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Editor's Foreword

I cannot write this letter without referring to the fact that I write it working from home, with my institution closed indefinitely and more uncertainty about the future than I've ever known. It is probable, if not certain, that many of you reading this are in the same situation. I don't have any words of wisdom, but I do offer you this year's Journal – as distraction, as validation, as inspiration – maybe even as aspiration for the future.

Most, if not all, of the articles in this 2020 edition of Social History in Museums suggest new ways of looking at old stories. Lauren Butler offers the evidence for working-class voices in the typically upper-class realm of the country house. Bethany Marsh invokes the 400-year-old history of the Mayflower in order to reassess the experiences of refugees. Becky Alexis-Martin, Wesley Perriman & Stephanie Alexander show how the testimony of veterans has strengthened and complicated understanding of Britain's programme of nuclear testing. Mari Takayanagi revisits Parliament's Voice and Vote exhibition to explore women's suffrage 100 years on.

There are also new approaches to the practical work involved in our museums and institutions. Jenny Noble argues that, in order to truly represent women's stories, a whole new ideological approach to curation is needed. Nicola Pullan & Izzy Bartley show how digital platforms can be used to redress gender imbalances in retellings of history and help educators outside the museum building to spread these redresses further. Roz Currie rethinks the very act of collecting through new and more meaningful partnerships with community stakeholders, and in so doing asks us to think differently about what, to many, is the museum's reason for existing – its collection.

What all this shows us is the need to keep questioning what we do. I suspect that many of us are currently doing this already as we think about how we work, where we work, and what we work on. It will be essential in a year to look at how the changes that we are making now, in these uncertain, disrupted times, continue to resonate with how we are working then. I hope that the articles in these pages can offer some visions for that future. Most of all, I urge all of you to look after yourselves.

Take care.

Jessie Petheram
Journal Editor

Historical Graffiti and Working-Class Representation in the Country House

Lauren Butler

Country house curators are in a particularly difficult position when it comes to representation and inclusion. These large houses, whether privately owned or under the stewardship of a charity, are widely regarded, in the words of Susie West, as 'repositories of massive demonstrations of inequalities, with a cultural relevance to a tiny social minority' (West 1999: 104). Some organisations, notably the National Trust, have made radical efforts to change their public image and broaden the diversity of their audiences (See Sandell et al. 2018). Over the past three years, the Trust's 'Challenging Histories' programme has highlighted themes of LGBTQ+ history (2017), women and suffrage (2018) and popular protest (2019). The most recent theme, 'People's Landscapes', focused on events such as the Peterloo Massacre and the mass trespass of Kinder Scout and, as the title suggests, largely centred on outdoor spaces.

Inclusive and inspiring working-class histories are much harder to interpret in the élite interiors of country houses. Too established is the physical and ideological boundary between upstairs and downstairs, master and servant. Any resemblance of working-class representation is almost invariably restricted to the servants' wing. When properties do include stories of 'downstairs' life in their interpretation, this limitation of working-class history to working spaces can reinforce the narrative of 'deference and humility' that critics like Laurajane Smith have argued is central to the social values perpetuated by country houses (Smith 2009: 48).

Some historians would even question whether country houses are relevant to working-class history at all. As Laura Schwartz observes, historians have tended to assume that domestic servants identified more with the interests of their employers' class than their own, and none more so than the isolated country house servant (Schwartz 2013: 174). When the history of the country house is presented primarily through the eyes of the landowning family, this narrative is easily supported. 'When the family was in residence', states one of the walls at Culzean Castle, 'servants bustled along this corridor from morning to night'. The life of the house in the absence of 'the family' is considered irrelevant.

Between 2015 and 2019, I carried out an AHRC-funded PhD with the University of Sheffield in collaboration with Chatsworth House in Derbyshire. During my research in the Devonshire Collections archive, I found that nineteenth-century Chatsworth had a rich culture independent of the Cavendish family. Large ducal estates like Chatsworth and Blenheim Palace, two of the most-visited country houses in the UK, existed within a network of properties owned by the same families. The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dukes of Devonshire were often away from Chatsworth, at their other houses or travelling abroad, for over half of the year, and sometimes for the full 52 weeks. The prevailing story for these periods of vacancy in country houses, if they are mentioned at all in the visitor experience, is that the house was 'shut up' and cared for by a 'skeleton staff'.

The language of 'shuttered' houses and 'skeleton staff' obscures an aspect of country-house history that is potentially the most engaging and inspiring to their audiences: the story of an élite house entirely run and enjoyed by non-élite people. When supported by evidence from graffiti, this unexpected story of freedom and

ownership can break down the 'green baize door' and allow working-class histories to spill out of the servants' wing and into state rooms, under floorboards and onto the roof terraces. In this article, I use the case study of Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire to explore how graffiti surveys and archival research can be used together to tell a truly bottom-up version of an élite property's history. In doing so, it aims to offer one possible answer to working-class representation and wider engagement in the heritage sector.

Case Study: Hardwick Hall

Hardwick Hall was built on the border of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire at the end of the 16th century for Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, whose initials 'ES' decorate the top the building. After the death of Bess's son William, Hardwick Hall ceased to be the main seat of the Cavendish family. Bess's descendants, the Dukes of Devonshire, also had in their possession Chatsworth House (rebuilt in 1687), Devonshire House in London, Bolton Abbey in Yorkshire, Lismore Castle in Ireland and various other smaller properties. Hardwick was consciously well-maintained and preserved by the Cavendish family, but it was not as comfortable, accessible or suitable for extended entertaining as their other houses.

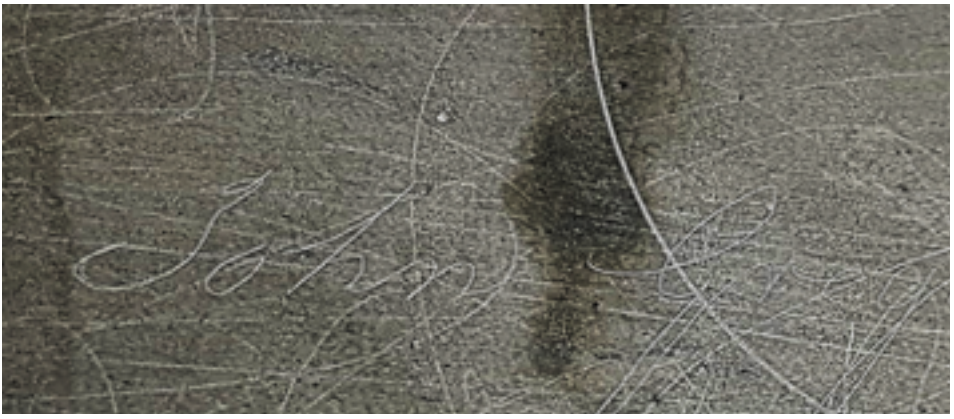
In the eighteenth, nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Hardwick Hall was predominantly used as a base for hunting parties in the winter, and for day trips to entertain guests who were staying at Chatsworth. It was used so rarely by the Cavendish family that when Victor Cavendish, the future 9th Duke of Devonshire, visited the Hall in 1891 at the age of 23, he wrote in his diary, 'Found I remembered the place a bit'.[1]

Although Hardwick Hall was rarely used by the Cavendish family, the house and the stable yard were home to a small community of around 8 indoor servants, 12 outdoor workers and their families.[2] In total, the number of staff who worked across the estate in 1907 amounted to 64.[3] Due to the scarcity of their employers' visits, these estate workers enjoyed an unusual level of freedom. Hardwick's housekeeper between 1790 and 1857, Ruth Cottingham (née Gregory), lived on the ground floor of the house with her husband John Cottingham and their three children: Mary, John Gregory and Henry. Such an arrangement was exceptionally rare, since housekeepers would usually be expected to leave service once they married. Since the Hall was so rarely used by its owners, it may have been thought beneficial to the security of the building to have a stable family presence.

Hardwick Hall was Ruth and John Cottingham's family home as well as their workplace. Their three children, who were born in the housekeeper's bedroom (now known as the 'Duke's Room'), evidently fostered a sense of ownership over the building. Mary, the eldest, posed with a book in a watercolour painting by William Henry Hunt, who was commissioned by the 6th Duke of Devonshire to paint the interiors of the Hall.[4] Henry, the youngest, became the local vicar. He acted as host to large groups who came to visit the Hall, and gave speeches in the entrance hall about its history.[5] John Gregory, born in 1813, took over as land agent for Hardwick when his father died in 1843. He made several minor alterations to the Hall's floors and fireplaces, apparently without seeking permission from its owners.[6]

Most remarkably, John Gregory may also have scratched his name into one of the fireplaces in the Long Gallery.[7] The name, written discreetly on the black marble, matches with his signatures on letters in the Devonshire Collections archive. The Long Gallery, on the top floor, is the largest, and highest-status room in the Hall. By inscribing his own name among the Cavendish family portraits and family crests,

the housekeeper's son may have been consciously laying a sentimental claim to the house in which he spent his childhood.



The name 'John Gregory' scratched onto one of the fireplaces in the Long Gallery. Photograph by author.

Ruth Gregory was not the only housekeeper who lived with her family at Hardwick Hall. Jane Marriage and her four siblings were born in Epping, Essex, to Francis, a carpenter, and Susan Marriage. When Susan died in 1844, Francis was unable to look after the children and they were sent away, either to find work or to live with extended family. Thomas, the youngest son, can be found down the road from his father at Theydon Garnon workhouse in the 1851 census. He died later in the same year, aged just 14. Francis followed him in 1856 and the remaining children were left orphaned.

Jane, William, Eliza and Emma Marriage all found jobs as servants. Jane entered the service of the Cavendish family as a housemaid at Holker Hall in Cumbria. Like many ambitious servants, she climbed up the career ladder by taking opportunities within the family's property network, moving from Holker Hall, to Devonshire House, to Bolton Abbey, before reaching the position of housekeeper at Hardwick Hall. When Emma and William retired from their own careers in domestic service (Eliza had died in her thirties), they moved to Derbyshire to live with their sister at Hardwick. In the 1891 census, 82-year-old William is listed as living in the Hall. After he was joined by Emma, the three siblings lived together as a family for the first time since they were separated as children by the death of their mother.

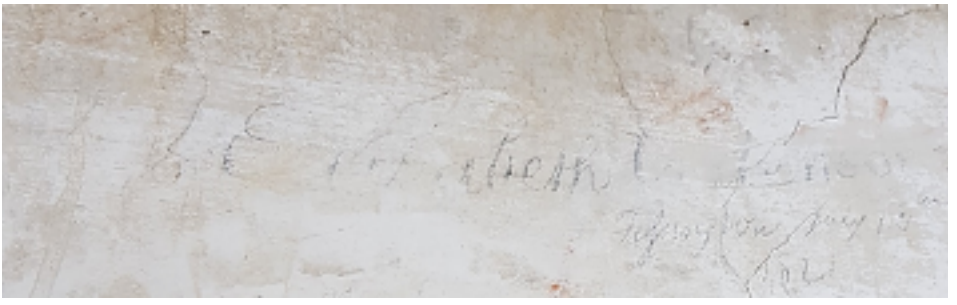
Accommodating her family was not the only way in which Jane Marriage took ownership of Hardwick Hall. She also put its contents to entrepreneurial use. Duchess Evelyn, widow of the 9th Duke, wrote in her notes about Hardwick, 'the housekeepers had apparently complete authority over the contents of the building. Its contents and some "rubbish" were undoubtedly thrown away or given as souvenirs'.[8] Jane's favourite item in the collection was Bess of Hardwick's (then) 250-year-old cloak, which she wore in the High Great Chamber to pose for a carte-de-visite. Evelyn writes that Jane had enabled tourists to try on the cloak, no doubt for a small fee. The wage records state that Jane was not entitled to board wages, but she was allowed to keep 'party money' from visitors.[9] When she died in 1909, she left £3,704 in her will, despite earning only £60 a year.

The Elizabethan cloak in storage at Hardwick Hall today.
Photograph taken by author.

Chatsworth and Hardwick received thousands of visitors during the nineteenth century, who took advantage of free entry and cheap rail travel. In addition to allowing these tourists to try on the costume collection, Hardwick's housekeepers earned their tips by allowing access to the roof. In the south turret, which may have been used as a banqueting room by Bess, the walls are covered in three centuries of graffiti. Unfortunately, much of it has been painted over, plastered and sanded off over the years. The content ranges from an eighteenth-century pornographic doodle (now barely distinguishable), to a nineteenth-century warning against the teachings of Thomas Hobbes.[10]

Among the legible names is 'Elizabeth Edensor, Tissington, July 13th 1827'. This particular graffito is striking, as the name is written in large calligraphic font with a pencil, and would have taken some time. It is not a sneaky hidden message furtively scrawled on the wall, but a large, bold statement, which raises questions about shifting cultural attitudes to graffiti. According to the 1841 census, Elizabeth Edensor from Tissington was a school mistress, with no obvious familial or occupational connection to the Hall. She was therefore almost certainly visiting as a tourist. Given

the personal details that Elizabeth wrote, and the many other similar graffiti in the turret, the most likely explanation is that the act of writing graffiti was a sanctioned, and perhaps even performative aspect of the tour. As a schoolmistress, Elizabeth would have been well-practised in writing on a blackboard in front of an audience.



Elizabeth Edensor's graffito in the south turret.
Photograph taken by author.

The explosion of mass tourism in the nineteenth century went hand-in-hand with shifting cultural attitudes to graffiti on historic monuments. This shift appears to have reflected as much a concern for the appearance and safety of the monuments themselves, as a classist disapproval of the 'new' tourist and their presence at formerly-exclusive sites of cultural interest. In 1840, author William Howitt wrote casually of a trip to Hardwick Hall during which he and his friend had 'rambled over the leaden roof, and in the happy folly of youth, marked each other's foot upon it, with duly inscribed names and date'.[11] Just over a decade later, the famously-sanctimonious journalist Samuel Carter Hall wrote of Hardwick:

> *We deeply lament to add, that utterly unworthy persons occasionally obtain access to the apartments- that fellows who richly merit a flogging at the cart's tail, have defaced many of the decorations by scrawling upon them, not only their own degraded names, but words even more deserving the epithet "infamous".*[12]

The 6th Duke of Devonshire himself, it should be added, actively encouraged tourists to visit his properties. In the long-standing Whig tradition of his family, he felt it to be part of his duty of *noblesse oblige*. Although clearly aware of its potential dangers, the only slight discomfort that he voiced about the visiting public can be found in an explanation for the removal of a statue of Mary Queen of Scots in the entrance hall at Hardwick, as '[it] was good enough to make me dread for it the open air, and the playful public'[13].

A section of wall in the south turret, showing eighteenth to twentieth century graffiti, and areas where it has been obscured by paint and plaster. Image taken by author.

The clearest graffiti in the south turret at Hardwick is that left by workmen, including 'James Robinson Plumber Ashover Derbyshire 1823' written in ochre to the right of the door. This type of graffiti can be interpreted as a proud signature on the labour completed, or even as an advertisement. Some of the workmen's graffiti also appears to have been a playful and sociable activity. Several of the names come in pairs, including two plasterers who both wrote their names and addresses backwards, in pencil, in 1969.

Throughout Hardwick, in the entrance hall, the turrets, the staircases and even the High Great Chamber, graffiti are scratched into different architectural features, written in a variety of media and styles, textual and pictorial, and by a wide variety of individuals. Several plumbers scratched their names onto the windows on the East Loggia, as did 'Mary Ludlam' in 1776, possibly the same Mary Ludlam who married at the church on the estate the following year (Jessop 2019). The cryptic message 'I live to die and die to live' is scratched on the long gallery fireplace ☒ near to a neat ducal coronet in pencil, the particularly old 'John taylor 1676 Apr ye 23', and a woman with a local surname, 'Mary Twiggs'. Three galleons can be found drawn in ochre under the loggias on the front and back of the house.

The graffiti at Hardwick Hall, in its huge volume and variety, sits uneasily in the narrative of Elizabethan power that forms the main thread of the visitor experience. All of the graffiti discovered so far were created after Bess of Hardwick's death, and in irreverent defiance of the aristocratic power projected by the building's hierarchical architecture. Nor does the graffiti align with our expectations of a country house and the strict internal social structures it maintained. The names of non-élite individuals are not found in the kitchens and service rooms (where none have been found yet), but in the élite rooms upstairs, and on the external fabric of the building. Mirroring the initials of Elizabeth Shrewsbury herself, each graffito claims ownership over a building that had particular sentimental, familial, professional or personal meaning to the inscriber.

Conclusion

Archaeologists have long been interested in the ways in which graffiti can inform our knowledge of historical individuals and societies who are not well-recorded on paper. In this way, they can be a valuable form of place-specific archive. Accordingly, much has been written by archaeologists about the cultural and social significance of medieval graffiti in public spaces such as churches. However, the same historical value has not yet been attributed to later graffiti, and particularly graffiti left on privately-owned property. As Matthew Champion writes, 'graffiti, to modern eyes, is nothing more than vandalism' (Champion 2015: xi).

