An object Biography of WW2 Pillboxes in Cumbria and Lancashire, and the Defensive Structures of Pointe du Hoc, Normandy, France

by

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DECLARATION

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Abstract

British pillboxes and the defensive structures of Pointe du Hoc were both constructed around the time of the Second World War. While they may share physical similarities, the ways that they have been treated both during and after the Second World War differs greatly. Structures that were designed to defend areas and the soldiers who resided inside have taken on new uses and meanings. This thesis is to show these structures lives. This has been done through using the idea of an object biography, which can show the creation, use and possible disuse of an object or architecture. Pillboxes have been surveyed from the counties of Lancashire and Cumbria as well as the Pointe du Hoc site being the only Normandy coast site. By conducting field research along with historical and oral records I will show the object biography of these structures. Furthermore research will show the changes of biography, drawing comparisons between the British pillbox and the defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc. The work places great emphasis on what is found at each individual structure. These 'physical indicators' (graffiti, damage, material culture and alterations) are the biography. The physical indicators show evidence of pillbox use during its life. We can use them to ascertain what the biography of a structure is and how it has changed through time.

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An Object Biography of WW2 Pillboxes in Cumbria and Lancashire, and the Defensive Structures of Pointe du Hoc, Normandy, France.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Project Outline

The purpose of this research and thesis is as follows: I intend to look at the biography of World War II pillboxes of Cumbria and Lancashire, and also the defensive structures of Pointe du Hoc. To achieve this objective there has been a multi-phased process to gather data and knowledge, which has resulted in a succinct and comprehensive biographical study of the architecture. To compliment the research into the application of object biographies, field surveys have been carried out at surviving pillboxes in Lancashire, Cumbria and defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc.

This project stems from work conducted at undergraduate level, anaylsing the Defence of Britain Survey and an analysis of pillboxes in Lancashire. These two studies were much broader in their conclusions, whereas this study focuses on the object biography methodology and its application to pillboxes. Object biography is a method that applies well to both material objects and architecture. This will be demonstrated in the literature review section (Chapter 2). It allows going past analysing pillboxes on the broad scale, highlighting key indicators of biography for both single pillboxes and groups.

The site of Pointe du Hoc was chosen because of its contrast to that of the British pillboxes. Both in how the structures were used both in wartime and after the war had ended. Comparing shows the different attitudes towards historical structures, furthermore it shows how past changes in their biographies alter how they are used later in their life.

1.2 Knowledge Expansion

A literature review has been compiled, showcasing a variety of literature that uses the object biography method. The literature review is split into two parts. The first section is dedicated to object biographies of objects whereas the second section highlights the use of object biographies of architecture. This partitioning of the different types of the subject matter is designed to show the application of the object biography method in archaeology, and furthermore show the different themes that are present in each type. This literature review aims to expand my understanding of the object biography method and its applications, and also allows me to produce my own object biographies using previous methods and themes.

1.3 Field Surveys

The surveys set out to find physical evidence for aspects of a particular structures' biography. Physical evidence ranges from material culture, graffiti, damage and alterations made to a structure, all of which indicate interaction between people and architecture, a process indicative of biography development. This process of recording is expanded in the methodology (chapter 3). This section outlines exactly how a site is located, recorded via photography and a unique recording sheet, which documents the different characteristics of each pillbox. It also records the physical indicators of biography.

1.4 Discussion and Conclusion

This section will bring together both the data collected via field surveys and the literature collected throughout the project. This results in a discussion of what is found, namely that physical evidence for a biography. With this physical evidence, historical and oral sources are also included giving an understanding of the object biography of the surveyed structures. Once this understanding is ascertained, a small part of the discussion is attributed to the attitude towards pillboxes and defensive structures. Furthermore comparisons are made between the British pillboxes and the defensive structures of Pointe du Hoc. This will aim to show any disparity or similarities in attitudes towards each subject. The focal point will still be the object biography of the pillboxes, but as this is a research project on a

rather recent period of archaeology we can look at such things as attitudes of people, through the use of memory.

The discussion will then lead into the conclusion, which will bring together all the ideas from the previous chapters. Furthermore it will give a definitive answer to the research question proposed. Finally the conclusion will show the importance of this research, and the applications it can have upon archaeology of modern military structures.

1.5 A Brief History of the Pillbox

1.5.1 Definition

Pillboxes in their broadest form can be described as; either a quadrilateral, polygonal or circular-shaped structure, with heavily fortified roofing and walls usually consisting of brick and concrete (Wills 1985, 47). Furthermore the roof was predominantly flat, but in some pillbox types the roof was of a domed shape. The majority had one entrance; however some are known to have two, which were sometimes protected by an external wall. Finally there were either loopholes or slits within the walls to allow soldiers to fire out. The loopholes varied in size, due to the various armaments used in the pillboxes such as rifles, machine guns and anti-tank weaponry.

1.5.2 Conception

Pillboxes were first constructed by the Russians in the war between Russia and Japan in 1904. The concept was then adopted by the Germans in the First World War with the British slowly adopting it in the latter parts of that conflict (Lowry 1996, 78).

1.5.3 Pillbox Construction in Britain

The department responsible for the designing and implication of the British pillbox design was the FW3 branch of the War Directorate of Fortifications and Works. It must be noted that although the FW3 created the standard designs, pillbox design at ground level varied drastically due to regional, topographical and tactical factors (Lowry 1996, 79). In May 1940 the Home Defence Executive was formed.

This was formed to prepare Britain for the potential invasion by German forces after they pushed the British Expeditionary Force from France via Dunkirk (Wills 1985, 9). The Home Defence Executive was headed by General Ironside, who sought to divide the defence of the country into sections, employing a defence strategy based around the use of Stop-Lines. Pillboxes were a large part of Ironside's strategy, as centres of fire which could work in tandem with adjacent pillboxes and trenches (Francis 1996, 65). This can be seen in the work of Francis, who notes that generally pillboxes were constructed in a manner where three could provide fire support to each other. Furthermore he states that pillboxes were indeed strong points in the overall static defence associated with Stop-Lines (Francis 1996, 60).

The threat of a primarily seaborne invasion was predicted immediately after the defeat at Dunkirk. This can be seen in the work of Osborne, who identifies that the vast majority of pillboxes were constructed between May 1940 and spring 1941, with them becoming almost obsolete by 1942 (Osborne 2008, 79). This can be attributed to a change in tactics by the heads of the Home Defence Executive, who after deciding a seaborne invasion was not going to materialise shifted to the belief that invasion would come via the sky. Furthermore Freethy contributes to this statement, identifying that the British victory in the Battle of Britain denied any chance of a seaborne invasion being viable for the Nazis (Freethy 127). It is already apparent that the primary operations of the pillbox and indeed its 'operational lifespan' was next to over by 1942, which in regards to my research puts the pillboxes surveyed at Lydiate, Burscough and Blackpool in this short-lived category of pillboxes.

There are other historical and archaeological authors that have written about pillbox/defensive structure construction and use; Carr (2009), Clarke (2007), Cooksey and Lynch (2007), English Heritage (2003), Foot (2006), Glass (2008), Innes (1995), Lowry (2004), Roberts (2010), Rodgers (2003), Schofield (2004), Smith D. (1989), Smith G. (2004) and Strickland (2007). From this we can see that there is a good amount of background literature on both pillboxes, and the landscapes that they were constructed in. Indeed this literature in chapter one highlights the origin

of pillboxes, crucial in the creation of object biographies. It is to this idea that I now turn.

(Figure 1.1 LA01 adjacent to the south bank of the Leeds-Liverpool Canal. A FW3/Type 24 design, it is considered a common type of pillbox found in Britain)

(Figure 1.2 PH02 on the battlefield of Pointe du Hoc. A casemate designed to house artillery that could fire out to the English Channel)

Chapter Two: Review of Object Biography Literature

This literature review section explores what an object biography is. Furthermore it will aim to show the first major applications in archaeology and anthropology. It will start with the early application of the term object biography, which is contained in Arjun Appadurai's edited collection of works 'The Social Life of Things'. Indeed both Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) have established the foundations, which archaeologists and anthropologists have built up into a moderate size of works utilizing object biography in an effort to look at material culture and architecture from a different angle. Furthermore this method of investigation of material culture and architecture applies itself well to pillboxes and defensive structures, allowing for new interpretations of architecture and material culture found at sites.

2.1. Defining Object Biographies and Life Biographies

While object biography and life history sound inherently similar, there are subtle differences to exactly what each mean. Joy (2009) gives the best definition of these terms, stating that both seek to explore the full life of a thing, with the 'biographical' approach attributing itself to a more anthropological centred view, whereas the 'life history' approach is generally applied to archaeological objects. He also states that the two approaches have differing languages, scales and objectives (Joy 2009, 542). The fundamental difference is that a biographical approach is more concerned with how the object is used and what place it has in a given society, whereas a 'life history' attempts to document the changes in design, composition or manufacture of a given item, rather than the connections between the person and the object (Joy 2009, 542).

2.2. Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff

Appadurai's (1986) aim was to show that trajectories, or simply 'biographies' are intertwined with desire and demand. Twin this with the exchange and value mediums he is able to demonstrate a number of cultural and political factors that surround and impact the trade system (Appadurai 1986, 5). He distinguishes commodities as different to artefacts, products and goods, stating that a

commodity is more a representation of many things, and that a commodity can mean different things depending on which point of its 'social life' it is at (Appadurai 1986, 13). Indeed using the term 'commodities' does lead one to believe he is looking at groups or typologies of things. He does make reference to social factors that can affect the 'social life' of that commodity. Stating that a commodity is enveloped and altered depending on what point of its 'social life' it exists at, and that the commodity is altered by external agents to meet the needs of that agent. This theme of objects being altered by external forces is explored in more detail in section 2.3.7. Finally he states that a commodity does not necessarily remain a commodity, rather it was a part of the life history, and that it does not end the object's biography.

Appadurai (1986) moves on to consider the motivations behind commodity exchange. He uses the Kula exchange system, very different from traditional western capitalism. The system revolves around the exchange of decorated necklaces circulating in one direction, and armshells circulating in the opposite direction. From an archaeological standpoint this type of exchange is incredibly valuable, as Appadurai highlights that as the objects are passed from island to island they gather new meanings and attributes that add to their biography (Appadurai 1986, 18). What is even more interesting in this example is that Appadurai demonstrates that while humans can apply new aspects of a biography onto an object, it also works the other way; in the Kula society an individual can gain or lose reputation depending on how the object passes through the Keda (path) of their exchange system (Appadurai 1986, 19).

Indeed Appadurai's work can be considered more concerned with the trade system that drives the economic and political aspects of a society. Using the Kula example he was able to show his ideas on life histories/social histories and object/cultural biographies. Showing that there is more to simple methods of exchange, and therefore important when applying the object biography dynamic to archaeology where simple items can have a hidden and complex biography.

Following the work of Appadurai, Kopytoff (1986) aimed to identify the cultural biography of commodities during their initial production (or 'birth'), leading to how they exist within society or ('life') and their disposal or ('death'). Such terms of birth, life and death are now used widely in archaeological studies of object biographies (Joy 2009, 540). Kopytoff's first example focused on slavery, firstly by classing slaves as a commodity, stating the social implications of being a slave. This would remove all aspects of your identity and in turn your place in a society, becoming an item in financial exchange. Furthermore that while the slave loses social identity, he/she takes on a different identity in the commoditization process, and gaining new relationships with other agents as they are 'processed' (Kopytoff 1986, 65). This is especially important for archaeologists, the process of people/objects losing identity and then gaining new ones is applicable to both architecture and material culture as it progresses through the birth, life and death stages (Kopytoff 1986, 66).

Kopytoff's second example is that of Sulu huts. This example parallels both archaeological and anthropological approaches to biographies. Detailing that a hut will start off as a dwelling for either a family, or one section of a polygamous relationship; i.e. a wife and her children. However the biography of these huts shifts as time goes on and the physical state of the hut declines, leading to the function of the hut changing to something different, be it a guest house, storage room or merely a place for young adults to congregate and socialise. Indeed the physical state of the hut indicates exactly what use it should take on. There are social implications to this changing biography; namely that if the hut is in a particular state that is not in tandem with its desired use then it is considered a negative in Sulu culture (Kopytoff 1986, 67).

The majority of Kopytoff's paper is based solely on how commodities exist in economical spheres, however in some instances trade is a vital aspect of understanding societies through archaeology. Kopytoff uses politics to show the social implications of material culture, much like Appadurai did earlier in the same book, stating that in some societies (mainly Western) the governing bodies would stockpile and regulate the flow of certain commodities if they were believed to be

of importance, or thought to belong to that nation (Kopytoff 1986, 73). Both these papers use commodities as the backdrop to explore social relations and how they can affect the biographies of things as they exist within a culture. This is best illustrated in Kopytoff's demonstration that social systems impose certain rules and traits in how commodities and other objects are perceived, but also how they are used and exchanged in social systems (Kopytoff 1986, 89).

2.3. Object Biographies of Objects

2.3.1. Birth

The first theme identified is one that appears to be common in object biography literature, namely the belief that objects have a 'birth' 'life' and a 'death'. The 'birth' of an object refers to its creation, which in itself links people to manufacturing processes and resource procurement. This is highlighted in Geary's (1986) work on Carolingian Empire era relics. He shows that there are cultural ties that influence the object throughout its biography. For a relic to be created, the vessel in this instance a person must be deemed saintly. This process then bestows religious and supernatural aspects towards the body (Geary 1986, 169). Furthermore those who come into contact with the relics must accept that the object has these values associated with it, changing its object biography from simple remains to objects that were revered (Geary 1986, 175).

2.3.2 Life

The 'life' of an object can be considered its time spent within a society, being interacted with by people and existing within a society. An example of this is Joy's analyses of an Iron Age mirror, in which he shows that as the mirror has very few indications of wear on its reflective surface. From this he deduces that for a large part of the objects life it would have been covered to prevent damage (Joy 2009, 550). Geary's work shows how a medieval relic's 'lives' were altered, stating that the objects were either stolen or part of a tribute between people. This changed the biography of the object and brought about whole new social aspects tied to the object (Geary 1986, 175). Holtorf shows that the archaeological procedure behind the excavation of an object is part of the biography, and not a death of the object, rather a new 'birth'. He states that the object's 'life' is constant and that

the archaeological process of excavating and analysing the pot sherd are aspects of the biography. It is apparent that the pot which the sherd was a part of had a life as the complete pot, but when the sherd was found it started a new life as an archaeological specimen (Holtorf 2002, 55). This brings about ideas of 'afterlife' which is in contrast to the idea of the 'death' of an object. Indeed this idea of afterlife is generally discussed by Holtorf but not widely used outside of his work. Nevertheless the 'afterlife' can be thought of as part of the pot sherd's life, but under a new category of life as it has taken on a new physical and contested existence.

2.3.3 Death and Afterlife

Finally the 'death' of an object can be considered the object ceasing to be within a society or ceasing to be used for its intended purpose. Eckardt and Williams show this in the example of Etheldreda's coffin, where Roman building material had 'died' centuries before and reused to construct Etheldreda's coffin (Eckardt and Williams 2003, 142). This re-use of a perceived 'dead' piece of architecture raises the theme of an object having an 'afterlife'. When these objects were reused, it was an attempt of those in the Early Medieval period to create ties with the people of the Roman period, be they religious or cultural (Eckardt and Williams 2003, 143). This reuse of ancient material was also driven by a lack of natural building material in the immediate vicinity, and also to allow Etheldreda's burial to be 'proper' as both the Roman sarcophagus and Etheldreda have links to aspects of divinity and religion (Eckardt and Williams 2003, 145).

Another example demonstrated is the reuse of Roman copper-alloy disc brooches in Anglo-Saxon contexts, specifically those found in grave 83/2, which was excavated in Berin's field cemetery, Oxfordshire. One of the brooches was repaired by the replacement of an iron pin, which then allowed the brooch to function, thus giving the object back its primary use. This demonstrates that a once 'dead' object has taken on a new birth and life after being repaired (Eckardt and Williams 2003, 148).

2.3.4 Access

The theme of access is explored in the analyses of Nuxalk masks of British Columbia by Seip (1999). These masks were of great religious importance and revered so much that they were only ever seen in ritual ceremonies, with their 'downtime' resided in a hidden 'sacred place'. Access is also seen when some of the masks were traded with a collector for commodities. This trade was only able to be committed by the leader of the tribe in this case Klallamen was the one who had exclusive access to the masks and used that access for an economic gain. This had a resonating impact on Klallamen's life, as he was executed for trading away such an important religious item (Seip 1999, 277). This shows that an object's biography can be affected by the access people have to that object. A Nuxalk mask can only be passed down from the older generation to the younger one, binding the object with more access limitation. When smallpox broke out in the area it killed a high proportion of the older generation. This led to there being no one to pass down the masks. This denial of access of the younger generation to the masks had changed the 'life' aspect of their biography, from ceremonial items to unattainable parts of the tribe's history (Seip 1999, 27).

2.3.5 Linkage Between Objects and Architecture

Rainbird has shown that in some instances objects and architecture are linked. His example is that of the link between pottery and tomb architecture of the islands of Melanesia. He shows that there is a correlation between the two things, specifically the decline in pottery is met with an increase in tombs, leading him to believe that pottery material is being recycled for these tombs. The key to this paper is that the meaning hasn't changed, rather the material culture has changed from pottery to tomb but still maintaining the meaning which the pottery had (Rainbird 2007, 221).

2.3.6 Change in Meaning

Archaeologists have identified that objects throughout their existence can change in meaning, either through interactions with people, or indeed by 'dying' and being born again. Expanding on this Holtorf's pot sherd analogy, which highlights this theme well, the process of the pot sherd being buried and untouched for

hundreds of years, and eventually being excavated changed its meaning, from functional material to that of an archaeological subject (Holtorf 2002, 55). Saunders (1999) demonstrates a clear cut change in meaning in pearls harvested by Amerindians in the 15th century. The Amerindians viewed these objects as something of supernatural power due to their shiny exteriors. However the Europeans who they had come into contact with sought them as a commodity, thus once trade initiated the objects meanings changed from the supernatural object to the commodity as it passed from one party to the next (Saunders 1999, 246).

Whitley's (2002) paper shows that change in an object's meaning can occur in funerary rites, just as much as simple trade systems can. The 'warrior graves' are much rarer in the Early Iron Age than those of the Bronze Age example, but those that do exist were buried with 'antiques' such as the Lotus handled bronze jugs which were made almost 500 years before the Early Iron Age. This example highlights how the process of depositing objects that are older can change of the meaning of those objects, as they now hold different meanings than they had in earlier periods in which they had existed (Whitley 2002, 227).

Gosden and Marshall (1999) have identified that objects can have a particular association with a person within the Kula exchange system, but they can also gather new meaning in their biography through trade, and in turn the object can bestow a person with greater notoriety. However within this circulatory exchange system an object's biography can become completely lost, which gives the object a new 'birth' so that it can acquire meaning, which is specific to whoever possess it at a point in time (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170).

Cornish (2009) demonstrates the changing meaning of World War I machine guns. Some German machine guns were captured during assaults, changing their meaning from a weapon to something of a trophy. Cornish shows how recruitment offices requested captured guns to place in their recruitment offices. This change in meaning is directly influenced by a new social group acquiring an object and imposing their beliefs onto it (Cornish 2009, 32). There is another shift in meaning; to that of the machine gun as an icon. After the war had finished museums were quick to acquire these captured machine guns for the purpose of display. An example of turning the machine gun into an icon is that of members of the British Machine Gun Corps, who coated two of their Vickers guns in

bronze. This altering of physical state is again influenced by a society, as a means of commemorating their friends who had died during the war (Cornish 2009, 34).

