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5   Scarcity in Visual Memory: Creating a Mural of Sylvia Pankhurst

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Abstract

This chapter looks at the "premediation" (Erll & Rigney, 2009) of a mural of the early 20th-century activist Sylvia Pankhurst and considers a number of photographs that it remediates, asking the question: How did these images end up here? The chapter follows the images in relation to broader characteristics of Pankhurst's remembrance, exploring the long and often complicated pathways they take to become carriers of cultural memory. This exploration reveals the many different forms of political or aesthetic attachment behind the mural, which themselves are shaped by institutional, financial, or technological constraints and possibilities, and demonstrates that even in a culture of "post-scarcity" (Hoskins, 2018) and supposed imagistic abundance the visual memory of activism is still governed by scarcity.

Keywords: visual memory, activism, Sylvia Pankhurst, mural, scarcity principle, premediation

On the brick wall of the Lord Morpeth pub in Bow, East London, facing an empty grassy square and visible from a distance, is a large black-and-white mural with a woman's face at the centre. Her hand rests elegantly beneath her chin as she looks out across the green with a wistful, slightly crooked gaze and a faint smile. Her face is bordered by smaller images of figures in long dresses and big hats set against a background of grey clouds and ink spills; in one, a pair carry a banner that reads "Votes for Women"; in another, a woman leans over a balcony as if to address a crowd below. Underneath the placard, which displays the name of the Lord Morpeth pub, is the word "Sylvia" written in a cursive font. This mural remembers the lifelong activist

and campaigner Sylvia Pankhurst (1882–1960), who lived in Bow for 10 years from 1914 to 1924.

Testimony to this period, the mural (Figure 5.1) reproduces several photographs of Pankhurst in the form of a painted collage. These photographs ground Pankhurst's memory in a particular time and place: the East End of London in the early 20th century. And the mural contributes a sense of history specific to the local area which, for the most part, is quiet, residential, far from the crowds and tourists of the city centre. However, the photographs that make up the mural also circulate prolifically on the internet, where the specificities of their historic or geographic roots are not easily traceable. In light of recent debates that consider interactions between digital and the non-digital media in the cultural memory of activism (Daphi & Zamponi, 2019; Merrill et al., 2020), this chapter asks the question: How did these images end up in the mural? Through what mechanisms, contingencies, and opportunities does this visual memory work operate? The Sylvia Pankhurst mural in Bow demonstrates the long and often complicated pathways that photographs take to become carriers of cultural memory as they are repeated and remediated in ways which resonate with different narratives.

Following a delineation of key concepts, this chapter considers the mural from three angles. First, I examine the images that make it up: their material composition, their circulation, and their availability. I go on to situate the mural's premediation more widely in relation to Pankhurst's life and the cultural memory of her time in the East End. The last part of this chapter studies later mediations of the mural to explore how its digital and non-digital premediation has conditioned its place in Pankhurst's remembrance. Teasing out the different factors that co-create this site of remembrance, from institutional limitations to aesthetic attachments, demonstrates the centrally constitutive role of scarcity in visual memory work and, running counter to claims of visual abundance in the digital age, establishes that scarcity operates across both non-digital and digital media.

Scarcity in the Premediation of Visual Memory

Attending to the mural's *premediation* entails a study of "the ancestors to a particular act of mediation," the "cognitive schemata and patterns of representation that are available in a given media culture …, and which already preform the events that we later remember through mediation" (Erll & Rigney, 2009, p. 8). Such premediation may be conscious and

Figure 5.1: Sylvia Pankhurst Mural. London, United Kingdom, December 2021. Photo: Clara Vlessing.

unconscious, intended and unintended: as Ariella Azoulay (2015) writes, "[t]he imagination is always shot through with splinters of images that have their source in the outside world and in other people" (p. 17). The obscurity of these pathways in the finished product—which does not include citations, references, or natural directions to turn to for further information—seems particular to *visual* memory work, where the immediacy of visual representation often occludes the premediatory processes that make it up.