Graffiti also has a difficult relationship with conservation at historical properties. It can cause permanent damage to surfaces, particularly on soft materials such as lead. In some cases there is a difficult choice to be made between conserving a graffito and restoring a surface to its original aesthetic. The vast majority of advice concerning graffiti and historical buildings focuses on its removal, which itself can be damaging to surfaces. There is a clear difference between historical graffiti, which can contribute to heritage value, and new graffiti, but there is no universal agreement on where, or when, the line is drawn (See Forster et al 2012).

In terms of interpreting graffiti, curators and conservators might also fear the risk that shining a spotlight on historical graffiti will encourage visitors to leave graffiti

themselves. Such risks can be mitigated through clever interpretation. At Knole for example, a temporary 'graffiti wall' was erected on which visitors could write or draw, thereby giving a creative outlet which did not further compromise the fabric of the building (Cohen 2017: 129).

Such little published work exists about graffiti on and in private properties, that it is difficult to estimate how many country houses contain a significant number of graffiti. However, case studies such as Hardwick Hall suggest that interpretation around historical graffiti could offer a range of solutions for the representation of working-class histories in environments where they are not immediately apparent. Combined with in-depth archival research, graffiti analysis can be used to piece together empowering narratives about the country house's significance to working- and middle-class people that avoid, and even contradict, tired clichés of hierarchy and deference. Several properties, particularly in the south-east of England, have already launched temporary and long-term interpretation about their graffiti. As places continue to embrace the democratisation of country house visiting, graffiti analysis offers one answer to more inclusive interpretation.

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7 The fireplaces at Hardwick are covered in scratched graffiti, but they are very difficult to see without technological aid. This may explain why they have been hitherto overlooked. New techniques such as photogrammetry and remote sensing may help to reveal other 'hidden' graffiti on similar surfaces in the future. See: D. Abate et al, 'Hidden Graffiti Identification on Marble Surfaces through Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing Techniques', The International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences (vol. 42, 2019), pp. 1-8.

8 Notes by Evelyn, Duchess of Devonshire, written to housekeeper Mrs Frost, 1950s, Hardwick Hall, National Trust Collections.

9 'His Grace the Duke of Devonshires Estates: List of Agents, Officials [etc]', 1890s, added to in 1900 and 1907, FM/4, Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth.

10 The eighteenth-century pornographic graffiti was still visible when Duncan Fallowell visited in the late-twentieth century. D. Fallowell, 20th-Century Characters (New York, 1994), p. 297.

11 W. Howitt, The Rural Life of England (London, 1840), p. 261.

[12] S. Carter Hall, Baronial Halls and Picturesque Edifices of England, Vol. II (London, 1858), p. 4.

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Refugees in museums: The Mayflower and the European history of refugee displacement

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'Mayflower in Plymouth Harbor' by William Halsall, 1882 at Pilgrim Hall Museum, Plymouth, Massachusetts, USA. [Public Domain]

On 16 September 1620 a ship called the Mayflower left Plymouth harbour in England and set sail for the New World. This historic vessel carried 102 passengers and 30 crew, many of whom were religious refugees looking to flee persecution and start a new life. The Pilgrims, as they are now known, are revered by many in the United States as some of the founding members of North American society. The holiday of Thanksgiving is celebrated every year to commemorate the harvest meal which was shared between the Pilgrims and the Wampanoag people in 1621 (Mandell 2010: 1-16; Deloria and Sailsbury 2004; Wyss, 2000). 2020 marks the 400th anniversary of this special journey and is being commemorated by unique projects taking place across England.

In November 2019 'Illuminate' events were held in several towns in England, including Gainsborough, Plymouth, Retford and Boston, to celebrate local connections to the Mayflower. The events featured artistic light displays designed to highlight the values of Freedom, Humanity, Imagination and Future.[1] In Plymouth, a new cultural and heritage attraction called The Box will be opened in 2020. It will feature an exhibition entitled 'Mayflower 400: Legend and Legacy'. This will be the national commemorative exhibition for the anniversary of the Mayflower and will explore earlier English attempts to colonise America, discuss conflict with Native Americans, address the political and religious context for the sailing of the Mayflower in 1620 and detail the lives of its passengers.[2] A programme of four temporary exhibitions will be featured alongside the main gallery. These exhibitions will 'explore historical and contemporary perspectives on the legacies of Mayflower', mainly through the work of artists and dramatic performances.[3]

These and other projects provide a new means of engaging the public in the shared history of the United Kingdom, United States and the Netherlands. The collaborative events being organised with the Wampanoag Native American Advisory Committee are especially important in highlighting the effects and legacy of colonialism. However, engagement with the subject of refugee displacement appears so far to be absent from these projects. 'Mayflower 400: Legend and Legacy' will consider the political and religious displacement of the Separatist passengers of the Mayflower, and the earlier English colonists in America, but the interpretation does not extend any further than this in terms of displacement. In previous years, refugee stories have been incorporated by some museums into exhibitions on historical migration, such as 'A City and its Welcome: Three Centuries of Migrating to Leeds' at Leeds City Museum, while photographic and mixed media installations have been used to present the experiences of modern-day refugees, such as Giles Duley's 2017 installation called 'I Can Only Tell You What My Eyes See'. Refugee displacement prior to the Second World War has rarely been the focus of exhibitions, enforcing the popular misconception that refugees are a modern phenomenon.

The purpose of this article is to encourage museums to focus more keenly on the history of refugees in future exhibitions, which could be used to facilitate community outreach with local refugee families and build greater cohesion and toleration in society through education. The anniversary of the Mayflower provides museums with a perfect opportunity to approach the sensitive topic of refugee displacement through a historical lens. This article will thus contextualise the Mayflower within the history of European refugee displacement, highlight the challenges to museums in addressing the topic of refugees and suggest how these challenges may be resolved in order to present the refugee narrative to the public in an engaging way.

The displacement of people due to violence and persecution has been a fact of European history for hundreds of years, although it was not until the sixteenth century that displacement became a European crisis. Following the Protestant Reformation, which ostensibly began with the publication of Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses in 1517, Western Europe became divided between the Christian confessions of Catholicism and Protestantism. Religious tensions caused by the divide – in conjunction with territorial disputes, dynastic concerns and financial interests – sparked a series of devastating wars across Europe. Violent attacks against members of different religious practices were widespread and resulted in thousands of people becoming displaced. During the Dutch Revolt (1566-1648), for example, Catholic and Protestant commanders gave their troops license to plunder towns, resulting in the murder, torture and rape of hundreds of men, women and children (Kuijpers and Pollmann 2015: 176). The violence caused many Protestants to flee for safety abroad, with a number subsequently travelling to England. The parents of John La Motte, an alderman of London, settled in Colchester after fleeing Ypres during the persecutions of the Duke of Alva in the late 1560s (Müller 2014: 134; Clarke 1683: 102; Parker 1990; Van Gelderren 1993).

Over the course of the sixteenth century England became an important sanctuary for Protestants fleeing the Continent. The English Reformation had begun in 1534 with Henry VIII's split from Rome, although it wasn't until the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) that large numbers of Protestant refugees travelled to England. In 1550 a church was established at Austin Friars in London to provide Dutch and French refugees a place of worship and a community hub through which charity could be acquired. Dutch writer Jan van der Noot sought refuge in England in 1569. He described England as, 'a most safe and sure harbour...' where the 'word of God is

purely preached…in six or seven languages' (Van der Noot 1569: 9-11). In total an estimated forty to fifty thousand foreign refugees entered London between 1550 and 1585, including Dutch, Flemish, French Huguenots and Palatinate Germans. Many others settled in Sandwich, Norwich and Colchester, among other English towns and cities (Pettegree 1986: 299).[4]

England, however, was not always the haven it wished to portray to the rest of Europe. The English government was divided on the issue of allowing refugees to settle in England. Some statesmen recognised the economic advantages of welcoming refugees, as most were skilled craftsmen who could bring in new methods and skills to improve English production of goods (Mordant 1951: 210-14). Other statesmen argued that the refugees were not worthy of charity because they had abandoned their natural sovereign and were taking economic profits away from Englishmen (Pollitt 1980: 18-19).[5]

The refugees were regarded by many as economic rivals and concerns over commerce and trade were key in shaping xenophobic feeling. Attacks against foreign strangers occurred throughout the sixteenth century and were often related to economic issues. In 1593, for instance, the failure of a bill to restrict foreign strangers from dealing in retail trade led to the publication of a flysheet which described them as 'you beastly brutes the Belgians, or rather drunken drones and faint-hearted Flemings, and you fraudulent-Frenchmen' (Strype 1824: vol. 4, 234-6; Yungblunt 1996: 40-2). Violent attacks against foreigners subsided after the turn of the seventeenth century, but negative attitudes often persisted. In 1634 Jan Buteel, a descendant of Dutch refugees who settled in Kent, wrote that Archbishop William Laud believed, 'it were better there were no forraigne Churches nor strangers in England' (Bulteel 1645: 9).

England was also guilty of creating its own refugee populations. The religious settlement of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) affirmed the Church of England's independence from Rome. Anti-Catholicism consequently became deeply rooted in English society. Publications such as John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (first published in 1563) recounted the many sufferings of Protestants at the hands of the Catholic Church. A copy was left open in most parish churches, where even the illiterate could view woodcut images of the persecution of Protestants.[6] Such publications fuelled fears that the Anti-Christ, an agent of Satan, was working to destroy the Protestant Church. These fears were confirmed by events such as the Spanish Armada (1588) and the Gunpowder Plot (1605), in which Catholics were seen to be attempting to overthrow Protestant rule in England. Under Elizabeth I around 130 priests and 60 lay people were executed for treason on the grounds of Catholicism. Among this number were Edmund Campion, hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn in 1581, and Margaret Clitherow, crushed to death at Ouse Bridge in York in 1586. Many English Catholics subsequently sought new lives in Ireland, France and Spain, where Catholicism was the dominant religion (Child 2014; Edwards 2005).

It was within this context of religious and political turbulence in Europe that the passengers of the Mayflower fled England for the New World. By the end of the sixteenth century factions had begun to emerge in the Protestant Church. Some Protestants believed that reforms were still needed within the Church to purge it of Catholic elements (Puritans), while others believed that true reform could only be achieved by breaking away from the Church of England. This latter group of Protestants were known as Separatists. 62 of the 102 passengers who boarded the Mayflower were Separatist refugees escaping religious persecution in England.

The English government under James I wished to bring dissenters into conformity, and so arrested those who were seen to be subverting the authority of the Church of England. Consequently, in 1607/8 members of the Separatist congregations of Gainsborough in Lincolnshire and Scrooby in Nottinghamshire fled England for the Netherlands. The Separatists settled in the city of Leiden, which had a long tradition of offering shelter to Protestant refugees. Despite the relative safety of the city, by 1617 many members wished to leave. In Leiden the Separatists were relatively poor and war with Spain was becoming increasingly likely; the Thirty Years War would break out in 1618. The journey to a new land offered the Separatists a chance to create their own godly society. William Brewster was a ruling elder for the Scrooby congregation, and in the absence of a competent minister became the religious leader of the Mayflower passengers. In 1617 and 1619 Brewster travelled to England from Leiden to gain permission to settle a new colony in Virginia. Together with John Robinson, another Separatist, the two men co-signed articles which granted the establishment of a colony, concealing their church's separatism.[7]

The Mayflower set sail from Plymouth on 16 September 1620 and took 66 days to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Turbulent weather conditions meant the ship was driven off course and could not land in Virginia, where they had a license to build a colony. Instead, the settlers landed further north in Cape Cod and anchored in what is now Provincetown Harbour, Massachusetts. The colonists were aware of the illegality of creating any settlement in the area and so devised the Mayflower Compact, a document intended to give the colonists some legal standing. The Compact was signed by 41 men who agreed to:

> 'frame such just and equall laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie'.

The document clearly highlights the religious designs of the Separatist passengers, which superseded their loyalty to the Crown, 'having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northerne parts of Virginia' (Sargent 1988: 233).

The stories of the Mayflower passengers highlight the turbulent and traumatic experiences that refugees were forced to endure in order to find safety. Three of the female passengers were pregnant in their third trimester when the Mayflower set sail. Elizabeth Hopkins gave birth during the voyage to a boy named Oceanus, while Susannah White gave birth to her son Peregrine (meaning 'wanderer') aboard the Mayflower when it reached harbour at Cape Cod. The Mayflower arrived in America during the harsh winter of 1620. Whilst a small group of men went to find a suitable place to begin construction of the new colony, the rest of the passengers remained on board the ship. Disease spread rapidly in the small confines of the vessel, resulting in the deaths of 45 passengers and half the crew. John Hooke, for example, a fourteen-year-old apprentice, died aboard the Mayflower in the winter of 1620/1. The parents of Mary Chilton, another teenage passenger, also died during the first winter, leaving her an orphan.

Despite the hardships and deaths suffered by the refugees, many of those who survived the first winter found religious freedom and relative wealth in the New World. William Brewster was able to practise his ministry freely, through preaching, praying and disciplining the congregation of the Plymouth colony. His sermons were regarded by the governor of the colony, William Bradford, as 'very moving' and his prayers were capable of 'ripping up the heart and conscience before God'. Though not the

wealthiest of men, at his death in 1644 his personal estate totalled £150, and he was highly respected, 'inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation, which gained him the love of those without as well as those within' (Morrison 2002: 327-8).[8]

Peregrine White was born on the Mayflower in the winter of 1620/1. At the age of sixteen Peregrine served in the militia, rising to the ranks of lieutenant and captain. In 1648/9 Peregrine married Sarah Basset and moved to Marshfield to live with his wife's family. By the time of his death, 14 July 1704, Captain Peregrine White was a substantial landowner, having not only purchased land but also inherited it from his father-in-law William Basset. Among his personal possessions were 'His Armes and Ammunition' worth £1 10s, 'a feather bed & furniture & a silk grass bed bedstead & furniture' worth £12 and 'His wearing Apparril' worth £4.

Mary Chilton, who had been orphaned during the winter of 1620/1, married John Winslow, who arrived in the colony in 1621 aboard the Fortune. The couple had ten children: John, Susanna, Mary, Edward, Sarah, Joseph, Isaac, Benjamin, and one unnamed child who died young. Sometime after 1653 the family moved to Boston, where in 1671 John Winslow bought the family a large house costing £500. Mary died in 1679, her personal possessions amounting to the value of £212 11s 9d. Items listed in her inventory include: silver cups, a silver tankard, a silk gown and petticoat, silver cups and various items of furniture.[9]

The Mayflower passengers are tied in popular memory to ideas of adventure, exploration, bravery and survival. By placing the Separatists within the broader context of European refugee displacement, however, it is clear they cannot be remembered solely as intrepid adventurers who helped to establish white North American society. The refugee narrative is central to understanding the experiences of the Separatist passengers but is often overlooked, likely due to the challenges and concerns about presenting sensitive topics to the public.

Some museums are perhaps reluctant to address the history of refugee displacement due to the sensitivity of contemporary refugee migration, which is a highly politicised and divisive issue. In the modern world, refugees are often stigmatised and demonised by politicians and the media to suit the political machinations of various groups. When convenient, refugees are portrayed as illegal immigrants, criminals, economic drains (interchangeable with other economic migrants, typically those who are non-white or non-English speaking) and a danger to the culture of host nations. The overtly negative and often violent rhetoric surrounding immigration has resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of hate crimes reported in England and Wales over recent years, from 42,255 cases in 2012/13 to 94,098 in 2017/18 (Home Office 2018: 12).

The negative perception of refugees has filtered down through society to its youngest members. In a survey conducted by the British Red Cross in 2019 it was found that 52 per cent of teachers across 750 primary and secondary schools witnessed prejudice towards refugees in the classroom.[10] Refugee charities and organisations, such as the Red Cross and Refugee Action, continue to work to stem the tide of negative attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers by increasing public awareness of refugee experiences, assisting refugees in settling in new communities and achieving justice for them through campaigns aimed at local and national governments.

Museums are essential for educating the public and challenging contemporary attitudes because they can confront modern issues by approaching them from a

historical perspective. The history of the Mayflower, for example, can be used to explore refugee displacement through a historical lens. The lives of the Mayflower passengers, amongst other human stories, can be used to highlight the various experiences of persecution, migration, trauma and resettlement in the past. This historical approach allows museums to address sensitive topics by creating distance between the subject and the visitor. In isolation, however, this approach could fail to connect the past with the modern world. Art installations – illuminations, ceramics, sculpture and paintings, amongst other mediums – have the potential to bridge this gap. By presenting modern-day issues through creative methods, in combination with the historical context, exhibitions not only educate visitors about history but enable them to make connections between the past and present.