Finally Joy's (2002) biography of his Grandfather's Distinguished Flying Cross brings up a change in meaning. Firstly that an item that is designed to be displayed as an item of commemoration can be considered its primary meaning, however this biography is immediately changed through its method of delivery and how his grandfather hides it from view for numerous years (Joy 2002, 135). Secondly, the change in meaning that is attributed to its theft is one bound by social roles and meaning, with Joy suspecting his great grandfather had stolen the medal, while Joy does not specifically explain the motives behind the possible theft it does show that external entities of society can change the meaning of an object (Joy 2002, 136). Thirdly, with the replica medal being created and presented, the meaning of the object changed, not necessarily the physical object which by this time had been lost forever, but the memory and identity of the object could be encapsulated by this replica (Joy 2002, 137).

2.3.7 Linkage Between People and Objects

Another, rather broad theme that is apparent in the literature is that people and objects are connected. There are numerous aspects to this theme; for example the Kula connects people to the objects they circulate through a system of meaning and a cultural biography that these objects exist within (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170). Last's (1998) investigation of Bronze Age barrows takes a different approach. The crux of his work is that when an individual is buried in a Bronze Age barrow (or any mortuary context) they have been altered, this is through the biography of that individual; be it warrior, sex, age etc. Furthermore he states that those who bury the individual impress their social biography upon the individual's burial; this is through the treatment of the dead and material culture placed with the individual within the mortuary context (Last 1998, 44).

Going back to Whitley's (2002) Aegean grave analyses, specifically the grave of King Thalos we can see a link between object and people. Thalos was a man of few 'warrior' qualities, but he still had five swords buried with him, which he was unlikely to have used, meaning that these items were intentionally placed by individuals of the society in which he ruled, creating the illusion that King Thalos was a warrior by deliberately altering the image of the deceased's grave (Whitley 2002, 222). From this example we can see that the link cannot be taken as a literal representation of a person through the deposition of objects. Links between objects and people/societies are bound in political, economical and

religious ways. Joy's use of this theme takes a different stance than those mentioned above. As Joy's biography of his grandfather's medal is a fairly recent biography, Joy is able to give a detailed biography of the object, his personal account is paramount to this. However Joy uses this unique situation to attach memory to the biography of the medal, using a memory he had with his uncle at a military installation, though not a direct link to the object it shows us how objects can conjure memories that have a tenuous link to an object (Joy 2002, 137).

2.3.8 Biographical Change of Person and Objects

The final theme that is identifiable in the literature is that the biographies of people can change along with an object. This is most notable in systems of trade. Referring to Saunder's work on trade between Amerindians and Europeans in the 15th Century, the trading mechanism that also brought a change of object biography for the object (pearls) also changed the biographies of both parties involved in the exchange. The Europeans turned the pearls into something of a fashion item, as well as their perception of the Amerindians which was one of savages that inhabited land of immense wealth. For the Amerindians their biography changed to that of desperate attempts of survival, with the Europeans controlling the demand of pearls, the risk of death increased as demand rose (Saunders 1999, 249). Ultimately, social and economic factors changed biographies of the societies associated, and in turn brought about an overall new biography for that object (Saunders 1999, 252).

2.4. Object Biographies of Architecture

Most of the literature tends to be focussed on biographies of objects. This section will showcase what literature is available on the implications of the life history/biographical approach to architecture in archaeology. This section will also contain some anthropological example, such as work by Bloch (1971) Howell (1995) and Riviére (1995). This decision to include anthropological studies was because they contained elements of object biographies, which are applicable to archaeology.

2.4.1 Birth, Life and Death

The 'birth', 'life' and 'death' model that seeks to study the creation, use and disposal of an object has been applied to the biographical studies of architecture, most notably by Holtorf and Gerritsen. Holtorf (1998) looks at the 'life' of a megalith by splitting it into three phases: child life, adult life and later life, which can considered the birth, life and death terms used by other archaeologists. There is a change in the biography during the child phase, as people from the Kugelamphoren culture (central Europe) often removed previous burials and restructured grave sites; this was to allow room so that the Kugelamphoren could bury their dead (Holtorf 1998, 25). The adult phase can be considered one of loss of primary use, and more towards later generations of the Kugelamphoren culture trying to stay in connection with the monuments, and in turn their ancestors. This was accomplished by carving cup marks into the megaliths. The later phase can be attributed to the destruction of some monuments; usually they were removed to make way so that roads and buildings could be placed in their place, primarily in the Medieval period. Holtorf sums up this treatment of megaliths, stating that the loss of primary use of burial for people of the Kugelamphoren culture is the root cause of the 'desecration' (Holtorf 1998, 33).

Gerritsen's biography of Bronze Age and Iron Age houses in the Netherlands highlights the two terms; 'birth' and death'. The 'birth' can be attributed to the building of these structures, stating that a house would have stood as a focal point for the inhabitants' own biographies as well as social identity of the culture as a whole. The 'death' of a house can generally be attributed to it being abandoned or destroyed by being set on fire, however Gerritsen notes that some examples where the building takes on secondary uses (Gerritsen 1999, 88).

The first example from the anthropological literature is that of Maurice Bloch's study of the Zafimaniry people of Madagascar and the links they have with their architecture. Firstly the theme of death is demonstrated with the use of a historical source, namely that the village architecture was burnt down by the French in 1947. This effectively demonstrates the 'death' of the architectural biography. However Bloch's work goes on to highlight the reconstruction of the village and what the biography of this architecture is, by using anthropological investigation (see chapter 2.4.3) (Bloch 1995, 70). The process of both the construction and maintaining of a Zafimaniry house shows both the biographies of

people and the architecture, with the subsequent social factors intertwined within both those biographies. The birth of the house's biography starts as soon as the couple begin their relationship, being constructed by the man out of wood and thatch. There is a second 'birth' in the rituals needed to be performed so that the structure can be lived in, thus serving its 'life' portion of the biography (Bloch 1995, 75). One of the defining factors of the 'life' section of a Zafimaniry house biography is its acquisition of 'bones'. These large pieces of wood seek to replace and strengthen the flimsy materials used at the 'birth' of the house. Social factors surrounding these 'bones' reflect the physical intention of the architecture. The strengthening of the house seeks to strengthen the social factors in which it is used. Once the original couple has died their children will inhabit it and so on, gaining more 'bones'. However, even though the original inhabitants no longer occupy a physical presence, the architectural properties of the house allow them to still be remembered by the subsequent generations. So the 'bones' of the house gather and with it the memory and meaning of the social factors it was twinned with strengthen as well, the more bones the more robust a 'life' the architecture has thus prolonging the biography (Bloch 1995, 79). Bloch concludes that when the village was first destroyed it wasn't just physical architecture being destroyed, rather it was also the social factors that were bound to a house, in particular 'holy houses' - simply houses which had borne children within them. This loss of 'holy houses' was a major factor for the 'rebirth' of the village as the holy house represented social lineage through architecture (Bloch 1995, 82).

Howell's (1995) investigation into the Lionese house of the Lio tribe demonstrates a section of the life of architecture which can affect the biography. The village architecture of the tribes varies within any given settlement, some structures are deemed to be of greater importance than others, which is evident where houses are treated as less important than so called 'ceremonial houses'. This categorising of architecture can lead to the biography changing throughout its life. With the Lio it manifests in the structure of the architecture, with houses being structured in a different way to that of the ordinary house. Furthermore the Lio temples are similar in structural layout to that of the 'ceremonial houses', showing that architectural biography is affected by social factors of design and thought (Howell 1995, 155).

Riviére's study of architecture in Guiana brings about an interesting conclusion into the life of a house, namely that some villages have several types of house, while others have only one. He concludes that of those of multiple types, village society will decide on one being the 'proper' house design. This statement shows that within societies physical and social factors will affect the birth, life, death aspect of the object biography, namely by

deeming a structure the typical house that then alters the life to represent its 'status' (Riviére 1995, 191).

2.4.2 Linkage between People and Architecture

The theme of linkage between people and objects is tangible in architectural studies. The examples put forward by Gerritsen (1999) also show this theme of connectivity, throughout a house's 'birth', 'life' and 'death' it had been in constant contact with its inhabitants. What is most striking about this example is the secondary uses the house attained after its 'death'. These secondary uses can be attributed to the large scale deposition or pottery, or a place in which small fires are lit inside (Gerritsen 1999, 88). In summary Gerritsen identifies that the 'life' of these structures is one constructed by the inhabitants and the culture in which both entities existed. Repairs to the structures and secondary uses confirm this notion (Gerritsen 1999, 95).

This theme has been explored by Hodder (1999) and his work on Neolithic tombs and houses, specifically that when architecture is created it contains meanings of the society which constructed it. But architecture also has the ability to influence people and how they experience the world around them. Furthermore the similarities in house and tomb architecture, as they both contain rituals and processes which humans interact with (Hodder 1994, 74). This view is also supported by Parker Pearson and Richards who state that architecture is bounded by meanings and ideology of both the people constructing the architecture, and society in which they inhabit (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, 6). They further go on to state that when people use architecture, the process of confinement and shelter affect the inhabitant (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, 40).

Bloch's (1971) Madagascan work has highlighted this occurrence of social factors altering how the architecture is used. His first observation was that a tomb can only be opened once a year, leading to the latter burial occurring in a temporary grave outside of the tomb. This observation shows that the architecture is linked to the people which use it, and furthermore it shows that social factors have altered how the architecture is used throughout its 'life'. The second observation is that if an individual had died due to a disease their body must be clean of all flesh before being allowed burial rites in the tomb (Bloch 1971, 140). This is a more practical linkage between people and architecture, the physical properties of the body have to be considered before being allowed to interact with the architecture. Bloch's third observation towards the attitude of burying individuals

in temporary graves immediately after death rather than a tomb burial is a practical one, much like the above point on a body stricken with disease. Bloch observes that each body must be buried with a number of 'Zamba Mena', a shroud specifically made for burial which is an expensive item. This item is required to be buried within a tomb, so what occurs is a temporary burial while funds are acquired so that these Zamba Mena can be bought (Bloch 1971, 140). This observation is more accustomed to financial factors, but does show that there is a link between the tomb architecture and the society which interacts with it, the set rules for funerary rites have a direct impact on how the architecture is used.

The houses of the Lio people who inhabit areas of Indonesia have a similar connection between architecture and the society which inhabit them, something that is noted by Howell (1995). She notes that the house in which a particular Lio family would inhabit serves not only as shelter, but also a link between them and their ancestor, so that it is a 'proof of origin' for them (Howell 1995, 163). However Howell concludes that the house only serves this purpose and furthermore its functional purposes, while the Kéda (temple) serves the whole village in linking them with the order and structure in which the social factors are founded on (Howell 1995, 164).

2.4.3 Architecture Altering Social Factors

Bloch's work on the funerary rites of inhabitants of Madagascar highlights some interesting ways in which the architecture, in this case a tomb, can alter the social factors of a society. He observed that no children of the age of 5 or below were allowed to be buried in the tomb, believing that the tomb doors were 'too heavy' for the infant to open. The infant would be temporarily buried until an adult was placed in the tomb, where the child would be included in the same ceremony (Bloch 1971, 139).

This idea of architecture influencing social factors is echoed in a study undertaken by Horton (1994) into Swahili settlements. He deduces that the architecture in some of the towns have a direct link to the amount of clans that would inhabit that settlement. He further states that clans may replace existing ones but never going above the set amount. Furthermore he believes this to be directly linked to the physical limitations of the architecture in which these clans reside, showing that the architecture affects how the society interacts within the architecture (Horton 1994, 151). Horton then goes on to show a link between architecture and the society which inhabit it, namely the use of the term 'Mlango'. This is the name associated with the clans which translates as 'gateway' (Horton 1994, 151). At Shanga there are seven gateways leading into the central area, furthermore

there are a recorded seven clans in this settlement. We can therefore make the link between the architecture and clans, which are then twinned with the 'Mlango' idea to show that architecture had influenced the society in which it resided (Horton 1994. 163). Another example of this idea is highlighted by Horton. Horton shows how numerous settlements on the Comoro islands contain a large central building in a number of settlements called 'fumboni'. These structures facilitated large social occasions: weddings, funerals, meetings etc. This observation shows that the architecture and its properties, namely being in the centre of town and large enough to accommodate such gatherings has affected the society (Horton 1994, 156).

Bloch (1995) states that social factors are directly affected by the state of architecture in the village. Observing that the tribe does not recognise what we call a 'marriage' (i.e. a sexual union between two people) unless there is some form of house architecture present (Bloch 1995, 72). Another observation is that of the inclusion of a sculpted bird figurine which is attached to the exterior of a Zafimaniry house that is occupied by a 'married' couple. What is interesting about the inclusion of this piece of architecture is the social factors in which it is bound by, specifically that if the marriage was under duress then the bird would 'fly away'. This social factor clearly highlights that architecture is a key indicator of state of social ties within a community (Bloch 1995, 73).

Howell (1995) places emphasis on the rebuilding of the Keda, the temple of the Lio people. As well as being a part of the birth, life, death dynamic of an object biography, it also contains social factors which it affects as the biography is changed. The ceremony that takes place during the process is the most important part of a Lio person's life. Furthermore it requires that all descendants of the original ancestors be present. From this we can see that the architectural process of rebuilding is indeed changing the biography of the architecture but also affecting those who interact with it (Howell 1995, 158).

2.4.4 Change in Architectural Purpose

Bloch's (1971) work on the people of Madagascar also highlights the use of their houses during the period after a death has occurred in a village. He observed that when a death occurred the house and its purpose changed, the 'living room' was cleared and the north-east section was sectioned off as this was held to be a 'special' area. This shows that the purpose has changed from a structure meant to house the living, to something of a house for the dead individual (Bloch 1971, 141). Indeed the village would come to observe the dead in the house, which contains a number of rituals mostly concerning food being given

out. The idea of 'special' parts of structures can also be seen in the tombs in which they were eventually buried, the top shelf of the north side was considered the most important part of the tomb (Bloch 1971, 144). This shows that the purpose of the tomb hasn't strictly changed but has new meanings attached much like the 'special' area of a house that is accommodating the dead.

2.5 Discussion: The Interpretation of Object Biographies

The above sections have demonstrated the application of the object biography method to archaeology and anthropology, each demonstrating how the approaches can give a more detailed account of an object or structure. It is clear that no object is exclusively contained within its biography or the culture in which it exists. External factors such as ideology, reuse or economic gain can change the biography and the cultural biography.

However there have been papers that seek to analyse the method of object biography itself. There has already been brief mention of Joy's (2009) paper in the introduction to this literature review and will be highlighted in more detail towards the end of this discussion. Dobres' (2010) work on the use of chaîne opératoire and its application to archaeology. This term highlights an important aspect to studying objects within culture, namely that technological innovation can provide material change, but at the same time as the technology changes, the society in which it exists also changes with it. From an archaeological standpoint this view is of great importance, as objects and architecture are influenced by technical change (Dobres 2010, 159).

In Olsen's (2003) paper on the idea of 'social life' the relationship between objects and people is considered a riposte to the work on landscape studies, of which names such as Tilley, Miller and Buchli are mentioned within his paper. He states that material that makes up an object or architecture are but a fragmented representation of the object or society in which it existed, not something that was part of that society (Olsen 2003, 89). Olsen states an important aspect of studying biographical archaeology, is that objects cannot be 'detached' from what we are studying. For instance in modern archaeology, in which we deal with objects that have a tangible link to ourselves and societies, an example can be seen with the living memory aspects of World War I archaeology in Saunders (2002) work on artillery shells and their biography, one of fear and death that we attribute to the war and the role artillery played within it (Saunders 2002, 32).

I finish this section by highlighting Joy's (2009) 'reinvigoration' of the object biography method. Joy highlights the work of Strathern on the Kula society, stating that a biography is not always a linear progression of exchange. In this example he identifies that the objects that circulate in the Melanesian culture have several 'lives' and 'deaths' as they pass between owners (Joy 2009, 544). He also highlights work by Gosden and Marshall into how objects change meanings throughout their lives, namely by the level of use or damage the object has incurred (Joy 2009, 545). He also investigates his own example of an Iron Age mirror. Using the objects construction and decoration to come to a conclusion as to exactly who made it, Joy states that the design and decoration is so well defined that it could only be made by an individual or a set of individuals belonging to a particular group. He uses the same approach used in the construction of the object to determine its 'life' after construction. Joy asks the question of what did not happen to the object, something that has rarely been explored in the object biography studies in the sections above. Referring back to the mirror example, the mirror plate itself had retained no scratches, leading to the assumption that the mirror was covered for the majority of the objects life, thus not allowing the object to be damaged (Joy 2009, 550). This is good example of physical indicators of biography, which is it at the heart of my study of British pillboxes and defensive structures.

2.6 Conclusion

The object biography approach in archaeology is clearly one of great potential. By analysing the objects themselves, and any historical data available, archaeologists are able to draw conclusions on the life of the object and to some extent the death of the object. The fundamental aspect of object biographies is that they are not strict; they can be non-linear, hidden and sometimes altered by external factors. They can take on new meanings as they are constantly reused or reinterpreted, the Roman brooch example being the most clear of this. There does seem to be a bias towards portable material culture being the focus of object biography studies; however those that have studied architecture have taken on the ideas of object biographies and applied them well. The societies in which the objects and architecture exist play a key role in the biographies, as they constantly interact with the objects, however once hidden from view and rediscovered in an archaeological context they then take on a new meaning. Archaeologists are but another entity that interacts with objects and architecture.

Chapter Three: Methodology

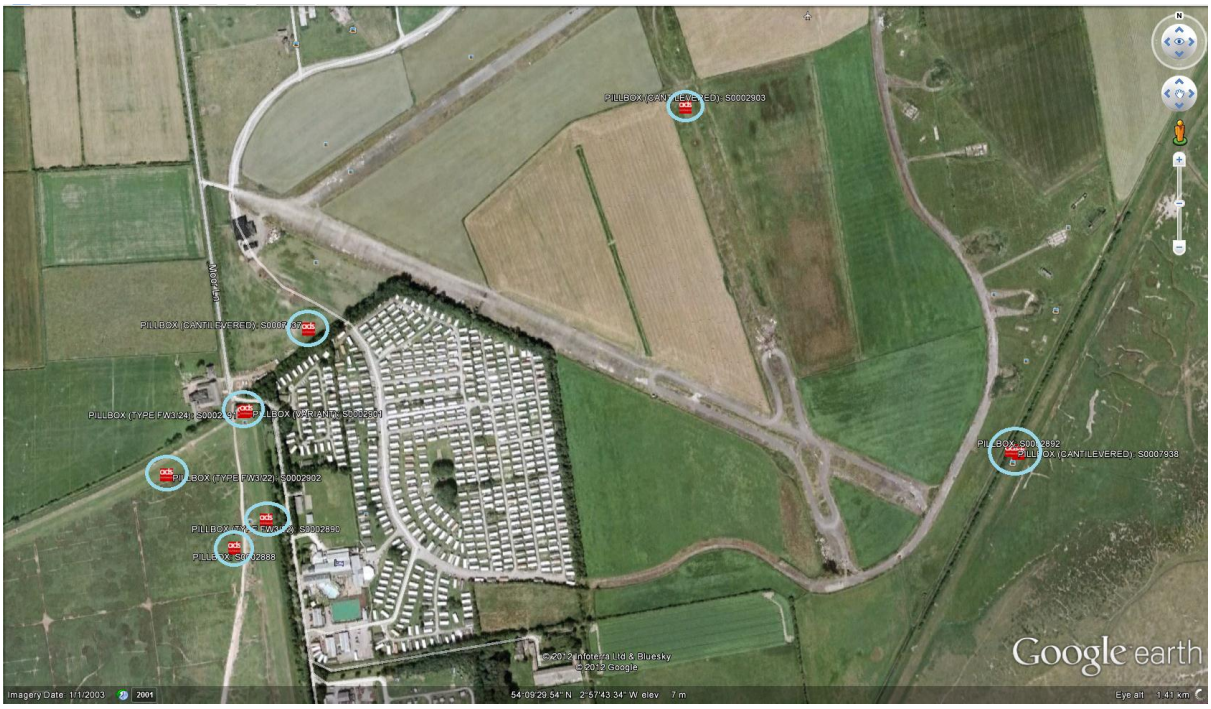
The research I conducted was regarding the biography of World War II pillboxes in both Lancashire and Cumbria, and also the biography of defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc. To ascertain parts of the biography, I had to identify the location of each specific structure, using maps, historical sources, local knowledge and defence databases. Once the site had been located a field survey was conducted, the process of field surveying is expanded on in section 3.2.