Understanding the premediation of this likeness reveals the distributed agency that prevents any straightforward correlation between creative intent and its eventual realization. It uncovers many different forms of political or aesthetic attachment, which themselves are shaped by institutional, financial, or technological constraints and possibilities and availabilities. So, while they are various and numerous, the pathways through which this site of memory is constructed are not infinite. Instead, the mural's premediation is determined by, in Michel Foucault's terms, the principle of "scarcity" [*rareté*] (1969). Responding to a tendency to see memory as once fully formed and in danger of being lost—which she terms the "'original plenitude and subsequent loss' model" (2005, p. 12)—Ann Rigney has shown how the principle of scarcity affects the workings of cultural memory, determining the process of remembrance and the transfer of memories, and providing limitations in terms of "the selectivity of recall, the convergence of memories, the recursivity in remembrance, the recycling of models of remembrance and memory transfers" (p. 16). Running counter to any idea of memory as inexhaustible or ever-increasing, Rigney demonstrates that

memory circulates through the mediation of common frameworks, familiar models and recurring patterns.

Further developing the role of scarcity in the formation of memory, Andrew Hoskins has coined the description of the digital age as "post-scarcity" (2011a; 2011b; 2018), characterized by the agitation between, on the one hand, the huge scale of accessible digital material and, on the other, the impossibility of consuming it. The "mass availability" of digital media, he argues, has further contributed to an idea of memory wherein it can be captured, contained, and evoked (Hoskins, 2018, p. 271). Post-scarcity culture offers new modes of engagement with media which give rise to "digitally fostered values" (Hoskins, 2018, p. 13) such as open access and instant search results. The vast availability of digital media has ushered in a new imaginary which "amazes in the very recognition of the scale of this post-scarcity culture" (Hoskins, 2018, p. 15). The past—liberated from its spatial archives—appears as a vast load or responsibility with little internal logic or coherence. In considering Pankhurst's mural, as shaped both by tangible carriers of memory that have preceded it and the affordances of specific parts of the internet, this chapter shows that the digital and non-digital cannot be neatly separated. It demonstrates that the scarcity principle remains a determining factor in shaping remembrance in the digital age, functioning across both digital and non-digital media.

The Photographs: Materiality and Availability

Painted in 2018, the mural is an example of a reappraisal of Pankhurst's memory that is linked to the widespread celebrations of the centenary of the 1918 Representation of the People Act, which gave some women the right to vote. It is the work of aerosol artist Jerome Davenport, also known as Ketones6000. In a semi-structured interview that I undertook as part of a broader enquiry into Sylvia Pankhurst's afterlives, Davenport explained that the photographs incorporated into the mural were chosen mainly by searching the internet.[1] Indeed, the images remain relatively easy to locate online: an incognito Google Image search of "Sylvia Pankhurst" (January 2021) returned three out of four among the first 30 images that came up.

The mural reproduces four photographs, three of Pankhurst and one without her, all of which appear to be from roughly the period of her life she

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1   Discussed in interview 22 September 2020. Unless otherwise stated, information about the mural's origins draws from this same conversation.

spent in Bow: a full-frontal portrait in the centre of the mural; Pankhurst speaking on a balcony, with placards behind her, on the viewer's top right (Figure 5.2); Pankhurst, again talking to an audience, wearing a hat and in front of a lamppost, bottom left (Figure 5.3); and Christabel Pankhurst with fellow suffragette Annie Kenney holding a sign in the top left corner. The first of these photographs adheres to the recognisable visual logic of portraiture: the head and shoulders of a single sitter who faces the camera head on, aware of its presence, with their features and body arranged into a self-conscious pose against a nondescript background. Pankhurst's elbow is propped on a table, she wears a dark jacket with glinting buttons and a white shirt. Both familiar in its setup and unfamiliar in the open vulnerability with which Pankhurst faces the camera, the slight masculinity of her outfit, her faintly open-mouthed half smile, the photograph exemplifies the theory of "singularity," as expressed in the introduction to this volume. Remediated in the mural, the bottom half and background of the photograph do not appear, so that Pankhurst becomes a floating head propped on a hand. With a glimpse of colour in what is otherwise a black and white image, the portrait dominates Davenport's mural. In this central position it signals the painting's relation to a particular subject; its composition and detail show that it is not simply an anonymous face but a definite historical referent. The figures that surround it, based on the other three photographs, are more abstracted, less personal. Although they remediate existing photographs of Pankhurst and her sister, they stand, in this version, as vague gestures to Edwardian social movement culture.

