b062x1tg.
- 4 *Hansard*, HC Deb 29 June 2015, 597 (24), cc. 1172–1173, 1181. This was the 'National memorial to British victims of overseas terrorism' at the National Memorial Arboretum in Staffordshire, completed in December 2017 and inaugurated on Thursday May 17, 2018.
- 5 Beth Abbit, 'Flowers of tribute will never fade', *Manchester Evening News*, 9 June 2017, p. 5.
- 6 Among the missing names was Edward Daniel Scott (born in Disley, Cheshire on February 7, 1853), a freelance correspondent for the *Manchester Courier*. His headstone at Monton Unitarian Church in Eccles, Greater Manchester, states that he 'was accidentally killed at Rietfontein, South Africa, July 26, 1902'.
- 7 Such sentiments are best articulated by the poet Leonard Cohen in his song, 'Minute Prologue', *Live Songs*, Columbia, 1973, #1, 1:12.
- 8 The comforting music on this occasion was provided by the Hallé orchestra playing 'Suo Gân', a Welsh lullaby about a child enveloped in its mother's protective, loving arms. During this period, a fourth minute's silence was observed at midday on Monday June 26, 2017, one week after a vehicle attack on worshippers exiting Finsbury Park Mosque in London. The musical prelude to the chimes of Big Ben was provided by John Barry's 'The John Dunbar Theme' from the film, *Dances With Wolves* (1990).
- 9 The total number of fatalities was later deemed to be 72. Of that total, 18 were children, including a stillborn baby and a pensioner who died in hospital seven months after her rescue from Grenfell Tower's 19th floor.
- 10 Selfie: 'A photographic self-portrait; esp. one taken with a smartphone or webcam and shared via social media'. Source: www.oed.com/view/Entry/390063. Anon, 'How can Grenfell Tower selfie addicts be so crass?', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 30 June 2017, p. 11; Maya Oppenheim, 'Grenfell Tower residents urge visitors to stop taking selfies: "You want to slap the phones out of their hands"', Local says there has been a "party atmosphere" among certain visitors', *The Independent* (London), 20 June 2017, www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/grenfell-tower-residents-selfies-angry-grief-tourism-party-a7799591.html.
- 11 Peter Hunt, Six O'Clock News, BBC Radio 4, 19 June 2017.
- 12 Christopher Brooker, 'Grenfell: tombstone to a megalomaniac dream', *The Sunday Telegraph* (London), 18 June 2017, Business section, p. 22.