3.1 Identifying Potential Sites

Before conducting a survey of the pillboxes in both Lancashire and Cumbria, there was a phase of identifying the location and number of surviving pillboxes. This served the purpose of ascertaining exactly how many pillboxes survive and with this knowledge I then chose the parameters for my survey, which for Lancashire was that I surveyed all pillboxes that would reside to the west of the M6 motorway, this was to allow only pillboxes that were related to the coast and stop line along the Leeds-Liverpool canal to be surveyed. The Cumbrian survey was restricted to pillboxes that were relatively close to the coastline. This decision was made so that the surveyed structures would coincide with the defensive structures of Normandy, which all were located on the coast. Furthermore upon conducting the survey I discovered that the majority of sites were indeed close to either the coast or a defensive stopline along a canal.

When deciding which pillboxes were going to be surveyed a few omissions had to be made. There are numerous pillboxes on the Defense of Britain survey that do not have confirmed locations, this could have led to wasted time and resources that would then impact the overall survey. Numerous pillboxes also have an unknown condition, meaning that they may have been destroyed or removed giving the same results as the previous point. Some sites were extremely remote, and were not feasible to be studied.

The Defence of Britain survey which recorded the majority of British defences produced an overlay. This overlay was compatible with the Google Earth computer program, which showed the position, type and condition of pillboxes that have been identified. Referring to figure 3.1, it shows how a recorded structure appears on the map.



(Figure 3.1 Example of pillboxes surrounding Cark Airfield. Sites that have been recorded by the Defence of Britain Survey are shown as red squares (highlighted in the teal circles). The position of each separate square attributes itself to the location in which a particular defence was recorded).

Upon clicking the logo another window appears. This can be seen in figure 3.2. The windows contain information about the structure and small description of the structure. This overlay was a useful tool in identifying the surviving pillboxes. The information provided with the location allowed me to work out which pillboxes survive and how I could go about getting to them. The survey and its aforementioned overlay proved very important to my research on the pillboxes of Lancashire and Cumbria, cutting down on the time needed to locate my data set allowing for more efficient field research.

(Figure 3.2 After a red square icon is highlighted the above box appears, detailing data related to the pillbox such as condition, type and location. Some recorders include photos of the defensive structure which complements the information)

Oral histories have proved to be an important resource in locating pillboxes. The Defence of Britain Survey did not locate and record all the pillboxes in Britain, which could have led to some pillboxes being left out of my research. Using pillbox LA06 as an example, that pillbox is not recorded on the survey nor on the overlay provided, but while conducting a survey of other pillboxes in the area speaking to local inhabitants pointed out LA06. This example shows that all avenues had to be explored to ascertain the highest volume of pillboxes for analyses.

There have been some issues that have arisen while conducting the identification phase. These issues have arisen from researching the pillboxes of Lancashire. Perhaps the biggest problem in my method of using the Defence of Britain survey overlay is that of validity, of both the recorded position and if the pillbox has been removed even if the survey says it exists. A site has been recorded on the survey, only to find that it has either been destroyed, or is an entirely different place. Indeed this problem of misreported sites can hamper the overall outcome of my research. If a site does exist, but is misplaced on the survey, it may be missed.

Whereas a site that is recorded but no longer exists is merely a logistical issue in my methodology.

Another problem that has arisen is that of remoteness. Some pillboxes are located in remote areas where public transportation is not a viable option. This makes ascertaining a complete set of data difficult, which can have adverse effects on the research as a whole.

3.2 Recording

Before conducting the field survey, I first had to determine exactly what parameters I wanted to record. The most important parameters are the physical indicators of biography; damage, material culture, alterations and graffiti. These four parameters show evidence of interaction with a structure. Furthermore they demonstrate the biography or shifts in the biography of a particular structure. The primary parameters to record, such as dimensions, material composition, type, and condition and site code were determined to be key things to record. Parameters such as GPS location, Defence of Britain survey number and location were not as necessary but were good to include, giving me a complete set of fields to consider. After the first couple of site visits, perhaps the greatest problem was cohesively recording the total graffiti and material culture in and around each pillbox. This led me to create a two page form, which allowed recording of the physical indicators of biography (material culture, damage, alterations and graffiti) as well as parameters like dimensions, condition, composition and so on. The form made the process of recording a pillbox much quicker; furthermore it makes referring back to a site that was recorded in the past easier to understand. A blank form used for all the pillboxes researched in Lancashire and Cumbria can be seen in figure 3.3

The actual process of recording was as follows: I would travel to where the site was recorded on the Defence of Britain Survey map, using either photos that were attached to the pillbox record, or the descriptions of the pillbox location that was also attached. What is apparent from numerous Lancashire sites is that they are located either on stop lines, or very close to landmarks such as bridges. This small detail has helped speed up the process of locating a certain pillbox. Once located

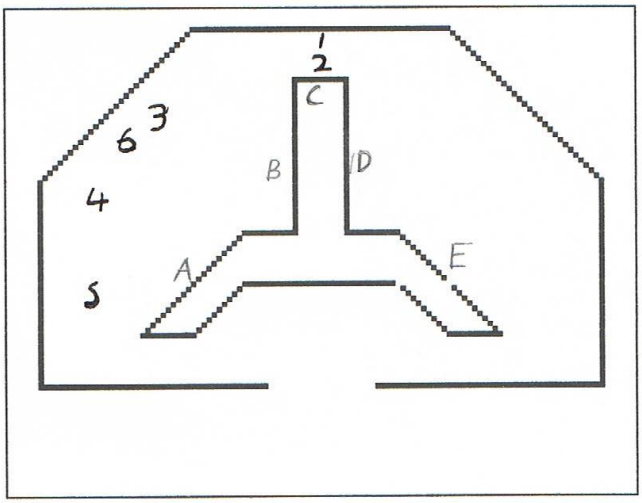
the parameters listed on the form were completed, I used a tape measure to determine dimensions, along with a general viewing of its condition, material composition and location suffice to complete this part. After this is completed the next phase is to draw a plan of the pillbox. This serves two purposes, the first being that I can accurately reference where the material culture resides either in or around the pillbox, and the second is similar but applies to the location of graffiti. These two factors are probably the most important part of the recording process, as they are key indicators of change in the biography of the architecture. The graffiti is of direct relevance to my work, and the second page of my recording form is dedicated to this, using a series of graffiti 'panels' which correlate to a section of wall, which in turn is referenced on the first page of the form. All this culminates to give a clear and simple record of what each pillbox is, and what has happened to it up until the point of my visit. A completed form can be seen in figure 3.4, showing exactly what was recorded at each site that was surveyed.

The defences of Pointe du Hoc were easy to locate, having previously visited the site at an earlier date I did not have to use as many resources to locate the site as much as the English pillboxes. The recording side of my research at Pointe du Hoc was identical to that of the English pillboxes. There was a variety of defensive structures on the Pointe, ranging from artillery emplacements to casemates (large bunkers housing artillery). The decision was made to record all forms of architecture here to gain a fuller picture of the biography, as each piece of architecture worked in tandem with each other to provide a solid defence. To record the structures the recording form seen below in figure 3.3 was used, but not completely used as measuring these structures was too complicated due to their size and shape. No GPS were ascertained on site because I could not get a device for the survey, and there are obviously no Defence of Britain records for it. Apart from these omissions the rest of the form was used, making the process of recording more structured. Like the English pillboxes all graffiti and material culture was recorded in both written records and photographic records.

Site Record

Site Code: LA01	**Type**: FW3/24	**Human Interaction**
Length: 2.40m (Per Side)	**GPS**: 0513542 - 5938289	**Graffiti** ✓
Width: -		**Material Culture** ✓
Height: 2.35m	**DOB**: S0002942	**Physical Damage**
Composition: Concrete, metal reinforcements	**Condition**: Good	**Alterations**
Location: Leeds-Liverpool canal, south bank.		

Plan



1: Paper Bag	11:
2: Bounty Wrapper	12:
3: Bread Wrapper	13:
4: Felix Wrapper	14:
5: Plastic Bag	15:
6: Broken Glass	16:
7:	17:
8:	18:
9:	19:
10:	20:

Environmental Factors

- Very Little vegetation surrounding the pillbox, mostly grass but large wood to the south of the structure.
- Moss on exterior and roof, can see some 'staining' at the entrance.

Exterior Material Culture

- No litter, only power line post directly east of the structure, blue tubing close to the entrance

Relation to other Structures

- Only pillbox close is LA04 but is quite a distance away, and appears to be defending its adjacent bridge.

Other notes

- Very inaccessible, south closed by large wood and gate, west approach almost impossible due to no footpath. Only way to get to it is either from the canal, or through the Skelmsdale water treatment plant.

(Fig 3.3 Complete first page of recording form. Showing general information at the top for information on a particular pillbox. The middle section is designed to show layout and subsequent positioning of material culture (noted by numbers on the layout). The lower section dedicated to simple notes that compliment the above two sections)

Fig 3.4 Complete second page of the recording form, on the first page pillbox drawing had annotated letters, these letters represent a particular pillbox wall, which then are shown in each corresponding panel.

To complement the form, numerous photographs were taken. The photos usually followed a pattern, starting with establishing photographs of the outer walls of the pillbox. This is to give reference to the condition and type mainly. The next set of photos were the inside flooring. To not mix up the images and their location within the pillbox. I took photos from the right side of the pillbox and work round anti-clockwise. This method of working anti-clockwise was also used for the last set of photos, which are of the inner wall and where applicable the anti ricochet wall found at the centre of the pillbox. This process of recording anti-clockwise was so that I had a reference point if I came back to the photos at a later date, so that I could easily work out where I was looking at within the structure.

3.3 Problems During Recording

There are however issues that have arisen during the process of recording. One of the more immediate problems that have arisen was that of access, both physical and private. Physical access can be considered physical boundaries that may impede access to a pillbox, natural boundaries like a canal or ditches have in some cases made it difficult to access a pillbox. Other boundaries like man-made fences and other built boundaries serve the same purpose. Private access is certainly a problem, if a pillbox resides on land owned by a company or a private resident then I have no right to walk onto that land. However this problem has been remedied by talking to the land owner or people of authority working on private land. Taking LA01 as an example which resided upon private land, that was difficult to access both through gaining permission and navigating past fences erected to close the land off. There has not been any pillbox I was unable to access after talking with the land owner, however I believe the issue is merely one of delaying the amount of time needed to survey a pillbox.

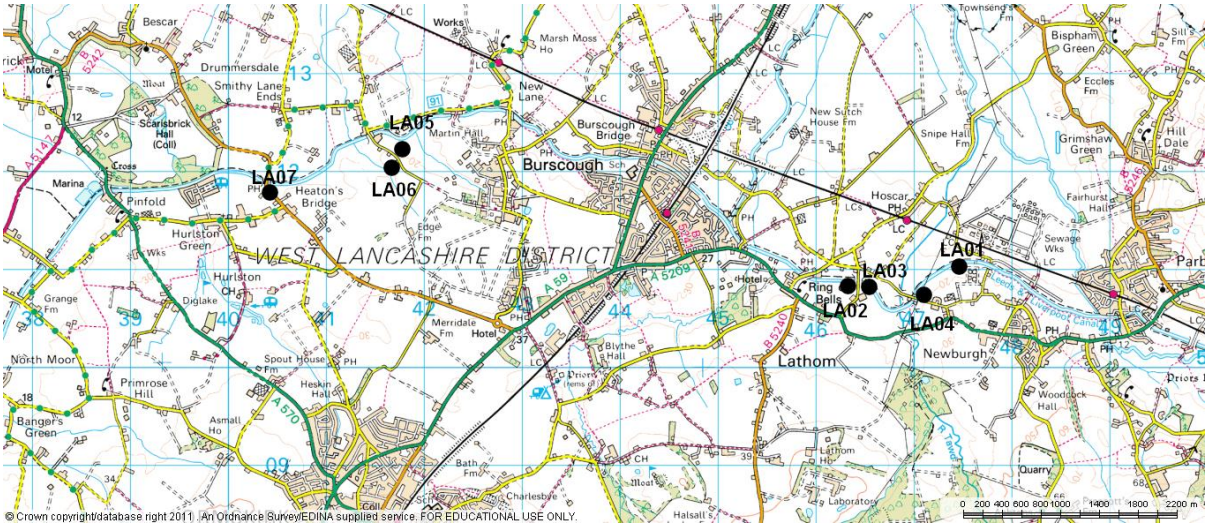
Another issue that cropped up while surveying pillboxes was that of unrecorded sites, such as the case of a pillbox that was not recorded by the Defence of Britain survey. In fairness this pillbox had been heavily modified and it required me to talk to locals to discover it. This highlights the problem that I may have missed pillboxes that simply been missed by the Defence of Britain survey, and shows that the best tool in identifying pillbox location it is to talk to locals to ensure pillboxes are not missed.

Chapter Four: Data Results

4.1.1 Overview: Lancashire Pillboxes

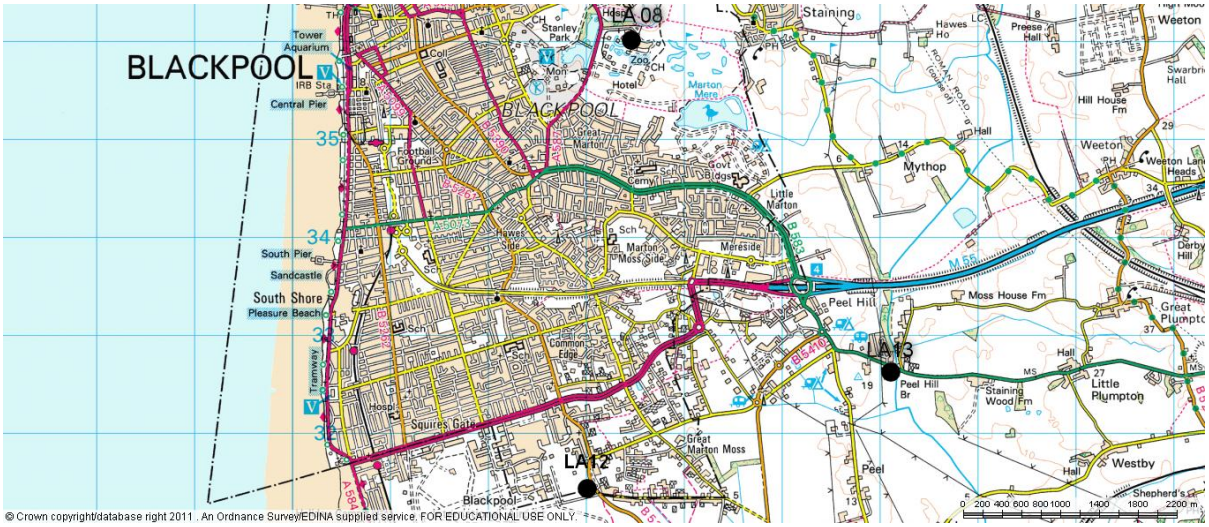
A total of 14 pillboxes have been recorded in the county of Lancashire. The pillboxes surveyed are generally part of a coastal or stop line defence system. The majority of these pillboxes are located on the Leeds-Liverpool canal, which was used as a stop line, specifically stop line 14. The area where these pillboxes survive is classed as Defence Area 42 on the Defence of Britain Survey. Pillboxes LA01 through LA11 reside on or close to the stop line, usually at specific points i.e. defending a bridge as in the case of LA07. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the locations of these pillboxes. LA13 is not on stop line 14; however it serves the same purpose as the above pillboxes protecting an adjacent bridge.

LA12 serves a different purpose to those pillboxes protecting the stop line. This pillbox is situated close to Blackpool Airport, and along with two pillboxes which could not be recorded it formed an interconnected defence of that airfield. Furthermore two other pillboxes resided on railway bridges and thus were impossible to survey. The remaining pillboxes, LA13 and LA14 seem to serve a different purpose as they are nowhere near a bridge or important installation to defend, rather defences created inland to allow a fixed point of defence.

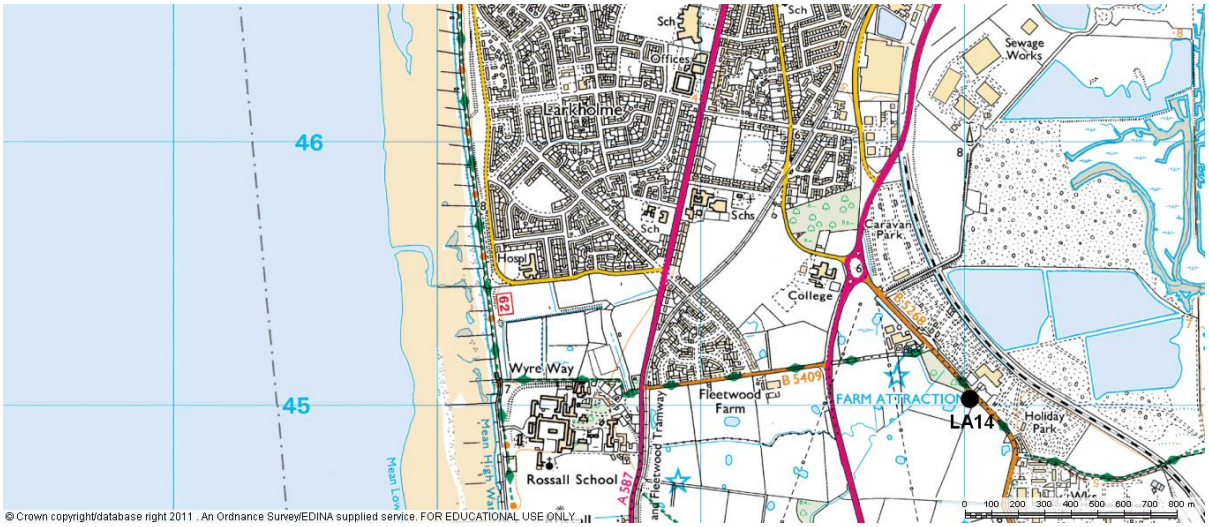


(Figure 4.1 Location of surveyed Lancashire pillboxes LA01-LA07, two clusters of pillboxes; one East of Burscough and the second to the West of Burscough, all of which are located on or near to a bridge over the Leeds-Liverpool Canal)

(Figure 4.2 Location of Lancashire pillboxes LA09, LA10 and LA11 all found on or near the Leeds-Liverpool Canal)



(Figure 4.3 Location of South Blackpool pillboxes LA08, LA12 and L13)



(Figure 4.4 Location of LA14 North section of Fleetwood, the only pillbox found North of Blackpool)

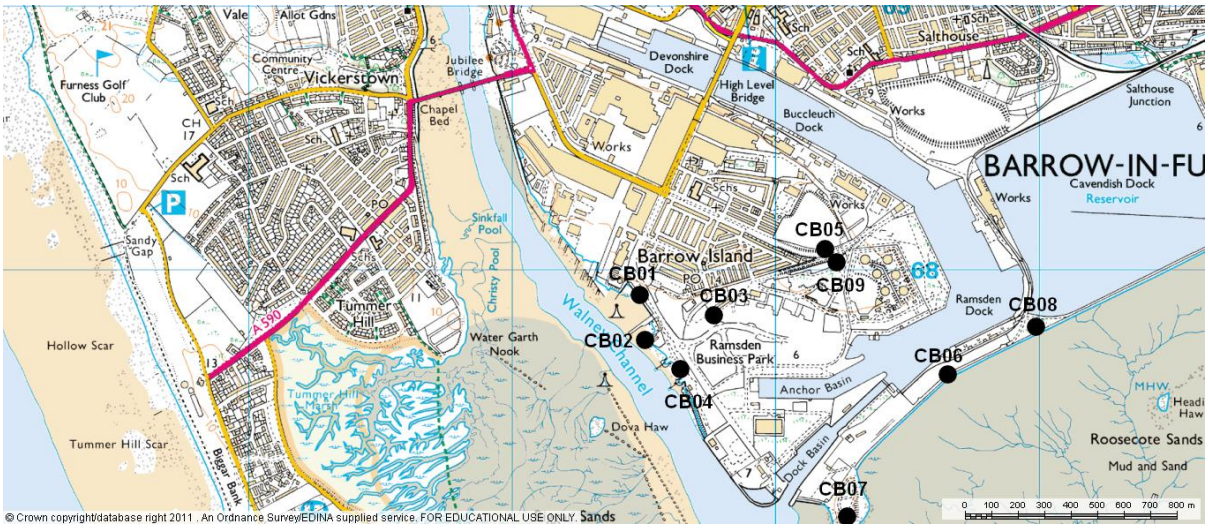
The pillboxes of this region are for the most part of the Fortifications and Works 3 type 24, which is a hexagonal shape but with a wider wall at the rear to accommodate the entrance and two loopholes. The other types being one type 22, one two storey bricked structure and the second largest concentration of open-topped pillboxes which are square in shape. The majority of these pillboxes (apart from the Type 22) are constructed to be bullet proof, whereas this particular type 22 appears to be armoured enough to withstand shells as well as bullets (Osborne 2008, 138). Table 4.1 highlights the proportions of pillbox typology in this region.

