Social History in Museums

Volume 43

Social History in Museums

Edited by Amy Rowbottom and Jessie Petheram

Volume 43 (2019)

Published by the Social History Curators Group 2019
ISSN 1350-9551

© SHCG and contributors

Contents

Amy Rowbottom and Jessie Petheram — Editors' Foreword — 5

2017 Conference Papers

Tony Butler — *Keynote:* 'Changing Tides' — 7

Claire Frampton — *Developing Museum Audiences Through Theatre:* Performance in museums and galleries which engages with migration and cultural identity. — 15

Adrienne Wallman — *Beyond the Family Tree:* Using genealogy to explore cultural identity. — 25

2018 Conference Papers

Isabelle Lawrence — *Faith, Hope and Fear:* Interpreting the human experience of medicine and health at the Science Museum — 35

Kitty Ross — *The Trouble with Women Artists* — 45

Kevin Kerrigan — *Benny Lynch:* The little king of the Gorbals — 51

Simon Brown — *Engaging new audiences at Newstead Abbey* — 61

Collecting and Interpreting Collections

Vyki Sparks — *Creating a (S)hit show* — 67

Editors' Foreword

Longstanding readers of *Social History in Museums* will be aware that the previous two issues have focused on commemorating milestones of British legislation and how this has been reflected in the curation and contemporary collecting in our museums and cultural organisations. Whilst 2017 examined 'Collecting, interpreting and displaying LGBTQ histories', 2018 looked at how the centenary of some women gaining the vote in 1918 was celebrated in heritage sites across the UK.

These consecutive special issues prevented the inclusion of papers from two very successful and thought-provoking SHCG conferences, 2017's 'Changing Tides' and 'A True Reflection?: Displays, Stories and Exhibitions' in 2018. A selection of papers from both conferences are showcased here.

2016's SHCG conference had taken place in the immediate aftermath of the referendum vote to leave the European Union. Tony Butler's keynote address to delegates one year later looked at how this key vote, and the election of President Donald Trump in the US, had been reflected in the contemporary collecting and outreach undertaken by museums and cultural organisations in the intervening period. As worldwide politics becomes more divisive, this is an area that museums will become demonstrably more engaged in.

Claire Frampton's paper was inspired by a work-based project at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford in 2017, undertaken as part of her Associateship of the Museums Association. Both researching and attending a number of theatre workshops and performances staged in museums, her paper reveals that these events are a successful way of examining cultural identity, for both the participants and museum visitors.

Adrienne Wallman examines the relationship between museums and family genealogy, a pastime which has become increasingly popular over the last decade thanks to television programmes such as the BBC's successful *Who Do You Think You Are?* As her paper argues, there is much for museums to gain from engaging with oral family histories.

The 2018 SHCG Conference theme was, broadly, interpretation and reinterpretation, questioning the voice of the museum, the voices in the museum, and seeking to listen more often to the voices outside the museum.

Isabelle Lawrence's paper gives us behind-the-scenes access into an ongoing large-scale project at the Science Museum which is due for completion in Autumn this year, the opening of five new galleries dedicated to the history of medicine. As Lawrence points out, this requires new approaches to interpretation and greater recognition of multiple viewpoints.

Kitty Ross discusses working with women artists to create engaging and thought provoking artworks to invigorate and comment on an exhibition on 100 years of partial female enfranchisement. Ross describes the added dimension these artworks bring to 'traditional' methods of display, as well as allowing reflection on the changing status of women in the world then and now.

Kevin Kerrigan's account of collaboration, discovery and lost boxing treasures gives us the story of Benny Lynch, and shows us how bringing that story physically to Glasgow in the form of a mobile exhibition was an exciting, community-focused and even groundbreaking act that teaches us much about how museums can work positively outside their hallowed buildings.