The 400-year anniversary of the Mayflower (2020) provides schools, museums and other educational bodies the perfect opportunity to re-educate the public on the long history of refugee displacement and migration, particularly migration into and out of Britain. Refugee stories from the past can be used to present refugee experiences to the public in an impactful and engaging way. Moreover, commissions from artists can be used to link this history to the modern world. Some museums are already planning to focus more acutely on refugee history. The National Civil War Centre in Newark-on-Trent will be opening a Mayflower exhibition in September 2020, which looks to draw upon the experiences of both historical and contemporary refugees. There is scope however, for more museums to focus on the sensitive topic of refugees in the future. With the rise of rhetoric which demonises minorities and foreigners, museums need to be at the forefront of re-educating the public on refugee history, which in turn could bring about greater toleration of refugees in society.[11]

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True Representation? An intersectional approach to curation

Jenny Noble - *Museum Curator, Glasgow Women's Library*

Since its establishment in 1991, Glasgow Women's Library (GWL) has grown from a small grassroots organisation to an accredited museum with nationally significant museum and archive collections, a lending library, and innovative programmes of exhibitions, public events and learning opportunities. It is the only Accredited museum in the UK dedicated to women's lives, histories and achievements.

This paper will explore the ways in which GWL strives to reflect the diversity of women's lives and experiences by applying intersectional theory[1] to three key strands of curatorial work – collections management, contemporary collecting and interpretation. Touching on issues of neutrality, equality, identity and inclusion, the curatorial focus will be on GWL's development of a feminist classification system; advantages and pitfalls of rapid response collecting; and 'decoding' collections to illustrate historical and contemporary inequalities through interpretation.

By discussing GWL's aim to more fully represent women by applying intersectional feminism to these curatorial practices, it is hoped that other museum practitioners will be encouraged to consider adopting an intersectional approach in pursuit of collections that are more truly representative.

Representing a City

Glasgow Women's Library grew from a women's arts collective set up in response to the absence or erasure of women's histories in the mainstream cultural sector. The context is provided by Dr Adele Patrick:

> *The catalyst for forming a women's library in Glasgow was the announcement that Glasgow was to become European City of Culture in 1990. Women from many backgrounds were triggered into action through discussions taking place in loose, feminist friendship networks creating the countercultural Women in Profile (WIP) project to ensure that the city's 1990 programme was not a 'stale, male, pale' affair (Patrick, 2020).*

As GWL and its collections developed and grew, equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) were consciously embedded as intrinsic, non-negotiable values[2] within the organisational structure, policies and practices:

> *[GWL] brings together women who have little cultural, social or economic capital with those who have had a wide range of creative experiences and educational opportunities. Its collections and materials are also unusually eclectic, being in the first instance entirely made up of donations that are reflective of the interests and passions of donors from a wide spectrum of backgrounds, ethnicities, ages and identifications (Patrick, 2014:15).*

Tanita L Maxwell argues that women's libraries are 'active and dynamic sites of knowledge production that enter into a dialectical dialogue with service users through feminist activities' and can 'uncover the politics of knowledge systems, promote critical thinking and question taken-for-granted ideas and assumptions' (Maxwell, 2013:126). GWL is cognisant of its role as change-maker within the cultural sector in addressing structural inequalities, describing women's museums as 'models of

practice that are inherently rooted in equalities goals, language and actions … placing representation and inclusion at the core of the organisation's functions and purpose' (Thain-Gray and Patrick, 2018: 29).

This raises the question of objectivity. Should museums be neutral spaces where objects are exhibited impartially and audiences are allowed to determine the narrative? Can, and should, collecting practices also be neutral?

The Myth of Neutrality

In 2017, LaTanya Autry and Mike Murawski created the #MuseumsAreNotNeutral hashtag campaign to address the 'myth of neutrality' within museums. Autry's stance is unashamedly angry:

> *I would hope that our colleagues know that museums originate from colonialist endeavors. They are about power. As I have shared on social media networks, if anyone comes at me with that neutrality mess, I will take them down. I have had it with that narrow-minded perspective that ignores history and enables museums to operate as racist, sexist, and classist spaces (Autry, 2017).*

GWL has never claimed neutrality. From its grassroots origins to current status, the organisation has been consistently and proudly feminist. All areas of GWL's work are informed by the core values of empowerment, addressing inequalities, valuing all women, learning and development, diversity and inclusivity, and openness and respect. These values are placed at the heart of everything GWL does, from governance, leadership and recruitment to its audiences, communications, programming and collections.

GWL's values complement intersectional feminist theory, which provides a framework for understanding how multiple aspects of social and political identities, such as class, race, gender and sexual orientation, can combine to create unique forms of discrimination against women. This brings us to the three cornerstones of GWL's collections practice currently influenced by intersectional feminism.

Classification, Classification, Classification

GWL's collections are regularly accessed by staff, volunteers, creatives, academics and other researchers, making it vital to have effective storage location and retrieval systems in place. In seeking to improve accessibility to the wide-ranging museum and archive collections, applying a classification system seemed a good solution.

Whilst exploring classification options to suit GWL's museum collections, it became clear that this was problematic. Too many collecting areas were not covered by established object classification systems such as SHIC (Social History and Industrial Classification)[3] and the Nomenclature standard.[4]

SHIC, first published in 1983 and widely used in British museums, is a decimal classification system that groups objects together in a hierarchical system, using the four starting points of community life, domestic and family life, personal life and working life. Similarly, the Nomenclature standard, first published in 1978 and popular in North America, places objects within the context of human activity and groups comparable objects together by their function.

The polythetic approach is ideal for many social history collections, making

connections between assorted groups of objects and placing them within social contexts. When it comes to classifying objects in relation to protected characteristics, diversity, and inequalities, however, these traditional systems become somewhat restrictive:

> *Meaningful and sustainable transformation requires an analysis of structural inequality that is adept enough to address the complexity of how inequality is produced, maintained and reproduced in museum systems. This analysis must also come from an intersectional perspective - enabling us to consider and address the experiences of multiple sources of oppression on the basis of class, gender, race, sexuality, disability, age and religion (Thain-Gray and Patrick, 2018: 34-35).*

A different approach was evidently required to document the intersectional narratives represented by GWL's collections, a journey which began with the lending and reference library books. Librarian Wendy Kirk explains why a bespoke feminist library classification system was essential:

> *Like many women's libraries, we choose to use our own system as traditional systems such as Dewey Decimal are problematic due to issues such as gender bias, Eurocentricity and the fact that all books about women would be lumped into the one main class. We need something that reflects the fact that we specialise in information about women and gives breadth of coverage on this (Kirk, 2017).*

The structure of GWL's classification system was inspired by the Indian Akshara Classification System[5] and takes the European Women's Thesaurus[6] as a starting point to key-word catalogue records. The system is flexible, can be expanded where required to reflect local, national or global terminology, and is reviewed and amended on a regular basis to keep abreast of changes in language, equalities and feminist theory.

After identifying the limitations of traditional museum classification systems in relation to intersectionality, the collections team began a trial period of experimentation in applying GWL's feminist library classification system to sections of the museum and archive collections. This entailed conferring at least one classification subject on individual museum objects and archival sub-collections, re-boxing and labelling objects according to their primary classification, and adding any classification references and keywords to records in eHive, the museum collections management system.

As with other classification schemes, GWL's feminist classification system is not without limitations. Ultimately, the curator's role in selecting the appropriate classification for acquisitions means that meaning or context from a single perspective will be (unconsciously or otherwise) imparted upon an object. To a certain extent, this can be addressed by applying multiple, intersecting classifications to single objects and by opening decisions up to colleagues when an object's significance may be unclear.

The system's limitations are largely outweighed by the benefits of improved object location and retrieval, and in facilitating an intersectional approach to stored and catalogued collections. Following a successful trial, the next step was to physically reorganise the stores, thematically locating previously separate museum and archive collections side by side. As reorganisation continues, the system is providing a clearer

indication of the scope of sub-collections, making it easier to identify gaps and prioritise areas for development.

It is, however, essential that the system is regularly reviewed to ensure its terminology and categories remain as diverse and inclusive as possible. This is particularly pertinent in another key strand of GWL's curatorial work: contemporary collecting.

Rapid Response: A Balancing Act

The V&A is thought to be the first major museum in the world to formally adopt a rapid response collecting strategy, in which contemporary objects are acquired in response to 'major moments in recent history that touch the world of design and manufacturing. Many of the objects have been newsworthy either because they advance what design can do, or because they reveal truths about how we live' (V&A, n.d.).

Other notable examples in British museums 'that reflect the rapid way in which we experience the world' (Millard, n.d.) include M Shed Bristol's permanent display of protest materials collected from the Occupy Bristol camp site in 2011, and the Migration Museum Project's acquisition of life jackets worn by refugees for their exhibition, *Call me by my name: stories from Calais and beyond*.

Contemporary collecting reintroduces the issue of neutrality, and not just because topical issues such as migration may be regarded in some quarters as controversial. In GWL's case, rapid response interventions are largely achieved through social media appeals. This can result in an imbalance of material acquired due to the 'echo chamber' effect of social media, where GWL's followers tend to share the organisational values. For example, a Twitter call-out for campaign material from the recent Eighth Amendment of the Constitution of Ireland referendum resulted in a huge response but the vast majority of acquisitions related to the 'Yes' campaign despite GWL actively collecting both sides of the argument.

While this imbalance is not as problematic as it might at first appear – after all, the Eighth Amendment vote resulted in a 74% victory in favour of repeal – it does raise questions around representation in the context of rapid response collecting and intervention. How can balance be achieved if the fastest, most effective means of collecting material before it disappears is through the social media echo chamber? Is it important to achieve balance? And should 'balance' even be attempted when the story or response itself is a one-sided narrative or perspective?

Mike Murawski argues that by striving for objectivity instead of tackling political and social issues head on, museums may be limiting their potential to be 'agents of positive social change in our communities' (Murawski, 2017). This leads us to the subject of interpreting feminist or activist collections.

***Decoding Inequality:* Intersectional Interpretation**

GWL's Decoding Inequality project, supported by funding from Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS), used feminist object interpretation to generate meaningful discussion on issues of structural inequality biased against women. The project, which included a series of workshops, a physical and online exhibition and a sector report, was led by Rachel Thain-Gray:

> *We approached this project with the intention of demystifying the complexities of inequality. There are many sources of information on object interpretation within the mainstream and feminist museum sector, and in academic museum*

studies. We chose to focus on materials that provided a social justice and equalities-led analysis (Thain-Gray, 2019:2).

The *Decoding Inequality* exhibition was organised into five key themes:

- When we are not seen, heard or recognised;
- When we lack control over how we are represented;
- When society assigns us roles based on aspects of our identity;
- When we do not have equal access to health care;
- When we are not treated equally by the law and the state.

These themes are outlined below, accompanied by examples of the materials chosen by a selection of contributors, to illustrate inequalities that can be brought to light through an intersectional approach to interpretation.

When we are not seen, heard or recognised

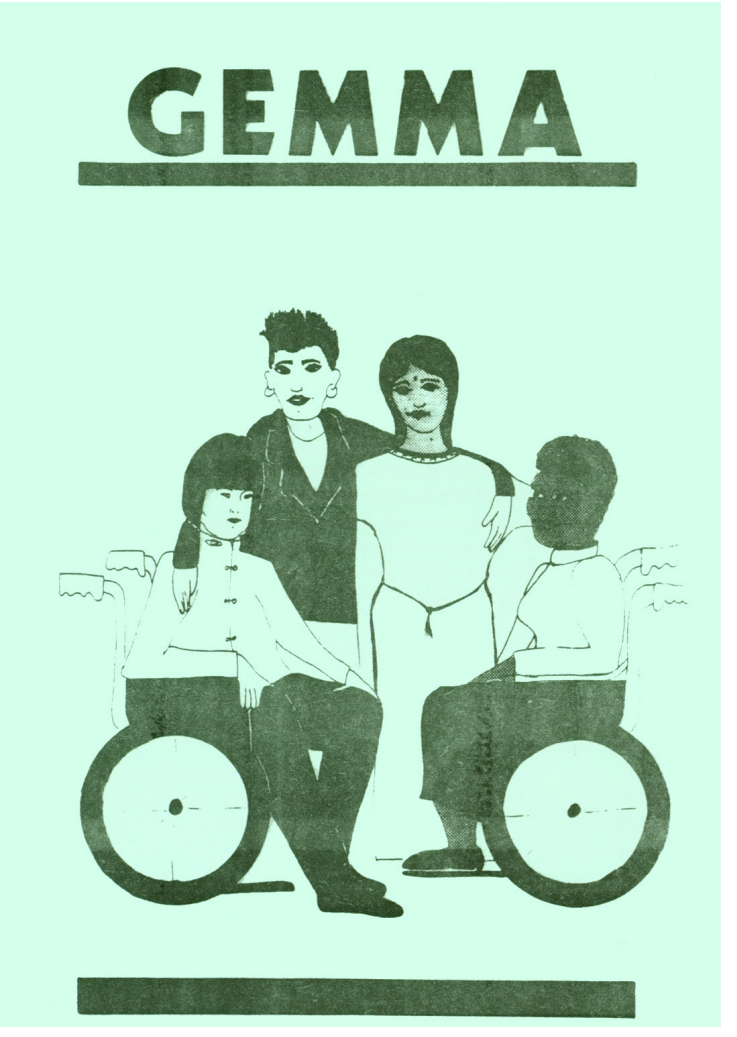
By speaking out, we expose inequalities and increase mutual understanding to fight discrimination and stigma. The majority of the objects are by activists which articulate the multiple inequalities that women face.[7]

If we, as a sector, fail to represent those who frequently experience a lack of visibility, voice or recognition, we are part of the problem. We have a duty both to recognise that the dominant narrative in museums has traditionally been created from the perspective of privilege, and to challenge that narrative by enabling intersectional inequalities to be exposed and articulated.

Lesbian Avengers is an intersectional lesbian activist group finding common ground between women. A Glasgow chapter began in 1995 to fight against discrimination in the city. Carrie Moyer's 'Manifesto and Action Poster' (1993), which railed against anti-lesbian political campaigns, homophobia and misogyny in the USA, featured in *Decoding Inequality*.

Another exhibit, *Crones zine* (2016) by Rachael House, challenged negative images of female ageing. By celebrating older women working in creative roles the zine subverts the popular usage of the word 'crone' (an old, ugly woman) and instead harks back to the original, non-pejorative meaning of 'long-lasting'.

GEMMA, a national self-help group of lesbians with and without disabilities, founded in 1976, argued for greater inclusion for disabled lesbians and gay men. The GEMMA leaflet (no date) selected for *Decoding Inequality* promotes the group's aspiration to embrace diversity and intersectionality, reminding us that many people experience different types of inequality and oppression simultaneously.



GEMMA leaflet (undated); Glasgow Women's Library

When we lack control over how we are represented

Women's creative practice is treated entirely differently to men's. The artefacts from GWL relate to artists who have taken control of their own creative narratives.

Museums undoubtedly have a role to play in challenging traditionally dominant narratives and in avoiding further isolation by marginalising voices. The didactic curatorial voice should be a thing of the past, as should a singular perspective that denies varied or opposing experiences. An intersectional approach to interpretation allows us to consider multiple perspectives and to invite diverse voices to regain control by presenting their own narratives.[8]

Exemplifying this was a catalogue for Maud Sulter's *Hysteria* exhibition (Photoworks, 1992). Glasgow-born artist, photographer, writer and curator Sulter (1960-2008) explored the representation of black women in western art and the ways in which African art is displayed by western museums.

Also in this section was a collection of art, poetry, stories, oral histories and interviews titled 'Fractures and Dislocations' (c.1998) in the form of a boxed booklet and cassette. The work shares and explores women's personal experiences and was created in response to the cycle of silence, shame and isolation perpetuated by taboos around mental health.

A third exhibit, *Girls from Mars* (2013) was written, drawn, inked and coloured by GWL volunteer Eilidh Nicolson, who describes the zine as 'a portrayal of trans* people as actual people … I just want to create stories that I could have read years ago to make me realise that I am not alone, and that what I'm feeling isn't wrong' (Nicolson, n.d.).

When society assigns us roles based on aspects of our identity

Women are presented with images and objects which reflect society's expectations of our behaviours – the roles we are expected to fulfil at home and how we are expected to look, be and behave – which obstruct our capacity to define our own identities and which reinforce and sustain inequality.[9]

Museums are perfectly positioned to use objects, images, oral histories and other media to present intersectional identities that are truly reflective of the multi-faceted, diverse communities around them. Failure to do so could be regarded as obstructing the capacity of museum audiences to define their own identities, roles and behaviours. At the very least, it is contributing towards the negative culture that reinforces and sustains structural and societal inequalities.

'Right on Jane' (1980s) was a poster created by the London-based See Red Women's Workshop, founded in 1974 by three former art students aiming to combat negative images of women in advertising and the media. Their response to the female character in the Peter and Jane Keywords Ladybird books, first published in 1964, reminds us how gender bias and stereotypes persist when they are taught from an early age and consistently reinforced.

Also on display was a poster created by the American Association of University Women (AAUW) for Women's History Month 1987, which exposed the gender pay gap and highlighted the fact that most work at home is still done by women.

In stark contrast to *Crones*, an article in a 1950s Household Hints magazine titled 'Why do women dread middle age?' presented Dr Williams' Pink Pills as a 'cure' for the trials and tribulations of middle age and menopause. Responses to this article indicated that deep-rooted attitudes exist whereby many women still feel shamed by the natural ageing process.

