

Mnemonic Architectures

Constructing and Reconstructing the Changi Chapels

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Reconstruction projects are often misleading as they masquerade righteously as the original. Yet, if reconstruction is understood as a process of forming an object or event again via the piecing of evidence or reenactment of scenarios, then reconstruction is the construction of an entirely new project that can (only) be associatively perceived with the original. Hence, the term “mnemonic device” is used instead, so as to objectively frame reconstructed projects.

This dissertation seeks to unravel the mnemonic process of reconstructed architectures, specifically the reconstructed versions of “the Changi Chapel”. To begin with, there are two new Changi Chapels that exist today which are clearly distinguishable from one another. Their identities should not be confused with each other, and certainly not with the original despite their attempts at *becoming* “the Changi Chapel”. Once this distinction has been established, these mnemonic devices will then proceed to signify “the Changi Chapel”.

Mnemonic devices are apparatuses that assist in the enhancement of memories, and mnemonic architecture then becomes the catalyst that triggers the connection between present existence and past memories. After this connection has been made, the metaphysics start to deceive the consciousness as an amalgamation of identities ensues, across spatial and temporal discontinuities. With all the identities of “the Changi Chapel” conflated, such as Prison Chapel/St. George’s Chapel (1944-1945), Prison Chapel/Church of England Chapel (1944-1947), Chapel in a room (1953-1987), Australian Chapel (1987-present), Museum Chapels (1988-2001 and 2001-present), it dissolves all discrepancies of architectural space which consequently also conflates the visitor’s existence. Due to the evocation of familiar sensations, it then is possible for the visitor to “transcend” into any versions of “the Changi Chapel”, that is, a duplicity of existence and obfuscation of consciousness.

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1.1 The Essence of the Original

Slowly, the mental metronome ticked as my palms rested themselves on the edge, waiting, and just waiting for the first G.

One-two-three, one-two-three, (and here goes the ivory) G-D7-...

MY BROTHER

(frustrated, picked up flute for tempo demonstration)

Stop, stop. That is too fast. We go...

Wait, what is he speaking of? What does he know?

ME

How do you know if this is right... or wrong?

MY BROTHER

What do you mean?

ME

I mean, how do you know that it was too fast?

Composers compose with a fixed rhythm, but not tempo. Sometimes they try to suggest, but ultimately it's up to the performance of the individual...

MY BROTHER

When Erik Satie composed this piece, he did not dictate a tempo. But he did compose it with a certain mood... and that is melancholy. We cannot play it such that the essence of the original is gone. It is not Satie playing his own rendition of Gymnopedie No. 1. It is not us playing our own composition. It is us, playing our interpretation of Satie's melancholy. We do not need to follow any suggested tempo... but the melancholy! You cannot lose that!

Back to the first bar, let's try it again.

1.2 Death of the Original



Fig. 1.1: Barcelona Pavilion by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.

Mies van der Rohe's German Pavilion in Barcelona was purposefully designed as a temporary structure for the Barcelona International Exposition of 1929. Its first incarnation was a short-lived six months existence, after which its dissolution commenced. Yet, this Pavilion, amongst many other works by Mies and his fellow contemporaries, is frequently brought up in discussions and writings that seek to elucidate modernist rationale. The Barcelona Pavilion, in a way, can then be used to encompass the zeitgeist of early twentieth century architecture.¹ As a result, commissions for the reconstruction of Mies van der Rohe's German Pavilion in Barcelona have been considered, rejected, and reconsidered several times since the demolition of the Pavilion.

¹ Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd,

The book chronicling every step towards construction and reconstruction of the Pavilion, entitled *Mies van der Rohe: Barcelona Pavilion*, was written by the architects responsible for its reconstruction, namely Sola-Morales Rubio, Cirisi and Ramos. Critically lauded for its revolutionary modernist values, the thought of rebuilding the iconic pavilion came up somewhat *too* naturally, such that the reconstruction architects did not need to explicitly list out the reasons *why* rebuilding was considered necessary.² Henceforth, a large portion of the book was invested on outlining the reconstruction process of the Pavilion, from the procurement of replica materials in the original quarries to the strict adherence to original drawings and photographs.

However, reconstructing the pavilion does not necessarily mean that the Pavilion had once existed – it only indicated that construction drawings and the architect’s design for this Pavilion were once valid. When it was first demolished after the Exposition, all physical evidences of the Pavilion’s ephemeral existence were largely erased, because Mies’ drawings and perspectives were not substantial enough to validate that the Pavilion had in fact once existed in tangible form. The void that then occupied the site was the only object that existed – the only truth that was present on site after demolition. Photographs hitherto became the pavilion’s sole evidence of existence as photographs could ascertain its actual existence that was during the Exposition. In *Camera Lucida*, Roland Barthes waxed lyrically on the power of photograph as evidence:

The Photograph is an extended, loaded evidence – as if it caricatured not the figure of what it represents (quite the converse) but its very existence. The image, says phenomenology, is an object-as-nothing. Now, in the Photograph, what I posit is not only the absence of the object; it is also, by one and the same movement, on equal terms, the fact that this object has indeed existed and that it has been there where I see it. Here is where the madness is, for until this day no representation could assure me of the past of a

² Ignasi de Sola-Morales Rubio, Cristian Cirisi and Fernando Ramos, *Mies Van Der Rohe: Barcelona Pavilion* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1993), p. 38.

thing except by intermediaries; but with the Photograph, my certainty is immediate: no one in the world can undecieve me.³

Barthes emphasised that photographs, above all other archival means, are the only form of representation that comes the closest to ascertaining the reality of the photographed object. In the case of *Camera Lucida*, which is part theoretical, part personal, Barthes was referring to the only photograph of his mother which he considered as the “real photo of her”. There was a certain familiarity that was evoked through that photograph, and hence a “phenomenological authenticity”.⁴

Course in General Linguistics (also called by its French title, *Cours de Linguistique Générale*) is a compilation of lecture notes given by Ferdinand de Saussure, a French linguist. In this text, he introduced the terms “sign”, “signifier” and “signified” to systematically dissect language. “Sign” refers to the alphabets that constitute a word itself, its name. “Signifier” refers to the image of an object. The “signified” is then the meaning of the object, defined by both its name and the image that represents it.⁵ If language is understood to be the “semiotic code” that delivers and communicates, then it is certainly not restricted to just its linguistic definition. Any form of signage that attempts to communicate or represent some sort of meaning, is therefore language.⁶ When this Saussurean classification is applied to buildings, the “sign” therefore refers to original drawings of a building and the architect’s building – that is the building existing in its purest and most intended state.⁷ “Signifier” refers to the image of the building in its final built form, and the “signified” is the meaning of the building. The identity of a building therefore consists of a “sign”, “signifier” and “signified”.

³ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), p. 115.

⁴ Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, ‘Gerhard Richter’s Atlas: The Anomic Archive’, ed. Charles Merewether, *The Archive* (London: Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, 2006), p. 98.

⁵ Ferdinand de Saussure and Roy Harris (ed. and trans.), *Course in General Linguistics* (London: G. Duckworth, 1983), pp. 65-70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-109.

⁷ The “name” of a building should not be considered as a “sign” due to the reason that buildings can be called multiple names. The “sign” should then be original drawings of a building, whereby these forms of representation are universally understood to refer solely to one building. Also, Agrest does not specifically link the Saussurean classification to her theory about architectural representation. It is a continuation of an argument that is linked by the author. See Diana Agrest, ‘Representation as Articulation between Theory and Practice’, Stan Allen (ed.), *Practice: Architecture, Technique and Representation* (N.V.: OPA, 2000), pp. 164-166, 168-171.

However, when Jacques Derrida talked about *différance*, he asserted that the “signifier” and “signified” do not exist in their intended separate meanings, and they probably never will, due to the problematic distinction between them.⁸ He explained that when the mind is conscious in the formation of a word, the signifier seems to “erase itself or become transparent”.⁹ In the realm of linguistics, the sound of the word disappears almost immediately after its transmission. The “signified”, the ultimate meaning of the word, then reigns. For Derrida, there seems to be an amalgamation of both the “signifier” and “signified”.

This problematic distinction is perhaps accentuated in architectural terms. The “signs” are the original drawings and the original Barcelona Pavilion, upon which the “signifier”, the other second hand representative sources are derived, such as photographs and models. The “signified” is the building with its embedded meaning, upon which it may be further represented and framed in a new light – new “signifiers”. Hence, the cyclical relationship. For this dissertation, the noun *signifier*, following Derrida’s proposition, shall be used to describe the amalgamated Saussurean meaning of “signifier” and “signified”. The signifier is then the meaning of the Barcelona Pavilion, and also its many modes of second hand representation.

Consequently, the Pavilion’s old photographs are then signifiers that come closest to being the original Pavilion itself. The photographs become the only usable material to uphold the certainty of the Pavilion’s past existence – its sign. Any other form of signifying is insufficient in testifying towards the identity of the Barcelona Pavilion in 1929. Today, a quick research on the Barcelona Pavilion yields new photographs and accounts from visitors to the reconstructed Pavilion. These signifiers only ascertain the existence of the new, reconstructed Pavilion, not the 1929 Pavilion. Therefore, attempting reconstruction as a means of ascertaining legitimacy is problematic.

⁸ Jacques Derrida, interviewed by Julia Kristeva, ‘Semiology and Grammatology’, Jacques Derrida and Alan Bass (trans.), *Positions* (USA: The University of Chicago, 1981), pp. 27-9. Robert Mugerauer, ‘Derrida and Beyond’, Kate Nesbitt (ed.), *Theorising a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), p. 185-187.

⁹ Derrida, ‘Semiology and Grammatology’, pp. 22.

Similarly, Gymnopedie No.1 was composed, and performed by Erik Satie. The death of Satie marked the death of Gymnopedie No.1 existing as Satie's Gymnopedie No.1. When my brother and I attempted to play the score, we were in the process of constructing a new Gymnopedie No. 1 according to what we *think* Satie's version of melancholy should feel like. As much as we try to reconstruct the music score, we have inevitably extracted the music into its core essence and destroyed the original version of Gymnopedie No. 1 that only Satie could reproduce. This is then the death of the original, towards which all reconstructions and interpretations constantly refer to.

1.3 To Reconstruct, to Interpret, to Signify

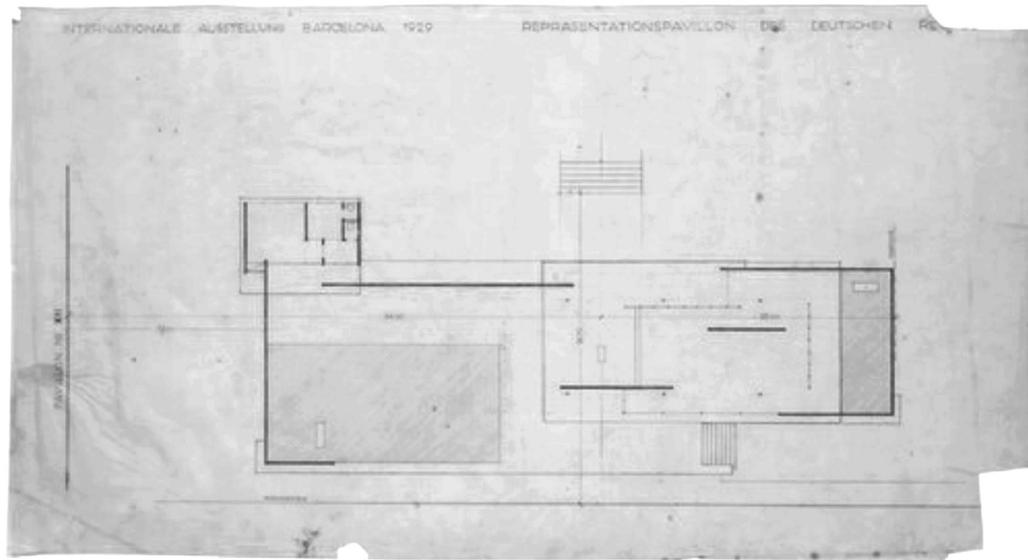


Fig. 1.2: Floor plan of Barcelona Pavilion on tracing paper.

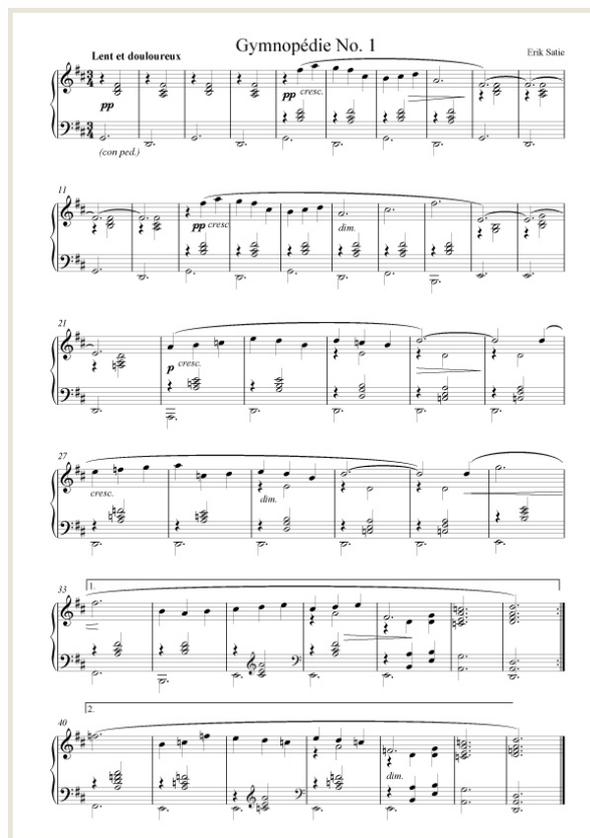


Fig. 1.3: Gymnopédie No. 1 score.

“Reconstruction” can prematurely, and reductively, be understood as the act of building an exact duplicate of the original. It is a publicly accepted misconception to conflate the reconstructed item with the original, as both identities are used interchangeably. Despite an inherent understanding that there is a reconstructed Barcelona Pavilion and an original Barcelona Pavilion that does not exist anymore, most visitors overlook this distinction, choosing instead to simply amalgamate both identities such that a singular identity of “Barcelona Pavilion” now precedes. Before understanding why this almost natural process of amalgamation occurs, the paper first explains that a reconstructed project, in its entire attempt to *become* the original, should not be confused with the identity of the original project. There are now two entities, and two identities, that exist.

Prior to the execution of any reconstruction project, the first step is to collect data and evidence of the original, which may direct the reconstruction process towards a reproduction of the original. When my brother first suggested to me that we should try Gymnopédie No. 1 by Erik Satie, I immediately went online to search for music scores. We then listened to a few modest renditions of this piece online, read through the musical notes, and then went on to translate Satie’s suggested tempo, which can be loosely defined as “slow and painful” (or “*lent de douloureux*” as written in French on the music score).¹⁰ Finally, we decided we were ready to play, that is, to reconstruct Gymnopédie No. 1.