Institutional as well as aesthetic factors have shaped the circulation of this photographic portrait. A reverse Google Image search showed that it is consistently used to accompany recent news articles relating to Sylvia Pankhurst. It also adorns the front cover of the most recent biography on her, Rachel Holmes's *Sylvia Pankhurst: Natural Born Rebel* (2020). However, the portrait does not appear anywhere in previous biographies of Pankhurst, suggesting its limited circulation pre-internet.[2] In its online appearances, there is no information about where, when, and by whom the photograph was taken. Holmes's biography credits Getty Images, where the image can be purchased for between £150 and £375. Getty Images' website signals its origins in the Hulton Archive of photojournalism, which comprises some 15 million images from the major British newspaper and press archives of

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2   The photograph of Pankhurst on the balcony appears in *Sylvia Pankhurst: Artist and Crusader* (Pankhurst, 1979, p. 161) labelled with the year 1912, in *Sylvia Pankhurst: A Crusading Life* (Harrison, 2003, p. 184) and on the cover of Winslow's book.

Figure 5.2: Sylvia Pankhurst speaking
from balcony, the Sylvia Pankhurst mural.
London, United Kingdom, December
2021. Photo: Clara Vlessing.

Figure 5.3: Sylvia Pankhurst demonstrating, the
Sylvia Pankhurst mural. London, United Kingdom,
December 2021. Photo: Clara Vlessing.

the 19th and 20th century and was bought by Getty in 1996. The Hulton
Archive was digitized in the early 2000s "to serve traditional editorial sectors,
nostalgic marketing and advertising campaigns, and online art consumers"
(Frosh, 2003, p. 200). Pankhurst's portrait has therefore become incorporated
into the global trade of photographic images used in news and advertising.
And, as Frosh (2003) points out, the transnational conglomerates—such as
Getty Images—which dominate the stock photography industry benefit
from the "structural and ideological advantage" (p. 183) of their invisibility
in the circulation of images for profit.

   With its enormous and far-reaching collection, Getty Images collapses the
boundaries and distinctions between different photographic genres, so that
photojournalism and marketing images are repackaged under the unifying
signifier "content" (Frosh, 2003, p. 207). The extent to which markers of pro-
duction are indeterminate, or are combined into indicators of circulation and
consumption, obscures the contexts in which the images are produced. Thus,
although Getty Images dates the portrait to 1918 (a year that Pankhurst did
indeed spend predominantly in Bow), the agents and mechanisms behind its

creation are not apparent, and information about how it reached the internet is lacking.[3] The same can be said of the other Pankhurst portraits remediated in the mural: Pankhurst on the balcony is also from the Hulton collection, while the provenance of the image of her in a hat is unclear. The routes that these images have taken from Pankhurst's life to her cultural memory are far from transparent; instead they appear unanchored and commercialized. In their digital form, these images can be linked to Pankhurst's name and used to anchor her remembrance, as on the cover of Holmes's biography, but they are also transitory, moving between contexts with ease and rapidity. They stand as potential sites of "context collapse" (Davis & Jurgenson, 2014; Marwick & boyd, 2011; Merrill, 2020), whereby the digitization of images has anaesthetized their historical specificity.

The photographs that make up the mural are unusual in their lack of connection to their origins. Most photographs of Pankhurst sit in the International Institute for Social History (IISG) in Amsterdam, which holds her sizeable personal collection, all of which are catalogued alongside information about the year in which, and sometimes place where, they were taken. The bulk of these images are part of the Sylvia Pankhurst Papers which were given to the IISG by her son Richard Pankhurst in 1961. These include photographs that appear to be from the same events as those used in the mural, including portraits that seem to be from the same sitting. However, the photographs in the IISG can only be reproduced with the institution's consent and so are not easily circulated online. In comparison to the abundant but potentially inaccessible material available in the IISG archive, Getty offers both a curated selection of high-quality digital images and a relatively straightforward way of clearing any copyright concerns.

As a result, a relatively scarce number of images become widely circulated to a broad audience. The varieties of Pankhurst's representation become increasingly limited as the same images are selected for their familiarity, so that the prevalence of, for instance, the central portrait fixes Pankhurst's remembrance on a version of her in which she is composed, young and solitary. In this way, the stock image economy could be seen to advance the consolidation of Pankhurst's afterlives, in this case anchoring her cultural memory to the Bow years.