When we do not have equal access to health care

Women consistently report negative experiences of the health care system. Poor services, or a lack of services at all, are the result of the benevolent moral and political policing, and medicalisation of women's bodies.[10]

It is worth considering whether museums too are guilty of 'moral and political policing'. In the quest for neutrality, many museums have perhaps neglected to

draw sufficient attention to deep-rooted injustices, from colonialism to contemporary forms of discrimination. If the sector polices itself to be strictly objective when it comes to issues of disparity, it arguably risks being complicit in the perpetuation of these inequalities.

A Scottish Abortion Campaign badge (c.1980) exhibited in *Decoding Inequality* represented the movement to defend the 1967 Abortion Act in opposition to politicians who were against women's right to choose. A 'Healthcare not airfare' luggage tag (2018) produced by the London-Irish Abortion Rights Campaign highlighted the hashtag campaigns #RepealThe8th and #TrustWomen.

The exhibition emphasised that the right to an abortion is still an ongoing struggle in many parts of the world. The Repeal the Eighth movement gained momentum from a powerful grassroots campaign. The landslide victory demonstrated a big attitudinal shift towards women's rights in Ireland, but challenges remain, including in the UK where clinics are being targeted by anti-abortion campaigners.

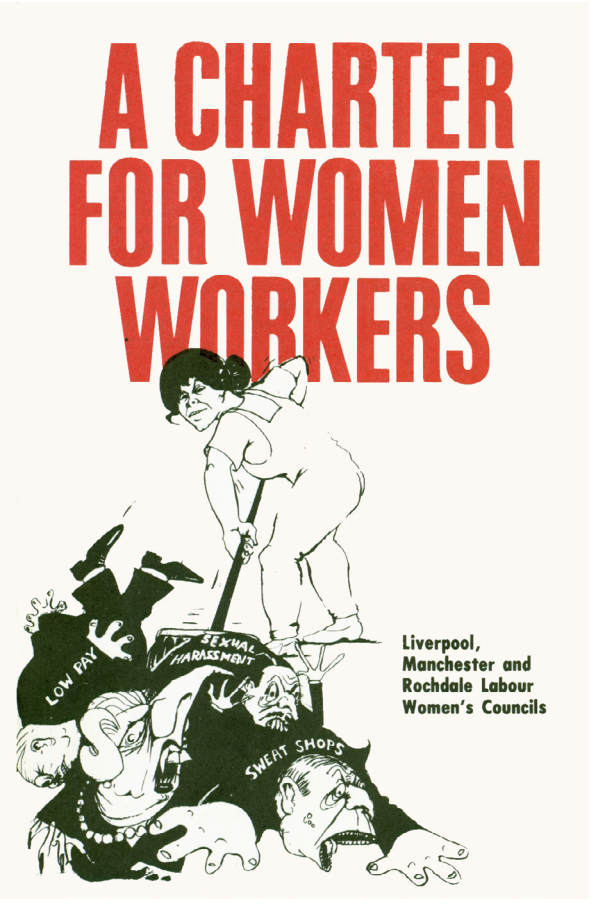
> *When we are not treated equally by the law and the state*
>
> *Inequality is experienced through a lack of inclusion in the political process, representation, access to healthcare, control over reproduction, equal treatment in the criminal justice system.*[11]

By continuing to ignore these voices and experiences, it seems inevitable that sustained persecution and inequalities will also persist. Museums need not align themselves to a political agenda to highlight inequalities. Impartiality and the presentation of uncomfortable truths are not mutually exclusive, but by neglecting to voice experiences of inequality museums are neither treating their audiences equally nor achieving their objective of true representation and inclusivity.

A paperweight from GWL's women's suffrage collection was a small but powerful exhibit illustrating political inequality and patriarchal society. The image of an angry, exhausted father of two babies forced into doing 'woman's work' at home suggested that women's enfranchisement would be ruinous to men.

The Liverpool, Manchester and Rochdale Labour Women's Council's 'Charter for Women Workers' (1985) demonstrated the ongoing fight for improved conditions and equal pay. It was created as a means of convincing the Trade Union movement to unite male and female workers and strength their common struggle by bringing women's rights to the forefront. GWL's acquisition of handmade placards from the recent Equal Pay Glasgow campaign evidences the enforced longevity of this battle.

You Have Struck a Rock (1980) was a booklet published by the International Defence and Aid Fund, which drew attention to the violent and aggressive treatment of women, black and white, fighting for equality and political representation in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. It is one of many activist materials held in GWL's archive that represents aggression against women.



'A Charter for Women Workers' (1985) © Liverpool, Manchester and Rochdale Labour Women's Council; Glasgow Women's Library

Decoding Non-Activist Collections

As a feminist organisation, GWL's museum and archive materials are largely activist by nature. However, the 'decoding' approach can still be applied to the interpretation of non-activist collections:

> *Many museums, archives and libraries with more mainstream institutional histories than GWL care for objects and collections, which tell stories about inequality – but the narratives of inequality are implicit rather than explicit and are contained within the means of production, histories of ownership and representation. … In these institutions, inequality is often articulated by the presence of certain objects and the complete absence of others – even though these narratives are rarely explored (Thain-Gray, 2019:5).*

Everyday objects found in social history collections across the UK and beyond often provide an ideal starting point for decoding inequalities. Below are three suggestions for museums of all types:

Expose stereotypes

As just one example, school report cards listing subjects for boys and girls frequently expose an inherent gender bias in the educational system. Even today, young women are less likely to study and work in science, technology, engineering and maths than their male contemporaries.

Provide a platform

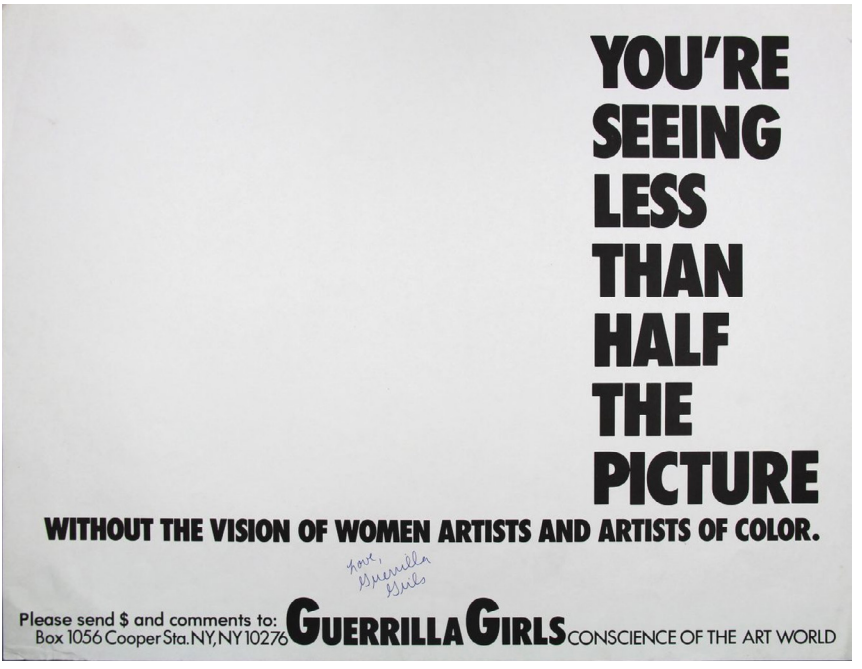
A double-sided Vote 100 Project placard (2018) exhibited in Decoding Inequality highlighted the unequal treatment of women in the criminal justice system. It was one of many created by women in HMP Greenock during a GWL partnership project marking the centenary of the Representation of the People Act 1918. Bearing slogans such as 'Women are strong, society went wrong', the placards offered these women a voice and a place in GWL's permanent collections.

Abolish absences

Rather than ignore or gloss over gaps in a collection, think about the stories that are not being told or recorded, and why, and highlight 'hidden' narratives. 'You're seeing less than half the picture… without the vision of women artists and artists of color' (1989) was one of thirty posters made by the Guerrilla Girls in response to inequality in museums and the art world. Three decades on, these anonymous American feminist activist artists are still highlighting inequalities:

We wear gorilla masks in public and use facts, humor and outrageous visuals to expose gender and ethnic bias as well as corruption in politics, art, film, and pop culture. … We believe in an intersectional feminism that fights discrimination and supports human rights for all people and all genders. We undermine the idea of a mainstream narrative by revealing the understory, the subtext, the overlooked, and the downright unfair (Guerrilla Girls, n.d.)

Gorilla masks aside, this is an approach that many institutions would do well to adopt. By failing to represent people of colour, people with disabilities, gender non-conforming people and other atypical or 'non-mainstream' groups, museums are also failing their local communities and their audiences by presenting only part of the picture.



'You're Seeing Less Than Half the Picture…' (1989) © www.guerrillagirls.com; Glasgow Women's Library

Conclusion

How can museums achieve true representation if they don't allow all stories to be voiced and seen? If we, in the sector, do not reflect the ignored and invisible within our collections we are culpable of marginalising our audiences.

Intersectional feminism provides tools to help us address inequalities and to manage, develop and interpret more representative collections. Even museums which regard themselves as neither activist nor feminist can do justice to their audiences and local communities by considering an intersectional approach.

At GWL, the work to embed intersectional feminism within curatorial practice is ongoing. As well as applying GWL's feminist library classification system to its museum and archive collections, the contemporary collections are under continual development, with topical issues such as ecofeminism informing current acquisitions. Plans are also being finalised for permanent displays showcasing the museum and archive collections. With representation in mind, the selection and interpretation of exhibits has involved GWL's community curators and other volunteers, the entire staff team and object donors.

Museums striving for equality, inclusion and diversity can use their own collections to highlight the history that hasn't been recorded, include the people who aren't being represented, and tell stories previously untold. By placing multiple perspectives and experiences at the heart of their practices and challenging dominant narratives, museums can work towards being truly representative.

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1 Oxford Reference defines intersectionality as 'the theory that various forms of discrimination centred on race, gender, class, disability, sexuality, and other forms of identity, do not work independently but interact to produce particularized forms of social oppression. As such, oppression is the result of intersecting forms of exclusionary practices.'

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Gender Representations on MyLearning: A balancing act

Nicola Pullan - *Assistant Curator of Leeds and Social History*
Izzy Bartley - *Digital Learning Officer, Leeds Museums and Galleries*

The book, 'Leeds Worthies', (Taylor, 1865) lists over 200 notable figures associated with the city, stretching back as far as the twelfth century. In the book, only three of the worthies are female. One of those, a Mrs Matthewman, doesn't have her own entry, but is a footnote underneath someone else's, which discusses her decision to be a benefactor to different areas of Leeds. Another, Lady Elizabeth Hastings, (1682-1739), was included for her benevolence and support of charitable causes, schools and religious establishments. The third, listed as Mrs Wood, and better known outside the book as Mary Ann Paton, was an opera singer and later a music teacher. Similarly, 'The Municipal History of Leeds' (Wardell, 1846), sets out an administrative history of the city from 1626 until 1845. This includes a 40-page appendix listing all those who have held important positions in the city including Mayors, Aldermen, Clerks and Chief Constables. As is to be expected, not a single one of those names is a woman. The same surnames appear time and again, highlighting the family ties and close relationships between those in positions of power in the city. The only list featuring a woman is the list of subscribers, which includes Miss Currer (Frances Mary Richardson Currer), who held a renowned library at Eshton Hall in North Yorkshire, and who was one of the leading book collectors in Britain at that time. This view of history, where men are eminent and worthy, and where very few women have done anything worth documenting, has existed for centuries. This is despite three of Britain's longest reigning monarchs being women, alongside a whole range of women from many walks of life making a difference to society.

Leeds's municipal museum collections were founded almost two hundred years ago, long before the advent of social history as a recognised discipline, and before women's history had come to prominence. That is not to say women's history had not been a concern, thanks to a rise in interest in the early twentieth century 'when a first generation of educated women sought to correct an historical record that had left them out.' (Joanou and Purvis, 1998: 3) It is, however, unsurprising that early cataloguing and accessioning methods were not necessarily up to the standard expected by the modern curator. The social history collections at Leeds, as was the case in many places, began as folk life, and the people who were represented tended to be the same types of people characterised in books such as Leeds Worthies, often having contributed to the collection themselves.

It is only through reflecting on our own collections that we have been able to highlight the lack of information around women, enabling us to go on and uncover stories that would otherwise have been missed. Thanks to advances in database technology we have been able to add a classification for women's history, so that in future we can highlight new objects that come in, alongside identifying existing items. This has brought its own challenges alongside benefits – what exactly does women's history include? Is it anything that involves a woman (named or otherwise)? Are domestic items, such as cookers and vacuum cleaners, women's history? It is difficult finding the right balance of telling the stories and uncovering the lives of women, without reducing them to caricatures and further contributing to stereotypes.

One problem that will continue to be a challenge is the number of anonymous women in our collections. Again, this is partly a historic problem where past cataloguing

hasn't given us the information we need. Sometimes photographs and cartes de visites have names of photographers and photographic studios, providing a starting point to uncover the history of the object. This, however, does not often extend to the sitters, especially in the case of women and children. Other problems arise when an object or photograph was accessioned decades ago, and the information simply states 'belonged to the donor's mother' or something similar. At the time it was clearly not seen as important to know who this 'mother' was. When an object comes via a married relative, it is not always clear which name to search for, making family history research problematic. With modern accessioning we try our best to get basic information about the people related to the objects that we collect, hopefully building up a better picture for future curators to draw upon. This is sometimes easier said than done, but it is important to try. Once we have begun to recognise the problems within our cataloguing, and have come up with ways of improving it, the final step is to be able to share some of the information we have uncovered. The MyLearning website offers a fantastic opportunity to do this.

Online Learning Resources

MyLearning.org hosts learning stories created by arts, cultural and heritage organisations from across the country. Each learning story contains enough information for a non-specialist teacher to feel comfortable teaching the theme of the resource, along with high quality images, discussion and activity ideas. The resource may also include audio or video assets, documents or a digital interactive. All the resources are free for teachers to use for educational purposes. MyLearning is funded by the Arts Council England and managed by Leeds Museums and Galleries.

In June 2017 a full content audit of MyLearning was started, in preparation for the re-launch of the website after a complete redevelopment. This coincided with preparation for 'A Woman's Place?', the exhibition that had given us the impetus to reassess our approach to cataloguing women's history as outlined above. The MyLearning audit consisted of checking the quality of each resource, including media assets, updating national curriculum links where appropriate, and contacting the contributing organisation for updates if necessary.

The learning story 'Originating in Leeds', written by Leeds Museums and Galleries many years ago, was duly audited and was found to contain information solely about male inventors from the area, and their creations. No women were featured. A paragraph was added to the top of the text, encouraging teachers to discuss the social, cultural and economic constraints on women during the time period covered by the resource (Victorian), in addition to the poor recording of women's history in general. A mention of a modern female inventor, Emily Cummins, who invented a solar powered fridge whilst studying at the University of Leeds, was inserted into the 'Fascinating Facts' chapter. This, however, was just a sticking plaster, actioned with the time available, rather than a robust measure taken to address the issue itself. A red flag had been raised.

The creation of a 'Women's History Board' on MyLearning (a virtual pin-board with a collation of resources from across the website, focussing on women's history) turned the red flag into a blaring siren. It was clear that there was an alarming imbalance in the content on MyLearning, with women's history significantly underrepresented. Action was needed. Addressing this lack of women's history is a necessary and vital part of the role of museums in society. This was highlighted in a recent tweet which was brought to our attention alongside other professionals working in the cultural sector, where a secondary school student had been told by their teacher that there

were no women in business during the Industrial Revolution.

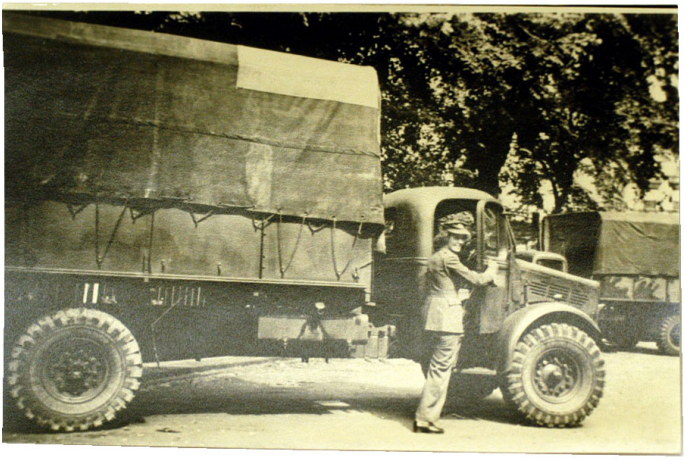
Screenshot of a Tweet, posted on 6 October 2019. A general lack of information about, and visibility of, women in history results in the perpetuation of male dominated narratives.