The *modus operandi* is largely similar in architectural reconstruction projects. Sola-Morales Rubio, Cirisi and Ramos were provided with plans, drawings and images of the original Barcelona Pavilion, such as the floor plan shown overleaf (Fig. 1.2). Information on actual materials was also available to them. From these various modes of evidence, they then reconstructed Barcelona Pavilion to the best of their ability.

However, there were slight discrepancies in the archived plans and the actual building blueprint. Even with all the archived resources available for the reconstruction, referring to these drawings is different from referring directly to the actual original building. That is, I can make a more accurate 1:1 replica if I have the original building as reference. If I can only refer

¹⁰ Definition source: *Google Translate* (USA: Google Inc., 2011), [http://translate.google.com/-fr/en/lent de douloureux](http://translate.google.com/-fr/en/lent-de-douloureux) (accessed: August 16, 2011).

to old drawings and plans, which were to varying degrees of accuracy, my 1:1 replica of the original building will inevitably turn out not *exactly the same* as the original building. These drawings and plans are all but mere evidence of the original building – they cannot replace or substitute fully the entirety of the original building, and subsequently the new building reconstructed based on these mere evidences should not be confused as being the “original”. This discrepancy from the reconstructed to the original is therefore, a result from the multiple succession of interpreting evidences.

Interpretation of these data occurs at the integral step where reconstruction becomes the construction of a new object. This construction of a new object is not the mere duplication of the original, as an additional step of interpreting and perceiving the original occurs. The reconstruction project is hence also the construction of what one *thinks* the original is. A reconstructed building of the original becomes the signifier of the original sign. Reading and understanding of the sign, and then subsequently processing it as legible information in our mind is an act of signifying the sign, an act of dissolving the sign.¹¹ This means, after forming personal meaning and understanding of the sign, the sign has been interpreted and abstracted into a signifier.

Reconstructing a building is therefore also to override the original building existing in its most primitive state – hence dissolving the original, the sign. As aptly analogised by Robert Mugerauer on his response to de Saussure and Derrida:

We suppose we understand the meaning of a picture of pyramids by visiting the pyramids themselves. But when we do so, the pyramids are not fully present to us; we know their original meaning is lost to us, only partially guessed at. We try to recover that original meaning by referring to other artifacts or documents that tell of the originary, grounding act of the pharaoh or even the gods. But without those documents the pyramids would be monuments whose original meaning is

¹¹ Mugerauer, 'Derrida and Beyond', p. 186.

lost. Thus cut off from the present, the past would be absent – held onto only by webs of language. Any built structure is this way: in itself it is partially absent since it is kept present and meaningful only by the web of meaning or discourse we weave around it and onto which we try to hold.¹²

Upon establishing the fact that death of the sign is imminent, reconstruction projects have to presuppose a purpose beyond *being the real thing*.

The more accurate description of the term “Reconstruction” could then be that akin to the investigation of a crime scene. To reconstruct means to form together an object or event again via the piecing of evidence or reenactment of the past events. The evidence, for example, authentic pieces of materials, pictures of actual building and mirrored spatial experiences, become the vocabulary to connect the reconstructed with the original, the present with the past. Reconstructing the original Barcelona Pavilion is therefore the building of an entirely new pavilion, upon which its association with the original is communicated through evidence such as its visual similarities and spatial mimicry.

¹² Ibid.

1.4 Architecture for Mnemonic Purpose

Similar to the reconstruction project of the Barcelona Pavilion, Changi Chapel is one such reconstruction example that prior to its present day purpose, served as a functioning chapel during the years of World War II. Its architectural transformation is more complex than a simple replacement of the destroyed original Chapel with a reconstructed one. The original Chapel was a non-denominational chapel that operated from 1944-1947, after which it was disassembled and moved to an entirely foreign location, Duntroon in Canberra, Australia.

Reconstruction exists in two iterations: firstly, the parts of the original Chapel were reassembled in Duntroon, creating a separate identity as the ‘Changi Chapel in Duntroon, Australia’, and secondly, a new replacement chapel was rebuilt on the original Changi site. Both buildings are then said to be associatively perceived in relation to the original Chapel, not because they were reconstructed to *be* the original, but because they serve as mnemonic devices that link the different chapel identities across spatial and temporal discontinuities.

“Mnemonic” is derived from the Greek words “*mnēmōn*”, or mindful, and “*mimnēskesthai*”, which means to remember.¹³ A mnemonic device is thus an apparatus that assists in the enhancement of memories. In a reconstruction project, the new architecture becomes a tool that triggers one’s memory of the original building. The new architecture of this mnemonic purpose is then said to be the signifier of the original – seeing and feeling the new architecture brings one back to seeing and feeling the original. It does not seek to *become* the original, but rather to extract and reproduce the essence of the original. Instantaneously, identities of all the buildings existing in differentiated time frames become amalgamated.

In *Essays on Language and Cognition*, Umberto Eco introduced a term “Surrogate Stimuli” to refer to specific signifiers and tools which are used to represent certain signs. Together with “surrogate”, meaning substitute, and “stimuli”, referring to objects of incitement nature, a “surrogate stimulus” is an object that is *not* the original, but could still *pretend* to be as close to the original as possible via the incitement of familiarity. In other words, a mnemonic device is

¹³ Definition source: *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (USA: Merriam-Webster Incorporated, 2011), <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mnemonic> (accessed: July 23, 2011).

a surrogate stimulus. The sign here, which is also the original, is the chapel building that once existed within the walls of Changi Prison and during internment periods, that is, the Prison Chapel.

In the reconstruction project of the Changi Chapel, there lies, not one, but two new architectures. They are the Changi Chapel in Duntroon, which hereinafter shall be referred to as the **Australian Chapel**, and the new replacement chapel in Changi, which hereinafter shall be referred to as the **Museum Chapel**. Within these two new mnemonic devices reside even more mnemonic tools that go on to suggest the original, which hereinafter shall be referred to as the **Prison Chapel**, because of its relationship with the Changi Prison site. These additional mnemonic tools include, a box of sand from the original Sook Ching Massacre site, a replica of wall murals from the original Robert Barracks' chapel and lastly, an original cross from one of the chapels in Changi Prison.

2.1 Resurrecting the Essence of the Prison Chapel

This dedication was written for the opening of the new Museum Chapel in Changi on 15 February 1988, as witnessed by mostly ex-Prisoners-of-War (ex-POWs) of Changi Prison.¹⁴

MINISTER

For the worship of God in prayer and praise;
For the preaching of the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ;
For the celebration of the holy Sacraments;

CONGREGATION

We dedicate this chapel.

MINISTER

For the conversion of sinners;
For the promotion of righteousness;
For the extension of the Kingdom of God;

CONGREGATION

We dedicate this chapel.

MINISTER

In the unity of the faith;
In the bond of Christian brotherhood;
In charity and good will to all;

CONGREGATION

We dedicate this chapel.

¹⁴ Appendix A: Changi Prison Chapel. *Dedication and Memorial Service* (Singapore: Changi Prison Chapel, 1988).

Despite the fact that this modern dedication was written specially for the event of the opening of one of the latest replacement chapels, the Museum Chapel, it was composed with such ambiguity that the prose remains applicable to both the original chapel (Prison Chapel, 1944) and the reconstructed (Museum Chapel, 1988). As exemplified in the way the dedication was composed, circumstances, which were unique to the Prison Chapel during wartime, were intentionally suppressed rather than expressed. For example in lines like “in the unity of the faith; in the bond of the Christian brotherhood”, the special bond between ex-POWs and the extreme need for spiritual solace during incarceration were not explicitly expressed, with the dedication settling instead on a vocabulary that could be related both by ex-POWs and new visitors to the Museum Chapel.

Also in the pamphlet for the opening is an introductory write-up entitled ‘Story of Project’, which presumably tells the story of the reconstruction project (Appendix A, p. 4). However, phrases such as “this chapel is typical of the numerous chapels built by Allied prisoners” suggest that “the Changi Chapel” has a single identity. It was written despite the distinction that the now destroyed Prison Chapel in 1944 was the original, and the Museum Chapel in 1988 was merely a replacement, a signifier of the earlier building. In fact, this prose could very conveniently be used for the dedication of the other signifier (Australian Chapel, 1987) as it now serves as a memorial site within the compounds of the Royal Military College of Australia. There is no specificity in dedication and no need for distinguishing the chapels, and therefore also a purposeful amalgamation of all identities – all signifiers converging with the original. The original, the Prison Chapel in 1944, is posed as though “resurrected” in the Australian and Changi sites.

2.2 Changi in 1942

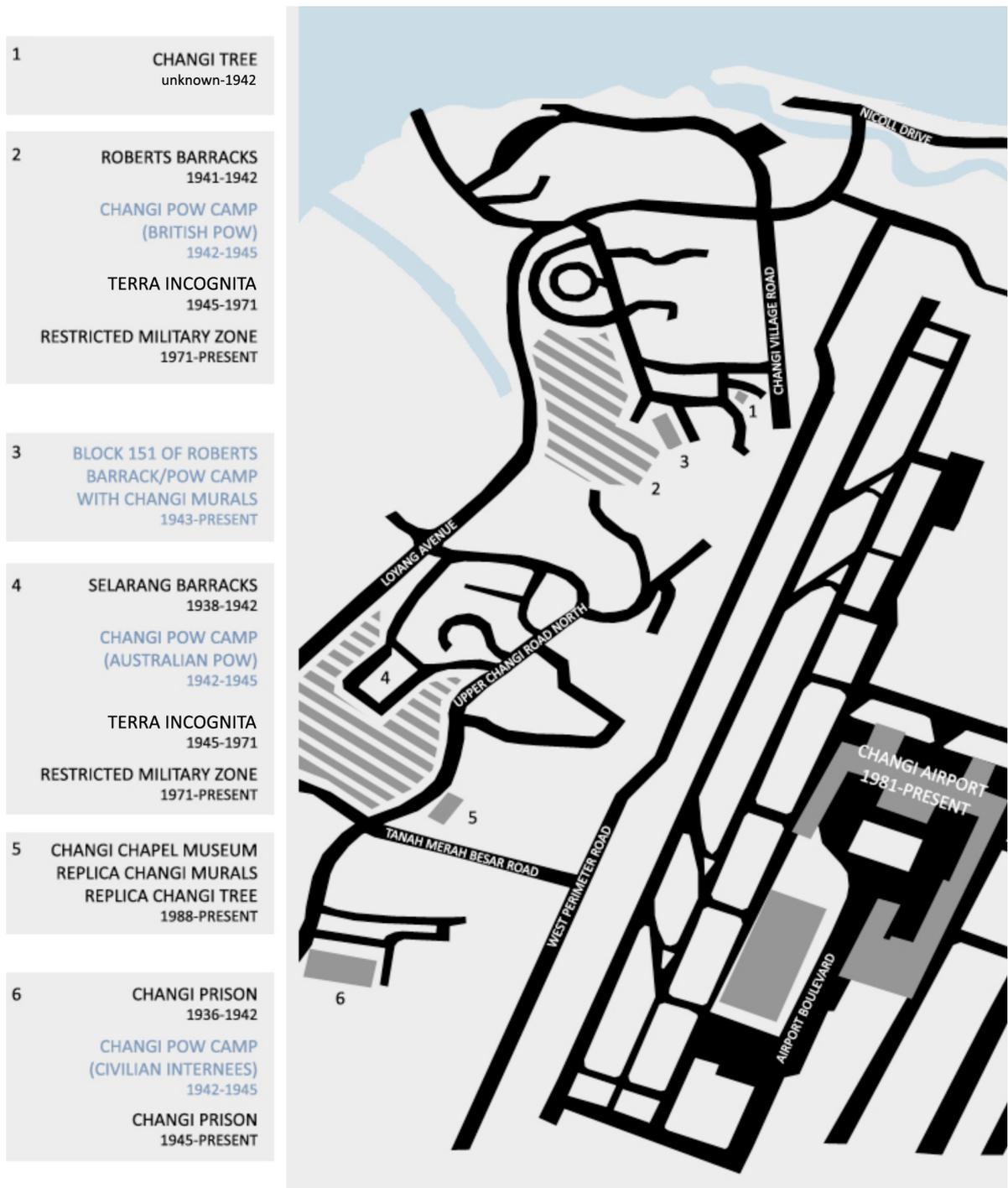


Fig. 2.1: Map showing nodes of Changi area, 1930s-present.

Changi is located on the eastern tip of Singapore Island, geographically isolated from the Christian congregations of civilian dwellings. Before the fall of Singapore in World War II, British Army base camps, namely Selarang Barracks and Roberts Barracks, had been synonymous with the whole region of Changi. As such, during the colonial periods of Singapore's history, up till about early 1942, 'Changi' was commonly used to refer specifically to the military associations that were operating in the district.¹⁵

The surrender of Singapore to Japanese forces on 15 February 1942 triggered a subsequent series of events that reshaped the meaning of Changi in its greater contexts. The ideal geographical location of Singapore Island ultimately influenced the Japanese army's decision to establish Singapore as the main holding port for POWs. More specifically, the British Army base camps in Changi provided necessary infrastructure and geographical isolation for the establishment of an extensive POW camp that was later expanded to Selarang Barracks, Roberts Barracks and Changi Prison. Internees and POWs were first displaced from their homes in all parts of Singapore, and then sent off for an arduous, long march towards Changi POW Camp. As those called up were mostly civilians before internment, Changi was a foreign territory that they would not normally venture to due to its heavy military activities. Therefore this long march towards a destination hitherto unknown can be considered the prelude to the future hardship that the yet-to-be POWs would encounter.¹⁶ As Sheila Allan, a young girl who was to be enlisted as a citizen internee in the Changi Prison POW Camp (or Changi Gaol, as she preferred to call) wrote:

Sunday, 8 March 1942. We walk to Changi Gaol.
(Approximately 8 miles away) – only the very sick, the very
old and the very young are allowed to be taken in lorries. The
sun today, seemed more merciless as it shone down on us
from a clear, cloudless, still-less sky. Some of us were pretty
tired and quite a few just sat by the side of the road, too

¹⁵ H. A. Probert, *History of Changi* (Singapore: Prison Industries, 1970), Chapter 1.