Chapter 1

- 1 Jamie Merrill, 'Masks and limited mayhem as day of protest takes its toll', *The Independent* (London), 6 November 2015, p. 4.
- 2 'Million Mask March', Metropolitan Police Service, 5 November 2015, <http://content.met.police.uk/Event/Million-Mask-March/1400034209153/1257246745828>; 'Reminder of conditions for the #MillionMaskMarch in London', 5 November 2015, <https://twitter.com/MetPoliceEvents/status/662306290849464321>.
- 3 Holly Christodoulou & Sam Christie, 'Riot yobs torch cop car', *The Sun* (England), 6 November 2015, p. 2; Ryan Hooper & Kate Ferguson, 'Police battle with protesters in London', *The Herald* (Glasgow), 6 November 2015, p. 6.
- 4 Cf. 'The flag flew above [Buckingham] Palace. The King and Queen were back then' (Woolf 2012: 5).
- 5 The politician who came up with this bright idea was Acton Smee Ayrton, Liberal Member of Parliament for Tower Hamlets and First Commissioner of Works (1869–73).
- 6 Shaun Connolly, 'MPs' emails on lockdown as hackers target Parliament', *Sunday Sun*, 25 June 2017, p. 19.
- 7 Parliamentary Archives COO/1/2/1 Historical collection 343, Railings Cromwell Green & New Palace Yard 1986 8.11.18.2 (C). See the 'Palace of Westminster preliminary report on the provision of new railings around Speaker's Green and Cromwell Green' by Buttress Fuller Partnership (Manchester), November 1985. R.B. Perry's note dated February 21, 1986 indicates that the Brighton bombing recommendations were the catalyst. See also correspondence and memoranda from Walter Harrison (Chairman of the Joint Committee on Security), George Young (Secretary of State at the Department of the Environment) and John Biffen (Privy Council Office).
- 8 Mike Sullivan, Tom Wells & Neil Syson, 'Terrorist in a Fiesta', *The Sun*, 15 August 2018, pp. 1, 4–5.
- 9 Oliver Wainwright, 'US embassy proves a catalyst for £15bn Nine Elms regeneration project', *The Guardian* (London), 13 December 2017, www.theguardian.com/artand-design/2017/dec/13/us-embassy-proves-a-catalyst-for-15bn-nine-elms-regeneration-project.
- 10 Chris Cook, '£2.4m spent on House of Commons gagging clauses', *BBC News*, 21 June 2018, www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-44571120.
- 11 Dominic Yeatman, 'Pestminster crackdown', *Metro*, 31 October 2017, p. 1.
- 12 Cathy Newman, 'Sexual harassment culture in parliament exposed', *Channel 4 News*, 10 April 2014, www.channel4.com/news/sexual-harassment-culture-in-parliament-exposed-westminster-commons.
- 13 Christopher Hope, 'Senior Tory steps down as lewd rumours sweep "palace of sexminster"', *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 12 April 2014, p. 15.
- 14 Dame Laura Cox, *The Bullying and Harassment of House of Commons Staff: Independent Inquiry Report*, 15 October 2018, p. 3, www.cloisters.com/images/Bullying-Harassment-HOC-Staff-Oct-2018.pdf.
- 15 David Pilditch, 'Terrorist landed "customer safety" job on the Tube', *Express*, 7 June 2017, p. 7.
- 16 Confidential memorandum from Walter Harrison, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Security to George Young, Secretary of State at the Department of the Environment, 18 March 1986. Parliamentary Archives COO/1/2/1 Historical collection 343, Railings Cromwell Green & NPY 1986 8.11.18.2 (C).
- 17 John Crace, 'The numbing afternoon when I saw a police officer die outside parliament', *The Guardian* (London), 22 March 2017, www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/mar/22/the-numbing-afternoon-when-i-saw-a-police-officer-die-outside-parliament.
- 18 'Elizabeth Tower Tour: 27 Oct 2014, 11:00', booking reference: 18735, correspondence to the author from the Palace of Westminster's Education Service, Tours Office,

Department of Information Services, Norman Shaw North, House of Commons, London, SW1A 0AA, June 2, 2014.

- 19 The adjective 'muliebral' means 'of, relating to, or characteristic of women or womanhood.' *Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com/view/Entry/123435.
- 20 Remarks made by John Joseph Mooney (1874–1934) and David Lindsay (1871–1940) during the Houses of Parliament Bill. *Hansard*, HC Deb 20 April 1909, 3, cc. 1383–433 (see c. 1402 and c. 1391 respectively), <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1909/apr/20/houses-of-parliament-bill>.
- 21 On February 20, 2018 an early day motion was tabled calling for the Carriage Gates to be named in honour of the police officer stabbed to death in New Palace Yard the previous year. See: Early day motion 938, www.parliament.uk/edm/2017-19/938.
- 22 Glenn Campbell, 'The World at One', BBC Radio 4, 8 September 2016, www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07rkhhf; Andre Walker, 'London Scrambles as Parliament Warns of "Big Ben Catastrophe"', *New York Observer*, 9 September 2016, observer.com/2016/09/london-scrambles-as-parliament-warns-of-big-ben-catastrophe.
- 23 Statement by Lord Sewel, Chairman of Committees, *Hansard*, HL Deb 30 October 2012, 740 (57), cc. WS57–WS58. *Restoration and Renewal of the Palace of Westminster: Pre-feasibility Study and Preliminary Strategic Business Case*, October 2012, p. 28 cited in *Palace of Westminster Restoration and Renewal Programme Independent Options Appraisal*, Final Report, Volume 1, Deloitte LLP, 8 September 2014, p. 35.
- 24 This endnote has been left blank intentionally.