If our children are being taught from a young age that women simply didn't exist in some facets of historic societies, if young girls are denied female role models to give them confidence in their dreams and ambitions, and young boys erroneously learn that it was only men who built the world we live in now, then we as museums have failed in our responsibilities. The primary History curriculum in England includes the study of 'the lives of significant individuals in the past who have contributed to national and international achievements.' Women listed as non-statutory examples for study are Elizabeth I, Queen Victoria, Rosa Parks, Emily Davison, Mary Seacole, Florence Nightingale and Edith Cavell. While these women were undoubtedly hugely influential, the list itself is problematic. These are the same historical figures that are trotted out repeatedly as examples of women in history. By doing so, the idea is perpetuated that these women were extraordinary rarities in an otherwise male world. While a similar criticism could be raised against the list of suggested historical male figures, the number of men studied or referred to across the curriculum as a whole, serves to render the male role model, be he an entrepreneur, adventurer, scientist, engineer, etc., as the norm. The few female figures deemed worthy of study are reduced to unexpected, and exceptional anomalies.

Addressing the issues

All this means that we have a lot of work to do. Creating new, high quality learning content, or, indeed, adding to existing resources, is not a quick or easy process and tackling this underrepresentation will be a long-term, ongoing project. As Curators and Learning Officers, we have a responsibility to share the stories found within collections and archives. Not everything is suitable for exhibition, but by using a platform like MyLearning, some of those tales that are buried deeply can be shared more widely. Approaching this from both a collections and learning perspective, and with external organisations to consider, will bring methodological challenges.

Moving forward with our own social history stories, we have identified several that are priorities for new learning journeys, and we are currently working on developing relevant content. One focus will be looking at women during the Second World War, using real examples from our collections, including Land Girls like May Dobson and Auxiliary Territorial Service driver Pearl Baxter. Although our information on some of these women is minimal, they can provide us with a starting point for a broader discussion on their roles and the importance of women in society more widely. Being able to include original photographs also makes their experiences more tangible and more human.



Pearl Baxter wearing her ATS uniform, 1943. LEEDM.E.2000.0015.0005

Another area we are keen to work on in the longer term is women's suffrage. We have already completed a lot of work around Leonora Cohen, and she has an excellent resource on the MyLearning website. This links to a digital interactive that was created for use next to the suffragette display case in Leeds City Museum, which features a section on other figures involved in suffrage campaigns in the Leeds area. As we have been able to tell Leonora's story through our collections and have reached a large audience over a number of years, she has gained in local prominence, which has been fantastic. However, part of her story is that she was someone who was determined to preserve the legacy of what many women did in their local communities up and down the country. By simply donating her archive, she recognised that it would add another voice to the complex history of the struggle for suffrage outside the more traditional narratives and centres of London and Manchester. This is perhaps an opportunity for collaborative working with other organisations in the local area to create a resource exploring more of these remarkable women (and occasionally men) who were active campaigners - perhaps looking across the county rather than the city.

One area the authors have debated is whether or not to look at domestic life more closely, as this would undoubtedly reflect the lives of many women over centuries. This could look at technology in our collections, the expectations and status of women in society, and other issues such as motherhood. Whilst this is a potentially fascinating resource for the future, we have taken the decision to prioritise other areas first. This will help to raise the profile of the varied and full lives of many women outside the home, whose stories are often not as well covered by the traditionally gendered approach to history.

This research will eventually feed directly into new content on MyLearning. With existing content, our priority is to start with those learning stories created in-house, by Leeds Museums and Galleries. Working with our team of curators and learning officers across our nine sites, each new exhibition is assessed as it evolves, to see if and how the collections research undertaken by the exhibition curators can be used to add quality female-focussed narratives to the website.

The new exhibition at Leeds Industrial Museum is a good illustration of this exhibition-focussed approach. 'Leeds to Innovation' is a two-year exhibition exploring innovations in art, science and technology, originally spearheaded by people from the Leeds area. The exhibition itself has been curated with gender balance very much in mind, to help combat the idea that women did not participate in scientific research or pursue interests in what we now refer to as STEM (science, technology, engineering and maths). Research into female innovators of the time has brought to light the stories of Elizabeth 'Betty' Beecroft, and Florence Taylor. Betty, together with her husband, took over the lease of Kirkstall Forge in Leeds in 1778 and it was Betty's business acumen that sent profits skyrocketing. Florence was a member of the Leeds Astronomical Society in the 1890s and regularly gave specialist talks and lectures.

Elizabeth (Betty) Beecroft, who took over the running of Kirkstall Forge with her husband, and who was instrumental in making the business an overwhelming financial success. LEEDM.S.1981.0038.24

The stories of these strong and pioneering women will be fed into the 'Originating in Leeds' resource, helping to provide a much-needed balance to this learning story, contributing to the creation of a more rounded and accurate portrayal of women in history.

MyLearning also hosts the place-based 'Leeds Curriculum', an award-winning project which puts the city at the heart of learning. Learning stories from this collection cover the breadth of the primary curriculum, with new stories being added at a steady rate. The creation of content for the Leeds Curriculum aims to encompass the city and its communities (both past and present) in all their diversity. This sometimes requires a little extra digging to uncover stories that have not made it into the realm of popular history. A recently published resource, 'Leeds Explores the World', for example, is split in two halves, with the second half telling the story of Captain Oates and the Terra Firma expedition to the South Pole. The first half of the resource, however, focuses on Isabella Bird, a Victorian explorer whose love for adventure took her as far afield as Tibet, America and Iran. She caused controversy by riding astride her horse and opened the world up to those in England through publishing books of the photographs she took while travelling.

Learning Curve

With MyLearning hosting resources from heritage organisations across the country, many of which will no longer count the staff member who created the original resource among their numbers, the cooperation of, and collaboration with, many sector professionals will be essential.

The recent commissioning of a resource from a sports team proved a useful learning experience as we develop our content strategy going forward. When referring to sports teams and sporting competitions, the cultural norm is that they are male by default, and only female if labelled as such (for example, 'The World Cup', versus 'The Women's World Cup'). In this instance, all the content received from the club regarding the team and its history dealt purely with the male team, with no reference to the women's team. Information about the women's team was requested, but this request went unanswered. The learning story was therefore published with the gender identifier in the title ("Name of sports team (Men's)") - a move which prompted a swift email from the club's representative, requesting the gender denominator be removed. There followed a conversation over email, with the result that it was agreed to include robust coverage of the women's team within the resource. The gender denominator was removed from the title in anticipation.

At the time of writing, over three months after the resource went live on MyLearning, the content about the women's team has yet to be received. It is interesting to consider whether this conflict in naming the resource would have happened had the contributing organisation been a museum or gallery, rather than a sporting organisation. However, it served to highlight the need for the creation of an explicit and transparent policy dealing with learning stories from gendered organisations, to prevent the perpetuation of the 'male by default' approach, which presents women as the 'other'. This policy is currently being formulated.

Challenges

Due to the nature of MyLearning, where content is contributed by arts, cultural and heritage organisations from across England, we cannot hope to achieve our aims without support from our contributors, both past and present. We have yet to put out

a general call to past contributors, as we seek to put our own house in order first, but there will undoubtedly be challenges ahead. The biggest of these is anticipated to be a lack of time. With museum and gallery education staff already stretched thinly, receiving a request to create a new resource, or revise an existing one with women's history in mind, is likely to be a significant ask, no matter how strongly the overall aim of our approach is supported by the contributing organisation. Furthermore, actual resistance may be encountered by those organisations who until now have operated unchallenged on the 'male by default' model of historical narrative, such as the sports club discussed above.

As we drive to expand the women's history content on MyLearning, another area of focus will be to ensure that we are reflecting the diversity of women more generally. We are currently working with several local organisations to build content reflecting the experiences of BAME communities, but going forward, there is still lots to do to raise the profile of women's experiences across the board.

Final Thoughts

The nature of the challenges ahead means that the process of providing more of a gender balance on MyLearning will need to be very fluid. It is unrealistic and counterproductive to our quality standards to impose deadlines or quotas on the creation of new content. These considerations are something to build into our ongoing projects, but may also result from unexpected opportunities when working externally. By taking a dual approach to improving both our collections knowledge, and our online content, we can hopefully build a more robust and accurate historical narrative.

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Voice and Vote: Delivering a major public exhibition in a 900-year-old hall

Mari Takayanagi - *Senior Archivist, Parliamentary Archives*

Introduction

In 2018, the exhibition *Voice and Vote: Women's Place in Parliament*, took place in the historic environment of Westminster Hall. Funded by the Speaker's Art Fund (a charity within Parliament) with support from the House of Lords and House of Commons, it was jointly curated and project managed by Mari Takayanagi (Parliamentary Archives) and Melanie Unwin (Curator of Works of Art Office). It was the culmination of a four-year project titled 'Vote 100', celebrating the centenary of the Representation of the People Act 1918 together with other women's history anniversaries important to Parliament in 2018.

Voice and Vote was open to the public from 26 June to 6 October 2018, with more than 107,000 visits. It included around 80 exhibits, including archives, artworks, historic furnishings, books, costume, and audio-visual material, drawn mostly from Parliamentary collections with key loans from eight external lenders. The concept behind Voice and Vote was to tell the story of women and Parliament over the last 200 years, including as visitors, campaigners, voters and Members of the House of Commons and House of Lords. This was done as a journey through four immersive spaces, the Ventilator, Cage, Tomb and Chamber. The concept was described in a previous *Social History in Museums* Journal article, published in early 2018 when the exhibition was at detailed design stage.

Two years on, this paper will describe the impact of the exhibition in terms of strategic direction, visitor numbers and feedback. It will reflect on the challenges faced in delivering such a large exhibition in a world-famous medieval Hall, which is a working building for Parliamentarians and a ceremonial space. It will identify success factors including the importance of sound governance and stakeholder buy-in; in-house professional expertise; and partnerships, collaboration and cross-team working across and beyond Parliament.

Impact

> *These women were more than brave. It is sad to read at the end of the exhibition that a third of UK women didn't vote. The Suffragettes are truly inspirational. I will always use my hard fought for vote. (Feedback form)*

At the start of the project in 2014, the exhibition curators anticipated high interest both inside and outside Parliament during the suffrage centenary. In the event, interest outweighed even our expectations, as seen at an early point by a huge celebration in Parliament and elsewhere (particularly in Manchester) on 6 February 2018, the anniversary of the Act. There was national rolling media coverage all day, with BBC audience surveys showing that over a third of UK adults followed coverage of the centenary, and 83 per cent of adult women were aware of the significance of the date.

The 6 February celebrations were followed by a host of other events and activities in Parliament and across the country, throughout the year. Voice and Vote, as the centrepiece of Parliament's Vote 100 activities, helped influence the strategic direction of public engagement for both Houses of Parliament. It achieved more than

107,000 visits, exceeding the target of 100,000; an average of 1,042 visits per day, with visit numbers growing steadily throughout the duration of the exhibition. Nearly a fifth of visitors pre-booked free exhibition tickets in advance, the remainder being people coming on general tours of Parliament, educational visits, business visitors to Parliament, and internal audiences.

Feedback for the exhibition was uniformly excellent. The University of York carried out analysis of more than 2,500 feedback forms, questionnaires and visitor observation, which was supplemented by observation of visiting groups by the University of Warwick. Headline findings included that 79% of visitors said the exhibition had improved their understanding of women's role in Parliament, and 84% were helped to experience life as a female political campaigner before 1918. Comments indicated a high level of engagement with the story, objects displayed, and spaces created; 'I am in tears at how lovely your exhibit is'; 'So emotional to see the actual documents and items'; and 'I cried to see what women did for me.'

The Chamber, Voice and Vote © UK Parliament/Mark Duffy

The last part of the exhibition linked the history to the situation today, including some facts and figures about 'How far we've come' and 'How far we've got to go'. Having learned all about the long struggle by suffrage campaigners and the challenges faced by early women MPs, visitors were then able to find out that a third of women did not vote in the 2017 general election, and that the UK ranks only 49th globally by percentage of women MPs. As a result, feedback forms showed an impressive 45% of visitors were inspired by the exhibition to get involved with Parliament today. An interactive peg board by the exit indicated support by visitors for actions such as voting, registering to vote, writing to their MP, and signing or starting a petition. Comments expanded on this: 'Inspired me to continue to work with v small charity

for legislative change'; 'Will feed back info to a school assembly'; and 'As a woman it makes me want to get more involved in politics for my area.'

The exhibition also featured a wall of names of all the women ever elected as Members of Parliament. The 491 names ran in chronological order starting with Constance Markievicz (the first elected, in 1918) and Nancy Astor (the first to take her seat at Westminster, in 1919). The last name was Janet Daby, who had to be added specially after she was elected on 14 June 2018, less than two weeks before the exhibition opened. Women MPs were able to find their own names on the wall, and all visitors could use the wall to understand how few women have ever been elected, and how recently most of them have been elected - a simple but effective engagement tool. Current Members of Parliament were very supportive of the exhibition, with praise in speeches in the House of Commons from the Leader of the House (Andrea Leadsom MP), the Shadow Leader (Valerie Vaz MP) and the Speaker (John Bercow MP). Mr Speaker supported the exhibition at an early point as a trustee of the Speaker's Art Fund. Having observed some of the exhibit installation by collection care staff, he said:

> 'An enormous amount of specialist loving care and preparation have gone into it… I am very proud of the exhibition.' (Parliamentary Debates, 28 June 2018).

The four-year project lead-in was essential in helping raise awareness of the importance of the centenary inside and outside Parliament, and to build audiences for the exhibition - and beyond. By the end of the year, 1,636,453 people had taken part in at least one of Parliament's Vote 100 activities, with 76% of participants saying their knowledge of Parliament and democracy had increased.

Challenges

> *So happy to see the Houses of Parliament officially celebrating 100 years of female suffrage! The exhibition is well laid out with places to sit which in this heat is much appreciated. (Feedback form)*

The exhibition curators faced significant challenges in delivering a large exhibition (223 metres long and 101 metres wide) containing original objects in a world-famous UNESCO-designated medieval hall. Westminster Hall, built in 1097 and with a magnificent 14th-century hammer-beam roof, is the oldest part of the Palace of Westminster, a working area for Parliamentarians, and a nationally important ceremonial space. Challenges included building works, incident management, and environmental issues.

The hall was chosen as the location for Voice and Vote as the only space in Parliament big enough for a large-scale exhibition, with enough adjacent and nearby space for construction and de-construction, loading and unloading, and holding areas for acclimatisation and emergency decant. It is also the only space in Parliament with relatively easy public access. It was particularly important that the exhibition took place in Parliament as visible support for such a high-profile democratic anniversary; as one of the exhibition feedback forms remarked, 'I think it's really good that famous places like this one try to make a difference and bother about feminist action.'

Voice and Vote exhibition in Westminster Hall © UK Parliament/Mark Duffy

However, the advent of major building works caused new complications. In 2015, a major Westminster Hall conservation project began. By September 2017 it was clear that the works to clean and conserve roof timbers would overlap with the exhibition, and the roof works project team worked with the exhibition curators to find a way to deliver both projects. Extensive work by the exhibition designers flipped the whole exhibition by 180 degrees and allowed for one roof level scaffold 'boat' to operate above a section of the exhibition if necessary, with no original objects below. In the end this was unnecessary, but the contingency planning was nevertheless essential for the exhibition to go ahead.

The ceremonial role of Westminster Hall necessitated an incident management plan which could be executed very promptly and in a short time period. A two-hour condensed object decant plan was devised by the Collection Care Studio Manager in the Parliamentary Archives, and team of volunteer staff from the Archives and Curator's Office placed on standby to attend 24/7. The build contractors provided a detailed plan for dismantling the exhibition structure in the following few hours, and a section of this was tested under timed conditions before the exhibition opened.

The environment in Westminster Hall meant that the exhibition could only be held during the summer. The exhibition cases generally performed well, but in August 2018 temperatures were particularly high followed by heavy rain and thunderstorms. Challenges with temperature and relative humidity occurred, and it was noticeably hotter along the wall of the exhibition running in the middle of Westminster Hall where sunlight fell and which was also a pinch point for visitor flow. Localised equipment was put in to mitigate the situation where necessary.

Success factors

> *It was a very emotional experience. It reminded me, as a young woman, of the sacrifices made by those before me, it has inspired me and given me a renewed confidence in the power of my voice. (Feedback form)*

Many factors contributed to the success of *Voice and Vote*. A long lead-in time, with finance from the Speaker's Art Fund at an early point, was fundamental. Other very significant success factors were sound governance and stakeholder buy-in; in-house professional expertise; and partnerships, collaboration and cross-team working across and beyond Parliament.

Sound governance underpinned *Voice and Vote* from 2014. Good project management gave senior managers assurance that the project was well-run, and much work went into other stakeholder engagement, including Members of both Houses. The high-level support achieved was crucial throughout the project, but especially so at a very late stage, as the exhibition build contractors who were originally appointed went into liquidation on 19 May 2018. This event could easily have led to project failure and reputational damage. Instead, Parliament reacted quickly and successfully, with senior management providing clear direction and support to staff responsible for delivery. A new contractor was appointed on 1 June. A huge amount of work then took place in a very compressed timetable, enabling the exhibition launch to take place as planned on 26 June.