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3   A scan of the back of the original image revealed that the portrait was taken by Elliott and Fry, a London photography studio founded in 1863. The studio's premises was bombed during the Second World War but many of their negatives are held by the National Portrait Gallery. Many thanks to Melanie Llewellyn, who works as a curator at Getty Images, for her help in obtaining this information.

Pankhurst's Life and Remembrance in the East End

To understand the ways in which the mural offers a remembrance of
Pankhurst, and the role of scarcity in affecting its resonance, the account
that follows attempts to provide a sense of moments in Pankhurst's life
that are pertinent to the makeup of her cultural "afterlives" (Rigney, 2012).
Any such account is bound to emphasize particular moments or themes
to the exclusion of others, mediating Pankhurst's experiences into a neat
sequence that is incapable of fully capturing the complexities and nuances
of a human life. This version draws from Pankhurst's own writings, the IISG
archive, and biographies by Davis (1999), Harrison (2003), Connelly (2013),
and Holmes (2020).

Pankhurst was born on 5 May 1882 in Old Trafford, Manchester, to Dr
Richard Marsden Pankhurst (1834–1898) and Emmeline Pankhurst (née
Goulden) (1858–1928). In 1903 Emmeline Pankhurst set up the Women's
Social and Political Union (WSPU), later known as the "suffragettes." Sylvia
Pankhurst was a key part of this movement from the outset. She was the
WSPU's first honorary secretary, designed its logo, and, in 1911, wrote *The Suf-
fragette*, the earliest history of the movement. However, in the years leading
up to the First World War, she was increasingly at odds with her mother and
her sister Christabel (1880–1958), so much so that they dismissed her from
the WSPU in 1914, at which point she moved to Bow. Accounts of Pankhurst's
life provide different motivations and timelines for her split from the WSPU.
These range from the more personal, such as jealousy at Christabel's success
or an inherent dislike of authority, to the politico-ideological. Sylvia opposed
the movement's use of violence, the organization's authoritarian structure,
and its gradual movement to the political right, particularly in its attitude
towards class: she was a determined socialist and fought against Christabel
and Emmeline's notions that all women's interests were best represented
by bourgeois women.

In Bow, after some contestation with the WSPU about whether she could
use the word "suffragette," Pankhurst set up the East London Federation
of Suffragettes (ELFS). During the years of the First World War (which, in
contrast to the WSPU official line, she did not support), she was a consistent
campaigner for women's and workers' rights. As well as agitating for an end
to the war, the ELFS campaigned for the welfare of working mothers and
their children. Much of this campaigning was effected through Pankhurst's
newspaper, first named the *Woman's Dreadnought* and later the *Workers'
Dreadnought*. The ELFS was widely active in the local area, organizing a
People's Army and setting up a toy factory in an effort to provide well-paid

work for local women. Other projects included a crèche (called "The Mother's Arms") and a cost price restaurant, which aimed to provide cheap and nutritious food to all.

Still living in Bow, Pankhurst became a great supporter of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and later travelled around Continental Europe meeting left-wing leaders, including a visit to Moscow in 1920—at some personal risk—to meet with Lenin. Although she was a founding member of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) she was expelled from it soon after for her refusal to tow the party line in her paper. In 1924, she left the East End and moved to Woodford Green in Essex with her partner Silvio Corio, an Italian anarchist. Here she continued writing on a range of campaigns, including in opposition to Mussolini and fascism in Italy. In later life, Pankhurst's involvement in anti-fascism and anti-imperialism led her to become involved in campaigns for Ethiopian independence, first from Italian forces and later from British intervention. She spent the last years of her life in Addis Ababa. On her death, she was given a state funeral and pronounced and "honorary Ethiopian" by Emperor Haile Selassie.