Table 4.1 Lancashire Pillbox Types

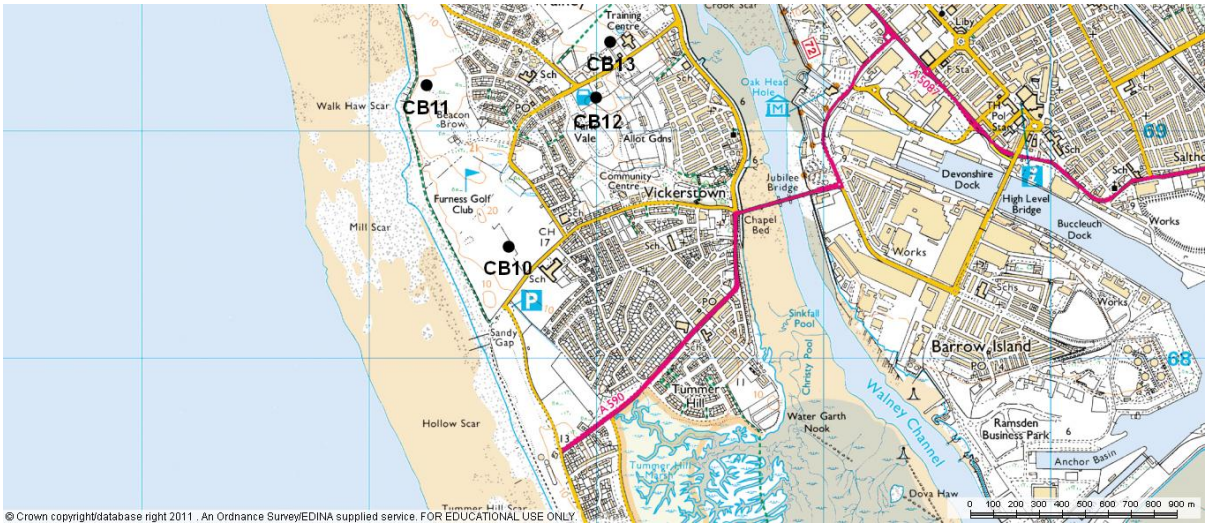
Type	Count
FW3/Type 24	7
Unknown	2
FW3/ Open Topped	5
FW3/22	1

4.1.2 Overview: Cumbrian Pillboxes

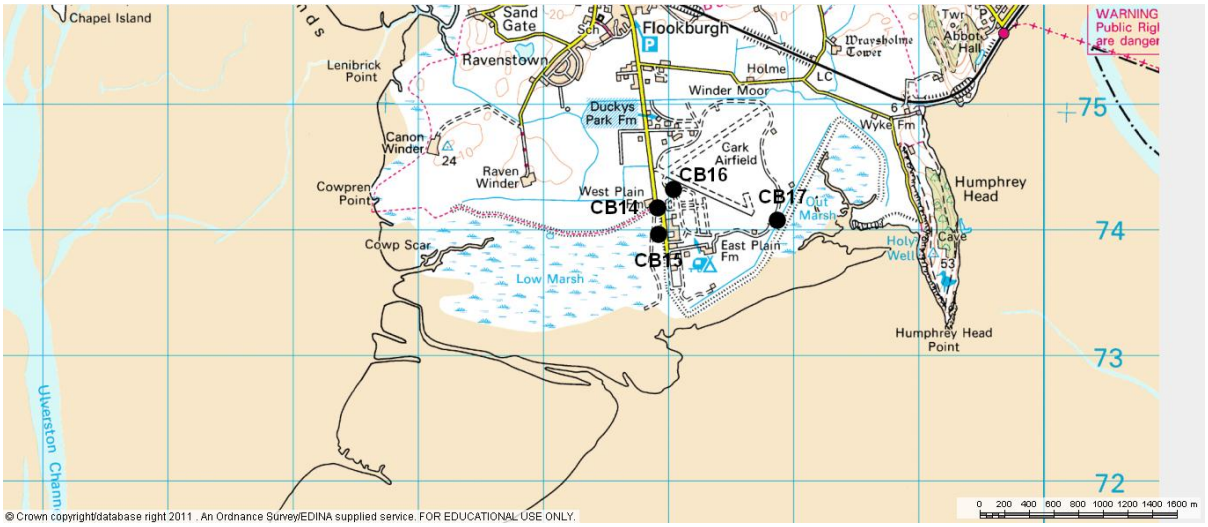
There were 17 pillboxes recorded in Cumbria residing in two clusters along the southern coast of the county. The first cluster is located two miles south of the town of Cark, roughly 12 miles east of Barrow-in-Furness. This cluster consists of four surviving pillboxes that are associated with Cark Airfield. There were more pillboxes in the region however these have been removed sometime after the war had ended (See Figure 4.7). The second, much larger cluster can be located in the South Barrow Island and the adjacent Walney Island. This cluster consists of 13 pillboxes. Four reside on Walney Island with the other nine positioned along the coast of South Barrow Island, and the old railway line that once ran through the Island (Figure 4.5).



(Figure 4.5 Location of Cumbrian pillboxes CB01 through CB09, all located on the South Barrow Island)



(Figure 4.6 Location of Cumbrian pillboxes CB10 through CB13, all of which are located on Walney Island, West of South Barrow Island)



(Figure 4.7 Location of CB14 through CB17, located South of Cark all of which are positioned to defend Cark Airfield)

The typology of these clusters shows an almost universal adoption of the FW3/Type 24 design of pillbox. A total of 10 are located exclusively in the South Barrow Island and Walney Island cluster. The Walney Island Type 24 pillboxes in particular are a unique variation on the design, which sees the square loopholes located on the edges of the pillbox walls rather than the flat sides, what makes this design even more peculiar is the incorporation of secondary slit loopholes on the lower sections of the front three sides of the structure allowing for greater firepower to be displaced from the structure (Osborne 2008, 125) (Figure 4.28 shows an

example of this rare pillbox type). The Type 24 designs of the South Barrow Island pillboxes follow the more standard design of loopholes situated on the rear entrance wall and on each section of wall; however they do exhibit a small difference on the entrance wall, with a section of wall either side of the entrance protruding outwards (see Figure 4.8). There are two standard FW3/Type 22 pillboxes one at the Cark cluster and one at the South Barrow Island cluster. South Barrow Island also contains the only FW3/Type 23 found during the entire field research, a rectangular design which allows for an anti-aircraft weapon to be fired from its rear while still providing fire via a slit in the front section. The Cark cluster had two examples of the Cantilevered pillbox design (Defence of Britain Designation), a mushroom shaped design which allowed for a full 360° of fire out of the structure (Osborne 2008, 238) (Figure 4.9). Finally there are two pillboxes that could not be identified through the Defence of Britain Project, or Osborne's typology. CB06 was badly damaged and only a front wall survives, however this may be the original design. The other pillbox is located at the Cark cluster, a pentagonal design with only two loopholes it does not have an official type of name attached to its particular design.

(Figure 4.8 Entrance of CB01 with elongated doorway, forming a porch like area outside the pillbox)

(Figure 4.9 One of two Cantilevered type pillboxes in the Cark cluster, specifically CB16)

Table 4.2 Cumbrian Pillbox Types

Type	Count
FW3/24	10
FW3/22	2
FW3/23	1
Unknown	2
FW3/ Cantilevered	2

4.1.3 Overview: Pointe Du Hoc Defences

There are nine pieces of architecture that fall under the category of 'defensive structure', with the other structures either being too badly damaged or artillery fixings which do not add any relevant data. Pointe du Hoc's defences differ greatly from those of both Lancashire and Cumbria, the designs of the structures are completely different. There are two surviving casemate structures on the Pointe, which were large artillery positions to shelter the artillery. Furthermore the front end of the casemate structures are completely open allowing the artillery to be positioned accurately and not allow any obstruction. There is also one observation bunker (PH09), which is similar in design to the Cantilevered pillbox, with a frontal dome shape allowing vision out onto the English Channel. The remaining structures are bunkers set into the earth, presumably to hide the profile of the structure so that it would be difficult to target.

(Figure 4.10 Overview of the location of defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc)

The above image (Figure 4.10) highlights the recorded structures' location; PH09 (observation bunker) is situated at the most northerly section of the Pointe. The remaining structure appear to follow a defensive line from the south-west along to the north-east, allowing the structures and the now removed machine gun nests to coordinate their fire to give the maximum amount of defence possible. The table below gives the exact number of each type of structure.

Table 4.3 Pointe du Hoc Structure Types

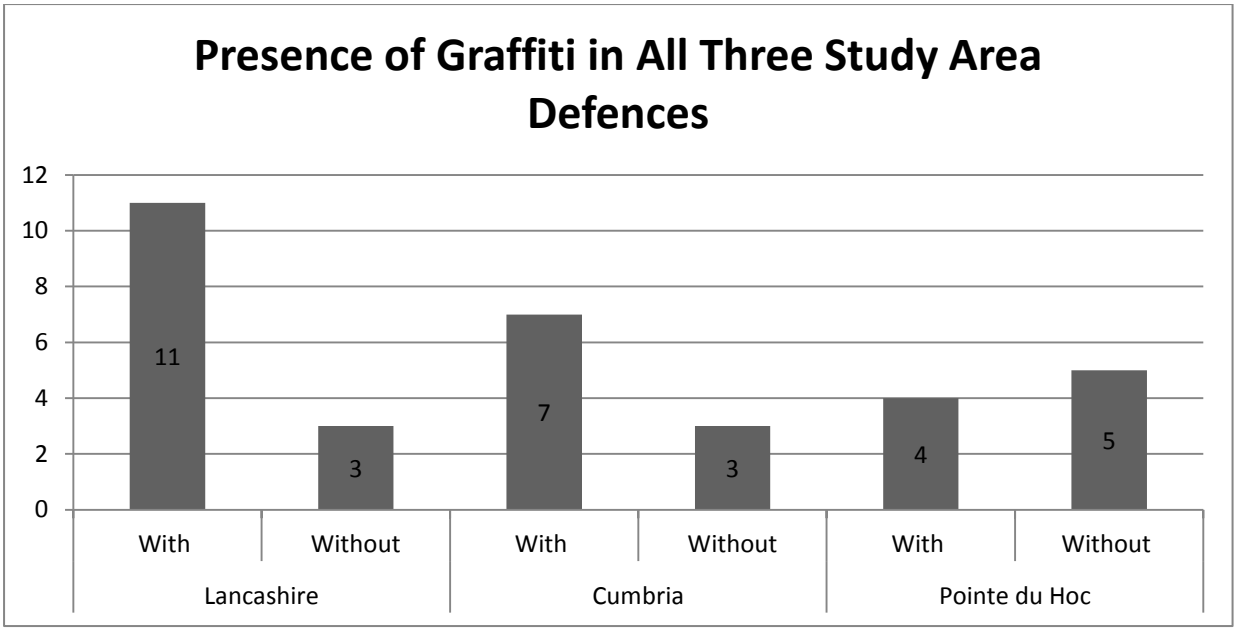
Type	Count
Casemate	2
Bunker	6
Observation Bunker	1

4.2 Comparative Analysis

This section will display the bulk of my results from the field surveys of pillboxes in Cumbria, Lancashire and the defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc. The four themes that were extracted from the field survey are 'Graffiti', 'Material Culture', 'Damage' and 'Alterations'. These four themes make up almost all of the recordable data found at each structure and will give physical indicators as to what the biography of these structures is, and to some extent what the biography of a certain structure is if it is deemed to be unique, however this cannot be done for all structures as it would be too extensive for this thesis.

4.2.1 Graffiti

Graffiti was a common sight in these pillboxes during the survey. Along with material culture these two subjects made up the bulk of what was found at all of the defended structures. To give an accurate representation of the level of graffiti in each surveyed area, the following graph demonstrates the ratio between structures containing and not containing graffiti.



(Graph 4.1 Graph showing the extent of graffiti throughout all of the areas studied)

It must be noted that certain pillboxes from Cumbria had to be omitted from this data analyses process, specifically: CB03, CB09, CB10, CB11, CB12, CB14 and CB17. Indeed this is a large amount of the total surveyed. However, these pillboxes were impossible to gain access inside, CB03 for example is completely buried underground, while CB10 has had its loopholes and entrance sealed shut. Figure 4.11 shows the blocking of the entrance at CB10. These structures were omitted from analyses for this specific graph, it does affect the final outcome. Importantly, the blocking of pillboxes itself is something of great interest that will be explored later.

(Figure 4.11 Entrance to CB10 that has been completely blocked up using concrete and bricks)

Referring to Graph 4.1, it is clear is that Graffiti is present in 79% of Lancashire pillboxes, 70% of pillboxes in Cumbria and 44% of structures at Pointe du Hoc. These are very high percentages, especially for Lancashire and Cumbria. We can see a trend in the data, with more graffiti in pillboxes in Lancashire and Cumbria, while the structures at Pointe du Hoc actually have less structures with graffiti than without. Indeed the trend in Cumbria is not as strong as that of Lancashire, but even with the necessary omissions, there is still a trend evident. This trend may be because of particular attitudes towards the structures, something that will be looked at in detail in Section 5. It could also be because of access, since the majority of Lancashire and Cumbria pillboxes are located relatively close to modern settlements, while Pointe du Hoc is fairly remote and serves more as a tourist destination. Again this theme of access will be looked at more in Section 5.

4.2.2 Graffiti Positioning

During the surveying of these structures, the positioning of graffiti became a theme within the theme of graffiti itself. The two main areas that graffiti feature within pillboxes is the inner side of the exterior wall, and the anti-ricochet wall which is found at the centre of the pillbox interior. Throughout the entire process of recording these pillboxes and defensive structures, only one had graffiti on its exterior namely CB05. This is also the only pillbox to have what can only be called artwork on it, as all other graffiti are either crude drawings or text written onto the surface (for similar ideas on graffiti positioning, see Orengo and Robinson 2008). Figure 4.12 below shows the aforementioned artwork, while figure 4.13 shows some exterior graffiti.

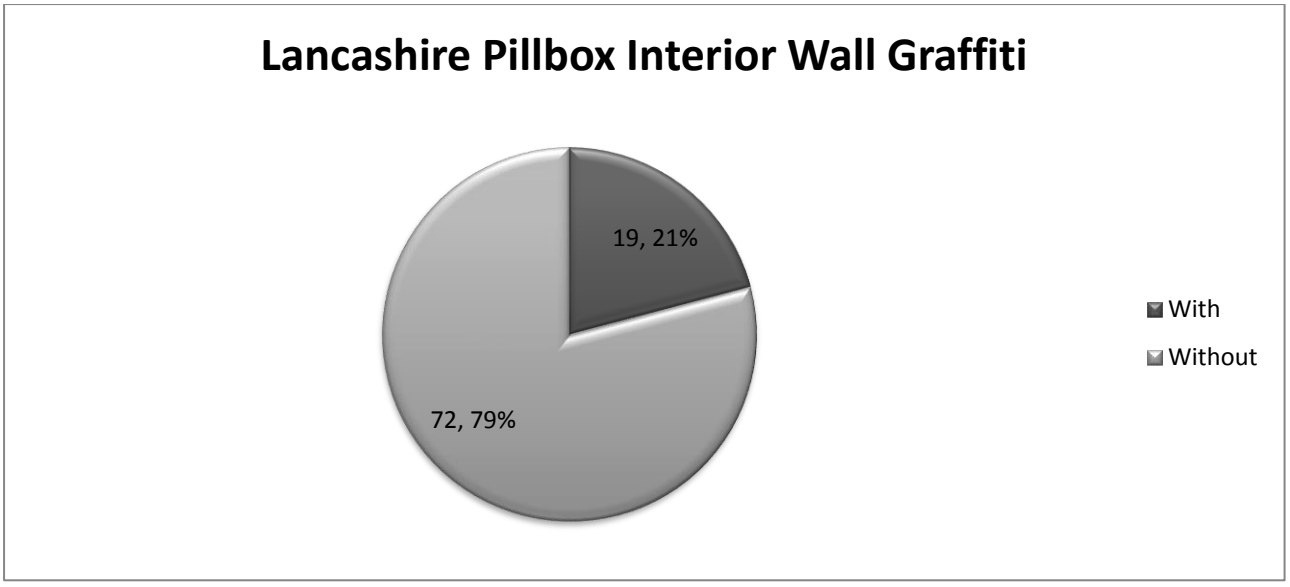
(Figure 4.12 Artwork on the North Exterior wall of CB05, with possible nametag of artist to the left)

(Figure 4.13 West exterior wall of CB05. This pillbox has numerous peace orientated messages like the one seen in this figure all over the exterior, using the pillboxes physical properties to portray a message)

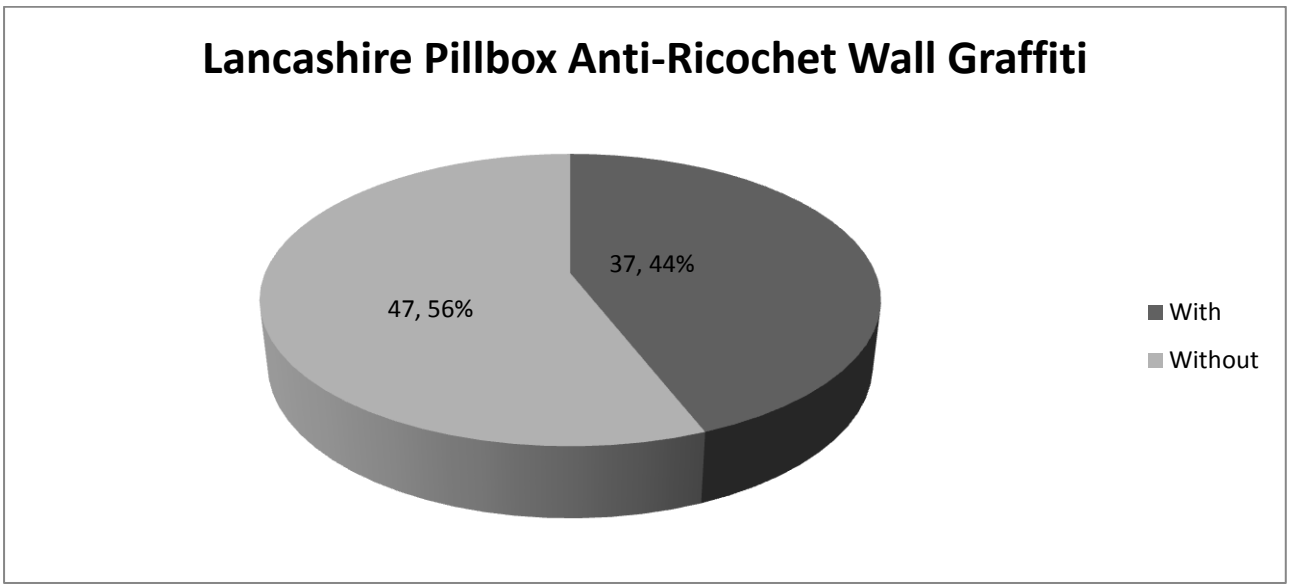
The data collected from the three areas surveyed has been separated into the three areas themselves; this is because Pointe du Hoc's structures do not have anti-ricochet walls, so a comparison of each area separately will be conducted. The Pointe du Hoc survey focuses on how many walls inside the structures were used for graffiti and how many were not used for it. The Cumbria and Lancashire graphs will show how many walls were used inside the pillbox for graffiti.

