

1982

Uncovered

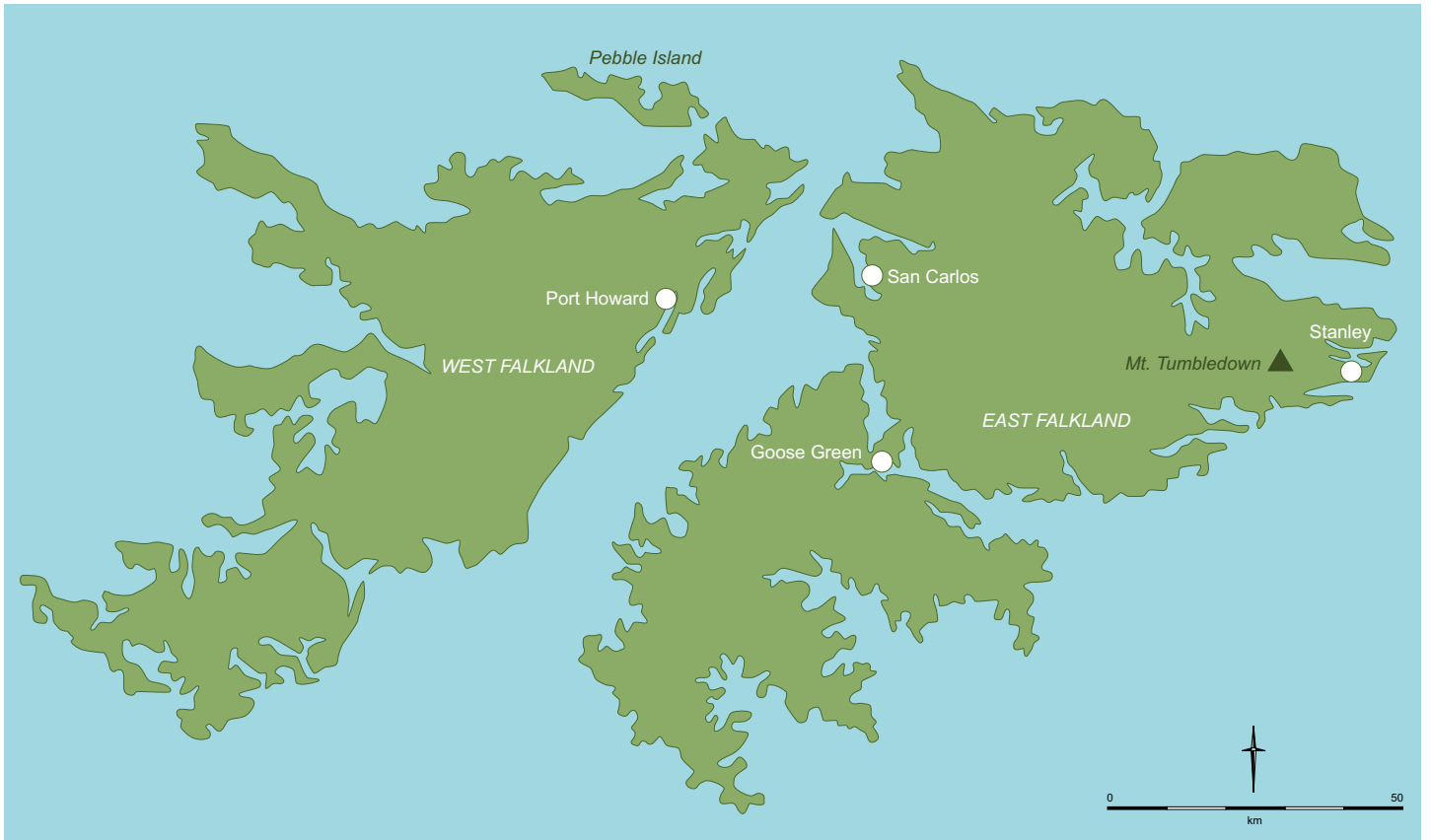
The Falklands War Mapping Project

edited by
Timothy Clack and Tony Pollard





'Archaeology on Tumbledown' (credit: Douglas Farthing)



*Map of the Falkland Islands
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

1982 Uncovered: The Falklands War Mapping Project

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Cover image: John Litterick and Tumbledown Mountain. Photograph taken by Tony Pollard during a pause in the journey to the battlefield on the first day of fieldwork. Over several minutes the Scots Guards veteran literally faced his demons and thought about turning back. With encouragement from his fellow veteran, Jim Peters, he went forward, as he had done in 1982, and by the end of the day was fully engaged with the project's work. It was one of many moving episodes during the pilot season (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)



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For the veterans

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Foreword

I always say that I was born to be an archaeologist. Digging in the field, being around other people, thinking about and making sense of the evidence from the past – I’ve found enjoyment in every minute of it. I have no regrets, it’s been my life!

In 2012, the Defence Archaeology Group was set up and I was invited to be its President. There was a formal signing ceremony involving Surgeon Commodore Peter Buxton and me in Nelson’s cabin on HMS Victory no less. The Group came into being in response to the growth of projects that established that archaeology produced positive results for helping wounded, injured, and sick armed forces personnel and veterans in their rehabilitation. The Group aimed to link projects involving service personnel, veterans, and volunteers with archaeologists, charities, and support services.

Then came Waterloo Uncovered, a charity I’ve ended up working with since 2015. Initially, I acted as an archaeological supervisor but, as I’ve got older, I’ve become more involved in promoting the project in front of camera and communicating their amazing findings to different audiences. I’m delighted that Waterloo Uncovered, who have now developed a successful approach to this form of rehabilitation work, are also involved as key project partners of the Falklands War Mapping Project.

So now we come to the Falklands: not archaeology as we know it; but archaeology nonetheless. It may seem distant in time and space from the Battle of Waterloo, but the Falklands War is still understandable through the pioneering methods of battlefield archaeology. In addition, the Falklands War Mapping Project involves some of those most qualified to understand the events of 1982 – veterans of the fighting. The Falklands and Waterloo projects also share the similar themes of archaeology, cutting edge research, comradeship, and healing.

The Falklands War Mapping Project is an extraordinary archaeological project which uniquely involves some of those who created the archaeology. The survival of the evidence linked with the memories of those who were there creates an extraordinary archaeological legacy. One that stimulates understanding of the conflict and inspires contemporary community involvement and creative artworks. It is the first project anywhere in the world to take veterans back to the battlefields on which they fought. This has to be done carefully and

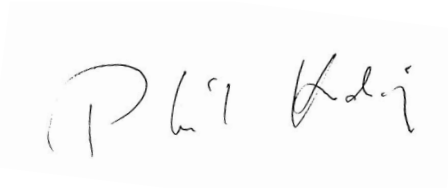


sensitively, with emphasis on mental well-being for those involved, with support from an appropriate team to ensure this happens.

Just think, my life in archaeology, spent digging up people's old, broken rubbish and now to realise that it has additional potential to restore. It's a genuinely humbling revelation. Forty years after the fighting in the Falklands, archaeology has become a tool for healing. Archaeology is a bridge that not only helps people make sense of what happened, but also helps veterans make new associations and memories where once there was trauma. It's a fine project that not only supports veteran recovery but also takes archaeology in new directions. I'm thrilled to support the project and look forward to seeing it grow.

Growth requires nourishment. As such, I urge all readers to make a donation to the Falklands War Mapping Project through Waterloo Uncovered so that they can continue with their ground-breaking efforts. The easiest way to make a contribution is through this link: <https://waterloouncovered.com/donate/>

This book highlights the important contributions the Falklands War Mapping Project has made to date. I'm sure you will enjoy reading it, learning about what the team have been doing, seeing the evocative artworks, and being convinced of the value of this work. Please support it.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Phil Harding', written on a light-colored background.

Phil Harding

October 2022

Acknowledgements

The Falklands War Mapping Project and the *1982 Uncovered* exhibition have been significant undertakings and, inevitably, there are lots of people and institutions to thank linked to support along the way.

The project has received funding from the University of Oxford, Reuben College, Glasgow University, Waterloo Uncovered, Scots Guards Association, and the Veterans' Foundation. Oxford University also generously funded Doug Farthing's travel to the Falkland Islands as part of the 'Art and Conflict Heritage' initiative and the Open Access publication of this book.

The *1982 Uncovered* exhibition was funded by Oxford's School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography. St Peter's College is acknowledged gratefully for hosting the exhibition, and the Master, Prof Judith Buchanan and Chaplain, Revd Dr Elizabeth Pitkethly are thanked for their support. The Venerable Jonathan Chaffey, Archdeacon of Oxford, kindly gave permission to use the St Peter's Chapel (Church of St Peter Le Bailey). Also at St Peter's, Dr Alison Ray, Archivist, and Hannah Hampstead, Communications Manager, went above and beyond with curatorial and promotional assistance. Wendy from Thistles Gallery and Lowestoft assisted with framing.

Richard Hyslop of the Falklands Islands Government, Lynn Brownlee from the Development and Commercial Team, Robert King of the Falkland Islands Customs and Immigration Service, Harley Berntsen of the Public Works Department, Polly Lennie of the Falkland Islands Company Ltd, and Ru Jarvis of the King Edward VII Memorial Hospital all helped ensure we got the team to the South Atlantic in the midst of Covid-19 pandemic restrictions. Various members of the Legislative Council of the Falkland Islands Government past and present are also acknowledged for recognising the value of the project and supporting its development, including Roger Edwards, Leona Roberts, Dick Sawle, Gavin Short, and Roger Spink.

In Stanley, Lookout Lodge and the Malvina House Hotel served as first-rate project bases. Zac Cohen and Mandy Floyd, in particular, offered exemplary hospitality. On Tumbledown, we were appreciative of the skills and company of our drivers from Penguin Travel, Kenneth 'Carrot' Morrison and Lachlan 'Lachie' Ross. British Forces South Atlantic Islands (BFSAI) and Sergeant James Prentice are thanked for the provision of a safety brief to the team on the threat from Unexploded Ordnance (UXO). The battlefield guide, Tony Smith has been a long-standing friend to the project and is thanked for sharing his knowledge. Lots of volunteers helped in the field, including Ian Chilvet, Stephen Dent, Malcolm Hamilton, and Mick Norman.

The Falkland Islands Government Air Service (FIGAS) was incredibly flexible and managed superbly the team's air moves between Port Stanley and Pebble Island. Dot and Alex Gould, the owners of Pebble Island, were incredibly welcoming and supportive during our time with them. Charlotte Fenwick at the Falkland Islands Community School, Dorinda Rowlands at Infant/Junior School and Camp Education, and Sandra

Alazia from Past Finders are thanked for their assistance in facilitating the delivery of art and conflict heritage classes. All three also went to great lengths, in one case with the assistance of the RAF Airbridge, to ensure the artworks of pupils were transported to the UK for exhibition.

In the UK, thanks are owed to Dr Marcus Brittain and David Bailey for contributing ideas and resources from their previous archaeological and historical work in the South Atlantic. Robert Barton graciously shared the archive of his late father, Brigadier F. G. Barton who made multiple visits to the Falkland Islands in 1982 and 1983 as Director of Engineering Services. Thanks are also owed to David Davison at Archaeopress for taking on the current book and Vicki Herring for her excellent illustrations. Prof Mark Gillings of Bournemouth University kindly loaned a 3D laser scanner for use in the field. Lieutenant General (ret'd) Sir John Kiszely and Major General (ret'd) Mike Scott are both owed thanks for their noteworthy support, including help in the recruitment of veterans for the project. Drop Zone Brewery kindly gifted commemorative bottles of (very fine) whisky for the veterans.

Most of all, though, we would like to thank the people of the Falkland Islands for welcoming us and assisting with the research in manifold ways. Their encouragement and assistance have been immense and remain crucial.

Introduction

Tony Pollard and Timothy Clack

The Falklands War Mapping Project delivers the first intensive archaeological survey of the battlefields of the Falklands conflict. Forty years after the events of 1982, the project aims to provide a detailed assessment of the character, location, and condition of structural features and artefacts. This recording is much needed, as over the past four decades remains have been significantly denuded through relic collection, weather-related decay, damage by livestock and vehicles, and assorted infrastructural projects.

In this fortieth anniversary year of the Falklands War, this book and the exhibition which accompanies it showcases some of the findings of the first season of project work. The exhibition, *1982 Uncovered* opened at St Peter's College, Oxford on 4 November 2022. Elements of the exhibition will also be displayed elsewhere in the UK and in the Falkland Islands. Project announcements are made on Twitter @Mapping1982 and details of fieldworks and exhibitions can be found on the project website: www.falklandswarmappingproject.uk

The Falklands War Mapping Project is a collaboration between Oxford University, Glasgow University, the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust, and Waterloo Uncovered, a veteran welfare charity focused on archaeology. Under direction of the authors, the project team comprises archaeologists, anthropologists, heritage specialists, artists, and veterans. The Falklands War Mapping Project is the first project in the world to include veterans as part of the core team and have them engaged in the archaeology of the battlefields on which they saw combat. Their inclusion has not only enriched the archaeological results but also helped them with some of the long-lasting psychological impacts of the war.

Back to the field

The team carried out its first season of fieldwork in March and April 2022, with efforts primarily focused on Mount Tumbledown and Pebble Island. In the field, the team used foot and drone survey and then recorded finds and features through geo-location, photogrammetry, 3D scanning, and drawing. All finds were left *in situ*. The results were at once surprising and informative.

The Tumbledown survey, for example, informed in three main ways. Firstly, the team recorded a large variety and depth of Argentine defensive positions. Sangars, shelters, fortifications, and dispersed objects were found and recorded. Secondly, the team located material remains linked to the battle itself: craters and scarring left by exploding shells and mortars, live and expended rifle rounds, and fragments from assorted munitions. Thirdly, the team were able to map more recent uses of the landscape, which have



*One of the stone-built structures constructed
by Argentine forces on Mount Tumbledown
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

The remains of an Argentine shelter built into boulders on Mount Tumbledown constructed from corrugated metal (repurposed from barrels), angle irons, rocks, timber, and canvas (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)



also left a material signature and link back to the events of 1982. These included debris from more recent military training exercises and commemorative deposits of veterans, families of the fallen, and islanders.

Personal battlefields

It is an unusual privilege for archaeologists to get the opportunity to be in the field with people who actually lived through the events being investigated. On Tumbledown, we were joined by Jim Peters and John Litterick, two veterans of Left Flank, Scots Guards. The two were young men when they fought in the battle, and both, understandably, were impacted significantly by the episode. Jim actually received shrapnel wounds to his right leg and right arm in the battle, and both have suffered from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in relation to their experiences.

Jim and John described their return to the Falkland Islands, and Tumbledown in particular, as being of 'deep significance', 'emotional', 'difficult at times', and 'a personal pilgrimage'. They also voiced that their place on the project gave them a 'historical responsibility'. The courage they exhibited in 1982 was

present again in 2022. They were able to talk the team through their personal actions on the night of the battle – taking us step by step through the terrain – and offer crucial context on finds and features. A PTSD specialist joined the team in the field and recognised that, from a psychological perspective, immersion and exposure to the location of past trauma – under controlled conditions – allowed the veterans to make new memories and associations linked to Tumbledown. Both have benefitted from this in the short-term, and time will tell if the positive psychological impacts are enduring.

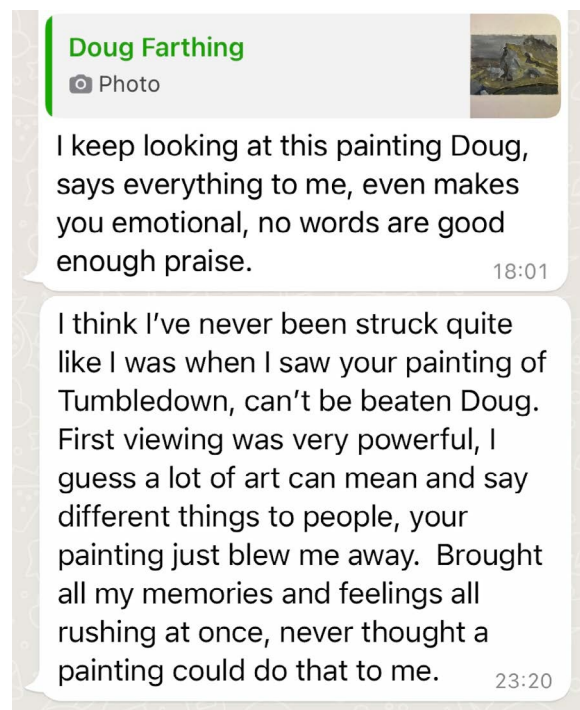
2nd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment memorial at Goose Green (credit: Dave Pope)



Public outreach

The Falklands War Mapping Project is a community archaeology project. As such, during the field season, the team held a series of volunteer days on Tumbledown where locals and others assisted enthusiastically with the survey. Collaboration from the curatorial and other staff at the Historic Dockyard Museum fostered engagement in the Falklands and facilitated talks, interviews, archival searches, and work with collections. Members of the Falklands War Mapping Project team also delivered a set of ‘art and conflict archaeology’ sessions at Port Stanley’s Junior School, Community School, and the Historic Dockyard Museum. These sessions were led by Doug Farthing, the project artist and former soldier in The Parachute Regiment. In addition to presentations at various academic events, the Falklands War Mapping Project has also given talks to a range of interested groups, including the Scots Guards Association.

During his time in the field as part of the Falklands War Mapping Project, Doug Farthing produced a series of preliminary artworks. These and other works completed after his return to the UK formed the core of the St Peter’s College *1982 Uncovered* exhibition. Satisfyingly, the work of the Falklands War Mapping Project has inspired other artists and photographers in the Falkland Islands, UK, and elsewhere, and some of their works were also exhibited. It is anticipated that these artworks and exhibitions will continue to resonate widely and get people thinking not only about the events of 1982 in the South Atlantic but also, more widely, the role played by conflict heritage in people’s identities and their recall of personal and social memories.



Doug’s artwork has also had emotional impacts amongst the team members and, in particular, the veterans. Text of two messages written by one of the veterans sent to the teams’ WhatsApp group (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

Future plans

As the contributions to this book illustrate (see below), the project has achieved a great deal to this point and the potential is vast. The involvement of veterans, the local community, and artists will remain central to our archaeological and heritage endeavours.

The next phases of planned fieldwork, in 2023 and 2024, will involve further survey on Mount Tumbledown, parts of Mount Longdon, and on Middle Mountain and around the airstrip on Pebble Island. Longer-term, the project also intends to map other 1982 battlefields, including Mount Harriet, Mount Kent, and Two Sisters. Survey data, including visualisation tools, are to be deposited with the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust and, with specialist inputs from the Falklands War Mapping Project team, used to inform protection strategies for 1982-related and other conflict heritage. As capacity at the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust develops, remote inputs from the UK-based team will ensure survey can be led locally and take place in the absence of the full team.

The project will continue to work with veterans in the pursuit of cathartic outcomes. This includes returning veterans to their battlefields for survey work but also exploring the potential of developing and using survey-based, tactical-level Virtual Reality environments in PTSD and immersion therapy, and in other treatments and welfare activities.

Structure of the book

The book comprises four sections. The first is contextual, and describes history as experienced at different scales by different participants. The preconditions for the Falklands War, which in some ways go back to the first recorded visits to the Falkland Islands in the late seventeenth century, are outlined. These complicated past events, including phases of exploration, garrisoning, trading, settlement, and development, still frame and inform diplomatic relationships and competing claims today. The events of 1982 are considered through narratives of the Pebble Island raid and the Battle of Mount Tumbledown. These accounts not only illuminate what happened, but also how these actions were to fit within the wider campaign. The return home and readjustment after the war are oft-missed part of the campaign. For the combatants of both sides, the experience of return was diverse. For reasons of length, only a single account is provided here, that of a British veteran.

In some ways, Pebble and Tumbledown represent ‘external’ accounts as they, necessarily, focus on combat actions between British and Argentine forces. As such, the section also includes two contributions highlighting the islanders. The coverage is of experience and memories of living under occupation on the one hand, and resistance activities on the other. The voices of islanders are often left out of the historical



Caption: Photograph taken in 2020 of a boulder on Mount Tumbledown with visible impact scarring and heat damage. Fired and 'cooked off' 7.62mm rounds were found around the feature (credit: Timothy Clack)

records but, of course, their suffering – both physical and psychological – and experiences had long-lasting impacts. The events – and memories of them – continue to inform and shape relationships and identities.

The results of the Falklands War Mapping Project's first season of fieldwork are explored in Section 2. The value of applying archaeological techniques to the material remains of battlefields of the recent past are considered and so are some finds from earlier research visits by both of the Falklands War Mapping Project directors. These earlier visits were essential drivers for the creation of the current project. The survey results from Mount Tumbledown and Pebble Island are described, with reference to key finds and interpretations.



*The Falklands War Mapping team at the memorial cross on Mount Tumbledown in April 2022
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

Also detailed are the efforts to create a ‘digital Tumbledown’ and how such a tool might be useful in terms of visualisation, education, conservation, and therapy.

Section 3 provides insight into the Falklands War Mapping Project’s activities corresponding to veterans, community, art, and well-being. The experiences of Jim Peters, one of the veterans in the project team, are described. This is an intimately personal story, incorporating narrative, mental health, emotion, and memory. Some of the psychological impacts of war, in particular PTSD, are also outlined. The long-lasting nature of these impacts should not be underestimated. Forty years on from the Battle of Mount Tumbledown, Jim, for

example, still suffers from debilitating nightmares, insomnia, and survivor guilt. The role of archaeology in potentially enhancing well-being is considered linked to the outcomes of the Falklands War Mapping Project's first season.

The Falklands War Mapping Project is partnered with Waterloo Uncovered and the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust. Information on both of these organisations and their relevance to the project are included in this section. Waterloo Uncovered, for example, has innovated fieldwork and risk management practise linked to veteran duty of care. In the Falklands, the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust has a unique role as a hub for the community and in sharing historical knowledge with islanders and visitors. Through exhibitions and object curatorship, the Historic Dockyard Museum is also central to the remembrance of key events, in particular those of 1982. The Falklands War Mapping Project has already exhibited some of its work as part of the commemorative 'Etched in Memory' Exhibition, which opened at the Museum on the anniversary of the liberation of the Islands. The project will also exhibit additional materials at the museum, including artworks, in the future.

Whilst the Falkland Islands Mapping Project works with British military veterans and islanders, Argentina also has many veterans from the events of 1982. Inspired by Waterloo Uncovered and similar programmes in the UK and US, a recent project run by Argentine archaeologists has engaged Argentine veterans of the conflict in archaeological fieldwork on sites in Argentina. Their project, which is described in a chapter by Carlos Landa, Juan Leoni, and Sebastián Ávila, has also seen therapeutic dividends for participants. In addition, their project has used remote sensing data and veteran testimonies to reconstruct various Falklands War battles.

Returning to the Falklands War Mapping Project, the role art has played is also discussed in this section. As the project artist, Doug Farthing recounts his life as a soldier and artist and how the two existences have informed each other. He also shares his experiences of being in the field with the archaeological team – his first foray into the art of the aftermath of war – and artistic and personal response to the terrain, people, and memories. Another artist, Katie Russell explains her motivations for getting involved in the project – a process of remote inspiration – and engagement with the team's photographs, press coverage, and artworks. As a tapestry artist, she also describes how weaving promotes well-being. A full catalogue of project/exhibition artworks is provided in Section 4.

Section 1. History and Context



A 6-inch, breach-loading Mark VII gun on Canopus Hill east of Stanley Harbour. This gun was taken from HMS Lancaster during World War I (credit: Timothy Clack)

1. The Falklands War: Background Context

Timothy Clack and Tony Pollard

The history of the Falkland Islands is lengthy and frames regional politics and debates around the legitimacy of competing sovereignty claims. Given this and despite there not being scope here to describe this past context in full detail, it is necessary that key facts and events from the historical record are provided.

Facts and figures

The Falkland Islands are a British Overseas Territory in the South Atlantic that consists of East and West Falkland, where most people live, and over 700 smaller and mostly uninhabited islands. The cumulative landmass is approximately 4700 square miles, which is about a sixth of the size of Scotland. Today the population of the Falkland Islands is 3,700; in 1982 it was 1,820. The islands are 8,000 miles distant from the UK and, at their closest point to the south of the country, 320 miles from Argentina. The capital is Port Stanley, which was given city status as part of Queen Elizabeth II's Platinum Jubilee celebrations in May 2022 and located in a sheltered bay on the eastern coast of East Falkland.

The people of the Falkland Islands have consistently expressed their will to remain British. In 1986, an unofficial referendum saw 96% in favour of continued British sovereignty, with 88% participation of registered voters. In 2013, in an official referendum on political status, 99.8%



The gaucho stone corral on Sapper Hill dates from the 1840s and was built to hold up to 1,000 head of cattle. After it fell out of use in the 1960s, it became a favoured picnic spot for islanders due to its sheltered location. The corral was inaccessible from 1982 to 2010 due to mines laid by the Argentines during their occupation (credit: Timothy Clack)

voted to remain a British Overseas Territory, with a 92% voter turnout. It would be disingenuous of the authors not to register at this point that they believe the feelings and aspirations of the islanders have primacy in any discussion of sovereignty.

The Falklands' economy has been dominated traditionally by sheep farming and fishing although tourism has become increasingly important. A number of moderate discoveries of oil in the territorial waters of the Falkland Islands since 2010 have not, to date, resulted in any extraction, but further exploration is ongoing.

Explorations, colonisations, evictions

Sailing as part of a small fleet commanded by Sir Thomas Cavendish, Captain John Davis of the *Desire* made the first recorded sighting of the Falkland Islands in 1592. Two years later, the English navigator Richard Hawkins of the *Dainty* mapped part of the northern coastline and named the islands 'Hawkins Maydenlande' after himself and Queen Elizabeth I.

The first recorded arrival to the Falkland Islands was made by English captain John Strong in 1690 when he made landfall sailing to Chile. He named the water between the two main islands after Viscount Falkland, a British naval official. The name, of course, was later applied to the whole archipelago. The first record of 'Falkland's Land' being applied to the entire landmass was by the British privateer, Woode Rogers, in 1708.

It was not until 1764, however, that the first settlement at Fort Saint Louis, on what is now East Falkland, was founded. This was by the French navigator Louis-Antoine de Bougainville. He claimed the islands for King Louis XV, and named the islands the 'Iles Malouines' after the port of Saint Malo from which they had departed. Unaware of the French settlement, in 1765, Commodore John Byron landed at Port Egmont and claimed the islands for King George III. In 1766, British colonists under Captain John McBride established a naval garrison and a settlement at Port Egmont, the first on West Falkland.

The French at Fort Saint Louis and British at Port Egmont discovered each other in December 1766. The following year, the French sold Fort Saint Louis to Spain. A Spanish Governor was appointed and the settlement was renamed Puerto Soledad. In the years that followed, British and Spanish ships came into contact around the islands and each accused the other of being unlawfully present. In 1770, the Spanish forcibly evicted the British from Port Egmont. The resultant diplomatic crisis was resolved, in 1771, after Britain, Spain, and France signed the 'Exchange of Declarations' which restored Port Egmont to Britain.

In 1774, Britain abandoned its settlement but left a plaque behind asserting its claim to the islands. The Spanish withdrew its garrison in 1811 at the height of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1816, agencies in the newly independent Argentina, United Provinces of Rio de la Plata and a Buenos Aires privateer laid claim to the



The trypot/tripot (or 'blubber pot') was used by sealers and whalers in the rendering of carcasses. A testament to the importance of these industries in the Falkland Islands' past, this example is located outside the Home Living store in Port Stanley (credit: Timothy Clack)

islands. In 1826, Louis Vernet from Buenos Aires led a private expedition to the islands. He established a new settlement at Puerto de la Soledad and, recognising British sovereignty, requested it be taken under British protection. In 1829, Buenos Aires recognised Vernet and claimed all rights to the region previously controlled by Spain, including the Falkland Islands and Tierra del Fuego. Britain rejected this and reasserted its own sovereignty of the islands.

In 1831, after Vernet interdicted three American ships for 'illegal sealing', the American warship *Lexington* retaliated and sacked Puerto de la Soledad and proclaimed the islands, 'free from all government'. The following year, America supported Britain's sovereignty. British warships *HMS Clio* and *HMS Tyne* visited the islands and, in 1833, the British evicted the colonists at Port Louis. Matthew Brisbane was left in command of the settlement but he and his deputy were murdered shortly thereafter. After *HMS Challenger* and *HMS Hopeful* arrived, the colony was re-established and renamed Anson's Harbour. In 1840, the Colonial Lands and Emigration Commissioners approved formally the British colonisation of the Falkland Islands and, in 1842, Richard Clement Moody was appointed the first civilian governor and moved the capital to Port Stanley. The British administration of the Falkland Islands has remained unbroken since, excepting the 74-day period of Argentine occupation in 1982.



The Lady Elizabeth, a deep-sea sailing cargo ship, was sunk in Whalebone Cove in 1936. Testament to the centrality of trade to the early history of the Falkland Islands, the ship was built in Sunderland in the UK in 1879 and, in 1913, she hit Uranie Rock in Berkeley Sound. Upon arrival to Stanley, she was sold as a floating warehouse (credit: Timothy Clack)

World Wars

The Falkland Islands were of heightened global strategic importance during the World Wars, not least given their proximity to Cape Horn. At the Battle of Coronel in November 1914, the *Kreuzergeschwader* (East Asia Squadron) of the Imperial German Navy under Admiral Graf von Spee defeated a Royal Navy fleet off the coast of Chile. At the time, this was Britain's first naval loss for over a century. For the people of the Falklands, the sight of *HMG Glasgow* and *HMS Canopus* limping back to Stanley made the threat of invasion clear. The captain of the *Canopus* established a series of manned defences around the capital. After Coronel, the British Admiralty dispatched another fleet south under the command of Admiral Sturdee. This defeated von Spee and destroyed most of his squadron, including his flagship *SMS Scharnhorst*, in early December, at the Battle of the Falkland Islands. The Germans had intended to attack the refuelling base in Stanley.

The Falkland Islands remained important to sea-borne trade and naval operations in the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. At the outbreak of World War II, the British recognised that Port Stanley offered an operational and refuelling base for naval forces and, as the location of a wireless transmitter station, a link for communications. After intercepting enemy signals which indicated Japanese and Argentine threats to their interests in the South Atlantic, the British decided to garrison the Falkland Islands with Force 122. This saw 1800 men of the 11th Battalion, West Yorkshire Regiment travel to and further fortify



At Canopus Hill to the east of Stanley Harbour, the remains of a battery of two 6-inch breech-loading Mark VII guns. These were off-loaded from HMS Lancaster in 1917. The bottom image was taken through the loophole/aperture of the battery observation post (credit: Timothy Clack)

1. THE FALKLANDS WAR: BACKGROUND CONTEXT



The Falkland Islands had fourteen manned defensive sites during World War II. One was located at Ordnance Point to defend the entrance to Stanley Harbour. A Quick Fire 4-inch Mark IV pedestal mounted gun, as seen in this image, and some structural foundations remain (credit: Timothy Clack)

Soldiers from the 11th Battalion, West Yorkshire Regiment on the Falkland Islands as Force 122 in September 1942 (credit: York Army Museum)



the islands. The deterrent worked and, compared to their brothers in arms fighting in the European and Pacific theatres, Force 122 had an uneventful war.

Anglo-Argentine tensions

Britain's exit from Empire in the 1950s/1960s did not go unnoticed in the South Atlantic and, in 1964, Argentina raised the matter of sovereignty at the United Nations (UN) in a Special Committee linked to the implementation of the UN Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Whilst the British response was that the issue of sovereignty was not negotiable, Argentina succeeded in getting the UN to classify the dispute as an issue of decolonisation. In 1965, UN General Assembly Resolution 2065 invited both nations to proceed with negotiations to find a peaceful solution. Importantly, the 'interests of the population of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)' was recognised as being central to any resolution.

Diplomatic talks between Britain and Argentina took place until 1981. These discussions had success in opening up economic, energy, and transport links between the Falkland Islands and Argentina but failed to make headway on the issue of sovereignty. That being so, various British governments have, at times, indicated a disinclination to retain the Falkland Islands if doing so jeopardised trade and economic links with Argentina. In 1968, a transfer agreement floundered in the absence of parliamentary support. Declassified records also show that whilst maintaining the British claim, London again considered a transfer of sovereignty and lease back options less than two years before the invasion. Strong opposition to the plan in the Falklands and in the UK made it impossible.

Various events and provocations have also shaped relations historically. In an unsuccessful bid to claim the Falklands, in 1966, Argentine nationalists hijacked a DC-4 and flew it to Port Stanley. In 1976, Argentina landed an expedition to Southern Thule in the South Sandwich Islands – then part of the Falkland Islands Dependency – and set up Corbeta Uruguay, a small military outpost there. In the late 1970s, the Argentine Navy cut off the fuel supply to Port Stanley Airport and refused to fly the Red Ensign in (and thereby not recognise) Falklands' territorial waters. In response to intelligence that Argentina was considering further landings on British territories, the nuclear submarine, *HMS Dreadnought* and frigates *HMS Alacrity* and *HMS Phoebe* were dispatched to the South Atlantic as a deterrent. Operation Journeyman was successfully off-putting – not least as the presence of the vessels was leaked to the Argentine military – but kept out of the British press. However, five years later in the absence of a similar deterrent and with the fascist military *junta* in Buenos Aires wanting to distract from its economic failures and human rights abuses, including the 'disappearance' of thousands of political opponents, Argentina invaded.

1. THE FALKLANDS WAR: BACKGROUND CONTEXT

Map of the route of the Task Force to the South Atlantic via Ascension during the Falklands War. Note the Exclusion Zone around the Falkland Islands (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

Falklands War

The Falklands War, which began on 2 April 1982 with the Argentine occupation of the Islands (Operation Rosario) and ended with their surrender to the British Taskforce (Operation Corporate) on 14 June, resulted in the deaths of over 900 people, including 649 Argentine, 255 British, and 3 islanders. Technically, the Falklands War was not a war as neither side officially made the requisite declarations to the other. Whilst 'conflict' or 'campaign' might be more accurate legal descriptors, war is the term most veterans and Falkland Islanders use.

The war has been described variously as: 'a freak of history' (Max Hastings); 'two bald men fighting over a comb' (Jorge Luis Borges); 'an imperialist revival' (Ezequiel Mercau); 'forgotten' (Hugh McManners); and 'curiously old-fashioned' (Lawrence Freedman). Caution was taken by both the British and Argentine leadership to ensure a limited war - limited in time, geography, objectives, ways, and means. Nonetheless, the psychological and physical traumas of the war have been by no means limited nor unremembered. Indeed, many veterans of the Falklands War and those who lived under occupation live each day with the impacts and injuries. Time by itself does not always heal.





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Sir Rex Hunt, the Governor of the Falkland Islands (1980–1985) in ceremonial dress at the Falkland Islands Defence Force Club in 1983 (credit: Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust)

2. Pebble Island Raid: An Interview with Mark 'Splash' Aston

Interviewed by Timothy Clack and Tony Pollard

The Pebble Island raid was undertaken by British Special Forces on the night of 14–15 May 1982. The objective of the raid was to destroy the Argentine aircraft on the airfield on Pebble Island, one of the smaller Falkland Islands positioned north of West Falkland. This contribution is an interview carried out via electronic and other correspondence between July and August 2022.



Splash whilst serving in Belize (left; October 1974) and Northern Ireland (right; October 1975) (credit: Mark Aston)

Can you tell me about your background?

I spent nearly 40 years in the British Army. I joined up as a teenager in the 1960s and served in The Gloucestershire Regiment and passed selection in 1978, joining Mountain Troop of D Squadron, 22nd Special Air Service Regiment (22 SAS). In 1982, I was sent with D Squadron (D Sqn) to the South Atlantic in a direct action role. I took part in the landing on Fortuna Glacier, the taking of South Georgia, the Pebble Island raid and various other parts of the campaign. I finished my career as the SAS Regimental Sergeant Major (RSM) at the Parachute School.

Who was involved in the Pebble Island raid?

The recce was carried out by eight men from 17 (Boat) Troop, commanded by the Troop Commander. They used Klepper canoes for the infiltration, having being dropped off by Sea King helicopter. The main force, the raiding party, consisted of 40 men from D Sqn SAS. Commanded by the Sqn Commander, the command element also included a Forward Observation Officer from 148 Naval Gunfire Support Battery and a Naval Liaison Officer, who provided local knowledge of Pebble Island. Naval Gunfire support was provided by *HMS Glamorgan*.

How did you prepare for the raid?

Very little was known of the target aside from air photography and some information from our Royal Navy Liaison Officer. Each troop had a specific role in the raid: 17 (Boat) Troop were tasked to carry out the recce; 16 (Air) Troop were tasked to enter the settlement and deal with the enemy including pilots, ground crew and support elements; 18 (Mobility) Troop were tasked to destroy the aircraft on the airstrip; and 19 (Mountain) Troop were tasked to remain at the rally point/mortar location as a quick reaction force. The main priority of the mission was to disable the suspected radar and then disable the aircraft.

What equipment did you take with you?