Chapter 2

- 1 Purvis' Christian name is given as 'Scope' in the short story and 'Scrope' in the novel. The latter spelling is used here.
- 2 In Donne's 'Obsequies to the Lord Harington, Brother to the Countess of Bedford' (Robbins 2010: 788–90).
- 3 Leonard Cohen, 'Anthem', *The Future*, Columbia, 1992, #5, 6:09.
- 4 Paul Weller, 'Monday' (#2, 3:06) and 'That's Entertainment' (#6, 3:38) in *The Jam, Sound Affects*, Polydor, 1980.
- 5 'Valence', noun, definition 2.4, *Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com/view/Entry/221128.
- 6 Jim Blackler, *Big Ben Watch Face*, 15 December 2014, <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=net.jimblackler.bigben.watchface>.
- 7 LEGO Creator Expert 10253 Big Ben, <https://shop.lego.com/en-GB/Big-Ben-10253>.
- 8 This book originated as a chapter in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Memory Studies* (Burch 2015; see also Burch 2013). I am grateful to its editor, Siobhan Kattago, for asking me to contribute. Without her kind invitation I would never have written this monograph.
- 9 'Epoch', noun, *Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com/view/Entry/63645.
- 10 *Planet of the Apes* (20th Century Fox, 112 minutes, 1968), Franklin J. Schaffner (director), Arthur P. Jacobs (producer), Michael Wilson and Rod Serling (screenplay, based on a novel by Pierre Boulle), starring Charlton Heston as George Taylor and Linda Harrison as Nova.
- 11 *Total Recall* (Columbia Pictures, 118 minutes, 2012), Len Wiseman (director), Kurt Wimmer and Mark Bomback (screenplay), starring Colin Farrell as Douglas Quaid and Jessica Biel as Melina.
- 12 Toby Jaffe (Producer) cited in 'Total Recall 2012 Remake: Top 9 things you need to know', *Moviefone*, 12 June 2012, www.moviefone.com/2012/06/12/total-recall-2012-reboot-set-visit/.
- 13 In Dick's short story the principal protagonist is called Douglas Quail rather than Quaid, which further aligns him to the differently named Scope/Scrope Purvis (see endnote 1 above).

- 14 *The Thirty Nine Steps* (Rank Organisation, 102 minutes, 1978), Don Sharp (director), Michael Robson (screenplay), starring Robert Powell as Major-General Sir Richard Hannay.
- 15 *Konga* (Anglo Amalgamated, 90 minutes, 1961), John Lemont (director), starring Michael Gough as Dr Charles Decker.
- 16 *28 Days Later* (Fox Searchlight Pictures, 113 minutes, 2002), Danny Boyle (director), Alex Garland (screenplay), starring Cillian Murphy (Jim), Naomie Harris (Selena), Megan Burns (Hannah) and Christopher Eccleston (Major Henry West).
- 17 'Like millions of others, I first saw the Houses of Parliament in the picture on the HP Sauce bottle'. Ian Jack, 'Parliament's palace of booze and sex seems bad, but it has been a lot worse', *The Guardian* (London), 9 December 2017, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/dec/09/parliament-palace-booze-sex-modern-westminster-mps-sober. For statistics about HP Sauce, see: www.hpsauce.co.uk/Our-Story.
- 18 *It Happened Here: The Story of Hitler's England* (United Artists, 97 minutes, 1964), Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo (direction and screenplay) starring Pauline Murray.
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- 42 The Clock Tower ceased to be illuminated on September 1, 1939, which was also 'the official black-out date'. Parliamentary Archives, PWO/1/18, Folder 10, 18/11/44.
- 43 *The Spiritual Front* became the title of a mass-produced leaflet promoting the cause.
- 44 'Big Ben Silent-Minute Observance', *Hansard*, HC Deb 09 April 1941, 370, cc.1560–1.
- 45 *Radio Times*, 23 April 1943, 1021 (79) reproduced on the cover of Dakers (1943).
- 46 The municipal clock – erected originally on The Broadway (1901) and later relocated to South Park – had been presented to Ilford by local property developer and Ilford's first Member of Parliament, Sir Peter Griggs. Bob Holman. 'Comment: Remember, don't glorify: I saw the devastation of the V2 rocket attacks on Britain 70 years ago. War is not to be celebrated', 9 September 2014, *The Guardian*, p. 28.
- 47 'Adjournment', 24 April 1945, *Journals of the House of Commons*, 1944–45, vol. 200, p. 106. One MP described this as the 'proudest moment' in Colonel Douglas Clifton Brown's tenure as Speaker (1943–51). Retirement of Mr. Speaker Clifton

- Brown, *Hansard*, HC Deb 15 November 1951, 493, cc. 1180–6, 1184, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1951/nov/15/retirement-of-mr-speaker-clifton-brown>.
- 48 For a full transcript of the king's address of May 8, 1945 as published in the following day's *News Chronicle*, see: 'We face the future with stern resolve', *BBC News*, 5 May 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4515885.stm>.
- 49 Gardner's book was published in the United States with the alternate title *The Year That Changed the World: 1945* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc.).
- 50 'Our pilgrimage has brought us to a sublime moment in the history of the world. From the least to the greatest, all must strive to be worthy of these supreme opportunities. There is not an hour to be wasted; there is not a day to be lost'. Debate on the Address, *Hansard*, HC Deb 16 August 1945, 413, cc. 70–133, 80, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1945/aug/16/debate-on-the-address>.
- 51 'Many deaths in UK blizzard', *The Courier-Mail* (Australia), 30 January 1947, p. 1.