4.2.2.1 Lancashire

Starting with Lancashire each pillbox was surveyed to see how many pillboxes had graffiti on the inner wall and/or the anti-ricochet wall. The graphs below show exactly where graffiti was located in these pillboxes, and also how many of the walls from both the interior and anti-ricochet walls were used.



(Graph 4.2 Showing the use of inner walls of Lancashire pillboxes for the purpose of graffiti)



(Graph 4.3 Highlighting the use of the anti-ricochet walls for graffiti in Lancashire pillboxes)

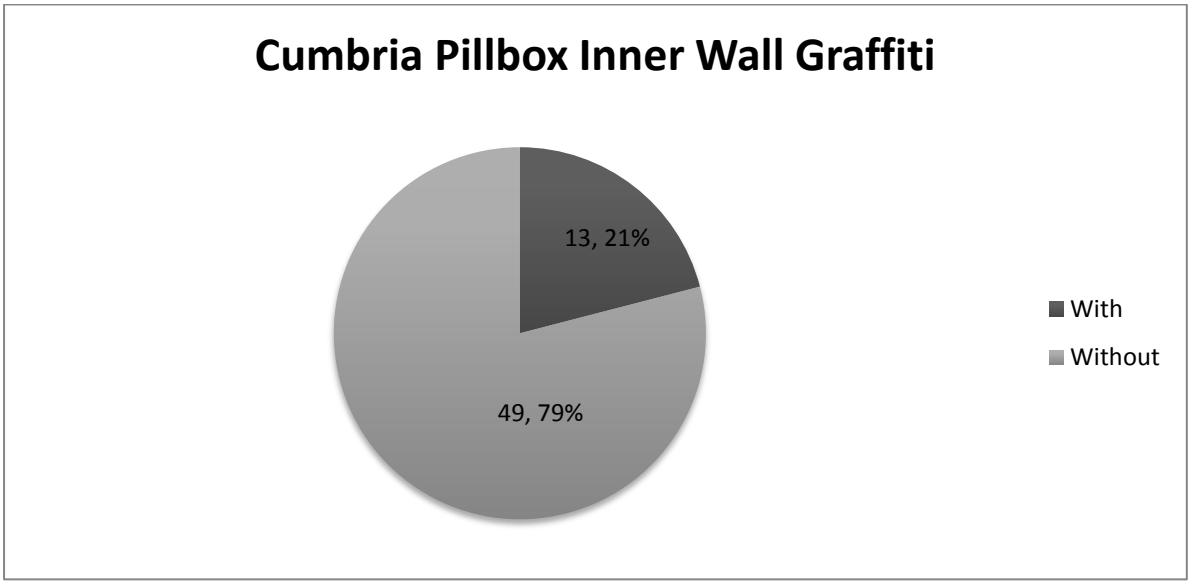
Referring to Graph 4.2 we can see that the majority of the interior walls have no graffiti on them, only 19 (21%) walls have been used for this purpose. Contrast this with Graph 4.3 where 37 (44%) of the anti-ricochet walls have graffiti on them, we can see that in Lancashire people are prioritising the anti-ricochet wall over the interior wall. This prioritisation of the anti-ricochet wall may be down to how light gets into the pillbox. This is through either the entrance or the loopholes on the

sides of the pillbox. While surveying these pillboxes the inner walls were very dark and hard to see , while the anti-ricochet walls were bathed in light and very easy to see, so logically people would rather put their graffiti where it would be seen rather than in a dark place. Another idea is that the material composition of both sets of walls differs. The anti-ricochet wall is of a much weaker concrete than the inner walls, mainly because the outer wall was meant to take more punishment than the anti-ricochet wall. Because the anti-ricochet wall is such a lower grade concrete it appears easier to scratch in graffiti, rather than use paint or ink. Indeed, this ability to scratch graffiti into the surface has led to a majority of graffiti found in pillboxes to be scratched into the surface. Figure 4.14 shows the extent to which people used this scratching method. This method also brings up the importance of graffiti done with ink and paint, namely because the person or persons who use that method have decided before encountering the pillbox to purposefully attain the correct equipment; once they have this, whereas those who scratch graffiti in may do it upon first contact with the pillbox with any manner of tool.

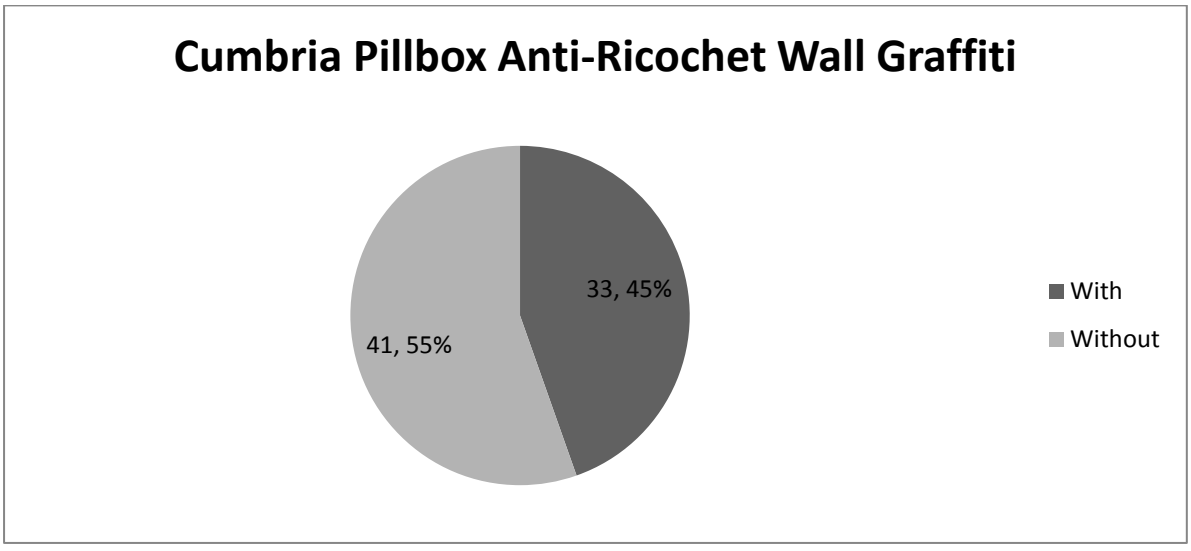
(Figure 4.14 LA13 East anti-ricochet wall, numerous names and dates etched into the wall)

4.2.2.2 Cumbria

As in section 4.2.1 certain pillboxes have to be omitted from the final data assemblage (CB03, CB09, CB10, CB11, CB12, CB14 and CB17), because there was no way to survey them. Furthermore the outer walls of CB05 that have had graffiti put upon them have not been included, only the inner walls have been attributed as this pillbox does not contain an anti-ricochet wall. This analysis is identical to that of Lancashire in section 4.2.2.1, looking at the inner and anti-ricochet walls to determine a pattern of use.



(Graph 4.4 Proportion of inner wall used to the amount not used)

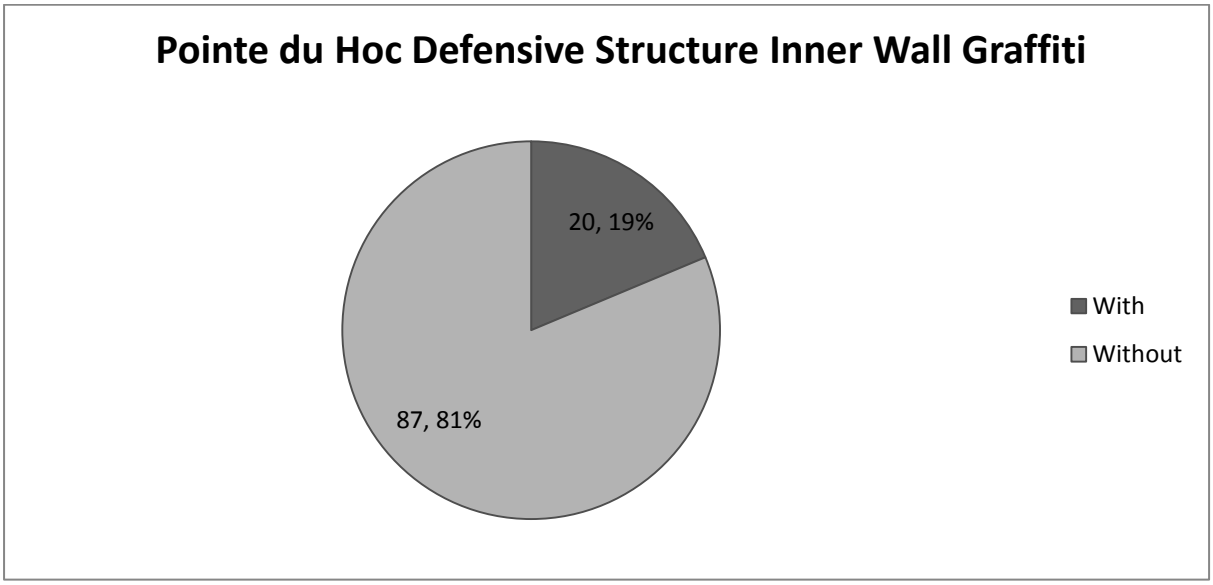


(Graph 4.5 Showing the amount of anti-ricochet walls used and not used)

Much like the results from Lancashire, Cumbrian pillboxes follow the same trend of use of the inner wall, while the anti-ricochet wall has a much higher use percentage. Earlier it was discussed that light and material composition were key factors affecting the positioning of the graffiti, and for Cumbria I believe that to be the case also. This prioritisation of the anti-ricochet wall does appear to be a strong trend in pillboxes from these two counties. With no real discerning factor between the two it can be said that similar attitudes between people and pillboxes are likely in each county.

4.2.2.3 Point du Hoc

Pointe du Hoc's structures differ greatly from those of the British pillboxes. Firstly they are much larger, and are essentially underground bunkers and large defended artillery positions known as casemates. This makes recording them difficult, as they don't fit under the same conditions as pillboxes; nevertheless, they still have similarities that allow them to fit into this idea of deliberate graffiti positioning. The focus will be on the interior walls, as no graffiti was found on the outside of any structures on the Pointe. Furthermore there are no anti-ricochet walls like those in British pillboxes, so this assessment will be strictly on how many of the interior walls were used and how many weren't used for the purpose of graffiti.

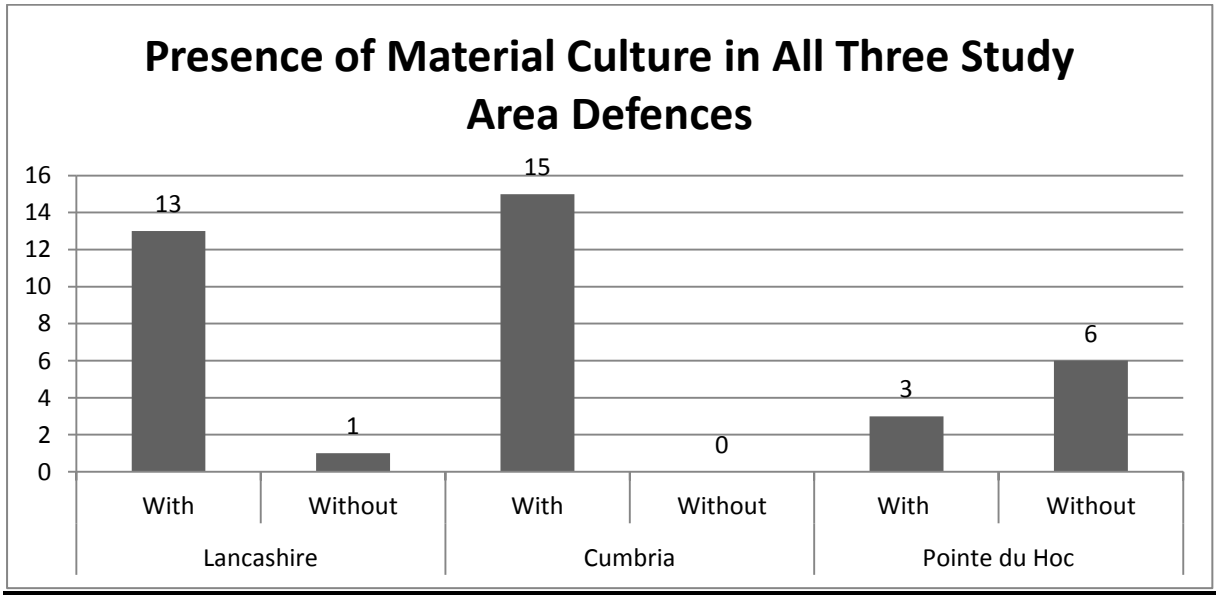


(Graph 4.6 Ratio between used and not used inner walls of defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc)

Something that must be considered is the small sample size of Pointe du Hoc, namely that there were only nine structures surveyed with only four containing graffiti (see graph 4.1). Nevertheless as a subset of data, this shows an interesting trend in that a very small proportion of the walls (20 (19%) out of a total 107) have been used for the purpose of graffiti. This may show a differing attitude towards structures at Pointe du Hoc, a protected site currently maintained by the American Battle Monuments Commission (American Battle Monuments Commission 2012). Being a protected site clandestine behaviour would be scrutinised more thoroughly at this site than at a British pillbox.

4.3 Material Culture

Along with graffiti, material culture is the most abundant physical indicator of human interaction with British pillboxes and defensive structures. To analyse each bit of material culture would have been impossible due to the sheer amount of material culture found during the survey. In Section 5 the material culture from each pillbox will be analysed as a whole and compared and contrasted with other pillboxes and defensive structures. This section seeks to highlight the extent to which material culture exists at British pillboxes and defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc.



(Graph 4.7 All three survey areas showing how many had material culture contained within them and how many did not)

As we can see from Graph 4.7 there is a definite trend towards British pillboxes having some form of material culture in or around them. It must be stated that CB09 and CB17 were omitted from the final results, because gaining enough access to verify material culture was impossible, whereas the others had material culture either on the outside or visible from the outside of the structure. It is interesting that only three (33%) of structures at Pointe du Hoc had material culture associated with them; this is interesting because the site recieves a substantial amount of visitors in the form of tourists which would increase the likelihood of material culture being deposited. Again it must be noted that Pointe du Hoc is a protected site and thus littering may be punished, whereas concealed areas in all three survey areas would make deposition much easier as it would be a secluded act. This statement appears true as the majority of material culture is found within a structure; Figure 4.15 shows the part of the total amount of material culture deposited in LA12, (the photo is a small section of the overall amount deposited there).

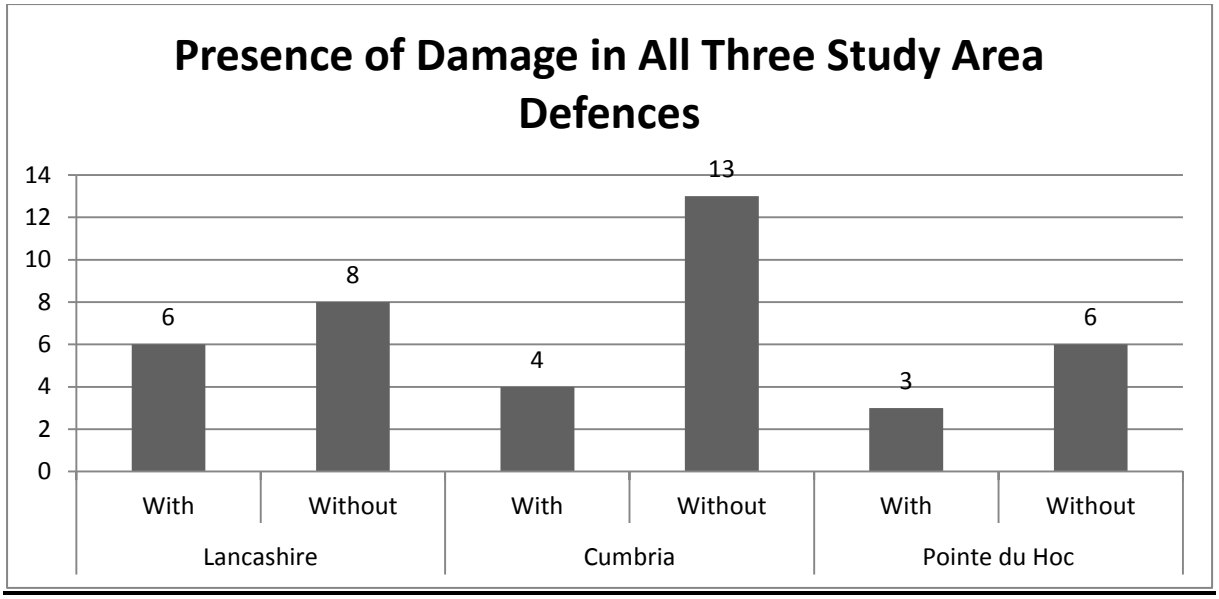
(Figure 4.15 East section of the interior of LA12, showing material culture deposited inside)

At its most basic level material culture is a clear indicator of human interaction with a structure. From Graph 4.7 we can deduce that almost all pillboxes in Lancashire and Cumbria were interacted with to such an extent that people left material culture. It must be stated that the one pillbox that was not interacted with was a unique pillbox (LA06) located in a private garden and had been given special care, resulting in the pillbox being of very good condition. Being on private land and having a 'caretaker' the biography of this particular pillbox differs from others, having substantially lower amounts of physical indicators of biography.

4.4 Damage

An aspect of the architectural state of pillboxes and defensive structures is if they have been damaged during their biography. Damage itself falls broadly into damage caused by humans, or damage caused by environmental factors. As we are dealing military architecture battles would be the most common cause of damage, however with British pillboxes this is not the case. British pillboxes were never used in direct conflict so any human damage must be considered to be done in a non-conflict situation, whereas sites such as Pointe du Hoc did host battles so their architecture is more likely to have been damaged via conflict. We must not forget the impact that the environment can have on architecture. Throughout the course of the survey however very little environmental damage appears to have happened. LA02 is the best example of clear environmental damage. Referring to Figure 4.16 we can see cracking along the exterior walls, most likely caused by water damage much like when water breaks rocks off a cliff face.

(Figure 4.16 Cracking above and below the loopholes LA02, with fracture lines along the entire pillbox)



(Graph 4.8 Showing the proportion of damaged pillboxes in Lancashire, Cumbria and Pointe du Hoc)

4.4.1 Lancashire

As we can see from Graph 4.8, almost half of the Lancashire pillboxes have been damaged in some way. Apart from the aforementioned LA02, and another pillbox LA09 which have both been damaged via the environmental weathering, the other four pillboxes (LA04, LA10, LA11 and LA 14) appear to have been damaged via human contact.