There was a lot of equipment. Each man carried his personal weapon, a mixture of Colt Armalites (AR-15 and M16) and SLRs (Self Loading Rifle). Each patrol [a sub-troop formation of four operators] had one 7.62mm General Purpose Machine Gun (GPMG). Each man carried over 200 rounds for his personal weapon and at least a further 100 rounds of 7.62mm belted link for the GPMG. As I was in a gun team, I carried a belt of 200 rounds for our GPMG. I also carried two 66mm LAWs [Light Anti-Tank Weapon], two fragmentation grenades, and two white phosphorous grenades. On top of all this, each man carried in two 81mm mortar rounds. Some designated men also carried in prepared charges of plastic explosive. This meant that the average 'all up' weight in ammunition alone was in the region of 60lbs/27kgs.



*Damaged planes on the Airfield not long after the war
(credit: Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust)*

How did you get to the airfield and how did the attack begin?

The recce party was first inserted on the North end of West Falkland by Sea King helicopter and, over two nights, canoed across to Pebble Island. The raiding party flew in to Phillips Cove and met up with the recce party, who led the push to the rally point via the south coast to Shag Rocks to Big Pond. The assault party then moved to an FUP [Forming Up Point] just below the airstrip.

How did the raid unfold?

All plans had to change once we got to the rally point at Big Pond. The troop meant to deal with the radar and aircraft did not arrive at the rally point in time. 19 (Mountain) Troop were then ordered to attack the aircraft. For various reasons outside of our control, we were well behind schedule, so 16 (Air) Troop were ordered to refrain from entering the settlement and instead form a screen between the airstrip and the settlement. The aircraft destruction went well. As we were ordered to withdraw, the enemy blew some cratering charges which injured a couple of the guys. Then, as we withdrew past the settlement, the Argentines attempted a counter attack, but were easily beaten off. All troops arrived safely back at the rally point and were met by our returning helicopters to be flown back *HMS Hermes*.

In the context of the wider Falklands campaign, why was the raid important?

Destroying the Pucarás [Argentine low-wing, twin turboprop ground attack aircraft] neutralised a dangerous air capability. We knew these enemy aircraft could have wreaked havoc on British landing crafts as they approached the beaches. The absence of any Argentine radar, as proven by the raid, gave a clear run in for the ships to San Carlos and the troop landings to follow. Just as importantly, the raid also proved to the Argentines that we were serious, and that we were capable of taking the fight to them. It was also a good morale booster for the people at home in the UK.



Splash back on Pebble Island Airfield holding the wing of the Argentine Skyvan (March 2019) (credit: Mark Aston)



Splash standing in the wreckage of a burnt-out helicopter below Mount Kent (March 2019) (credit: Mark Aston)

The success of the Pebble raid was soon overshadowed by the tragedy of the Sea King crash. What happened that night?

We had been ordered to cross deck from *HMS Hermes* to *HMS Intrepid* because the navy didn't want to risk the aircraft carriers close in to the islands. Most of the stores and personnel had already gone across and there were 30 of us who flew on the last flight. As we flew over to *HMS Intrepid* our pilot was told to hold off as there was already an aircraft on the flight-deck, so he took us in a loop, with the intention of landing

once the deck was clear. Then there was a loud noise and we flew into the sea. Unfortunately, 22 men drowned and only nine of us escaped. [It was largest single loss of life for the SAS since World War II.] We were taken aboard *HMS Brilliant* and then onto *HMS Canberra*. Eight of the survivors were injured enough to be sent home. I made my way back to the squadron and continued the war. Surprisingly, only one man in the incident, to my knowledge, has suffered with PTSD after the war.

Have you been back to Pebble Island in the intervening years?

I've returned three times, twice with guys from the squadron and once researching for my book *Sea King Down*. Each time the locals have greeted us like long lost sons. Sadly, there's only a couple of the families still living there although one of these was on the island in 1982. They, of course, remember the night well.

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3. Battle of Mount Tumbledown

Tony Pollard and Timothy Clack

Position and preparations

Fought through the night of 13/14 June, 1982, the Battle of Mount Tumbledown was one of the last of the Falklands War. The feature, which is around 220m above sea level at its highest point, is known as Tumbledown Mountain to islanders, whereas most other mountains are referred to as 'Mount'. At over a mile long (c. 2,000m), it was one of the key ridge-like rock outcrops located to the west of Stanley, the capital and main focus of the Argentine occupation. The mountains formed an arc of high ground and served as locations for defensive positions covering the western approach to the town, which also made them vital objectives for



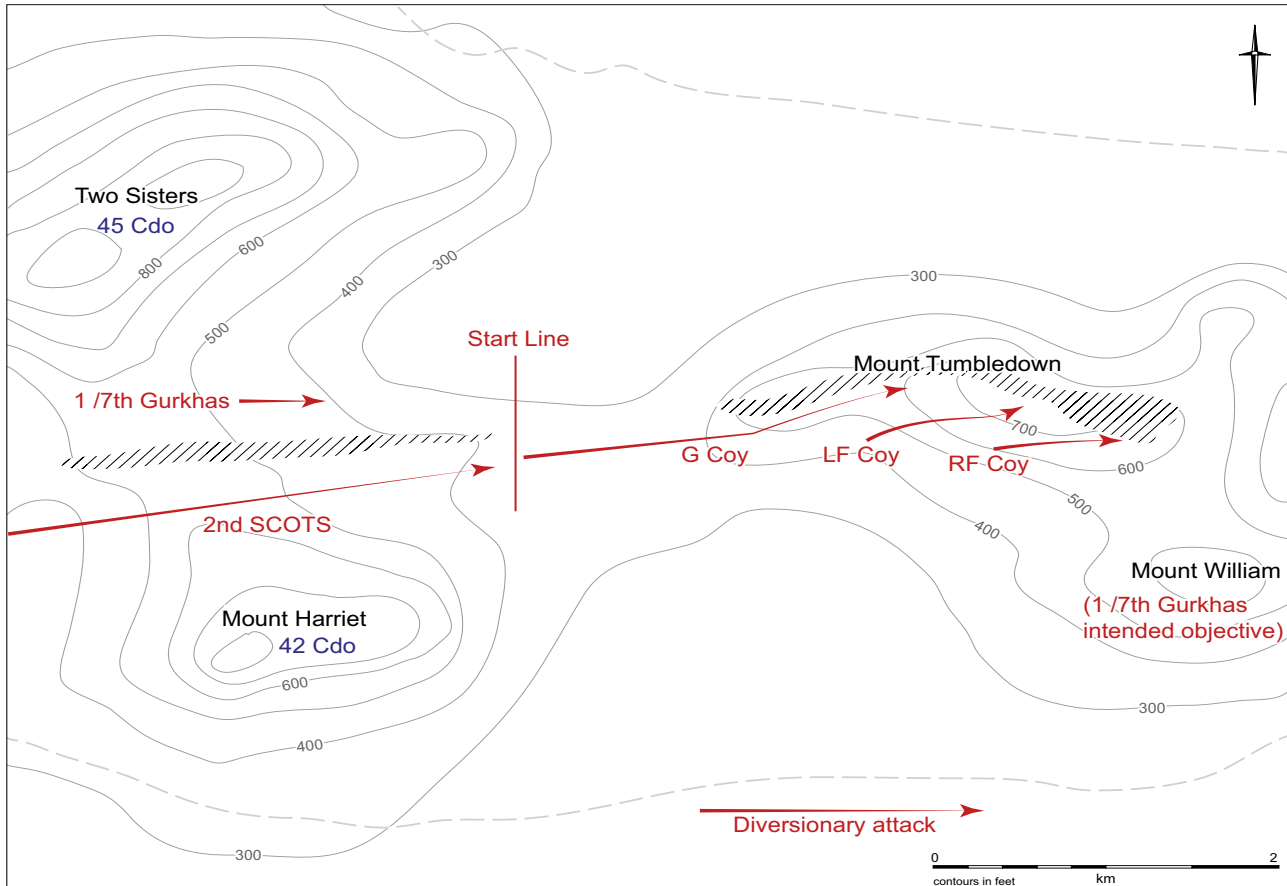
Map of peaks and other locations West of Port Stanley (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

British forces. These were divided into an outer defence zone, including Mount Kent, Mount Harriet, Two Sisters, and Mount Longdon, which curved around an inner defence zone, comprising Mount Tumbledown, Mount William, Wireless Ridge, and Sapper Hill.

Although the Argentines had prepared positions to counter an enemy advance from various directions, with landings to the north and south of Stanley regarded as real possibilities, the main British effort came from the West. San Carlos Water, an inlet cutting into the western coast of East Falkland, was chosen as the beachhead, around 40 miles (46 km) away from the Argentine positions outside Stanley, to the east. The closest threats were the airstrip at Pebble Island to the north-west and the Argentine garrison and associated airstrip at Darwin/Goose Green to the south. As explained in chapter 2, the threat of air attack on the landing force, was removed by an SAS raid on 14–15 May, prior to the San Carlos landings on 21 May, and Goose Green was captured by 2nd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment (2 Para) after a fierce battle fought over 16 hours on 28–29 May. The initial landings were made 3 Commando Brigade, which in the main consisted of Royal Marines from 40, 42 and 45 Commando (Cdo) and the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of The Parachute Regiment.

Although the main Argentine positions were a good distance away from the beachhead, an advantage as troops arriving by sea are most vulnerable as they come ashore, the planned advance on Stanley was going to be challenge. The main reason for this was the loss of most of the transport helicopters with the sinking of the *SS Atlantic Conveyor* on 25 May. So it was that 45 Cdo and 3 Para moved by foot across the island carrying huge loads of kit; famously described by the marines as ‘yomping’ and the paras as ‘tabbing’. However, the attack on the main Argentine positions was to also include the 5th Infantry Brigade which arrived on 1 June, and was formed from 2nd Battalion, Scots Guards, 1st Battalion, Welsh Guards, and 1st Battalion, 7th Gurkhas. The fateful decision was made to move these troops closer to Stanley by ship, which took them around the southern tip of East Falkland and into Fitzroy, to the south-west of Stanley. The Welsh Guards were to suffer the worst British loss of life of the war when the *RFA Sir Galahad* and *Sir Tristram* were hit by bombs dropped by Argentine Skyhawks before the troops were disembarked.

The objective for the Scots Guards was Mount Tumbledown, which for the most part was defended by the Argentine 5th Marine Battalion, made up from regulars and conscript troops, along with some elements of the 4th and 12th Infantry Regiments. In preparation for the attack, which was first going to be a daylight assault from the south on 12 June but was then sensibly moved to an attack from the west on the night of 13 June, the men were moved from Fitzroy by helicopter on the morning of 13 June. They dug in on the south side of Goat Ridge, located around a mile to the west of Tumbledown. Like Mount Longdon to the north, Mount Harriet to the south-west and Mount William to the south, Mount Tumbledown extended from west to east. On the southern slopes, scree-like stone runs provided loose rock into which sangars were built, while also making movement on foot very difficult, especially at night. Where the presence of peaty soil permitted, trenches were also dug into the ground along the ridge and on the low ground to the south.



Approximate routes of the Scots Guards attack (adapted from Mike Scott) (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

The main assault, which was to follow a plan devised by Lieutenant-Colonel Mike Scott, Commanding Officer of 2nd Battalion, Scots Guards, was preceded by artillery bombardment during the day, along with several laser-guided bombs delivered by RAF GR3 Harriers. At night, a diversionary attack along the track to the south, along which four light tanks (2 x Scorpion, 2 x Scimitar) from the 4 Troop, B Squadron, Blues and Royals, under Lieutenant Mark Coreth, supported by a composite platoon from the Scots Guards, under Major Richard Bethell, advanced towards Stanley. At around 10.30pm this resulted in a close-quarter fire-fight against Argentines from O Company, 5th Marine Battalion from dug-in positions on the southern flank of Mount William. The action left the Scots Guards with two dead and several wounded, and a Scorpion tank was disabled by a mine

as it manoeuvred off the track. Despite the cost, the diversion kept the Argentines positioned on and around Mount William focused on the southern approach, while the main attack went in from the west.

At 9pm, as the diversionary force was making its way along the track, the main advance by the Scots Guards began from a start line to the east of Goat Ridge. The first objective, almost a mile away, was a rocky outcrop located at the western end of Tumbledown, to which it was connected by a low saddle of open ground. This initial assault was made by G Company, under Major Iain Dalzell-Job, which, after delivering heavy fire and advancing uphill found the Argentine positions abandoned. With the first objective secured without loss, the advance onto the main part of the mountain was taken up by Left Flank Company under the command of Major John Kiszely. 15 Platoon moved over and around the stone run on the southern slopes, while 13 Platoon took a more direct westerly route on the higher ground above. With support from artillery fire, which had to be lifted due to one of the guns firing short (the problem of this 'rogue gun' would take a long time to fix), progress was initially good but then the Argentine defenders, many of them men from 4 platoon, 5th Marine Battalion, some of whom were equipped with night vision goggles, laid down a very effective fire, immediately causing casualties among the Guards. It was now around 11.30pm.

From here on in the battle raged among the rocks with bullet, bayonet, and grenade all doing their bloody work. Anti-tank weapons were also used against the Argentine positions – including a number of disposable M72 LAW 66mm rocket launchers and a single, cumbersome Carl Gustav 84mm recoilless rifle, which was operated by John Litterick (who fired one round from it in the battle at this early stage). Jim Peters, who like John was in 15 Platoon, was a gunner on the belt-fed GPMG, and his loader was killed beside him in this same encounter. Ultimately though, the Left Flankers were stalled well in front of their final objective, around half way along the ridge. Only when they had reached that point would they give way to Right Flank Company, under Major Simon Price, which had been assigned the rest of the ridgeline, up to the eastern end of the mountain.

The Argentines, using their cover to limit casualties, and even shouting abuse at their attackers, kept Left Flank Company pinned down among the rocks in freezing conditions for over three hours. As snow fell, and the artillery at last returned to action, momentum was regained, after a pre-arranged three salvos, Major Kiszely, finding his men slow to leap into action, yelled into the night, 'Are you with me 15 Platoon?', which after a brief pause received the reply, 'Aye sir, I'm wi'ye Sir!'. Jim and John also recall one joker piping up with 'No sir, we're with the Woolwich', a jape that references the slogan from a then current TV advert for a Building Society.

With Kiszely's encouragement, Left Flank Company, including 15 Platoon, stepped back into the attack, and in the ensuing advance Kiszely himself killed two Argentines with his bayonet. The Argentines continued to put up a stiff fight, with the commander of 4 Platoon, Sub-Lieutenant Carlos Vázquez, ordering mortars to drop rounds on his own position, so desperate was the situation. At the end of it, at around 4am, after about seven hours of fighting, only seven men from Left Flank, including their commanding officer and Jim Peters,



Scots Guards veterans Jim Peters (L) and John Litterick (R). Project team arrival at Tumbledown, 30 March 2022. West end of mountain to left and East end to right. Note southern slope with stone runs visible towards west (left). G Company position far West not visible. Memorial cross is on summit at eastern end (right). Jim was wounded carrying stretcher through the area between the dark soil erosion line visible above his head and the small rocky peak directly above that (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

were standing on the summit of the mountain. Three of these men were immediately wounded by Argentine machine gun fire, with Kiszely and Peters being among the four to come out of this final Left Flank action unscathed. Their objective achieved, the assault was continued by Right Flank, which passed through the Left Flank positions and continued to advance westwards. Again, the fighting was brutal and now, with dawn approaching, daylight would provide additional danger, this time from Argentine artillery. The Argentines put in a last minute counter-attack from the north-east, but this was too small and came too late to turn the tide of

the battle. It was in the final moments of the nearly ten-hour long fight that Lieutenant Robert Lawrence from Right Flank Company, was shot in the head; his survival was nothing short of miraculous and his story became the subject of the 1988 movie, *Tumbledown*.

It was during this later stage of the battle that Guardsmen Jim and John were ordered to assist with carrying stretchers bearing casualties back to the regimental aid post which had been set up in the lee of a huge boulder at the western end of the mountain. As they made their way back along the southern slope, they were hit by Argentine mortar fire and Jim was badly wounded in the leg, while the man hefting the corner of the stretcher next to him was killed. By the time he reached the aid post there was a concern he would lose his foot, but thanks to the skill of surgeons on the hospital ship to which he was flown his leg was saved, though his injuries pain him to this day. In all, eight Scots Guards were killed (seven of these were from Left Flank Company), along with one Royal Engineer (in the diversionary attack along with one of the guardsmen). In addition, 43 were wounded, included 10 from G Company as a result of shelling (Jim was among the 21 of those wounded from Left Flank). The Argentines lost 20 killed, with seven of these coming from 4 Platoon, while around 50 of their men were wounded.

While the battle for Tumbledown raged, 2 Para began their night assault on Wireless Ridge to the north-east. This was to be the last battle of the war and would see the combined arms of infantry, artillery, and armour working very effectively together. At dawn, after nearly ten hours of fighting, with Tumbledown at last in possession of the Guards, the 1/7 Gurkhas, after advancing along the northern flank of the mountain, crossed its eastern end and moved south towards their own objective, Mount William. Coming off the mountain in daylight they were caught in the open and hit by heavy artillery fire, which wounded several men. They reached their objective but not before the Argentines stationed there had retreated back to towards Stanley, briefly taking up position on Sapper Hill before falling back on the town. With all objectives taken and the entire Argentine force streaming into the capital, the worry for the British commanders was a last stand that would require street fighting, which would inevitably take a toll on the civilian population. Fortunately, common sense, encouraged through the efforts of a British negotiating team, won out and the Argentines chose surrender over futile gesture.

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4. After the Fight: The Return Home

William Spencer

To return home, you have to leave it first. My point of departure for the homeward journey from the Falklands was Port William, and the means of transport was *HMS Hermes*. However, I didn't leave the UK on *HMS Hermes* and I didn't arrive to the Falklands on it either.

A physical and mental journey

The crew of *HMS Hermes* was very keen to leave the Falklands and to head north for home. If you read *The Harrier Goes to War* by Peter Squire, you will see that No.1 (F) Squadron of the Royal Air Force was reportedly bribed to leave the ship as soon as possible and operate instead from the recently liberated airfield at Port Stanley.

Before *Hermes* left the Falkland Islands, the air group did a victory flypast, using almost all of the aircraft on board to celebrate the British victory over the Argentine forces, but perhaps also to signify a change in command – Admiral Sandy Woodward flew off from *Hermes* on the same day – and possibly to show the islanders that we still had a few aircraft out at sea! One of the two Wessex V helicopters I worked on whilst on the *Hermes*, flew the Union flag in the flypast. I managed to take a picture, as the formation flew over *Hermes*, on their way to Port Stanley.

The journey back to the UK took 18 days and it wasn't just a cruise home. We continued to operate as normal but after about five days of sailing north, without the threat of air attack, we started to relax. Unlike those who had served ashore, where the Argentine surrender was more clearly defined, those of us at sea still had to consider the possibility of attack by submarine or from the air. Only when we reached Ascension Island, did we really relax.

At Ascension some personnel flew ashore, so that they could fly rather than sail back to the UK. I had flown from the UK to Ascension at the beginning of May to meet my aircraft on the *Atlantic Conveyor*.

Heading north from Ascension, *HMS Hermes* did not hold a 'Crossing the Line' ceremony, as they had coming south. So, I missed out on a naval tradition, because my southerly crossing of the equator had been courtesy of a Royal Air Force VC-10. Near the Canary Islands, we picked up a Russian escort, the *Marshal Timoshenko*, a Kresta II class guided missile cruiser. We 'waved' at their helicopter when it first appeared late one afternoon, and did the same to the ship itself when it appeared quite close alongside us, the following day.



Wessex V XT471 marked as X W (an 847 callsign) but operated by personnel from 848 D Flight from HMS Hermes (credit: William Spencer)

During my time in the Falklands, I managed to take quite a few photographs but once we were north of Ascension Island I had run out of film, so I was unable, frustratingly, to take any pictures, including of the Russians or of *HMS Hermes*' arrival home.

Prior to the ship's entry into Portsmouth harbour on 21 July 1982, *Hermes* was anchored off Spithead. The arrival of the flagship in the UK tempted a lot of small boats to come out to *Hermes* at anchor, to have a look at us. For those of us on the flightdeck, 'watching them, watching us' was quite entertaining. If something caught our eye, everyone on the flightdeck would move across the deck, so that they could continue to watch the vessel of 'interest'. It was quite funny to watch a few hundred sailors stalk a small boat in this way.

*My Wessex V XT471
and my family (credit:
William Spencer)*



Prior to *Hermes* arriving back in the UK, I had written to my family telling them not to come to Portsmouth but my advice went unheeded! After the ship had tied up, I stood on the flightdeck watching the families of the crew from my lofty position some 60 feet above them. As I watched, I noticed a man scanning the ship with binoculars. I watched this man for ages and when he finally took the binoculars away from his face, I recognised my Dad! I went down to meet my family and managed to get them onto the ship. They were keen and able to see where I had lived and worked for the previous three months.



Friends and family on the flightdeck after the arrival home (credit: William Spencer)

Once my family had left the ship and everything was secured, I went ashore for the first time since 7 May. The air group was due to fly the following day. After so long at sea, walking in a straight line over more than 700 feet was quite an odd experience. After a potter around Portsmouth, I went to buy some fish and chips. After I paid for my food, I received an odd-looking coin in my change. When I asked the chippy what the coin was, I was told it was a 20p and then, quite disparagingly, I was asked where I had been? I said I had just come

home on *HMS Hermes*. The chippy was quite apologetic and then gave me all my money back. The 20p ruse worked quite well for about a month!

Making sense of what had happened

I was lucky in that the slow sea journey home helped me to unwind and talk with colleagues about what we had experienced collectively. Once home on leave, the local papers were quite interested to hear about my experiences and I also attended a number of events with local dignitaries. Then it was back to duty.

I left the Fleet Air Arm in 1993 and joined the staff at the Public Record Office (now The National Archives). When I joined the staff at Kew, I never conceived that I would still be at the institution when the records of my war were released. I spent almost 25 years helping all manner of people to find primary sources about other wars but very rarely about my own.

Apart from a few administrative errors, the first collection of operational records concerning the Falklands War, were released on 28 December 2012. Although there was some media interest in these newly released records, the level of interest wasn't as high as I had personally hoped.

Since December 2012, over 2500 British government files concerning the Falklands have been released at The National Archives. The first release of records consisted of the regimental war diaries of the British Army units who served ashore in 1982, the logs of most of the Royal Navy ships which took part in Operation Corporate, and the Royal Air Force squadrons' operational record books.

These first records contain a day-to-day account of the activities of the units involved. For those veterans who may have forgotten details or something about their experiences in the South Atlantic, they are a good place to start researching. However, these records are not without their mistakes. The log of the 2nd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment (2 Para) for 7 May 1982, for example, records that two Sea Harriers from *HMS Intrepid* were lost, when in fact they came from *HMS Invincible*. As for a unit record for 848 Naval Air Squadron, after waiting for 30 years, there was nothing!

A considerable number of books have been published about the events of 1982, with some obviously appearing in this 40 anniversary year, and yet very few have used or at least cited any of the primary sources held at Kew. An exception is *The Official History of the Falklands Campaign* by Sir Lawrence Freedman, which was published in 2005. This was based on many of the files at Kew, and is probably a book which many Falklands veterans are aware of. However, the same veteran community appear to be largely unaware of the existence of the records from the units in which they served or where they are held and made available.

Serial	Time	Event	Action
27		2 PARA adv party left by SK for NORLAND this am. On board there was an intensive familiarisation period with SK drills and LSU drills. Only a Coy completed the full ni drills but all sub units received basic drills. We sailed South at 2200 hrs to RV with Task Group N of FI. 2 x SHAR lost from INTREPID probably collided.	

2 Para Log WO 305/5440 TNA (credit: The National Archives)

Undertaken as part of a doctorate at the University of Glasgow, my own research is on the operational records from the Falklands War. I'm looking at whether such records can be validated by the veteran community. The research has shown clearly that if you make people aware of such records, they will actually read them, and then they tell you more. Veterans will tell you what is missing from the records. They may also tell you that reading the record can act as a trigger and remind them of things which they had forgotten and had not been written down.

Not everything does get written down in a unit record and there are things which a written report just cannot capture, such as the atmosphere in a headquarters when a unit is in action. Asking veterans to read their unit records has revealed that although they capture a lot of information, there are gaps. Perhaps it is only the veteran who actually took part in recorded operations, who can really validate them as primary sources.

To fully appreciate what the operational records from the Falklands War can offer a historian, and what additional information a veteran with their unit record may provide, they should be consulted together, at the same time. Even though the Falklands War was over 40 years ago, there are still things to be learnt. The immediacy of first-hand experience and the clarity of time are a powerful combination.

As with other wars, there is a ticking clock. Once the Falkland veterans are gone, it will be too late. We must harness their inputs wisely and urgently.

Further reading

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5. Life Under Occupation: A Selection of Local Memories

Brian Summers, Rachel Simons, Alan Jones, and Eric Goss

The experience of life under occupation is often absent in historical accounts of the Falklands War. The inclusion of local voices makes clear that experiences were diverse. For example, there were differences in experience due to age, occupation, and location. Variances included, for example, level and form of interactions with Argentine and British forces, proximity to the fighting, access to information, impact on urban and rural life, and so on. Some of this diversity is captured here in this short selection of four individuals' memories of certain events from 1982.

Brian Summers

I would like to begin with a brief introduction. I am a 4th generation Falkland Islander and descendant of John Arthur Summers, who arrived in the Islands as part of the Falklands Garrison in the 1860s. John arrived with his wife and 3 daughters. His son, John Arthur was one of 2 sons born in the Falkland Islands.

All my family have either been members of the Falkland Islands Volunteers (FIV) or the Falkland Islands Defence Force (FIDF). I joined the Defence Force in 1966 just before my 16th birthday and had completed my basic training by the time the Aerolineas Argentinas DC-4 aircraft was hi-jacked and landed on the Stanley racecourse on 28th September 1966.

In 1982, I was a Warrant Officer Class 2 (Force Sergeant Major). My civilian employment was with Cable and Wireless, and I was a Morse-code trained senior operator working out of (what is now) the Sure building adjacent to Government House. Communication to the UK was by high-frequency radio working into the British Telecom (BT) radio station at Somerton in Somerset, with the transmitters located in Rugby. Service was from 11am until 1am GMT and frequency plans were only drawn up to cover those hours. An emergency plan was in place to re-



*Brian Summers (left) in the Falkland Island Defence Force (FIDF). The FIDF is a volunteer defence unit of the Falkland Islands, which works alongside the military units of the UK to ensure the security of the Islands
(credit: Brian Summer)*

establish communications out of normal working hours by contacting the BT Coastal Radio Station Portishead by Morse-code, this required authorisation by the Governor. This emergency plan was tested every three months and was successfully achieved at 10am GMT on the 1st April 1982.

With the escalation of tensions on South Georgia, I was responsible for connecting Governor Hunt with South Georgia for his regular evening updates on the situation at Leith Harbour.

On the 1st April, it was decided that Cable and Wireless would move to 24-hour operation and that I was to do the first night shift. I had the afternoon off to rest. In the late afternoon my father, Phil Summers, who was Officer Commanding of the FIDF, came home in a rather agitated state. Along with other senior Government officers, my father had been briefed by Governor Hunt that an invasion was imminent, and that, as the Governor, he would be going on the local radio after the BBC World Service news at 7.15 to call-out the FIDF. After getting on my FIDF kit, I went down to my girlfriend's (Judy Felton) house on Ross Road East. Councillor Bill Luxton was there trying to convince Judy and Lyn Blake (from North Arm who was staying over at the time) that they should get the children together and set out for Camp as soon as possible. They didn't, instead spending the night helping to look after the children at Stanley House.

After Governor Hunt's announcement I went to the FIDF Drill Hall on John Street. As I arrived, Glenn Ross was just pulling up ahead of me. As Glenn was not an FIDF member and had no military experience I had to tell him to go home. Whilst the FIDF were getting themselves prepared for deployment, Simon Winchester and other journalists attempted to get into the building. They tried every door and I had to keep turning them away. They did eventually give up. (To note, on the last inbound commercial LADE flight from Argentina several journalists, including Simon Winchester, had arrived trying to get to South Georgia.)

At that time the FIDF was reasonably well equipped with weapons. In addition to the 7.62mm Self-Loading Rifles (SLRs), there were a large quantity of .303s left over from World War II. What we didn't have were radios. The FIDF supplied the two detachments of Royal Marines with the additional weapons as per their requirements. After the lads deployed to guard their 'key points', I collected my SLR from the rack only to find that there were no magazines left. Instead, I deployed with a World War II 9mm Sten gun and 100 rounds of ammunition. The lads who were guarding the Drill Hall were armed with .303 weapons, such as Lee Enfields. Some had never been trained on such weapons.

At Cable and Wireless I was due to take over from Suzie Packer (nee Reive), but she decided to stay as she didn't fancy going to her house down at the far end of Ross Road East adjacent the YPF depot.

Like the rest of the Falklands, we were listening to Patrick Watts broadcasting from the radio station on John Street. However, unlike everyone else who were probably listening (in Stanley) to the rediffusion system (loudspeaker) or on mediumwave 536 KHz, we had neither so were listening on the alternative shortwave frequency 2370 MHz.

The early part of the shift was reasonably quiet, with just a few telexes to connect. Knowing that Moody Brook was unoccupied, I took copies of anything for the Royal Marines and delivered them to Government House.

In the early hours, we lost contact with the UK. I tried changing to the next likely frequency without any success. I decided I needed to try and contact Portishead. Unfortunately, the watchkeeper at the transmitting station had no knowledge of the procedure, nor where to find the instructions. This meant I had to go across to Government House to ask Governor Hunt for authorisation to call-out Mike Harris who was the only other one who knew the procedures.

Whilst in Government House, I met Lieutenant Toodhunter of *HMS Endurances'* survey party that had been left in the islands to carry out a survey of Berkley Sound. (Several days earlier an international telephone call had been received from his wife who was concerned about him. I reassured her that as he was in the Falklands and not on *HMS Endurance*, he would be fine as if anything was going to happen it would be on South Georgia.)

Around this time the first explosions were being heard at Moody Brook.

I was able to hear Portishead on both 8 and 12 MHz, but they were obviously not hearing me. Firing started coming in from the ridge near Government House. There were the odd explosions and the lights flickered, and there was a large flash from one of the equipment power supplies. It was at this stage that I realised that we were the only building in the area that still had lights on. I turned them off and continued calling Portishead in the dark. Mike Harris phoned and said that they could see the Argentine armoured personal carriers coming up the airport road and they wanted to get out of the building, I agreed, and they switched the transmitters off and left.

The firing was quite intense by this time and Suzie and I took shelter lying on the floor between the equipment racks, my thoughts were that the equipment power supplies were the only things in the building that were likely to stop bullets!

We were still listening to the radio, and in between records I could hear an Argentine calling Mr Hunt. I telephoned Patrick and asked him to stop transmitting so that we could hear what this guy was trying to say. I patched my audio through to Government House, and using the other telephone line, Governor Hunt was able to communicate with the Argentine Commander and make arrangements for the cease fire.

There were English speakers amongst the Argentine troops located on the ridge, as you could hear them shouting for Mr Hunt to surrender.

After the British troops were told to lay down their arms, I stripped my Sten gun and locked it in one of my desk drawers and went to check on damage to the building. There was a bullet embedded in the wall alongside the teleprinter that I had been using to type things on and a lot of bullet holes in the east end.

When I got back into the main operating area there was an Argentine soldier standing in the outside doorway. I decided not to detour to put on my jersey and jacket and so went out as I was in my shirtsleeves. Suzie and I were escorted down to Ross Road and I was told to lay on the road alongside the Royal Marines where I was searched. Everything that was taken out of my pockets was thrown into the gorse hedge. The scary part about lying on the road was that you could feel the rumblings of the armoured personal carriers coming up through the concrete. We were eventually allowed up and told to pick up our belongings when they wanted to bring the wheeled carrier down the hill. I think this was their ambulance as it parked in front of Government House and they put the casualties from the back of Government House into it.

The Royal Marines and I were then lined up on the road. The only act of defiance we could manage was to get into a disorderly huddle and hand out cigarettes. This didn't please our guards and we were led onto the grassed area to the west of Government House. At some stage Kenneth ('Trap') McKay arrived and sat in the area where I was, but I don't remember him being there at all. We obviously moved around in the paddock as later I was with Suzie by the trees. I saw Argentine Naval Captain Gaffoglio who I knew quite well approaching up the drive way. I gave him my keys to Cable and Wireless. I then joined Pat Peck and the other FIDF members who had been at the racecourse, and was marched down Ross Road with them. I have no idea what happened to Suzie, or where she went after this. We were told by the Argentine naval Lieutenant who was in charge of the Argentine troops that if we lived on our route to the Drill Hall we could break off and go home, but were to destroy our FIDF uniforms. I think Gerald Cheek left us as we passed the Police Cottages.

Once we arrived at the Drill Hall, the Argentine Lieutenant was called away. When he returned, he informed us that his best friend had been shot and killed behind Government House. I was concerned about what might happen, but he was very professional, and nothing changed.

We were formed into groups that lived in the same areas of town and were escorted home. I was in Taff Davies' Land Rover: Derek ('Tubby') Smith was in the front and I was in the back with Les Biggs. We were just by the Junior School entrance when Les threw his thermos flask at me, I said 'stop messing about Les' when I realised that he was rigid and was having an epileptic fit. I shouted for Taff to stop and we got Les out onto the road. Two Cable and Wireless Land Rovers came around the corner driven by Charles Keenleyside and Iain Stewart. We put Les into the back of the 110 and, with an Argentine escort, took him to the hospital.

Leaving Les at the hospital, the Cable and Wireless Land Rovers carried on and my escort took me down to Ross Road. We then walked down to the West Store corner and went up to the John Street corner where I sat for a while. My escort decided that we would head west up John Street and, as we passed the Drill Hill, I noticed Marvin Clarke and Teddy Summers sitting in a Land Rover wearing only vests on their top half. I couldn't see what they were wearing on their bottom half. Using only sign language, I indicated to my escort when we reached the

Co-op that we should turn left. He indicated to me that he couldn't go any further south and that I was free to carry on home.

Having spent Thursday night and all-day Friday at Stanley House, my girlfriend [Judy Felton] was one of the group who ferried the Stanley House children out to Fitzroy on Saturday. There were no worries about getting bogged as the summer of 1982 was very dry. (It must have been drier than 2022, as there were ponds in the Stanley area that dried out in 1982 that didn't in 2022.)

I moved from Brandon Road to Ross Road East on the Saturday afternoon and on the Sunday morning we planted some macrocarpa tree seedlings that Judy had received from Doug Goodwin at Fitzroy earlier in the week. Several folks passed and enquired why we were doing it; our reply was that Mrs Thatcher had just announced in parliament that she was assembling a task force to liberate us.

I had driven my mini to Cable and Wireless on Thursday evening and it was still there. Just before lunch on Sunday, Anton Livermore and I walked up there to see if we could retrieve it. The guard at the bottom of the driveway said no, so on the way back we called into the Rose Hotel Bar. It was quite packed and one of the YPF guys was in there and he said in no uncertain terms that he wasn't staying with those ***** here.

One of the edicts issued on Sunday urged everyone to return to work on Monday morning.

Cable and Wireless was occupied and the officer in charge was an Argentine Airforce Major who had flown the F27s into the temporary airstrip, before going to Germany to retrain in communications. He was Major Gonzalez and we called him 'Speedy'.

They wanted us to establish our normal link with Buenos Aires and we told him that we would have to use 19 MHz, which was the frequency we used to communicate with the UK. (We would normally use 12 MHz for Buenos Aires). We managed to open our normal telegraph link and a telephone channel with the UK and, using the other sideband, a telephone channel to Buenos Aires. We opened a full service and were told that we were to 'self-censor' any telegrams and telexes that were handed in. I think the telephone channel to the UK only lasted for the one day though, and then both channels worked into Buenos Aires. Speedy was always sitting there listening to both channels.

In 1982, there were only five telex subscribers: Cable and Wireless office, the public booth, Government House, the Royal Marines at Moody Brook, and the Falkland Islands Company. Telex messages could be typed 'live' machine to machine, but the normal way was to prepare messages beforehand, with the message being typed onto a tape that was then fed into a separate transmitter. If either the punching mechanism or the transmitter were out of adjustment, the messages would be corrupted. The British Red Cross collected messages from people in the UK and sent them to the Falkland Islands Company. As time went on, their telex machine went out of

adjustment and the messages being received in the Falklands were often corrupted. The Argentines got quite excited about this as they thought the messages were being transmitted in 'code'. We also received frequent calls from the *Daily Mail* newspaper. The monitoring telex machine would be switched off and the calls connected to the public booth where we would go and chat, destroying all evidence of what was said when we exited.

Most telegrams were family messages of reassurance to loved ones overseas. Towards the end of the second week of occupation, Magistrate Ray Checkley sent one addressed to Margaret Thatcher. I handled this message and I don't think a telegram had ever gone through the system so fast, it was on its way to London before the ink was dry! I don't remember what it contained. The Argentines didn't discover it until that night when they checked through the daily messages. They were not happy, and it resulted in another 'interview' with the Colonel.