Chapter 7

- 1 'Arthur C. Clarke. Original Manuscript for *Prelude to Space*. [London: n.p., 1947] (Total: 5 Items)', Grand Format Rare Books Auction #6020, LOT #37021, Heritage Auctions, Dallas, Texas, 6–7 March 2009, <https://historical.ha.com/itm/books/arthur-c-clarke-original-manuscript-for-prelude-to-space-london-np-1947-/a/6020-37021.s>.
- 2 The references here are to the version first published by World Editions, Inc. as *Galaxy Science Fiction Novel #3* (1951). The novel was revised further in subsequent publications by Sidgwick & Jackson (1953) and Gnome Press (1954). Clarke wrote a 'Post-Apollo Preface' on August 4, 1969 (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970).
- 3 Ian Jack, 'Parliament's palace of booze and sex seems bad, but it has been a lot worse', *The Guardian* (London), 9 December 2017, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/dec/09/parliament-palace-booze-sex-modern-westminster-mps-sober.
- 4 'The worst attack was the last. On May 10 the enemy returned to London with incendiary bombs ... It destroyed the House of Commons. One single bomb created ruin for years'. From Churchill's *The Second World War* cited in 'Destruction of Commons', *Life*, 4 April 1955, p. 32.
- 5 'Prime Minister Churchill inspects House of Commons', *Life*, 2 June 1941, p. 28.
- 6 Churchill cited in 'Welcome to Commonwealth speakers', *Hansard*, HC Deb 26 October 1950, 478, cc. 2929–2935 (c. 2933), <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1950/oct/26/welcome-to-commonwealth-speakers>.
- 7 'His Majesty's Reply', *Hansard*, HC Deb 26 October 1950, 478, cc. 2937–9 (c. 2939), <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1950/oct/26/his-majestys-reply>.
- 8 'His Majesty's Reply', c. 2938.
- 9 Churchill cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 403–73 (c. 407), <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1943/oct/28/house-of-commons-rebuilding>. See also Winterton in 'Motion for Address in Reply', *Hansard*, HC Deb 24 October 1950, 478, c. 2709, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1950/oct/24/motion-for-address-in-reply>.
- 10 Vyvyan Adams cited in 'House of Commons (Reconstruction)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 19 June 1941, 372, c. 814, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1941/jun/19/house-of-commons-reconstruction>.
- 11 Churchill cited in 'House of Commons (Reconstruction)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 19 June 1941, 372, c. 814.
- 12 James Maxton cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 407.
- 13 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 403.