At Newstead Abbey, Simon Brown argues, its most famous resident Lord Byron is only the beginning, proving that the story we think we know is often barely the half of it. What's more, as Brown proves, the stories bubbling beneath the surface of the established narrative are frequently a rich source for new interpretation, co-curation and a multiplicity of voices.

Of course, the SHCG Conference is not the be-all and end-all in the world of social history in museums! Vyki Sparks shows us just how true this is with an enlightening and pungent look at how the Museum of London interpreted literal rubbish - in the form of the now world-famous Fatberg.

AR - I am indebted to Newsletter Editor, Jessie Petheram, for stepping forward when personal circumstances forbade me from completing the editing of this edition of *Social History in Museums*.

Amy Rowbottom & Jessie Petheram
Journal Editors

Keynote: Social History Curators Group Conference Reading 2017

Tony Butler

To begin

I've been trying to write this piece for a month or so. With every week there seems to be an event which commentators or politicians define as epoch-changing or use to define new cause and effect.

Writing in The Guardian, the peerless John Harris noted that:

> *Events of all kinds now seem to move at light speed. And look at how wildly the political pendulum swings: from Obama to Trump; from the SNP triumphant to Nicola Sturgeon in sudden abeyance; from Europe supposedly in hopeless crisis to the twin leadership of Macron and Merkel; and from the Brexit victory to the glorious shocks and surprises of last week.*
>
> *As the cliché goes, the election proved that no one knows anything anymore. But there's a drawback: that also includes the people now claiming they alone somehow have the key to the future*

It feels like a world turned upside-down – perhaps this is how folk who lived through the 1640s and the Civil War felt: families divided over matters of conscience, the toppling of an old order and the ferment of radical ideas on both left and right. Ultimately they saw revolution replaced with evolution.

So how should museums behave in this time of chaos? Should we respond to events more quickly to show our relevance in the civic realm, or should we use our intrinsic qualities of being able to take a long view of history, which might provide both challenge and comfort to the chaos?

Our role is to make sense of the world not only as it is, but also how it can be.

And as we do this, our institutions must truly be open and democratic; in the era of fake news they need to be somewhere everyone can trust.

Activism, Truth and Trust

It is just over a year since the UK voted to leave the European Union. It will be the defining moment in this generation's story, arresting 40 years of closer political and economic union with our near neighbours.

If you looked at the response of the Arts world to Brexit, you'd think that no one saw it coming. In a report in the Guardian a few days after the vote, arts people vented their spleen:

The playwright Lucy Ann Prebble:

> *I blame you, Leave voters, for "going with a gut feeling" of empty rhetoric and downright lies because of a sad sense of lack of agency that we've all felt. I blame those voters who see facts as devalued because of how easy they are to access. I blame you.*

I hope my kindness grows back. Until then, I'll call this "historically democratic event" what it was: a jostle for prefect fagged by racists.

The Director of the London International Festival of Theatre, Mark Ball:

Many of us in the arts are feeling bewildered, confused and angry. The dial has turned in a way we find hard to comprehend.

Theatre responded quickly - Rufus Norris and Carol Ann Duffy's play presented at the National Theatre in February was 'My Country – a work in progress' and drew on interviews of people from all regions of the UK following the Brexit vote . It seems that the theatre is well-placed to take the temperature of the country; to show where it's at. I'm sure we will soon see the great Brexit play or film. Will we see the equivalent museum exhibition?

The response from museums has been audibly muted. I remember the opprobrium many museums received in the aftermath of the London Riots in 2011, where very few organisations collected material or documented the events.

Perhaps the great Brexit collection is going on, quietly amassing objects until we wait for a time of reflection to make sense of the events of 2016.

Contrast this with American museums and their response to the election of Donald Trump, a president fully endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan in the year of the opening of the National Museum of African-American History and Culture in Washington DC..

The Davis Museum at Wellesley College, Massachusetts presented "Art-Less": every single piece of art that was created or donated by immigrants was removed to highlight their contribution to the country's cultural life.The project was conceived as a protest against Trump's controversial executive order banning US entry to travellers from seven majority Muslim countries; this has taken down around 20% of its entire collection or covered it with a black shroud.