For some reason the Argentine flag that flew at Government House was delivered to the Cable and Wireless office each evening and collected again next morning. It was always very neatly folded when we received it, but frequently it was in a rather rumpled state when they got it back.

It was during one of these flag visits that one of the girls gave the Argentine soldier a cup cake. We understand that he was severely disciplined for accepting it.

We had two Argentine civilians from the state communications company in Buenos Aires attached to our office. The senior guy was older, quite short and stout, we nicknamed him 'Fred Basset', the other was quite young and we called him 'Larry'. Larry was due to be married, but I don't think he made his wedding.

The Argentine Air Force Colonel in charge of security and his staff also based themselves at Cable and Wireless. Colonel Mendiberri spoke perfect English but I never had an interview with him without his interpreter, a United States citizen who was the Fire Chief from Comodoro Rivadavia. His other two guys mostly wore civilian clothing although occasionally they would turn up in uniform. One was quite reasonable, and we called him 'Baggy Draws', the other was quite nasty and he was 'Rubber Lips'.

One lunch time I received a telephone call from the parents at Brandon Road, saying that some Argentines had arrived wanting our FIDF uniforms. When I got up there, Rubber Lips and Baggy Draws were in uniform – this was the first time I had seen them in uniform – they left when we got the uniforms out from under the house.

At Cable and Wireless we split the work into two shifts: 8am to 1pm and 1pm to 6pm.

When Bill Luxton and family were deported, I was off shift and went with Judy in the Land Rover that transported them to Stanley Airport and so that I could see what was down there carried one of their suitcases to the terminal building. On my way back to the Land Rover, I met Colonel Mendiberri who said, 'ah, Summer what are you doing here, I think you should go back to the city'.

Rachel Simons

HUGE, ENORMOUS, GROUND-SHAKING, WINDOW-RATTLING, BOMBS. BOMBS. BOMBS.

It was the middle of the night. A Vulcan bomber was damaging the airport a few miles away. The noise was coming at us through the air and through the floor. Anti-aircraft guns were firing. I was lying in my sleeping bag during a sleepover at Grandad's house, hugging it as close as I could. I was staring and scared. Breathing was the thing to concentrate on doing. My sister and I went into our safe place, the understairs cupboard, and, terrified, sat holding each other and crying. Grandad stood in the doorway, leaning on his walking stick, praying.

In our emergency bags there was a slab of Cadbury's Dairy Milk. We decided that this was certainly an emergency and ate some of the chocolate. Vehicles were rushing around on the street outside, heading to and from the hospital. The shooting eventually stopped. We dozed and waited for the day to start. Sometime later in the day, I was back at home. A huge outburst of anti-aircraft fire punched the air. When we heard this shooting, we all rushed outside to see what was going on. Safety concerns were forgotten. Maybe the Vulcan again? A low flying jet plane came roaring down the harbour from the Moody Brook direction. It flew overhead and across town, so close that we could see the pilot. The anti-aircraft guns hit it. The Argy soldiers were firing their guns at it too. All the locals were standing out on the street and in our gardens cheering and shouting, we could see that it was in fact an Argentine plane. We watched as their burning Mirage flew over the back of the town and out of sight.



*Photograph of Rachel Simons (right) with her mother in 1982
(credit: Rachel Simons)*

I'm Rachel Simons. In April 1982, I was 11 years old. For the duration of the Falklands War, I was living with my parents and older sister in our home in the middle of Argentine occupied Stanley. School was closed during the war. Many of the teachers had gone to the UK, the school buildings were taken over by the Argies who used them as accommodation. Most of my war was spent looking out of the window or standing in the yard and watching it all happening. I watched the Argies patrolling the streets on foot and moving around in their vehicles. Their ships and boats came and went from the harbour. Helicopters and planes filled the sky. I watched planes shot down at a distance and nearby. I saw many things happening that the eyes of a child should never see. Our front room window was a bay window with floor to ceiling curtains. One of my favourite hide-and-seek hiding places was inside the linings of those curtains. During the war I took this a step further. I took some scissors into my hiding place and cut some eyeholes in the curtain linings, this enabled me to spy at the Argies unnoticed!

Mum, Valerie Bennett, was the senior nursing sister and a midwife at the hospital. During the war she courageously faced daily challenges of Argentines wanting to take control of the hospital, or to put guns on the roof of the building and in the gardens. Staff shortages were a problem. The chief medical officer and his wife, also a doctor, were locked up by the Argies thus reducing the number of civilian doctors working in the hospital to two.

Meanwhile the medical requirements of a small but very active community were still needing to be met. People still had long term illnesses. Bones were broken. There was a huge outbreak of a tummy bug. Babies were born. On 11th May 1982, mum was midwife for the birth of a baby. The nurse who was working with mum smuggled a Union Jack under her dress into the maternity ward. Nurse Alice held her contraband over the birthing mother as the baby was being delivered – thus ensuring that despite being in Argentine occupied Stanley, the beautiful girl was born under a British flag!

My father's side of the family had lived in the Falklands since the mid 1800s. During the war, my father, Neville Bennett, was chief of the fire brigade and responsible for the maintenance of oil-fired cookers and boilers in the government owned houses in Stanley. These properties were taken over by the Argies who didn't operate them particularly well. My father was often called out to repair something that had been broken – meanwhile witnessing life amongst the enemy. The fire brigade was very busy towards the end of the war and shortly afterwards. Stray shells and fires deliberately started by the defeated enemy stretched the volunteers to their limits. At the time of the Liberation, those brave men – their numbers boosted by British soldiers who had just arrived from fighting battles on the mountains – thankfully prevented large sections of our mostly wooden town from burning to the ground.

One of my clearest memories is watching some of the Battle of Wireless Ridge from the west facing window in our upstairs bedroom. The 13th June had been a horrible, frightening, tough, noisy day, after many other horrible and frightening, tough, noisy days. The war was getting very close. That evening,

we stood at that window for a very long time and returned to it several more times that sleepless night. We watched the colours and lights of the battle. Some eerie bright bursts lit up the sky and ground casting shadows amongst the rocks. Other bursts of light traced angry colourful arcs across the sky.

We'd watched the battles in the slightly more distant mountains, but I'd never noticed the colours of the tracers before, perhaps the larger distance hid them from sight. This time they were close and bright. Between the noise of the large Argy guns, we could hear the sounds of the Wireless Ridge weapons. Short bursts of fire. Longer heavier bursts. Huge bangs. At one point dad identified tanks as being there too. We tried to locate exactly where they were, Wireless Ridge is literally on Stanley's doorstep, and we knew the boggy, rocky layout well. We tried to think about the men up there in the dark, fighting for our freedom. They had mums and homes and families too.

This Falklands Islander is forever grateful for the peace and freedom that our Task Force restored our beautiful home.

Alan Jones

A few memories of my time in North Arm/Goose Green during the conflict.

I was living in North Arm as a shepherd, having arrived in the Islands in September 1980, aged 18. One of tasks on the farm was gathering the numerous flocks of sheep, which in total added up to about 75,000, on about 277,000 acres. The initial 18 months were amazing, with the countryside and wildlife. Being accepted by the families who lived in the settlements, not just North Arm but Goose Green and beyond, created many long-term friends. Many are friends to this day. With the support of the other shepherds, during this time, I learnt how to move large number of sheep, cattle and horses, long distances, with the largest flock being 17,000. One skill I learnt was to shear sheep, and I would manage to clip 125 sheep in one day. A skill I used for many years once I had returned to the UK.

I have many life-changing memories of the conflict. Living in North Arm, we had no idea of what was going on elsewhere or going to happen to us, especially the small number of expats there. Apart from the BBC World Service, which was on 24 hours a day, the only other news we were getting was from the families arriving from Port Stanley, seeking a safer haven with us.

One eventful day in early May 1982, we were cleaning out the wool shed, an annual event, when I heard a distinct and familiar sound. (It was familiar as I had grown up next to Salisbury Plain, a huge military training area in the south-west of the UK.) Stepping out of the wool shed and looking up North Arm Creek, I saw the familiar and menacing silhouette of a single Harrier fly by. It was only one but what a sight – it lifted everyone's spirits. At that moment, we knew the Navy had arrived; we felt that help was here. We did



Alan Jones today (credit: Alan Jones)

know that the Argentines would not leave without a fight, but we had friends in the Royal Marines that were on the way.

A more sober recollection. We left in pouring rain to gather rams in Orquieta Park. We were given a horse each, with some provisions, for a couple of nights' stay. The ride over was uneventful, however the horses were nervous of the helicopters and planes flying past. On arriving at Paragon House, we were aware of some military activity. On entering the front door, on the kitchen table, we were met by a flying suit, flares and rations. This caused a little panic, as it was not immediately identifiable as British. On further inspection it turned out to be Squadron Leader Bob Iverson's suit, but there was no sign of him. The next day, once we had gathered the rams, I went for a walk to check out a dark patch I had noticed on a grass ridge. The wreckage was spread over a large area, and I knew quite quickly it was Bob Iverson's RAF Harrier. I found the ejector seat very close to the wreckage. (Thankfully, Bob Iverson had been rescued a few days earlier).

On a happier note, after the Argentine surrender, I felt privileged to spend my 21st birthday with B Company of the Royal Gurkha Rifles, who were stationed in North Arm at that time. The Gurkhas celebrated, 'beating the retreat', and it was a day full of activities. The day started with a shooting

competition, and ended with a feast, in the bunkhouse galley, of curried goose, all washed down with plenty of Navy rum. The celebrations continued into the night, with renditions of their traditional dances, before they left for the UK the next day. What an amazing 21st birthday!

Eric Goss

I recall that on the night of the invasion, the local radio station urged listeners to tune into an important message from Governor Rex Hunt. At 7.15pm, Governor Hunt broadcast to say he had on good authority that the Argentine military are likely to land near Port Stanley at dawn. He requested that members of the local Defence Force report to the Drill Hall and for everyone else to keep off the streets.

I was the Manager of Goose Green Farm at the time of the invasion. Our first concern after the broadcast was to get in contact with our son, Morgan. My wife, Shirley, got on the landline to her sister in Stanley, asking her to bring Morgan back home, and to bring her family to stay with us. We wanted them to be away from the bullets, shells and bombs. They all arrived safely at about 8am the next morning.

The night of the invasion, I went to my office to make a list of priorities: get camp children out of Stanley and returned home, hide our petrol stocks, knobble new tractor and back-end digger, and to lock all sheds and warehouses. I dispatched Land Rovers to meet the children who needed to be repatriated back to West Falkland. In that time, Brook Hardcastle had arranged for Finlay Ferguson, at Speedwell Island, to bring the *Penelope* up from Speedwell to Egg Harbour in order to ferry children to Port Howard.

I also remember that further preparations went into the settlement before the Argentines arrived. We estimated at the time that the Argentines would take two days to consolidate their position in Port Stanley before occupying the two major camp settlements at Goose Green and Fox Bay. I instructed the mechanics to put the new 4x4 tractor and the McConnel hydraulic arm out of order. My eldest son, William, filled the



Eric Goss MBE in 2012 on Liberation Day wearing in a 2 Para tie, which he wears on that day each year in honour of those killed in fighting for liberation (credit: Eric Goss)

400-gallon petrol tank at the service hut on the green. We also shifted our stock of 40-gallon drums to stow in various sheds. We left one drum in the store shed on the hulk of *Vicar of Bray* that formed part of the jetty.

Early Sunday morning on the 4th April, Yona Davis, on Lively Island called me on the 2m radio to tell me that two ships were coming down the coast. One ship turned southwest, and the other came to anchor inside the narrows at Goose Green. The latter ship was the *ARA Isla de los Estados*. I had recognised the ship from a previous encounter in the April of 1981; the ship came to load 1500 sheep from North Arm bound for Ushuaia. At the time, I wondered why a naval transport ship was carrying live animals. I now had my answer: it was a trial run to test the jetty.

A white Sea King helicopter arrived first, circling overhead before landing out of sight. Then around 20 special forces soldiers in black balaclavas surrounded the settlement. The ship came to the jetty and I counted 77 Argentine soldiers land and then gather around the Central Shed.

Sub Teniente [Second Lieutenant] Juan Gomez Centurion of RI-25 Marine Commandos, knocked on Keith Bailies' door and asked to speak to the manager. This was likely because on older plans, it had been the manager's House. Keith told him that Brook Hardcastle, general manager of the Falkland Island Company (FIC) Farms, resided at Darwin settlement. Subsequently, Ray Robson was despatched on his motor bike to fetch Brook.

All the residents were assembled, counted and ordered to submit all firearms and ammunition. These handed in items were taken to the woolshed, where I recorded in a duplicate book the following details: owner, make, calibre, serial numbers, and amounts and type of ammunition. I insisted the Argentines signed for all confiscated items. On 5th April, house searches were carried out with the aim of recording all occupants.

On 6th April, the Argentine forces demanded better shelter than the Centre shed could provide. Surmising that they had already checked and found two vacant houses in Goose Green and two in Darwin, I made a quick decision to let them use Darwin Boarding School. Although this lacked electricity and tap water, it was shelter. Toilets had to be flushed with buckets of sea water taken from the creek. The school was subsequently lost during the Battle for Goose Green.

Life went on, but more restrictions were put in place almost every day. Soon after, we were unable to travel to Stanley and all radio transmitters were confiscated. In keeping up resistance and imposing a level of humiliation, I made the Argentines sign my duplicate book for any and all items acquired from the Farm Store or taken from Farm material stocks.

On the 7th April, General Mario Benjamín Menéndez had been sworn in as the new Governor. The next day Vicecomodoro [Vice Commodore] Wilson Pedroza arrived to set up La Base Aérea Militar Cóndor (BAM

Condor) heliport and take control of the airfield for Pucará fighter bombers. Initially, the Argentine forces at Goose Green offered to help us in any way. I recall that we managed to get them to fly a woman and her baby by helicopter to Fox Bay and also Steven Thompson from Walker Creek to Port Stanley for medical care as he was stressed out by the foreign occupation.

From the 18th April, food became the Argentine forces' top priority. I remember *GC-82 Islas Malvinas* [Argentine coast guard vessel] arriving and wanting three mutton carcasses in exchange for three large tins of instant coffee – sold in the store for a profit above the cost of standard sheep carcasses. *M.V. Monsunen* arrived and landed 21 packages and some small drums of oil for North Arm. They also loaded 400 live sheep for the FIC slaughterhouse to sell to the invaders in Port Stanley.

On 20th April, I put a substantial stock of food in Paragon House [an outhouse 9 miles west of Goose Green] in case we had to evacuate the settlement in a hurry. This planning was to directly benefit a couple of locals and a shot down British pilot. The next day, Pedroza ordered us to clear all animals out of certain paddocks as they were going to lay mines.

In the afternoon of 25th April, Primero Teniente [First Lieutenant] Roberto Nestor Estevez arrived at the petrol shed to fill up the Land Rover. I began filling the tank when he asked me, 'what is on the World News today?' I told him, 'Good news today, the Union Flag is flying over South Georgia again'. He exclaimed, 'How did that happen!' and I put my hands up in surrender mode. He left before I could finish filling up the Rover. Within an hour, Gomez turned up with a platoon of RI-25 Infantry, he ordered all wireless sets to be handed over at 9am the next morning. I asked 'Why?' to which he said, 'Your people are demoralizing my troops with bad news from the BBC'. I said to him, 'What a phony war you are fighting!' In passing on his demand, I advised everyone to clear out and handover their old, broken radios and keep the good ones.

On 29th April, I saw the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Italo Angel Piaggi with Regiment Infantry-12 (RI-12) by Chinook helicopter. They took over the bunkhouse and our single men moved into other vacant houses. Further restrictions of camp work were enforced, and we all saw the arrival of fourteen Pucarás on the airstrip. A few days later, on 1st May, British Harriers bombed the airstrip. This resulted in the inhabitants of Darwin and Goose Green being incarcerated in the Community Hall.

We had had no food until late in the evening. At dark, I barged out past the guards on the door, to stop a Fuerza Aérea Argentina (FAA – Argentine Air Force) aircraft Engineer Officer, passing with a squad of conscripts. I explained my plight and requested permission to get some provisions from the store. His response was, 'Only you and the Storekeeper and no lights, no tell anybody'. He was risking his neck letting us out against orders. Our diet for the next four days was Rivita and Spam. We had no bedding. It was tough laying on a cold, wooden floor, especially for the three octogenarians and the children. Then and now I

admire the quiet fortitude of mothers and fathers caring for their children in such inhumane conditions. I think what kept us all positive was the faith we had in Margaret Thatcher and the despatch of the Task Force.

Three days in and we had run out of tap water. Charlie Finlayson refused to go out with armed Argentines to sort it. I became the water supply man. Bob McLeod was assistant plumber to Charlie, but he was dubbed a spy by the Argentines. Bob and his wife were scuba divers that had a small yacht in the bay. Bob had a Ham Radio and pictures of Harriers on the dining room walls (they had both worked for British Aerospace). Dave Grey had to service the electrical power supply at this time. To start with, we had an armed escort of six; one to stay with Dave and the other five to guard me. The number of guards was reduced daily by one soldier until I was free to go alone. Should I be accosted, I was taught to say in Spanish 'Libertad de pueblo la bomba de agua' (essentially 'I have freedom of the village to pump water').

On 4th May, I was escorted to pump fresh water up to the high-level tank. At 1.15pm, I witnessed Lieutenant Taylor's Sea Harrier shot down by the 35mm Anti-Aircraft guns. The Argentines buried him on Friday 6th May, with television coverage to show the world the respect they have for their fallen enemy. Civilians were kept away from the burial, all shut in the hall. Brook arranged for men to go to the killing house to fetch unwashed sheep skins for us to lay on. I negotiated use of the Farm Galley to cook a substantial midday meal by the volunteer women. Permission was also granted to bring in sheep to kill for mutton and dog food. The conscripts couldn't understand our concern for dog welfare.

On the same day, Bob McLeod and Ray Robson made up a radio from broken sets found under the floorboards, we listened to the World Service. We knew about the loss of Sea Harriers, but the sinking of *HMS Sheffield* came as a shock. Brian Hewitt was tasked to gather the mutton sheep on a motorbike and he had a frightening experience in Goat Rincon. The FAA were ignorant of him having permission to be out of the hall, and they sent a Puma helicopter out and fired .50 calibre rounds at his bike. His dogs were scattered and he fell off. The Argentines landed, arrested him, bundled him into the Puma, and transported him back to the Galley. He sat on a chair outside for an hour, in a very shaken state, before I rescued him.

The next few days were spent collecting sleeping bags, blankets, a few mattresses and warm clothes from people's homes to bring to the hall.

Around the 11th May, the Argentine command in Stanley sent out a Military/Civilian Liaison Officer, Colonel Horatio Chimento and Auditor, Captain Raullo from Port Howard. They were sent out to discuss the safety of the civilians and to build better relations. I told them to begin this process they should let the civilians go back to their homes. I explained that all the eggs were effectively in one basket and that if we were to spread out around the settlement then, if the worst happened, some of us would have a chance of survival. In the following days a number of civilians – my family included – were able to move back home.

On 12th May, the Argentines shot down a plane in Goat Rincon. Ten minutes before this *HMS Glasgow* had been bombed. Among the conscript there was a considerable amount of jubilation with them shouting 'Harrier, Harrier'. I interrupted the cheering and shouting and said, 'own goal it was a Skyhawk'. I was soon loaded into a Puma by Vicecomodoro Oscar Verra to go to the crash site. The officer confirmed I was right: it was a Skyhawk. I will always remember this day. Verra picked up a fragment of bone and passing it to me he said, 'The pilot is no more'. The bone was a piece of the man's cranium. We then found a boot with tatters of flying suit and a bone protruding from it. Verra buried both body parts under the sod furrow turned up by the skidding airframe. We were loaded in the Puma with the twelve other soldiers and flew the two miles back to the settlement. By the facial expression of the others, I was the only content person in the helicopter.

It was not until 13th May that I managed to negotiate an hour's freedom outside for everyone to take some fresh air and exercise.

Time passed on and during my daily farm running duties with my escort I experienced perhaps one of my scariest incidents from the War. A Harrier flew over and dropped cluster bombs intended for the airstrip. These overshot nearby Race Park. Sergeant Guillermo pushed me face down with his crooked elbow in the back of my neck and shouted at me to, 'cover my head'. I remember squirming back to get out of some dog faeces on the ground and thinking death by a friendly bomb would be better than death from hydatid cysts. The bomblet casing crashed through the fencing to rest by a post 6m from us. After the event had unfolded, my escort and I continued to the high-level tank. Piaggi warned us not to touch the cigar shaped bomblets, which were green with yellow bands, saying, 'muy peligroso' ('very dangerous').

The diversionary attack on the night of 20th/21st May was a noisy event. At around 10pm, I answered a knock on my door, it was Sub Teniente Gomez. He asked me to come with him to explain the lights down Choiseul Sound. My escort that night was 40 strong, and I thought this must be serious. Gomez asked, 'do you see that lights on the south shore?' I confirmed that I did. My initial thought was a SBS [Special Boat Service] patrol. So, lying through my teeth I told Gomez that at this time of year, with the clouds scudding past the moon, light reflected on the wet rocks by wave action. I said it was a phenomenon that many shepherds have seen before. He believed me. He then questioned other lights from the north shore and I repeated my lie. My deceit was reluctantly accepted. I was glad this encounter happened in the dark or I am sure they would have seen the guilt on my face. I was away from home for about an hour but these night calls left my wife fearing the worst until I returned home.

Next morning, on the 21st May, another knock came on my office door. I opened it to find no one. As I proceeded to shut the door a voice came from a figure crouched by the concrete steps on the south side. It was Raullo. He said that the meeting we had organised was off as the 'bad British' are shelling us. I looked out to the north and saw shells exploding towards the school and one go through the old fuel tank. I proceeded

to tell him, 'They are not shooting at me; they are shooting at you. So can we still have the meeting?'. Whilst he ran crouched from shelter to shelter, I sauntered along behind him. When we reached the Hall both officers were speechless. They got me to relay messages to the 79 still in the Hall.

On 27th May, three ground attack Harriers attempted to destroy the 35mm Anti-Aircraft guns at Garden Point. One made a third pass and was hit by 20mm shells. I saw the pilot eject and remember hoping that if caught he would be well cared for. The pilot was Squadron Leader Bob Iveson, who was shot down over Darwin Ridge. He deployed his parachute close to Paragon House and took shelter there. He watched the entire Battle for Goose Green from the upstairs window whilst tucking into a tin of Heinz Baked Beans. After the War, he came to my house and offered to pay for the beans. I said on a balance scale, with a tin of beans on one side and a ground attack Harrier on the other, that I'm sure we owed him.

I watched the battle begin early on the morning of the 28th, before bullets started hitting the house. I saw the mountains from Sussex to Blue Mountain illuminated in the darkness. I joined the others under the floor of the medical room. This was the safest place for all the civilians at the time. In the hall we had cut holes in the floor for the remaining civilians to take shelter in. Nan McCullum, as she was known, couldn't make it beneath the floor, so during the battle she stayed in her armchair. She was protected by two freezers full of frozen meats, which had been covered by a mattress and blankets to absorb wood splinters.

For nineteen hours, the civilians endured the noise of three Pack Howitzers 70m from my house. What an experience to witness the tracers, shell flashes, and mortar explosions. I remember watching a Pucará attack in the Camila Creek House area before flying off in the direction of Blue Mountain with smoke coming out of starboard engine. The crash site was located in a stone run, in August 1986, and Pilot Giminez was buried in Darwin Cemetery at Fish Creek.

The last bullets fizzled out about 8pm. Soon after that there was a knock at my door. Six armed soldiers had been sent to bring me to their headquarters. On arrival at the house, I found eleven officers seated around the dining room table and one empty chair for me to sit on. Pedroza asked for my help in getting them in touch with the 'bad British' who were nearby. I pointed to Gopceovich to go aboard *Monsunen* and to call out on 2182 KHz, the international maritime distress frequency. This suggestion was met with reluctance. After a discussion, I was taken upstairs to put out a call on the 2m radio.

I began, 'This is Eric Goss speaking from Goose Green, if anyone is receiving can they come in please?' Allan Miller at Port San Carlos answered immediately. I told him where I was speaking from so Alan could identify where the Argentine Headquarters were. Alan said, 'Good to hear you Eric, I understand you have had a horrendous battle there, have you any casualties?' I said, 'Not among the civilians that I am

aware of, but I did walk past eight corpses on my way to the storekeeper's house'. I asked if he had any British Officers there, to which he replied, 'I have a house full but before I call them can you tell me how many little men in green jackets do you have there?' I said, 'In the present company, it would be military indiscretion to disclose a figure' and then added, speaking very quickly, 'in excess of a grand'. A British Officer answered with, 'Got that in one, thanks'. I had been counting the new arrivals every day adding them on to total, which was 1,450 by the time of the battle.

I was taken back to the 2m every 90 minutes to confirm the first meeting would take place at the windsock at 7.30am on 29th May. The last confirmation was at 7am. During the night, my guard, Kishimoto fell asleep and I took a page off the Ham Radio pad and wrote a surrender note. At 7.15am, stopping at West End House, I passed the note to Pedroza, he read it and passed it to Lieutenant Colonel Italo Piaggi, who in turn gave it to Gopceovich. He interpreted it and read it out loud. He passed my note to Pedrozo who folded it and put it in his tunic breast pocket. Gopceovich then punched me hard in the chest and told me to come no further as this matter was none of my business.

I continued to watch the meeting unfold at a distance. It was then I noticed two British soldiers observe the meeting from the gorse hedge by the fence before they melted into the grass and disappeared. The Argentines returned to the settlement and began to lay down their arms. By 11am, the RI-12 and others poured out of buildings and began marching up the road. They were sorted by the shearing shed where most of them were directed to reside. Pedrozo and Piaggi were taken by Sea King helicopter to San Carlos.

The tractor and McConnell arm were out and up and running within an hour of the Argentine surrender. We needed them to dig a mass grave for the 37 bodies which were around the settlement.

I remember the first two British in combats I welcomed into Goose Green Settlement were reporters: Robert Fox from the BBC and David Norris from the *Daily Mail*. Initially, I was perplexed as I assumed they were soldiers of 2 Para [2nd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment].

Courtesy of *HMS Fearless*' communications, on 30th May, I sent a message of great thanks for our liberation from the people of Goose Green and Darwin to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

On 2nd June, Dr Dougal Whyte, Surgeon Commander *HMS Fearless* gave the population vaccinations for a variety of diseases like tetanus, cholera, and typhoid. That night, Brigadier Tony Wilson stayed overnight with us. After getting our saviours under cover, I invited Major Phillip Neame, Commander D Company to make his headquarters in my office and conservatory. When he left for Fitzroy on 3rd June, the Gurkhas moved in. I recall clearly that Major Alan Lewis of C Company 1/7th Duke of Edinburgh Own Gurkha Rifles got 33 soldiers in the space previously occupied by 27 of Neame's 2 Para.

To give me more time for other jobs, I showed school teachers, Andy Clark and Michael Minnell how to operate the engine and fuel pump with Spanish markings so they could decant the Pucará fuel into drums. This fuel was taken in the *Monsunen* to Fitzroy Farm to fly British helicopters against the Argentine defence of Port Stanley. Not being selfish, we returned the Argentine ordnance by air via British weapons! With Andy and Mike decanting the avgas, I had more time to help Sergeant Chris Duncan and Flight Lieutenant Alan Swan collect bullets and mortar bombs compatible to British weapons and load them into my Land Rover to take to the jetty for shipment to Fitzroy. With my Rover loaded to maximum, I recall having reservations about driving the explosives over rough ground. However, I was assured it was safe.

Out of this rude intrusion into our peaceful way of life in 1982 came some life-long friends. I remember now, and always, that all are heroes.

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6. Memories of Local Resistance

Beth Timmins

Teenager Anya Smith is making a trifle in Sparrow Hawk House in Port Stanley. It's going desperately wrong and looking more like a thick custard. The local radio station is on and Anya, her father John, and their guest, Tony Hunt, the Governor's son, hear that the Governor is about to make an important announcement. At around 8pm, the Governor says he has evidence that the Argentines are preparing to invade the Falklands. John feels 'absolutely stunned'. The duty radio announcer Mike Smallwood says, 'don't panic folks' and tells listeners to send in record requests.

An hour and a half later, Phyllis Butler, staying in Stanley on business from her farm in Port North, Roy Cove, suggests the family and guests gather in the sitting room and say a prayer together. After troubled sleep, at around 1am everyone thinks they hear aircraft and go outside to look, but it turns out to be John's powerful snores from the upstairs bedroom - remarkably like the drone of a C-130 plane.

At around 6am in the morning, the first explosions are heard from Stanley as dawn breaks. They are, 'very, very loud in the still morning air - very close as well', John would later record in his diary. Another islander, Claudette Mozley sits on the front porch on Saturday the 3rd of April, watching the dawn, and sees a Royal Marine crawling about in the garden. 'Is that you, Figgy? Would you like some coffee?', she calls out.

John Smith notes in his book *74 Days* that, 'it is so very difficult to convey adequately the enormity of the impact which the events of 1982 had on the people of the Falkland Islands. It is not just a change of circumstances or environment. It's a total capsize of life as it used to be. Admittedly things could have been a lot worse, but it was not an easy or pleasant time for the 500 or so folk left in Stanley, nor a time which any of us would ever wish to repeat'.

Both the terrifying and the mundane moments of occupation and the ways by which it was resisted, are archived in the memories of Falkland Islanders. They are, in many cases, retold and passed down from family to family and imparted to those who weren't alive during the conflict. In other cases, they are foregone for the pain that involves revisiting them, the guilt or helplessness both of being there and being elsewhere during those 74 days in 1982.

Myriad forms of resistance

Memories of local resistance, the part that each person played, frame understanding of the war. The scale and internationalisation of the conflict also projected its narrative beyond the chronology of islander memories,

which are still comparatively lesser known.

By late April, Argentina had stationed more than 10,000 troops on the Falklands, dwarfing the civilian population of 1,820 people. Islanders, many of whom could trace their lineage back by seven or eight generations, were confronted with the loss of their self-determination. Their foundational resistance to this was still demonstrated by the 2009 vote by islanders to establish a new constitution to provide local democracy, internal self-government, and enshrine their right to self-determination.



*The exterior of the Goose Green Memorial Hall today (March 2022)
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

Whilst islanders had to continue to provide vital emergency and health services and ensure food and other supplies, they were also involved in defiant acts against the Argentine occupiers throughout the 74 days. Stories of civilian resistance range, for example, from secretly photographing Argentine defences, under the ruse of clearing houses, to sending covert messages across systems of radio communication to help those who came to liberate them.

The islands' former police chief, Terry Peck, would walk through Stanley with a Russian telephoto camera concealed in a length of a drainpipe to picture anti-aircraft weapons. Steve Whitely, a vet, would photograph from the back seat of a Land Rover as he travelled between farms. Head of the plant and transport authority, Ron Buckett, would secretly disable certain vehicles before they were appropriated by the Argentine forces. After the Argentines confiscated locally held radios, former lighthouse keeper, Reginald Silvey continued bravely to broadcast details of their troop movements on his illegally held radio.

As official posters appeared in Stanley urging the use of dustbins marked ‘Malima’ – standing for ‘Mantenga Limpia Malvinas’ (meaning keep the Malvinas clean) – other provocative and resistant versions would be papered over them. One remembered by islanders was Mr Buckett’s photocopied cartoon-version of a local in a woolly hat and wellies, kicking an Argentine soldier towards a British Marine, who in turn booted the man into a Malima bin. Such depictions, pinned to the walls and lampposts of Stanley, would crop up again almost as soon as the Argentine authorities had torn them down. Others which showed the dog, Snoopy dancing underneath the boldened words, ‘happiness is being British’ would also appear commonly.

In other acts of agitational ingenuity, farm manager at Goose Green, Eric Goss, managed to persuade Argentines that the unusual lights, likely emanating from British forces in Falkland Sound, were a result of moonlight reflecting off seaweed masked rocks.

These everyday acts of resistance are marked with more somber accounts of armed local men involved in battle with the British Parachute Regiment at Mount Longdon, and those who dug holes under the floor to protect locals at Goose Green Memorial Hall, fearing bullets and shrapnel would rip through the walls from nearby fighting. Another story of courage was Trudi McPhee’s – she guided islanders driving civilian and farm vehicles through hostile and heavily mined territory across



The interior of the Goose Green Memorial Hall today (top). Bottom image shows a trapdoor in the floor above the dug-out ground excavated and used by islanders for protection during the fighting (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

East Falkland to remote farmhouses, where British soldiers were located in need of vehicles to move themselves, weapons, and supplies.

Resistant heritage

John Smith wrote in his diary during the occupation that, ‘if they [Argentines] consider the Falklands to be theirs, then our heritage is theirs as well; irreplaceable parts of our history must be properly looked after’. Heritage items were hidden to prevent their removal and/or destruction by the occupiers.

Various cultural and symbolic ‘overhauls’ enacted by the Argentines did not go unnoticed by locals. Early in the conflict on the 12th April, for example, Argentine forces replaced the portrait of Queen Elizabeth II in Government House with a painting of the Argentine national hero, General San Martín. Similarly, in the main corridor of the Town Hall, photographs of former governors of the Falklands were taken down, as were the sword and scroll presents to the colony by the Royal Marines at the time of their being granted the Freedom of Stanley. To defend the town, but also subdue the people, anti-aircraft guns were set up on the high ground behind Stanley.

Acts of protection became acts of resistance and the hidden objects, such as paintings, became objects of defiance. They spoke of the future without occupation.

After the war

On the 30th June 1982, the front page of the Falkland Islands newspaper, *Penguin News*, gave the date and place. The place was given as, ‘NOT “Puerto Rivero”, “Puerto de las Islas Malvinas” OR “Puerto Argentino” BUT PORT STANLEY, FALKLAND ISLANDS’. The boldened, capitalised headline spoke for itself: ‘Victory, Freedom and a FUTURE’.

Today, the islanders continue to enjoy their freedom. However, war items are still encountered. As covered elsewhere in this volume, the rocky surfaces of Mount Tumbledown, for example, are a honeycomb of gun emplacements, foxholes and trenches – making a war machine of the landscape. Like generational memories and purposeful forgettings, traces of the conflict still bore into the terrain, which today hosts walkers, runners, and sometimes relic hunters.

The landscape, like memory, archives the war and the persistence of that 40-year-old islander resistance is clear in both verbal and visible accounts. There is, for example, a sign in a house window in Stanley which reads, ‘to the Argentine nation and its people – you will be welcome in our country when you drop your sovereignty claim and recognise our right to self-determination’.

A recurring theme in islanders' definitions of the occupation is that to interpret the place and people only for the 74 days is to disallow its possibilities for the future. Better then to recount the strength of the islanders' spirit visible in stories of resistance for this is the driving force for future prosperity. Nonetheless, the islanders always express a deep gratitude to those who defended their freedom and came to liberate them from occupation.

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Section 2. Results from the Field



British 7.62mm link rounds found on the Tumbledown battlefield (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

7. Conflict Archaeology and the Archaeology of the Falklands War

Tony Pollard and Timothy Clack

Conflict Archaeology, of which battlefield archaeology is a sub-discipline, is not restricted to time or place when it comes to areas of interest. Archaeologists have made important advances in our understanding of the nature and role of conflict in prehistoric societies, with recent discoveries providing evidence for interpersonal violence in the Palaeolithic (hundreds of thousands of years ago) and full-on warfare in the Bronze Age (around 3,000 years ago). The role of the archaeologist in shedding light on ancient societies seems obvious, as written sources mean physical remains such as stone tools and weapons, building remains, and burials are a vital source of information. Later, in early historic times, when texts did exist, the Romans, the Vikings, and the Medieval world have long been associated with conflict, in part through the archaeological investigation of legionary forts, warrior burials, castles, and the like (though our interpretations of these have become more nuanced as the discipline of archaeology has evolved).

As suggested above, we are comfortable with the idea of archaeologists uncovering ancient remains, but why would they be interested in the modern world, and more importantly in modern conflict? Surely when it comes to the twentieth century and beyond, we have a mass of information at our inquiring finger tips? Archives are full of written reports, war diaries, eyewitness accounts, maps, and the numerous other forms of paperwork produced in the age of industrial warfare, then there are the photographs, newsreels, and most recently all that smart phone footage (with the current war in Ukraine playing out in real time on social media). What then can archaeologists add to our understanding in the shadow of this mountain of information?

It has been said that history is written by the victor, and although there is some truth in this, like all maxims it is an over-simplification of a complex set of realities. There are, for instance, numerous books on the Falklands War written by British combatants and historians, but these are matched by works written by their Argentine counterparts, though perhaps not in the same numbers. When it comes to questioning the accuracy of written histories then we have to consider the reliability of memory, bias worked into official documents, and all those other factors that mean history, however well researched, can fall short of being objective and entirely accurate. It has been argued, however, that reference to archaeological evidence, including artefacts, fortifications, and battlefield landscapes, can allow for a more objective recollection of the past. Again though, this is not as straightforward as it seems as recovered evidence can't speak for itself so needs to be interpreted, and it is at this point bias and subjectivity are likely to make an appearance.