The damage associated with LA10 and LA11 is similar in that is a small amount of damage on one of the corners of the pillbox roof, this can be seen below in Figure 4.17.

(Figure 4.17 Damage on the South-East corner of LA10)

More damage can be seen at LA14. The general structure of the pillbox is relatively strong, mainly due to it being of concrete composition with metal reinforcements throughout. However the entrance sides are made out of bricks, a much easier material to manipulate. In the case of LA14, the sides of the entrance wall have been broken and pushed over, creating a kind of blocking into the pillbox (See Figure 4.18).

(Figure 4.18 Image of LA14 entrance sides, damaged and moved into a position to deny access to the pillboxes)

4.4.2 Cumbria

Referring back to Graph 4.8 the pillboxes in Cumbria have a much smaller percentage of damaged pillboxes than that of Lancashire. This may possibly denote a different attitude towards the structures in this particular part of the country. The importance of Barrow-in-Furness during the Second World War in its industrial output, and also the construction of the X-1 submarine appears to have given some of the local inhabitants a sense of pride and interest in their local history. Certainly this is no better demonstrated than a local member of the public who was interacting with the structure during the field survey. While surveying CB08, the individual discussed with me the local history of that particular pillbox, and how he tended to the structure by clearing the material culture out when it built up. This small anthropological anecdote shows a dichotomy in the attitudes to pillboxes; some appear to want to look after them while others do not hold any

historical significance to them and treat them as any other type of architecture. Indeed this positive attitude towards the pillbox is quite strong in Cumbria, as the only two damaged pillboxes CB06 and CB10 on Walney Island were damaged via the environment; CB10's damage is attributed to one of the blocked loopholes being slightly worn.

(Figure 4.19 Showing what remains of CB06, and the substantial weathering along the edges of the structure)

Referring to Figure 4.19 we can see that the roof of this structure has been completely removed, with weathering all along the edges where the roof once was, and also weathering along the edges. The concrete compositon of this particular pillbox appeared to be poor, especially as there appeared to be no metal reinforcements in the pillbox walls. The other two damaged pillboxes in Cumbria were found at Cark. Their damage can also be attributed to weathering from the environment. CB16's damage was along the bottom edge of the

mushroom shaped top, whereas CB14's damage was seen along the brick wall that had been built onto the original concrete wall, with the brick wall eroding off over time.

4.4.3 Pointe du Hoc

Pointe du Hoc's structural damage is different to that of the pillboxes in Lancashire and Cumbria. The difference in material composition and size make the effect of environmental weathering much less of an issue there than at the British pillboxes. From Graph 4.8 we can see that three (33%) of the total nine structures surveyed had been damaged; two of these structures are casemates, large sheltered artillery emplacements. The other structure damaged appeared to be an underground bunker which was connected to one of many artillery pits that housed the famed 95mm artillery guns that were the main objective for the mission at Pointe du Hoc.

(Figure 4.20 Front section of PH02. The left side of the structure has been damaged heavily, possibly from the naval and aerial bombardment that preceded the attack)

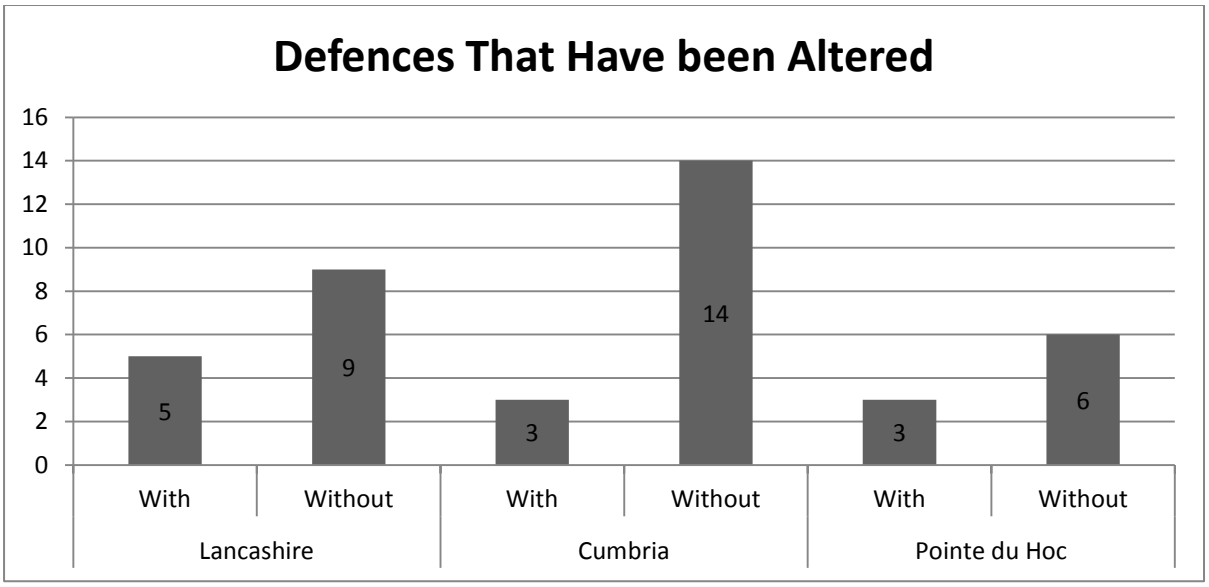
(Figure 4.21 Entrance to PH05 with heavy damage to the entrance roof and damage inside substantial so much that it has been blocked off with barbed wire)

PH05 (as seen in Figure 4.21) shows the level to which the structure has been damaged. Just inside the entrance to the structure there are sections of wall and roof which have been so heavily damaged they have fallen from the roof. This structure was so heavily damaged after the battle that when the site was opened to tourists people could not enter the structure. In addition, the entrance has been sealed by barbed wire (as seen in Figure 4.21). However even with the precautions taken and the severe damaged taken, the barbed wire has been crushed showing that people are still going into the structure.

4.5 Alterations

Graffiti, damage and material culture can all be considered alterations to a defensive structures; however for the purpose of this survey these three terms

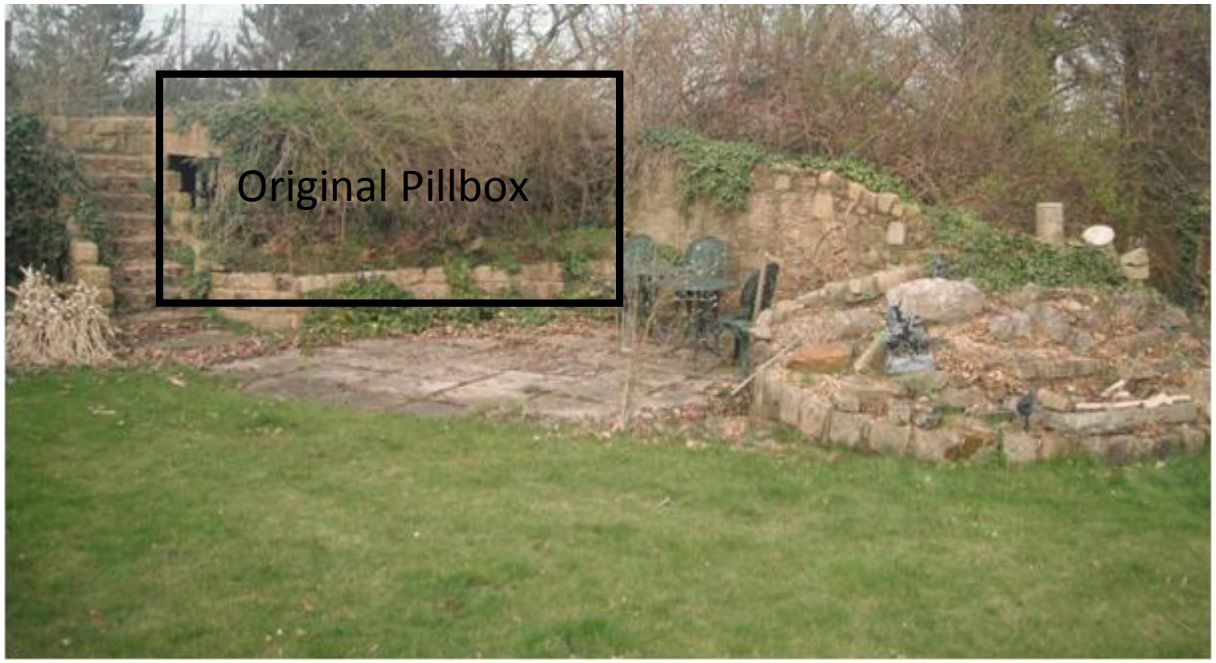
have been separated from the term of ‘alterations’. Alterations in the case of this survey are additions to that structure that alter the function of the physical properties of the structure.



(Graph 4.9 Showing the proportion of altered and unaltered defensive structures in each of the three survey areas)

4.5.1 Lancashire

Out of the two British pillbox survey areas, Lancashire contains the highest proportion of altered pillboxes, with 5 (36%) of a total 14 structures having been altered in some way (Graph 4.9). One of the more creative methods of altering a pillbox can be see with LA06. Upon discussion with the land owner, it appeared that the land owner after the war was offered compensation to keep the pillbox on their land. They then used that compensation to build around the structure.



(Figure 4.22 LA06 West of Burscough, square pillbox featured in the centre of the image, with stairs onto the left side and a rockery along the left sweeping around to a patio area)

The results of the alteration to the pillbox can be seen in Figure 4.22. This structure is certainly the most ingenious alteration found in the Lancashire survey, in a region where the majority of pillboxes contain nothing but litter and graffiti, to see such a unique alteration to a structure was welcoming. It must also be noted that this particular pillbox is not surveyed on the Defence of Britain Survey. Certainly without local knowledge this would not have been surveyed, which may be down to its almost complete camouflage by the alterations.

LA12 is different to LA06 in that its alterations are used for exploitation; in this case exploitation is advertisement boards. LA12 is situated on the South Show Cricket Club grounds in Blackpool. The site hosts a number of sports teams and their corresponding sponsors. Looking at Figure 4.23 below we can see that the pillbox has several of these signs, which have either been glued or bolted onto the pillbox. This alteration is a unique one in the survey as a whole.

(Figure 4.23 LA12 on the South Shore Cricket Club grounds, with numerous advertisement boards for local businesses and sports teams)

Other pillboxes that have been altered include the two storey structure LA07, which has had a floodlight and corresponding electronic cables attached to the structure. The floodlight serves to illuminate the garden section of the Heaton Bridge Public House as LA07 resides upon the property. As an alteration, this is rather minor when compared to the amount of modern material culture attached to LA12.

(Figure 4.24 Lower section of LA07. At the entrance electrical service boxes for the floodlight has been attached on the second floor)

LA08 and LA09 both share the same purpose in their alterations in that they have been altered to deny movement either through them or around them. In the case of LA08, the entrance of the pillbox was sealed off by Blackpool Council. Upon conversing with a local source, it became apparent that the pillbox was used heavily for clandestine behaviour, especially behaviour associated with drug use. This appears to be the motivation for the alteration, a move that made surveying the inside of the pillbox difficult; however, it did prove that the alteration made was achieving its purpose. Other alterations to LA08 include the signs attached to each side of the structure, along with a plaque for the sculptor who constructed the figure of the British soldier on top of the structure (See Figure 4.25).

LA09 has no alterations directly to the structure; rather, the alteration that the structure has been inculpated into the boundary between two properties. The land

owner is purposely using the material properties side wide brick shape to work along with fencing to create a solid barrier (See Figure 4.26).

(Figure 4.25 LA08 in the centre of Blackpool, showing the blocked up entrance below the centre loophole. This photograph also shows three plaques with defensive words, commemorative plaques, and the sculpture on the roof of the pillbox)

(Figure 4.26 LA09 Pillbox to the left of the image, with a makeshift fence along the right side, creating a barrier along the edge of the property)

4.5.2 Cumbria

All of Cumbria's pillboxes that undertook some form of alteration were found on the Island of Walney and South of Cark, specifically pillboxes CB 10 and CB11 on Walney Island and CB14 South of Cark. CB 10 and CB 11's alterations consist of the blocking of both the loopholes and entrances much like the alterations to LA08. Both pillboxes are located on the Walney Golf Course. Rather than removing the structures it appears the owners decided to seal them off from the public; they even incorporated CB11 into the ninth tee at the course as seen in Figure 4.27.

(Figure 4.27 The ninth tee of the Walney Golf Course adjacent to the rear of CB11)

As we can see from Figure 4.27 the entire lower section of the pillbox entrance wall has had the ninth tee built against it. This has completely sealed the entrance which was found to the centre of the lower section. Along with the sealing of the entrance, the loopholes each side of the entrance have been sealed up with bricks. This blocking via bricks is also seen on the other loopholes on the structure, both the smaller square loopholes and long slit loopholes on the lower section of the pillbox front.

CB 10 is slightly different in its extent of blocking the entrance; entrance wall loopholes and north section loopholes were sealed. However the entire west and south sections either had partial blocking or none at all.

(Figure 4.28 CB11's blocking of the north section of wall on the left and the lack of blocking on the other sections on the right)

Figure 4.28 also shows that one section of the pillbox (frontal section) has had damage to the bricks blocking off the lower loophole. This damage could have either been through environmental or human means, but the presence of bricks inside the pillbox makes it clear the blocking was damaged and the force took the bricks inside the structure.

CB14's alterations were two fold; the first being the incorporation of the structure into a fence system, which formed a barrier between the main road into the Lakeland Leisure Park, and the Leisure Park itself; the second alteration was the inclusion of a brick outer layer along the south and east walls (south wall visible in Figure 4.29). Only the entrance wall of this five-sided pillbox was left 'clean', but

it did have a wooden fence put along it, presumably to deny access inside. It is difficult to determine exactly when the brick layer was added to the pillbox; it was either part of the original design as a form of camouflage, or applied after the war as a means of improving the structure's aesthetic qualities.

(Figure 4.29 CB14 located next to Lakeland Leisure Park, an unknown design with only one loophole)

4.5.3 Pointe du Hoc

The three alterations made to PH04 and PH08 are all identical. The alteration made is the inclusion of a metal platform with adjoining stairs, the platform is situated on top of the structure. This alteration gives a much better view of the surrounding battlefield, as well a view onto the English Channel and beach bellow the cliffs. Figure 4.30 shows the type of platform and stairs used at both PH04 and PH08, the figure shows PH08, however PH04 is very similar but the entrance is to the rear of the casemate.

(Figure 4.30 Metal platform and stairs attached to PH08, with a tour guide taking tourists around the site using this platform to stop and get across key points to do with the battle and the site)

PH09 has slightly different alterations, which attribute to a platform on top of the structure and stairs leading up, but it also has a gated entrance to the observation room (See Figure 4.31). This blocking of an entrance was due to the erosion of the cliff face which this structure was next to, for a long time this structure was not

available due to the erosion but has been reopened. Along with these above alterations the inclusion of the Ranger Memorial is also present. This structure was key in Ronald Reagan's speech on June 6th 1984 and resides on the top platform of PH09 (See Figure 4.32)

(Figure 4.31 Entrance to the observation bunker at PH09. The entrance has been gated for safety reasons)

(Figure 4.32 2nd Ranger Battalion memorial on top of PH09 with inscription blocks either side of the 'dagger', also showing the metal platform at the lower portion of the image)

Chapter Five: Discussion

The biography of World War II pillboxes and the defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc can be split into two categories. The first is physical indicators. This term is made up of the evidence of material culture, damage, alterations and graffiti found on or around the structures. These physical indicators in the most basic sense demonstrate that an individual (or individuals) have interacted with a structure. The second category is non-physical indicators. This can be people interacting with a structure and not leaving behind a physical trace. A definitive example of this would be my own interaction with the defensive structures; I have interacted with the structures and not left a physical trace. Nevertheless any interaction with a defensive structure alters its biography, but non-physical changes to the biography are almost impossible to identify. For the purpose of this discussion the focus will be on the physical indicators of biography. The motivations behind the creation of such physical indicators can be attributed to notions of power, fame and connection between agent and structure (Gardner 2007, 33). These motivations will be explored throughout the discussion in tandem with the physical indictors themselves. This discussion aims to bring forward the physical indicators of the biography of defensive structures, and give an understanding behind the motivations of those who leave behind physical indictors.

5.1 Material Culture

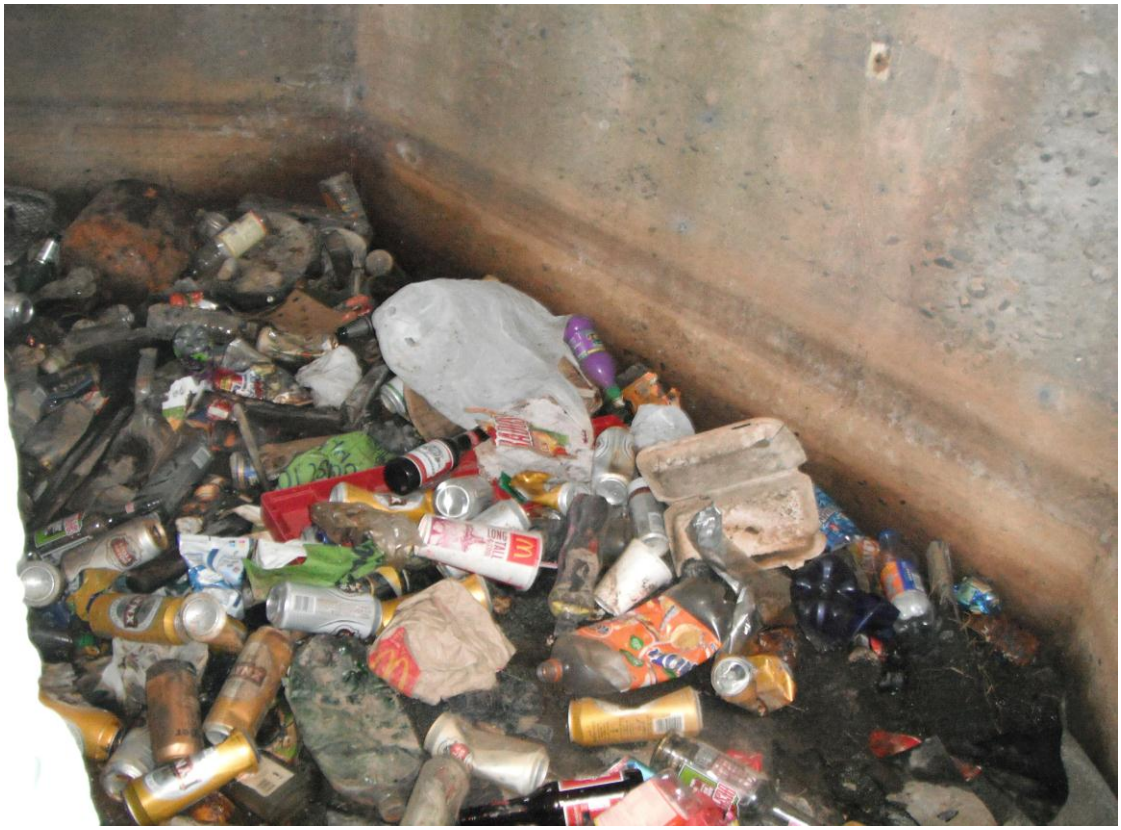
Material culture was evident in almost every pillbox and defensive structure surveyed. The material culture deposited was primarily litter or unwanted building materials. Litter is made up mostly of food and drinks packaging, with building materials consisting of; bricks, concrete blocks, wood and concrete supports, gas canisters and plastic boxes. However it cannot be seen as just litter or building materials, it is an indicator of pillbox use and more importantly it shows that the biography of pillboxes and defensive structures has changed through time (for similar arguments, see Trigger 2006, 468). While the agent may deposit such material culture as something as mundane as litter, it takes on new meanings after it is deposited, linking the agent to the architecture by memory and physicality. Furthermore when the material culture is deposited it carries the memories of the agent throughout its own biography; we can use this to show the attitudes towards

pillboxes and defensive structure and also show the change in biography (Jones 2007, 31 Buchli 2000, 372).