Another large factor was in-house professional expertise. *Voice and Vote* utilised dedicated curatorial staff with expert knowledge and skills, working with external professional exhibition designers and contractors. A combination of the use of Parliamentary collections, exciting 'star loans' including from private lenders, large immersive spaces and smaller interactives inviting participation, all added up to a rich and unique visitor experience, well beyond a traditional exhibition. Apart from the exhibition curators, many staff in the Archives and Curator's Office also supported the exhibition in different ways such as loans registration, digitisation, licensing, mounting, framing, display case installation and art handling.

Voice and Vote was a model for cross-team working. This was particularly important as Parliament is not a museum and not set up to deliver large scale exhibitions on a regular basis. As well as the Curator's Office and Archives, support from many other Parliamentary teams was essential. Visitor Services staff administered bookings and invigilated the exhibition; Education and Engagement facilitated school visits and produced a family trail leaflet; Media and Communications ran a year-long campaign for national, local and specialist media coverage, as well as social media and internal communications; Retail ran a pop-up shop with dedicated merchandise; and Design and Print Services supported aspects of the exhibition design and produced posters, postcards, leaflets and other promotional material.

The Tomb, Voice and Vote © UK Parliament/Annabel Moeller

Early equality analysis with Parliament's workplace equality networks ensured that the exhibition was fully wheelchair accessible with large print captions available for all text and transcripts for all audio. Parliament's Diversity and Inclusion Assistant in Visitor Services noted a 20% demand for visits she supported during the exhibition.

Fire safety improvement works elsewhere in Parliament had a knock-on effect on visitor numbers, as reduced access during conference recess in September meant that tours and educational visits were cancelled or scaled back, and no evening openings were possible. A cross-team effort with increased promotional support by Visitor Services and Media and Communications meant that the target of 100,000 visits was nevertheless exceeded.

Finally, the project partnered formally with six universities and the History of Parliament Trust to provide a huge amount of added value, including new research, educational resources, and outputs such as talks, conferences and the exhibition book. This included two major AHRC-funded projects, 'What Difference did the War Make?' with the Universities of Lincoln and Plymouth on Parliament, women and the First World War; and 'Listening to the Commons' with the University of York to acoustically model the Ventilator, the attic space used by women to listen to debates before 1834. A recording of the acoustic model was used in the exhibition.

Conclusion

> *I pledge to make all my five granddaughters aware of, and eternally grateful for, all those wonderful, brave, selfless women who gave them the rights they have today. (Feedback form)*

The *Voice and Vote* exhibition was the centrepiece of Parliament's celebration of

Vote 100 in 2018, one of the most important anniversaries in our democratic history. It had considerable impact in terms of strategic direction, visitor numbers and positive feedback. This was achieved in the face of substantial challenges from the historic location, thanks to many factors including stakeholder engagement, in-house professional staff and cross-team working.

The exhibition's success understandably led to many requests via feedback for it to be up longer, made permanent, or tour. These comments are of course welcome as very positive feedback, however it was not possible to do any of those things, as it was designed as a temporary exhibition for a specific location within a set budget and strict timeframe.

There are nevertheless touring legacies, as part of the exhibition went on to be displayed elsewhere. The Alice Hawkins collection, a major collection of suffragette memorabilia still owned by her family and not previously on public display, went straight from *Voice and Vote* for display in Leicester Museum. The recreation of the desk of Nancy Astor has been faithfully recreated by the University of Reading and went touring for the centenary of Astor's election in 2019; and the related graphic panels were saved and re-used in an Astor exhibition at Plymouth Guildhall in November 2019.

New research for *Voice and Vote* is another legacy, particularly the acoustic model of the Ventilator, and the exhibition book. Elements of the exhibition interactives were kept for re-use by Parliament's Participation team, and parts of the retail range have been incorporated into Parliament's permanent range, including the specially commissioned and incredibly popular suffragette rubber duck, 'Suffraduck'. Other elements have moved online via a new 'Women and Parliament' version of the Houses of Parliament 360° virtual tour.

Voice and Vote and Parliament's wider Vote 100 project played a major role in the national celebration of the 2018 UK women's suffrage centenary. However, it was a beginning rather than an end of the celebration, because only women over the age of 30 who met a minimum property qualification got the vote in 1918 - roughly two-thirds of the adult female population. The true suffrage centenary will come in July 2028, the anniversary of the Equal Franchise Act 1928 which gave women the vote on the same terms as men. It is hoped that some of the lessons learned from 2018 will be useful in early forward planning, for an even bigger and better celebration in Parliament and elsewhere in 2028.

Find out more about Westminster Hall:

www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/westminsterhall/

www.parliament.uk/business/news/2015/december/westminster-hall-conservation-project/

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Nuclear Nomadologies: Curating an Inclusive Social History of the British Nuclear Test Veterans

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Wesley Perriman - *Independent Researcher and Curator and*
Stephanie Alexander - *Photo-archivist.*

Introduction

Curation plays an important role in our public representation and understanding of nuclear warfare. This paper critiques the curation practices associated with British nuclear weapons testing, as a historic event that presents complex dynamics of inclusion, exclusion and power-play (Alexis-Martin, 2019, McLellan, 2017). Furthermore, it considers the ways that nuclear test veteran identities can be constructed, reproduced and contested within the exhibition space, through our exhibition "Over the Fence…to the other side of the world" at the Peace Museum, UK. Exhibitions of this nature have historically been subject to militarisms that rigidly present the state actors of nuclear warfare in selective ways, and that often neglect to feature individual veterans' stories and nomadologies of nuclear weapon testing (Garoian, 2001; Deleuze et al, 1986). When thinking of their nomadologies, we draw on Deleuzian notions that their personal identities are not rooted in one place or limited to a single fixed worldview, and that the experience and depiction of being a nuclear test veteran is complex and diffuse.

This militarised narrative of the nuclear object is not a uniquely British phenomenon, and research has previously been undertaken at US nuclear warfare museums and exhibitions to understand motivations for this discourse. Issues have been identified that relate to curatorial power, inclusiveness, and security issues (Taylor, 1997; Taylor, 2002; Gerster, 2013; Bogaard, 2015). Taylor was the first American scholar to identify a contest of '…ideological narratives seeking authority over the meaning of nuclear symbols', during his study of Los Alamos National Laboratory's Bradbury Science Museum (Taylor, 1997 p119). His research revealed that conflict centred on activist challenges of dominant narratives and dialogues that pertained to nuclear history; and he described how cultural memory has been constructed and transformed within this space to better serve the nuclear-ideological and institutional interests of Los Alamos (Taylor, 1997). Bogaard's work has recently called for a contemporary reconsideration of inclusiveness, in light of the Cold War nuclear rhetoric and its historical representation within museums (Bogaard, 2015). She questions how inclusive a museum can be, when a curating a history that is still veiled by nuclear secrecy (Bogaard, 2015). Her research of sites created by the Manhattan Project National Historical Park Act argues that "…museums can play an important role in furthering dialogue, not by erasing differences but by embracing polyphony as a new form of truth" (Bogaard, 2015 p25).

The materiality of nuclear weapons, and the pioneering science and technology of the bomb are prescient within exhibitions of Cold War and nuclear weapon history. However, there is another story that is seldom told within public exhibition spaces: that of the lower echelons of people who worked on the bombs and the local communities which were affected. For these servicemen, Aboriginal and Islander communities, there is little recognition of their experiences. There is also little representation of their own personal archives from these events, despite their cultural and social significance

to history (Ashmore et al, 2012).

In total, the British government conducted 64 nuclear weapons tests in Australia and the Pacific Islands between 1952 and 1963, in an attempt to prove that the country was as technologically advanced and significant as the USA and the USSR (Cirincione, 2007). 20,000 servicemen participated in this work, and a third of these members were conscripted (Maclellan, 2017). The experiences of the atomic veterans were shaped by the conditions, risks and consequences of life in the nuclear military industrial complex. A diminished health and safety culture, combined with a culture of secrecy, has had a long-lasting impact upon these men and their families (Alexis-Martin, 2019). An exhibition that provides insights into their community experiences provides an important way for those who worked on nuclear weapons testing to have their work and experiences publicly recognised and memorialised (Alexis-Martin et. al. 2019).

For Aboriginal and Islander communities, there is a significant gap in exhibition recognition of their lives and experiences of the bomb. This is particularly evident in the UK. While exhibitions such as "Object Journeys" at the British Museum recognise the impact of colonial harms in Kiritimati, an atoll affected by the British nuclear weapon test series, they do not explore the ways that militarisation and nuclear imperialism affect these places and their people (British Museum, 2017). However, there is still little debate within science or humanities about the inherent nuclearity of this historic series of events, and their long-term consequences to indigenous people worldwide (Hecht, 2006). Our exhibition, "Over the Fence…to the other side of the world", tries to address this deficit by presenting a co-produced and diverse understanding of British nuclear test veteran, Aboriginal and Islander experiences, through a polyphony of different voices. For this reason, we presented our exhibition within the pacifist space of the Peace Museum, to facilitate all voices being heard.

The Peace Museum is the only accredited museum of its kind in the UK, and is a prominent member of the International Network of Museums for Peace (Peace Museum, 2019a). It tells the stories of those '…who have tried to bring an end to extremism, conflict, war and inequality; [and] to create social justice, peace and cohesion' (Peace Museum, 2019a). In its press release, the Peace Museum's curators described our exhibition as, "…looking over the fence of AWRE to the other side of the world to tell untold stories of soldiers involved and explore the human cost of Britain's involvement in The Cold War and its wider impact on the peace movement." (Peace Museum, 2019b). By collaboration with this organisation, we were able to facilitate a humanising process of object storytelling, providing insights into the humanity of servicemen's and islanders' experiences, despite the arguable inhumanity of the nuclear weapon tests. This paper weaves interviews with co-curators into the story of our exhibition's production, as we helped to give voice to the objects in our collection.

Co-creation and co-curation

We took a collective and collaborative co-curation approach to "Over the Fence", which involved consultation and in-depth discussion with community members who shared their archives with us (Ashmore et al, 2012). One of the ways for us to make sense of the lived experiences of nuclear test veterans was to draw upon the personal understandings of members of the British Nuclear Test Veteran's Association (BNTVA). The BNTVA is a charitable organisation that provides information and support for people who have worked with or who have been affected by the British nuclear weapons tests worldwide, and is notable for providing solidarity and

community support to the families and descendants of those who have been affected by the nuclear weapon tests. We undertook conversations with nuclear test veteran community members and included objects from the BNTVA archive in our exhibition. In order to provide both community and professional expertise, we also drew upon established academic cultural and social knowledge of the British nuclear weapon tests (Dr Becky Alexis-Martin), and the professional and personal understandings of a veteran descendant and curator (Mr Wesley Perriman). By taking this approach, we were able to juxtapose and review conventional academic narratives, alongside prior oral histories of nuclear test veterans (Alexis-Martin et. al. 2019). A further noteworthy member of our team was Ms Stephanie Alexander, who undertook our object and event photography. It is noteworthy that this team presented a co-curation that was intersectional and reflective of the challenges faced by the nuclear test veterans (Spivak, 1999).

Our collective work was nomadological in a Deleuzian sense, in that it aimed to de-territorialise the "war machine" of nuclear weapon testing (Deleuze et.al, 1986). Nomadic approaches create structures that collapse, but also open creative lines of flight. In the context of our exhibition, the process of presenting veteran objects, we also aimed to represent the nomadologies of the nuclear test veteran – in unfettered travel across militarised space, in work and play, and in life and death.

Object histories in discussion

In discussion with the co-curators, various aspects of the process of making visible the lives of the nuclear test veterans stood out. This is significant, as the British nuclear weapon tests themselves are veiled by a culture of secrecy. Perriman described his understanding as follows, during our conversation:

> *'First of all, it's raised awareness, the amount of people I've spoken to who have said they hadn't even realised we tested a bomb, and the scale of how much testing we had done, surprised them'.*

This lack of public knowledge is perturbing, but not unexpected, due to the nature of the tests. Perriman went on to highlight specific inclusions, with emphasis on the hidden and obscure aspects of the British nuclear weapon test series, demonstrating its nomadological nature:

> *'I'm glad we included lots of stuff from the earlier tests, which is not as well-known. We have a lot from Operation Totem…[discussing other nuclear exhibitions]…The National Archives, for the nuclear testing we did, it was very limited. It just told the story of the bombs going off, not the story of the men involved. It's as though those involved are forgotten. However, until recently those people would have been under the Official Secrets Act – perhaps in the 1990s, this stuff wouldn't have come out."*

An example of an unusual object from the British nuclear weapon test series (Alexander, 2019).

Perriman felt that the quantity of artefacts reflected the number of survivors across each test, on the basis that those who did not survive may have had their collections sold or otherwise distributed. The concept of the orphaned artefact – an artefact without a history or narrative – arose during our conversation. As a deceased veteran's son, this provoked complex emotions for him pertaining to provenance:

'There is one item in the exhibition that is very sad, as it's orphaned – the tankard from HMS Resolution. I bought it from an online auction, and it has no provenance. The seller just said "came from a house clearance in Portsmouth….what has been lost? Where is the representation of the whole community?'

Wesley then went on to discuss the significance of our exhibition to his own personal identity, as a nuclear test veteran's son:

> *'It's what I've grown up with, it's a story I've wanted to tell for over thirty years. It has given an opportunity for me to learn more about my father, and look for a reason why he's not here anymore. It is also trying to share with other people in our [nuclear] community that this stuff is important, and to share these stories with the general public…If we lose it, we don't learn from it. If we don't keep these things together in collections, we can't learn from them.'*

He disclosed afterwards that much of his own father's paraphernalia from the tests had been split up after his death. This exhibition has provided him with an opportunity to not just strengthen his professional curatorial practice, but also to metaphorically regroup in light of this, and to help others to learn about the work that his father undertook.

We went on to discuss the hidden role of local communities, during the tests:

> *'It's very much part of all this – it's not just the veterans themselves, it's their families, the people they met – which includes the indigenous people. This is also their story – except it's far worse as they are an underrepresented community [who were affected by nuclear weapons testing]. You only see indigenous people's stories in Australia, you don't see them here. I don't think, universally, we have as much understanding as to how to read these paintings [by indigenous artists] as we should, what things are meant to represent. Once you know how to read these, they become more harrowing'.*

I also spoke with Ms Stephanie Alexander about the photography process, from photo-archiving to taking shots of our exhibition event. She described the different processes required to undertake photography for our exhibition:

> *'It is a different mind-set doing the archiving…it's initially emotionless looking at them through the lens, but it's different when you are actually looking and learning from them. When you take the object out the box, the story behind it distracts you. You sit and look through the albums and magazines. Some of it is really moving, especially the [original veteran's] photography, as it was someone else's life for a year or so. You can't quite imagine what it would feel like to be there with a bomb going off, it's mind-blowing'.*

The concept of moments lost emerged, as an important trope for all of us, as academic, descendant curator and photographer. Stephanie crystallised this idea during our conversation:

> *"Looking through the lens, you try and capture the moment, but you are not within the moment, despite being there – it's like looking at a memory while the memory is forming. It comes from the heart rather than the brain – event photography [such as the Peace Museum exhibition opening] is almost the opposite of archival photography, as it's [archival photography] about putting your emotions aside and getting clarity – whereas event photography is about instinct and capturing a moment".*

Stephanie emphasised the need for objects and images to be preserved, and the importance of memory and memorialisation to both the nuclear test veteran community, and the general public:

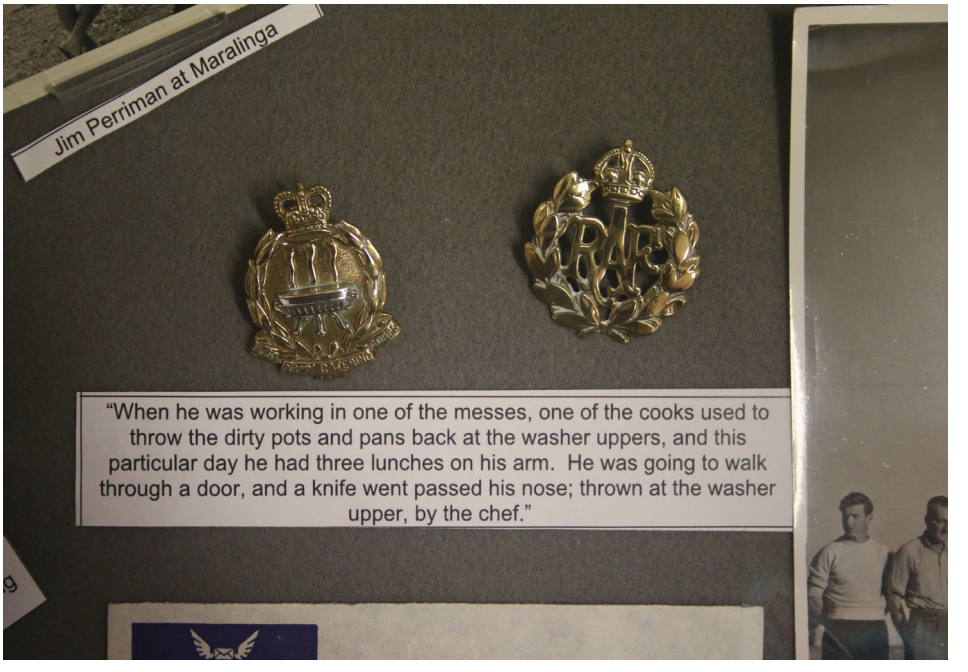
> *"It lets people get glimpses of this time, so you can see what they were doing at that time …So we don't lose what's left of people when they die. It's a way for them to live on after and keeps part of them alive, their memories and experiences".*

Sharing Stories

It is evident from our conversations that co-curation helped to embed academic knowledge and represent the cultural links from object to photography, and to the

personal. This was embedded and presented by including narratives from nuclear test veterans themselves, of their time working with the bomb. These quotes were anonymised to protect veteran identity, and some individuals were still concerned about the implications of sharing what they perceived to be “government secrets”

A small plaque was included within the exhibition, which stated ‘The quotes in this exhibition are taken from our British nuclear test veterans, as part of the UK Nuclear Families study undertaken by Dr Becky Alexis-Martin and funded by the NCCF. These quotes are anonymous, and they tell the story of the “nuclear every-man”, and his experiences of the nuclear weapon test series.’ Quotes presented a start, finish and end across the nuclear weapon test series, providing a testimonial of sorts, while also replicating the nomadic and life-changing cycle of becoming a nuclear test veteran, travelling to test the bombs, travelling home, becoming unwell and the process of mourning, memorialisation and death. They were selected to represent both the sensational and banal elements of being a nuclear test veteran.