Other US museums have shown an ability to respond to events in their communities. In October 2016, Kathryn Hill of the Levine Museum of the New South in Charlotte, North Carolina, spoke of her museum's response to the shooting of Keith Lamont Scott, an unarmed black man, by a black police officer. In the tense days after the shooting the museum remained open, hosting events. Museum staff talked about the racial divides in the city and a photographic exhibit exploring the lives and stories of those involved in police shootings was brought forward.

Hill noted

"Charlotteans cannot address the issues at the core of these events – the issues of social mobility, institutional racism and implicit bias- without understanding the long history that has given them root."

These American museums show an activist approach, confronting contested subjects in the community, connecting with civil society groups to explore them in a public space.

Of course there are examples of museums in the UK which have a similar activist approach. The Museum of Homelessness, launched at the Tate Switchhouse last year, explores the issue with those who are or have experienced homelessness, telling their stories through objects. There are countless examples of museums in Britain leading

on broad social and political campaigns. The People's History Museum in Manchester explores democracy and the rights of working people, and it's been over ten years since National Museums Liverpool opened the International Museum of Slavery. Last year the National Trust led an admirable campaign for LGBT voices to be heard within their properties. Last week many museums will have participated in activities marking Refugee Week. In response to the upsurge in xenophobic attacks following the EU referendum the Museum Association issued a Manifesto for Tolerance and Inclusion - but all this stuff should be non-negotiable.

As a minimum our museums should promote human rights and be intolerant of racism, sexism and homophobia, and be protective of minority rights and the rule of law. So when we say that we want a radical museum workforce, do we mean we want a radical left-leaning museum workforce which suits our ambitions, reinforcing all our unconscious biases, notwithstanding the complexities of our communities?

If so, we'll end up betraying our feelings like those theatre directors after Brexit.

When we say there is division in society we must dive into trying to understand what that means. We can't bridge those divisions by just saying that we have *#moreincommon* without talking to people and really understanding the places where we live.

Our communities are diverse and complicated. They are muddled and made up of individuals who share, disagree, find common cause or show indifference to each other. Some neighbourhoods are diverse, some are monocultural to the point of exclusion, but every local public body I've worked with has been anxious to promote cohesion above all else.

This has led to a Pollyanna-ish approach to multiculturalism. The result is an aversion to exploring difference and conflict, and a lack of understanding that communities have multiple identities which overlap or disconnect, based on complex elements such as family, neighbourhood, culture and nation. We cannot bridge divides unless we specifically acknowledge they exist.

Nat Edwards writing in the Museums Journal recently noted that in the EU referendum

> *"many ordinary, rational people were prepared to overlook misogyny and xenophobia, communities with whom we have been working to engage seem to be kicking back against the pluralist, progressive multiculturalism that has underpinned much museum practice."*
>
> *We need to ask whether our own agenda has been as progressive as we had hoped. We need the courage to engage more deeply and more meaningfully with communities which appeared to have taken a step back from us – and listen to them"*

We should also understand the limitations of museums as 'Civic Institutions', operating alongside civil society. The distinction between the civic realm of the state and the civil realm of the citizen is important.

Notwithstanding the most progressive of founding values, all civic institutions are the reflection of the dominant political or social order. I feel uncomfortable when I see a museum indulge in civic pride to the extent that they seem to be handmaidens for the local tourist board or when they appear to be a little too aligned to a government's desire to foster national identity.