Despite her long and remarkable life, Pankhurst's afterlives have mostly convened around her split from the WSPU and her time in the East End. For many who have subsequently taken an interest in her life, Sylvia Pankhurst's schism with her mother and sister heralds her independence as an activist and establishes her credentials as a socialist. Her distinctiveness from Emmeline and Christabel has subsequently become a fundamental element of her remembrance. Cultural representations of this period of Pankhurst's life range from early academic accounts to more recent popular explorations. By way of example, Barbara Winslow's *Sylvia Pankhurst: Sexual Politics and Political Activism* (1996) argues that, in diverging from the "narrower view of feminism" (Winslow, 1996, p. x) set out by her mother, sister, and the WSPU, Pankhurst's activism reveals wider questions about the articulation of gender and class in social movements. Winslow contends that accounts of Pankhurst's years in Bow reveal her remarkable ability to operate on widely different scales, from the local and community-based, to high-level issues of foreign policy. In *SYLVIA*, a 2018 hip-hop musical based on Pankhurst's life, the focus is on her split with the WSPU as proof of Pankhurst's struggle for a wider social cause than that pursued by most in her immediate circle. Those involved in the production were keen to assert these differences between Sylvia and the other Pankhursts as proof that their protagonist was "outside" or even "ahead of" her time (Crockett, 2018).

As these examples suggest, central tenets of the cultural memory of the period when Pankhurst lived in the East End have become a) her

independence from her mother and sister, b) the grassroots or practical nature of her activism, and c) her awareness of the combined oppressions of class and gender. Based on these elements, Sylvia Pankhurst's memory has become embedded in the trajectory of the left-wing of the women's movement in the United Kingdom as, for instance, Marxist feminist historians in the late 20th century sought out historical precedents for their ideas. In particular, her memory has formed part of a reparative feminist desire to counter patriarchal accounts of history by inserting exemplary socialist women into the record.

The Mural: Contingent Agencies

Remediating the photographs in the form of the mural consolidates their link to Pankhurst's remembrance. As a form of visual expression, the mural is not institutionally backed but is instead created bottom-up, reliant on relatively simple materials and has a long history as a form of socialist art.[4] "[A mural is] a reaction against the commodification of art by its markets and institutions," writes Malcolm Miles, "… and reflects a critical realism derived from Marxism, feminism and ecology which implies that artists act for and with others in reclaiming responsibility for their futures" (1997, p. 4). Rendered by hand, in paint, on a brick wall, the photographs are repositioned outside of the commercialized structures of stock image exchange. This act appears to circumvent questions of ownership and copyright. Once the photographs are remediated in the form of the mural they are no longer easily replicated; moving from a position of banality to one of singularity. The photographs therefore appear to be attached to a radical tradition in which social movement actors are remembered by contemporary figures fighting for the same causes.

 However, like the photographs, the mural acquires new and different meanings depending on its relationships and surroundings. Its premediation demonstrates the contingent agencies through which visual sites of memory come to be. For instance, those involved in preserving Pankhurst's memory have been consistently motivated and mobilized by political concerns, with their attachments to Pankhurst as a historical character formed on a basis of

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4 Although large painted murals do have a long-standing place in socialist commemoration around the world—see, for instance, the work of Diego Riviera—it is worth noting that compositionally Pankhurst's mural is not from the same tradition. Rather than, for instance, depicting nameless crowds or masses it focuses entirely on the commemoration of an individual.

ideological allegiance. By contrast, Davenport's attachments can be better described as aesthetic. He is an unexpected addition to the many actors who have been involved in preserving Pankhurst's memory. Originally from Western Australia, Davenport noted that he first heard about Sylvia Pankhurst when living in London and that he was not "particularly politically minded" but had become interested in her because she "helped a lot of people and the way in which she gave back so much." He had at this stage already painted several large murals in the area (including, for instance, one of the naturalist broadcaster David Attenborough) none of which had any thematic link to Pankhurst and her activism. Indeed, Davenport's original motivation was based on the appeal of the material rather than anything ideological: he approached the Lord Morpeth's pub owner because it was "such an amazing wall." Pankhurst, as a subject to fill this wall, was far from his thoughts.

The decision to choose Pankhurst as the mural's focus therefore did not come from its artist but from the pub's owner who, to quote Davenport, "wanted someone who was an icon." The paths by which the design of the mural reached its eventual form follow a compromised, far from straightforward, link between Pankhurst's activism in the East End and its remembrance in the form of the mural. Following our interview, Davenport sent me two of the mock-ups that he had considered to form the basis of the mural. In these, much of the composition and texture of the eventual mural are already there but the choice of photographs which constitute the collage is different. These versions include representations and juxtapositions that have an odd or uncomfortable relationship with the events of Pankhurst's life and, perhaps more pertinently, those that dominate her remembrance. One places her portrait—a later one than appears on the finished product—alongside George Lansbury, a politician and social reformer who went on to lead the Labour Party, despite the fact that by 1914 Pankhurst's politics were anti-parliamentary and she was vocal critic of that party. In the other mock-up, the central image of Sylvia Pankhurst is placed alongside an equally sized portrait of Emmeline Pankhurst. While Sylvia stares off into the distance pensively, Emmeline faces forwards more challengingly, an eyebrow raised. Placing Sylvia alongside Emmeline in this way runs altogether counter to the events surrounding her rejection of and dismissal from the WSPU, which are a key touchstone in her remembrance. The un-realized mural shifts Pankhurst's memory away from known and familiar resonances and towards an unstable and compromised representation.