An example of the nuclear test veteran testimonials included within “The Other Side of the Fence…” (Alexander, 2019).

By presenting our objects in conjunction with previously un-curated snippets of nuclear test veteran history, the exhibition humanised the object in every sense, by giving our objects voice and deeper meaning, beyond their material histories. For orphan objects, it offered an opportunity to re-curate and recreate what it meant to be a nuclear test veteran through their shape, form and identity.

Conclusions

Our exhibition, "Over the Fence…to the other side of the world" at the Peace Museum, UK has presented opportunities to include previously neglected cultural objects relating to and narratives of nuclear test veteran life. This exhibition differs from previous exhibitions that consider Britain's nuclear deterrent, as we do not glorify nuclear weapons. Instead, we collectively challenged existing nuclear ideologies, by providing authentic nuclear test veteran dialogues to accompany our collection and including the community in its construction. This approach helped to give voice to a neglected British community, in a way that did not essentialise or misrepresent their lived experiences. It also provided a more humanistic and pacifist narrative, through object-matched oral histories. However, many challenges remain that relate to both inclusions and exclusions within 'Over the Fence…', for instance, a lack of insight into the hidden labour of nuclear test veteran wives, despite the exhibition's comparative intersectionality and inclusion.

Acknowledgements

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Breaking the shackles: How a contemporary collecting project at Holloway Prison allowed us to rethink our collection.

Roz Currie - *Curator, Islington Museum*

In 2016 Holloway Prison closed and, as the curator, I was spurred to apply for funding to explore, collect and engage with stories from a previously hidden community in the borough. The engagement programme driven by the new collections has been highly successful, complex and meaningful.

Reflecting on our collections and collections development policy post-project, as part of our accreditation return, it was clear that the core Islington Museum collection had become increasingly undervalued and underused while collecting policies had been content to unquestioningly collect more of the same.

This article explores how we have sought to make our collections relevant again through interrogating previous collecting decisions, looking at how objects are valued and how to bridge the disconnect between collections and engagement work.

The Local Museum for Islington

Islington Museum is the local museum for the London Borough of Islington, run by Islington Council. It holds collections relating to the history and people of Islington and undertakes community exhibitions and engagement to connect people from the borough with their heritage. The museum has close ties to the local community reinforced by multiple engagement projects on both a large and small scale. As part of Islington Council our role is informed by the council vision seen through the lens of local heritage (see Box 1).

Box 1

London Borough of Islington Vision: We're determined to make Islington fairer and to create a place where everyone, whatever their background, has the same opportunity to reach their potential and enjoy a good quality of life.

Islington Museum Vision: Our vision is to bring the people of Islington together and to make Islington a happier, healthier and fairer place through heritage.

Islington Museum Mission: We bring local heritage to life for the people of Islington. Our role is to enrich lives and support people in reaching their potential, connecting local people with their heritage and developing strong local identities through our free exhibitions, learning and events programmes, and projects. We work within the community to collect local stories, celebrate community voices, engage diverse groups, promote inclusion and prompt new conversations.

Image 1: Islington Museum permanent gallery with some of the collections on show (Credit: Islington Museum)

Islington Museum's collections are focused on the history and people of the London Borough of Islington. All collections originate from, were used in, or have connections within the geographic area of the London Borough of Islington as created by the London Government Act (1963), merging the original Metropolitan boroughs of Islington and Finsbury.

The majority of acquisitions to the collection have been made through donations by members of the public and local organisations. Objects of local significance were donated to Islington Libraries from the 1920s onwards, largely ending up in the archives of the Islington and Finsbury boroughs. From the mid-1980s objects were specifically collected by the volunteer-led museum which was initially based in a shop on Upper Street. These volunteers were part of Islington-based organisations: the Islington Society, set up in 1960 to 'to involve and support local people in the conservation and regeneration of Islington's built environment and local services' and the Islington Archaeology and History Society, set-up in 1975 with a focus on local history (Islington Society website www.islingtonsociety.org.uk/). Collecting was undertaken on a largely ad hoc basis, mainly donated by local people or deliberately collected by volunteers enthused by a specific subject.

Through lobbying of Islington Council, a volunteer-led group, 'Friends of Islington Museum', with many members from both above societies, successfully gained space for a museum in Islington Assembly Hall from 1988 for the next 20 years. In 2008 a new museum opened at 245 St John Street in 2008, with professional staff managed by Islington Council and collecting became more formalised. Cooperative working with the Islington Archives and Local History Centre was made much more possible as they now occupied the same building. However, despite the professionalization of the service, the collection remained as it had always been, the collecting needs of the museum and its communities at that time un-interrogated. Selection of objects followed the same lines as before, limited to unsolicited donations made by members of the public. Ultimately the more-of-the-same policy was cemented in the 2009 Acquisition and Disposal Policy as part of the first museum accreditation return (Box 2).

Box 2 - From the 2009 Accreditation Return: Acquisition and Disposal Policy

3. Criteria governing future acquisition policy including the subjects or themes, periods of time and/or geographic areas and any collections which will not be subject to further acquisition.

Future collection will carry on along the same lines of the present collection. The museum service will continue to collect items from any time period that will enhance its collections. The museum service will continue to collect items of social history that represent the daily life of the people of the London borough of Islington by gift, bequest and purchase.

By 2017 the collection remained limited.[1] As with many local museums it comprised a large collection of relatively common Victoriana, items from the two world wars, large-scale industrial heritage (mangles) and generic costume and household items with some highly significant objects and small collections such as a bust of Lenin created by Berthold Lubetkin. There had been limited collecting on specific Islington stories, highlighting local actions, or meaningfully exploring local communities. Project and engagement work had led to fascinating outputs and solid community connections but was detached from the core museum collection, both in terms of using the collection to prompt work or adding to the collection to improve relevance. The collection failed to represent the diversity of the borough and to reflect our core vision, mission and values.

Interrogating our collection

How did we get to this point? What was behind a museum collection which didn't reflect either the borough or our values; had become a limiting factor when undertaking collections-based engagement; and did not feature in much of the museum and archive based engagement work?

Hidden power structures can be uncovered in even the humblest of museums and their collections, and directly impact how meaning is created around that collection. Following Carol Duncan in her book *Civilising Rituals*, our museums and attendant collections control the ways in which communities are represented and history is made and understood (1995:7). The history of the collection at Islington Museum, coming from a highly engaged Islington volunteer community, has led to the valuing of certain types of artefacts over others and the representation of specific groups over

others. While this is not to say the volunteers were unable to consider representing groups beyond themselves, the early collection was framed through their gaze and their preconceptions of what a museum collection should constitute. 'The history of Islington' as told through the pre-2017 collection and permanent gallery displays was overwhelmingly white, relatively settled and largely middle-class, albeit with many more diverse stories represented in the temporary exhibition and project programme. This contrasts significantly with the demographics of the borough in which less than 48% of residents are estimated to be 'White British', 33% of residents were born outside the UK and 35% of children under the age of 16 live in low income houses (State of Equalities in Islington Annual Report 2018). The relative paucity of the collection at Islington Museum and its display in the galleries have therefore led to a specific view of history being created which does not necessarily reflect the people of the borough. These limitations in conceptualising what should and could be collected seem to have led to the solidifying of ideas of value – what should and should not form part of a collection was set in stone (and in policy) from the early years meaning early biased collecting defined what was of interest in historical Islington. Museums as entities are most accessible and most representative for those who are able to engage the most easily (Duncan, 1995: 8). Collection practices at Islington have created invisible barriers to museum access and made collections engagement with specific groups within the borough harder.

Approaches to rectify this situation have been severely hampered by limited resources. Until relatively recently the museum has not had a dedicated curator who could interrogate extant collections, connect with communities or work to collect the story of Islington in a collaborative and engaged manner. As a result, recent apparently 'representative' collecting could at best be described as lightweight and potentially offensive (Image 2), without any notion of how such objects would either reflect the population, develop meaning-making potential within the collection or allow meaningful engagement to take place.

Image 2: Generic soya drink sauce and henna purchased from a local shop for the museum collection. (Credit: Islington Museum)

Taking an initially volunteer-built collection to a position where learning and engagement is possible is also a significant challenge. Much of the collection has extremely limited documentation and until recently was located within the stores in such a way as to make them very hard to comprehend or begin to use.

All of the above contrasted with the position of the Islington Archive and Local History Centre. There has been a Local History Librarian since about 1906 and local archives kept in the boroughs of Finsbury and Islington were finally amalgamated in 2002. Given council funding and professional staff, the archive has had much more scope to collect, document and understand the collections. It also includes special collections relating to Walter Sickert, Joe Orton and Kenneth Halliwell, and Sadler's Wells that attract significant attention. The archival collections have hence been far better understood than the museum collection and have been taken more seriously for a significant length of time, which has led to 'serious' collections being donated to the archive and engagement work being more possible in the archives..

Finally, given the need for quick wins and a political 'wow' factor in combatting potential local authority cuts, significant collections and high-profile engagement projects have often taken priority, leading to the majority of the museum collection and its continued collecting being side-lined.

Echoes of Holloway Prison: Contemporary Collecting in Islington

In 2018 Islington Museum embarked on a new National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF) project to document the stories and collections of Holloway Prison. An important landmark in Islington for over 100 years, until summer 2016 Holloway was the largest women's prison in Britain. The project aimed to capture a unique set of stories relating to Holloway Prison that otherwise would have been lost as staff, prisoners and people connected to the prison were dispersed following the closure. Uncovering these 'hidden' stories from a closed Islington community and making them accessible was a key part of the approach to collecting. Individuals with specific knowledge relating to the prison or lived experience of Holloway were crucial to directing the project and to ensuring that the process of collecting fully reflected the diversity and complexity of the place and people.

The project aimed to capture stories of the prison from across its history with a focus on oral histories and some collecting of stories on film; collection of personal objects and ephemera; and a wide-ranging engagement programme to connect with different stakeholders and individuals with an interest in the prison. The project sought to widen understanding and empathy with the hidden stories of women held behind the prison's walls.

Image 3: Some of the team behind the Echoes of Holloway Prison project including former prisoners (Credit: Islington Museum).

From the start voices were key to the project. By centring lived experience and including diverse voices in the oral histories, on the steering group, and in general discussions relating to the project, collecting undertaken as a crucial part of the project was thoughtful, engaged and responsive.[2] Collections from the project were living and connected. They prompted multiple different modes of engagement from more standard talks and discussions, to reflection sessions with former prisoners and an empathy led exhibition (Currie & Tempest Mountford [forthcoming]). Final outputs, which are nearing completion, including a learning pack to bring the stories to life for different schools, universities and community groups, and an interactive website (to find out more about the project, visit the website at https://echoesofhollowayprison.com/).

The collection has already prompted multiple new projects and collaborations including a touring play, an upcoming exhibition at the Stanley Picker Gallery, Kingston University, in-depth work with Middlesex University, support for the consultations on the site of the former prison to ensure all voices are heard in the process, and discussion sessions for former prisoners held at Islington Museum.

A New Collecting Philosophy

Looking again at the Islington Museum collections through the lens of the highly successful and engaged Echoes of Holloway Prison project made their limitations apparent but also highlighted the potential for future collecting and engagement. When it came to reassessing policies for our 2019 accreditation return it was clear that more than a simple re-jigging of aims was needed. This was further informed by work being undertaken in liminal communities by many other cultural organisations.

For example, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford brought personal stories from the Calais 'Jungle' to the attention of the public. This has allowed the museum to grow beyond a simple place of representation to become a means of making visible hidden or transient stories (Hicks & Mallet, 2019: 82).

A whole new way of thinking in relation to the collection was the only way to develop it in a more engaged, targeted and meaningful way. The Holloway project energised us to think again about our collections and to re-imagine them as a tool for engaging, enthusing and including local people. We needed to collect with integrity, collect in a meaningful not superficial way, collect in a way that challenged the problematic power structures that had become evident during our period of reflection. A 'Collecting Philosophy' was created to embed a broader basis for targeted collection and engagement going forwards (Box 3).

Box 3 - Islington Museum Collecting Philosophy 2019

- Islington Museum has a strong aspiration for our collections to be relevant, meaningful and to properly reflect the complex lives and communities in Islington today and in the past.
- Collecting should allow the museum to address issues of diversity and inclusion so that the population of Islington can see itself in its museum.
- The link to the borough is crucial; we are the local museum of Islington telling stories of the people, places and events in the borough. There is an appreciation that borough boundaries are political only and many activities occur cross-borough in which case some controlled collecting may take place in negotiation with neighbouring heritage services at Hackney, Camden and the City of London.
- Collections should be accessible. Where possible we will collect for handling and learning in addition to augmenting the core collections.
- Collections should complement the Local History Centre and Archive holdings. Islington Museum will work as a part of Islington Heritage to ensure this.

Final Thoughts

At Islington Museum we are at the beginning of a process to make our collections relevant, representative and engaged. Reaching this point has come about through a mixture of engagement work and reflection, allowing us to challenge the values system on which earlier collecting has been predicated and to change the lens through which collections development should go ahead in future.

A collection, undervalued, underexplored and often dismissed, is being given new energy through a targeted programme of re-evaluation of the current collection, better coordinated work across heritage teams and future collecting plans.

Learning from the Echoes of Holloway Prison project has shown us just how successful thoughtful collecting and collection-linked engagement can be for our audiences. As curator I have been able to act as a strong advocate for the collection within our wider organisation. By reconnecting our collections work with our everyday engagement, promoting access and building networks, we have the opportunity to bring our collections back to the heart of museum work.

References

[1] Note that contemporary collection for the Holloway Prison project and other smaller-scale engagement projects began in mid-2017 and this has therefore been a useful date to pinpoint the beginnings of changes in collecting practice.

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Exhibition review - *Medicine:* The Wellcome Galleries

Lauren Ryall-Waite - *PhD Candidate, Surgery & Emotion project, The University of Roehampton*

Visitor in the Faith, Hope and Fear gallery © Science Museum Group

Since closing the old *Glimpses of Medical History and The Science and Art of Medicine* galleries in 2015, the Science Museum has been busy creating new content to share 500 years of medical history with visitors.

Approaching the new medicine galleries from the staircase there is very little to prepare you for the story of medicine, which cost £24 million to create and is reportedly the world's largest display on medical history. Once inside the cavernous gallery, however, you are welcomed into an airy and bright space. The first view is a 3.5-metre-high sculpture overseeing the entrance. The piece, entitled 'Self-Conscious Gene', created by artist Marc Quinn, is a sombre introduction to the gallery, but not an unfriendly one. The sculpture shows Zombie Boy (also known as Rick Genest) who was renowned for being covered in anatomical tattoos, and he is depicted here reading an anatomical textbook. It is an intriguing introduction to the first gallery which looks at bodies in medicine and draws visitors in immediately.

The primary feeling is one of space, with collections spread out and objects in cases carefully chosen for the story or impact they are sharing. There are no superfluous collections or set dressing here. The galleries are separated into five discrete themed spaces but these blend together beautifully so that visitors can approach in a direct case-by-case fashion or choose the objects and stories they prefer to explore first. The themes discuss medicine and its relationships with bodies, communities, exploration, treatments, and faith. The latter gallery, entitled Faith Hope and Fear, shows the vulnerable and 'human' side of medicine. Inclusion of real patient voices brings new narratives into a space which has historically been created with the doctor as storyteller. In these galleries, both the patient and medical practitioner voices are

present and the interpretation is stronger as a result.