¹⁶ The march towards Changi Prison has been recorded by: Sheila Allan, *Diary of a Girl in Changi* (Australia: Kangaroo Press, 1994), pp. 36-37; Peter W. Stubbs, *The Changi Murals: The Story of Stanley Warren's War* (Singapore: Landmark Books, 2003), pp. 36-38; Tyler Thompson, *Freedom in Internment: Under Japanese Rule in Singapore, 1942-1945* (USA: Kefford Press, unknown), pp. 1-11.

exhausted to move... At last, here we are – tired, hot and dirty from the dusty road, hungry and very, very thirsty. We slowly dragged our feet through those iron gates – glad to see the end of the road.¹⁷

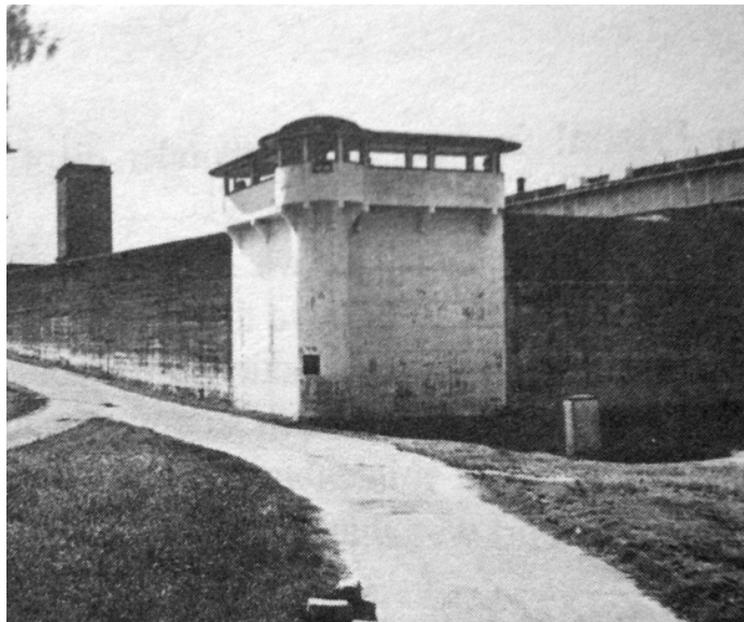
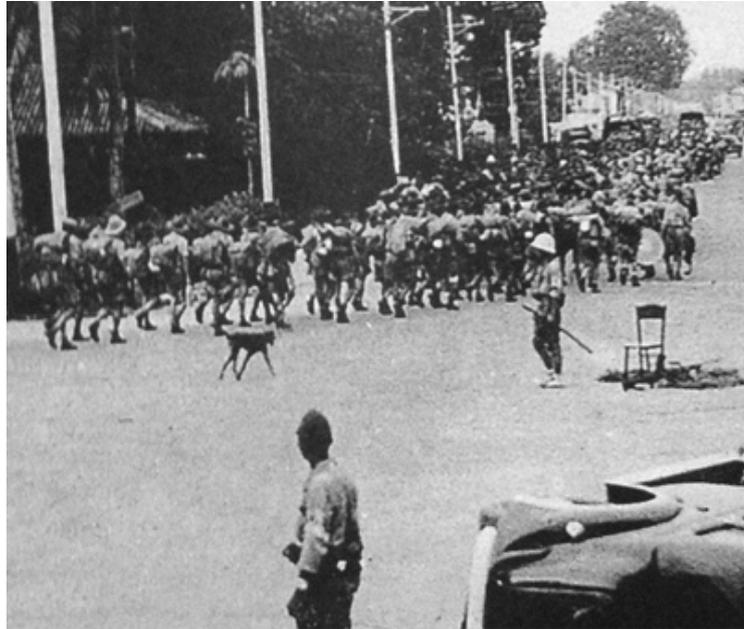


Fig. 2.2, top: Picture of the long march.
Fig. 2.3, bottom: The destination – Changi Prison.

¹⁷ Allan, *Diary of a Girl in Changi*, pp. 36-37.

2.3 Re-situating the Prison Chapel

Once inside Changi, aside from the apparent lack of food and sanitary facilities, the POWs experienced an unexpected sense of autonomous living. A lack of Japanese supervision and loosely drawn boundaries of the entire Changi POW Camps (consisting of Changi Prison, Roberts and Selarang Barracks) resulted in a slackened surveillance that was unheard of in other South East Asian POW Camps. In fact, POWs who had the chance to experience other sites around the region even proclaimed that Changi was “like heaven”.¹⁸ Treatment received by POWs then bordered more on neglect rather than torture, where the isolation and autonomy proved to be crucial in the creation of a divergent environment – one that consisted of a relatively pleasant POW experience about camaraderie and unity.¹⁹

A group of enthusiastic intellectuals and POWs adamant on making their prison term purposeful also unofficially created a “Changi University”.²⁰ This is testimony to the many examples of self-initiation for economic, educational and cultural programmes. On the contrary, novelist John Clavell’s fictional depiction of POW life in Changi in *King Rat*. Clavell wrote about the harsh living conditions marked by food scarcity and emotional trauma, which drove many to desperation and insanity.²¹ Yet, photographic evidence debunked this fictitious claim. Ex-POWs and academic researchers have also stepped forward to refute these exaggerated ‘horrors’ associated with Changi.²²

¹⁸ Hank Nelson, *Prisoners of War: Australians under Nippon* (Australia: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1985), p. 68.

¹⁹ For example, Thompson described the self-organisational structure that emerged in these camps. It consisted of an elaborate hierarchy of floor, block and camp councils, within which were even more electoral positions. Information from: Thompson, *Freedom in Internment*, pp. 14-19, 29-44.

²⁰ Tom Kitching, *Life and Death in Changi: The Diary of Tom Kitching who died in Japanese Hands in Singapore in 1944* (Perth: Brian Kitching, 1998), pp. 143-144, 158, 160. Tom Kitching was invited to give a lecture on ‘Development of Surveying in Malaya’, which served as a section of the full course entitled ‘A Study of British Malaya’, available in Changi University.

²¹ *King Rat*. Dir. Byran Forbes. DVD. (USA: Columbia Pictures, 2003), and James Clavell, *King Rat* (London: M. Joseph, 1963).

²² Stan Arneil, *One Man’s War*, p. 3, and Lionel de Rosario, *Nippon Slaves*, (London: Janus, 1995), p. 45, as cited in Kevin Blackburn, ‘Commemorating and Commodifying the Prisoner of War Experience in South-East Asia: The Creation of Changi Prison Museum’, *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, Issue 33, <http://www.awm.gov.au/journal/j33/blackburn.asp> (accessed: July 8, 2011), p. 4.



Fig. 2.4, top: A play performed by POWs, for POWs.

Fig. 2.5, bottom: Prisoners attending a thanksgiving service in a chapel built in courtyard of Changi POW Camp.



Fig. 2.6, top: St. Paul's Church, inside Changi POW Camp
(Changi Prison, Punishment and Isolation blocks)
Fig. 2.7, middle: Chapel of St. Andrew and St. Luke, near
Changi POW Camp (Changi Hospital)
Fig. 2.8, bottom: St. George's Church, inside Changi POW Camp
(Changi Prison)



Fig. 2.9, top: Photographic evidence of the Prison Chapel, found after the war and fire.
Fig. 2.10, bottom: Close-up of altar.

Religious activities, especially, served as an essential part of internment survival. A few modest chapels constructed out of local materials like *attap* and bamboo were built in separate locations all around the prison camp during this time (Figs. 2.6, 2.7, 2.8).²³ Most had simple planks of wood as benches, which extended out into the open space and were utilised by the chapelgoers. The physical building of the chapel itself, though the only purpose-built space present, served primarily as a small shelter for the sacred altar and the occasional worshipper. During Sunday mass, the congregation sat in the open, on the wooden benches outside the chapel, facing the altar for prayers. Hence, the entirety of the space consisted of not just the chapel building, but also its immediate surroundings, that is, the Prison compound where most POWs gathered for mass.

A particularly well-documented chapel is the Prison Chapel shown in Figs. 2.9 and 2.10 (more accurately called the Church of England Chapel).²⁴ Upon arrival at Changi, members of the 8th Division Australian Imperial Force (A.I.F.) decided to construct a small Catholic chapel to serve the religious needs of the POWs.²⁵ Lieutenant Hamish Cameron-Smith, a Scottish-Catholic and trained architect, acted as the main designer, while his right hand man, Lieutenant Hugh Simon-Thwaites assisted in the construction with his carpentry skills.

The Prison Chapel was a modest post and beam shelter with an abstracted form that was in keeping with the other chapels in the compound. Yet also unlike the other *attap* and bamboo chapels, the most distinctive feature of this Prison Chapel was its unique combination of materials. The four main columns supporting the terra cotta tiled roof were made of regular timber. The white partial walls, with its galvanised iron railings, were made from bricks. On a rectangular plan of 3.6m by 4.8m, it consisted of three elevations partially enclosed by walls and one side that was left fully open, which was also the side facing the congregation.²⁶

²³ *Attap* refers to the material from local *attap* trees, which were used more commonly in the past for roofing of shelters. Information on the materials of the chapels from: *National Archives of Singapore, Prisoners-of-War (POWs): Interview with Tony Newsom*. Oral History Centre. Cond. Christopher Ashton, Audio Cassette 002776 (2003).

²⁴ John D. Tilbrook, *To the Warrior His Arms: A History of the Ordnance Services in the Australian Army* (Australia: Royal Australian Army Ordnance Corps, 1989), p. 300.

²⁵ Register for Significant Twentieth Century Architecture, 'Changi Chapel', <http://www.architecture.com.au> (accessed: July 27, 2011).

²⁶ ACT Heritage Register, 'Reconstruction of Changi Chapel', <http://www.m2cms.com.au> (accessed: July 27 2011).

Even though originally a Catholic chapel, the Prison Chapel soon became known as a space for general spiritual catharsis, rather than one dedicated to a singular Christian denomination. Thus, it was not uncommon to find many non-Catholic POWs attending services.²⁷ Church services were a regular affair every Sunday, with regular attendance from the POW communities. Despite that surveillance was implemented and confessions were sometimes screened by Japanese soldiers on duty, the POWs of Changi Prison were generally thankful for the existence of the Prison Chapel and other similar chapels.²⁸ Unfortunately, a fire destroyed everything else in the compound after the end of war in 1945, leaving only this chapel standing – the Prison Chapel (Figs. 2.9 and 2.10). And these remains of the Prison Chapel then got shipped to Australia and reconstructed to become the eponymous Australian Chapel.

More precisely, the Australian Chapel is constructed from the Prison Chapel's exact materials. This means that the former has maintained material authenticity and, to a certain extent, the spatial experiences of the original. Though it has reincarnated into a different identity, the Australian Chapel always acts as the signifier of the Prison Chapel. The Australian Chapel has never sought to distinguish itself explicitly as a different chapel identity. The rationale is that, since it has been made from the exact same materials, and looked and felt the same; it automatically aspires, and hence assumes, to *be* the original Prison Chapel. In effect, it is a mnemonic device that acts as a trace to the original – yet, only a trace.

The original, that is the Prison Chapel, has been reconstructed several times into different identities, and resituated into many different contexts. The death of the Prison Chapel is exactly at the point of time after war ended and it has been transported to a foreign land. Lt. Cameron-Smith's and Simon-Thwaites' Prison Chapel, the one that served during wartime incarceration and belonged to the POWs, now only exists in photographs. Once this death of the original was established, the following reconstruction projects hence can only be described as attempts at tracing back to the original. Reconstruction is not so much the construction of the Prison Chapel *again*. Rather, it is the construction of an entirely new chapel identity that is said to trace back to the Prison Chapel – the construction of a mnemonic device.

²⁷ L. Marsden, 'Under the Heel of a Brutal Enemy, Our Catholic Boys kept the Faith', *The Catholic Weekly*, <http://www.military.catholic.org.au/stories/changi-prison2.htm> (accessed: July 7, 2011).

²⁸ Thompson, *Freedom in Internment*, pp. 146-148.

3.1 The Australian Chapel

This was recorded in an interview conducted by Christopher Ashton on Tony Newsom, an Australian ex-POW who played a crucial role in the operation of Changi Library, an underground book exchange operation self-initiated by the Prisoners-of-War (POWs).²⁹

ASHTON

What about the Church and army padres?

NEWSOM

Oh the padres did a marvellous job, as they have said... and I've heard both Catholic and Anglican padres said the same thing... that to them, profoundly, this was a very, very great challenge! 20,000 people of which, 18,000 didn't go regularly to church, had the opportunity to seek out for help of spiritual kind. And many did! And that is why the symbol of the Chapel, which is being moved to Canberra is so important...

ASHTON

The Chapel in Canberra?

NEWSOM

Now, after the war, one of these so-called chapels was demolished and shipped to Australia in boxes...

²⁹ Background information of Christopher Ashton: Unknown. Information of Newsom, as cited in: Braddon, Russell, *The Naked Island* (UK: Brillinn, 1951), pp. 140-141. Audio source: National Archives of Singapore, *Prisoners-of-War (POWs): Interview with Tony Newsom*. Oral History Centre. Cond. Christopher Ashton, Audio Cassette 002776 (2003).

and it laid for many years. But then it was taken out of store, and it was re-erected in grounds of Duntroon. And that is... *really*, was the *first*... in many people's respect, the real National Memorial.

As previously mentioned, the Australian War Graves Unit discovered the Prison Chapel as one of the few surviving structures after a fire. By 1947, it was dismantled and shipped to Duntroon, Australia, where a War Memorial was constructed. Only after 40 years, in 1987, were the crates finally opened and the Chapel was reassembled, thus creating a new identity – the Australian Chapel.