To understand the extent to which this representation would have been compromised, we need to recognize that, from January 1914 onwards, Sylvia's

break with the WSPU and with her family was complete. With the exception of some vaguely reconciliatory letters exchanged with Christabel in later life, she had little more to do with them. When Sylvia gave birth to her son Richard in 1927, Emmeline refused to see her or the baby, on the grounds that he had been born "out of wedlock." When Emmeline died two years later, Sylvia was excluded from commemorations of her life. A mural in which images of Sylvia and Emmeline fade into one another is altogether at odds with the events of her life and with the particular strands of left-wing and anti-establishment feminism—quite distinct from her mother's more conservative feminism—for which Sylvia is remembered. This divergence and disassociation from the prevailing narrative of Pankhurst's remembrance has its roots in the circulation of Pankhurst's images online. As Davenport explained, the early process for constructing the mural relied on a Google search to provide relevant photographs. As a search for Sylvia Pankhurst inevitably also produces images of Emmeline Pankhurst (who, for the most part, is a more well-known figure, particularly in the United Kingdom), it seems highly likely that the mock-up in which they are both featured so inappropriately is based on such a process.

The Mural: Mnemonic Meaning

However, ultimately Davenport's mural succeeds in connecting photographs obtained on the internet to other, more familiar, mediations of Pankhurst's cultural memory in a way that develops that memory and may go on to inspire future activism. Further exploration reveals that the development of the mural, as well as its instigation, grew out of a collaborative exchange of information that took place in person rather than online. Davenport suggested that the pub's owner and many others in and around Bow felt a connection to Pankhurst's activism: "[E]veryone in that area has something to say about it, all the families that were directly involved, so much pride in that kind of cockney East London heritage." Davenport's link between Pankhurst and "cockney heritage" might, from up close, appear as a creative reimagining of the activist's identity, but the comment serves to demonstrate his burgeoning sense of the connection between Pankhurst's remembrance and a distinct locale. Davenport also described how the inside walls of the Lord Morpeth were decorated with photographs of suffragettes. These included one of the ELFS lined up outside the pub, which they used as a meeting space for many years. The role of these photographs in affirming Pankhurst and the ELFS's embodied connection to the Lord Morpeth, shows

how memory forms "pluri-media networks" (Erll, 2011, p. 138). Pankhurst's remembrance is distributed across photographic evidence, local attachments and many other means or connections, which themselves are circulated verbally and in various mediated forms.

In creating the mural, Davenport was further aided by a local historian, who took him on a tour of sites connected with Sylvia Pankhurst's history. It was this historian who warned him against putting Sylvia Pankhurst and Emmeline Pankhurst on the same mural: showing how, in this case, the remediation of digital images was limited by contextual historical and political factors. The limited availability of narratives that might give the mural meaning is a function of the recycling and convergence inherent to Rigney's (2005) explanation of the scarcity principle in mnemonic terms. Davenport emerged with a sense of Pankhurst's memory in the local area, observing that she was not remembered for her Communism but for her work on "women's rights" and the grassroots nature of her activism: "giving back" and "standing up against authority." Davenport's sense of Pankhurst's symbolic significance in the East End had an impact on his choice of photographs for the mural: "I would go through the images and think: What is striking? What is powerful? ... In some she looks too soft, you want to get across the power that she had in those speeches and her ferocity." The material and affective affordances of historic photographs explicitly fed into its eventual shape and form.