Questions about objectivity aside, archaeology does have the ability to bring new insight to our understanding of historic events, which might include battles; it can be used to add information to what we already know,



Excavation of a German communication trench at Mont St Quentin, France (credit: Tony Pollard)

or correct inaccuracies in the accepted record. Archaeological research has provided insight into specific actions that have escaped detailed documentation. This was the case with the taking of Mont St Quentin by Australian troops on the Somme in 1918, with the excavation of German communication trenches, the mapping of cartridge cases, and the plotting of shell fragments against shell holes filling in a gap in our knowledge of the battle. Closer to the other end of the twentieth century, archaeological techniques were also, for example, deployed in the search for mass graves related to massacres of civilians during conflicts in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. Excavation by archaeologists and anthropologists led to the recovery of the bodies from clandestine mass graves, with the evidence collected cited in the trials that brought to justice some of the perpetrators of these crimes against humanity.

Archaeology of the Falklands War

For the conflict archaeologist, one attraction of the Falklands War as an area of study is that its physical remains can still be seen scattered across the battlefields. This stands in contrast to, for example, the trenches on the Western Front, which were for the most part filled in after the end of the war in 1918. Although time is now having an impact, the passage of just 40 years is one reason for this enhanced preservation, but the Falklands battlefields are also isolated and, although it has taken a toll, scavenging and relic collecting has not affected in the same way as on the more than century old Western Front in Europe. It is for this reason that the Falkland War Mapping Project is a mapping exercise rather than an excavation project – the material being recorded is lying on the ground (though as noted in the results section there are below ground features). These circumstances combine to make for a unique set of battlefield landscapes, which also represent an interesting point in military history, where two similarly equipped and organised forces faced one another in battle with technology that was advanced for the time, but with hindsight can be seen to have much in common with wars that had gone before. For the conflict archaeologist, this cultural heritage has much to teach us about the events of 1982 but also perhaps about other wars in other times.



An important aim of the project is to study not just the evidence for battle but also how combatants from both sides, and indeed the islanders, adapted to the harsh environment of war. Top: a tripod to hold a cooking vessel, probably a mess tin, over a fire. Made from scavenged wire by Argentine soldiers while stationed on the mountains. Bottom: a skillet or frying pan made from a tin lid with fencing wire handle in a rock shelter on Sapper Hill. This photograph was taken in 2012, but by 2019 the object had almost entirely rusted away, leaving only the handle (credit: Tony Pollard)

The veterans of World War I have all gone now, and those remaining from World War II diminish in number with every passing day. Many of those who fought in the Falklands War, however, are still relatively young, and though their memories might be fading, they are still here in numbers to tell us about their experiences. Reuniting these veterans with their battlefields goes some way to bring the past into the present, and going one step further, by embedding them in a project that will record the remains and their memories, creates a powerful collaboration which can open the door to meaningful insight and enhanced understanding.

If these circumstances make the Falklands War Mapping Project a unique endeavour in the field of conflict archaeology, then it must also be apparent that they will not survive to operate together for more than a limited time. The mortality of veterans is an obvious issue, but the physical remains from 1982 are also impacted on by the passage of time. They represent an important part of the Falkland Islands' cultural heritage, and also have an economic benefit, with battlefield tourism a growing market; there is after all no better way than to understand a historic battle than to walk the ground over which it was fought. However, despite relatively good preservation, the remains are degrading and disappearing as the harsh environment, passage of time, modern development, and artefact collection all take their toll. Creating a digital record of this heritage will provide important information when it comes to conserving it and presenting it to the public. Forty years have passed since 1982, and just as veteran memories fade so surviving remains disappear, and it is clear we cannot allow many more to go by before beginning this important work.



Archaeological excavations of the site of an Argentine artillery battery outside of Port Stanley in 2020 found another example of material adaptation to the environment in the form of chipped glass. Deploying knapping techniques, Argentine soldiers reused glass from bottles discarded by members of the British Army in the 1940s to fashion cutting tools (credit: Marcus Brittain)



In the immediate aftermath of the war and subsequent years, physical ‘souvenirs’ were taken routinely from the battlefields by locals, veterans, and visitors. This shrapnel-peppered butt-plate from an Argentine FN-FAL rifle was collected by Brigadier F. G. Barton in 1982 (credit: T. Clack)

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8. Survey Results from Mount Tumbledown

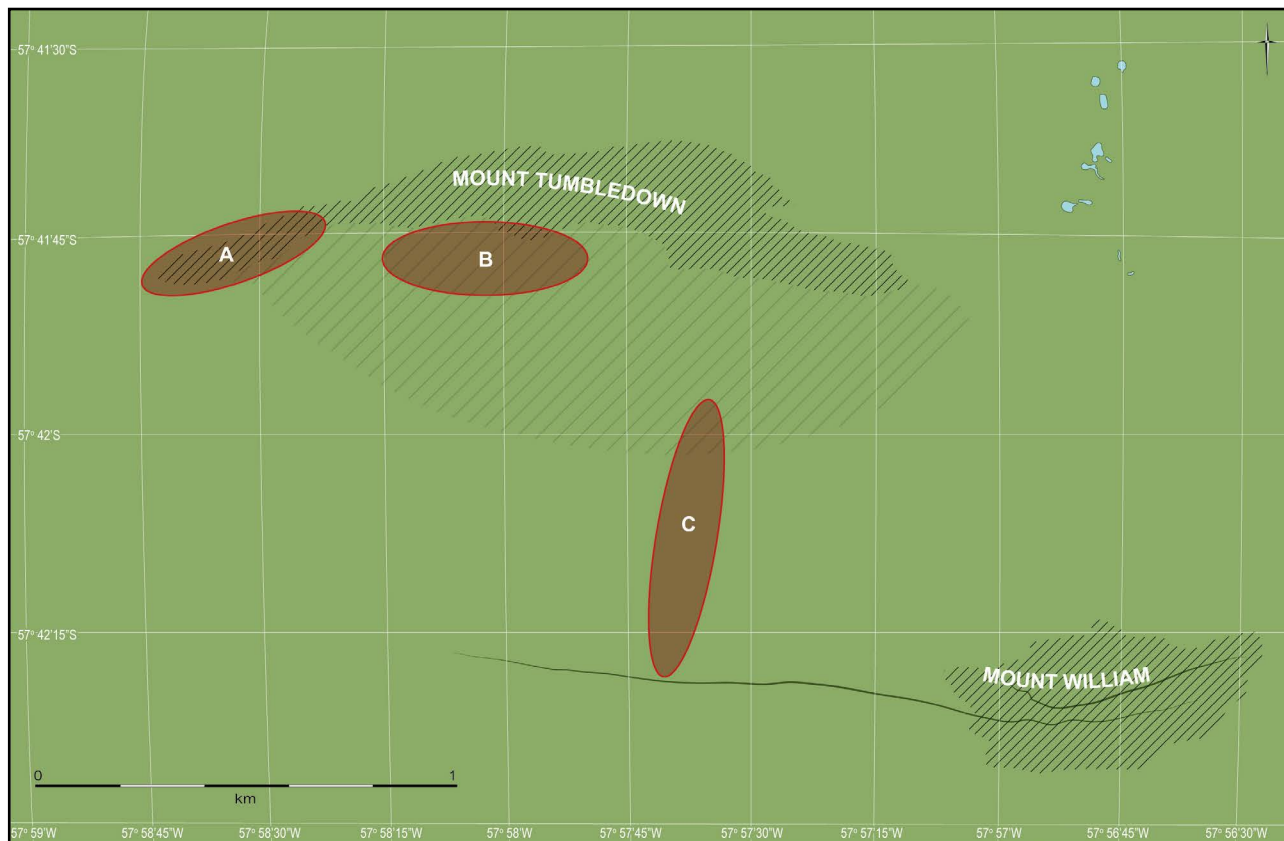
Tony Pollard, Timothy Clack, and Stuart Eve

The first Falklands War Mapping Project season in the islands, in March/April 2022, was designed as a pilot to test the feasibility of all the various elements of the project, from the inclusion of veterans, to the technology deployed. Well before the project was mobilised, Tumbledown was selected as the first battlefield to be mapped. Good relations with the Scots Guards Association had been established through the much-appreciated co-operation of Lieutenant General (ret'd) Sir John Kiszely, who helped to identify veterans to join the team. A full survey of the battlefield during the eight days or so available (after quarantine) was obviously out of the question. Indeed, an aim of the project is to provide islanders with the skills needed to continue the survey in the absence of the largely UK-based team. Emma Goss, the Heritage Officer working with the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust, will play a vital role here, keeping the project alive for islanders over the long term.

Making the most of the time available during this initial intervention required a strategy based on sampling, whereby the wider landscape would be reconnoitred and smaller locales selected for intensive survey. Reconnaissance enabled the veterans to make an early contribution to the project, as they led a tour of the battlefield focused on the terrain over which they fought. In 1982, serving in the 2nd Battalion, Scots Guards (2 Scots) both John Litterick and Jim Peters were in 15 Platoon, Left Flank Company.

As our first destination was the Memorial Cross on the eastern end of the feature, which is over a mile long from east to west, the veterans' route of advance was followed in reverse, moving us along the top of the ridge to the west and then into the stone runs on the southern flank. This was an emotional and, indeed, testing time for the veterans as they revisited places where they had experienced combat. It was clear from the outset that well-being support, here provided by Rod Eldridge (see chapter 12), would be essential if the project was to proceed. Despite some trepidation early on in the first day, it was clear by the end of it that everyone was fully engaged in the exploration of the battlefield, with the veterans serving as guides.

That first ramble over the mountain was extremely valuable, as it served to bond the team in the field, allowed the veterans to ease themselves into their return, and provided everyone else, with a valuable introduction (or re-introduction in the case of the directors) to this complex landscape. From then on there were numerous occasions where the knowledge and experience of the veterans benefited the project, with just one example described below.



*Map of approximate location of survey areas (A: G Company position; B: Features in stone run; C: Line of 62 dugout positions)
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

A Milan in the West end

On the second day, the vehicles deposited the team on the saddle of ground separating the higher massif of the main ridge to the east, and the long knoll topped by a spine of craggy rock, which, like the tip of a stone spearhead, projects to form the western end of the overall feature (Area A on map). This was the first part of the mountain to be encountered by the Scots Guards as they advanced in the dark from the west, and was the objective of G Company (G Coy). As described in chapter 3, once the knoll was secured, the move



Members of the team explore Argentine sangars on north side of G Coy objective. Example of sangar is in foreground. Long outcrop to west, in mid-distance, is Goat Ridge, which was the Scots Guards assembly point prior to advance. Mount Kent is visible in the far distance (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

forward was taken up by Left Flank Company (LF Coy) which passed through G Coy and assaulted along the southern slopes of the main feature (includes Area B). By the time G Coy had reached the knoll, the Argentines had left (or 'bugged out' as John and Jim put it), leaving behind them numerous abandoned positions, most of which took the form of sangars, which are barricades or enclosures built from stone, along the northern side of the rocky outcrop.

It was here that the team spotted a short length of twisted white wire lying close to a .50 inch calibre bullet, with a closer search picking out a small black rubber tube nearby. Aside from the bullet, these unassuming objects held little meaning for one of the authors (TP) who was walking along the crag with John.

This ignorance was quickly dispelled when John explained that they were looking at a piece of the guide-wire from a Milan missile, with the rubber tube being part of the insulated connection between the wire and warhead. The surrounding rocks were discoloured, which indicated heat damage resulting from a rocket strike, while the bullet was evidence of incoming fire from a heavy machine gun.

This was an important moment, not just because a mundane looking object, which meant nothing to the archaeologists, had been identified as the key component of a weapons system, but also because the events that deposited it here helped John to comprehend what had happened prior to the G Coy assault. It was obvious that this part of the battle had played on his mind. Why had G Coy found empty positions, when his own Left Flank Coy had engaged in fierce hand-to-hand fighting further the east? Now it seemed



Charlie Foinette (left in uniform) and Rod Eldridge (right) discuss the Milan scenario with Beth Timmins (left). Rod is looking down at where the rubber tube was found. Note the reddened fragments of rock. Although the projectile landed among a cluster of sangars, it does not appear to have hit one of them (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

that before G Coy arrived, these Argentine positions had been hit by heavy weapons, thus encouraging the enemy to abandon them. However, the discovery of the Milan strike raises more questions than it answers.

For a start, who fired it? G Coy were not equipped with a Milan anti-tank weapon, nor was anyone else in 2 Scots. The Gurkhas did have Milans, and they traversed to the east end of the mountain along the low ground at the foot of the north face of the mountain (keeping close to the rocks so as to avoid a suspected minefield). They are unlikely to be responsible, however, as their advance did not begin until the Scots Guards attack had moved well along the mountain to the east. On the basis of present understanding, the court is still out on the case of the Milan strike - the .50 inch calibre bullet could have arrived via the Scots Guards guns on the eastern slopes of Mount Harriet which provided long distance support fire. Some in G Coy believed that that the Argentine troops previously stationed on the knoll moved south in reaction to the diversionary attack, and if this was the case there can be no doubting the success of that operation. Mike Seear, on the other hand, has suggested that the position was not occupied at all at the time of the battle as Sub-Lieutenant Carlos Vázquez made no mention of putting men there during his subsequent conversations with him.

Searching high and low - sangars and dugouts

In contrast to G Coy which met with little resistance, though would later suffer casualties from artillery, LF Coy met heavy resistance from Argentine troops fighting from prepared positions in the boulder fields, known as stone runs, which covered the southern slopes of Tumbledown (Area B on map). Defensive positions and shelters were built into the rocks which themselves made movement very difficult for attacking troops, especially in the dark. These areas were explored, again with John and Jim acting as guides, but were not subject to detailed survey beyond photographs and field sketches. One of the authors (SE) did however test the 3D scanner on the huge overhanging rock which became the forward regimental aid post, and the place to which Jim was taken after being wounded. The main focus of the survey was the low ground to the south



Emma Goss looks on as Charlie Foinette investigates a sangar built into stone run on southern slope of Tumbledown (Area B), looking west. Left to right in distance: Mount Harriet, Goat Ridge and Two Sisters. Far distance is Mount Kent. This is a typical stone-built shelter that probably served as a windbreak for a tent (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)



*Recording features in Area C. Mount William in distance
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

metres wide and three to four metres long – most probably accommodating at least two men. This linear defensive system, which had a little depth as some features were set back from the main line, had been positioned to block an attack from the west. A similar line of features, not included in the survey, extended from the eastern end of Mount William and ran east towards Sapper Hill, from where it covered the approach from the south (where amphibious landings might have been expected – from the north via Berkeley Sound was also a possibility).

of the stone run which ran along the bottom of the slope leading up to the ridge (area C on map). Here the densely packed run of stones gave way to peaty moorland which was bounded to the south by an east-west running crag, which to the west rose up to form Mount William – the ground between this feature and Mount Tumbledown to the north is effectively a wide valley floor.

Sangars and other defensive positions built into the stone run continued on the flat ground where rifle pits were dug into the peaty soil, with rocks used to build up the defences or laid across them on iron girders to provide overhead protection. It became obvious that there was a long line of these dug features, each separated from its neighbour by a few metres, which stretched across the moorland from the stone run on Tumbledown to the crag defining the southern edge of the area. Each feature was numbered, sketched and then recorded using photogrammetry before the entire area was mapped using a drone.

The defensive line across the low ground was over 300m long and made up from 62 dugouts, most of which appeared as rectangular depressions measuring between one and two

It was unfortunate that around half a dozen of the dugouts had been looted a few weeks before the survey team arrived – an incident brought to the attention of the team before arrival on site by battlefield guide Tony Smith. It is now illegal to remove artefacts from the battlefields, but given isolated locations, this is a difficult by-law to enforce. The pits had been dug into, with removed earth intermixed with some artefacts, which were apparently of no interest to the looters, and so dumped on the surface. Some good came out of this situation, however, as, with the agreement of the museum, the spoil was sifted and various objects recovered. These were recorded and then passed on to the museum for safekeeping. Finds included blankets, jam containers, a pair of rolled and darned socks, toothpaste, boot polish, and drinks cans. The latter were cans of NAAFI branded orange juice presumably taken from the Royal Marines barracks at Moody Brook. (The Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes or NAAFI is the organisation that provides canteens, shops, clubs, cinemas and other domestic facilities for the military.) Some fired 7.62mm calibre cartridge cases were found along with unfired rounds.



The survey identified a diverse range of artefacts. Top left: metal cup; top right: a stash of domestic items, including toothpaste and skin cream; bottom left: butchered faunal remains (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

The fired rounds are puzzling as there is no verified record of combat in this location, which appears to have been occupied by 2 Platoon of 5 Marine Infantry (BIM5) under the command of Sub-Lieutenant



Four Argentine cartridge cases adjacent to dugout #48. Key to Headstamp: '7.62' = diameter of barrel interior in mm; 'x 51' = length of case in mm; 'FLB' = place of manufacture: Fray Luis Beltran factory, near San Lorenzo in Argentina; '79' = year of manufacture (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

Marcelo Oruezabala. However, it is possible that shots were fired in response to the British attack to the north. This area was also briefly occupied by O Company of BIM5, under Captain Ricardo Quiroga, after falling back from the area of the diversionary attack to the south, which then retired towards Sapper Hill.

In his book, *Nine Battles to Stanley*, Nick van der Bijl reproduces a sketch map (not shown here) taken from an Argentine Prisoner of War (POW) on board ship after surrender – no further source is provided, though it looks like it has come from a notebook. He suggests it was drawn up by, or for, Commander Carlos Hugo Robacio as part of an internal enquiry into the conduct of BIM5, though it might be nothing more than part of an after-action report. It shows a major attack, marked with a broad arrow symbol, by the Scots Guards passing from the west through the gap between Tumbledown and William. The line of dugouts

surveyed as part of the project is shown as an ovoid symbol similar to the one on the map of survey areas used here and sits at the point of the arrow (Area C). Another, more accurately placed arrow, shows an attack from the west on the mountain itself. When viewed in tandem with the expended cases in Area C it is interesting to speculate whether there was some fire from here that was later interpreted as being aimed at a major attack on that location, when in fact that was occurring further to the north.



Argentine bunker built into and around a boulder, with iron roofing supports clearly visible (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

Damage to the dugouts also gave some indication of their character and extent below ground. Where roofing material, which included flat rocks and corrugated iron lying over iron beams and scaffolds (scavenged 'L' beams and fence posts), had been removed, side chambers, which may have provided sleeping spaces, were exposed. No example provided an unobstructed view of the interiors, and standing water gave some idea of the challenging conditions faced by the troops stationed on or near the mountains.

More than archaeology

This brief summary of the findings from the pilot season of fieldwork has hopefully given some idea of the archaeology that survives on the Tumbledown battlefield, and perhaps also the potential for further work building on these modest beginnings. This exercise, which will be reported more fully in a forthcoming report, has, however, been about much more than recording features in a landscape. This exercise has re-connected veterans with their battlefield, and within the disciplined framework of a project to which everyone makes a contribution, has been a beneficial experience. All of the archaeologists on the project have experienced the work of *Waterloo Uncovered*, which brings military veterans and serving personnel into contact with the archaeology of a battle fought over 200 years ago – but this is the first time that veterans have been deployed on an archaeological project focused on their own battlefield. There can be no doubt that archaeologists, veterans, and others alike found this unique experience incredibly rewarding.

Further reading

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9. Digital Tumbledown: Drones, Scans, 3D Models

Stuart Eve, Timothy Clack, and Tony Pollard

One of the major aims of the Falkland Islands Mapping Project has been to document and record any surviving evidence of the conflict. As can be seen from other contributions to the current volume, these remains include temporarily built shelters and structures, military equipment, as well as more personal and ‘domestic’ items. With the exception of discarded artefacts from recently looted dugouts, the project left finds *in situ* and photographed and recorded their location accurately in a digital database.

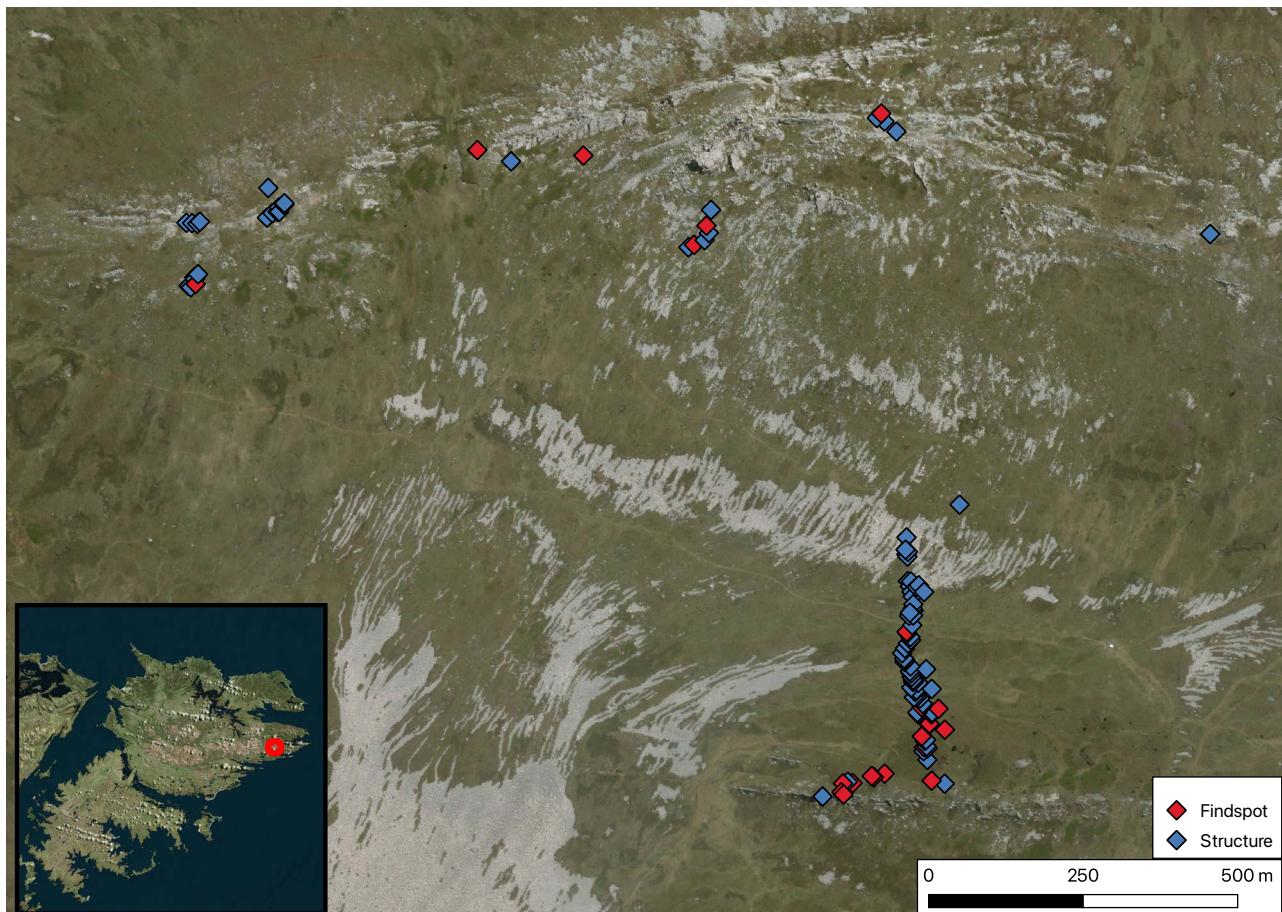
This type of survey is considered normal practice for archaeologists in the UK, and is akin to a metal detector survey on an English Civil War battlefield, or perhaps a fieldwalking survey recovering pottery from a field containing a suspected Roman villa. However, the Falkland Islands are not a typical archaeological location, and the logistical requirements for undertaking any type of fieldwork are significant. These challenges will be discussed in more detail below, but they include the cost/availability of equipment, lack of (and affordability of) internet coverage, and also difficult weather and terrain. In addition, quarantine and other mitigations associated with Covid-19 also had to be navigated.

Database and GIS methodology

The survey methodology was designed to be as ‘lightweight’ and user efficient as possible. We configured a mobile phone application using the Mergin/Input software developed by Lutra Consulting, which fed directly into the QGIS desktop Geographic Information System.

During the fieldwork, if an artefact or a structure of interest was discovered, a photograph was taken using the phone’s camera, its GPS location was automatically captured, and a number of different bits of information were recorded using dropdown menus and free-text boxes on the mobile phone app (e.g. category of find, size, special characteristics, etc). A unique number was also assigned to each discovery, allowing other information to be attached to the same record at a later date, for instance more detailed photography or 3D models (see below).

The system had been trialled before arriving in the Falkland Islands, but as with all good plans, things change once you are on the ground and the action begins. In order to allow all team members to participate in recording, the system was designed to work on a server/client basis. Everyone was to use their own smartphone to record individual artefacts as they discovered them, and then every phone was to be ‘synced’ to the main (web-hosted) database at the end of each day in the field. Due to the lack of reliable internet on the Islands and the upload size of the digital photographs, however, the syncing process stalled. As a



*Digital map showing the surveyed area of Tumbledown, with findspot and structure markers
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

result, we reverted to the lower-tech system of planting flags by every discovered artefact/structure. A single device was then used to record all of the finds/structures. This methodology worked sufficiently well for the pilot season, but will be refined in future seasons.

The results of the survey on Tumbledown have ensured that digital maps can be easily produced, showing the different types of structure and find across the high ground and surrounding areas. The Falklands Islands

Museum & National Trust were engaged in the recording process throughout. Their involvement will enable them and local volunteers to continue the survey in the future. The survey also perhaps serves as an initial trial for a dedicated citizen science programme to be established across the Islands.

3D and drone methodology

Alongside the GPS and database survey, we also produced a series of photogrammetric models, drone flights, and 3D laser surveys. Photogrammetry involves taking a series of photographs of the same object/structure from multiple angles, with computer software (Reality Capture) then stitching the photographs together to produce a fully-scaled 3D model of the object.

A similar method is used with the drone photography, which not only allows us to use aerial photography to record features in the landscape, but also to create accurate digital terrain models of the topography and full 3D models of the landscape itself. These models can be used for further visualisation to inform analyses. For instance, lines of sight and fields of fire from sangars, bunkers, and other features can be modelled and analysed.



In the interests of building local heritage capacity, the use of the laser scanner and other equipment was demonstrated to the museum's heritage officer (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)



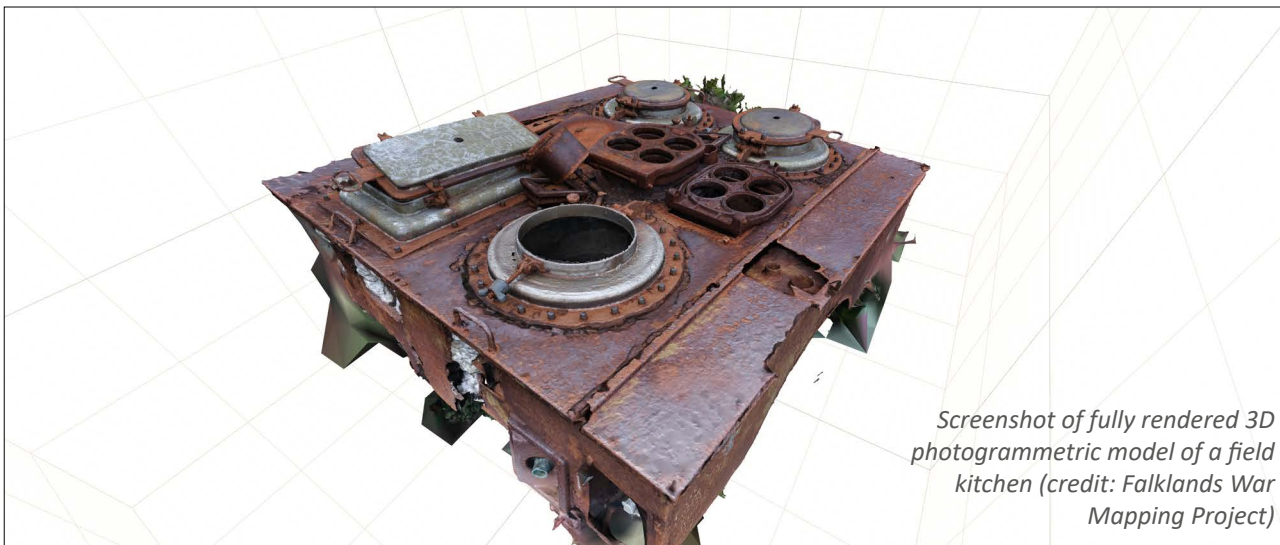
Comparison showing the high-resolution result of the drone-captured imagery (right) versus Google satellite imagery (left) (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)



Stuart Eve using scanning software on a smartphone to record Argentine field kitchens at the east end of Mount Tumbledown (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

The Falkland Islands are renowned for their often harsh and changeable weather and, in particular, the seemingly relentless high winds. This type of weather is far from ideal drone-flying conditions. However, we were fortunate that some suitable weather windows emerged and we were able to fly a number of different missions. This enabled us to begin creating a ‘digital tumbledown’.

3D modelling from drone footage works well in most locations, however, it is not especially effective when dealing with craggy landscapes, such as the high ground and rock runs of Mount Tumbledown. With photographs usually taken vertically, if there are overhangs on the rocks, for example, then it is not always possible to record these from the air alone. The overhanging boulder



Screenshot of fully rendered 3D photogrammetric model of a field kitchen (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

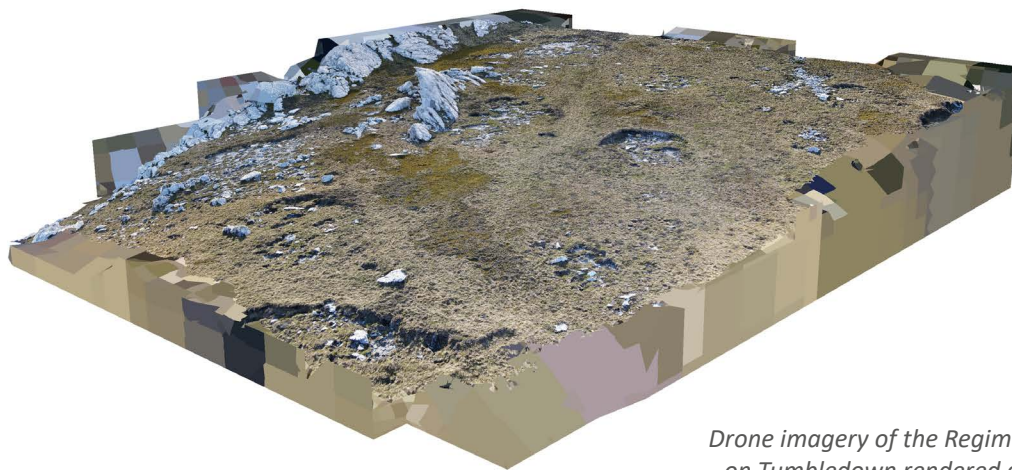
that served as the rallying point and regimental aid post during the battle was one such location. In this instance, we also used a terrestrial Leica portable laser scanner. This enabled us to capture the underside of crags and overhangs.

This combination of photogrammetry, drones, and laser scanning has meant that we have been able to build detailed 3D models of the landscape, as well as the surviving structures and modifications. These models can be used in a variety of ways. Firstly, they provide an accurate 3D representation of the cultural heritage assets of the Falklands War as they survive today. Condition surveys such as these are vital, as the structures are deteriorating quickly (e.g. through weather, disturbance or visitor damage). Secondly, we can deploy the models within a 3D environment to create digital walk-throughs of the heritage landscape, and even to recreate some of the conditions of the battle – to assess lines of sight, the difficulties of movement, weather conditions and so on. Thirdly, by combining the models with the stories from the veterans who were present on the battle we are able to not only refine the 3D model but also use it as a tool of remembrance, story-telling, or even as an aid in a programme of therapy. Psychologists such as Skip Rizzo from the University of Southern California have, for example, shown that 3D reconstructions can be successfully used to aid in the treatment of psychological conditions, including PTSD.

The digital recording undertaken as part of the first season of fieldwork has huge potential, and the techniques and equipment used are affordable and transferable enough to enable the islanders to continue the survey even outside our team's normal field seasons. The data we have collected is to be made freely available (subject to necessary ethical considerations) and will not only stand as a record of what structures



Stuart Eve setting up the laser scanner to record overhanging rock that served as the Regimental Aid Post during the battle (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)



Drone imagery of the Regimental Aid Post on Tumbledown rendered as a 3D model (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

and artefacts remain on Mount Tumbledown forty years after the conflict, but can also be used and reused in the future to create new experiences of the landscape, and help in the remembrance of the battles that took place within it.

List of software and equipment

Mobile data collection app – Merjin/Input (<https://merjinmaps.com>)

Geographic Information System – QGIS (qgis.org)

Photogrammetry – Reality Capture (<https://capturingreality.com>)

3D gaming engine – Unity (<https://unity.com>)

Laser scanner – Leica BLK360 (<https://shop.leica-geosystems.com/gb/leica-blk/blk360>)

Further reading

Rizzo, A. and R. Shilling 2017. Clinical Virtual Reality tools to advance the prevention, assessment, and treatment of PTSD. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology* 8: 5.

10. Material and Memory: Survey Results from Pebble Island

Timothy Clack, Tony Pollard, and Stuart Eve

As part of the March/April 2022 field season, members of the Falklands War Mapping Project were fortunate to be able to spend a few days on Pebble Island to familiarise themselves with the locale, conduct a pilot survey of key locations, and interview local residents. This contribution outlines the key findings of the pilot and our future fieldwork plans. We are thankful to our hosts on Pebble Island, the owners, Dot and Alex Gould. Without their significant assistance and knowledge of the wreck sites and terrain, our survey would have been impossible.

Background

In 1982, Pebble Island was home to 25 islanders who were mainly occupied in sheep farming. There were four airstrips, three of grass and one on the beach. The longest grass runway was 600m. On 24 April, the Argentines occupied various buildings and brought in personnel from Stanley Airport to establish Naval Air Station Calderón. The position was supplied from Stanley by Skyvan plane and *Falkland Islands Ship Forrester*, the latter having been requisitioned. At its largest size, Naval Air Station Calderón had a strength of approximately 150 Argentine personnel.





There is still lots of material on and around the airstrip linked to the war. Argentine bunker on the cliffs overlooking the coast (left); a propeller from a Pucará (top right); part of the wings of the Skyvan still on the airstrip (bottom right) (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

The Pebble Island raid was known to those conducting it as Operation Prelim. In the raid, as described by Mark ‘Splash’ Aston in chapter 2, the British Special Air Service (SAS) used demolition charges, 66mm rockets, mortars, and small arms to destroy eleven aircraft, including six Pucarás, four T-34 Turbo-Mentors and a Skyvan utility plane.

In the years immediately after the war, various plane wrecks were removed from Pebble Island. In January 1983, Pucarás A-520 and A-556 were transported for use as hard targets on ranges in West Falkland and Pucarás A-523 and A-552 and Turbo Mentor 0726 went to ranges on East Falkland. Pucará A-529 was transported to RAF Mount Pleasant where it is currently stored as part of Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust’s

collection. In July 1983, Turbo Mentor 0730 fell into the sea at Elephant Bay as it was being transported as underslung load on a RAF Chinook. Turbo Mentor 0729 was brought to the UK by ship, in June 1983, for display at the Fleet Air Arm Museum in Yeovilton. It is currently in storage as part of the museum's reserve collection.

Despite most of the plane wrecks having been removed in the years following the Argentine surrender, the project recognised that there was still potential for certain material to be archaeologically visible.

Airstrip and environs

The archaeological survey was able to identify assorted aircraft remains in various locations across the island. On the airstrip itself, were the remains of the wings



*Unburnt propellant in and around the wreckage
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*



of the Skyvan utility plane. These had, however, been moved from the original position of the aircraft on the night of the raid. Over an electrified fence onto cliffs at the edge of the airfield, additional warped and decaying metal was located, including parts of the propellers, fuselages, wheels, and other remnants of Turbo-Mentors and Pucarás. Dispersed between this metal debris and cliff rocks were lots of fragments of a shiny, red substance. Whilst this remains unidentified, its flammable properties suggest it is unburnt propellant from munitions damaged in the raid or, less likely, a type of solid fuel.

*Special Air Service (SAS) memorial cairn near the airfield
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

There were no reports from the recce or raiding party of the Argentines having any dug-in positions around the airstrip. Therefore, it was a surprise when the survey identified a potential observation post or sangar overlooking a potential landing site. This was built of rock and sheet metal and, as it turned out, was pointed in the wrong direction to afford any protection during the raid. Overlooking the west end of the sandy beach of Elephant Bay was located a large, circular-shaped depression linked to a stretch of zig-zagged trench. This was almost certainly an Argentine mortar pit as examples of exactly this type were photographed and found at Fox bay on West Falkland. Additionally, two large sub-rectangular pits were encountered to the north-east of the airfield and are likely to have been gun pits dug by the Argentine garrison *after* the SAS raid. No other defensive features were identified and, of course, the SAS raid itself had confirmed that the Argentines did not have a radar capability at Naval Air Station Calderón.