(Figure 5.1 West section of LA01, showing broken drinking glasses, packaging for cat food, a crisp packet and plastic sheeting)

Figure 5.1 brings about several questions as to how the material culture came to be deposited inside the structure. Firstly the presence of this litter demonstrates that an agent(s) had entered the pillbox. Furthermore did the agent(s) consume liquids and the aforementioned crisps in the vicinity of the pillbox, or bring the used material culture to be deposited in the pillbox? Whatever the motive for deposition, the agent(s) had a clear goal in mind of depositing material culture within the structure. Furthermore by using clandestine behaviour, the agent(s) had a clear strategy and motivation about depositing the material culture (Johnson 2000, 226 Tilley 2005, 123). The biography of pillboxes and defensive structures therefore still holds that primary function to conceal and protect agent(s) inside itself. But the material culture visible at this point in time shows that there is a

different attitude behind its use from that of its primary function of defence (Richards 1993, 148).



(Figure 5.2 Right section of CB01 showing a section of material culture deposition within the structure)

As we can see from Figure 5.2, there is a high level of material culture deposition within this pillbox. Furthermore material culture is generally located inside a defensive structure, with LA02 and LA04 having material culture both inside and outside of the structure. Factors such as the weather must be considered as to why material culture is found less around the structures exterior. However other factors also influence where material culture is deposited, with CB01 giving us the greatest insight into these factors. When CB01 was surveyed, people were actively using the structure, and a kind of anthropology was extracted from these agents. The agents in question were local workers who used the pillbox as a place to come and eat their lunch before returning to work. Another use was that people would use the structure as a sunbed. Upon questioning the agents they stated the

previous sentence, and also that they chose the pillbox because of its ability to enhance the aesthetic properties of the surrounding area, and also sitting on the structure was a way of not sitting in animal excrement that was around the structure. Such an anthropological account is rare in this research; it does however link to the material culture. During the observation the agents would discard unwanted food packaging through the pillboxes loopholes. This can be seen as a change in the pillboxes biography, a structure designed to allow firepower to exit via the structure's loopholes has become in effect a giant litter bin (Johnson 1999, 105). This behaviour towards pillboxes could be seen as a negative and degrading attitude towards structures designed to defend this country. Nevertheless the fact is that the structure no longer serves this original purpose of defence. This change in biography has led to the deposition of material culture and in turn changed the biography (Wobst 2000, 47).

There are issues when attempting to interpret material culture through object biography. Dating is a particularly difficult aspect; this could in essence show the periods of use of a defensive structure. The problem with dating material culture, specifically food and drinks packaging is that the dates on the packaging would not correspond with the point in time in which it was deposited. The best outcome would be a broad set of dates in which the material culture could have deposited. Compare this to graffiti found in defensive structures which in most cases shows the year of creation we can see that material culture is ill-equipped for the task of pinpointing use in time (Orser and Patterson 2005, 25). Another issue that has culminated over the course of this research is that because there is such a large amount of general litter found in the material culture, we cannot ascertain much as to the people depositing it. Indeed for the object biography of the structures this is not an essential part, but it could have gave a more detailed explanation of the agent(s) use of the structure, referring again to graffiti which has successfully highlighted drug and sexual acts occurring in pillboxes (Morris 2007, 62 Shanks Tilley 1987, 105).

5.2 Damage and Alterations

Damage and alterations occur less than both graffiti and material culture deposition; but, they are still physical indicators which serve to show use of a structure and in turn the biography of that structure. Power as a theme behind the biography of pillboxes and defended structures can be seen in all of the physical indicators, but with damage it is personified. The examples CB10 and all of the structures at Pointe du Hoc highlight power. CB10 is one of the few pillboxes that contains both damage and alterations; indeed, the damage sustained by the pillbox is located on the alterations themselves.

(Figure 5.3 Front section of CB10, showing alterations to the lower set of loopholes which had subsequently been altered via blocking)

As we can see from Figure 5.3 the pillbox's lower loopholes have been altered by blocking them with bricks, subsequently some of the blocking has been damaged or completely removed. Power is seen in both the altering of the pillbox, and the damaging of those alterations. The individual(s) who blocked the pillboxes entrance and loopholes wanted to deny entry to the pillbox, which was motivated

to stop the deposition of graffiti and material culture. This denial of access therefore is a denial of power to those agents who wish to conduct clandestine behaviour within pillboxes. But the damaging of the alteration removes the purpose of the alterations, which is why material culture is found within this pillbox. This process of damaging the alterations gives power to the agent(s) so that they conduct their actions freely (Handley and Schadla-Hall 2007, 148).

The damage evident at Pointe du Hoc differs from that of the pillboxes surveyed in Lancashire and Cumbria. The damage that was sustained by the structures at Pointe du Hoc can be directly linked to the conflict that occurred there during D-DAY, while pillbox damage is generally attributed to environmental and vandal motives. By creating the damage, agents can relate themselves to the structure through memory of the battle, and in turn they can share that with society (Thomas 2004, 136 Ray 2000, 416). These two separate ways in which damage occurs to a structure and how that damage is processed by a society is integral the biography. Damage is a physical indicator that a structure has been interacted with by an agent or group of agents. Environmental damage is an aspect that is just as important to the biography as human damage is. Pillbox damage can be seen as misuse of the structure, changing its biography to something that is powerless to resist agents and their motives. The Pointe du Hoc alterations seek to preserve the 'rawness' of the battle through the damage sustained to those structures. While Pointe du Hoc's damage is something that is remembered as opposed to celebrated, it holds symbolic meaning to the horrors and sacrifice made during the conflict for the position (for similar arguments of symbolic aspects influencing perception, see Hodder 1997, 168).

(Figure 5.4 PH04 is one of two 'casemates' that survive at Pointe du Hoc, the structure sustained heavy damage during the conflict)

Pointe du Hoc's alterations consist of large metal platforms placed on certain structures. These alterations seek to promote the visibility of surrounding structures and the site as a whole. These differ from pillboxes alterations (apart from LA06), which generally seek to close off the structures from agents. LA08, CB10, CB11, CB12 and CB 13 all contain alterations which attempt to block off the interior of pillboxes. These all appear to have been conducted by a governing body such as LA08's alterations conducted by Blackpool Council. We can see that power again alters the biography of pillboxes; those agents with greater power than others will find ways to deny them the ability to alter these structures. Indeed alterations transform the physical aspects of a structure, which alters how it is interacted with. This transformation therefore changes the biography, a structure that was intended to conceal and protect agents has now been altered to deny that. This has come about because of the change in attitude agents have towards the structures, which can be seen in the creation of material culture and graffiti.

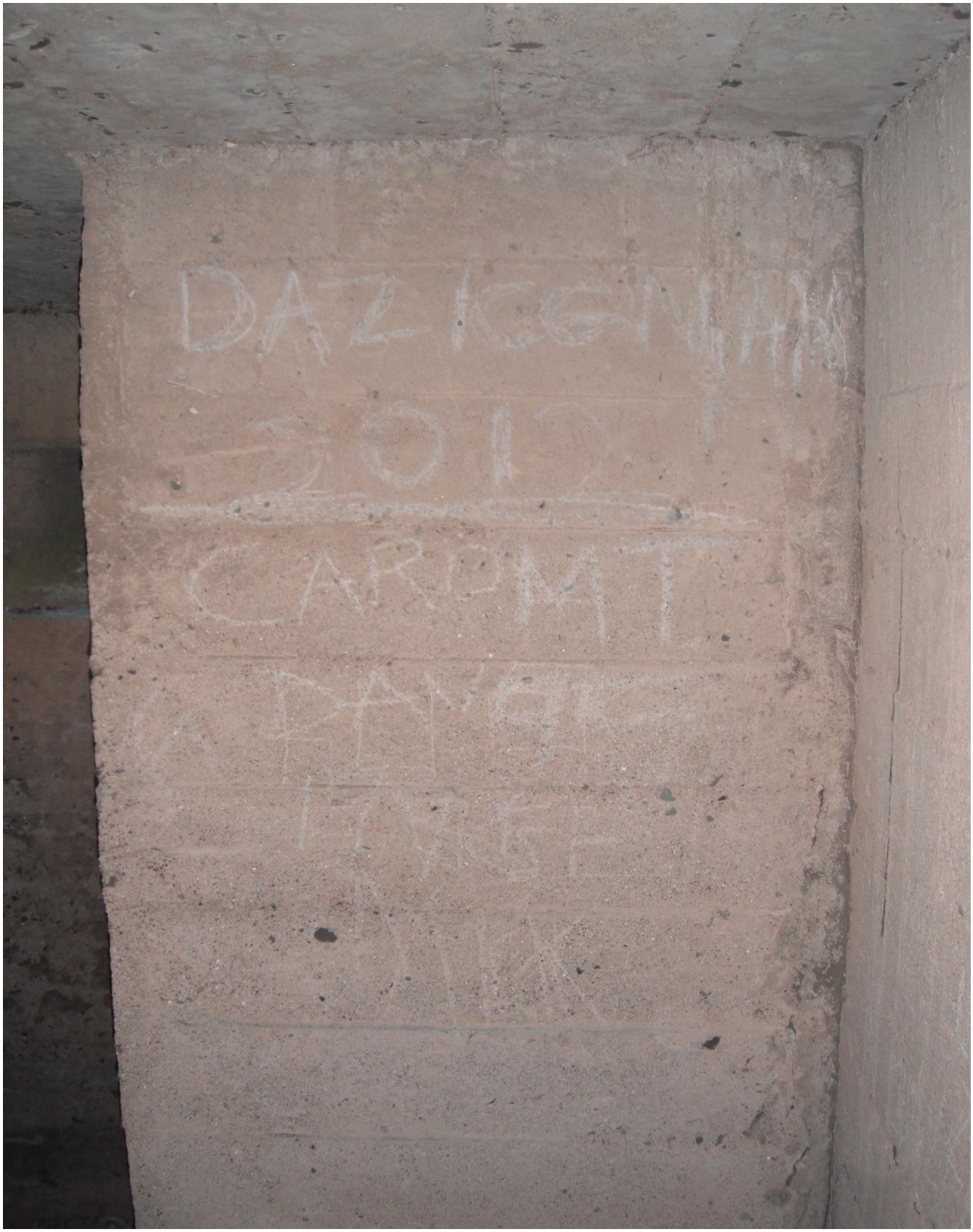
5.3 Graffiti

In order to understand the biography of the surveyed World War II pillboxes in Lancashire and Cumbria, we must analyse the production and significance behind both graffiti and its creators. There must be a clear distinction between 'Art' and 'Graffiti', graffiti is generally associated with negative behaviour, be it defacing property, defying a governing body or expressing individualism or group cohesion (Cocroft et al 2006, 46). Art however circumvents graffiti's anti-social properties, to produce something with meaning and aesthetically pleasing qualities (Walsh 2008, 128). Graffiti also permits the creator to stake claim to a section of physical space, this establishes boundaries in the physical reality which are acted upon by others either by viewing or interpreting the graffiti. Certainly with the surveyed pillboxes of Lancashire and Cumbria, graffiti is closely linked to obscene language and images depicting sexual obscenities, drug culture and foul language (Winchester et al 1996, 2). Rivera-Collazo states that graffiti can be categorized into two forms, the first being 'linguistic graffiti' which consists of written words for example; dates, names and messages. The second category is 'figurative graffiti', which is comprised of drawn images of things from the graffiti 'artists' mind (Rivera-Collazo 2006, 43). With these definitions we can see that the term 'art' is a difficult term to differentiate from 'figurative graffiti', we can see that art is created to evoke a reaction from both artist and interpreter, whereas 'figurative graffiti' is merely a statement made from the artist onto physical space. By interpreting graffiti we can uncover the motivations and the social context behind graffiti artist; this in turn will explain the motivations behind post war pillbox use, which is a key physical indicator of the biography of these structures (Rivera-Collazo 2006, 51).

The most obvious application of linguistic graffiti analyses is the interpretation of dates and names, at their basic level they show that a person or group of people have interacted with a pillbox, however that does not mean that everyone who interacts with a pillbox leaves behind a physical indicator (Frederick 2009, 212). A name scrawled onto a wall can in most cases tell us the sex of the individual, obviously some names are unisex but nevertheless this can provide a detail of an

individual that is usually elusive in archaeological work (Rivera-Collazo 2006, 43). Indeed full analyse on this aspect of graffiti would highlight the disparity between male and female use of pillboxes, but to keep a tighter focus on biography this is something to be addressed in later works. Halsey and Young have explored the motivations of creating graffiti in an urban space, they explore the idea of 'fame' and 'pleasure' as driving forces in the creation of graffiti. These two motivational forces seem appropriate in the case of pillbox graffiti, where in the vast majority of graffiti located on pillbox walls is people's names. Here then we can say that one of the aspects of pillbox biography is peoples need to lay claim to part of a physical space, but also to gain 'fame' from creating the graffiti which remains after their interaction with a structure (Halsey and Young 2006, 278).

Dates found on pillbox walls have tremendous properties, they can highlight the point in time where someone has interacted with a pillbox, and furthermore several dates on a particular pillbox can show the extent to which it has been interacted with. Taking figure 5.5 below as an example, which comes from pillbox CB07, wall E (see appendix), we can see that towards the top of the image the date '2012' is scratched along with the name 'DAZIGGNAH' which may be a nickname of the individual, also on this image are other names such as 'MARK' and also a second date '1990' lower down. Also on wall B of this structure the date '2001' is adjacent to the name 'Rich'.



(Figure 5.5 Wall E inside pillbox CB07 showing scratched names and dates on the Anti-Ricochet wall)

This image shows that individual(s) had been inside the pillbox, while inside they took the time to scratch their name and the year in which they interacted with the structure. Altogether the graffiti visible in the pillbox indicates there had been interaction between the years of 1990 and 2012. That is not to say there was not interaction before 1990 or that years in-between 1990 and 2012 saw interaction. Rather it is to show that there was a definite change in biography of the structure, namely that it had become a place for the depositing of material culture and a place that enabled graffiti writing (Hermanns 2010, 70).

There is another aspect of graffiti that was found while recording pillbox LA13 which is the link between military graffiti and military structures.

(Figure 5.6 Wall C of pillbox LA13, showing the branches of the military: R.A.F, Royal Navy, Army and the support organisation N.A.A.F.I)

Referring to figure 5.6 we can see that writing in black marker pen from left to right we have the initials for the R.A.F and the words Army and Royal Navy, also where we can see the inclusion of the N.A.A.F.I (Navy, Army and Air Forces Institute) which are a support organisation for the British armed forces. The bottom right of the image contains the names of two Royal Navy ships. The first is faded and unreadable; however, the second is clearly 'HMS Kent'. All these words are written in the same ink and handwriting, along with the words 'Inverness' and 'Scotland' at the top of the image. Sadly there are no dates for this cluster of graffiti but it does highlight a rarity in pillbox graffiti which is that there is very little militaristic graffiti (Cocroft and Schofield 2003, 43). This can show part of the biography of pillboxes, in that the people who visit them generally do not go

there with the intention of connecting to the structure via militaristic memory or ideas.

5.4 CB05: The Exception to the Rule

Pillbox CB05, a FW/3 Type 23 pillbox located along the now removed South Barrow Island railway track, is the exception to the all pillboxes recorded in this research. The majority of the surveyed pillboxes have contained graffiti which was either names, dates or a drawing. CB05 showcased both the only piece of 'art' and protest graffiti. Protest graffiti is something often found on or around military sites, however with the surveyed pillboxes in Cumbria and Lancashire this is a relative rarity (for examples of graffiti and wall art on military buildings, see Cocroft et al 2004, 1). The only examples of protest graffiti can be found at pillboxes CB04, CB05 and CB08. These are all the same type of protest graffiti, namely the drawing of a peace symbol on either the interior or exterior wall.

(Figure 5.7 Front exterior wall of CB05, with graffiti painted onto the surface,

namely two peace symbols and the word ‘Peace’)

As we can see from Figure 5.7, an individual has written ‘Peace!’ along with two peace symbols onto the front of CB05 (Wall G). Furthermore, the slogan ‘Bring Love’ (another peace orientated protest piece) is located on the west exterior wall F. The fact that the three pillboxes all located on the South Barrow Islands, which all contain the same type of protest graffiti would imply that they were done by the same individual or individuals. This would show that the responsible individual(s) had intended to target particular pillboxes for the purpose of protesting, by stating a message on the outer wall rather than inside the structure. Halsey and Young (2006) state that the process of creating graffiti links person to graffiti; in the case of CB05, this occurs but also there is a link between the person and the structure and its biography. The biography of the structure is changed by the person creating new biographies upon it, which in turn affects the person’s biography, in this instance becoming an outlet for a message of peace rather than its primary use of defence (Halsey and Young 2006, 278).

Another unique aspect of CB05 is its inclusion of ‘artwork’, which resides on the exterior of wall A.

(Figure 5.8 Artwork depicting a scorpion-like image, with artists tags to the left of the image)

Figure 5.8 is the only example of art that was found during my research. What is also interesting about both this piece of art and CB05 in general is that a large proportion of the total graffiti is found on the exterior. Where almost all other researched pillboxes had graffiti exclusively in the interior. This idea of physical properties influencing how people interact with a pillbox will be explored at greater detail later. Referring back to Figure 5.4 we can see that it depicts a scorpion-like creature, the two different artist tags to the left of the image indicate that it was made by two separate artists. Furthermore there is a date of ‘2011’ on the lower tag meaning that this art was completed very recently (Tilley 2005, 123 and Hodder 2000, 23). Halsey and Young state that pride and accomplishing a goal are key factors in the creation of graffiti; indeed this can be

applied to the image seen in Figure 5.4, being an intricate design that took two people to produce (Halsey and Young 2006, 279). In terms of CB05's biography it can be said that it isn't the typical biography in terms of graffiti but its physical properties of having large flat walls and its elevated geographical position have made it a perfect 'advertisement board'. The pillbox has turned from a defensive structure to an outlet for two artists to think, create and display their talent for people to see, and also a place where anti-war messages can be advertised to those that interact with the structure (see also Schacter 2008, 44).

5.5 Physical Biography

This section will revolve around the idea that the physical properties of pillboxes encourages specific ways in which the pillbox is used by people, and in turn this will demonstrate an aspect of biography. Giles and Giles's (2007) work on graffiti made by the 'Horselads' of Yorkshire shows that; graffiti tended to be found in compact areas around doors and windows. They deduce that graffiti writers and observers gathered around the features during the creation of the graffiti (Giles and Giles 2007, 345). This clustering of graffiti in a specific area of architecture can be seen in the surveyed WW2 pillboxes and in the defensive structures at Pointe du Hoc. In the surveyed pillboxes, the majority of graffiti was located on the inner anti-ricochet wall which is located in the centre of the pillbox. This section of the architecture boasts a higher percentage of walls that contain graffiti. For instance, the pillboxes of Lancashire (44% (37) of the total anti-ricochet walls are used, compared to the 21% (19) of the inner face of the outer wall. Cumbria is nearly identical to the Lancashire figures, with 45% (33) of the anti-ricochet walls used and only 21% (13) of the inner face walls used. Two factors can be attributed to this trend of using the anti-ricochet wall. Firstly the material used for the anti-ricochet wall is of a weaker composition to that of the outer walls, as the anti-ricochet was only implemented to stop bullets, with the outer walls designed to withstand heavier barrages. This difference in concrete compositon makes it much easier to make scratch marks visible in comparison to the outer wall. As we can see from Figure 5.9, the ease of scratching into a surface as 'soft' as the anti-ricochet wall has influenced a large proportion of people to write graffiti onto one surface of the anti-ricochet wall.