Fig. 3.1: The Australian Chapel in Duntroon, originally the Prison Chapel in Changi

3.2 Displacing the Original

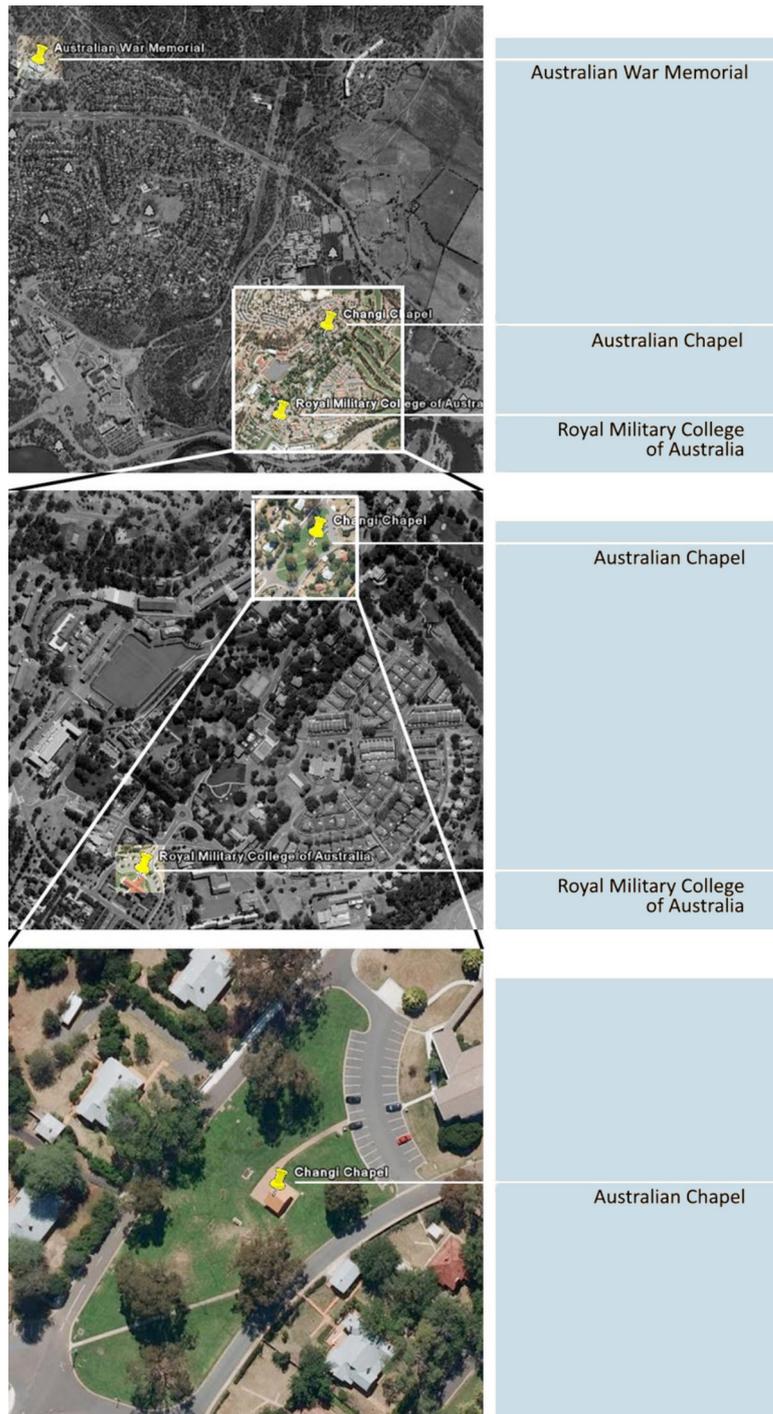


Fig. 3.2: Triptych zooming in to the exact site of “the Changi Chapel in Australia”, with the first image featuring the extensive site of Australian War Memorial (AWM), Royal Military College of Australia (RMC) and “the Changi Chapel in Australia”, and the last image with “the Changi Chapel in Australia” and its immediate context.

The triptych above shows the Australian Chapel in its new site, after being moved from Singapore to the Australian War Memorial (AWM) and then finally to the compounds of the Royal Military College of Australia (RMC).

The displacement of an architectural object is crucial in monumentalising everyday architecture, as exemplified in *Preservation Parade: The Mediatization of the Lieb House into a Monument* by Martino Stierli. The Lieb House, designed by Robert Venturi and John Rauch, was constructed on New Jersey's Long Beach Island's seafront. After a change in ownership, it was supposed to be evicted from its original site as the new owners were uninterested in its preservation.³⁰ Eventually, in order to halt the destruction of Lieb House, architecture enthusiasts Deborah Sarnoff and Robert Gotkin assisted in its preservation by paying for the transportation costs of moving the entire house to Glen Cove, New York.³¹

Besides the entire effort spent into carefully uprooting the building, painstakingly shipping it over the course of two whole days, and then finally planting it gently down on its new location, there was also extensive media coverage chronicling its journey. Architects and journalists were stationed by the banks to witness this historical moment. Stierli had argued in his essay that the physical displacement of this building was the defining moment that made Lieb House the monument it is today. Here, the building's architectural merits were not celebrated as much as the creation of a spectacle, and the building's displacement bears witness to the significance of architecture and its patronage. If there are people in this world who would go through such measures to preserve a building, the building must bear some importance. Lieb House's architectural and monumental significance was therefore, constructed through the spectacle of its physical displacement.³²

In his book *Exploring the World of Perception: Space*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty reiterated that classical science and Euclidean geometry rationalised the physical world as a flat, uniform medium only differentiated through pockets of spaces inside itself via changes in mathematical coordinates and scientific figures. That is to say that the displacement of an object from one

³⁰ Martino Stierli, 'Preservation Parade: The Mediatization of the Lieb House into a Monument', *Future Anterior*, Vol. 7, pp. 44-58 (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 45.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

space to another changes only its physical coordinates and calculable properties of the object, such as weight, density and temperature, as long as the object stays within this world of homogeneous medium. Following this classical theory, the Lieb House and the Prison Chapel should ideally be “the same objects” when moved from New Jersey to New York, and Singapore to Australia, respectively.

However, the displacement of an object and its placement in an entirely new location, as evident in the Lieb House spectacle, is certainly going to affect how one views the object. The metaphysical properties of an object change with respect to a change in space, that is, a change in context ultimately also leads to a change in cultural and social perceptions of the object. For the Lieb House, the act of displacing was overly dramatised to an extent that the course of its monumentalisation began immediately after its uprooting. For Prison Chapel, its moving was secretive, and the unveiling of the Chapel out of its freight boxes was delayed for a whole 40 years. Yet inevitably, this act of displacing both objects resulted in significant changes to their meanings – Lieb House was monumentalised, while the Prison Chapel in its new site, now known in this dissertation as the Australian Chapel to avoid confusion, became a “real National Memorial”.

Therefore, as Merleau-Ponty suggested, space cannot be rationalised as a uniform medium using classical science and Euclidean geometry.³³ The space within the Changi POW Camps and the space within the RMC in Duntroon are not homogeneous, and subsequently, “things can change simply by being moved”.³⁴ Thereby with the shipping of the Prison Chapel building to Australia, a spatial displacement of the Prison Chapel occurs, which also precipitates a change in perception of this building – such that Newsom and his fellow ex-POWs consider the chapel now a “real National Memorial”. Without defaulting to the Euclidean understanding of uniform space, the chapel building inside Changi Prison then cannot be the same as the chapel building in Australia, even though technically they are both made out of the exact same components. This phenomenon is not just an act of displacement, or even a resurrection of the same object. Rather, it is the creation of an entirely new identity.

³³ Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Oliver Davis (trans.), 'Exploring the World of Perception: Space', *The World of Perception* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 50-1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

3.3 Re-situating the Australian Chapel



Fig. 3.3: Visitor's map of the Australian War Memorial (AWM) that does not include the Royal Military College of Australia (RMC). Extension of map in blue was added by author.

The Australian War Memorial (AWM) opened in Australia's capital, Canberra, in 1941. It was designated as a National Memorial to commemorate the general "Australian military history", that is, an all-encompassing military history dating from the Colonial Periods of 1788-1901 to the most recent First Gulf War of 1990-1991.³⁵ When the crates of the Changi Chapel were first received in 1947, there were no legitimate plans from the War Memorial team to open and reconstruct the Changi Chapel. Subsequently, these crates were left in AWM storage for 40 years. The reconstruction of Changi Chapel in Australia (hence to create the Australian Chapel) clearly was not part of the greater scheme of the Australians' commemorative efforts for World War II. The AWM was not intended to be a purposefully built museum for the sole remembrance of Australian war efforts in War World II, let alone its specific activities in the South East Asian region. The site, which measured approximately 300 by 300 metres and was dedicated to "Australian military history", hence did not have any particular focus on the Singapore World War II context.

Four kilometres away from the AWM, and about an hour's walk southeastwards along Fairbairn Avenue, is the Royal Military College of Australia (RMC). The Australian Bicentennial Authority, a governmental agency created specially in 1980 for the commemoration of the nation's 200th year of Western establishment, was motivated on the grounds of promoting Australia's cultural history.³⁶ Unfortunately, for reasons unknown to the public, the reconstruction of the Changi Chapel and the commemoration of this specific history of the Australian people were not approved.³⁷ With little support from the governmental bodies and a curatorial team who seemed uninterested in archiving the chapel, the RMC was "finally offered" the crates containing remnants of the Changi Chapel.³⁸ The RMC's reconstruction team then had to undertake the project themselves and source for their own funding.

³⁵ Information on the National Memorial by: Commonwealth Consolidated Acts, 'Australian War Memorial Act 1980 - Sect 5', http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/cth/consol_act/awma1980244/s5.html (accessed: August 7, 2011). Information on the historical scope of the AWM by: Royal Military College of Australia, 'War History', <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/> (accessed: August 7, 2011).

³⁶ Peter Spearritt, 'Celebration of a Nation: the Triumph of Spectacle', in Susan Janson and Stuart Macintyre (eds), *Making the Bicentenary*, a special issue of *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 23, no. 91, Oct. 1988, pp. 4-5, 17; Peter Cochrane and David Goodman, 'The Great Australian Journey: Cultural Logic and Nationalism in the Postmodern Era', in Janson and Macintyre (eds), p. 21, as cited in Elizabeth Kwan, *Celebrating Australia: A History of Australia Day essay*, <http://www.australiaday.org.au/experience/page76.asp> (accessed: August 5, 2011).

³⁷ Register for Significant Twentieth Century Architecture, 'Changi Chapel', p. 2.

³⁸ Ibid.

In the opposite direction from AWM, a good thirty minutes' to an hour's walk along Anzac Parade and Parkes Way is the city centre. This conversely also means that the full walk for a normal visitor, who would most likely stay within the city centre, to the RMC, could take up to two hours. As the RMC is a full-fledged military school instead of a tourist destination, it seems logical for it to be much more isolated from the whole city centre, as compared to the AWM. Yet it is within this isolated school compound that the Australian Chapel was finally reconstructed in.

As shown in the triptych, Fig. 3.2 and the RMC map, Fig. 3.5, the Australian Chapel lies deep inside the heart of the school compound, on a small plot of land of 50 by 100 metres, in the middle of a massive school site of 600 by 1000 metres. The Australian Chapel, a chapel that had to be self-funded and constructed, is not only isolated from governmental support and media exposure, but also further isolated, physically, from the access of the regular visitor to Canberra. Hence, it is clear that the intention was not to create a tourist destination, but rather a simple memorial chapel that would only be reached by those who were strongly motivated to do so, those being, the ex-POWs and their families. With this motive established, the question turns towards the mnemonic devices that aid in memorialising, and hence signifying, the original Prison Chapel.

3.4 Becoming Mnemonic Device

The sign here, which is also the original, is the chapel building that once existed within the walls of Changi Prison and during internment periods, that is, the Prison Chapel. The Australian Chapel, which is an identity created after the original had been displaced and recontextualised, can be considered as a secondary signifier that attempts to link back to its original. The most fundamental meaning behind the existence of the Australian Chapel is to articulate itself with respect to the context of its original – the context of the Prison Chapel.

Firstly, the Australian Chapel achieves familiarity through the high level of authenticity in its material reproduction. Most materials and elements used in Australian Chapel were the very same materials and elements used in Prison Chapel during the 1940s. Special effort had been made to classify the components before dismantling and packing the Prison Chapel, hence informing us the possibility that there was an initial intention from the War Graves Unit of 1947 to properly archive the Chapel, or perhaps even to reconstruct it in the future. New materials were used sparingly to replace components which had deteriorated with age. For example, missing or broken terra cotta roof tiles of the Prison Chapel which were brought in from Feroke, India were being substituted with “identical replacement tiles” found in Rose Hill, Sydney.³⁹ Though “identical replacement” sounds rather like an oxymoron, the reconstruction team’s attempt to achieve material reproduction cannot be discounted.

The Australia and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) Memorial Chapel was built in 1966 to commemorate the participation of ANZACs in World War I, and in present time, is still a functioning chapel for religious services. The Australian Chapel was constructed about 20 years later in a site adjacent to the ANZAC Memorial Chapel, not as a means to replace the ANZAC Memorial Chapel from its intended function, but to add another layer of historical meaning by also commemorating the Australians in World War II.

³⁹ Ibid.



Fig. 3.4: The immediate context of the Australian Chapel, with seats highlighted in black and the east elevation of ANZAC Memorial Chapel (in white, back of photograph).

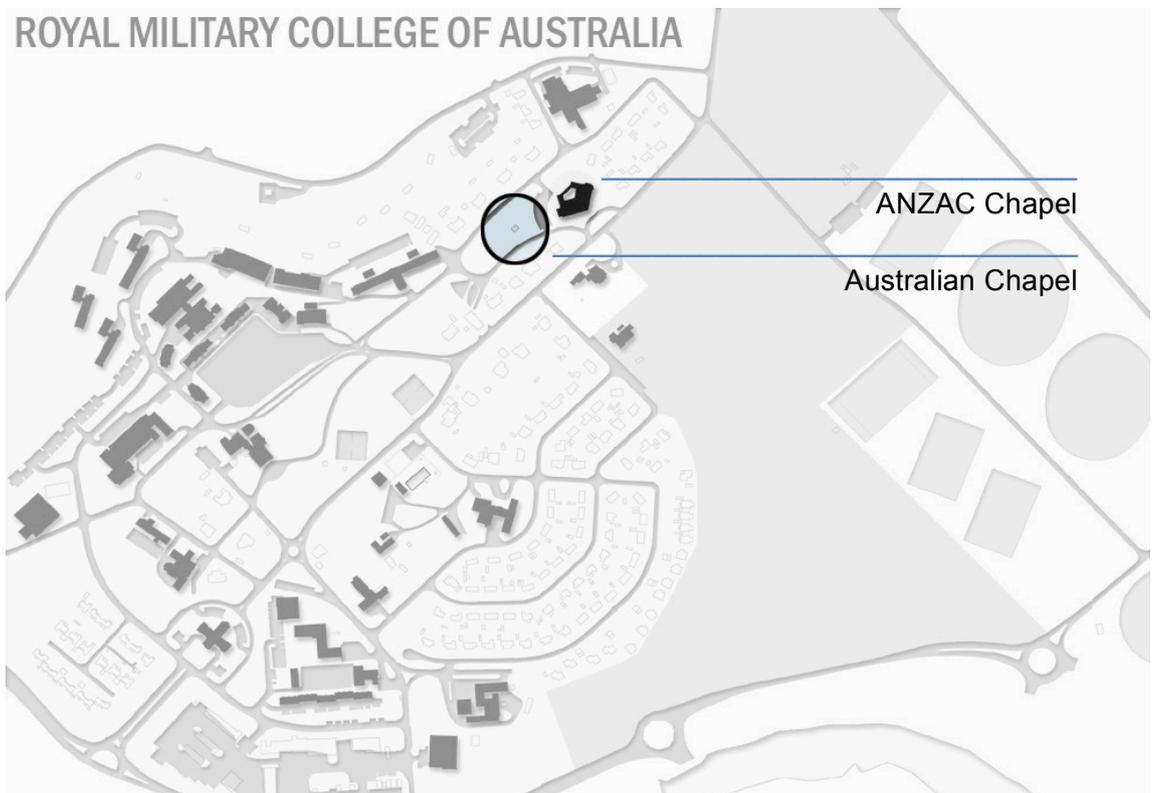


Fig. 3.5: Visitor's map of the Royal Military College of Australia (RMC), with the site of the tiny Australian Chapel highlighted in blue, in a black circle, and the site of ANZAC Memorial Chapel adjacent to the Australian Chapel.