Instinctively I prefer the approach of Sue Clifford, the founder of Common Ground, who noted in an interview in the Ecologist.[1]

> *Letting people define for themselves what's special about a place, and what matters about it… That's the key. Government agencies and large bodies can't stand this. They want to define things; they want to keep tabs… only ordinary people can make ordinary places matter.*

The EU referendum campaign had a deleterious effect on public trust towards many institutions, from Parliament to the Bank of England. This was exacerbated by right-wing anti-establishment rhetoric, dismissal of facts, and the former Education Secretary Michael Gove's mendacious claim that 'the British people have had enough of experts'. Nevertheless, in surveys museums are consistently seen as institutions worthy of public trust. In a post-referendum context, when so many voted against the insecurities of globalisation, museums offer a familiar and comforting presence.

To amplify that trust museums must renew their civic role to strengthen their value as institutions. To help citizens explore their place in the world they must be a bridge, connecting civil society with the civic realm in a spirit of mutualism. They must strive to be more open and democratic, viewing the public not as consumers but citizens who can participate in every aspect of making culture. Curators should develop their practice with the public, governing bodies should be prepared to discuss ethical dilemmas rather that hide behind commercial confidentiality. (Witness the *Art not Oil* protests in the Tate and British Museum).

Trust is enjoyed only by public consent.

Empathy

We'll make the biggest difference if we show empathy with our audiences.

Back in February, under the auspices of the Happy Museum project, we held an event in Derby to understand why people chose to vote the way they did, and to explore the kind of role a museum could play in a society which seems polarised. Rather than rerun the wherefores of the vote, the event sought to transcend the Referendum and understand competing values within society.

At the event the neuroscientist, Kris de Meyer spoke of how the more our beliefs become entrenched, the less able we are to see others' perspectives. He likened this to a pyramid – at the top, the views held may be consensual, but the further external events and factors influence opinions, the further those holding the views drift apart. In the 1990s those on both political right and left held consensual views on issues such as immigration and multinational, pooled sovereignty. By 2016 these policy areas were the most sharply divisive.

Also speaking was Tom Crompton, who works closely with the Manchester Museum. His organisation Common Cause promotes the notion of values and frames for ethical development and used the Schwartz Values Model to illustrate the beliefs people hold. He noted that the divisions highlighted in the Brexit vote and the election of Donald Trump can be explained by two opposing value systems: Cosmopolitan Universalists on one side and more Authoritarian Traditionalists on the other. Examples of values important to the beliefs of the universalists were social justice and equality; to the traditionalists, family security, social order and honouring of elders was paramount.

Tom noted that although these differences seem wide in Schwartz's model, there is another set of values which both cosmopolitans and traditionalists feel are important. This is expressed as Benevolence and includes qualities such as honesty, a desire for true friendship and meaning in life. This then is the starting point to bridge the gap.

Museums can be activist organisations and, to paraphrase Bertold Brecht, be both a mirror to society, and a hammer with which to shape it. But if there is a reluctance to explore values at odds with a dominant cosmopolitan perspective, they will forever be preaching to the converted.

Despite this polarisation museums have a significant role to play. Museums enjoy high levels of public trust. Through our collections and programmes we can take the long view of history, exploring the complex identities of local, national and global citizenship. Museums can be the bridge between opposing value systems, exploring difference, and at the same time promoting those qualities humans have in common.

Privilege and equity of cultural capital

To put ourselves in other's shoes, we first have to recognize our own privilege as gatekeepers to culture.

Despite (or maybe as a result of) the relatively poor salaries, our profession is resolutely middle class. More members of David Cameron's cabinet went to state schools than National Museum Directors. A recent study carried out by Goldsmiths College in London showed that only 8.1% of Britain's cultural workforce were brought up by parents who did traditionally working-class jobs, as compared to 34.7% in the country as a whole.

And our audiences are still not as diverse as our communities. If we care about social justice we have to address the inequalities of the cultural capital of our communities. The latest Taking Part Survey conducted by DCMS showed that more people than ever were visiting museums – over 52% of adults visited a museum and gallery at least once a year. However the participation gap between rich and poor had still not narrowed. The number of adults defined as upper socio-economic visiting museums increased from 51.9% in 2005-06 to 61.5% in 2015-16. In comparison, 28.3% of adults from the lower socio-economic group visited a museum or gallery in 2005-06, rising to 37.4% in 2015-16. The report states that "the gap in engagement between the two socio-economic groups has remained large at 24.1% points in 2015-16".