- 14 Sir Alfred Beit (St. Pancras, South-East) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 432.
- 15 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 405.
- 16 The 1935 general election returned 615 MPs. A total of 130 voted in the division (21%), one of them being Godfrey Nicholson (Farnham), who remarked: 'I hope that the small attendance in the House to-day does not mean that hon. Members do not attach great importance to the proposal which is before us'. 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 436.
- 17 Nancy Astor in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, cc. 979–1105 (cc. 1018–1019), <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1945/jan/25/house-of-commons-rebuilding>.
- 18 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 416–418.
- 19 Arthur Duckworth (Shrewsbury) cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 440–441. In the event only three voted against, including the Scottish socialists 'Jimmy' Maxton and George Buchanan, both of whom are discussed later.
- 20 James Richards, 'The New House of Commons', *The Times* (London), 18 October 1950, p. 5.
- 21 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 403.
- 22 Crossing the floor can be costly. Alfred Edwards did this in 1950, leaving Labour for the Conservatives over nationalisation. He lost his Middlesbrough East seat by a huge margin in the 1950 general election. Edwards had been critical of the House of Commons plans and lack of amenities in parliament and accommodation for MPs staying in London. He asked that a new Select Committee be constituted to reflect the post-war parliament – a request that was rejected by Attlee. 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 22 October 1945, 414, c. 1672, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1945/oct/22/house-of-commons-rebuilding>; 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 9 October 1945, 414, c. 92W, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/written-answers/1945/oct/09/house-of-commons-rebuilding>.
- 23 Neil Johnston & Noel Dempsey, 'E-petition relating to proportional representation' (168657), House of Commons Library, CDP-0207, 26 October 2017, <https://research-briefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CDP-2017-0207>.
- 24 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 403.
- 25 This verdict on Lloyd George is by Martin Pugh. He bases this claim on Lloyd George's pivotal role in laying the foundations of the welfare state and introducing a system of progressive income tax as well as giving an enhanced role to the premiership and for being the 'Man Who Won the War'. Nevertheless, reputational damage later in life and the animosity of the Liberals, Conservatives and the Labour movement meant that Lloyd George had few defenders prior to a critical reassessment in the 1970s. Martin Pugh, 'Lloyd George, David, 1st Earl Lloyd-George (1863–1945)' in John Cannon (ed.) (2009) *The Oxford Companion to British History* (1 rev. ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press), available at: www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199567638.001.0001/acref-9780199567638-e-2610.
- 26 John Tinker (Leigh) was the most vocal critic on this issue. 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 418–421; 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1015.
- 27 'Business of the House', *Hansard*, HC Deb 21 October 1943, 392, cc. 1523–6 (c. 1524), <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1943/oct/21/business-of-the-house>.
- 28 'We have learned – with these so recently confirmed facts around us and before us – not to alter improvidently the physical structures which have enabled so remarkable

- an organism to carry on its work of banning dictatorships within this island and pursuing and beating into ruin all dictators who have molested us from outside'. 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 406.
- 29 Churchill in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 408.
- 30 John Dugdale in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, cc. 1075–76. The vessel to which he referred was presumably that which was originally named HMS *Windsor Castle* at its launch in September 1845 and almost immediately renamed in honour of Wellington who died that month.
- 31 Arthur Duckworth (Shrewsbury) cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1063.
- 32 John Dugdale (West Bromwich) cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1078.
- 33 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 455, 466.
- 34 Arthur Duckworth (Shrewsbury) cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1063.
- 35 John Dugdale (West Bromwich) cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1078.
- 36 Note that the opening speech by Churchill is the only part made available online at the parliamentary website: www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/yourcountry/collections/churchillexhibition/churchill-and-ww2/hoc-rebuilding/.
- 37 It is clear that Churchill did not stay to listen to the debate. See, for instance, comments made by Sir Alfred Beit (St. Pancras, South-East) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 431.
- 38 Vera Lynn (with Mantovani and his Orchestra), 'Home, Sweet Home' (by Henry Bishop and John Howard Payne, 1823), B-side to 'Love's Old Sweet Song', shellac, 10", 78 RPM, Decca, F.8161, 1941.
- 39 'Debate on the Address', *Hansard*, HC Deb 07 March 1950, 472, c. 142, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1950/mar/07/debate-on-the-address>.
- 40 The quotation is taken from Churchill's two-volume biography of his father *Lord Randolph Churchill* (London: Macmillan, 1906), Vol. 1, p. 154: 'So long as his light lasted the House of Commons lived, and amid the fiercest passions and even scenes of violence preserved its hold upon the sympathies and the imagination of the whole world; and at his death it sank at once, perhaps for ever, in public esteem'.
- 41 Herbert Morrison cited in 'Message of Thanks to the Lords', *Hansard*, HC Deb 24 October 1950, 478, cc. 2711–6 (c. 2712), <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1950/oct/24/message-of-thanks-to-the-lords>.
- 42 Sandys, who was then married to Churchill's eldest daughter, held this post from November 1944 until July 1945. His manner was likened to a 'steam-roller' by Ian Orr-Ewing cited in N. Piers Ludlow, 'Sandys, (Edwin) Duncan, Baron Duncan-Sandys (1908–1987)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 3 January 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/39858>. Sandys' predecessor was Wyndham Portal, a close associate of Churchill. His biographer states: 'Towards the end of 1944 ... it was felt that the minister of works must be in the House of Commons and Portal left the government.' J. V. Sheffield, revised by Robert Brown, 'Portal, Wyndham Raymond, Viscount Portal (1885–1949)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 10 January 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35578>.
- 43 'I hate saying a word against the Prime Minister at this stage of the war ... A great deal is owed to the Prime Minister ... but I do not want the House of Commons to be his monument'. Nancy Astor in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, cc. 1018, 1021.