Since the Australian Chapel was not required to serve as a functioning chapel, the extensive space needed for mass, which were in the plans of the original Prison Chapel, could be excluded. Today, only four benches are found arranged radially around the Australian Chapel, as opposed to the numerous benches which were placed in rows facing the front of the original Prison Chapel.

During their visit to Canberra in 1989, architect of the Prison Chapel, ex-Lieutenant Cameron-Smith, who arrived with Father Simon-Thwaites, mused:

I cannot believe it is here... I did feel for a minute some of the chaps [should have been] here.⁴⁰

By referring to the Australian Chapel simply as “it”, he had already amalgamated both identities of the Prison Chapel and the Australian Chapel. Believing that it is the Prison Chapel before his eyes, he even wished for the other ex-POWs to be “here” – a place that conflates Changi with Canberra.

So even though a complete displacement and recontextualisation of the original Prison Chapel to a new site means that the same chapel building now assumes two identities, they are both undoubtedly of the same material, form and experience.⁴¹ Consequently, the Prison Chapel and the Australian Chapel can be associatively perceived, that is to say that the Australian Chapel becomes a signifier of the Prison Chapel.

The Australian Chapel extends beyond its function of pure commemoration towards the incitement of a series of responses, which could previously be evoked only by the Prison Chapel. The Australian Chapel therefore, *becomes* a mnemonic device which refers to the original, that is, the Prison Chapel.

⁴⁰ Canberra Times, ‘ACT Reunion with a Changi Chapel’, as cited in The Catholic Diocese of the Australian Defence Force, *Chaplains’ Stories*, <http://www.military.catholic.org.au/stories/changi-chapel.htm> (accessed: July 7, 2011).

⁴¹ Notwithstanding the slight discrepancy in its reconstruction, the Australian Chapel is still largely 90% similar to the original Prison Chapel. See *ibid*.

4.1 The Museum Chapel

This was recorded in an interview conducted by Lily Tan, the then director of National Archives of Singapore, on Leslie Cody, an ex-Prisoner-of-War (ex-POW) at Changi camp and Selarang Barracks.⁴²

TAN

Did you visit the Changi Chapel and Museum when you were back in Singapore?

CODY

Yes, yes...

TAN

When did you go back to Singapore?

CODY

Oh... '78, I think... the first trip back. Then I had another two trips after that. Then I went back in '92, the 50th anniversary.

TAN

We are developing a new Changi Chapel and Museum. What would you like to see in the Changi Chapel and Museum?

⁴² National Archives of Singapore, *Prisoners-of-War (POWs)*. Oral History Centre. Cond. Lily Tan, Audio Cassette 002302 (2000).

CODY

I would like to see the story of Singapore... the battle of Singapore... because it has been disregarded. It's just been wiped off... and that's not good because it wasn't like that. There was a lot of fighting in Singapore.

When Lily Tan interviewed ex-POW Leslie Cody in 2000, there already were earlier versions of the reconstructed Museum Chapel – firstly a “chapel in a room” in 1953, which was basically a room with an altar in one of the Prison blocks, and then later in 1988 when there were actual efforts made to reconstruct one of the typical *attap* chapels. As previously mentioned, Changi Prison was a functioning civilian prison after World War II ended. Thus, the placement of a tourist destination inside this place of incarceration, in the case of the 1953 version, posed a great problem to the security of the prison. By the time the second reconstruction was proposed in 1988, the site of the future Museum Chapel was to be relocated to another plot of land just outside of the Changi Prison gates.⁴³

On 15 February 2001, a year after the said interview was conducted, the Museum Chapel was relocated to its final site, a five minutes walk from the original location outside the gates. This final reconstructed chapel now forms part of the exhibition in the entire “Changi Chapel and Museum” ensemble, which encompasses a comprehensive history of the Changi Prison during World War II and a brief history of the fighting, torture and incarceration in other sites during the same period.

⁴³ Blackburn, ‘Commemorating and Commodifying’, pp. 3, 6 and 8.

4.2 Anomaly of 1953-1987

*It was 1963. Several foreigners primed in demure dresses and refined suits were waiting outside, laughing and chatting while waiting to be escorted through the trademark austere gates of Changi Prison. A few armed prison guards entered the camera frame, and the atmosphere grew visibly solemn. The visitors soon organised themselves in an orderly fashion and finally, they passed through the gates and entered Changi Prison.*⁴⁴

Immediately after the war when Changi Prison reverted back to its operations as a civilian prison, there was a room allocated for the spiritual wellbeing of Christian prisoners. This chapel, located in a non-descript room in an unidentified prison block, literally functioned as a working chapel inside the prison grounds. It had neither resemblance nor connections with the different Changi Chapels built around the old Changi POW Camp. Soon, however, ex-POWs began reclaiming this non-descript chapel inside the prison as “their Changi Chapel” by adorning the walls of this room with numerous plaques to pay tribute to their wartime army companies and contingents.⁴⁵

They entered the room through the back door. Save for the altar and many chairs, this room could have been used for anything else. The visitors dutifully found their own seats and waited. Not long after, a group of robed padres arrived from the same back door, slowly pacing down the aisle towards the altar. Everyone stood up and gently bowed their heads to acknowledge the presence of the padres. They were sentient and ready. An esteemed gentleman looked up for a split moment, and turned towards the windows. Yes, those were unmistakably the bars of a prison – they were inside the Changi Prison afterall.

In 1957, under the dedication of Singapore’s Chief Secretary, Sir William Goode, an ex-POW in Changi himself, this room was formally called “Changi Chapel” – a chapel used to memorialise specifically the POW history of Changi Prison (shown as Site B in Fig. 4.9).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Italicised passages are author’s own commentary from video source: ITN Source, *ITN Archive - Reuters Collection: Compilation of Post-War Footage 1963*, as cited in National Archives of Singapore. Audiovisual, No. 2007002470, Tape 3 of 13 (1963).

⁴⁵ Blackburn, ‘Commemorating and Commodifying’, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.



Fig. 4.1: Interior shot of the “Changi Chapel in a room, 1953-1987”.

After mass was over, their faces slightly lightened up. Modest smiles and sporadic chatters broke the silence as the visitors slowly made their way to the front door. The armed guards maintained control and sobriety without going overboard. It was still a solemn affair, but not gravely so. Prayers had been made, thus the memorialising ritual was complete.

The memorialising ritual was not an affair exclusive to the site of Changi Prison. The gentrified development of Kanchanburi Heritage Site, where the Burma-Thailand Death Railway was located, was modelled based on popular acceptance of exaggerated fictional accounts, primarily after the novel and film *Bridge on the River Kwai* by Pierre Boulle. Visitors with no prior knowledge of Burma-Thailand Death Railway and its POW experience had based their

expectations of these places on the novel and the film.⁴⁷ Despite the fact that there was no bridge over a certain “River Kwai”, authorities were quick to deliberately fabricate this “historical setting”. As a result, an unrelated river, which coincidentally had a steel bridge, became the “River Kwai”, satisfying visitors’ preconceived notions of what the site should be.⁴⁸

Riding onto this trend of commodifying the terrifying albeit, sensationalised POW experience at the Death Railway, packaged tours to Changi Prison conformed to the narrative of a deplorable Changi life as described by *King Rat*. As mentioned earlier, the novel written by Clavell depicted exaggerated accounts of the harsh living conditions in Changi, despite Clavell’s first hand experience interning as POW in Changi, and despite many more POWs’ journals which claimed that actual life in Changi was not as bad as it seemed.⁴⁹ Early packaged tours, which were introduced immediately after the war and before the formal establishment of a tourism board, were therefore, mainly crafted in a theatrical manner. The whole series of novel events started with a passage through the prison’s heavily guarded gates, to a preview of war time prison cell life, and then finally to the replacement chapel in a room which was not considered authentic at all.⁵⁰

Likened to a ritual, the entire hype of this packaged tour revolved around the processions which were reminiscent of Changi Prison’s routine during war time. For the visitors, “the experience of being inside Changi was more important than having an accurate knowledge of the history of the site”.⁵¹ They were selling the *King Rat* version of POW experience, without necessarily adhering to historical truth. Soon enough, Changi Prison and its chapel became popular tourist destinations from 1950s until the late 1980s.

⁴⁷ An unrelated river, Mae Khlaung River, already had an existing steel bridge. It was conveniently renamed Kwae Yae River (a play on the pronunciation of “Kwai”) and had since then become the famed “River Kwai”. See *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Journal accounts that debunk the POW myth are sourced from: Stan Arneil, *One Man’s War*, p. 3, and Lionel de Rosario, *Nippon Slaves* (London: Janus, 1995), p. 45, as cited in *ibid.* Exaggerated accounts supporting the POW myth are sourced from: *King Rat*. Dir. Byran Forbes, and Clavell, *King Rat*.

⁵⁰ Robertson E. Collins, ‘Project Report, 8 March 1987: A Plan to Re-Design the Changi Prison Stop on the East Coast Tours’, in *Changi Prison Chapel & Museum*, No. 57, PD/PRJ/45/87, Vol. 1 (Singapore: National Archives of Singapore, STPB Records), as cited in Blackburn, ‘Commemorating and Commodifying’, p. 6.

⁵¹ Bajintar Singh’s Report, ‘3 March 1987, Project Activities: Changi Prison Chapel: A Plan to Re-Design the Changi Prison Chapel’, in *Changi Prison Chapel & Museum*, No. 57, PD/PRJ/45/87, Vol. 1 (Singapore: National Archives of Singapore, STPB Records), as cited in *ibid.*

4.3 Reconception of the Original Chapel Icon

When the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board (STPB) took over the job of promoting Changi Prison and its chapel in 1987, there were initial suggestions to “do everything possible to create the attraction that the tour operators wanted”.⁵² Unfortunately, or fortunately, for the Changi Museum Project team, the 1986 Singapore Tourism Product Development Plan allocated a paltry budget for the development of Changi as a tourist attraction. This miserable allowance meant that the Changi Museum Project team had to reduce all their expectations to just the bare minimum, without wasting resources on frivolous expenditure. Therefore, the most direct and effective means to create a tourist destination was to rebuild a replica chapel from some existing references of original outdoor POW chapels. With support from prison authorities via the provision of free prison labour and a free site just outside the Changi Prison walls, the whole construction only cost the team \$18,500.⁵³



Fig. 4.2: Construction of the Museum Chapel (1988-2001) with the distinctive Changi Prison gates in background.

⁵² Collins, ‘Project Report, 8 March 1987’, as cited in *ibid*, p. 7.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 6 and 8.



Fig. 4.3, top: Construction of the Museum Chapel.

Fig. 4.4, bottom: The completed Museum Chapel (1988-2001), in Site C as shown in Fig. 4.9.

It is known that when the Changi Museum Project team was deciding which of the numerous Changi Chapels to reconstruct, they referred specifically to the book, entitled *The Churches of the Captivity in Malaya*, by John Northridge Lewis Bryan.⁵⁴ According to Robertson E. Collins' report, a particular chapel which had "just a small corrugated zinc roof shed over the altar area with the pews in front, in the open" served as precedence for planning the reconstruction process.⁵⁵



Fig. 4.5: A painting of a chapel inside Changi Prison, St. George's Church, which the Changi Museum Project team most likely used as precedence.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵⁵ Information about Collins: Collins was an integral member of the Changi Museum Project team. Description of the said chapel from: Collins, 'Project Report, 8 March 1987', as cited in *ibid.*

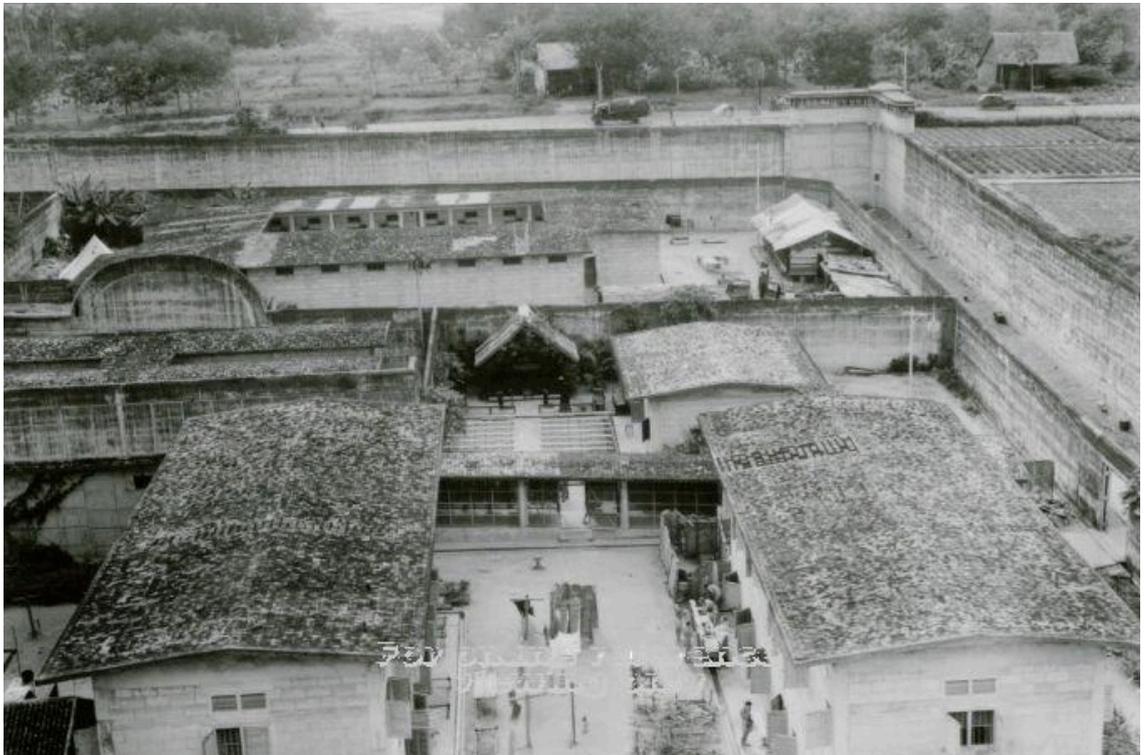


Fig. 4.6, top: An unknown chapel which could be the actual St. George's Chapel that the precedence painting is based.

Fig. 4.7, bottom: An old photo of the Changi Prison taken in 1945 with the same chapel, supported by the presence of surrounding walls, foliage and tall tree in background.