Though unhelpful it was not perhaps unreasonable that the elitism of museums was recognized in a 2016 report for the Scottish Government, exploring the social impact of public services. Museums were classed as a 'pro-rich' service – primarily accessed by the better off. This compares to children's social care – a service mostly used by poor people, described as 'pro-poor' (interestingly libraries were described as 'neutral-poor').

As James Doeser tweeted:

> *Seems Scot Gov appraised mus & galls according to what they actually do, not what they aspire to do.*

A great divider in western society, according to Pierre Bourdieu, is not economic capital (how could it be if many museums are free?) but cultural capital. The power of cultural capital is that it is not recognised directly. You cannot see it in the same

way you can see the inheritance of property and it is masked by the language of meritocratic achievement and hard work.

Access to and participation in traditional forms of culture foster entitlement and authority. Those with it are more likely to get the best out of institutions and services. They are better educated and pass those qualities to their children. The accumulation of cultural capital, or lack thereof, either through educational advantage or geography, is an impediment to social mobility in one class.

Despite our best intentions museums are complicit in embedding this. Seven years of Austerity have decimated funding for regional cultural organisations, but have forced many museums to abandon community development projects in favour of more profitable activities which serve an existing audience. This gap is borne out in our own non-user research in Derby. Our Audience Finder research puts the number of visitors from lower income backgrounds higher than the regional average. We conducted non-visitor research in 2016 focusing on low attainment groups and the Asian community in three of the poorest wards of the city. The results were fairly stark. People did not visit because:

- "it wasn't the sort of things people like us do"
- it was not recommended by friends or a peer group
- they did not have enough time
- they do not hear about events

A large percentage noted that whatever we did to make it more enticing, they were unlikely to come. Interviewees did note however that they were likely to spend their disposable income on leisure activities such as going to the cinema, eating out, going to festivals and going to theme parks. We used to name those non-participants 'hard to reach'. This mildly patronizing moniker suggested that once people understood what we had to offer they would be sure to come. Our experience shows that non-users have much more agency and discernment. Their communities also have high levels of social capital. This is manifest in close family networks, use of community facilities such as mosques, temples and churches and use of local shops and cafés.

If museums don't narrow the social gap, institutions will tilt towards elites at a time when we need open exploration and understanding across society. There is also an economic argument, especially for museums in cities primarily funded by the public, as the poor pay a far larger proportion of their income on local taxes.

> *If you grow up in a milieu of high cultural capital it is second nature to you to engage in arts and culture as they add to 'the richness of life': they help you to be participatory, confident, assertive.*
>
> Lynsey Hanley

Our goal should be to increase the habitual usage of museums by poorer people, but we can only do that if we lift cultural barriers which sometimes are more perceived than real.

Good works

With that in mind, I've picked out a few examples of museums and cultural programmes focusing on inclusive, active citizenship and building mutual relationships with their communities.

In the East Midlands Sooree Pillay, an activist, artist, writer and theatre maker, works with young people on projects that look at fostering talent and creating conscientious citizens. One such project resulted in an award-winning installation, *Get Up Stand Up*, which was shown at the Galleries of Justice Museum. Making use of this historic building, an immersive tour was created that allowed visitors to explore ideas about justice and human rights. The young people involved in the creative process were able to connect with other people of different cultures, backgrounds and perspectives to explore issues like migration. They came away with a deeper knowledge of critical issues, as well as a huge sense of achievement.

Where's Reading Heading? Reading Museums.

This project looked at the past, present and future development of Reading. It sought to provoke debate about how Reading will sustain a growing population and build a successful low carbon economy, whilst 'Narrowing the Gaps' between different sectors in its communities.