The survey also recorded three back-filled pits with small pieces of protruding metal and encountered small pieces of metal, likely wreckage, at various locations on the periphery of the airfield. A number of craters were also identified which likely relate respectively to impact craters from shells from *HMS Glamorgan*, which provided fire support for the raid, and bombs dropped by British Sea Harriers in later attacks. A memorial cairn to the SAS raid is located to the south-east of the runway to commemorate the action.

Downed jets

The survey also found, geo-located, and photographed other aircraft wreck sites on Pebble Island from planes shot down in 1982. Two of which were from downed Fuerza Aérea Argentina (FAA – Argentine Air Force) Daggers (Israeli-made, mach-2 capable, Dassault Mirage 5, multi-role fighter aircraft). On 23 May, Dagger C-437 and Dagger C-430 FAA Grupo 6 were shot down by Sidewinder missiles fired by British Sea Harriers. The pilot of one of the Daggers, Captain Raul Diaz ejected and survived the war, whilst the pilot in the other aircraft, Lieutenant Hector Volponi (C-437) died on impact. Volponi's body was found in 1998.

At both wreck sites an impact crater was evident and a large debris field. Identifiable wreckage included parts of the undercarriage, ejector seat, glass sections from the cockpit, control panel, and swept-back wings. Various markings are visible on pieces of wreckage, including 'ARGENTINA' and the Star of David. One of the underwing fuel tanks of C-437 had been jettisoned and is located some distance from the wreck site location.

Another plane to be shot down on Pebble Island during the war was a Learjet 35A (call sign Nardo 1) on a reconnaissance mission. On 7 June, the aircraft was struck by a surface-to-air Sea Dart missile fired by *HMS Exeter*. No wreckage was found during the survey because of the clearance activities of a British recovery team in 1994. The site near Marble Mountain is today marked by a monument.



Some of the Dagger jet wreckage (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

Local memories

The war had a particular impact on Pebble as, unlike the majority of the offshore islands, it saw a significant Argentine presence given its use as a forward airbase. Locals recall that at the time they were pleased that the SAS attack had taken place and recognised that it undoubtedly saved the lives of many others in the British Task Force through the removal of Argentina's short-range air capabilities. Indeed, they recognised that the Pucarás and Turbo-Mentors, with their cannons and machine guns, were a big threat to British ground and maritime forces. The raid proved a valuable boost to locals at the time – that the occupation was being opposed. However, in the immediate aftermath of the raid there was a significant fear of reprisals.

One informant recalled, 'the Argentines were very angry, they were shouting and waving guns... The next day the Argentine soldiers took all the men from the handful of houses on the settlement and marched them to a field. Everyone was very frightened and the men thought they were to be executed.' One of the men further recounted, 'we didn't know if we would ever come back. They [Argentines] accused us of having helped the British. They thought that we must have been communicating or leaving signs for the raid.' The Argentines also recognised that charges had been placed on each plane in such a way as to prevent spare parts being used to keep planes available.



*Jettisoned underwing fuel tank from Argentine dagger jet C-437
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

For those that remained, the inhabitants of Pebble Island have lived their lives with the material debris of the war and, in particular, wreckage from the SAS raid. For many, this has served as a primer of the Argentine occupation and threat. But there are also other associations. One of which, for example, serves to frame a symbolic juxtaposition of childhood innocence and adult violence. A local, who was a small child at the time, remembers playing on the damaged planes on the airstrip after the war. She was always conscious of the planes' military past, but, at times, the planes transformed into the most amazing climbing frames, dens, and props for adventure and fantasy.

Future plans

The survey has demonstrated the potential to illuminate past events, add to understandings of the battlefield, and work with locals to document their memories. Systematic survey in future seasons should inform as to the extent and character of sites on and around the airfield and, possibly via excavation and veteran engagement,



For the children growing up on Pebble Island after the war, the wrecked planes offered the opportunity for imaginative play (credit: Dot Gould)



their purpose. Conversations with D-Squadron veterans about the fieldwork after the return to the UK, for example, highlighted the existence of a listening post in the gorse near the airstrip. Survey on other parts of Pebble Island, such as the recce locations on Middle Mountain is also planned.

It is also anticipated that veteran testimony will inform further elements of the project and facilitate the creation of a digital map of the raid, which includes not only the events on the airstrip and Middle Mountain but also the infiltration and exfiltration routes. Further research on the fate of the aircraft wrecks removed from Pebble is also envisaged.

Further Reading

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Section 3. Veterans, Community, Art, and Wellbeing



The HMS Coventry memorial near First Mountain on Pebble Island. Resulting in the death of nineteen crew, HMS Coventry was attacked by Argentine Skyhawks on 25 May 1982

11. A Scots Guardsman Returns to Tumbledown

Jim 'Pasty' Peters

In March/April 2022, two veterans of the British Army's Scots Guards returned to the Falkland Islands as part of the Falklands War Mapping Project team. This is a first-person account of this trip by one of these veterans. In 1982, at the age of 19, Jim 'Pasty' Peters travelled with the British taskforce to the South Atlantic and fought at the Battle of Mount Tumbledown. During the battle, Pasty receiving severe shrapnel wounds, which kept him in and out of hospital for the next two years. He was later diagnosed with complex PTSD.

Re-enlistment

Many years ago, I promised myself that I would never visit the Falkland Islands again. I had been there four times after 1982, trying to make sense of what had happened. I had wanted to know what was making me hang on to the memories, why I could not process the trauma in my mind, and why I couldn't move on. These previous visits hadn't helped at all and, in fact, in some ways had made things worse. But I was to go back. In fact, circumstances and friendship were to change my mind.

I went to Blackpool for a reunion event to mark the 39th anniversary of the Battle of Mount Tumbledown. I spent most of my time there in the company of my great friend, John Litterick. We discussed going back, as John had never returned since the events of 1982. After a few beers, I knew I was going back. How could I not help a friend? I started finding out how we could get there, and contacting the necessary people.



Time went on and I received an email from Lieutenant General Sir John Kiszely. I knew Sir John well and trusted him: he was my company commander on Tumbledown. He told me about a group of archaeologists who were travelling to the Falklands to do a battlefield survey as part of a mapping project. My first reaction was one of alarm. I

Images of me packing kit and having fun with some of my guardsmen brothers southbound on board the Queen Elizabeth II (QEII). The liner had been requisitioned to transport troops (credit: Jim Peters)

was worried about people digging up such a sensitive place and topic. Also, I knew my mobility was not too clever. Nonetheless, I was interested and eager to find out more.

I researched the project and also Waterloo Uncovered, the charity who we would be travelling with. I discovered that, amongst others, they had lots of experience of working with veterans with disabilities or had been through hard times. I was interviewed by their mental health and welfare specialist, Rod Eldridge, and he put me at ease very fast. Rod told me of possible scenarios where I might use his professional assistance, and that he, the directors, and wider team would make sure both John and I were looked after very well.

In the month leading up to the trip to the Falklands, I met the team quite a few times via the laptop. We couldn't meet in person as the team was from all parts of the country – Oxford, Glasgow, Suffolk, Lincolnshire. To a person, they seemed like a good bunch, passionate about what they do, and with a good sense of humour. It was also clear that a lot of planning had gone into the project and that they genuinely cared about ensuring positive outcomes. I was looking forward to meeting them in person. Now, I was feeling warm and fuzzy about the whole trip, I felt this could be something I needed, and could work better than the previous visits. The day to travel would soon arrive.

The departure

I travelled with Silvia to Paddington Station, full focus on my beautiful wife. It was a bit of a struggle moving around with my new hip, but we managed. As luck would have it, we arrived at Paddington at exactly the same time as my friend, John. So, we met up, had a quick drink, and then almost missed our train! We hustled and got on just in time. Silvia was waving us off, with what I can only describe as frantic windmill arms. With the relief of being on board, we found this very amusing. John then pointed out something on my ticket, I looked at it for a few seconds, and ended up missing Silvia's final wave. I felt a bit guilty so I sent her a photo of me waving which made it okay.

When we arrived at Shipton, I got stuck in the doors trying to disembark. It seemed like forever before the guard opened the door. Not the best start. Next, we met up with two further team members, Katie Buckley and Rod Eldridge, and they drove us to the hotel and we got settled in. We had dinner at the hotel, which was smashing, and, as always, tasted so much better for knowing that I wasn't paying or washing up. We then heard that our flight was delayed so instead of flying south we would be getting another PCR test in the morning.

The test was done and we spent the day milling around, drinking tea, and eating. We were nervous, excited, full of caffeine, and unsure if the delayed flight would go. That evening, the Royal Air Force at Brize Norton called us forward – we were going. Getting to the airport was an unexpected adventure. The minicab driver

was dangerous – we joked nervously and arrived a little wobbly. We checked in at the main gate and after a wait boarded the bus to the terminal.

On arrival at the terminal, we queued to check in our luggage, and then met up with the rest of the team. A lot of good characters, and we all seemed to get on immediately. Despite the flight delays and other adventures, it felt right straight way. As always at Brize Norton, a long wait – the military do things differently to the commercial airlines – but eventually we were boarded. I'm not a good flier so it now really hit me that I had the reality of the flight to contend with. As it happened, I was on my own quite near the rear of the plane – that's how I like it as I don't like people witnessing how frightening it is for me. Anyway, I had all my coping mechanisms in place. Once off the ground, I was straight into my iPad for distraction. I put on a comedy, and only lifted my head to see who was passing. The team checked in on me a few times, and I even braved getting out of my seat to exercise my hip, and share out some of my sweets and gum.

The unexpected

We arrived at Dakar, Senegal, the designated refuel stop but were greeted by an unexpected announcement. The weather had turned bad in the Falklands and we were going to have wait for it to clear before continuing our journey. There was a silver lining: we had to transfer and wait it out in a five-star hotel. I was utterly astonished at the size of my suite – it was as big as my flat. I went for lunch, which we got an allowance for, there was a massive selection of fish and meats. I was frightened to go to dinner, in case I didn't have enough allowance left!

The traffic in Dakar was unexpected and something to behold. I certainly hadn't factored this into the trip. We only had hand luggage with us – the rest was still on board the plane – but, in any case, we had packed for the South Atlantic not equatorial Africa! It was good to see another country and get a break from the flying, though.

I was still somewhat jumpy even in this luxury accommodation. In fact, I didn't get much sleep that night. I heard a noise as I was drifting off which spooked me. It was only hours later that I realised that my phone charger had fallen from the socket. My PTSD disrupts my sleep at the best of times so this was an unfortunate episode.

The bus arrived and drove us back to the airport, and because of my hip I was escorted through to the lounge, thankfully missing out the long queue. Once back on the plane, I was back into my routine, head down, watching comedies, until after another 11 hours of flying we finally arrived in the Falkland Islands at Mount Pleasant Airport.

Quarantine

Now we had to deal with quarantine. Covid restrictions had been somewhat lifted by this point in the UK but they were in full force in the Falklands. So, we gathered in the arrivals lounge for a quick photo before we were once again separated. Each of us donned a new face mask and gloves and took our allocated seats on the coaches which would take us to our respective quarantine houses. As we drove along Mount Pleasant Road towards Port Stanley, I shouted and pointed out the mountains to John. I was exhausted but more than a bit excited. Of course, I would have to wait at least five days and pass two PCR tests before I would be able to set foot again on Tumbledown.

We arrived at our house. This was a residential house in Port Stanley with four bedrooms and a small garden. I was in the house with John and two of the team from Waterloo Uncovered, Rod Eldridge and Charlie Foinette. The next five days were a hoot. We all bonded together brilliantly, and the two from Waterloo Uncovered played mummy and daddy. John and I didn't have to do any of the cooking and cleaning – we were treated like royalty. The banter in that house was of the highest order, and was one of my highlights of the whole trip. Charlie is a serving officer in the Coast Guard (sometimes also known as the Coldstream Guards!) so we were able to compare notes on training and traditions. Fortunately, we all passed our PCR tests and were released from our enjoyable quarantine 'prison' on day 5.

Our first order of business was to relocate to our new digs at Lookout Lodge. This is a very nice place, with fantastic staff, and reminded me of a children's home I once was in. We each had our own room and shower,



With John Litterick (left) and Charlie Foinette (centre) outside Lookout Lodge (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

but the toilets were communal. I was astounded at the breakfast and dinners they laid on – huge portions. I remember thinking what a struggle it was to eat so much fantastic food. The staff at the Lodge were very friendly and down to earth, and very nice towards the team. As we were veterans, they were especially nice to John and me – such a lovely place.

Tumbledown

The first visit to Tumbledown was set up to be a recce and a tester session for me and John. The project had organised two Land Rovers to get the team up on the mountain. We had the same two local drivers with us throughout and they really knew how to drive off road. The drivers were called Carrot and Lachie and they were both fantastic. They were also not short of stories, some from 1982, but also life in general.

We left Stanley and started to climb. We drove slowly in between Mount William and Mount Tumbledown, and when we turned directly facing Tumbledown, John asked to stop the vehicle. We got out, and John walked ahead. He was staring up at Tumbledown and literally facing his demons. I knew what he was doing. I did the very same thing in 2014. He was thinking, ‘can I do this?’ and being drawn into the trauma of the past. I gave him a couple of minutes and then went over and gave him a hug. I reminded him where and when we were at

this moment. The reassurance was what we both needed and the two of us sniffled for a bit. Then we were fully back in the present again and we had a couple of photos.

We were shortly back in the vehicles and off to the summit. The first stop was to pay our respects at the memorial cross, again a moment of tears, and remembrance. We



With John Litterick (left) and Tim Clack (centre) at the memorial cross on the summit of Mount Tumbledown (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

remembered the lives and faces of the boys we had lost in 1982. Afterwards, we had a walk from east to west, coming past a few Argentine positions, battered sangars and makeshift bunkers, until we came to the rocks where, in the battle, Left Flank [a company of the Scots Guards] handed over to Right Flank. This is also the spot where the infamous stretcher party was formed. That was enough for the first day and we went back to the Lodge. John and I had to mentally process things.

Over the following days we went back to Tumbledown and spent a lot of time going over our attack and finding the enemy positions that faced us in the battle. John and I also spent time recreating our own personal movements in the battle and finding the rocks we used as cover.

Aware of our anxiety, the rest of the team were very gentle with us. We struck up some great banter with the team which eased us considerably. The team didn't push us but supported us in finding our way around the landscape and our memories. The directors used us in the survey very well, by having us discover positions and by thinking, 'where would I be if I had been in the enemy's situation?' We found a lot of material in this way. So much more detail was added to my personal picture of the battle through the survey and my 'reliving' of parts of the events. The exchange of stories between me and John helped enormously here, too. I came away with plenty of clarifications, many of which have nagged at me over the years, and these have helped with some of my suffering. I now knew why certain things had happened and others had not. I knew the battle from perspectives beyond my own.

Whilst we were on the Falkland Islands, we had a couple of rest days. The team decided to use these to visit other 1982 sites. We visited Goose Green, and Colonel H Jones's memorial and the site where he fell. We also visited 2 Para's [2nd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment] memorial cross, the Argentine memorial, and Ajax Bay. Years before with three friends I had erected a cairn at Ajax Bay to remember our fallen – some of whom were buried there before being repatriated.

As the end of the fieldwork drew nearer, John and I decided to tidy up the memorial cross. We decided – always guardsmen – to give it a good scrub and polish. Carrot decided to get stuck in as well but we soon realised that it would need more cleaning equipment. John went on a spending spree, and bought tons of metal polish, wire wool, cloths, and gloves. We were going to do this right. Whilst the rest of the Mapping Project team continued their survey work, John and I worked on the cross. We wanted it this way – the two of us from that night in 1982 and the memorial. It was the most outrageous weather – even for the Falklands. It was sunny, then rain, then sun, then sleet, then sun, then beating wind, and on it went. Despite this, by the end of the day we had the cross gleaming.

Now, before we left Tumbledown for the last time for the field season, the team gathered to lay a wreath. Rod called out the Ode of Remembrance, and we paid our respects and said goodbye to the boys.



*Wreath laid at the memorial cross at the end of the field season
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

The days I spent back on Tumbledown have been transformative. I now feel differently about the mountain. This isn't to say that I don't still suffer from PTSD – of course I do – but I feel and think differently about some of the stuff that has been causing me mental pain. Along the way I have made new friends and memories and helped record the story of the battle for the history books. I will carry this positivity forward.

Home

Our journey home the next day wasn't quite as eventful as the journey to the Falklands. It was nonetheless, just as long. But arrive we did, and transport was arranged to take us to Oxford train station, where lots of us caught the train to Paddington. We had more than a few hugs and said our goodbyes. We said and knew we would all keep in touch. So off me and Silvia set, and headed back to Charlton.

All in all, it was a fantastic journey, very emotional, but would not have missed it for the world. I found some fantastic friends in the team, and John and I have forged an even stronger bond than we already had. I am very thankful for what the Falklands War Mapping Project has done for me. The project has cared for me and helped me understand more about what happened during the most traumatic night of my life.

11. A SCOTS GUARDSMAN RETURNS TO TUMBLEDOWN



From Tumbledown to Waterloo. A couple of months after returning from the Falklands, I was lucky to travel with most of the Falklands War Mapping Project team to the site of the Battle of Waterloo in Belgium. Here I am with a Chelsea Pensioner at the top of the Lion's Mound (left) and with my wife, Sylvia, at the Waterloo Uncovered excavations in Mont-Saint-Jean (right) (credit: Timothy Clack)

12. Psychological Impacts of War: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

Rod Eldridge



In uniform: on deployment to Afghanistan (2010) and at Merville Barracks, Colchester (2007) (credit: Rod Eldridge)

Profile and background

Mental health support in the armed forces has a strong occupational focus. The underlying principles of which helped in the selection and support given to the veterans before, during, and after our 'deployment' to the South Atlantic as part of the Falklands War Mapping Project team.

I served in the Army Medical Services for 27 years primarily in a clinical mental health role. I undertook numerous operational tours, including to Northern Ireland, the Balkans, Iraq, and Afghanistan. I rose through the ranks and retired as a Lieutenant Colonel Nurse Consultant (Mental Health). During my military career, I was a nurse therapist trained in evidence-based therapeutic approaches for the treatment for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As recommended by the National Institute for Health Care Excellence, the mainstay treatments for PTSD are Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT) and Eye Movement Desensitisation and Reprocessing (EMDR).

Having retired from the British Army, I now work for Waterloo Uncovered, a UK-registered charity that combines a world-class archaeology project on the battlefield of Waterloo with a support programme for veterans, serving personnel, and the wider military community.

Project veterans

My military experience along with my more recent work in support of military charities, has given me a sound grasp of the cultural sensitivities of working with the veterans on this project. It has also helped me assess and meet their needs in terms of, firstly, doing no harm and, secondly, using fieldwork as an opportunity to help them revisit their battle and establish more adaptive appraisals and, in turn, reinforce the reality of what they experienced.

It was my privilege to lead on the mental health and well-being support to the team as we embarked on this new venture. The emphasis, of course, was on our two Falklands War veterans, Jim Peters and John Litterick. But well-being activities extended to the whole team. Our veterans were volunteers and, whilst understandably anxious linked to their experiences of the conflict, wanted to assist the project and re-visit the islands to resolve 'unfinished business' and 'lay demons to rest'.

Veteran mental health

For the British, the Falklands War was brief and successful, with clear rules of engagement. There was an identifiable enemy and those returning home received a hero's welcome. In psychological terms such a context generally bodes well. Psychiatric casualties were expected to be around 7% of the total deployed task force, but only 2% were recorded. There is, however, a paucity of research surrounding the psychological impact of the Falklands War over the longer-term.

Limited understanding of the psychological impact of war, attitudes towards mental illness, and barriers to accessing help, such as public and institutional stigma at that time, could explain the low numbers of recorded psychiatric casualties. We know from more recent research that it's only when service personnel leave the armed forces that rates of their psychiatric illness increase in line with or above the general population. This is particularly the case for those who are in combat roles or are physically injured.

The Argentine forces in the Falklands War were mostly conscripts. They lost the war, suffered significantly more casualties, and received anything but a hero's return. Arguably, the psychological impact on Argentine veterans would have been greater, and evidence reveals most didn't come forward for help until later in life when there was greater understanding/acceptance of the psychological consequences of war and an availability of treatment facilities.

PTSD

PTSD is the current diagnostic term used to encapsulate a host of disturbing and debilitating symptoms which people experience following a stressful event of an exceptionally threatening or catastrophic nature. These can be, for example, human-made or natural disasters, combat, witnessing the violent death of others, or being the victim of torture, terrorism, rape, or crime. The individual's response at the time often involves intense fear, helplessness, horror, disgust, and a loss of control. The experience can lead to repeated 'reliving' through unwanted and intrusive images, thoughts, and re-experiences, e.g. flashbacks. This can lead to the avoidance of key reminders of events ('triggers'), such as places, smells, sounds, tastes, and sights.

Those with PTSD can become hyper-aroused and hyper-vigilant, often operantly scanning for danger. This is certainly acknowledged in veterans where the lasting and chronic symptoms seem to manifest. There can often be a marked disruption to social and economic functioning, where relationships suffer, and more chaotic and risk-taking lifestyles are adopted. Life values are also often changed during trauma, and people's view of themselves, other people, and the world are markedly disrupted. Those with PTSD often believe that they have little control over events, people can't be trusted, and the world is unsafe.

PTSD was first accepted as a diagnostic entity in 1981. This was linked to the lobbying of the US administration by Vietnam veterans to recognise the psychological effects of what was a protracted and unpopular war. Whilst not called PTSD, similar symptoms linked to conflict and other trauma have, however, been recorded over the centuries.

Samuel Pepys refers to similar symptoms in his diaries about the Great Fire of London (1666). Furthermore, with the advent of the steam railways, some of those involved in crashes and derailments were said to suffer from 'railway spine' due to their unexplained illnesses and anxieties.

During the Seven Years War (1756–63), the term 'nostalgia' was coined to reflect a preoccupation with previous battles and an inability to continue fighting effectively. The American Civil War (1861–65) saw the use of the term, 'irritable heart' to explain the symptoms which manifested during and after battles. Linked to the industrial killing of World War I (1914–18), the term 'shell shock' was used. The reason being that proximity to exploding shells was thought to have caused bruising to the brain and spinal cord, although post-mortems failed to substantiate this. 'Nervous – not yet diagnosed' and being 'funky' were labels also used for the symptoms at the time. In World War II, the Royal Air Force used the description, 'Lacking Moral Fibre' (LMF) for pilots and aircrew who refused to undertake further missions. The belief at the time was that there was a flaw in their character developed in their formative years.

Other terms which have been used to describe the symptoms more recently include: 'combat fatigue', 'battle shock', and 'acute combat stress reaction' (ACSR). For the majority, military service is viewed as a positive

experience, but a significant minority do suffer from a range of psychiatric disorders, mostly depression and anxiety. Studies have shown that the rates for PTSD are on a par with those for the general population. However, military PTSD seems to run more chronic courses than non-military PTSD, which is reflected in the experiences of the project veterans.

Learning at Waterloo

Waterloo Uncovered has a proven record of effectively supporting serving personnel and veterans through archaeology. The charity runs many programmes linked to key needs of veterans and serving personnel. These are underpinned by five pillars: recovery; health; well-being; education; and employment. Each programme is supported by a mental health and wellbeing lead who negotiates and agrees goals with the individual. The lead also records levels of mental health and well-being for each participant so as to provide both a focus and a tangible way to show improvement.

The Waterloo approach is akin to social prescribing rather than ‘a pill for every ill’. We also work with established and trusted agencies to aid support pathways. We focus on mental health and well-being not the direct treatment of psychiatric conditions. However, what we offer can also be a catalyst for change as we broker support with a range of statutory and charitable organisations for treatment or ‘wrap around’ support.

Our five ways to well-being model mirrors that used by MIND and the NHS: connect, be active, take notice, learn, and give. These are expanded briefly below:

- There is strong evidence that indicates that feeling close to and valued by other people is a fundamental human need and one that contributes to functioning well in the world. Social relationships are critical for promoting well-being and acting as a buffer against mental ill health for people of all ages;
- Regular physical activity is associated with lower rates of depression and anxiety across all age groups. Exercise is essential for slowing age-related cognitive decline and for promoting well-being;
- Reminding yourself to ‘take notice’ can strengthen and broaden awareness. Being aware of what is taking place in the present directly enhances your well-being and savouring ‘the moment’ can help to reaffirm your life priorities. Heightened awareness also enhances your self-understanding and allows you to make positive choices based on your own values and motivations;
- Learning through life enhances self-esteem and encourages social interaction and activity. Some evidence suggests that the opportunity to engage in work or educational activities particularly helps to lift older people out of depression; and

- Participation in social and community life enhances well-being. Individuals that report a greater interest in helping others are more likely to rate themselves as happy.

Archaeology, including finds, photography, metal detecting, excavation etc, delivers all this in spades. Archaeology also involves being outdoors, working in teams, learning new skills, being mindful, and caring for others.



In the Falklands

Our veterans, John and Jim, both suffer with chronic PTSD. Taking them back to the scene of their battle where they were frightened, thought they would die, saw others killed and injured, and experienced hand to hand combat was for them a big leap of faith. They benefitted from the Waterloo model in action and had the added benefit of their own mutual support. They both served in the same unit and fought in the same battle and were, and remain, close friends to this day.

The field offers an immersive learning environment for all, including the project's Wellbeing Officer (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

Much work was done prior to our departure to establish team rapport and trust, which proved invaluable for the fieldwork. The five days spent in a house together in Stanley under local Covid quarantine also helped and strengthened our bonds and trust.

John had not returned to the Falklands since the war. He had tried once before and purchased a ticket, but had turned back upon reaching the airport in the UK. In contrast, Jim had been several times before but these visits had been challenging and, in some respects, had served to amplify problems.

Avoidance, intrusive images, and flashbacks are common experiences for veterans. In the field, John and Jim developed several effective coping strategies to ground and centre their emotions during the repeated and



*John Litterick (left) and Jim Peters (right) polishing the Tumbledown memorial cross
(credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)*

prolonged exposure to their battle. Both veterans re-visited their battle on Mount Tumbledown daily for two weeks with a weekend respite. This repeated and prolonged exposure, including more helpful thoughts and appraisals of their combat performance and experience, helped them come to terms with many unresolved issues. The battlefield survey facilitated an overview of the battle and the specifics of the veterans' vital role in it. John and Jim were supported by the entire team, who listened, stood with them, and just let the moments occur without judgement in a wonderfully safe and caring atmosphere.

John and Jim were eager to polish the memorial cross and pay their respects to their fallen on the summit of Mount Tumbledown. The team held a brief but fitting service at which a Scots Guards' wreath was laid by the veterans.



Watched by Jim, John lays a wreath to their fallen brothers in arms at the summit of Mount Tumbledown. Port Stanley is visible in the background (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

With John and Jim, the team also visited numerous battle sites on the Falklands. We held a further poignant service at Ajax Bay where many of the fallen from the war were taken for mass burial, including the Scots Guards. Another wreath was laid by the veterans at the Scots Guards memorial cross with a further short but poignant service.

Prior to departure, John and Jim expressed a sense that their war and sacrifices had been forgotten, but from the moment we landed and for the duration of our visit, they were thanked by young and old for their service in liberating the Falkland Islands. There were many tearful moments when meeting with grateful people. It was clear to all that what they did was very much appreciated today and that their sacrifice and those of the task force would never be forgotten.

As a therapist you rarely have the opportunity to take veterans back to the scene of their trauma. This return was clearly challenging for the veterans, but it was a powerful experience for them both and did an amazing amount of good.

It would be remiss of me not to acknowledge John and Jim's wonderful wives, Louise and Sylvia, who have been such stalwarts in their recoveries, and provide daily, loving support.

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13. Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust: Curating and Preserving History in the South Atlantic

Emma Goss and Andrea Barlow

The Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust is a proud partner of the Falklands War Mapping Project. A registered charity in the Falklands, the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust is dedicated to the preservation and protection of places, buildings, and artefacts of historic importance.

The Historic Dockyard Museum

The award-winning Historic Dockyard Museum is the National Museum of the Falkland Islands. It is located in the heart of historic Port Stanley, and home to the staff of Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust. The site of the Historic Dockyard Museum was selected as it provided a unique setting for the collection of the Falkland Islands, as the Government Dockyard included some of the first buildings to be constructed in the newly established capital of Stanley in 1844. The buildings on site are category A and B Listed and under the guardianship of the National Trust.



*An aerial view of the
Historic Dockyard Museum and grounds
(credit: Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust)*

WALL OF REMEMBRANCE



The Wall of Remembrance within the 'Etched in Memory Exhibition' (2022) to celebrate and commemorate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Falkland Islands (credit: Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust)

The Historic Dockyard Museum features galleries covering aspects of the Falklands social, maritime, and natural histories. This includes: the Falklands War, World War I, and World II, as well as an exclusive area dedicated to Antarctic heritage. Amongst the central stores of the Historic Dockyard Museum are our outbuildings, which explore the variety of trades in the Falkland Islands, from the Blacksmith's Workshop, Gear Shed, R/T and Telephone Exchange, Printing Office, and Wash-House, which were all once necessities of island life. Also on the site, but not currently open to the public, are the Gaol and Boat House, which will be converted into exhibition spaces in the near future.



Situated on Pioneer Row, in 1849, Cartmell Cottage was one of the first 'kit-houses' to be constructed during the establishment of Stanley (credit: Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust)

under direct guardianship. However, the Trust also care for many sites, buildings, and structures that are not under their custodianship. The construction, maintenance, and completion of the Falkland Islands Historic Environment Record (HER) has been the latest venture of the Trust. This is under construction and making significant headway, particularly with the help of members from the Falklands War Mapping Project Team.

Past Finders Youth Group

The Historic Dockyard Museum is the home base to the Past Finders, the only youth group in the Falkland Islands that actively encourages children to explore, discover, and learn about both the tangible and intangible heritage of the Islands. 'Our Past Finders' take part in a variety of hands-on activities, such as learning the practical skills of gardening and cultivation, and craft and art sessions. Most recently, the Past Finders enjoyed conflict heritage and art sessions with the Falklands War Mapping Project team. Organised by Dr Tim Clack and funded by Oxford University, these were run by war artist, Douglas Farthing and archaeologist, Beth Timmins. The Past Finders also visit outer islands to learn about camp life and explore island history. To bring the past to life, they have had the pleasure of 'yomping' across various 1982 Battlefields with the Falkland Islands Defence Force.

Annually, the Historic Dockyard Museum opens new exhibitions in the Tim Simpson Gallery. The most recent, 'Etched in Memory', provides a poignant exhibition that walks the public through the events of the Falklands War in 1982. This exhibition comprises a Wall of Remembrance in a secluded area of the museum, where visitors can sit and reflect upon the aftermath of the war, and displays that raise awareness of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and the ways some 1982 veterans have channelled their PTSD into artworks.

National Trust

The National Trust side of the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust is a recent venture with newly appointed members of staff. Currently, the Trust has a variety of buildings

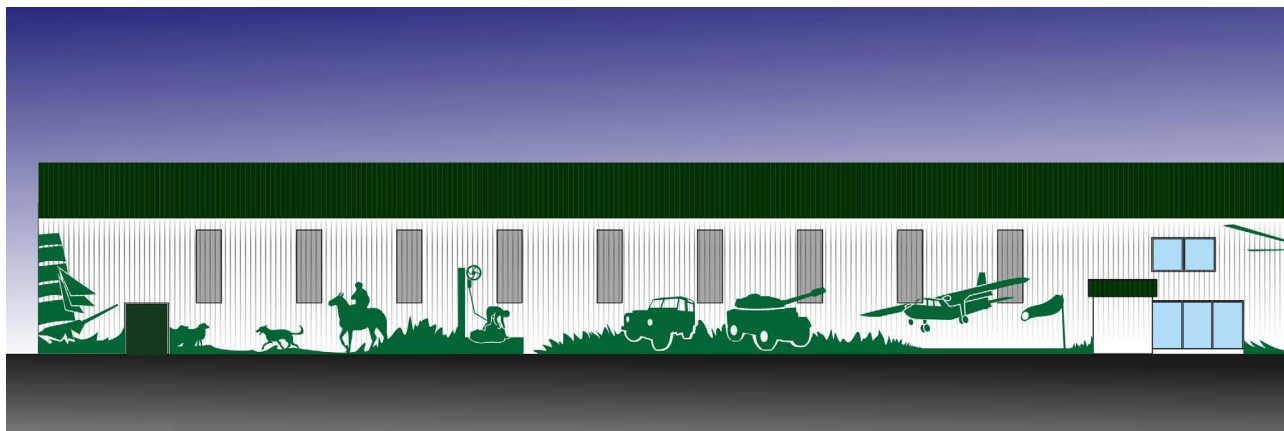
Community outreach

The Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust is a social hub and at the heart of the Falkland Islands community. Since opening the Historic Dockyard Museum doors in 2014, the museum has introduced a variety of events, now held annually, to encourage the engagement of the community with its heritage. These events include the Falklands Ball, held the closest Saturday to Falkland's Day to commemorate the first recorded sighting of the Islands in 1592. This is family orientated and is where the traditional dances of the islands take place. Other events held include: Community Day, Christmas Grotto and Light Up, Around the World in 80 Sips Wine and Cheese Night, Macmillan Coffee Morning, and Museum at Night. We also hold a lecture series where a variety of talks are delivered by local volunteers and visitors.

Future

The Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust is guided by a commitment to the future. We believe our collection holds assets of national and international significance and should be available to the public. We want to tell our stories in an inclusive way and, in doing so, honour the histories and those involved in them. We want to provide learning opportunities and inspire personal reflection and discovery. We also want to create connections and engagement with and between locals, visitors, and veterans.

An artist impression of the exterior of the Lookout Gallery and Exhibition Hall (credit: Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust)



The Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust stewards an ever-growing collection of artefacts and structures. Many of these are yet to be seen by the public. As such, the collective aim of the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust has long been to construct a purpose-built facility to preserve fundamental parts of our past, whilst also uncovering hidden histories and revisiting familiar stories from different perspectives. Due for completion in late 2023, the Lookout Gallery and Exhibition Hall will achieve this by providing a vital home base to the reserve collection, as well as providing the public with exhibitions that include: 'Our Giants' (featuring large heritage items, such as aircraft); 'From the Sea, Freedom' (telling the story of the Task Force sent to liberate the islands in 1982); 'Nautical Pioneers' (featuring large sections of shipwrecked vessels); and 'Rural Falklands' (telling the story of farming practices).

The Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust website is found at <https://falklands-museum.com/> and Twitter account is @FIMuseum. To learn more about the Lookout Gallery and Exhibition Hall visit <https://falklands-museum.com/the-lookout-gallery-%26-eh>

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14. Waterloo Uncovered

Lieutenant Colonel Charles Foinette

Beginnings

What does the defining battle of the Napoleonic age have in common with the 1982 liberation of the Falkland Islands? Aside from contributions to each from the Scots Guards, Household Cavalry, and Royal Artillery, the connection is not perhaps immediately obvious. Recent activities linked to both this year have offered the realisation that crossovers are far more potent than first imagined. The key lies in the complex interplays between material remains, individual experience, and cultural memory, and is wholly fascinating.

Waterloo Uncovered is a UK-based charity that was established in 2015, the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. The premise is straightforward: we take wounded, injured, and sick veterans and service personnel to conduct research archaeology on the site of the battle. The aim is that we should contribute both to modern understanding of the battle, and to the recovery of the people who participate. Despite the choice of



Present in the same ditch at Mont-Saint-Jean as the horses was a human skeleton, only the second to be found intact on the battlefield in the modern era. This was deposited with the amputated (and badly broken) leg of a second person (credit: Waterloo Uncovered)



Finds from the 2022 season at Mont-Saint-Jean included this horse, one of at least four, which had seemingly been led to the ditch and shot (credit: Waterloo Uncovered)

subject, the project's real origins lie with far more recent history: the experiences of the founders in modern combat operations.

Mark Evans and I met at university in the London in the late nineties, where we studied archaeology. Afterwards, we both joined the Army, and found ourselves serving in the same regiment, the Coldstream Guards. I entered the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst two days before the 9/11 attacks, which ushered in the decade of warfighting operations that followed, and Mark two years later. Even in the same regiment, no two people have the same experiences, and Mark found himself detached in 2008 for a tour in Afghanistan which proved exceptionally challenging, and from which he returned with severe Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Though this proved the end of his military career, it became the catalyst for what followed.

Uncovering Waterloo

Waterloo is a battle that continues to loom large in the 'stories we tell ourselves'. For the regiments that fought there, it is the pre-eminent battle honour, a name carried in pride of place embroidered on our Colours. (For most of the British Army, the Colours are a pair of flags that embody a regiment's spirit. They are presented personally by the Sovereign, and are afforded an armed escort and salutes whenever they are on parade. At Waterloo, they performed a practical purpose, to serve as an identifiable rallying point for troops in the chaos of battle – there was no greater honour than capturing an enemy Colour, nor greater disgrace than to lose one's own.)