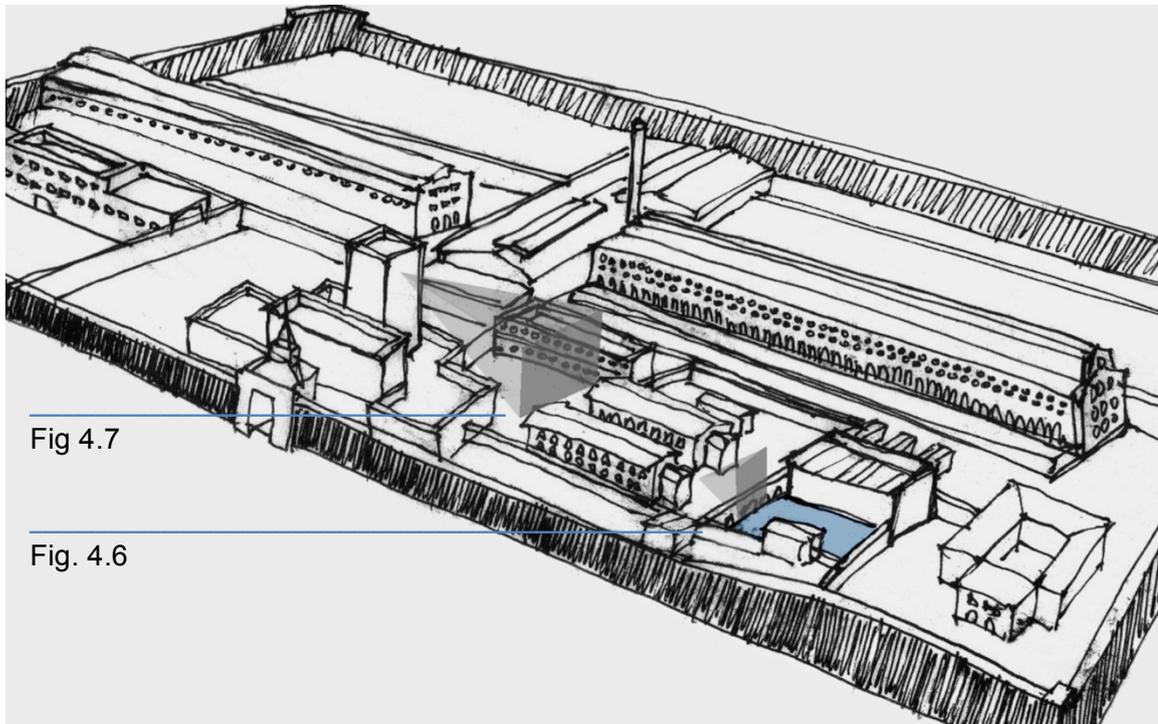


Fig. 4.8: Sketch of Changi Prison during World War II, with plot in blue – the speculated site of St. George’s Chapel, the precedence chapel, and projections in grey – the speculated sites where Figs. 4.6 and 4.7 were taken.

When presented with Lewis Bryan’s book which had paintings of the numerous chapels located in Changi Camp, the Changi Museum Project team had to interpret these data and decide for themselves what should their version of “the Changi Chapel of WWII” be like, forming self-perceived notions of what the original should ideally resemble. Upon the examination of available sources, it is then speculated that St. George’s Church, a rudimentary chapel located inside the Changi Prison, was the precedent (shown as Site A in Fig. 4.9).

The Museum Chapel in Singapore is a chapel that was quite evidently reconstructed based on photographs and drawings of the other *attap* and bamboo chapels. Rather than the Prison Chapel, which was probably one of the only few chapels made of galvanised iron, these simply constructed buildings were more commonly found around the prison camp. Technically then, the modest Museum Chapel looks neither like the galvanised iron Prison Chapel nor its counterpart, the Australian Chapel. Yet all the different reconstructed chapels act as mnemonic devices that signify a trace of the original, and thus, cannot be disassociated with the original.

4.4 The Chapel as a Mnemonic Device in the Museum

Apart from the mere reconstruction of a chapel, the Changi Museum Project team also acknowledged that greater measures were needed for the educational purposes of new visitors. In *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum*, Gaynor Kavanagh, an acclaimed scholar in the field of museum studies, or museology, commented:

... Museums permit multi-sensory engagement with ideas of the past... opening up histories... to be one of the most effective and thought-provoking means.⁵⁶

In a typical museum where the architecture is a mnemonic device itself, or the museum contains other mnemonic devices, the power to evoke phenomenological sensations of the past is certain. It was then decided that an annex called the Changi Museum would be built to contain artefacts, traces of history and other mnemonic devices, so as to supplement the visitor's experience.

The lack of funding left the project team with no other alternative except to source for (donated) first-hand POW materials from the ex-POWs. Materials that were sourced included photographs, journals, letters and other items of historical significance. What this also meant was that ex-POWs had a direct hand in creating the Museum through the provision, selection and exhibition of their own archives.⁵⁷ The reconstructed Museum Chapel with this modest adjacent museum block, on a site just outside the walls of Changi Prison, formed the new Changi Chapel Museum of 1988 (shown as Site C in Fig. 4.9).

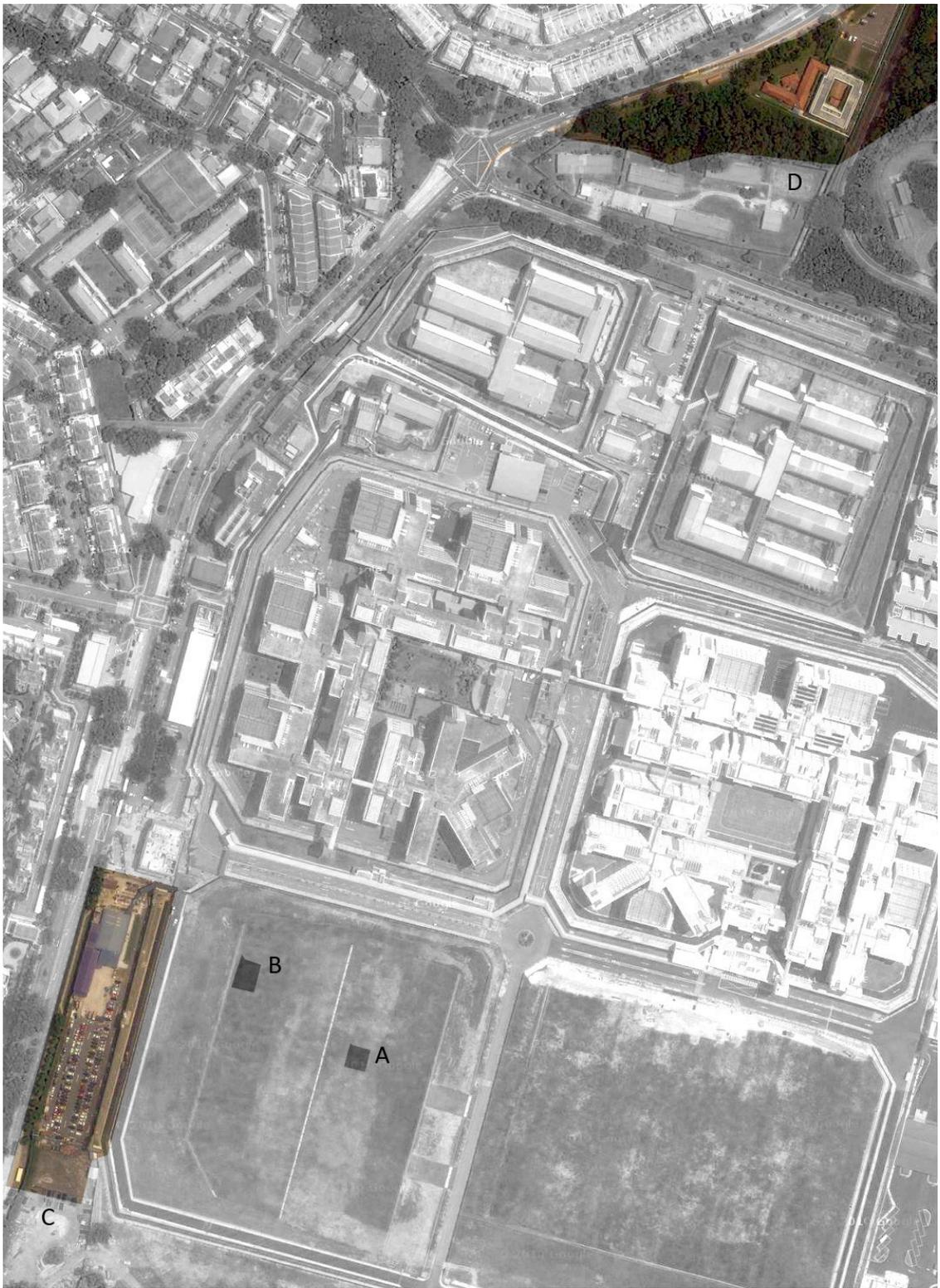
The Chapel, which was conceived together with the museum, was intended to function as an exhibited object that is part of the larger curatorial scheme (refer to Appendix B). Initially, the new museum took a back seat to the commemoration process as news of the resurrection of an

⁵⁶ Gaynor Kavanagh, *Dream Spaces: Memory and Museum* (NY: Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 173.

⁵⁷ Blackburn, 'Commemorating and Commodifying', p. 9.

almost identical old chapel of Changi attracted most of the attention. This is further reinforced by the fact that little information regarding this adjacent museum block could be found.

Eventually in 2001, when the full Changi Chapel Museum had to shift due to the expansion of Changi Prison, the team decided to concentrate on building a more impressive museum block on this new site that is just another five minutes walk from its location outside the Changi Prison (shown as Site D in Fig. 4.9).



<p>A PRISON CHAPEL (SPECULATED ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL) 1944-1945</p>	<p>B "CHAPEL IN A ROOM" 1953-1987</p>	<p>C MUSEUM CHAPEL 1988-2001</p>	<p>D MUSEUM CHAPEL 2001-PRESENT</p>
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Fig. 4.9: Map showing the chronological displacement (and identities) of "Changi Chapel".

4.5 Other Mnemonic Devices in the Museum

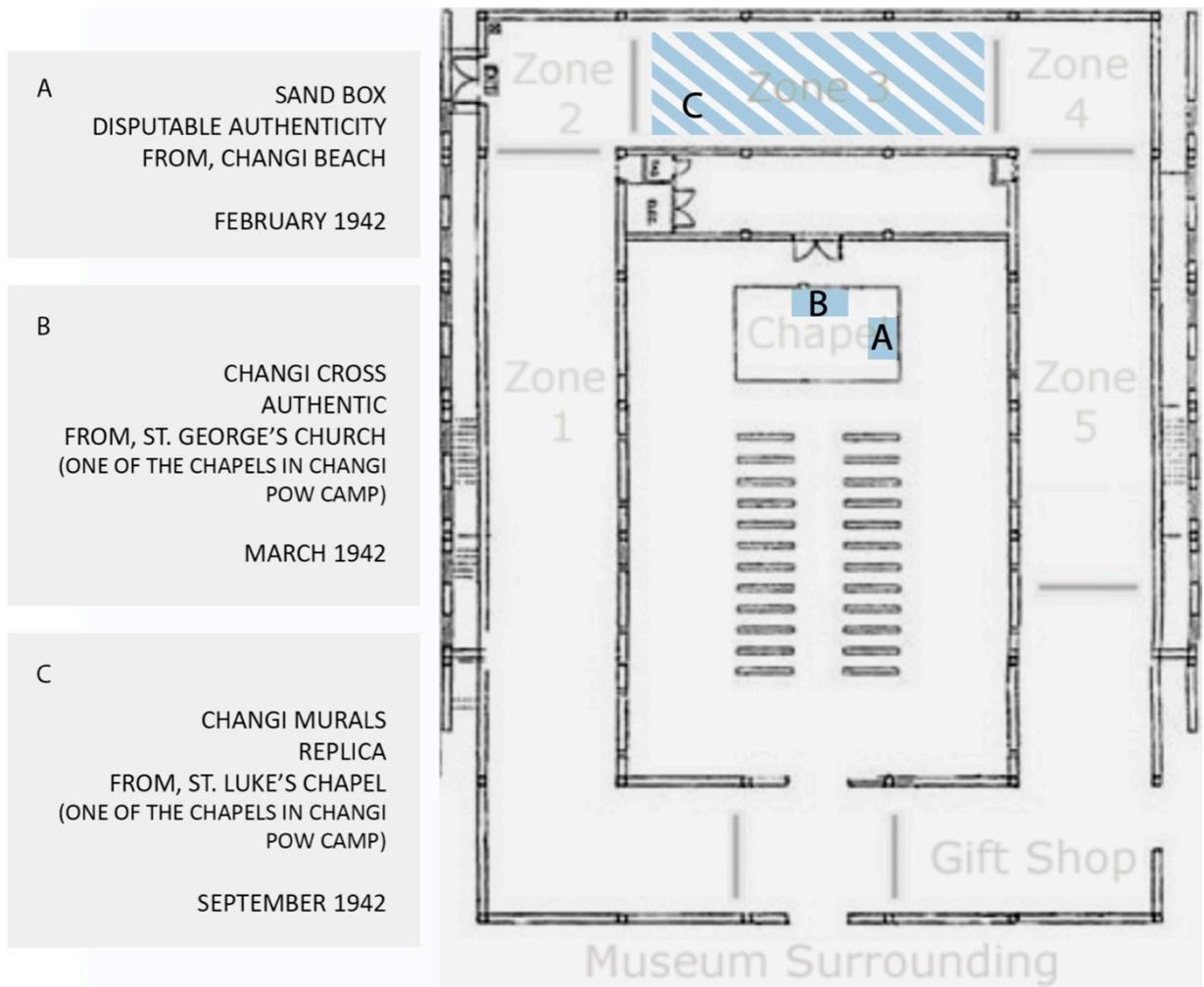


Fig. 4.10: Visitor's map of the latest Changi Chapel and Museum (2001-present), with added information about placement of some significant mnemonic devices around the museum compounds.

In this newest museum block with its improved curatorial role (Site D in Fig. 4.9), there exist a few other important mnemonic devices that act as traces to other events that are also related to the Changi POW history.

There is a box of seemingly ubiquitous fine sand placed inside the present Museum Chapel. Contained inside a small, common wooden box of about 297mm by 420mm, it is supposedly the sand from the spot in Changi Beach where the Sook Ching Massacre took place.

Sook Ching, which literally means “purification by elimination” in Japanese, was conducted in 1942 to weed out potential anti-Japanese individuals among the Chinese community.⁵⁸ Yap Yan Hong, a Sook Ching survivor, recounts his terrifying near-death experience:

The Japanese soldier came up on to the lorry, gave us a push. We nearly fell down. We couldn't walk properly. We had to shuffle along the sands towards the shore. So when we reached the shore, I saw on my right a row of dead bodies.⁵⁹

Yap, together with many able-bodied young Chinese men, was brought to Changi Beach to be massacred by live firing squads. The sand in the wooden box is hence proclaimed to be the same sand that Yap was dragged and tortured on. It is represented as the same bed of sand where thousands of young men were slaughtered mercilessly, where their blood seeped into the depths of the earth, and also where the stench of their rotting bodies lingered for months.