When it was unveiled, the mural was described by the pub's manager as a "labour of love" ("Sylvia Pankhurst Mural Commemoration on Lord Morpeth," 2018). In its final public form, it remembers a version of Pankhurst's activism that is deeply rooted in its specific geographic location and community. Adding to the pluri-medial network that forms Pankhurst's cultural memory, the mural has since contributed to the creation of further carriers of memory which take embodied, as well as visual and textual, forms. Following the mural's completion, the street art blog inspiringcity.com, which had previously had a post on Sylvia Pankhurst and the East London Suffragettes ("Sylvia Pankhurst and the East London Suffragettes," 2015), produced a Sylvia Pankhurst walking tour of the East End ("Sylvia Pankhurst Suffragette Walking Tour in East London," 2019). This tour, which is freely available online, moves from the Bow Police Station, past the buildings where the *Dreadnought* was published and sold, takes in houses in which Pankhurst recovered from hunger strike, and recognizes the site of the Mother's Arms and the toy factory. It also provides a wider genealogy for Pankhurst's activism, including the sites of social movement events such as the Bryant and May matchstick factory where the 1888 Match Woman Strike,

Figure 5.4: Overview of the Sylvia Pankhurst mural. London, United Kingdom, December 2021. Photo: Clara Vlessing.

described in the tour as "one of the forerunners of the modern trade union movement," took place. Pankhurst's activism is therefore placed within a distinctly local memoryscape. The mural both represents and becomes part of a network of information about the historical importance of a particular geographic location, with a wider allegiance to working-class movements, and an individual's memory within it.

The mural has also taken a place within the wider network that makes up Pankhurst's cultural memory, beyond her time in the East End. In this vein, an image of the mural is replicated within Holmes's biography, which makes a strong case for Pankhurst's importance as an ancestor of contemporary activists, comparing her, for example, to Greta Thunberg and Malala Yousafzai. On Holmes's cover, the very portrait that forms the central image in Davenport's mural is once again remediated. It has moved through archives from analogue photograph to digitized photograph, to painted mural and now to (digital) photograph of mural within material book, gaining new associations and circulating Pankhurst's memory to new audiences with each new iteration. In another example of its place within wider networks, the mural has been visited by members of the Sylvia Pankhurst Memorial Committee, who are engaged in a long campaign for the erection of a statue of Pankhurst in central London, suggesting a role for it in generating support for new sites to Pankhurst's memory. Finally, canvassing during the 2019 General Election, a local Twitter user came across Pankhurst's mural and noted how it had "in a moment of political personal crisis ... inspired me to continue door-knocking" (James, 2020). This Tweet

suggests Pankhurst's mural can inspire political activity that goes beyond the injunction to consider activist pasts and carry out reparative memory work. It suggests that the mural's presence, serving as a visual reminder of the reach and legacy of Pankhurst's politics, can prompt corresponding movements in the moment. As such, the mural feeds into an ideological continuum from Pankhurst's activism, through her remembrance and into the present day.

Conclusion

The mural's premediation demonstrates the impossibility of overlooking digital processes in visual memory work or of separating them from non-digital mediation. Its location in London's East End links photographs of Pankhurst directly with events in her life and contributes to the development of a strand of her cultural memory. This chapter has considered the wide-ranging factors that make up an instance of visual memory work. It has emphasized the scattered agencies that have gone into determining the mural. Identifying and following these pathways demonstrates that, even in a culture of post-scarcity and supposed imagistic abundance, the visual memory of activism is still governed by scarcity. The mural's final state is shaped by the selectivity, convergence, recursivity, recycling, and the transfers that Rigney (2005) sees as aspects of mnemonic scarcity, working across the digital and non-digital and ranging from the limited availability of reproducible images online to political concerns, conditioned by previous remembrances, which prevented it from taking certain forms.

Pankhurst's activism in the East End was innovative, collaborative, and came out of an understanding of the needs of the community. Like that activism, the mural came about through a collaborative and locally based initiative. In this respect, it may be seen as a "counter-monument" (Young, 1992) to Pankhurst's memory: neither state-sponsored nor based on the workings of the heritage industry but collaboratively imagined. And, refuting the "self-defeating premise of the traditional monument" (Young, 1992, p. 295), any hopes of longevity may be curtailed by the London weather, the potential of the Lord Morpeth's closure, or the possibility that it is graffitied out of recognition. While it is still there, however, the mural's presence ensures a memory of Pankhurst's practical activism in Bow and offers inspiration for acts of practical activism in the present and the future.

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