At the remove of two centuries, the individual and collective stories of the battle have gained near-mythical status. In the case of the Coldstream Guards, Sergeant James Graham is the particular hero. Every year, his role in closing the gates of Hougoumont Farm against French assault is recounted, and then toasted by assembled sergeants and officers. Indeed, the act is generally held by Coldstreamers to be the critical act that guaranteed a peaceful Europe for a century thereafter. Given the reverence with which much of the British Army views Waterloo and its preserved artefacts, it seemed curious to both Mark and me that so little appeared to have been done to identify and record the physical traces of the battle remaining on the site itself. It was a conversation to which we kept returning over years as we participated in our own campaigns.



A Coldstream Guards tunic button discovered amidst fire-damaged debris from the collapsed building just inside the North Gate at Hougoumont (credit: Waterloo Uncovered)

After conflicts

The conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan were fought in the full glare of modern media. In spite – or perhaps because – of their political ambiguities, interest in the individual stories of soldiers, and especially casualties, reached levels for which observers of earlier conflicts were unprepared. With wars in the age of social media, we also saw advances in medical science that meant that many more seriously wounded casualties survived than in previous conflicts, and alongside the physical harm, the psychological effects of combat also received far more attention.

The role of charities in care for veterans is well documented, but it is a complicated picture. For those injured in service, the UK Ministry of Defence provides a great deal of support. This includes treatment, resettlement, and financial compensation and pensions. Despite that, there continue to be a wide range of needs that, for complex reasons, persist beyond the involvement of the service. One important factor is the difficulty that some veterans experience with adjusting to a new civilian life outside, especially when they had not planned to leave service. The things that many miss – comradeship, purpose, understanding, and psychological safety – are not the product of money or ‘treatment’, but rather derive from the company of others. It is in this area that Waterloo Uncovered, and charities like it in other fields, can have such an effect.

Veteran participants in Waterloo Uncovered are selected according to the benefit we think we can offer each individual. It’s a long process, starting months before the dig, and continuing for months after we return. One strength of the project is the sheer variety in the age and experience of our participants from the British Army, Royal Navy, and Royal Air Force: in some cases, they served in campaigns decades ago, while others have been injured in training, or long after they left the service. Beneficiaries are unified only by the fact that all, at some point, wore a uniform.

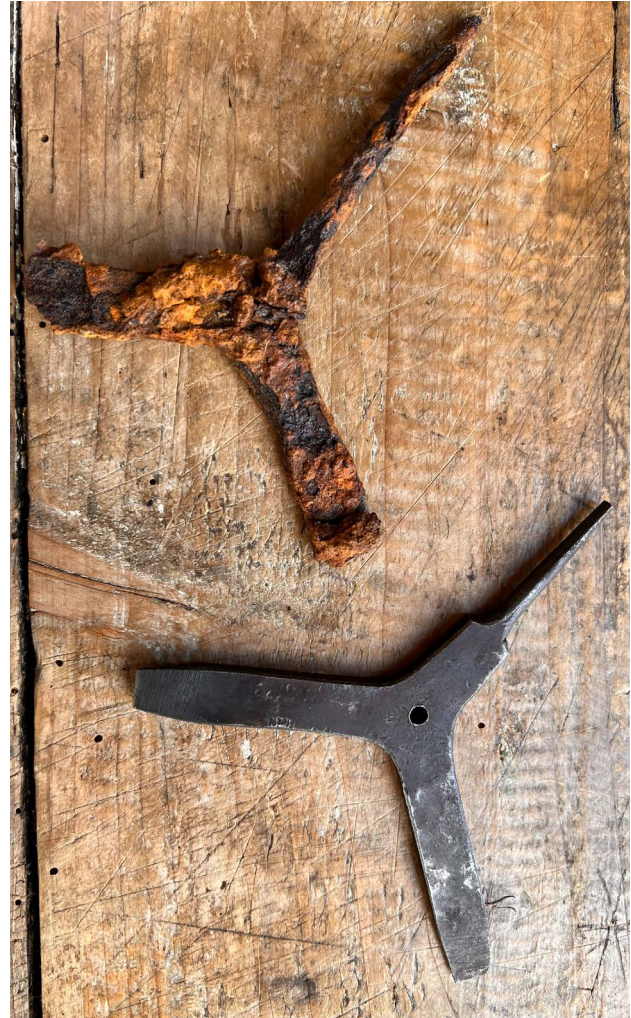
Shared experience

Archaeology is a discipline with close affinity for soldiers. Some of the ‘great names’ of early archeology, such as Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Augustus Pitt Rivers, were soldiers first, while T. E. Lawrence (‘Lawrence of Arabia’) made the opposite transition. We might speculate on the links – certainly much of nineteenth century archaeology, especially in the Middle East, required similar impedimenta to military expeditions – but I think an interest in detail, and a curiosity about human experience are equally compelling.

For Waterloo Uncovered, the shared experience of working outside whatever the weather, the physicality of the work and the concentration required, and the ‘unifying purpose’ all combines to evoke the most positive of military experiences without the other ‘baggage’. Archaeology also has the great benefit of being a very broad canvas. There are essential tasks to suit every ability, interest or aptitude, from swinging a pick to metal detecting, photography, surveying, finds cleaning, and even driving the minibus. All contribute,



Under the direction of Belgian archaeologist Eva Collignon, topsoil is removed from the orchard at Mont-Saint-Jean to enable a metal detector survey (July 2019). This is how many of the important archaeological features at Waterloo have been evaluated (credit: Waterloo Uncovered)



This curious triangular iron tool was found at Hougomont in 2019. It is a musket 'multi tool' from the battle. The heads are screwdrivers, which were used to replace gun flints and strip musket locks, and a reamer to clean out powder residue. Modern soldiers carry very similar tools for today's weapons, and this item, in particular, resonated with veterans (credit: Waterloo Uncovered)



Some of finds from the battlefield cleaned and mounted for public viewing. Education is one of the key objectives of Waterloo Uncovered, and having a stock of interesting finds to show at school visits and other events really makes the work tangible (credit: Waterloo Uncovered)



The project found its first cannon ball in 2019. This was discovered in the orchard at Mont-Saint-Jean. Cannon balls are rare, being either collected after the battle or (we think) having sunk too deep in the fine soil to find easily (credit: Waterloo Uncovered)

and all matter: we have no ‘passengers’, which means that all can take satisfaction in the outcome, and – crucially – are genuinely ‘useful’.

If archaeology is the right vehicle, then what of the really important bit: the people who make up Waterloo Uncovered? In the seven years since we first broke ground at Hougoumont, we have learned and adjusted continuously to provide the best possible experience, and to realise as much as we can of the potential benefits. The Battle of Waterloo was, on the Allied side, an exemplar of cooperation, and so too is the dig. It is no coincidence that the countries allied in 1815 have in recent years been engaged in many of the same campaigns, and have shared many similar experiences. I served in Afghanistan, for example, alongside Dutch and German soldiers, with Belgian F-16s overhead in support. Participants from those nations and others of modern coalitions – including Danes and Americans – have worked with us on the Waterloo battlefield, and despite occasional language barriers, the military ‘bond’ between veterans transcends frontiers.

To the mix we add the other essential elements – the archaeologists, volunteers, and students – without whom the project would not be possible. Beyond our focus on veterans, this is a serious research dig, and we have a responsibility to do our work to the most exacting of professional standards. One welcome contrast

to the tough world of commercial archaeology is the lack of time pressure: nobody is building a motorway through the battlefield. That means that, 'it takes as long as it takes', and we have time to do it well, with our participants learning on the job under the close supervision of experts who have volunteered their time to help.

Our soldiers and veterans were and remain part of the society they serve. The benefit to the project of so many archaeological supervisors, volunteers, and students is more than just neat trenches. Those supervisors, and the students attending the dig also have a key part to play in building our community. Many had not encountered soldiers or veterans before their involvement, while some veterans could themselves become somewhat insular and struggle to engage with those who had not shared their experiences. By bringing them together we have sought to encourage connections that have resulted in some of our veterans embarking on academic study or new careers and hobbies, and many firm friendships. Indeed, the latter proved a particular help during lockdown, and 'support' has proved a definite two-way street for many.

To the South Atlantic

All this has been focused on Waterloo, so the reader might wonder how we came to be involved in a project concerned with a battle 8,000 miles away, and 167 years later. Aside from the fact that the research directors and others are intimately involved in both projects, there were three key areas of interest. The first lies with veterans, and the lessons we have learned in seven years of work so far. Our guiding principle is 'do no harm', and we have developed a comprehensive welfare programme that allows us to provide appropriate and tailored support to our veteran participants, and this model (and the people behind it) can readily be adapted to other settings.

The second interest lies in the experience of veterans themselves. Archaeology is concerned chiefly with the influence of humans on their landscape, and in the Falklands we have the great privilege of bringing an archaeological lens to bear on events within living memory, alongside people who were actually there. That means we can compare the physical remains to their recollections, and contemporaneous records. This has real potential to read across to Waterloo, where much of the story that we 'know' was constructed from the recollections of participants surveyed at a similar remove from the battle as Falklands veterans are now. Accounts in other languages that present dissenting versions of events were not often included in the Waterloo narrative, and we have been able in some cases to compare recollections from different viewpoints with the actual remains to see whose story best fits the evidence. With the 1982 battlefields, we can do some of this in 'real time', and learn much in the process.

The third interest lies in the opportunity to observe the process of a battlefield sinking back into nature. Though the terrain and conditions are rather different, both have been the object of pilgrimage and visits

almost from the moment the guns fell silent. The interaction of visitors with their surroundings remains powerful and relevant at both sites. In Belgium, we have found coins from all over the world, together with the artefacts dropped and lost by reenactors who come to pay their own particular homage, and even evidence of structures rebuilt by landowners carefully to preserve ‘battle’ features for visitors. In the Falklands, the memorials, careful preservation of ‘iconic’ artefacts, and even signs of illegal digging in the search for souvenirs all contribute to the development of a site that will continue to change in the years to come.

The Falklands War Mapping Project is an extraordinary initiative we are proud to partner. In doing so, we have seen once more the potential that archaeology has to change lives. This has been an equally exciting year on the Waterloo battlefield, and despite the very different environments of the two sites, both are concerned with the human experience of war, and the ways in which, in the years after, we seek to come to terms with our past. It is the enduring challenge, and something that I am certain will still fascinate people a thousand years hence. We all have a part to play, and if I can draw a single lesson from our work so far, it is the immense benefit of having real purpose, and like-minded people with whom to share it.

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15. Argentine Archaeology, War Veterans, and Mental Health

Carlos Landa, Juan Leoni, and Sebastián Ávila

Introduction

In 2020, a group of Argentine scholars with different backgrounds joined forces to create the *Equipo de Arqueología Memorias de Malvinas* (EAMM) (Malvinas Memories Archaeology Team). Its main goal was to explore and develop archaeological research approaches to the Malvinas/Falklands War of 1982.

The obvious obstacle posed by the limited access to the disputed territory to carry out traditional archaeological fieldwork was a stimulus to devise alternative lines of research that focused on material culture and space, veterans' war and post-war experiences, and commemoration and memorialisation. It was recognised that such an approach could still produce original knowledge and interpretive narratives about the war and its participants, as well as contribute to the recovery and value of the experiences, feelings, and memories of those involved in it.

The team, which is interdisciplinary in nature and integrated archaeologists, historians, social anthropologists, and specialists in social communication, has now consolidated and carried out research focused around four main lines of enquiry, which can be framed in the general approach of modern conflict archaeology.

These four research lines are: (1) the study of the links between objects, memories, and experiences of veterans; (2) the reconstruction of battles and military actions through the combination of veterans' testimonies and remote sensing data; (3) the involvement of veterans in archaeological investigations on sites in Argentina for therapeutic purposes; and (4) the study of war commemoration and memorialisation in both Argentina and in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands.

Objects and memory

As part of the first research line, the team has carried out more than seventy interviews with veterans, with a focus on their objects and memories from the war and postwar experiences. These interviews were audio and visually recorded, and later uploaded to social media and networks (e.g. <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCgx-6F4rB4M8yf0t90uExtg>), where they can be accessed by a broad audience. In order to have a wide and representative sample and capture different roles and experiences during the war, the interviews have included conscripts, non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and officers from different branches of the armed forces (Argentine Army, Navy, Air Force, *Gendarmería Nacional* [Border Guard] and *Prefectura Nacional* [Coastguard]).



Veteran Julio Cesar Rzeznik a former conscript soldier of O Company, Batallón de Infantería de Marina 5 [5th Marine Infantry Battalion], showing his naval 'booknote' (credit: Museo Histórico Municipal, Baradero and Tomás Morrison)

The interviews are set up through an initial meeting, in which the general guidelines for the encounter are established. The time and place of the interview are agreed on, and the process explained: that the interviewed person 'produces' an object – preferably a physical one, but a mental one if the former is not available – from their war experience. The main purpose of this initial meeting is to build trust between the parties and help the veteran open up so that in the interviews they can channel their memories through the objects with words and gestures. The location of the interviews is usually chosen by the veterans, and can include their homes or public spaces. All the interviews are structured around a series of predefined questions, which focus on the objects to help trigger the remembrance of the war experience.



Veteran Fabián Mendilaharsu, former conscript soldier of the 7th Mechanised Infantry Regiment at Wireless Ridge shows a tin opener given to him by a British sergeant major (credit: Tomás Morrison)

Through these interviews, we have found that the majority of the Argentine veterans have kept meaningful objects in ‘personal museums’. Some of them shared with us their war diaries that had never been shown or published before. Others opened old boxes to retrieve and share material items that had been long locked-up, both physically and emotionally.

A recurrent topic that comes up in the interviews has to do with the creative use of material culture during the war. This practice allowed the veterans to, for example, create spaces of sociability, make their stay in the frontline positions more comfortable, write about their feelings and daily experience, tune into broadcasts from Argentina and Uruguay in their portable radios, simulate artillery pieces and machine guns, cook hunted animals, reactivate obsolete weapons, and treat comrades’ wounds. For instance, inactivated hand grenades and pens were combined to produce *mates* (containers used to drink a traditional infusion from Argentina but which is also very popular in countries like Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay). Also, old metal tubes and barrels found in waste sites were used to create fake artillery pieces or serve as ventilation ducts for improvised heating devices in bunkers and foxholes.

Several of the veterans work together currently to run museums and from these they carry out social and charitable activities, such as using old military field kitchens to feed children from impoverished neighbourhoods. In all the interviews, the veterans remembered and discussed objects that remained in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands and that they would like to recover. Also, in almost every case, we were shown or given objects – usually manufactured by the veterans after the war – that memorialise their war experience.

Place and combat

The second line of research involves the remote reconstruction of specific military actions, such as the battles fought at Goose Green, Mount Harriet, Mount Longdon, and Mount Tumbledown. Throughout the interviews, veterans who fought in these actions discussed aspects of their combat experience. This included their positions and movements on the battlefield during the engagements, features of the landscape, weapons employed, and logistic issues. Digital mapping platforms were used to have the veterans indicate their positions on the battlefields, which built a social cartography of memory that, in turn, has been very helpful in approaching these events from a historical and archaeological stance. This part of the project will, hopefully, contribute to current understandings of these battles and their specific dynamics.

Archaeology and veteran mental health

The third line of investigation/action has been openly inspired by British and American experiences of involving war veterans in archaeological practice. Waterloo Uncovered and Operation Nightingale, for example, seek to incorporate veterans in the archaeological research of battlefields and other military sites with a therapeutic purpose. In order to help achieve therapeutic outcomes, the project team has paired up with the Armed Forces Mental Health Center ('Veteranos de Malvinas') to develop activities and provide institutional support and mental health advice. This institution has been treating war veterans since its creation in 2004, and it is currently directed by Martín Bourdieu, a veteran of 1982 himself.

The project aims to create a friendly, pleasant, and comfortable environment where well-being, learning,



Veteran Gustavo Pedemonte (B Company, Regimiento de Infantería Mecanizado 7 [7th Mechanised Infantry Regiment] on Mount Longdon) examining a nose cap from a muzzle-loading musket found at the archaeological investigation of the Battle of Pavón (1861)

and friendship are fostered through the integration of veterans and archaeologists in fieldwork activities. Drawing upon our team's extensive experience in the archaeology of nineteenth century battlefields and military sites, through this initiative we have sought to stimulate the empathy of the Malvinas/Falklands veterans with the actors of the past events under study. This has also served to underscore not only the veterans' central role as active agents in a crucial event of Argentine national history, but also similarities and differences between respective military experiences in different conflict events.

The participation of veterans in other aspects of archaeological field practice, such as logistical organisation and cleaning and classification of artefacts, as well as in more informal activities, such as food preparation, end of day meetings around the fireplace and *mate* drinking, contribute to creating a pleasant and supportive social context. As a whole, and in line with the experiences of the international projects mentioned above, it is expected that these activities will produce long-term positive effects on veterans' mental health and well-being.

Memorialisation

The fourth line of research considers the analysis of war memorialisation practices through the construction of war memorials and other performative practices. This has taken place in Argentina and the Malvinas/Falklands Islands. Of special interest here is the construction of different memory markers on the battlefields themselves, a process that began soon after the war finished, with different 'memory entrepreneurs' – British, Islanders, Argentine – starting a subtle symbolic dispute over the former conflict grounds. While the existing memory landscape on the Malvinas/Falkland Islands is of British origin mostly, Argentine commemoration activity has also taken place. This is by means of ephemeral and heterodox practices and, in general, low material impact and visibility. Reproduction on social media, in turn, bestows on these memorials and practices a visibility, materiality, and perdurability they often originally lack. These memorialisation practices communicate selective memory narratives about the war and its participants – what and who is remembered, how events are remembered, and by whom. Material memorials and symbolic narratives hold great sensitivity and are highly and emotionally charged. They also often express political and ideological differences about the interpretation of the past events.

Conclusion

All four lines of the research reviewed above are moving forward steadily at present. Together they are generating original knowledge on a conflict that although it happened forty years ago continues to grip Argentine society. It is our intention to extend the research lines presented here to also include British veterans, with the aim of building a holistic and integrated narrative of the 1982 war experience. We believe firmly, as well, that academic cooperation with British scholars would greatly help to enhance the production



War memorialisation at different battlefields in Malvinas/Falkland Islands. British memorials, with instances of Argentine informal and ephemeral memorialisation (top); memory markers left by Argentine veterans in post-war visits (bottom) (credit: Carlos Landa)

of knowledge on the 1982 war and its participants. This is why we would like to finish this piece by thanking the editors for the invitation and opportunity to participate in this book. We hope it is the first of many joint endeavours in the future.

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16. Notes from the Project Artist

Doug Farthing

Enlistment

Tim Clack from Oxford University approached me – somewhat out of the blue – to join the Falklands War Mapping Project. He was setting up the project and wanted art to be a central feature to it. He knew how powerful art was as a vehicle of emotional expression, and had come across my work at an exhibition at the National Army Museum. He knew about both my painting and military background. When he approached me, Tim made clear that the art would be part of the way the project work was captured and communicated. He wanted the project to have impact beyond the world of university research.

As an artist and someone fascinated by landscapes, heritage, and conflict, this was music to my ears. Tim and I have spent a lot of time – both in the Falklands and the UK – talking about the fascinating links between heritage, conflict, and art. Tim secured a grant from Oxford University’s School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography and this enabled me to travel, as the project artist, to the Falkland Islands with the team. Despite a full career in the British Army, I had never visited the Falkland Islands. I had, though, seen war in Iraq and Afghanistan, and elsewhere. I retired from military service in 2014 and applied for a place on a full scholarship programme with the Royal drawing school. The drawing year has been crucial to the development of my work.

Tim explained the aim of the project was to conduct an archaeological survey of key battlefields from 1982, so as to record the condition of material remains and enhance understandings of events. Given my background, I was pleased to learn that the project was working with military veterans as well as museums, schools, and communities on the Falkland Islands. As the project artist, my role has been to raise awareness and help get different groups of people to think about the Falklands War and its remains, legacies, and aftermaths. Often people will respond to art and talk about it more openly than events from their own lives, particularly traumatic ones. So, the art becomes a bit of a bridge into the past and it facilitates the sharing of memories. Memories are being lost so it is important that this bridging takes place soonest.

Pre-deployment

Having been mobilised for the project, I started my ‘pre-deployment’ immersion. I began researching the conflict at home. Having served with 2nd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment (2 Para), I have an indirect relationship to some of the Falklands battles. When in training at the Para depot in 1984, I had been told about the events and battles by the training staff. For them, it was barely history, it was only two years before.



An art and conflict heritage session in full swing at the Falklands Community School in Port Stanley (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

The Parachute Regiment trains to very high standards, and the experiences of the Falklands War, which were shared with me, in turn, helped me in my own deployments over a full career with 2 Para. For example, a lesson learnt from my mentors was good use of cover in battle and how you can find cover even in the sparsest environments. The new recruits and I would crawl everywhere during combat training, often wearing full battle order. I also remember – not always fondly – the long marches, with differing loads and distances on differing terrain, which were ‘inspired’ by the movements around the Falklands in 1982.

At times when I was in the Falklands with the project, these experiences from early in my career produced an unexpected sense of familiarity and belonging. I felt this familiarity during my visit to the place where soldiers crawled toward the enemy before close quarter battle. The smell of the wet ground and heather, the feel of wind whipping overhead, and the sight of the dark rolling clouds on the horizon linked me to my forebears.



The enthusiasm and creativity of the art students at the schools made for a rewarding experience (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

At an event at the end of the field season, artworks from an art and conflict heritage session run with the Past Finders group was put on show at the Historic Dockyard Museum (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)





An artist's eye view from Tumbledown (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)

Out in theatre

In the build-up to departure, Tim kept saying the most important bit of kit you need to take to the field in the Falklands is your sense of humour. I couldn't agree more: the landscape and climate could be – and often were – unforgiving. The changeable weather in the Falklands, especially in the hills, is a test for anyone and even more so if you're an artist or archaeologist trying to do your craft.



Painting (credit: Falklands War Mapping Project)



I worked with prepared paper on a small drawing board. Some of the drawings did get damaged due to the wind. However, I learnt that I could always find a spot to shelter from the wind, which must have been the same for the soldiers in 1982. In the main, I would find a low place against a rock to get out of the wind. In some of these places there was a soft bed of diddle-dee and/or heather which added a bit more comfort. The colours of the vegetation became central to my artwork – both in drawings and paintings in the field and upon my return home.

On my first trip to the site of the Battle of Tumbledown, I walked to a sheltered place and settled into a spot to draw from. Jim Peters, one of the veterans of the Battle of Tumbledown, came and sat with me and explained that the position I had found was perfect to record the advance of Left Flank Company as they approached the Argentine positions. In my mind, I placed myself instinctively as a soldier would. I found a position, for example, which would have helped me see the enemy positions. Jim began to point out other positions to me. I recognised that many of these would have offered good protection and arcs of fire, wedged as they were between the rock runs.

Drawing from observation and verbal narrative has given the work produced a realness and rawness. The art has bridged both geography and

*A bottle of ink salvaged from the wreck of the American ship, the John R. Kelly which was wrecked near Port William in 1899. The ink was used in many of the artworks in *The Drawing Line* (credit: Timothy Clack)*

generations. The collapsing of time and space is a theme present in *The Drawing Line*. This is a collection of 74 drawings I produced from the field which reflect the 74 days of the conflict in a disrupted narrative form. Evoking the past and the maritime history of the Falkland Islands, the ink used in *The Drawing Line* was salvaged from the *John R. Kelly*, a wooden sailing ship of 2,364 tons, which was wrecked on Kelley Rocks near Port William in 1899. The ship had been sailing between New York and San Francisco with general cargo.

The trip also inspired me to produce oil paintings on the theme of battle and of views from the top of Mount Tumbledown into Port Stanley. The latter being the view had by Argentine and, after their surrender, British soldiers.

The team also had some down time on the Falklands. I couldn't resist also capturing some of this in artworks. We had the opportunity to explore other parts of the Falklands' wilderness, including remote beaches. The wildlife was extraordinary, including penguins, albatrosses, and elephant seals. The green seas, white sands, and the light all merging me and the team into the life of these creatures. At times, it really was like stepping onto another planet, with we humans just a spectacle for the animals. The excitement of sitting amongst, smelling, and feeling the presence of such wonderful creatures was quite overwhelming.

Future Falklands rotations

The Falkland Islands are very special indeed, and I look forward to exploring more. I enjoyed working with the project team, exploring the environment, experiencing the flora and fauna, and feeling part of and documenting the history and heritage. I have made a whole new group of friends as part of the project.

I learnt so much from the field season about the people and communities of the Falkland Islands, what happened in 1982 from different first-person and material perspectives, and about archaeology as an instrument to understand the past. I have tried to capture all of this in my artwork. I have also tried to capture the importance of sensitivity in dealing with people's personal battles and the material remains of conflicts in living memory.

I am eager to go back to the Falkland Islands and continue the work. The plan is to return to Tumbledown but also to start work on the Mount Longdon battlefield. As a former para soldier, the prospect of seeing where members of my own regiment served, and in some cases died, will be especially poignant. I will also continue to work with school, museum, and art groups in both the classroom and the field.

A different battlefield to paint...

A few months after returning from the South Atlantic, the Falklands War Mapping team also had the opportunity to travel to the site of the Battle of Waterloo in Belgium as part of Waterloo Uncovered's

excavations there. The connections between time and space were present and compressed again as the team reassembled on another battlefield thousands of miles from the Falklands. We met up, learnt about the battle of 1815, and excavated with other archaeologists and veterans from more recent conflicts. The camaraderie was astonishing. Remarkably, human and horse remains were discovered during the excavation and I couldn't resist drawing and painting them. A complete skeleton was found at the site of a British field hospital and thus is likely the remains of a soldier from the battle. The potency of living veterans of recent wars excavating a deceased military body on a historic battlefield was palpable to me, and I hope I have also caught that in the artworks. This art is of Waterloo but mediated through the Falklands War Mapping Project. Time into space.

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17. War, Weaving, Well-Being

Katie Russell

Although I originally trained in jewellery and metalwork, it was constructed textiles that became my life-long interest.

I have always loved the direct connection that a craft worker has with their material. At college, I wove when using metal, so it felt a natural progression to explore weaving in other materials. I have always been drawn to the landscape. Needless to note, growing up in Scotland and living along the River Tay gave endless inspiration for work. Water has been a constant source of ideas to me, and so has a love of maritime history. After my early retirement from teaching, I decided to focus on weaving in small stages whilst researching battles and conflicts.

Inspiration and situation

The Falklands War is the first project that I have worked on where I am researching something that happened in my lifetime. I was at school in the 1980s and learnt about the conflict and fighting through the news on the television and in newspapers. I feel that it is essential to record aspects of war in whatever way we can so that we can learn from mistakes, ensure history does not repeat itself, and live more fulfilled lives. Wherever possible we should do this recording and learning in a respectful manner. It is important to me to depict events in such a way that images commemorate but do not glorify conflict. At the same time, I want to highlight the use and value of textiles and create art with educational outcomes.

Textiles have been used to depict conflict throughout time, but not so much in modern periods. On researching other conflicts, I was always faced with other media for ideas, but not much in the way of contemporary woven tapestries. For me, using a technique that is ancient and contemporary is another way to commemorate. With care, textiles can last centuries. Engaging with the Falkland Islands has also given me a chance to explore a landscape that, despite being thousands of miles away, still has visual and other similarities with parts of Scotland.

Looming well-being

Weaving improves health and mental well-being for people of all ages and cultures. It challenges the weaver mentally and physically both in the preparation of materials and in the weaving process itself. Weaving is tactile. Your hands are always on the fibres and the loom. You might have a cartoon (a working design that serves as a guide for tapestry) planned out, but often you can let your imagination and fibres take you on other paths.



Sitting in front of my loom (credit: Kim Ayres)

Tapestry weaving is usually meticulous, delicate, sensitive, and time-consuming but it is incredibly rewarding. You learn how to use all your senses whilst crafting. The length of time to weave depends on the type of yarn, the size of the loom, the pattern, how many colours are being used and how relaxed you are. Tension is important, both with the yarn and in your body. Weaving can be done in many timeframes. I have had projects that have been completed in under an hour but others that have taken days and weeks and in some cases months and years.

Artistic attachment

I am incredibly grateful to the Falklands War Mapping Project team for allowing me to take part in this project. I have been following their progress through social media and have been envious not just of their travels and fieldwork but also the finds that they have been uncovering and connections they have been making. In recognising the power of art to connect with people and communicate emotion, the directors have been particularly supportive of the artistic lanes of the project. In various calls and emails, Tim Clack and I also



Weaving is meticulous work and maintaining tension in the yarn, loom, and your body is important (credit: Kim Ayres)

uncovered another project-military-geographical-heritage connection. His grandfather had served in the Royal Tank Regiment and was garrisoned for many years in the part of Scotland where I live. His grandfather had become enchanted with the histories and landscapes here and, as a result, Tim knew these parts well.

The Falklands War Mapping Project has been educating us about the terrain and artefacts left behind on the Falklands from the conflict but also how the artefacts ended up where they did. The team have become involved in the community and are using face to face, hands on methods of communication. But technology is also playing a part in the project, again something which everyone can learn from. The ways in which nature can take over and reclaim human-made objects and features over periods of time has always fascinated and amazed me. I have been trying to capture some of these elements in my weaving.

Preparing the ground

I have found it very moving to see veterans return to the islands with the team and become a very special and central part of the project. I have also been very fortunate to gain more of an insight into war art from Doug Farthing, the project's artist.

Doug painted many times whilst in the Falklands and got to know the landscapes well. With his kind permission and commentary, I looked at and drew ideas from images of his work. I took inspiration from his paintings and translated colours and textures into my tapestry weaving. For me, this was an exciting opportunity to think about textiles in different ways through the exploration of painting.

The photographs taken by the team and shared on the project's social media and website were fascinating. Taken at different times of the day, these were in colour and black and white and gave different feelings to the landscape. I also studied historical photographs taken by those who were there during the conflict, including islanders, the military, and members of the Merchant Navy. Tim, Doug and Tony Pollard were kind enough to recommend books and other resources, such as the writings of and interviews with veterans.

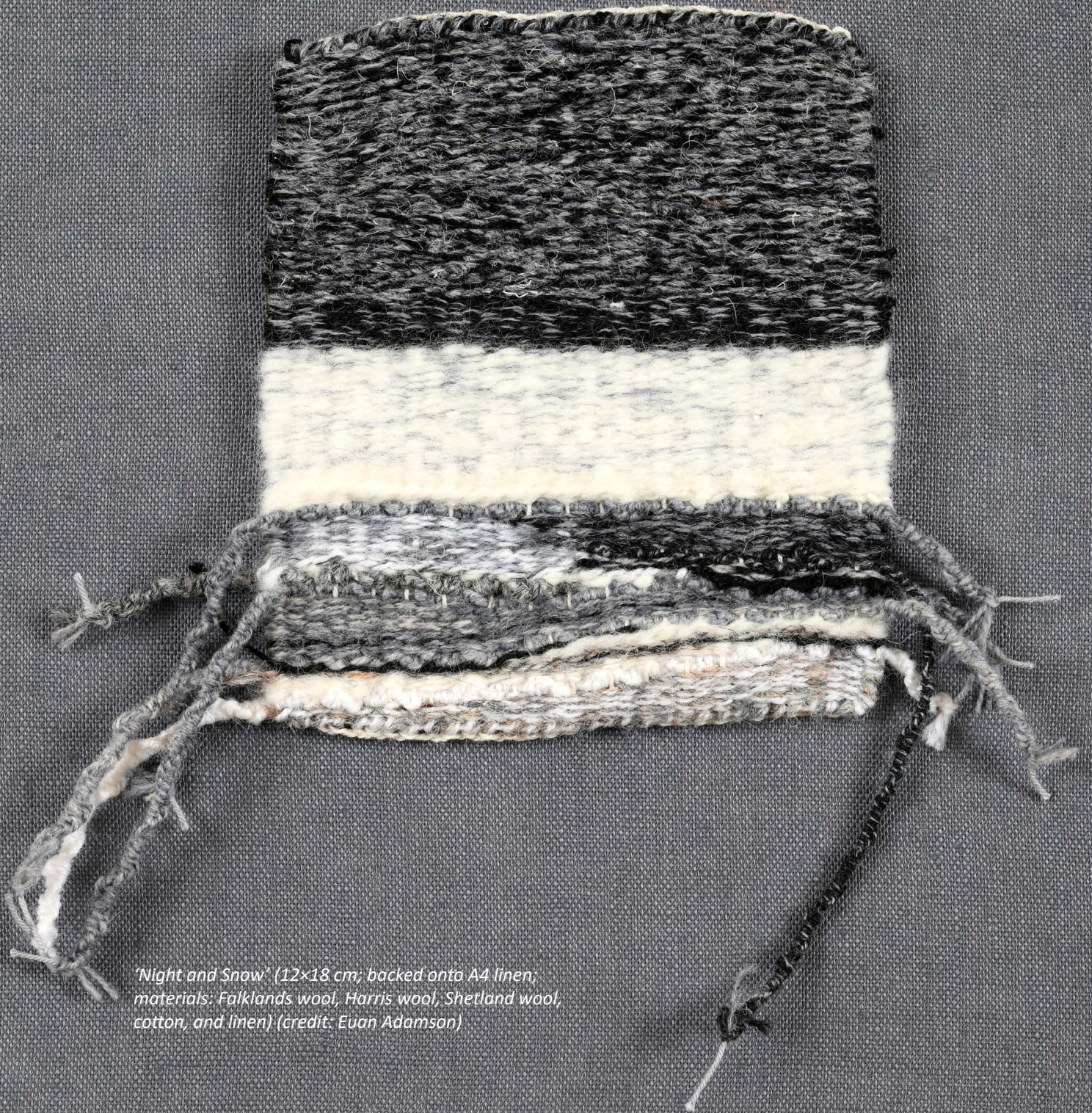
Getting weaving

There were many people involved in and beyond the project who have helped inspire me throughout the research and weaving. I always regard reading and listening to people's personal accounts important. Seemingly odd and irrelevant words can start ideas. People can give you inspiration and they might not even realise that they have done so.

My tapestry weavings in the exhibition have all been hand woven on my upright loom, 'Saga' using cotton, jute, linen, and wool from Harris, Shetland, and the Falkland Islands. These materials were selected as their origins resonate with the project and, given the Scottish and Falklands connection, the events on Tumbledown.



*Hand-weaving a tapestry for the Falklands War Mapping Project exhibition on an upright loom
(credit: Kim Ayres)*



*'Night and Snow' (12×18 cm, backed onto A4 linen,
materials: Falklands wool, Harris wool, Shetland wool,
cotton, and linen) (credit: Euan Adamson)*



'Snow meets Green' (16×15 cm; backed onto A4 linen; materials: Falklands wool, Harris wool, Shetland wool, cotton, and linen) (credit: Euan Adamson)

'Cream against White' (10×15 cm; materials: Falklands wool, Worested fine wool, cotton, and linen) (credit: Euan Adamson)



'Never One Colour for Land and Water' (23×14 cm; materials: Harris wool, Shetland wool, and cotton) (credit: Euan Adamson)



'Sky, Land, Seaweed and into the Sea'
(30×42 cm; materials: Harris wool,
Shetland wool, and cotton)
(credit: Euan Adamson)



'The Rough and Soft'
(10×11 cm; materials:
Falklands wool, Harris
wool, Shetland Wool,
cotton, jute, and linen)

This project has led me to learn new techniques and acquaint myself with old ones. I hand spun the Falkland Islands fleece as I wanted it to be slightly uneven. I also blended different types of yarns. It was wonderful here to have received lots of advice from the Falkland Wool Growers in Scotland. As noted, links between the Scottish islands and the Falkland Islands was an interesting cultural twist to add into the crafting project. Texture and colour were incredibly important. Bringing in specific techniques such as Soumak and Ressaut – ways of creating raised surfaces – helped give a different feel and perspective to the works. In some of the weavings, I followed a cartoon but most of the time I let particular colours or types of yarns guide me. They took me on surprising and fulfilling artistic journeys.

Further reading

Cumming, E. 2012. *The Art of Modern Tapestry*. London: Lund Humphries.

Garlock, L. R. 2016. Stories in the cloth: art therapy and narrative textiles. *Art Therapy* 33(2): 58–66.

Pappne, D. I. and E. Miller 2019. Participatory art in residential aged care: a visual and interpretive analysis of resident's engagement with tapestry weaving. *Journal of Occupational Science* 26(1): 99–114.

Wyld, H. 2022. *The Art of Tapestry*. London: Philip Wilson.