There has been a concerted and successful attempt to include more women's stories and increase the representation of diverse bodies. Large scale photography by Siân Davey, alongside audio of personal testimonies, links the medical past with the present day succinctly and artfully. The presence of different voices provides a necessary humanity in the face of medical adversity and uncertainty, such as in the display of Tabitha Moses' embroidered hospital gown she wore during IVF treatment. Also impactful is the large commission by artist Eleanor Crook which depicts an imagined saint of medicine in bronze. Santa Medicina stands holding scalpel and forceps with a dress containing three-dimensional reliefs of medical instruments and protective amulets. Below the saint is the patient, surrounded by votives and candles, laying in a bed and awaiting the outcome of treatment. This piece is an opportunity to consider the relationship between death and medicine, as well as all the hopes and fears that go along with any medical treatment. Having such themes present within a science museum is a welcome change from historic medical displays which often failed to bring together emotion and medical practice.

'Investment Tabitha's Gown', hand embroidered gown by Tabitha Moses © Science Museum Group

The galleries are not overrun with interactives, which are well spaced and carefully designed. The interactive gastroscope looks like a piece of sculpture as well as being an engaging visual trip down a person's oesophagus. Areas such as the therapist's office encourage visitors to step inside the content and participate more fully. The reintroduction of the visually stunning pharmacy shop is a popular space with audiences and provides a distinct change from the scenery of the rest of the gallery with rows of pharmaceutical drug jars and attractive wooden panelling. This area uses some interactivity and some hands on interpretation to bring audiences into the narrative, but there is still the space for reflection rather than overstimulation.

The objects chosen for display are a mix of the hugely significant and the comfortingly familiar, from the lancet Edward Jenner used for early smallpox vaccines to a Smokey Sue doll, but there is a refreshing lack of hierarchy which enables audiences to form their own conclusions as to their relative importance in medicine. The area which looks at mental health has a recreated padded room which can be looked inside as well as objects from everyday life in a mental health hospital. There are some real

human remains in the galleries, but even when placed alongside the striking and hyper-realistic anatomical waxworks they are not used as a way of presenting populist gore - this is medicine as history and fact.

'Smokey Sue Smokes for Two' health education doll © Science Museum Group

The new galleries do shy away from some stories which you might expect; for instance, I could find no clear mention of the current anti-vax movement in a display about vaccines and outbreaks. Considering the attention such stories have in current social media and the potential for audiences to react to such content, this did seem a missed opportunity. Equally, the mix of global anthropological collections in the mass display of a thousand objects for *Exploring Medicine* is visually striking, however, there could be more context for these objects. They risk being swallowed up in the perhaps more traditionally visible Western medical collections of European obstetric forceps and eye baths on display.

These observations, however, should not detract from the huge achievement of these galleries – the accumulation of over 3000 objects used to provide incredible insights into the history of medicine. The careful curation and design of the space demonstrate the intent in making accessible our shared medical past and looking towards our medical future. The use of artworks to bring together gallery themes and draw visitors into stories from medicine works well, and they blend beautifully with the medical objects from the Wellcome and Science Museum collections. The result is a fantastic experience for visitors and an important resource for discovering the history of medicine.

Exhibition review - *Open-air Am Endes Tunnels Kindertransport exhibition*

Daniel Adamson - *PhD candidate, Durham University*

Introduction

In an unassuming suburb of Berlin lies a testament to a truly remarkable tale. A temporary exhibition entitled *Am Endes des Tunnels* ('At the End of the Tunnels') commemorates the 80th anniversary of the Kindertransports from Berlin. Between 1938 and 1940, up to 10,000 children from Nazi-occupied territories were transported to Great Britain. Of these, it is estimated that some 7,500 of those rescued were Jewish.[1]

The exhibition is the product of a collaboration between the academics Professor Bill Niven and Amy Williams (Nottingham Trent University), Dr Andrea Hammel (Aberystwyth University), and Norbert Wiesneth of the creative media agency PhotoWerkBerlin. The exhibition was also made possible by the support of the Global Heritage Fund, the Berlin-Charlottenburg Cultural Office, the Kommunale Galerie Berlin, and the Kindertransport-Organisation Deutschland. Archival material was drawn from multiple sources, including The Wiener Holocaust Library.

Display and Setting

The location of the exhibition is striking. Placed immediately outside the entrance of the bustling Bahnhof-Charlottenburg railway station, the narratives of transport and transit contained within the exhibition are afforded an added sense of poignancy. Surrounded by residential streets and local businesses, the exhibition is especially effective at conveying the everyday lives that the Kinder were forced to abandon.

The exhibition takes the form of several cylindrical display boards, more commonly associated with advertisement displays elsewhere in the city. Nonetheless, the aesthetics of the exhibition are engaging, with large font and plentiful images providing an attractive interface for visitors.

Am Endes des Tunnels is an example of public history at its finest. In bringing the history of the Kindertransport to an everyday district of Berlin, the exhibition challenges the parochialism of conventional museums. As an open-air, free-to-visit exhibit, Am Endes des Tunnels encourages participation from commuters and tourists alike, and therefore broadens the reach of the important messages it contains.

Exhibition Content

The exhibition is divided, helpfully, into three discrete sections. 'Departure' considers the lives of the Kinder before their transportation from Berlin. *Kristallnacht* (9-10 November 1938) marked a decisive intensification in levels of violence and persecution directed towards Jews by the Nazi regime in Germany. It is detailed how, from 1938 onwards, Jews would form queues outside embassies in desperate attempts to secure visas to escape from increasingly inhospitable surroundings. The paradox of the circumstances is also noted. Although the National Socialists were keen for Jews to emigrate, they also made this process difficult. Parents were forced to make the agonising decision to send only their children abroad. With the help of the British government and British refugee organisations, Kinder departed by train, plane and boat to Great Britain and other British territories.

German-British open-air exhibition outside Charlottburg train station, Berlin. Photo credit Amy Williams

Am *Endes Tunnels*, significantly, is keen to stress the complexities within the realities of the Kindertransport narrative. It is recorded how "non-Aryan children", alongside Jews, were also rescued. Whilst the Kindertransport narrative is one of rescue, it should not necessarily be considered one of triumph.

The 'Arrival' section of the exhibition illustrates the difficulties the Kinder faced when adapting to their new surroundings. Siblings were separated, and the new arrivals were unfamiliar with British customs. Financial strains were also incurred by the demand of the British government of a guarantee for every Kindertransportee. Up to 1,000 Kinder, upon arrival, were interned in 'enemy alien' camps in Canada, Australia and the Isle of Man by the British government.[2] *Am Endes des Tunnels* coincided with another temporary exhibition, hosted by the Jewish Museum in London, on the Kitchener Camps for Jewish refugees.

The most moving section of the exhibition contains the personal stories of individual Kindertransportees. The tale of Ruth Barnett (born Ruth Michaelis in 1935) recounts how her escape to Britain in 1939 also saw her Jewish father travel to Shanghai, whilst her mother left Berlin for Southern Germany. Having settled into her British foster family, Ruth was left deeply unhappy by the reunification of her birth family after 1945, until her natural parents allowed her to stay in England with her new guardians. Barnett's extraordinary story formed the basis of Ursula Krechel's novel *Landgericht* (2012), and illustrates the profound emotional struggles that underpinned the Kindertransport movement, alongside its political and logistical difficulties.

Throughout, *Am Endes des Tunnels* strikes a skilful balance between detail and accessibility of information, which should ensure its appeal to academic and public audiences alike. Broader historical analysis of the period is complemented by individual case studies, whilst the small-scale of the exhibition is deceptive, given the depth of information it contains.

Conclusion

Am Endes des Tunnels provides a new dimension to attempts within Germany to grapple with problematic pasts. As the exhibition notes, "in Germany, because the children were regarded as 'the lucky ones'…their often-traumatic experiences have also been overlooked".

Centrally, Am Endes des Tunnels carries more educational currency than most existing Kindertransport memorials. Whilst both the Kindertransport memorial at Liverpool Street Station in London and the Kindertransport memorial at Berlin's Friedrichstrasse railway station – both designed by sculptor Frank Meisler - commemorate the events of 1938 to 1940, they do little to provide historical detail. *Am Endes des Tunnels* draws strength from its ability to both inform and commemorate at the same time. Throughout its showing, the exhibition has also been accompanied by talks and panel discussions by leading figures in the field of Holocaust memory.

In the turbulent waters of the Brexit era, Am Endes des Tunnels is a striking reminder of the importance of transnational cooperation in the name of education. Exhibition curator Bill Niven captured this sentiment in his address at the opening of the exhibition on 15th August 2019: "We feel it is important that Britain and Germany remember the Kindertransport together. It's an event that links the history of our two countries. This bilingual exhibition, which resulted from British-German collaboration, is a step in that direction".[4]

The challenging intricacies within histories of episodes such as the Kindertransport rescues offer modern society the chance to work towards a more constructive and collaborative future. The Kindertransport reminds us of the difficulties faced by refugees across the world, and the perils of turning away from the needs of the vulnerable and the displaced.

Am Endes des Tunnels ran from 16th August 2019 until 27th October 2019, and was located outside the main entrance of the Bahnhof-Charlottenburg railway station in Berlin.

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Book review - *Mudlarking:* Lost and found on the River Thames

Briony Hudson - *Freelance museum curator and pharmacy historian*

Lara Maiklem - hardback 2019, paperback 2020 Published by Bloomsbury

In the 18th and 19th centuries, a mudlark was someone who scavenged for items with value in the muddy foreshore of tidal rivers, seeking to benefit financially from objects they found with the potential for re-use. More recently, the term has been embraced by people who carry out the same meticulous searches, but instead to uncover historical finds that add to the archaeological record.

At first glance Lara Maiklem's book is an account of the objects that she has found over a 15-year period as a dedicated mudlarker exploring the River Thames. It is a publication that delves both literally and historically into the everyday lives of London, providing fascinating details of its people and events over a period stretching from pre-history to the present day. The prompt for this historical narrative is a series of objects, each with their own story that has been carefully researched.

But the book is actually much more than that, and this is where its real value lies for those of us working with objects, whether with an interest in London's history or not. Firstly, the publication is powerfully autobiographical, exploring what the process of mudlarking and being in that environment means for Maiklem. The sense of escape into other time periods, and into the bank-side surroundings, has provided her with restorative respite from contemporary pressures, something worth considering when we in turn seek to evaluate the significance of presenting historical objects – it is not all about learning objectives. Alongside this, there is a strong informative thread

explaining the role, rules and regulations surrounding mudlarking as an activity, with pleasing references to Maiklem's positive relationships with Finds Liaison Officers, curators and conservators as she puzzles out the identity and preservation needs of her discoveries. I also found the historical accounts of mudlarkers both interesting and entertaining, their changing representation and reputation from dirty treasure-seekers to riverside archaeologists. In addition, as a very poignant touch, the quotations at the start of each chapter are printed in Doves, a typeface that was thrown piecemeal, character by character, into the Thames at Hammersmith by its originator Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson from 1913 to 1917 after a dispute with his business partner. Mudlarkers, including Maiklem, have recovered many of the glyphs (or characters), allowing it to be digitally reconstructed.

The book is organised by geography, with each chapter a location on the Thames moving from its tidal head at Teddington to its estuary. Each chapter is cleverly structured with a definite theme focussed on specific objects, their historical context and their contemporary resonances carefully woven together. Away from central London, for example, the chapter on Tilbury focusses on the role of waste, sewers and landfill sites, tying it together with an historical account of "toshers," subterranean mudlarkers who tried to find saleable items and scrap metal in the maze of Victorian drains. Maiklem ruminates on the historical value of broken and incomplete items, and the challenges thrown up by the sheer volume of contemporary material culture both for someone attempting to recover their histories and for the impact on the planet of so much overconsumption. Poetically she concludes "The [recent objects'] stories are jumbled and massed together and the voices of the past are loud and angry: countless sobbing children and cursing housewives. Each smashed ornament is a sigh and every broken toy a tantrum."

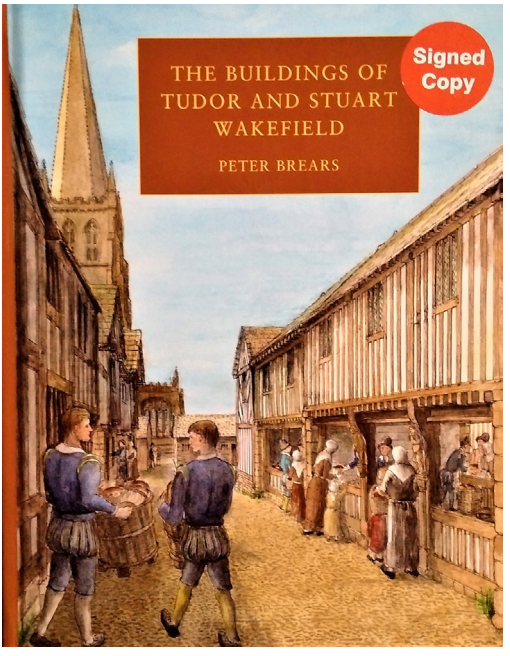
The book is gloriously object-focussed, and Maiklem's sheer joy at discovering items from all historical periods, imagining their owners, researching their histories and ensuring their future is extremely engaging. There is a superb range of objects covered from pins to flagons, and dolls to teeth. The examples of how Maiklem interrogates each to uncover their significance and life stories is inspiring. It comes as no surprise that she had a childhood "museum" at home, which she describes alongside the arrangements she currently has in place to care responsibly for her mudlarking finds. Again this is a strong reminder of the importance of private collections, and the fact that museums are not the only places where history is being curated and shared.

This intense object focus makes it very frustrating that the book is virtually unillustrated; instead the reader has to rely fully on the author's (albeit very evocative) written descriptions of her finds. There are numerous photographs of the items on her social media accounts, and they are even organised by chapter on Instagram, but I really missed this as a feature of the book.

Although the publication is obviously focussed on London and the Thames, it is written in a way that has significance for anyone considering the relationship between objects, their found location, and their histories. It is extremely inspiring for anyone trying to conjure up and communicate a real sense of the past lives of objects in a way that echoes down the centuries. One of the chapters starts with a quotation from Ivor Noel Hume, a Thames historian: "If we are afraid to give way to our imagination, the river's treasures must inevitably remain dull and lifeless, for it is only in our minds that they can be transported from soulless museum cases back to their original settings." Maiklem's book provides ample stimulation for those of us grappling with the challenge of overcoming the barriers that "soulless museum cases" might present.

Book review - *The Buildings of Tudor and Stuart Wakefield*

Dr Stuart Davis - *Title?*



Peter Brears, - hardback 2019, 115 pp., Published by Wakefield Historical Publications (publication number 45).

Peter Brears is arguably today's leading practitioner of English Folk Life. An historic-house consultant and food historian, he has worked for over thirty years in English museums and great houses. A Yorkshireman born and bred, he was curator of Shibden Hall, Halifax and Clarke Hall, Wakefield, before moving on to direct the Castle Museum, York and Leeds City Museums. Specialising in the study of domestic life and services, he has undertaken research, restoration and interpretation services for numerous properties, national, regional and local.

Peter Brears was also a founder member of the *Group for Regional Studies in Museums*, which was the forerunner of the *Social History Curators Group*. He inspired and influenced a whole generation of curators who benefited from his writings, public lectures and personal support. He has published extensively, in academic journals as well as monographs, catalogues and books on aspects of historical domestic and social life and local and regional history. These include *The Gentlewoman's Kitchen* (1984), *Traditional Food in Yorkshire* (1987) and, with Pam Sambrook, *The Country House Kitchen* (1986) and many others. Connected to all this, he is also a well-known food historian and has worked for a number of properties including those run by the National Trust. In addition he has researched and written on the history of museums.

No one interested in vernacular architecture or the material culture of early modern towns would necessarily think first of Wakefield as the place to go or to find out more. The impact of Victorian rebuilding (albeit impressive in quality), bombing, and

insensitive planning in the second half of the twentieth century has removed most of them from what was an important town in this period, when it was the capital of the West Riding. Brears's achievement has been to bring together the surviving evidence and produce a coherent narrative which acts as an antidote to the idea that only 'historic' towns with surviving buildings can illustrate this important period in this country's development. He cleverly brings together what he himself describes as a 'rag-bag of diverse source material such as old photographs, plans, paintings' and field sketches done by volunteer enthusiasts recording the old town as it disappeared, including by Brears himself, done as a teenager in his native city. To these he has added drawings of architectural and other artefacts surviving in museum collections. His particular interest in design skills and craftsmanship helps vividly recreate a world now lost to us but which supplements the surviving evidence in historic towns better known for their surviving 'heritage'.

So, this book is not just about the architecture or individual buildings in an urban setting. The author carefully sets these in the wider context of an important town in the north of England, once a county town and significant regional centre.

The book is generously illustrated with the author's own excellent drawings and the whole has been professionally and lavishly produced by Shaun Tyas of Donington, who have worked in partnership with Wakefield Historical Publications.

The completed work deserves a wider readership beyond Wakefield, as an example to all historians working in museums of what can be achieved and how their mission to elucidate all of the past for their visitors should be based on sound curatorial practice and authenticity. The whole study confirms and justifies the role museums can play (by observing, recording, collecting, documenting and interpreting) in increasing our understanding of the past and its communication to others.

Social History in Museums

Edited by Jessie Petheram

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