- 44 A further indication is the greater propensity for MPs to touch the foot of Churchill's statue above the other three effigies – to the extent that 'cracks and small holes' have begun to appear. This has been alleviated somewhat following the erection of Thatcher's bronze likeness in 2007. Jonathan Isaby, 'Churchill worn down by touching tributes', *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 13 March 2006, p. 6; Anon, 'Ban on touching PMs' feet', *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 3 August 2013, p. 5.
- 45 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1006; "'The House" Returns', 30 October 1950, Film ID: 1496.01, Media URN: 48751, British Pathé, www.britishpathe.com/video/the-house-returns. The claim has been made that Churchill 'had no idea that it should be given his name'. See James Lancaster, 'The Nemon Statue and Churchill Arch', *Finest Hour*, 134, Spring 2007, winstonchurchill.org/publications/finest-hour/finest-hour-134/the-nemon-statue-and-churchill-arch/.
- 46 Churchill cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1006.
- 47 Ian Hannah cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 10 June 1942, 380, c. 1052, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1942/jun/10/house-of-commons-rebuilding#S5CV0380P0_19420610_HOC_178; 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 425.
- 48 'Relics of Parliament for sale', *The Times* (London), 14 August 1942, p. 7.
- 49 W.J. Rand, *The Houses of Parliament* (London: London Stonecraft Limited), 1942, p. 66. For a copy of this book and related correspondence see Parliamentary Archives, FEL/1/8. This includes evidence that the book's author took a similar attitude to the reuse of words as he did stone: Rand clearly plagiarised Bryan H. Fell's *The Houses of Parliament: A Short Guide to the Palace of Westminster*, first published by Eyre and Spottiswoode in 1934.
- 50 Caroline Shenton, 'Relics of the Old Palace of Westminster', 9 November 2012, www.carolineshenton.co.uk/relics-of-the-old-palace-of-westminster/.
- 51 Emma Hardy, 'John Thomas', *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660–1851*, c. 2009, <http://liberty.henry-moore.org/henrymoore>.
- 52 'Blitz relics at Parliament House symbolise Londoners' resilience in face of adversity', *ABC Radio Canberra*, 6 June 2017, www.abc.net.au/news/2017-06-06/blitz-relics-on-show-at-parliament-house/8584250. This report indicates that the gift from the British government was made in 1942, whilst the stone grotesque was donated to Parliament House by Mrs Lorna Crowle in 1983.
- 53 According to Justine van Mourik, director of the parliamentary art collection in 'Treasure Trove: London Blitz Relics', *ABC Radio Canberra*, 6 June 2017, 7 minutes 20 seconds, www.abc.net.au/news/2017-06-06/london-blitz-relics/8593624.
- 54 This 'return replica' was anticipated by Sir Herbert Butcher (Holland with Boston), https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1943/oct/28/house-of-commons-rebuilding#column_424. It is made from *Castanospermum australe* (Blackbean wood or Moreton Bay Chestnut) made by H.H. Martyn & Co. Ltd with carvings by Charles Gisborne.
- 55 'Commonwealth Gifts made to the House of Commons in 1950', www.parliament.uk/business/news/2011/may/70th-anniversary-of-commons-chamber-bombing/commonwealth-gifts/; *The Palace of Westminster*, Factsheet G11, House of Commons Information Office, August 2010, Appendix C: 'Commonwealth Gifts', pp. 15–16.
- 56 Attlee cited in 'Welcome to Commonwealth speakers', *Hansard*, HC Deb 26 October 1950, 478, c. 2931.
- 57 'His Majesty's Reply', *Hansard*, HC Deb 26 October 1950, 478, c. 2938.
- 58 This formulation is from the Balfour Declaration of 1926 as set out in the 'Inter-Imperial Relations Committee' report of the Imperial Conference 1926, p. 2. See 'Documenting a Democracy', MoADOPH, www.foundingdocs.gov.au/.