Through 'Where's Reading Heading?' Reading Museum researched the social and economic history of local green and urban spaces with local communities in order to explore 'what matters most'. The findings were gathered together and a film, art installation, and environmental display were produced. These were used to influence leading political figures in Reading and resulted in a breakthrough role for the museum. Through the project partnerships were developed and participants came from more minority groups including BAME and LGBT. Partners and participants have since changed their perceptions, and Reading Museum has become a space for activism and connection within the town.

At Derby Museums we are making the museum with people in mind. One piece of work is a timely reappraisal of our world cultures collection. Entitled 'Your Place in the World' it explores notions of local, national and global citizenship, noting human connections with objects across the world. In our diverse city we work in areas of low participation, taking objects for a walk to places where people meet, such as barber shops, nail bars and boxing clubs!

Our museums need to be a platform and offer a glimpse of a new economy and a new set of human relationships. A thriving future for museums is one which embraces open-sourced technology and the exchange of non-market goods like care, ideas and creativity. At Derby Silk Mill we are attempting to address this challenge.

The Silk Mill's workshop is full of equipment which stimulates creativity and learning. The public can learn new skills and make things using a Raspberry Pi, CNC router, 3D printer, and laser-cutter alongside more traditional tools and techniques. Volunteers have made museum display cases and furniture, designed a mobile kitchen and told new stories about Derby's cultural heritage. They have encouraged and looked out for each other as part of a collective enterprise. Volunteers participate and co-produce with us on an informal give/get basis. They give time to hack fixtures and fittings and solve problems for the museum; in return they use the equipment or develop skills for their own endeavours. For example, one volunteer uses the workshop to develop his

ideas to make bespoke skateboards. In return he teaches coding to Year 8s from the local high school during our Wednesday afternoon Code Club.

This approach facilitates self-actualising networks running parallel with our own staff teams. The organisation is more granular than before. The messiness has led to more creativity, more serendipity for visitors and we are entirely relaxed about not having all the answers. It's not just the making of the museum which is open sourced, there is also a knowledge exchange. We propose a crowd-sourcing of knowledge and experience around collections. This, curated by the museum, stimulates further dialogue with audiences and enhances understanding of objects, narratives and place. Curation becomes the assemblage of the interaction of the public, not just the interpretation of knowledge by the institution. This is real public history.

To end

Climate change and mass movement of people respect no boundaries. The solutions are complex and rely on interdependency or pooling sovereignty to tackle global issues.

Neil MacGregor, the former Director of the British Museum spoke of his new position in creating the Humboldt Forum in Berlin:

> *"The Humboldt Forum will succeed if it provides no simple answers to our complex world"*

The real challenges of the future are not about reconciling polarised values, but making our society more equal and compassionate. And we are best placed to tackle these issues if our communities are open and resilient. We have to face our own prejudices (however unconscious) and open our minds to mutuality with our communities. It requires us to practice empathy with our audiences.

If, as Jon Alexander from the New Citizenship Project contends, we see visitors not as consumers but citizens, then the museums of the future will need to build mutual relationships with the public, be non-hierarchical and, be a platform for the free exchange of knowledge and creativity.

References

[1] Local Heroes: Sue Clifford & Angela King The Ecologist Paul Kingsnorth 01/12/2006

Developing museum audiences through theatre: performance in museums and galleries which engages with migration and cultural identity

Claire Frampton

First presented at SHCG Conference: ´Changing Tides', June 2017. Claire Frampton is currently enrolled on the Associateship of the Museums Association.