It is shifting sand that is soaked in blood, tears, vengeance and history, yet also now tamed into a small box and signage. While the authenticity of this material and the effectiveness of its memorialising are disputable, this box of sand is nonetheless a means of commemorating an event. It attempts to trace the Changi Chapel back to the greater history of WWII in Singapore. Hence, it can be considered a minor mnemonic device in its intention to link back certain memories.

⁵⁸ H. Sidhu, *The Bamboo Fortress: True Singapore War Stories* (Singapore, 1991), pp. 141-48.

⁵⁹ Oral History Department, Daniel Chew and Irene Lim (eds.), Chung Lai Beng and Venetia Wong (trans.), *Sook Ching* (Singapore: Oral History Department, 1992), pp. 11-15.



Fig. 4.11, top: On the box, it reads, “This box contains sand from Changi Beach. On this and many other beaches around Singapore, many civilians and POWs were sacrificed. This once blood soiled beach is today filled with laughter and peace. We pray that those who were sacrificed have found their peace too.”

Fig. 4.12, bottom: Site of massacre in Changi Beach, where a small plaque provides the only information available that hints of the beach’s ghastly history. Tourists crowd around the plaque, not knowing what to make out of the bloodied massacre, and also the families with children playing happily on site.

A brass cross is placed prominently in the center of the Museum Chapel's altar, encased inside a wooden framed glass box. From the St. George's Chapel, the chapel speculated to be the one which the present Museum Chapel was designed after, the cross was designed by Reverend Eric W. B. Cordingly and made by Sergeant Harry Stogden, an ex-British POW.⁶⁰ The Changi Cross had stayed by Reverend Cordingly's side through his ordeal in Changi Prison, Burma-Thailand Death Railway and then finally settled with him at his English hometown.⁶¹

It is little wonder then that it would become an important artefact that helped to enhance the story of religious catharsis in times of adversity. In the old site that is located just outside the Changi Prison, the Museum Chapel received the Changi Cross in 1992 from Reverend Cordingly's daughter. It has been with the Museum Chapel since then, and followed the Museum Chapel in its move in 2001.



Fig. 4.13: The Changi Cross.

⁶⁰ John Northridge Lewis Bryan, *The Churches of the Captivity in Malaya* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1946), pp. 52-53.

⁶¹ Information compiled from sources: Changi Chapel and Museum, *Brochure for Visitors* (Changi WWII Tour attended by author on May 21, 2011; refer to brochure in Appendix B); Display information of *The Changi Cross* in Changi Chapel and Museum (visited on July, 2011).

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the Changi Murals are a set of five biblical paintings in the Museum block that is used to relate visitors back to WWII history, this time specifically to St. Luke's Chapel. St. Luke's Chapel was a chapel inside the dysentery ward of Roberts Barrack, which was within the compounds of the entire Changi POW Camp site. Stanley Warren, an ex-POW, painted the murals.



Fig. 4.14, top: Original site of the Changi Murals, in St. Luke's Chapel, Roberts Barracks.
Fig. 4.15, bottom: New site of the replica murals, in Changi Chapel Museum (2001-present).

Warren painted these while he was suffering from dysentery. He hoped that other than inspiring his fellow POWs with his biblical drawings, he could also motivate himself to overcome his illness. It has been argued that after starting drawing, Warren's health conditions improved due to his strong impetus to continue, and eventually he survived long enough to finish these murals. Religion, through the manifestation of these drawings, thus fed him and helped him survive, like it did also for many of the dysentery patients.

Warren was invited back to restore the faded murals in St. Luke's Chapel on multiple occasions, first in December 1963, then in July 1982 and lastly in May 1988.⁶² Meanwhile, a replica mural done by an unrelated artist now adorns a significant part of the present day museum. In fact, the whole Zone 3 of the museum block (Fig. 5.1) had been designed to mimic the spatial experience of the St. Luke's Chapel in Roberts Barrack, from the elevated fenestrations, to the placement of the altar, curtains and pews (Figs. 4.14 and 4.15).

There has been very careful, intentional reconstruction of the scene inside St. Luke's Chapel, which helped to support the tracings back to its history. It, that is the Zone 3 of the present Chapel Museum block, can therefore more effectively stir up the memories associated with that particular space and time, hence playing a role in commemorating its history and provoking sensations of familiarity despite the inherent time-space differentials. These mnemonic devices do not necessarily have any relationship with specifically, the Australian POWs in Changi, or even the Changi Prison during wartime. In spite of this, they were employed as traces of other important events, that when formed together into a coherent chronology, tell the larger story of World War II in Changi. As formerly described in the dialogue between Tan and Cody, the new Changi Chapel and Museum ensemble had focused on painting a larger picture of the Changi POW Camp history.

They have done so in varying degrees of commitment, from the convenient placement of a box of sand to commemorate the whole Sook Ching Massacre, to the painstakingly reconstruction of the Changi Murals and its immediate spaces. Ultimately, these objects have the intention to

⁶² Restoration was slow and stretched over a long period of time as large parts of the original murals were heavily destroyed from negligence. Peter W. Stubbs, *Restoration of the Murals; Military History Pages*, <http://www.petrowilliamus.co.uk/murals/restoration/restoration.htm> (accessed: December 12, 2011).

help in piecing together other parts of WWII history that the physicality of the Museum Chapel could not explain. They signify other chapters of history and therefore become micro mnemonic devices within the Changi Chapel and Museum.

5.1 The Last Incarnation

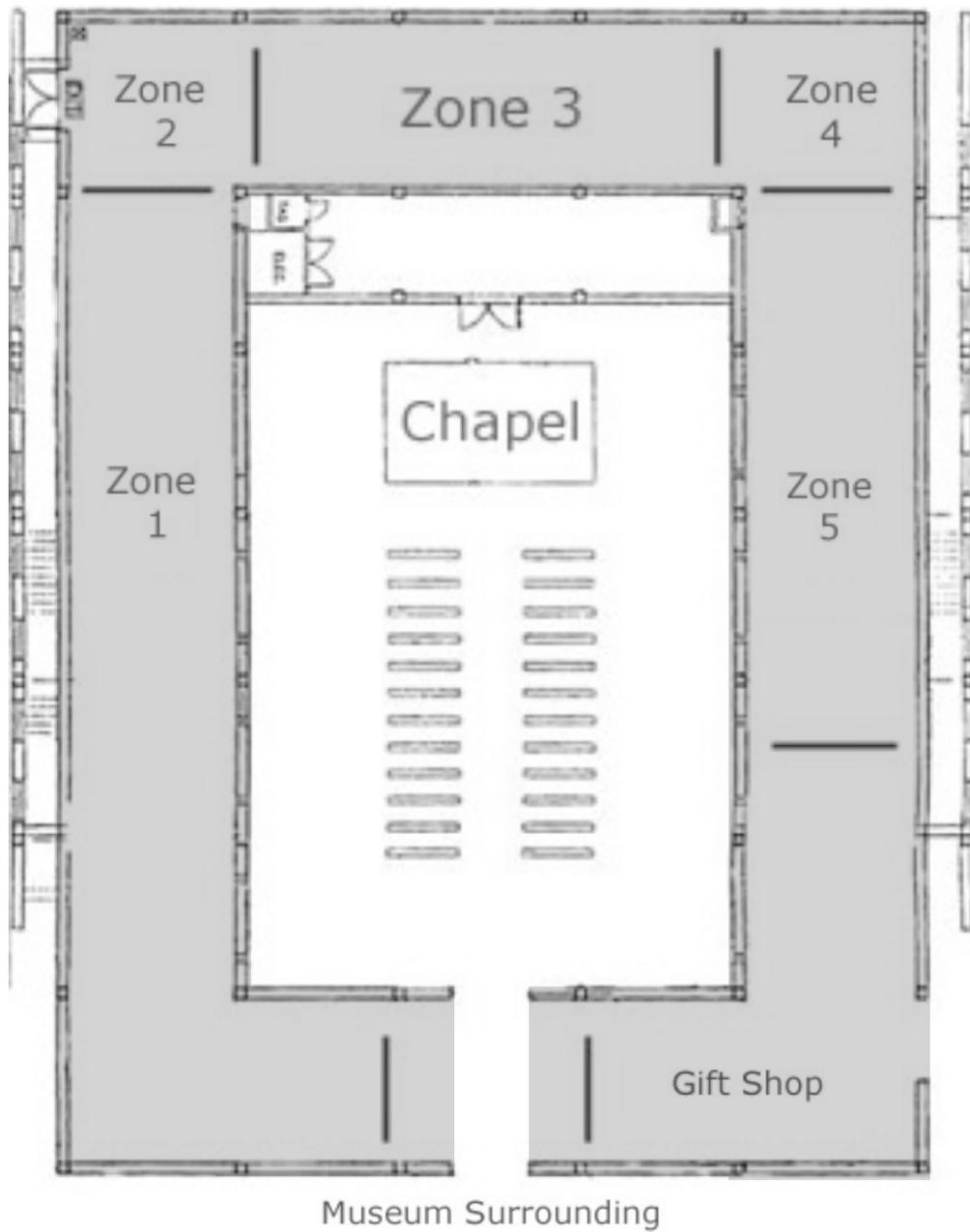


Fig. 5.1: Visitor's map of the latest Changi Chapel and Museum (2001-present), altered to show the perimeter museum block.



Fig. 5.2: Triptych showing a visitor's walk through the main entrance of Changi Chapel and Museum.

*This diary entry was written during Sheila Allan's first return trip to Changi, after the war ended. She was particularly overwhelmed with emotions also because she lost her dear father during their time of incarceration in Changi Camp.*⁶³

ALLAN

Through misty eyes I took a long look at Changi
Prison – I just don't want to see it again – I want to
put it out of my life, or can I? I don't know. I don't
really know – part of my life is in these walls – can I
really forget Changi Prison? Went to the Old Chapel
and I am overwhelmed with sadness and on the
spur of the moment I penned those words on the
pages of a notebook – Dad, I have not forgotten.
Remembered with love, Sheila.

On plan, this new museum block acts as a very physical perimeter boundary of the Museum Chapel as it surrounds the Museum Chapel on all sides. Even before walking through the entrance of the Museum block, I had to make a winding detour through the carpark before I was finally confronted with a huge blank wall with a single aperture leading into the Museum Chapel. I could not help but think that with those cliché gates and austere facade treatment (as shown in first image of triptych overleaf), I was walking into a space that literally enveloped my path, vision and mind. I have never been inside a prison, but this spatial atmosphere of enclosure was unmistakable.

From the winding walk – a miniaturised ritual of the 1942 Long March, to the austere walls and gates – also miniaturised versions of the actual prison, and lastly the passage through the entrance – à la the passage through the prison gates, the architecture of the Museum block was clearly intent on evoking an atmosphere of incarceration.

⁶³ Allan, *Diary of a Girl in Changi*, p. 166.

Instantaneously, it confounded me – was I in the Museum Chapel in 2011, or was I reenacting scenes of the Prison Chapel in 1942? Was I *me*, here and now, or was I *Sheila*, there and then? It was not so clear anymore. As the identities of Prison Chapel of 1942 and Museum Chapel of 2011 became amalgamated, I began losing a sense of time and space. The mnemonic chapel, with its new museum and the many traces of wartime history, did it. It becomes the signifier of the original chapel and its context. It *becomes* the Prison Chapel.

5.2 Back to the Original

Initially, the paper has very methodically dissected the many identities and reincarnations of the Prison Chapel. In the case of the Australian Chapel (Duntroon, 1987-present), it was made from actual materials of the galvanised iron Prison Chapel in Changi (Church of England Chapel, 1944-1947). In its new site inside the Royal Military College of Australia's campus, it functioned more as a memorial chapel, with its immediate surroundings not designed in total accordance to the pews in front of the original Prison Chapel. When re-situating the original Prison Chapel in its own context, it has been found out that most ex-POWs associated pleasant memories of their unity through adversity with the Prison Chapel. In effect, the Australian Chapel has also tried to signify this optimism, as the whole design paid no particular attention to the war atrocities and hard life. Through signifying and extracting of the Prison Chapel's essence, the Australian Chapel has in effect memorialise the Prison Chapel, that is, it now acts as a mnemonic device that traces back to the original.

In the case of the Museum Chapel (Changi, 2001-present), which is now located five minutes away from Changi Prison, it used to exist just immediately outside Changi Prison (Changi, 1988-2001). By then, the rudimentary *attap* chapel had been reconstructed with a new museum wing. Prior to this reconstruction, the hype of sensationalising what was then the "new" ex-sites of WWII meant that a ubiquitous room inside one of the prison block became marketed as the Museum Chapel (Changi, 1953-1987). Notwithstanding this anomalous transformation of the Museum Chapel, it has then been speculated that the *attap* chapel was reconstructed based on the St. George's Church (inside Changi Prison, 1944-1945).

Strictly speaking then, there seems to be two originals – firstly, the galvanised iron Prison Chapel (Church of England Chapel, 1944-1947) that the Australian Chapel is based, and secondly, the *attap* Prison Chapel (St. George’s Church, 1944-1945) that the Museum Chapel is based. Yet technicalities aside, there is a singular amalgamated identity that strips all the reconstructions of its complicated relationships – simply known as the “Changi Chapel”. Every reconstruction claims to be *the* “Changi Chapel”. Hence, the metaphysics start to deceive the visitor.

Being in *any* one of these reincarnations seems to bring one back to the original, the sign. There is a parallel existence of not just the Prison Chapel, the Australian Chapel and the Museum Chapel(s), but more importantly, there is also a parallel existence of the visitor. For ex-POWs, namely Allan, Newsom, Lt. Cameron-Smith and Cody, any of these chapel identities possess a transcendental quality in their ability to bring them back to that part of their lives. For an unrelated visitor like me, the Museum then proved to be extremely crucial in painting the context of the whole WWII period in Singapore. It first injected me with knowledge about the WWII environment, and then subsequently obscured my consciousness upon the confrontation of the Museum Chapel.

The visitor is there, in Canberra, year 2011, but also in Changi, year 1944 and Changi, year 2011. The power of reconstructed objects, that is, the power of mnemonic devices therefore is not just about the mere duplicity of architecture and space. These mnemonic devices ultimately allow the visitor to inhabit a space in multiple timeframes – a duplicity of existence and obfuscation of consciousness.