- 59 The engineers Arnold Clinton and James Richards are from Australia and Canada respectively. The launch site is in Western Australia. And an unnamed retired Brigadier wishes to see the Moon incorporated into the British Commonwealth (Clarke 1951: 93).
- 60 2222 (XXI). 'Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies', www.unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/spacelaw/treaties/outerspacetreaty.html.
- 61 34/68. 'Agreement Governing the Activities of States on the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies', 5 December 1979, www.unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/spacelaw/treaties/moon-agreement.html. Annex. Article 11: 1, Article 3: 1.
- 62 Dennis O'Brien, 'Space law 2018: nationalists versus internationalists', 30 April 2018, *The Space Review*, www.thespacereview.com/article/3482/1.
- 63 Oriana Pawlyk, 'Trump Announces Space Force as 6th Military Branch', 18 June 2018, www.military.com/daily-news/2018/06/18/its-official-trump-announces-space-force-6th-military-branch.html. Typically, the truth was rather more complicated. See Valerie Insinna & Aaron Mehta, 'Trump orders creation of independent space force – but Congress will still have its say', *Defense News*, 18 June 2018, www.defensenews.com/space/2018/06/18/trump-orders-creation-of-independent-space-force/.
- 64 *Final Report on Organizational and Management Structure for the National Security Space Components of the Department of Defense*, Washington, DC: Department of Defense, August 9, 2018, <https://media.defense.gov/2018/aug/09/2001952764/-1/-1/1/organizational-management-structure-dod-national-security-space-components.pdf>.
- 65 At the time of writing there are 1,073 properties (832 cultural, 206 natural and 35 mixed heritage). 'World Heritage List', <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>.
- 66 'Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage', <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>.
- 67 See: 'Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey including Saint Margaret's Church', <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/426>.
- 68 A case could be made for its inclusion on the basis of at least one of the other seven criteria in terms of it being 'associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance' (UNESCO 2017: §77: vi). This criterion is recommended by the Committee to be used 'in conjunction with other criteria'.
- 69 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 425.
- 70 Mark Brown, 'New top 10 of heritage sites maps out the history of England', *The Guardian*, 12 June 2018, www.theguardian.com/culture/2018/jun/12/historic-england-top-10-coventry-cathedral-angel-of-the-north-sutton-hoo.
- 71 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 425.
- 72 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 405.
- 73 Russell Thomas cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 451–453.
- 74 Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Moore (Ayr Burghs) cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 461.
- 75 Richard Stokes cited in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 403–73, 453.
- 76 'Preamble', *Hansard*, HC Deb 26 October 1950, 478, c. 2929, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1950/oct/26/preamble>. The first sentence alludes to Psalm 16:6 of the King James Bible: 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage'.
- 77 'His Majesty's Reply', *Hansard*, HC Deb 26 October 1950, 478, c. 2939.
- 78 See 'royal, adj. and n.', §15 *Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com/view/Entry/168245; 'we, pron., n., and adj.', §2b, *Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com/view/Entry/226539.

- 79 Clement Attlee cited in 'Motion for Address in Reply', *Hansard*, HC Deb 24 October 1950, 478, cc. 2703–10 (c. 2703), <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1950/oct/24/motion-for-address-in-reply>.
- 80 Chris Sear, *The Parliamentary Oath*, House of Commons Library Research Paper 01/116, 14 December 2001, pp. 3, 25–7, <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/RP01-116>.
- 81 In 1997 it was reported that Tony Banks crossed his fingers while giving the oath. Meanwhile his Labour colleague, Tony Benn prefaced his with the remark: 'As a committed republican, under protest, I take the oath required of me by law' (cited in Sear, *The Parliamentary Oath*, p. 26); Noel Whelan, 'Time is right for Sinn Féin to end policy of abstentionism', *The Irish Times*, 16 March 2018, p. 18.
- 82 'Commonwealth Gifts made to the House of Commons in 1950', www.parliament.uk/business/news/2011/may/70th-anniversary-of-commons-chamber-bombing/commonwealth-gifts/.
- 83 Ireland Act 1949, c. 41 (12, 13, 14 Geo. 6), www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/12-13-14/41.
- 84 Sear, *The Parliamentary Oath*, pp. 22–5.
- 85 'Prayers', www.parliament.uk/about/how/business/prayers/. This is an instance of the 'custom and practice' of the royal Palace of Westminster; those frequently arcane rituals and traditions which are as much a part of its heritage as the stone walls and wooden benches. They are a demonstration of 'the deep-seated interdependence' between tangible and intangible heritage (UNESCO 2016: 3). 'Rules and traditions of Parliament', www.parliament.uk/about/how/role/customs/.
- 86 For this to be valid, the MP must place the card into position *before* prayers and attend the whole service. 'Prayer cards', *BBC News*, 16 October 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/newsid_82000/82567.stm.
- 87 Dale Campbell-Savours (Workington) accused fellow MPs of prayerful pretence, 'but, in fact, all they are doing is booking their seat for the day'. For this and Betty Boothroyd's remarks, see 'Prayers', *Hansard*, HC Deb 2 July 1997, 297, cc. 215–8 (cc. 216, 218), <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1997/jul/02/prayers>. For a hilarious recording of children behaving like MPs see the BBC radio comedy programme, *I'm Sorry I'll Read That Again* (series 8, episode 4, first broadcast on 8 March 1970).
- 88 See, for example, the criticisms made by Godfrey Nicholson (Farnham) (cc. 438–9), Arthur Duckworth (Shrewsbury) (c. 440), Ian Hannah (c. 426), James Maxton (Glasgow, Bridgeton) (cc. 410–413), John Wilmot (Kennington) (c. 448). 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 407. See also Nancy Astor in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1018.
- 89 Mr. John Wilmot (Kennington) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 449.
- 90 Major Peto (Birmingham, King's Norton) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1022; Earl Winterton (Horsham and Worthing) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, c. 456.
- 91 Clement Davies (Montgomery) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1032; Ian Hannah phrased this rather more politely: 'Is it not a fact that the fire has in some respects rather improved the work of Barry?' 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 10 June 1942, 380, c. 1052, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1942/jun/10/house-of-commons-rebuilding#S5CV0380P0_19420610_HOC_178.
- 92 Mr. Driberg (Maldon) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 25 January 1945, 407, c. 1039.