> *´The discipline known as "museum theatre" has grown considerably during the past two decades. Its use is sometimes contentious and its practice worldwide is as diverse as the sites in which it takes place – but it has been notably under- researched'.* [1]

This is a quote from 'Why this Research', at the beginning of the Research Report Executive Summary 2008 of the project *Performance*, Learning, Heritage. This was a large research project run from 2005 to 2008 by the Centre for Applied Theatre Research, University of Manchester and funded by The Arts and Humanities Research Council. It used specially organised performances case studies, *'four distinct performances at one heritage site and three museums'.* [2]

This paper is about exploring live events in museums and galleries which engage with contemporary issues. What are the unique ways in which live theatre keeps museums in touch with contemporary audiences? How does this contribute to interpretation of museum objects? In this paper I will describe some case studies of performances in Oxford which have happened within the last few years, which facilitate engagement with migration and cultural identity. I will discuss how theatre in museums is a way to develop audiences and adapt to changes in society, with up to the minute interpretation.

This is part of my professional research project, about the potential of creative drama as a learning tool in museums and heritage by examining current projects and academia, and proposing, running and evaluating projects in museums. My research questions include: What are the unique benefits and potential of drama as a learning tool in museums and heritage? How does drama enhance visitor experience? How is it different from other forms of audience engagement?

Before researching this paper, I attended an event in September 2016, 'Waving Goodbye to Victorian Dad' at the MShed in Bristol, as an independent researcher. This was 'a day for people working in the performance and museums sectors to explore how performance can be used in museums to engage diverse audiences, and challenge the traditional approach to how museums think about and present their collections'.[3]

The event explored a broad range of projects, involving diverse communities. To give an example: *London Stories Made by Migrants* at Battersea Arts Centre, presented by BAC Moving Museum. This was an immersive experience which involved audience members entering a space with museum style displays in the Council Chamber at BAC, with personal objects from people's lives, such as photographs.[4] A quote from an article on The Stage website describes the scene: 'Cards dotted around the building outline the history of migration in London, while posters remind of the way newspapers stir up fear and ill feeling about migrants'.[5] The audience walked

through the building in groups hearing the stories of migrant storytellers relating to the displays. A Guardian review about the audience experience states that, instead of reading an interpretation of objects as in a typical museum experience, *Made by Migrants* 'creates empathy and context for the objects'.[6] The project demonstrated how live presentation can bring unique framing, quality and perspective to object interpretation.

Theatre which engages with migration and cultural identity is a popular source of inspiration in the wider contemporary drama scene. I have researched this topic in areas such as contemporary performance of Shakespeare's plays engaging with migration, and theatre with migrants. My case studies for this paper are projects of which I had witnessed the development or live performance. They have taken place in galleries, in Oxford where I live and work, some projects blending with traditional theatre, such as the works of Shakespeare.

Figure 1: Mappa Mundi Mother Tongue with Pegasus Theatre by John Cairns, Ashmolean Museum 2017.

As part of Linguamania LiveFriday, an event at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford in January 2017, I witnessed a performance, *Mappa Mundi Mother Tongue*. The evening was a showcase launching the four year Creative Multilingualism project at Oxford University with the theme of linguistic creativity.[7] The Ashmolean Strategic Plan 2014-19 states that 'through art and archaeology we tell human stories across cultures and across time.[8] A key aim is to ´provide optimum access to, engagement with and understanding of the museum collections, exhibitions and programmes by as wide an audience as possible'.[9] The Linguamania LiveFriday took place in this environment. Figure 1 shows a view of the performance in the Atrium of the Ashmolean, and the relationship of performance to museum collections.

The *Mother Tongue* project involved a multicultural group of performers from the Pegasus Theatre, Oxford, including some young refugees, presenting traditional stories and songs from around the world. This performance happened in the atrium of the Ashmolean, with a giant map of the world on the floor made out of arranged garments in different colours, giving a global perspective. The performance 'enacted the significance of Creative Multilingualism in the context of the Open World Research Initiative', a 'major funding initiative for modern languages' run by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, which funds the Creative Multilingualism programme. OWRI 'is dedicated to establish a new and exciting vision for languages research in response to the challenges and opportunities presented by a globalised research environment and multilingual world'.[10]