Section 4. Project Artworks

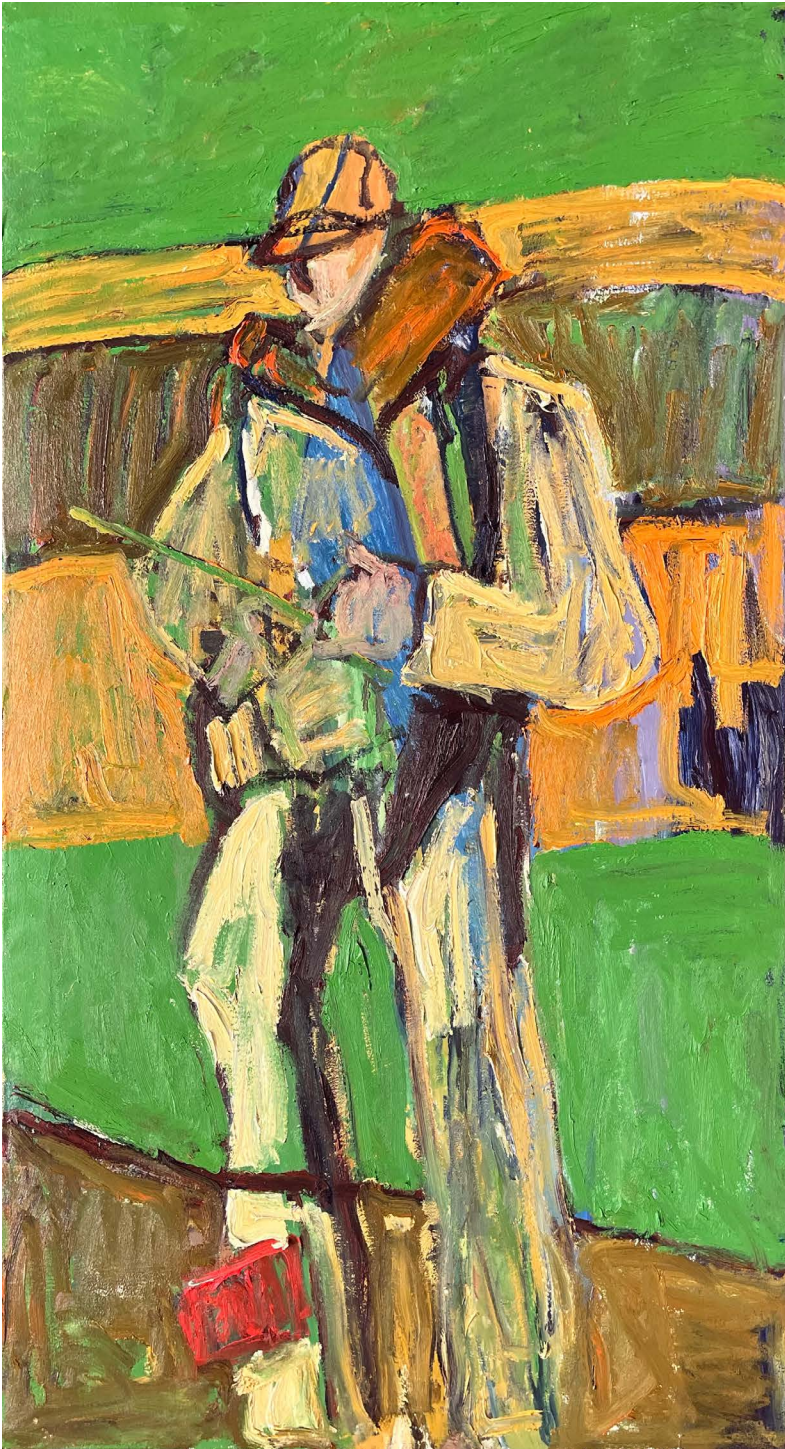


*40 years after the Falklands War, silhouette figures mark the Tumbledown landscape
(credit: Standing with Giants and Sue Luxton)*

Douglas Farthing



'Tumbledown with RAP' (92×62 cm; oil on canvas)



'Soldier and Archaeologist'
(82×152cm, oil on canvas)



'Dean Street Stanley'
(31×41 cm; oil on canvas)



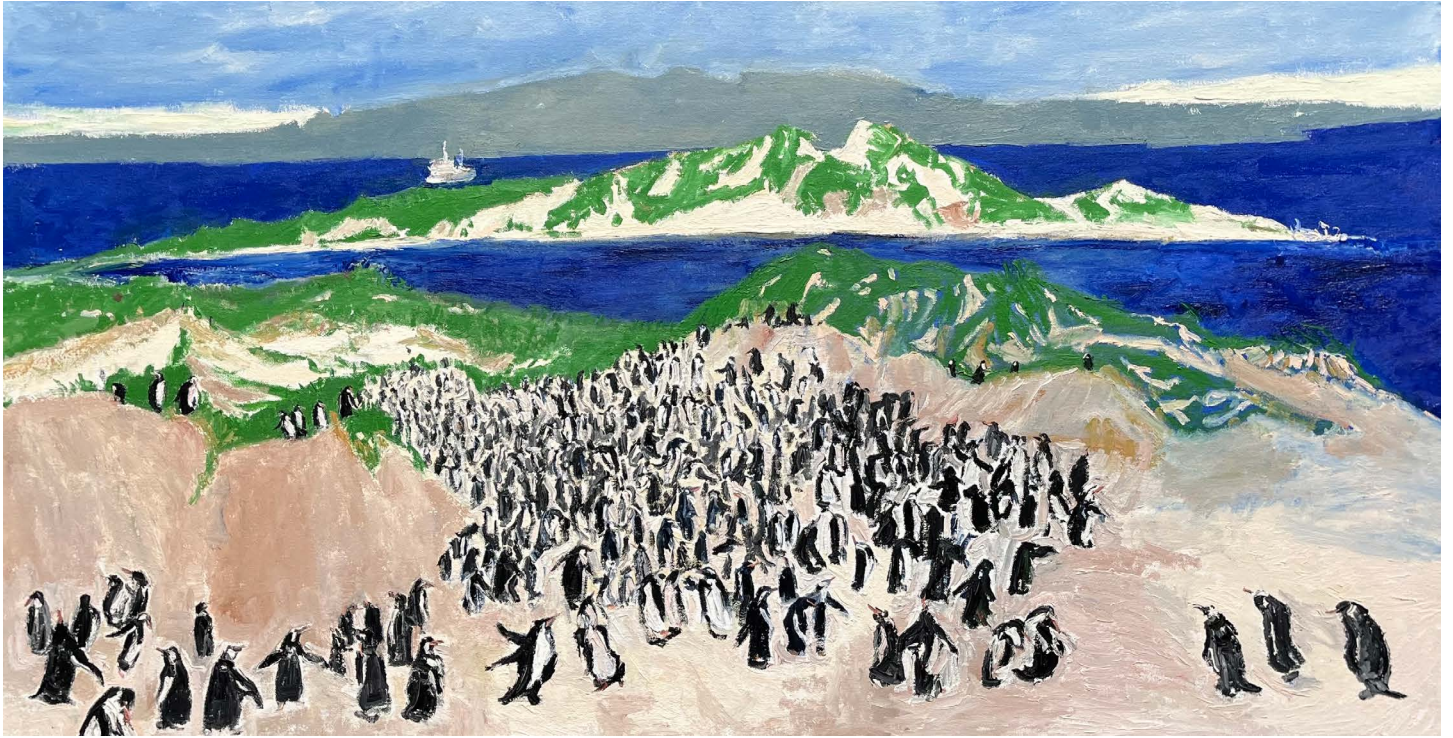
'Villiers Street Stanley'
(27×37 cm; oil on canvas)



'Seal Study' (31x26 cm; oil on canvas)



'Our Tumbledown in honour of project veterans, John and Jim' (94x94 cm; oil on canvas)



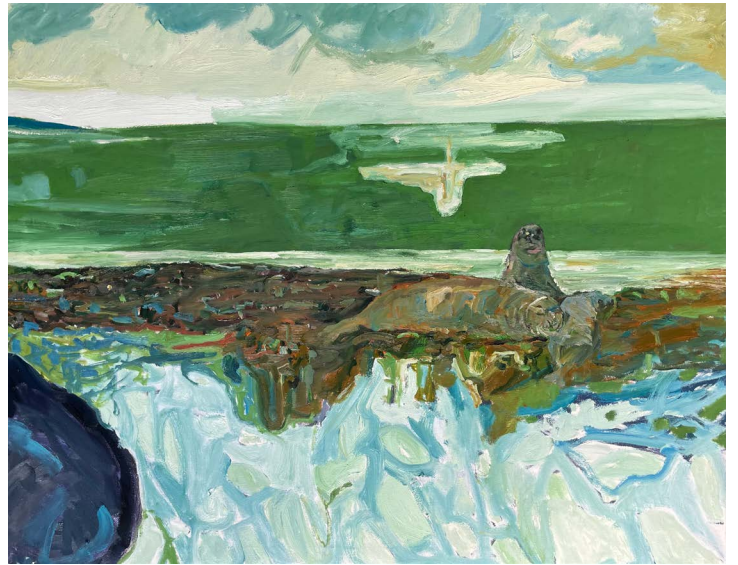
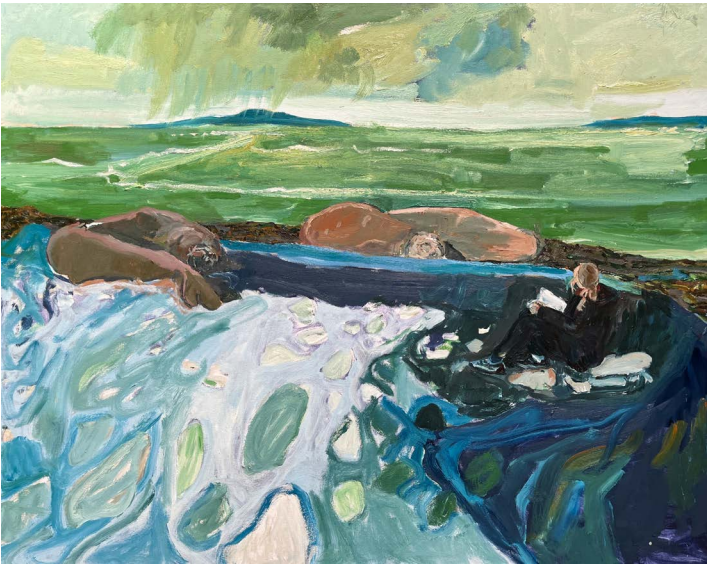
'Yorke Bay – Argentine Landing Beach' (135×71 cm; oil on canvas)



'Kelp Bay Triptych' (62×62 cm; oil on canvas)



'View over Stanley from Tumbledown' (142×115 cm; oil on canvas)



'Harmony and Vulnerability in Nature' (142×115 cm; oil on canvas)



'Conflict Aftermath' (142×115 cm; oil on canvas)



'Bomb Alley' (70×65 cm; lino-cut collage)



'HMS Sheffield' (27×18 cm; lino-cut collage)



'Bomb Alley' (27×18 cm; lino-cut collage)



'The Peaks of Tumbledown' (27×18 cm; lino-cut collage)

'The Drawing Line'

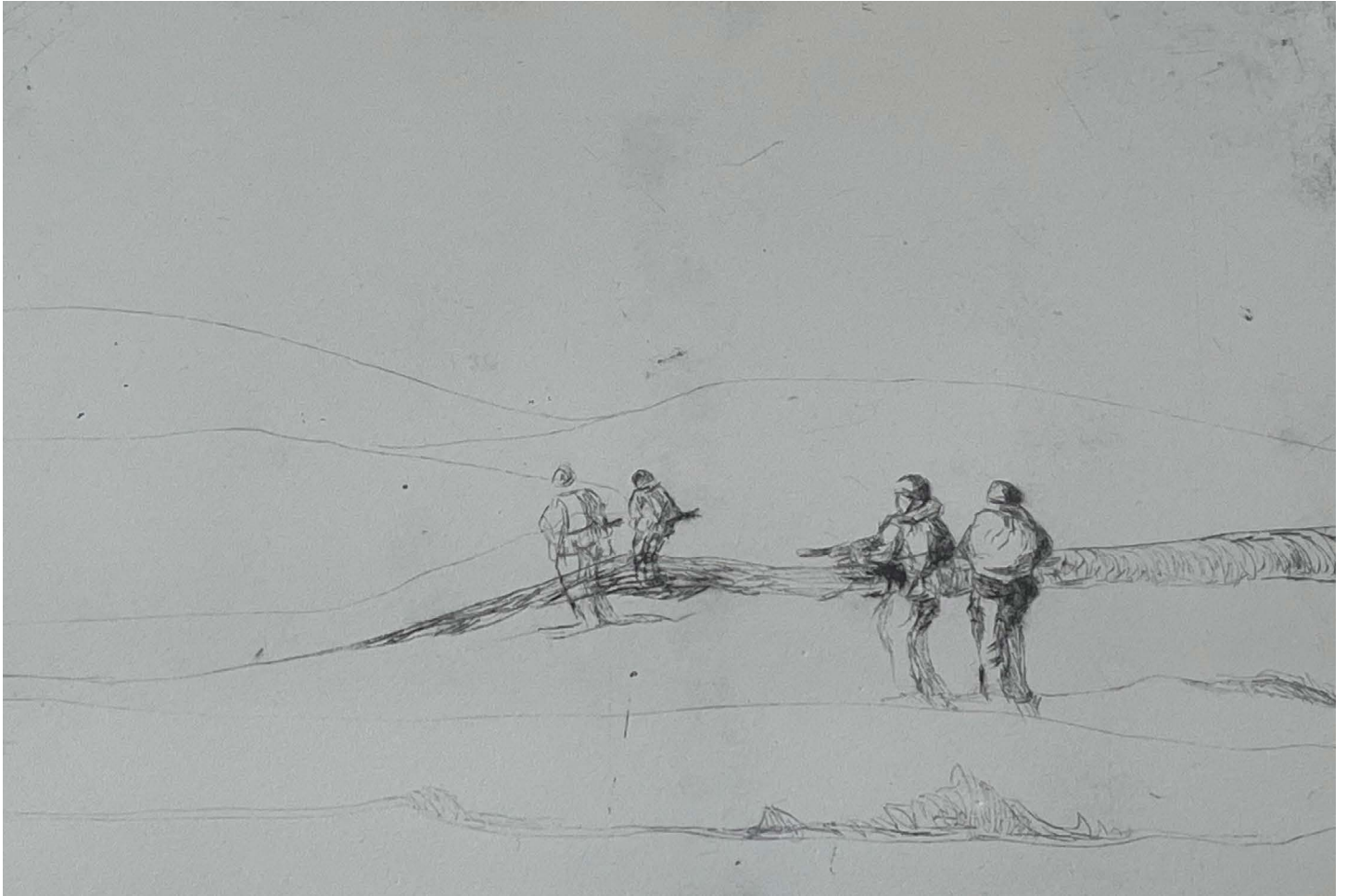
The 'Drawing Line' is a body of work consisting of 74 artworks; one for each day of the conflict. These are consciously not in chronological order so as to represent how memories of events are subjective and distort over time but certain moments remain vivid and potent over and beyond lifetimes. The ink used was salvaged from the John R. Kelly, a wooden sailing ship, which was wrecked on rocks near Port William in 1899.



'1982 Goose Green' (27×18 cm; ink on paper)



'After' (27×18cm; oil on paper)



'1982 Darwin 2 Para' (27×18cm; pencil on paper)



'After the Battle' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'2022 William and Tumbledown' (27×18cm; oil on paper)



'POW' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'1982 POW' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'The Long Tab' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Goose Green 2 Para' (27×18 cm; ink on paper)



'1982 Goose Green 2 Para' (27×18 cm; ink on paper)



'HMS Sheffield' (27×18 cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Landing Craft' (27×18 cm; ink on paper)



'1982 Tumbledown' (27×18 cm; ink on paper)



'Tumbledown' (27×18 cm; ink on paper)



'Tumbledown' (27×18 cm; ink on paper)



'The Long Tab' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'After the Battle' (27×18cm; oil on paper)



'FARP' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Moving Forward' (27×18 cm; etching with chalk)



'Tumbledown' (27×18cm; oil on paper)



'Air Attack San Carlos Bay' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'2022 Sapper Hill' (27×18 cm; pastel on paper)



'Tumbledown' (27×18cm; pastel on paper)



'Tumbledown' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Air Raid San Carlos' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Landings' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Landings' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'1982 POW' (27x18cm; ink on paper)



'1982 Mount Longdon' (27×18cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



'1982 South Georgia' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'1982 Casualties' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Sea of Human Beings' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Blue and Green Meat Machine' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Tumbledown' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Air Med' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Belgrano' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Air Attack San Carlos Bay' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Archaeology' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'HMS Conqueror' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Flight Deck' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'TOC' (27×18cm; pastel on paper)



'Death' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Gun Line' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Light Tanks' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Medics' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Gun Line' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'POW' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Black Buck' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Sir Galahad' (27×18cm; ink and oil on paper)



'1982 Goose Green 2 Para' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'After the Battles' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Air Lift' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Landings' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



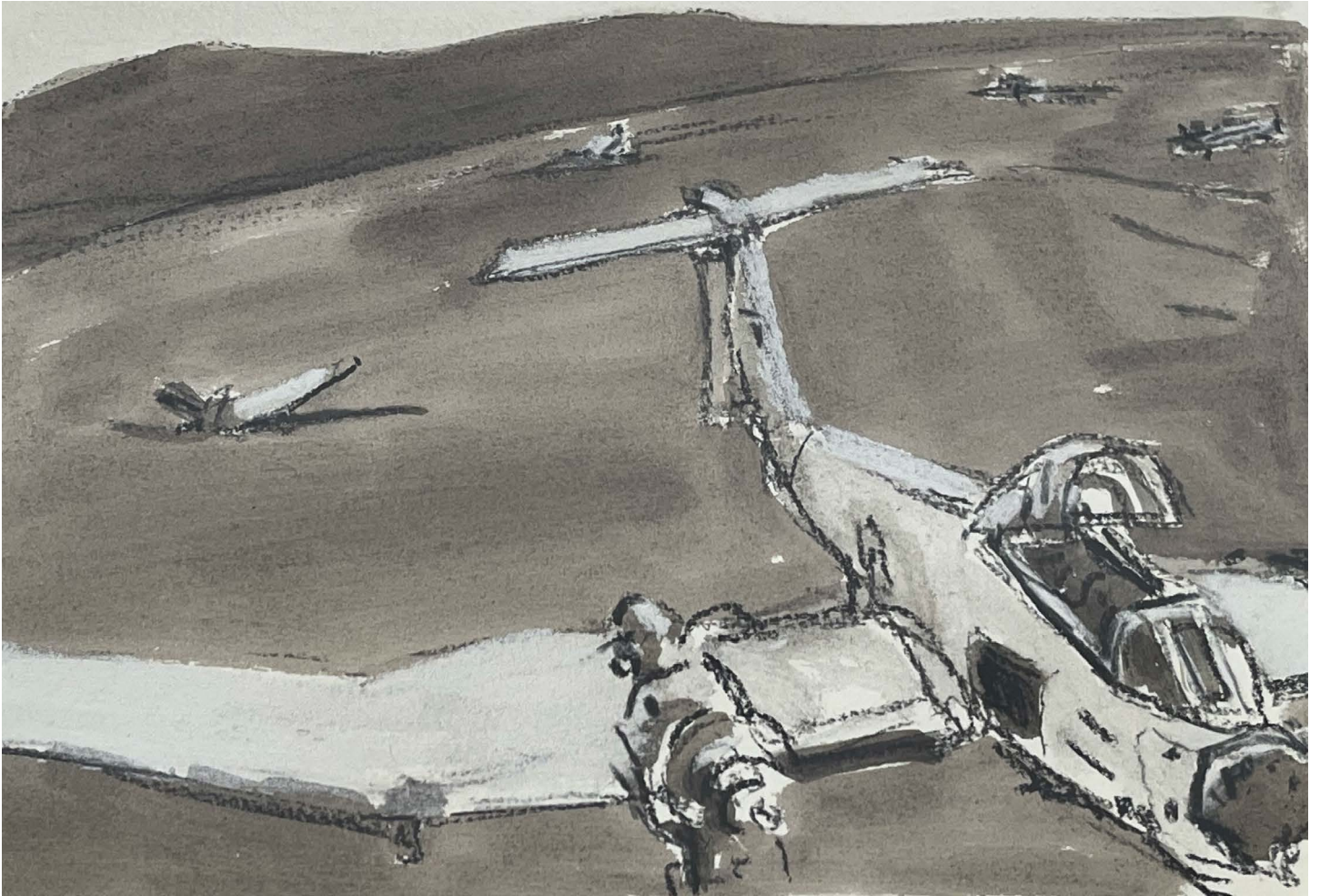
'Landings' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Storm Over San Carlos Water' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Pebble Island' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Pebble Island' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



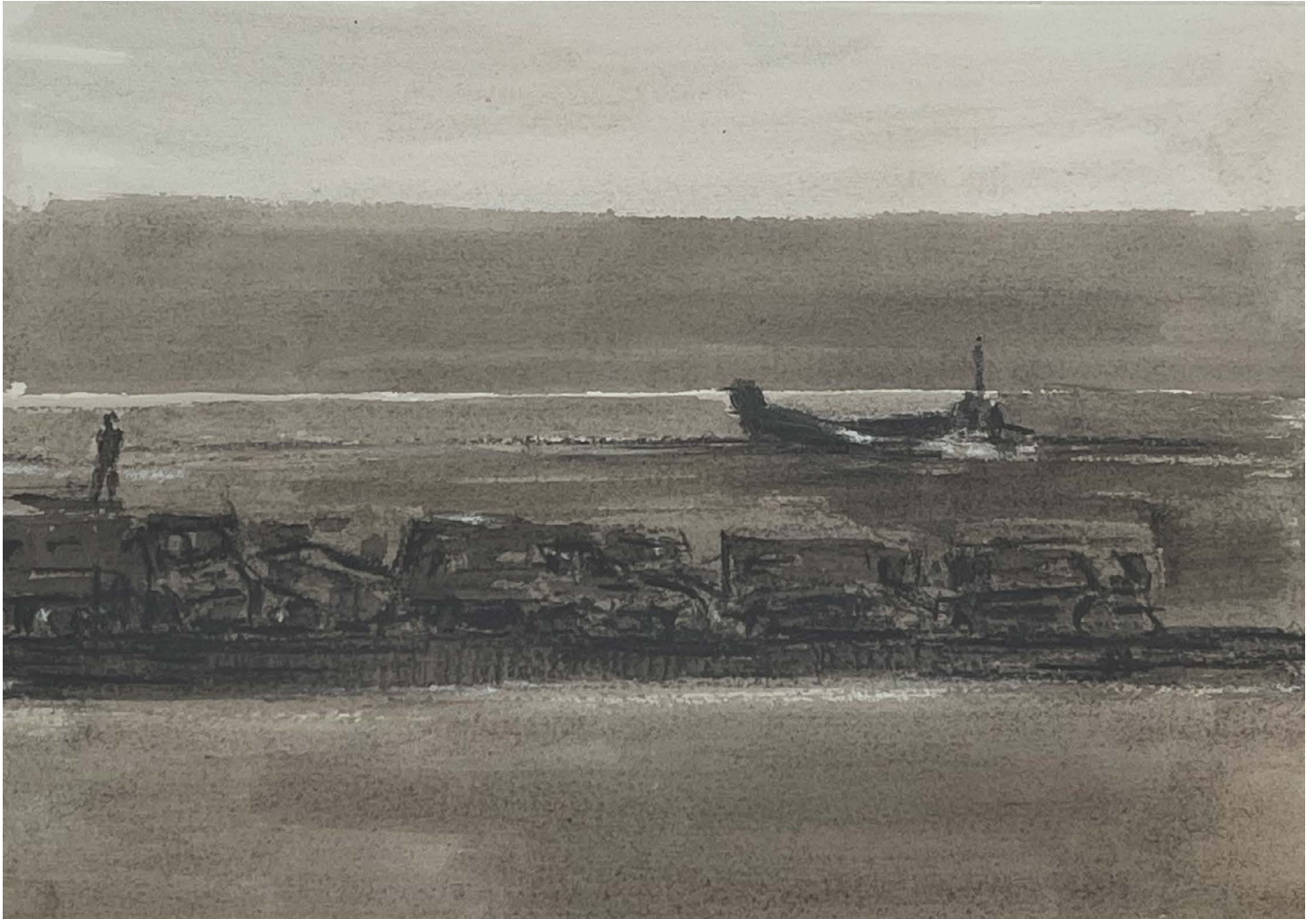
'South Georgia' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'HMS Illustrious' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Casualties HMS Sheffield' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Pontoon' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Signalman' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



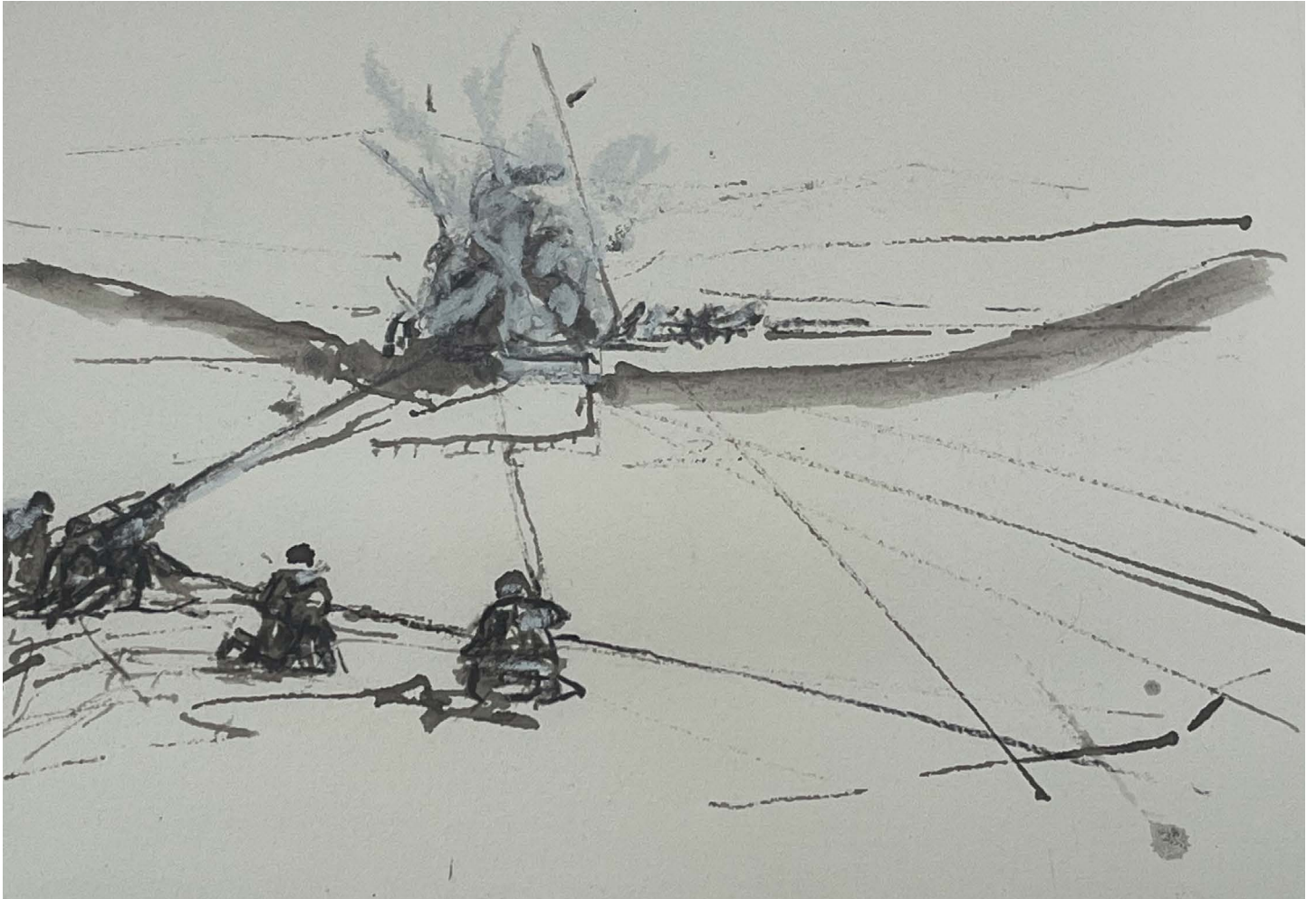
'Pebble Island Prisoners Civilians' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Darwin 2 Para' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'2 Para Landing San Carlos' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Top Malo Assault' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'Mount Longdon' (27×18cm; ink on paper)



'Door Gunner' (27×18cm; ink and pastel on paper)



'South Georgia Crash' (27×18cm; oil on paper)



'Field Kitchen Argentine' (27×18cm; ink and oil on paper)



'Towards Tumbledown' (27×18cm; oil on paper)



'Within the Earth' (27×18cm; oil on paper)



'After' (27×18cm; oil on paper)

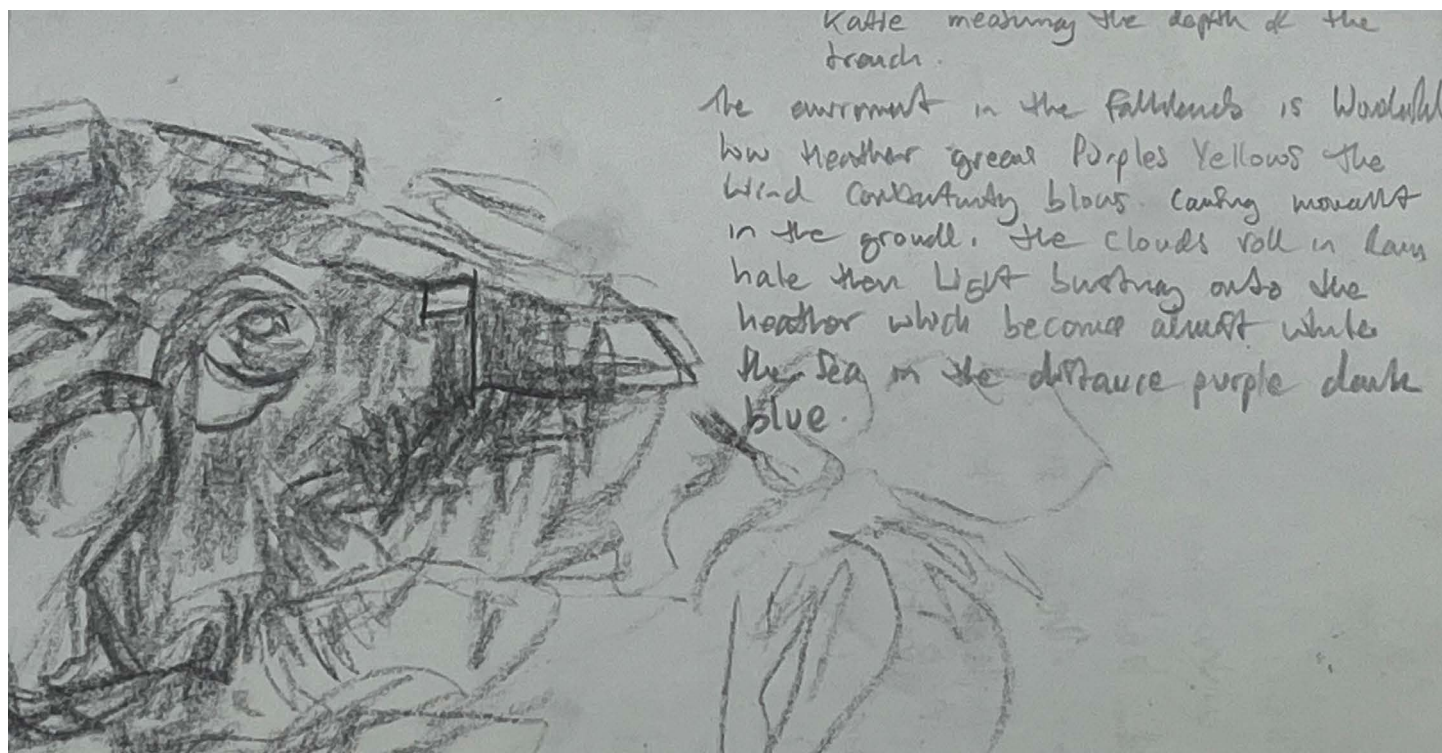


'After' (27×18cm; oil on paper)

'Art Around the Edges'



'Charlie, Beth and Katie Recording' (21x15 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



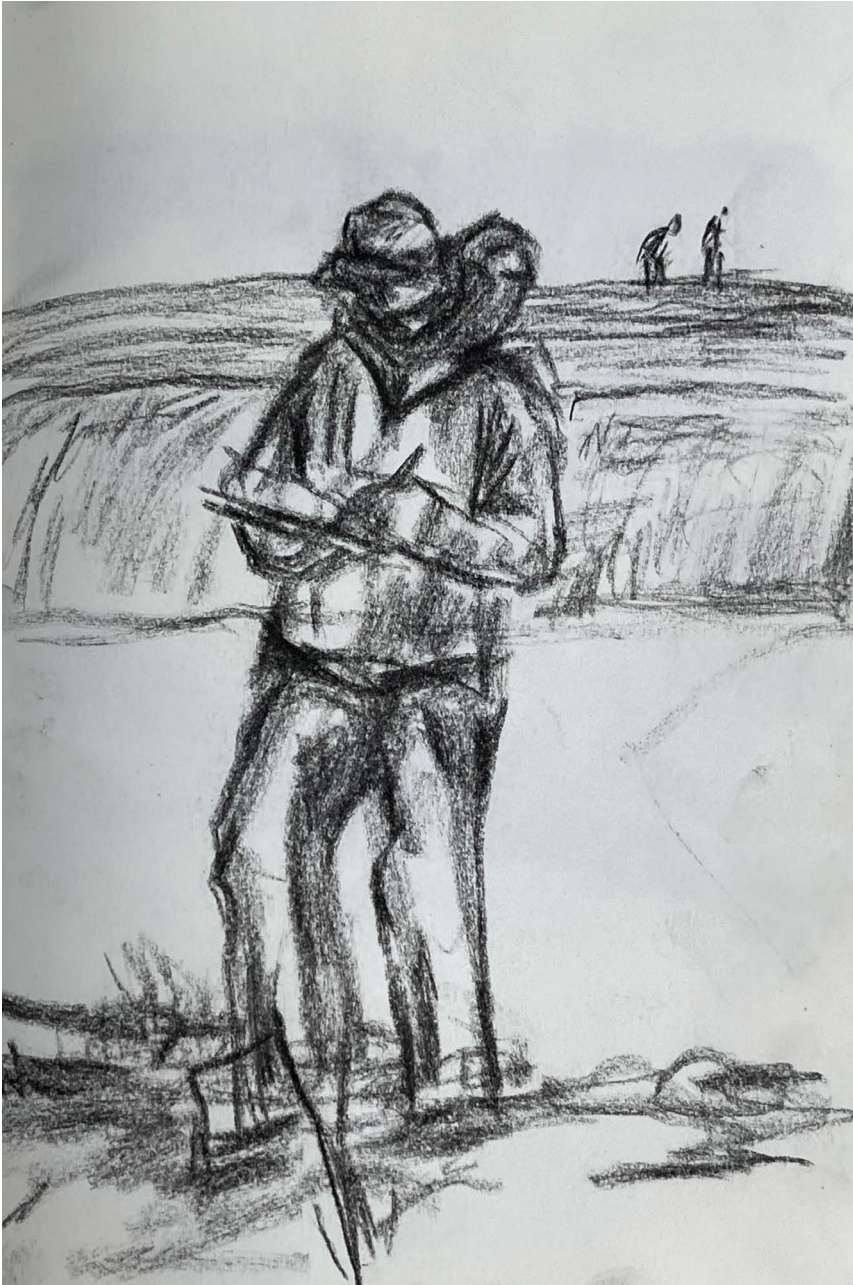
'Katie Measuring the Depth of a Trench' (21x15 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



*'Pebble Island
Raid' (15×21
cm; compressed
charcoal on paper)*



'GPMG' (21x15 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



*'Soldier and Archaeologist' (15×21
cm; compressed charcoal on paper)*



'Once More on Tumbledown'
(15×21 cm; compressed
charcoal on paper)



'A Veteran Sharing Memories' (21×15 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