- 93 The third dissenter was William J. Brown, trade unionist and independent MP for Rugby.
- 94 James Maxton (Glasgow, Bridgeton) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 410–413, 427, 465.
- 95 Major Petheriek (Penryn and Falmouth) (c. 421) and Dr Russell Thomas (Southampton) (c. 451) in 'House of Commons (Rebuilding)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1943, 393, cc. 410–413, 465.
- 96 Valerie Vaz (Walsall South) in 'Restoration and Renewal (Report of the Joint Committee)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 31 January 2018, 635, (c. 893), [https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2018-01-31/debates/12231195-A66F-4D6B-A901-340BD-27BD5F4/RestorationAndRenewal\(ReportOfTheJointCommittee\)](https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2018-01-31/debates/12231195-A66F-4D6B-A901-340BD-27BD5F4/RestorationAndRenewal(ReportOfTheJointCommittee)).
- 97 Palace of Westminster: Restoration and Renewal, <https://restorationandrenewal.parliament.uk>.
- 98 *Restoration and Renewal of the Palace of Westminster*, Joint Committee on the Palace of Westminster, HL Paper 41/HC 659, 8 September 2016, p. 5.
- 99 *Restoration and renewal of the Palace of Westminster: pre-feasibility study and preliminary strategic business case*, October 2012, p. 5, §5.
- 100 *Restoration and Renewal of the Palace of Westminster*, 8 September 2016, p. 5.
- 101 *Palace of Westminster Restoration and Renewal Programme Independent Options Appraisal*, Final Report, Volumes 1–3, Deloitte LLP, 8 September 2014.
- 102 *Restoration and Renewal of the Palace of Westminster*, 8 September 2016, p. 18, §20.
- 103 *Palace of Westminster Restoration and Renewal Programme Independent Options Appraisal*, Final Report, Vol. 1, Deloitte LLP, 8 September 2014, p. 56, §3.7.
- 104 *Restoration and renewal of the Palace of Westminster: pre-feasibility study and preliminary strategic business case*, October 2012, p. 4, §7, p. 50.
- 105 'Restoration and Renewal (Report of the Joint Committee)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 31 January 2018, 635, c. 879.
- 106 'Restoration and Renewal (Report of the Joint Committee)', *Hansard*, HC Deb 31 January 2018, 635, c. 897.
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Chapter 8

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- 4 The church was designed by the architect, Lars Israel Wahlman with external sculpture by Tore Strindberg. Stadsmuseets kulturhistoriska klassificering, <https://stadsmuseet.stockholm.se/om-hus2/klassificering-och-k-markning/stadsmuseets-kulturhistoriska-klassificering/>.
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- 13 I will never forget the first time I saw this movie: onboard British Airways flight BA0039 which departed London at 16:30 on Saturday 8 September 2018 bound for Beijing. The first chapter of my new life.
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SOCIOLOGY / COLLECTIVE MEMORY

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ISBN 978-1-4724-4638-1



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