(Figure 5.9 Wall B of pillbox CB08 with layers of graffiti from various points in time)

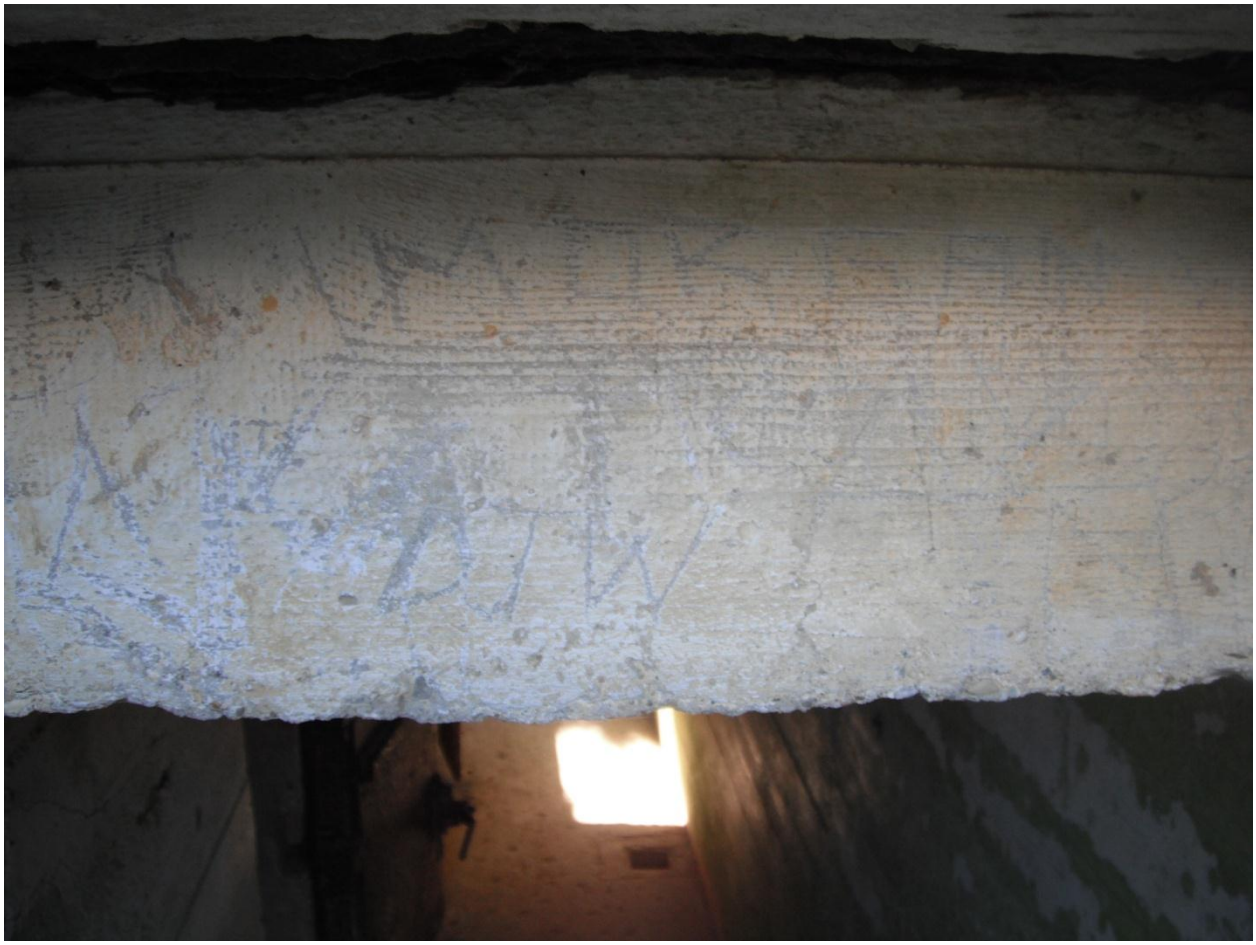
The second factor that has influenced how people interact with these structures is the design of the pillbox. Loopholes and doors are the only venues to look out of the pillboxes: in turn these are the only sections where light can enter the pillbox. Referring to Figures 5.9 and 5.10, we can see the difference in light levels between the inner of the outer wall (Figure 5.10) and the anti-ricochet wall (Figure 5.9). With the loopholes shaped as they are and the size that they are, there is a limit to how much light comes into the structure. With this idea of limited light in mind we can see that graffiti creators favoured the anti-ricochet wall rather than the outer wall, and this trend can be seen in the majority of the pillboxes (see appendix) (for similar notions of visibility of graffiti, see Orengo and Robinson 2008, 273 Last 1997, 148). Many of the anti-ricochet walls are covered in graffiti from a number of different graffiti artists. The amount of graffiti is so much so that layers of graffiti have been applied upon one another. This layering

has led to early graffiti being erased or incorporated into more recent graffiti, something that is a common occurrence in urban graffiti (Schacter 2008, 48). Perhaps these layers represent a struggle between artists, to establish one over another by being the most recent graffiti visible. Another factor could be that area around eye level, or easily visible areas just below and above eye level are at a premium on the anti-ricochet wall, thus people consistently use that area more than others (Orengo and Robinson 2008, 275 Bourdieu 2000).

(Figure 5.10 Wall E, upper left wall section of pillbox CB01, showing the limited ways which light can enter the pillbox and the lack of light on the interior of the outer wall)

(Figure 5.11 Wall B of pillbox CB01, the wall appears lighter than wall E in Figure 5.10)

The defensive structures of Pointe du Hoc follow a similar trend to that of pillboxes, but the material composition is generally the same in all the walls inside the structures thus not influencing the graffiti artist as much as it would in a pillbox. Lighting and positioning are the key factors influencing graffiti writers. All graffiti found in the defensive structures were located at an entrance. This clustering around the entrances is influenced greatly by light, and the entrances of buildings clearly have the greatest amount of human 'traffic' running through them. People would have to move through the entrance to get into the structure, so this would be the area where you could get the most attention for your graffiti (see Orengo and Robinson 2008, 275).



(Figure 5.12 Wall D of the entrance of PH06, graffiti clustered upon 3 other small wall sections above wall D)

These two factors, light and material composition have combined to influence human engagement in the recorded pillboxes. This combination has altered the way in which the graffiti writers place there graffiti on a given structure. There is a final aspect in the way in which a structure directly impacts how people interact with it, which is the idea of being 'hidden' or 'safe'. The physical property of a pillbox is designed to conceal individuals and protect them has in a way carried on the pillboxes primary use. Being inside a pillbox generally promotes safety and the ability to create clandestine behaviour, which we can see in almost all pillboxes in the form of graffiti and material culture (as in Carr 2009, 167). Indeed graffiti is believed to promote a 'unsecure' environment, but here we see that graffiti is promoted through the physical aspects of the pillbox. This then in turn lets the pillboxes biography to be changed. While keeping the primary use of concealing an individual, it has taken on new biographies, namely as a forum for people to act

out their own biography to ascertain fame, recognition or protest (see Schofield 2005, 39 Giles and Giles 2007, 353 Schacter 2008, 44).

5.6 The People Behind the Graffiti

We can interpret graffiti to give us an understanding of exactly what kind of people created that graffiti. Indeed with pillboxes this is a difficult task, as the majority of the graffiti are just names and dates. However there is some graffiti that can tell us about the people who write the graffiti. This graffiti is predominantly located in pillbox CB13, specifically walls H, I and G, all of which contained graffiti alluding to sexual acts occurring in the pillbox, and also images and text depicting drug culture (Figure 5.9). Sexual acts have also been alluded to in pillbox LA09, wall D contained the text 'Fuck House' which obviously portrays the pillbox as an area where sexual acts are conducted (Figure 5.10).

(Figure 5.13 Wall G of pillbox CB13, names had been written all over the wall. Also towards the top of the image, it alludes to both drug related people creating

graffiti, as well as the statement that an individual had sex inside the pillbox)

(Figure 5.14 Wall D of pillbox LA09 the text 'Fuck House' has been spray painted onto the wall, indicating the pillbox was a place for sexual acts to take place)

The graffiti shown in Figures 5.13 and 5.14 is the most 'extreme' graffiti found in any of the surveyed pillboxes. Certainly it shows that some pillboxes have become places where people who partake in drug culture and sexually active people go. Whether or not drug taking is actually commenced in pillboxes is difficult to answer, my experience in the pillboxes brought about no direct evidence of this. What can be said about the graffiti is that it the graffiti writer was part of a sub-sector of society, and that by creating the graffiti they are instilling their memories, social associations and ideals upon a structure, and in turn publicise such acts for those who also experience the pillboxes (Giles and Giles 2007, 353, Kirk 1993, 198, Jarman and McCormick 2005, 69, Orengo and Robinson 2008, 284). The use of such extreme imagery and topics like drug culture can also be seen in the Swastikas; by placing such an image upon a structure that was intended to stop

the force associate with the Swastika, it intends to gain a reaction because of the inverse nature of this act (Ouzman 2010, 20). Graffiti writers have instilled their memories and experiences onto pillboxes, and in turn changed the biography of the pillbox from something that was meant to protect into to a symbol for clandestine behaviour, a place to gain fame or promote something intrinsically vital to their sense of self or sense of group. Indeed the physical properties of pillboxes have prompted the social actors to act as they have, concealing most of the material culture and graffiti inside, so that they conduct their business away from other people and not face repercussions. In essence, the pillboxes' biography has turned from defensive structure to an enabler of the clandestine behaviour. This has not been done deliberately but through the physical layout, material composition, and also attitudes towards the structures which have caused the shift in biography.

5.7 Biography from the Perspective of Memory

This section will demonstrate how memory affects the way in which the biography of pillboxes has changed through the years. Memory greatly affects archaeology and how we study it; memory certainly has been looked at specifically in 20th century conflict (see Walls and Williams 2010, Moshenka 2010, Buchli and Lucas 2001, Joy 2002, Harrison 2008, Legendre 2001, Myers 2007, Saunders 2002, Brown and Osgood 2009, Stephenson 2000).

Architecture can be the focal point where memories are brought, altered, and contemplated. Architecture can also be the point in which memories can be linked to the past simply by existing within the structure (Feversham and Schmidt 1999, 134). The question of 'Do these structures matter?' was brought up in the previous section; there are aspects of memory that can help answer this question. The way people remember pillboxes has changed through time to a point where there is a weak emotional link between agent and pillbox. This may to some extent also be because pillboxes are not viewed as important as an ancient monument, nor they retain deep personal or cultural links like a listed building. Furthermore there is the fact that pillboxes do not have the same factors used for tourism, unlike a site like Pointe du Hoc (Schofield 2004, 201, Anderson et al 2001, 284, Christiansen 2002, 63). Carman (2002) states that there is a paradox in contemporary study, in

that by taking the experience of using an object away the object becomes nothing, as it has lost the experience that made using that object an experience. This can be used to explain pillbox biography, the experiences/biography of the pillbox are intertwined with the experiences of the agent, thus the overall biography is part biography of the agent and part of the architecture (Carman 2002, 11) . Memory is a vital part of experience for the agent, and while places that are known to the agent are usually instilled with meaning and memory it is also the unknown places that help create the experiences for both agent and object (Johnson and Schofield 2006, 113).

Commemoration is defined by memory. Taking the Torcross Tank as an example, we can see the ways in which memory had affected the biography of the tank, going from a piece of military hardware to a memorial for American soldiers. This transformation was a deliberate one. By reclaiming the tank and maintaining the tank it now stands as the memorial we see today, which was created by memory and in turn evokes memory (Walls and Williams 2009, 61). Pillboxes have taken on a similar process. We can see at LA08 that the local council had installed commemorative sculptures and plaques upon the pillbox, transforming it into a memorial of sorts.

(Figure 5.15 Entrance side of LA08 showing commemorative plaques and sculpture of British soldier)

While this structure on the outside appears to be a commemorative piece of architecture, on the inside is a reminder of what the vast majority of pillboxes stand for. Graffiti and material culture is prominent inside, and through oral histories it appears that the pillbox was used as a place for drug related activity. What we see then at LA08 is a paradox; a site with two different streams of memory, the commemorative and the clandestine behaviour intertwined in a single pillbox. This intertwining could only take place because the associated memories of both parties (clandestine users and commemorative users), and the physical properties of the structure which promoted the location of the commemorative pieces, and also the graffiti and material culture (Moshenka 2009, 40, Orengo and Robinson 2008, 284). Wilson (2007) identifies that memory can change and can be selected via social means. While his work focuses on battlefields this idea of changing memory is applicable in pillboxes. Different pillboxes have different levels of physical indicators of biography, partly due to the location of a pillbox.

For example LA12, located in the centre of a dense population area, has the largest deposition of material culture (see figure 5.16). From this we can deduce that where pillboxes exist, as well as their physical properties influences how they are used and to what extent they are used (Wilson 2007, 233).

(Figure 5.16 Floor of LA12 adjacent to wall C. Material culture included food packaging, building materials and refuse)

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The biography of World War II pillboxes in Lancashire, Cumbria, and the defensive structures of Pointe du Hoc is a complex one. It varies from structure to structure, LA12 contains one of the highest concentrations of graffiti and material culture recorded, while LA06 contains no graffiti or material culture but has the most substantial alteration. The reasons behind the different indicators of biography are numerous. Graffiti has aspects of fame, pride, competition and protest influencing the agent. While the agent is influenced by memory and motivation, so is the structure, with physical properties such as material composition and lighting influencing where graffiti is created. Furthermore the continuation of concealment, a factor of pillboxes and defensive structures that has existed since their creation and primary use is still used today, with the majority of material culture and graffiti existing within defensive structures. Using these two physical indicators of biography we can see that people are creating material culture and graffiti away from the 'public eye' as both are frowned upon by society, giving a motivation behind the change in biography. Damage and alterations were the two other identified indicators of physical biography, but these are much less frequent than material culture and graffiti in regards to British pillboxes (see chapter 3). However Pointe du Hoc contained the highest ratio of damaged structures, obviously because of the sustained fighting seen at the site. This is unique to my study, as pillboxes were never used in conflict, and thus never fulfilled their primary use. This brings us to one of the defining characteristics of Pointe du Hoc; the site contains definitive indicators of biography, from its initial use seen in the damage the structures to the graffiti and material culture that can be traced after the war. The second key characteristic of Pointe du Hoc is that the majority of attention towards the site has focused on the soldiers who fought there on and immediately after D-Day. Literature (such as Black 2006, Neillands and Normann 2001, Hastings 1999, Luck 1989, McDonald 2000 and Brinkley 2006) focuses on the people behind the battle and the chronological events of the battles, with the architecture being more 'set dressing'. This also applies to the memory aspect of Pointe du Hoc, being part of a larger tourist area all across the Normandy coast. People visit sites to extract memories and emotions from the site and instil their own upon the site. Memory associated with a structure that does not have the

impact of a battle attached to it will fade quicker, as this will have less documentation and indeed less tangible emotion attached to it.

Perhaps the fundamental aspect as to why both pillboxes and defensive structures are treated as they are is down to this availability. Pillboxes exist in primarily public areas, and with no barriers to deny access, they receive a high amount of human 'traffic'. This is clearly evident from the physical indicators of biographies found while conducting this research (Cocroft and Schofield 2003, 43). Carr's (2009) work on defensive structures of the occupied Channel Islands has clear parallels with this research. In essence while the structures built by the Occupying German forces had negative connotations for the local inhabitants, they are still regarded as a vital part of their 'cultural heritage'. Furthermore the structures are part of the very identity of the communities that have been linked to the structures. However as Carr points out, as newer generations occur they lose the 'living memory' link to the structures (Carr 2009, 163). This loss of living memory in tandem with the physical and memory aspects of the structures has caused the biography of the structures I have surveyed to shift to what it is today, with the physical indicators as the culmination of all of these factors. This loss of living memory is in part due to the lack of archival sources available, with the Defence of Britain Project and Michael Osborne's (2008) typology as the only substantial documental resources. The Defence of Britain Project has been vital in identifying, locating and assessing the condition of pillboxes. But, as a giant data set, even though it has enabled my own research, it remains limited in the interpretive sense. It is this marriage of the Defence of Britain Project and research into defensive structures, which has enabled archaeologists to look into attitudes towards pillboxes and indeed their vulnerability (see Strickland 2007 and Schofield 2002, 218).

It appears strange that pillboxes in Britain are not as well protected as other forms of architecture. Of all the pillboxes in this study, only those found at Cark Airfield (CB14, CB15, CB16 and CB17) have some form of official protection, this is in the form of all World War 2 buildings associated with the airfield being scheduled buildings (English Heritage 2013). This protection from English Heritage is only because the pillboxes association with the airfield. However we must take into

account both the need to replace the old with the new and that the sheer number of defences would be impossible to preserve and promote. That does not mean that they should in any circumstance be removed: we must keep part of our history for future generation, lest we will lose that link to recent memory and indeed any tangible ability to associate new generations with a period in time that was vital to our society.

Pillbox biography is difficult to sum up into a single aspect. But to define original purpose is difficult, as the structures were never used for their full purpose, we can say that they were used in part, protecting and concealing individuals within the structure. In essence the biography of the pillbox has changed little from its 'birth', rather the motivations of the agents and what they leave behind has changed. Going from a militaristic use to one of curiosity or a need to commit clandestine behaviour can be seen in the graffiti, material culture, damage and alterations sustained by the pillboxes. They are now used as places for people to come and work out their problems, claim notoriety on a piece of the world, partake in drug related and sexual acts, or in my case attempt to understand why they exist. This is all visible in the physical indicators left behind. Graffiti gives us an insight into the motivations and to an extent the biographies of the agents using the structure. Material culture, damage and alterations all show interaction with the structure and to some extent the motivations behind them. For example CB10, CB11 and CB12 all have entrances and loopholes closed off with bricks, showing that local authorities did not want people interacting inside the pillbox, most likely because they did not want clandestine behaviour to be conducted inside.

Pointe du Hoc's biography is different, its use in open conflict which instils certain aspects of memory, remembrance and personal emotions onto both the structures and the people who interact with them. The same physical indicators are there, but in different ways. Graffiti is only found to depict names and patriotic statements, unlike British pillboxes alluding to 'negative' aspects of culture. Damage is clearly different with large parts of structure being obliterated by shelling and bombing. Material culture is the same as British pillboxes, with litter being the primary form. Alterations exist as ways to promote the tourist experience of the site. Platforms give better views of the site and help tour guides

conduct their trade in a structured way. Overall Pointe du Hoc has similarities with the British pillboxes, however it has different meanings behind the architecture, which attracts a different kind of person, evident from the physical indicators of biography.

Indeed the biography of World War II pillboxes in Britain and the defensive structures of Pointe du Hoc are different from their biography 70 years ago. The loss of the militaristic purpose has led to Pointe du Hoc taking on a commemorative and indeed political stance. The Pointe was in part used to strengthen Ronald Reagan's position for election in 1984, but the speech was also used to promote the story of the battle of Pointe du Hoc. Pointe du Hoc represents militaristic pride and sacrifice for the American people, something that is unique to them when they interact with the site. The biography therefore is never a universal account of what happens to a structure. The physical side can only tell you so much, it can say that people have been and interacted with a structure and to some extent tell you the motivations behind the interaction. Oral histories and written accounts could bolster pillbox biography greatly, giving a voice to the agents behind pillbox use. Indeed written accounts and oral histories helped in finding a use that would not have had a physical indicator. Pillboxes CB01 and CB08 had people using the roofs as places to sunbathe, a use that involved anthropological accounts from the agents. This account of use would not have been found by looking at physical indictors, which shows that the biography found in this study is not definitive. The biography of these structures then is only partly visible in this work, but what does appear is that people are using sites for purposes not entirely relevant to its primary use. It has shifted to being a refuge for people to enact a variety of actions upon the architecture; be it positive or negative. Nevertheless these physical indicators show that people still have pillboxes in their memory, and they intend to create new memories, while adding to both their own and the structures ever-changing biography.

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Appendix Site Records (Overleaf)