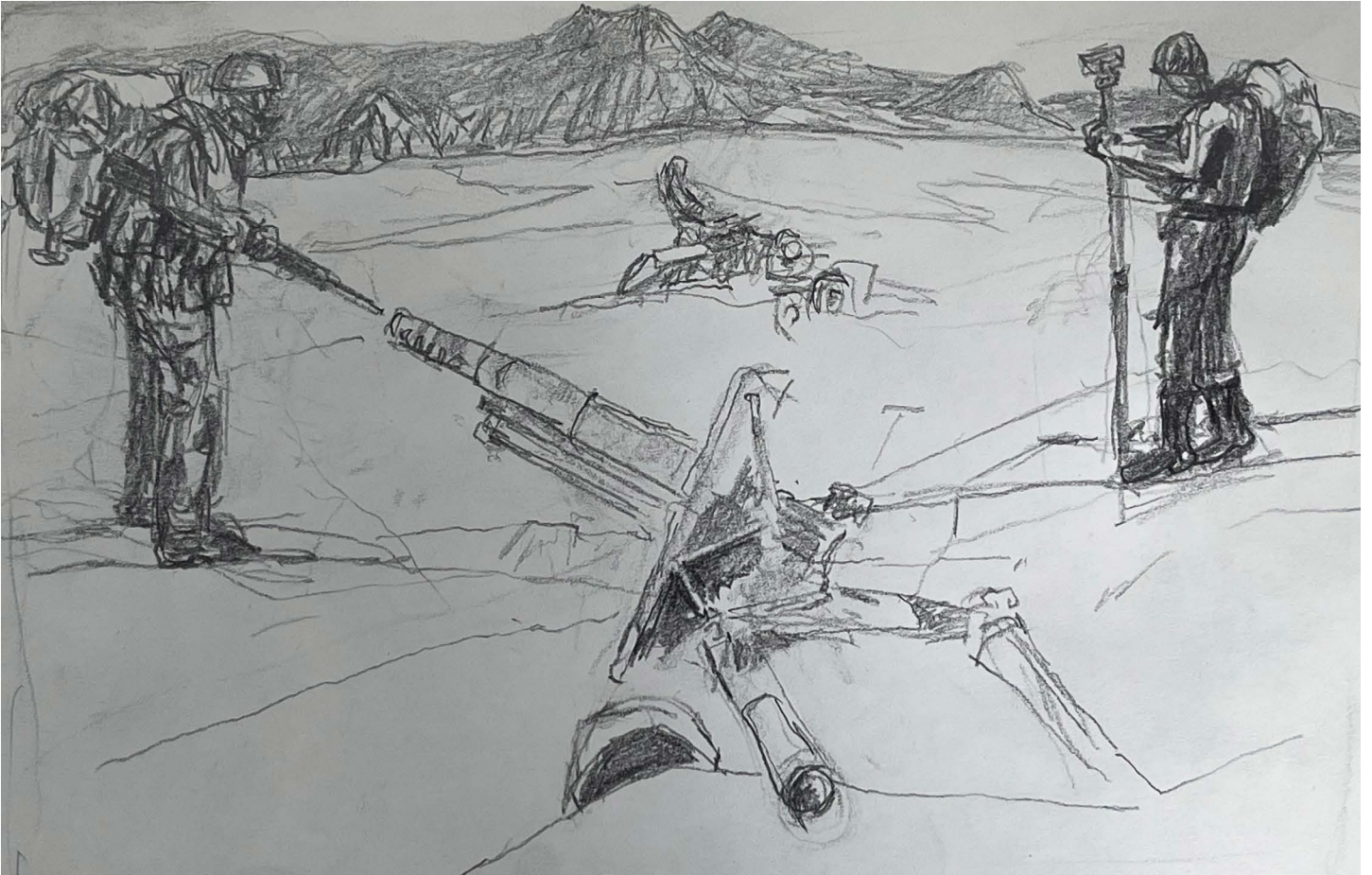
'A Seal Stares' (21×15 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



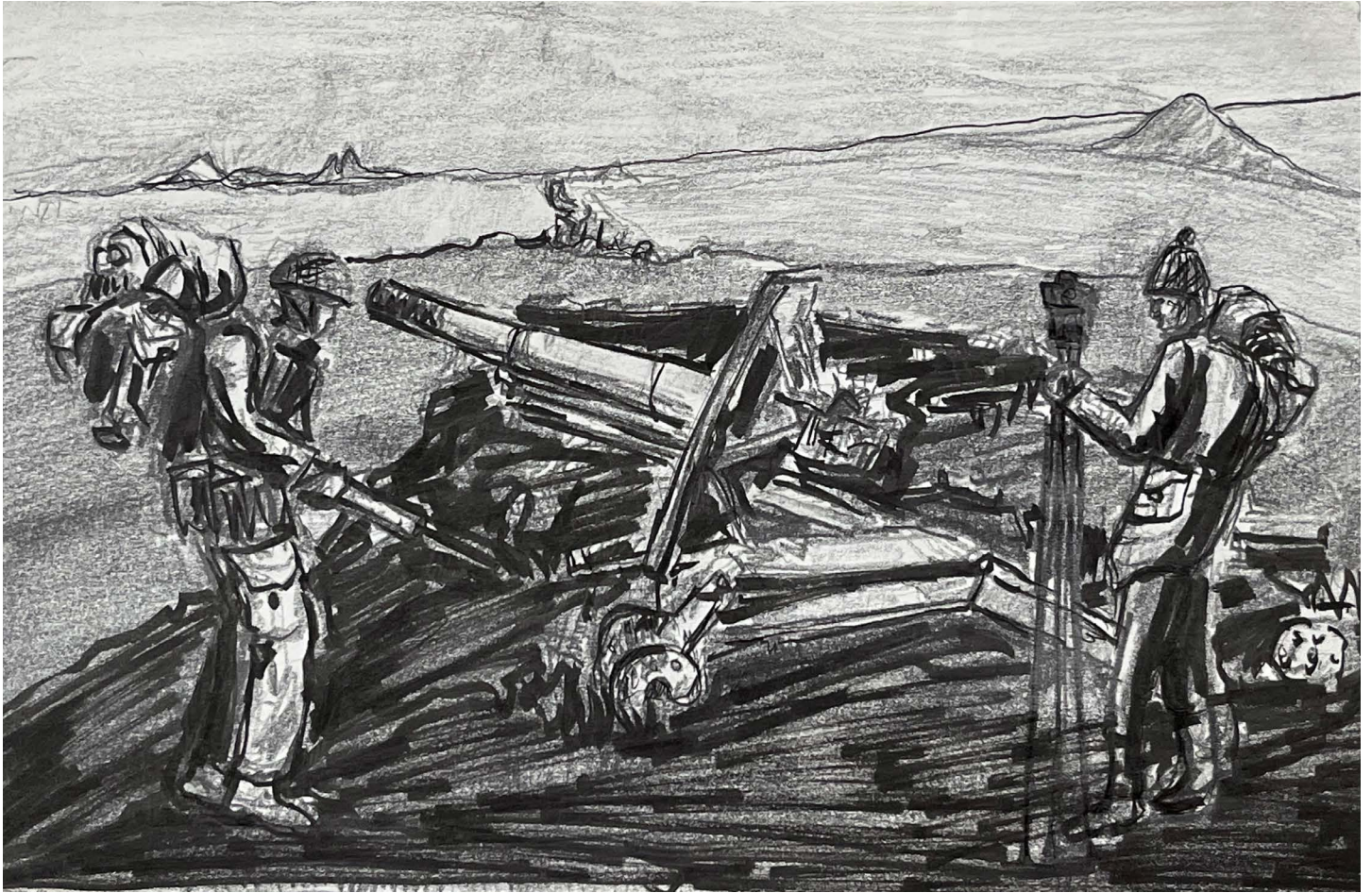
'Penguins' (37x24 cm; pastels on paper)



'On the Rocks' (37x24 cm; pastels on paper)



'Surveying Bennett's Paddock' (21×15 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



'Past and Present Through Archaeology' (21×15 cm; compressed charcoal and ink on paper)



*'Detecting Conflict
Archaeology' (15×21 cm;
pencil and ink on paper)*

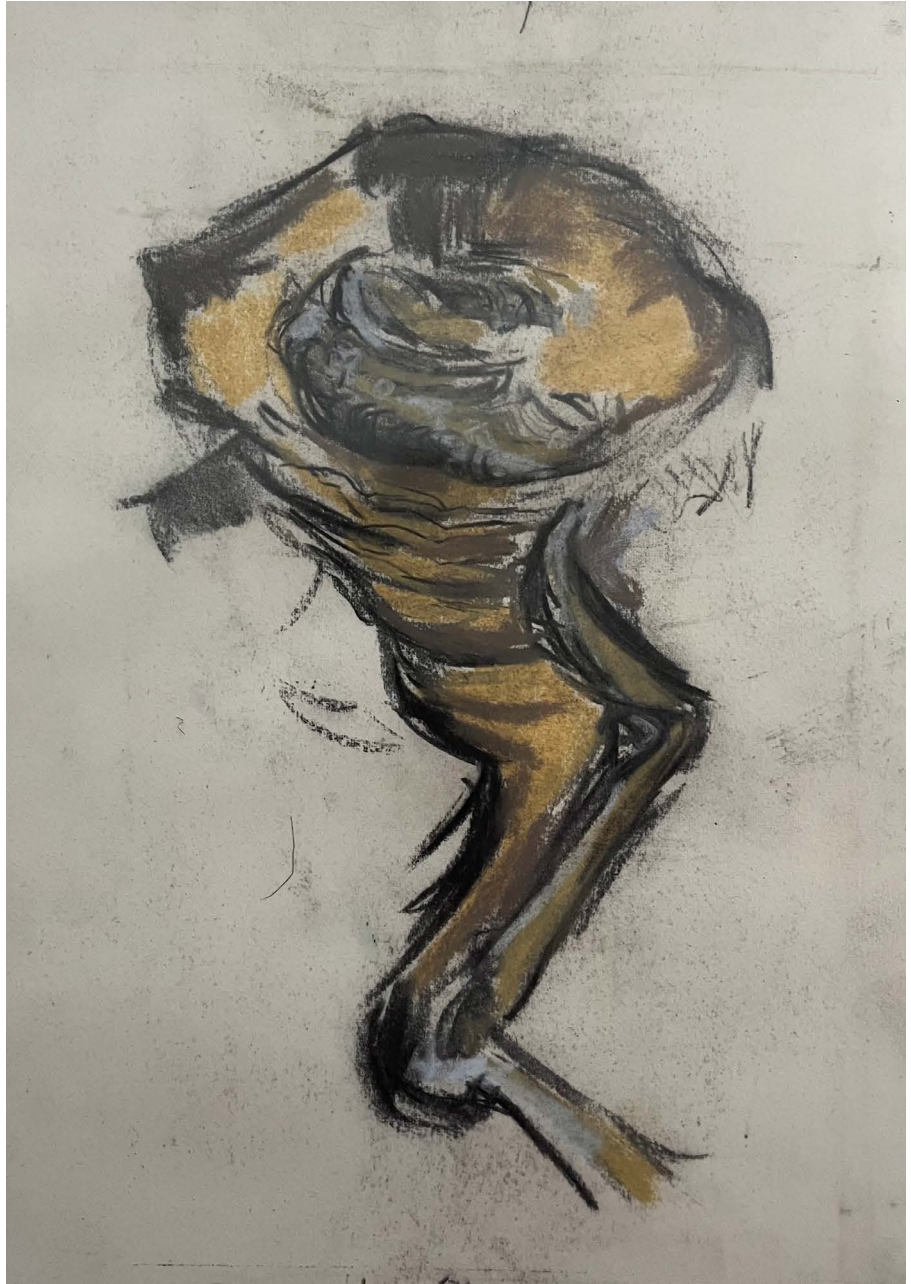
'To Waterloo'



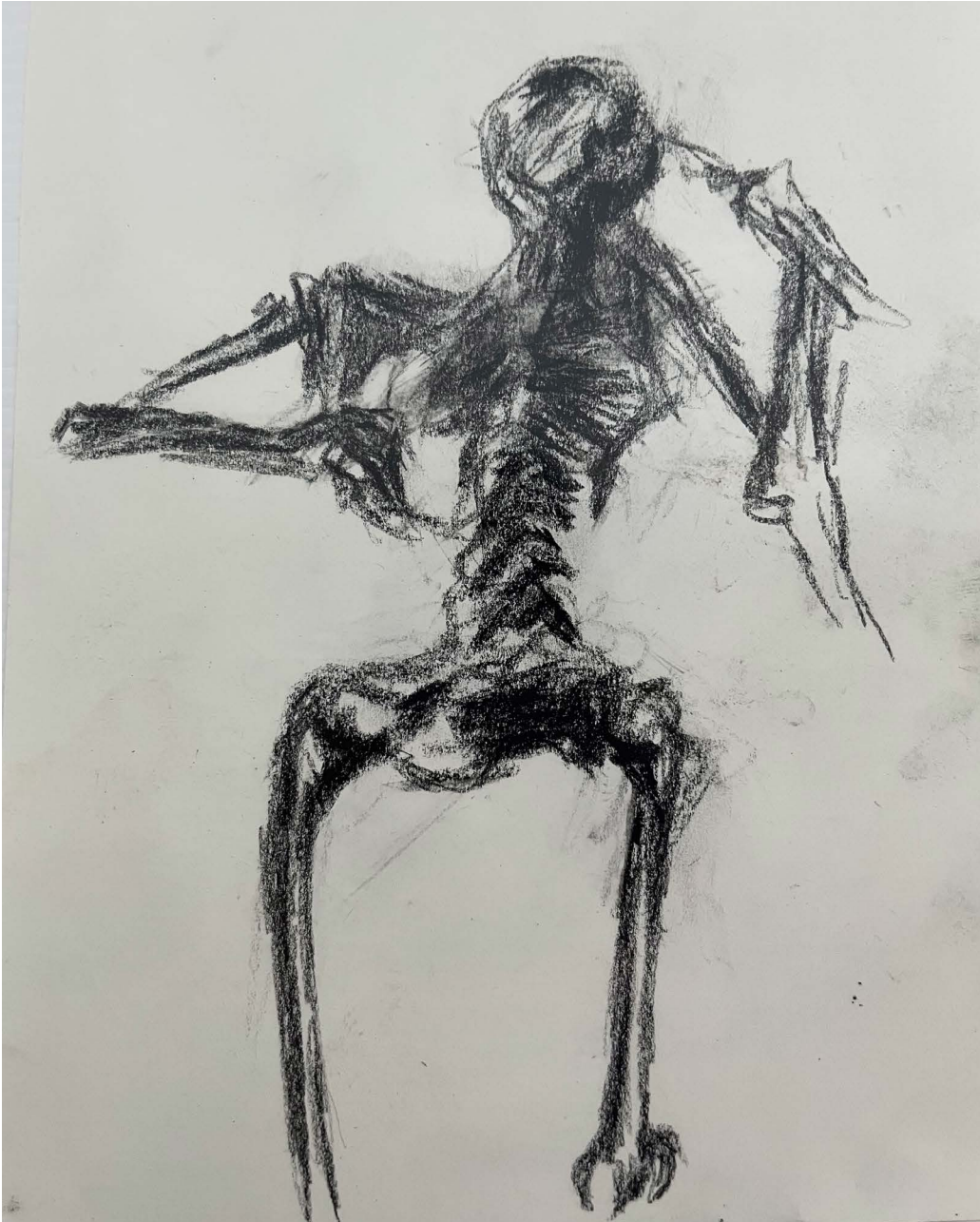
'Waterloo Orchard Trench Mont-Saint-Jean Farm' (60x42 cm; oil on canvas)



'Respectful Excavation' (15×21 cm;
pastels on paper)



*'Down to Earth' (23x33 cm;
pastels on paper)*



'Complete Skeleton'
(18×25 cm;
compressed charcoal
on paper)



'The Bones of Battle' (18x25 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



'The Gates of Hougomont' (21x29 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)



'Hougoumont' (29×21 cm; compressed charcoal on paper)

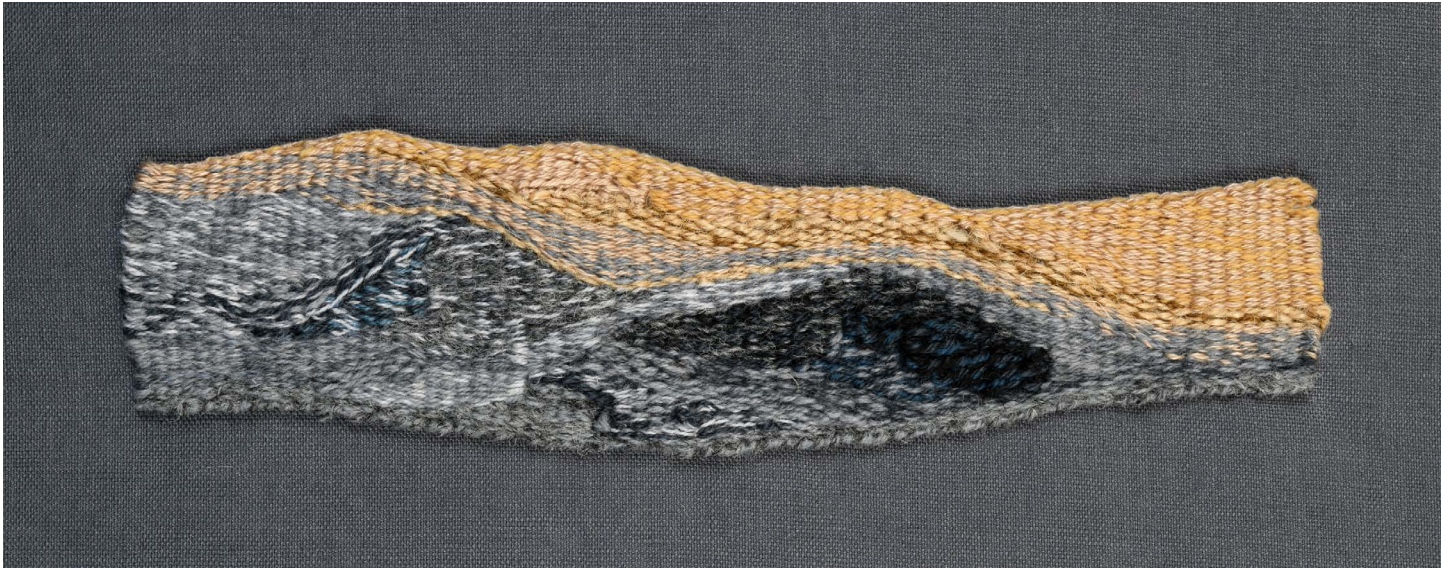
Katie Russell



'Winter' (17×15 cm; Falkland, Harris and Shetland wool, jute, cotton warp)



'Mount Tumbledown'
(16×10 cm; Harris and
Shetland wool,
cotton warp)



'Darkness Creeping In' (22.5×6.5 cm; Harris and Shetland wool, jute, cotton warp)



*'Approaching
Storm'
(16.5×18.5
cm; Harris and
Shetland wool,
jute, cotton
warp)*



'Calm and in the Open' (13.5×15 cm; Harris and Shetland wool, jute, cotton warp)



*'Mount Tumbledown -
Two Views' (12×16 cm;
Harris and Shetland
wool, cotton warp)*



'Texture in the Open' (27×10 cm; Harris and Shetland wool, cotton warp)



'Out of the Snow' (20.5×15 cm; Falkland, Harris and Shetland wool, cotton warp)



'Tangled' (17×15 cm; Harris and Shetland wool, cotton warp)



*'Journey to the Hills' (24x20
cm; Harris and Shetland
wool, cotton warp)*

Beth Timmins



'Ajax Bay Boot' (32×14 cm; pencil on paper)



'Argentine Shoes Left on Tumbledown' (15x21 cm; pencil on paper)

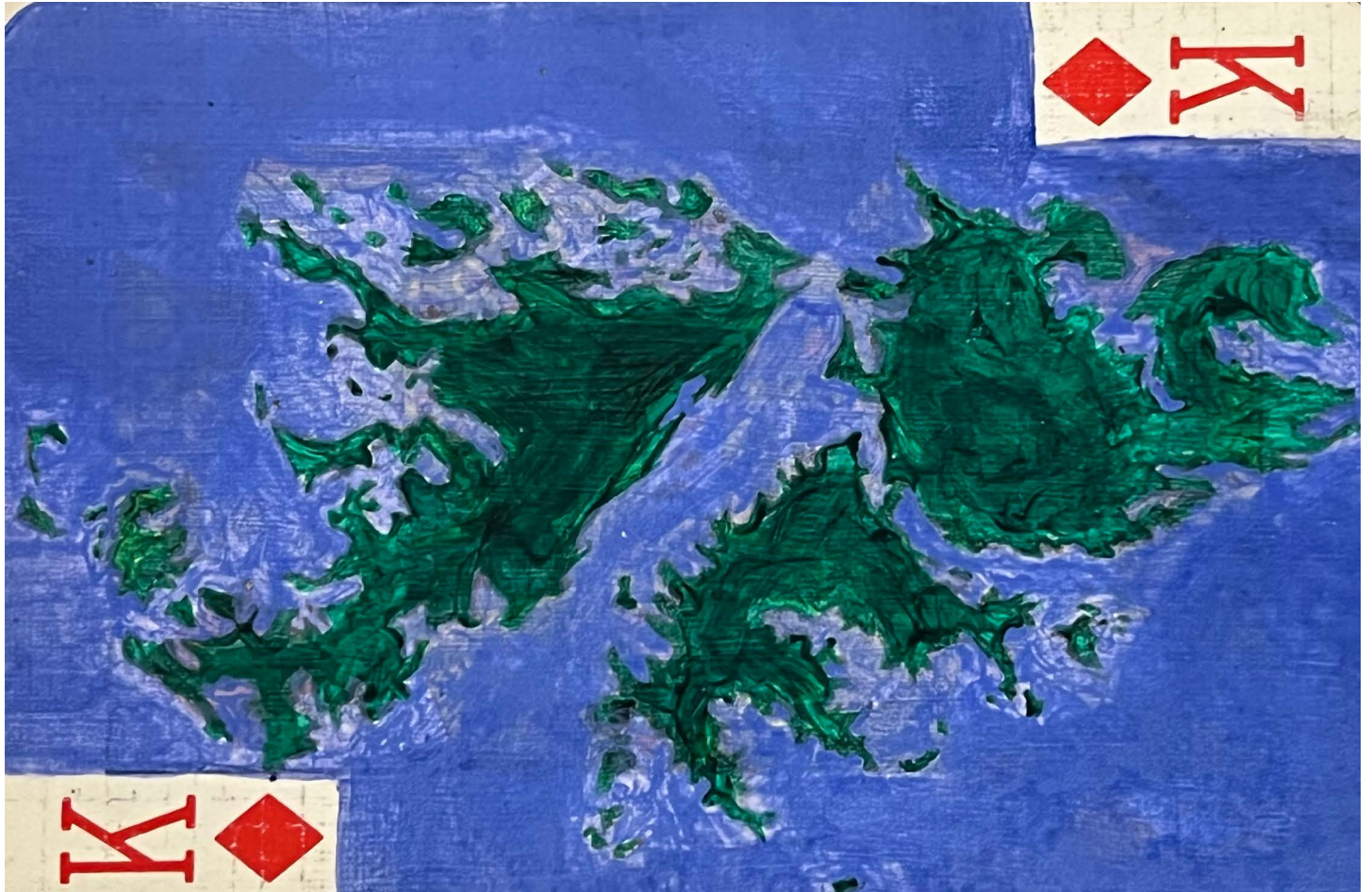
Jake Summers



'RAF Chinook Bravo November at Sunset' (5.7x8.9 cm)



'Lone Welsh Guardsman on the Coast at Fitzroy' (5.7×8.9 cm)



'The Islands' (5.7×8.9 cm)

Dave Pope



'Argentine Cemetery Darwin' (45x39 cm)

Sue Luxton



'Silhouette Standing with Giants' (45x39 cm). Figures from (left to right): Royal Navy, British Army, Royal Air Force and Royal Marines on the Falkland Islands for the 40th anniversary of the Falklands War

Falkland Islands Schools

Young artists at the Falkland Islands Community School in Stanley produced the following pieces in response to the Falkland War Mapping Project's 'Art and Conflict Heritage' day workshop and conversations, props, and visual stimuli.



Untitled (56×39 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



Untitled (59×42 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



Untitled (42×59 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



Untitled (42×59 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



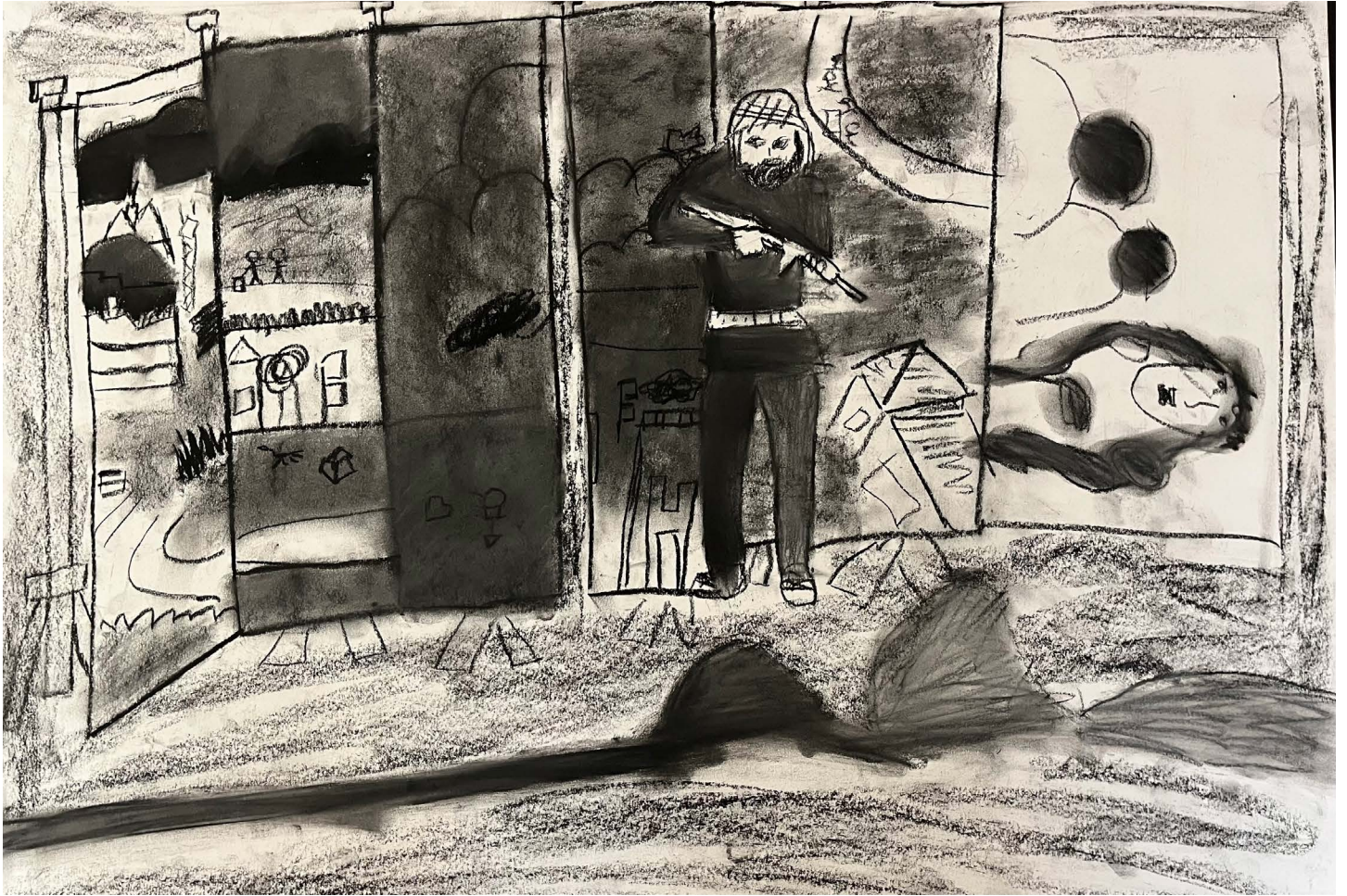
Untitled (42×59 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



Untitled (59×42 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



Untitled (59×42 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



Untitled (59×42 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



Untitled (59×42 cm; compressed charcoal on cartridge paper; Year 9, 13–14 years-old)



From left to right: 'Standing Giant of the Falklands'; 'Standing Giant of Peace'; 'Standing Giant of the Falklands' Sunset'; 'Standing Giant of Solidary with the People of Ukraine'. Inspired by Dan Barton's 'Standing with Giants' installations on battlefields during the 40th anniversary of the Falklands War, pupils from the Infant/Junior School and Camp Education created these human sized models



'Sunsets with silhouettes of Falkland's wildlife' (Year 3, 7–8 years-old)



'Margaret Thatcher' (Year 6, 10–11 years-old). To symbolise the 40th anniversary of the Falklands War, 40 artists each produced a mosaic tile to create a portrait of Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister in 1982



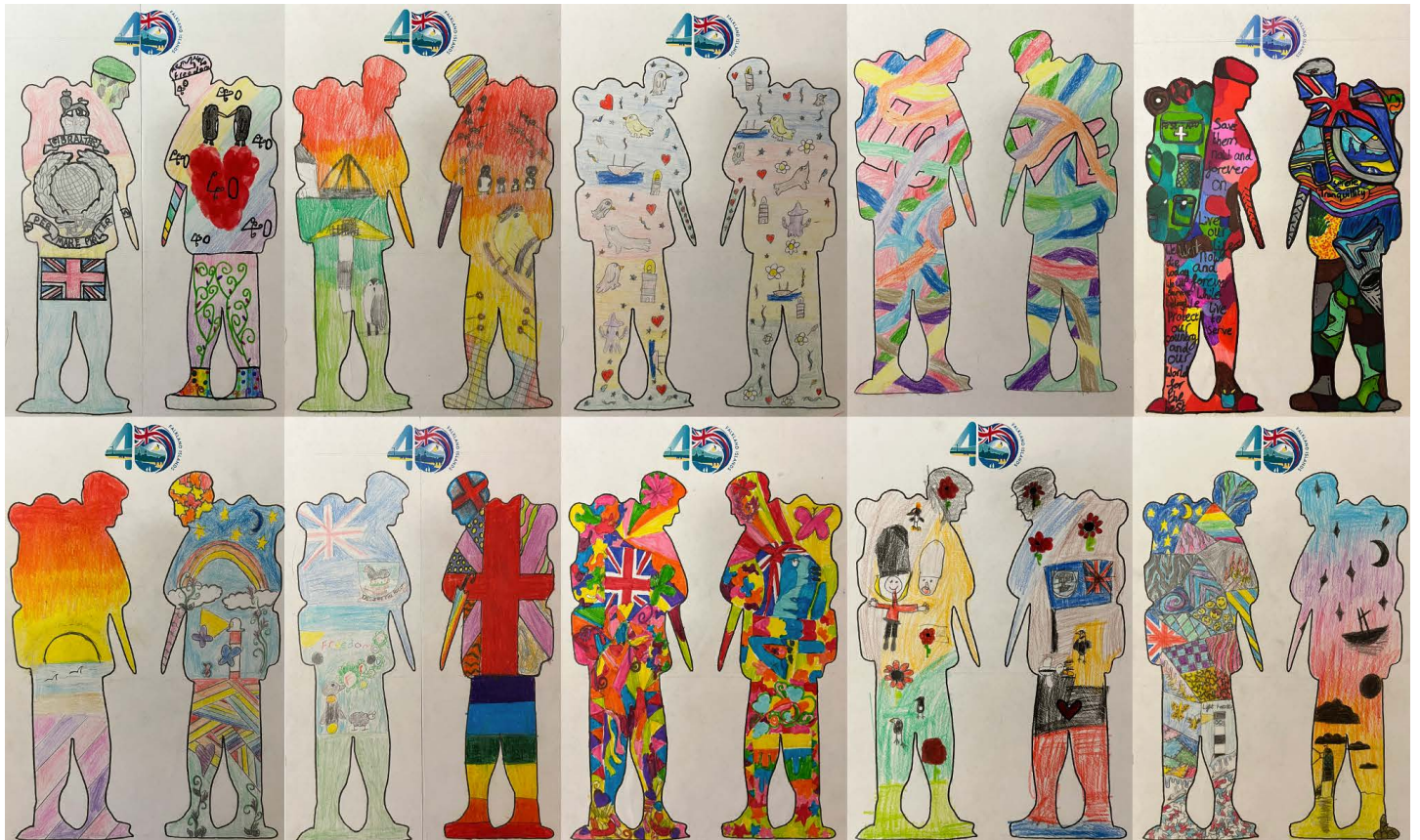
'Liberation Monument' (Year 2, 6–7 years-old). The young artists visited the 1982 Liberation Monument in Stanley and explored the different aspects of this important place of remembrance and generated words of remembrance, including 'compassion', 'respect' and 'thanks'. Back in the classroom the artists used watercolours to evoke their emotions of the landmark through depictions of the Falklands skies and sunrises



'Poppies' (Year 6, 10–11 years-old)



'Freedom' (Year 5, 9–10 years-old). Inspired by Romero Britto's 'A New Day', the artists produced their own response to the 40th anniversary



'Giants'. The artists sought to capture the essence of the Falkland Islands today, including its heritage and memories of the conflict



'Inspiration'. A collection of images taken to mark the 40th anniversary of the conflict

List of Contributors

Mark Aston, known as Splash, spent 39 years in the British Army. He joined the Gloucestershire Regiment in the 1960s and passed selection for the Special Air Service in 1978.

Sebastian Ávila is Professor of Argentine History at the Universidad Nacional Arturo Jauretche (National University Arturo Jauretche). He has a degree in history from the Universidad de Buenos Aires (University of Buenos Aires).

Andrea Barlow is the Director of the Historic Dockyard Museum in Port Stanley. She has been with the Falkland Islands Museum & National Trust since 2012, and took over as Museum Director in 2016. Andrea is a seventh generation islander on her mother's side.

Timothy Clack is the Chingiz Gutseriev Fellow at the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography and School of Archaeology at the University of Oxford, UK. He is also Director of Studies in Archaeology and Anthropology at St Peter's College.

Rod Eldridge is the Lead Welfare Officer with Waterloo Uncovered. He is also the Clinical Lead for Walking With The Wounded. He was formerly a British Army officer and served between 1986 and 2012.

Stuart Eve is Director of Creativity at Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA). He was formerly one of the founding partners of L-P Archaeology.

Doug Farthing is the Project Artist of the Falklands War Mapping Project. He served with the British Army for 29 years, including with The Parachute Regiment between 1984 and 2007.

Charles Foinette is a Lieutenant Colonel in the Coldstream Guards and joined the British Army in 2001. He is a Co-Founder and Trustee of Waterloo Uncovered.

Emma Goss is the Heritage Officer at the Falklands Islands Museum and National Trust. She is seventh-generation islander on her father's side.

Eric Goss MBE was born in 1941 has been retired for 20 years. At the time of the invasion, he was the manager of Goose Green Farm. Eric is a fifth-generation islander. For his resistance during the occupation, he was awarded the MBE in October 1982.

Phil Harding is a British field archaeologist and chair of the Defence Archaeology Group. He was a regular on *Time Team* between 1994 and 2013 and, in 2016, was appointed Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Wiltshire.

Alan Jones was a 20-year-old shepherd living in North Arm at the time of the invasion. Alan only lived in the Falkland Islands for two years. He has only visited the islands a couple of times in the last 40 years.

Carlos Landa is a Professor at Universidad de Buenos Aires (University of Buenos Aires), Argentina. He is a conflict archaeology researcher for CONICET (National Council for Scientific and Technical Investigations) and Member of the Institute of Archaeology.

Juan Leoni is a Professor at Universidad Nacional de Rosario (National University of Rosario), Argentina. He is a conflict archaeology researcher for CONICET (National Council for Scientific and Technical Investigations).

Jim Peters is a British Army veteran who served with the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards between 1980 and 1985. He fought at the Battle of Mount Tumbledown.

Tony Pollard is the Director of the Centre for Battlefield Archaeology and Professor of Conflict History and Archaeology at the University of Glasgow, UK.

Katie Russell is a tapestry weaver who explores traditional and contemporary techniques and styles. She has had experience in exhibiting work on historical, educational, and creative projects in numerous countries.

William Spencer served in the Royal Navy from 1980–1993 and then worked at The National Archives from 1993–2018. He is currently completing a PhD at the University of Glasgow.

Brian Summers has retired but continues to work as a tour guide on the Falkland Islands during the cruise ship season. In 1982, he was a Senior Operator for Cable and Wireless. He served in the Falkland Islands Defence Force from 1966–2017 reaching the rank of Major.

Beth Timmins is a journalist with the BBC. She is currently undertaking research towards a DPhil at the School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, UK.



40 years after the Falklands War, a silhouette figure stands in remembrance on Mount Tumbledown (credit: Standing with Giants and Sue Luxton)

'Forty years after the collective trauma of war, the fighting for personal peace continues. The results of the Falklands War Mapping Project are striking – as this inspirational book shows'

Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) Sir John Kiszely KCB MC DL

'This is a remarkable book – at once touching and gripping – that demonstrates not only the value veterans can bring to archaeology but also the value of archaeology to veterans'

David Shaw CBE, Founder and CEO, The Veterans' Foundation

'This book shows not only how archaeology contributes to the well-being of those injured in war, but also provides a series of insights into the problems of interpretation and recording'

Tim Schadla-Hall, University College London, UK

War and its legacy are traumatic to individuals, communities, and landscapes. The impacts last long beyond the events themselves and shape lives and generations. Archaeology has a part to play in the recording of, and recovery from, such trauma. The Falklands War Mapping Project delivers the first intensive archaeological survey of the battlefields of the Falklands War. The project is pioneering in its inclusion of military veterans as part of the core team and unique in being the first to take veterans back to the battlefields on which they fought. Forty years after the events of 1982, the project provides a detailed assessment of the character, location, and condition of structural features and artefacts. The project also develops understandings of the role played by conflict heritage – and of landscapes, finds, and past events – in the recall of personal and collective memories. This sumptuously illustrated book brings together the perspectives of team members, institutional partners and others. It showcases the varied and important contributions archaeology can make beyond understandings of distant events linked to therapeutic progress, coming to terms with traumatic experiences, living with the past in the present, and forging new memories, relations, and futures.

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