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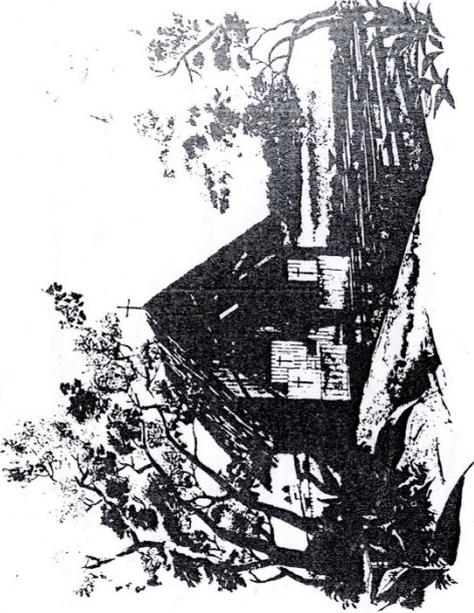
Appendix A: Changi Prison Chapel. *Dedication and Memorial Service* (Singapore: Changi Prison Chapel, 1988).

Appendix B: Changi Chapel and Museum, *Brochure for Visitors* (Singapore, 2011)

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RCLOS EPHE PL24 V1.1

CHANGI PRISON CHAPEL *1/2* ✓/f



DEDICATION
AND
MEMORIAL SERVICE

15 FEBRUARY 1988

OPENING HYMN

COME O THOU GOD OF GRACE

WILLIAM E. EVANS, 1851-1915
ITALIAN HYMN (TRINITY), 6. 6. 4. 6. 6. 6. 4.
FELICE GIARDINI, 1716-1796

1. Come, O Thou God of grace, Dwell in this ho - ly place,
2. Be in each song of praise Which here Thy peo - ple raise
3. Speak, O e - ter - nal Lord, Out of Thy liv - ing Word,

E'en now de - scend! This tem - ple, reared to Thee, O may it
With hearts a - flame! Let ev - ery an - them rise Like in - cense
O give suc - cess! Do Thou the truth im - part Un - to each

ev - er be Filled with Thy maj - es - ty, Till time shall end;
to the skies A joy - ful sac - ri - fice, To Thy blest Name!
wait - ing heart; Source of all strength Thou art; Thy gos - pel bless!
A - MEN.

ORDER OF SERVICE

Organ Prelude

A Word of Welcome

Opening Hymn - "Come O Thou God of Grace" *

Act of Dedication *

In Memoriam *

Sermon - "The Good Shepherd"
Rev. Henry Khoo Hin Yang

Closing Hymn - "The Lord's My Shepherd" *

Laying of Wreaths *

Benediction *

Organ Postlude

* *Congregation please stand*

ACT OF DEDICATION

The minister shall say to the people :

Beloved in the Lord, we rejoice that God put it into the hearts of His people to build this chapel to the glory of His name. I now accept this building to be known as Changi Prison Chapel, to dedicate it, and to set it apart for the worship of Almighty God and the service of all men. Let us therefore, as we are assembled, solemnly dedicate this chapel to its proper and sacred uses.

Then, all standing, the minister shall say, the people responding :

Minister - To the glory of God the Father, who has called us by His grace;
To the honour of His Son Jesus Christ, who loved us and gave Himself for us;
To the praise of the Holy Spirit, who illumines and sanctifies us;

Congregation - We dedicate this chapel.

Minister - For the worship of God in prayer and praise;
For the preaching of the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ;
For the celebration of the holy Sacraments;

Congregation - We dedicate this chapel.

Minister - For the comfort of all who mourn;
For strength to those who are tempted;
For light to those who seek the way;

Congregation - We dedicate this chapel.

Minister - For the hallowing of family life;
For teaching and guiding the young;
For the perfecting of the saints;

Congregation - We dedicate this chapel.

Minister - For the conversion of sinners;
For the promotion of righteousness;
For the extension of the Kingdom of God;

Congregation - We dedicate this chapel.

Minister - In the unity of the faith;
In the bond of Christian brotherhood;
In charity and good will to all;

Congregation - We dedicate this chapel.

Minister - In gratitude for the labours of all who
love and serve this chapel;
In loving remembrance of those who have
finished their course;
In the hope of a blessed immortality
through Jesus Christ our Lord;

Congregation - We dedicate this chapel.

Then shall the minister and people together say :

We now, the people of this chapel and congregation,
compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses, grateful for
our heritage, sensible of the sacrifice of our fathers in the faith,
confessing that apart from us their work cannot be made perfect,
do dedicate ourselves anew to the worship and service of
Almighty God; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the minister say :

Accept, O God our Father, this service at our hands,
and bless it to the end that this congregation of faithful people
may make manifest the Church of the Living God, the pillar
and ground of truth, and so may this chapel be the place where
Thine honour dwelleth and the whole earth be filled with Thy
glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CLOSING HYMN
THE LORD'S MY SHEPHERD

PSALM XXIII
SCOTTISH PSALTER, 1670

MARTYRDOOM (AVON). C. M.

HUGH WILSON, 1764-1814

1. The Lord's my Shep - herd, I'll not want; He makes me down to lie
2. My soul He doth re - store a - gain, And me to walk doth make
3. Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale, Yet will I fear no ill;
4. My ta - ble Thou hast fur - nish - ed In pres - ence of my foes;
5. Good - ness and mer - cy all my life Shall sure - ly fol - low me;

In pas - tures green; He lead - eth me The qui - et wa - ters by,
With - in the paths of right - eous - ness, Ev'n for His own name's sake,
For Thou art with me, and Thy rod And staff me com - fort still,
My head Thou dost with oil a - noint, And my cup o - ver - flows,
And in God's house for ev - er - more My dwell - ing place shall be. A - MEN.

Alternative tunc, Strathathro, No. 140

STORY OF PROJECT

The Battle of Singapore was an event of international significance. To the 85,000 soldiers and civilians held captive during the war, Changi Prison remains a stark, emotional symbol of their wartime experiences. Faith, courage and perseverance were the symbolic elements that ultimately triumphed over hunger, deprivation and despair during those long dark years. In response to the overwhelming interest shown by ex-prisoners of war, their relatives and friends and the general public, the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board and the Singapore Prison Service jointly undertook to build this replica of a World War II chapel. This chapel is typical of the numerous chapels built by Allied prisoners during the war and was taken from the book, "The Churches of the Captivity in Malaya" by Rev J N Lewis Bryans which was published in 1946.

A museum, where visitors may view an astonishing collection of drawings, sketches and photographs done by prisoners-of-war, has been set up to tell this unique story. The collection of lively sketches and watercolours by the late Traffic Police Superintendent, W R M Haxworth, for instance, depict with good humour, the high morale of the POWs despite overcrowding, poor hygiene and little food at the prison. The shadowy and evocative series of photographs taken by the Australian soldier, Mr George Aspinall depict the day-to-day experiences of the POWs more vividly than any written diary - and under the most restrictive of conditions.

Collectively, the Changi Prison Chapel and the Changi Prison Museum form part of the story behind the "Battle of Singapore"; the chapel as a memorial and the museum as an exhibit centre of the wartime experiences of the POWs.

Today, just four months since the inception of this project, the Changi Prison Museum and Chapel are now a reality. We wish

to thank the many people who have given so much of their personal attention and time to this project, especially the following :

The inmates who built the Chapel
Mr Robertson Collins (Project Consultant)
Mrs Grace Lim (Project Co-ordinator)
Mr Sim Kern Teck (Landscape Designer)
Mr Vernon Cornelius (Sound Consultant)
Mr Andrew Chong (Lighting Consultant)
Rev Henry Khoo Hin Yang
L.T.C H M J Jensen OBE (ex-POW Adviser)
Ex-Services' Association of Singapore

Today we have before us a small, but vivid reminder of the courage, endurance and imagination of the Allied POWs at Changi Prison.

Other Recommended Tours



WALKS SCHEDULE
April to June 2011

DESCRIPTION

The Original Singapore Walks are brought to you by Journeys Pre Ltd, a travel agency specialising in heritage based research and tour design. Conceptualised as a series of historical tours, the Walks operates on a simple principle: to bring people into places most other tours don't. Graveyards, smoke houses, wet markets, funeral shops, gun batteries and a few inviting pubs thrown in for good measure. Launched in 2003, the Walks provides deep insights into local culture, heritage and lifestyle, yet remain some of the most entertaining and illuminating experiences one can find in the city.

In addition, Journeys also conducts the *Changi Museum War Trails™* on behalf of The Changi Museum. These coach trails about the Fall and Occupation of Singapore during WWII and are dedicated to the memory of all who fought and suffered during those dark years.

There is no need to pre-book the tours (although participants are advised to call ahead to reserve their seats on the *Changi Museum War Trails™*). One need only meet the guide at the designated meeting point at the appointed time. (For meeting points at MRT stations, the guide will be waiting aboveground.)

Day	Time	Walks/Tour	Meeting Place	Price (S\$)
Mon	9.30 am - 12.00 pm	The Time of Empire™ A Colonial District Walk	City Hall MRT Outside Exit B (North Bridge Rd)	(A) S30 (C) S15
Tue	9.30 am - 12.00 pm	Red Cliffs Down the Five-Foot-Way™ A Chinatown Walk	Tanjong Pagar MRT Outside Exit B (Maxwell Rd)	(A) S30 (C) S15
Wed	9.30 am - 12.00 pm	Dhobis, Satis & a Spot of Curry™ A Little India Walk (Buffalo Road)	Little India MRT Outside Exit E (Buffalo Road)	(A) S30 (C) S15
Wed	2.00 pm - 5.30 pm	End of Empire - Singapore 1942 (Batterfield Tour) A Changi Museum War Trail™	Little India MRT Outside Exit A (Balfour Trail Road)	(A) S48 (C) S30
Thur	9.30 am - 12.00 pm	Sultans of Spice™ A Kampong Glam Walk (Woolly-Anab Quarter) Walk	Bugis MRT Outside Exit B	(A) S30 (C) S15
Thur	6.20 pm - 9.00 pm	The Tipple Exchange™ A Boat Quay-Singapore River Walk	Entrance of Asian Civilisations Museum (Empress Place)	(A) S30 (C) S15
Fri	6.30 pm - 8.30 pm	Secrets of the Red Lantern™ A Chinatown Night Walk (Facing Pagoda Street)	Chinatown MRT Outside Exit A (Facing Pagoda Street)	(A) S30 (C) S15
Sat	10.00 am - 1.00 pm	Changi WWII A Changi Museum War Trail™	Pair Ris MRT Exit B	(A) S48 (C) S30
Sat	5.00 pm - 7.30 pm	Or Dull, Barley & Radhama™ A Clarke Quay-Singapore River Walk	Clarke Quay MRT Outside Exit A (Eu Tong Sen Street)	(A) S30 (C) S15

*Seasons change and so do our Walks. Log onto www.singaporewalks.com or call 65 63251631 for the latest schedule. No Tour(s) Sundays and the following Public Holidays: 1 Jan, 3-4 Feb, 22 April, 1-2 & 17 May, 9 & 30 Aug, 26 Oct, 6-7 Nov, 25-26 Dec of 2011.

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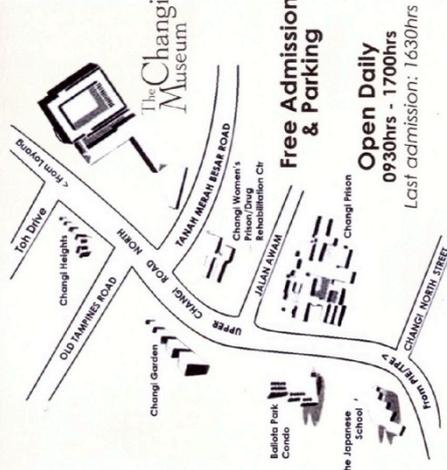
Museum Facilities

The Longhouse located next to the museum, offers a range of local and western cuisine in a charming alfresco atmosphere.

Rental of the Chapel Courtyard and Longhouse is available, providing a unique venue for functions, under the stars.



Visitor Information



Free Admission & Parking

Open Daily
0930hrs - 1700hrs
Last admission: 1630hrs

Take SBS No.2 from Tanah Merah MRT Station or SBS No.29 from Tampines MRT Station. Alight at the bus-stop opposite Changi Museum

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E-mail: changimuseum@singnet.com.sg
Website: www.changimuseum.com

The Changi Museum

SINGAPORE



Changi 1942 - 1945



About The Museum

The **Changi Museum** is dedicated to all who suffered during the dark years of WWII.

Through letters, photographs, drawings and personal artefacts, the Museum chronicles the compelling story of POWs and civilian internees during their years in captivity. It is a story about great adversity, inspiration and remarkable heroism.

New galleries now trace the **History of Changi** from a rustic village to its role in the defence of Singapore and its transformation into a large internment camp in 1942.

Museum Exhibits & Facilities

Replicas of the famous **Changi Murals** and the **Changi Quilts** are on display in testimony to the spirit of resourcefulness and ingenuity that kept morale up and ultimately ensured survival.

Paying tribute to all who fought for the defence of Singapore and Malaya, is the new section **We Remember**.

Through sketches, drawings and paintings, the new **Wartime Artists** section captures intimate details of men, women and children behind the walls and barbed wire.

The museum's **Giftshop** offers an excellent selection of books on WWII, military interest and general Singapore history and culture.

The museum also has its own publications for sale including the reprint of the book 'History of Changi' by Henry Probert and The Changi Murals: A Personal Viewpoint' by Wally Hammond.

Tours By The Museum

In-House & Audio Tours (approx 1 hour)

Join our specially trained museum docents on an **In-House Tour**, or go on our **Audio Tour** that weaves a complete picture of the museum exhibits and stories of Changi.

\$\$8.00/Adult, \$\$4.00/Child (In-house/audio single sets) **\$\$6.00/Adult, \$\$3.00/Child (audio sharing sets)**

"Very moving - beautifully arranged - excellent tour"
Lena Simon, Heris, UK

Changi Museum War Trails™

End of Empire - Singapore 1942 (3 Hours)
Every Wed, 2pm - 5.30pm
(A Battlefield Tour)

Intricate strategies, subtle plots, great follies, explosive action - we take you through the intense fire of battle and the fog of war that led to the fall of Singapore. Get to know them - the British, Australian, Indian and Malayan defenders. Uncover the realities behind seductive myths and propaganda.

Labrador Park/Dive Past Alexandra Hospital/IM Faber/Kranji War Cemetery

Changi WWII (3 Hours) **Every Sat, 10am - 1pm**

Once the site of many POW camps during the Japanese Occupation, Changi has gone down in history as a place of much pain, torture and human suffering. The Changi WWII trail commemorates the fight of brave men and women during battle and internment. Hear their stories.

Changi Museum/Changi Beach & Village/Johore Battery/ Outside Changi Prison & Selarang Barracks

\$\$45/Adult, \$\$30/Child

For Changi Museum War Trails™, reservations via phone or email - 63251631 / 62142451 / fan@singaporewalks.com - by 5pm the day before will be appreciated. This allows us to arrange a suitable size coach and therefore keep our tours 'green'. Availability is on first-come-first-served basis thereafter. For more information on customised tours or special rates for organised groups, please call (65) 6214 2451 or email us at changimuseum@singnet.com.sg