I interviewed Esther Ivens, a participant and a student at Oxford University. She said development of the project was creative and collaborative: the directors had a few ideas and accepted ideas from the participants. Her story was about a girls' adventure with a dragon; the dragon gives her a ride to travel around the world. This story came from her own background; when she was a child she took part in an activity where she had to invent the end of the story. At the Creative Multilingualism event, she presented the story in French, this was related to her studies idea, and was developed and presented with the performers acting as a dragon, in relation to the map on the floor. There were a couple of scenes involving suitcases, to create the scene of an airport and travel related scenes and situations. I asked Esther what it was like working with refugees on a drama project. She said the focus was on sharing cultures rather than migrant experiences. Esther said that specific techniques were used to involve the audience. In one part of the performance, performers asked the audience what they would go to the end of the world for. Audience members were invited to write their responses on a map of the world. A page on the Creative Multilingualism website describing and reviewing the performance explains that this artwork, a 'mappa mundi', hung on the wall of the Atrium and 'formed the backdrop to the event'. It 'used a collage of fabrics to depict a bright eyed and smiling face', designed by the artist Cedoux Kadima. The audience were invited to consider 'what they would like to achieve if they themselves undertook a journey, and to inscribe their wishes on the artwork with brightly-coloured pens'.[11] Esther said she perceived a positive impact. After her experience she felt drama in museums was worthwhile.[12]

Another performance at the Ashmolean which facilitated engagement with contemporary migration issues happened at Under the Sea Late Night in September 2016. This night was part of celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the death of Shakespeare and the 20th birthday of Creation Theatre, a company based in Oxford. The main theme was performances of storm themes from Shakespeare's plays and there was a fancy dress competition with the main theme 'it came from the sea'.[12] This was part of the programming for the exhibition *Storms, War and Shipwrecks* at the Ashmolean, 2016, with discoveries from the Mediterranean.

Figure 2: *#2443migrants to be found in the #MediterraneanSea* by artist Veronica Cordova de la Rosa by photographer Ian Wallman, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University 2016.

A performance piece by artist Veronica Cordova de la Rosa, #2443migrants to be found in the #MediterraneanSea, facilitated engagement with a current issue within an environment where other performances were happening. This was 'a creative response to the media coverage of people who escape from wars and then encounter Europe as an impenetrable fortress' [14] Cordova dropped numbers made out of blue tissue paper from an upper balcony of the Atrium, the numbers representing numbers of migrants. The numbers floated around the other events of the evening raising awareness in a clever way; Figure 2 (Ian Wallman 2016) shows the audience interaction. In the SHIPWRECKS exhibition there was a quote in the introductory video about ancient cultures which made an analogy with the travels of modern migrants, and Cordova's piece highlighted this element. In her work, Cordova has responded to the work of artist Ewa Partum whose work such as Active Poetry (1971) involved scattering individual cut out letters over landscapes.[15, 16]

I had been present previously at a similar performance at a human rights festival at Oxford Brookes University. Cordova's piece 27,000 Mexicans to be Found involved red numbers made out of tissue paper floating through the Glass Tank Gallery. Her work engaged with issues surrounding violence and human rights issues in Mexico.[17] I was excited to see how Cordova developed her ideas.

I arranged to document Mandala Theatre residency at Modern Art Oxford Spring 2017 (*Mandala Theatre Residency* 2017). Participants created their own monologues in response to the exhibition *Lubaina Himid: Invisible Strategies* based around themes of identity. The exhibition was the first major 'survey' exhibition of Himid's work, which

brought together ‘a wide range of Himid‘s work from the 1980s to the present day’ from an artist who ‘first came to prominence in the 1980s. Her career ´as an artist, curator and scholar has been central to rethinking the Western canon of art history and museological practices over the past 30 years’.[18]

At college the title of my undergraduate dissertation was ‘How did perceptions of black British people change in the 1980s? What were the shifts in perceptions of images of this group and what caused these transformations? –A study through visual culture and artworks’ (BA Art History/ History, Goldsmiths College, University of London). This included studying artists including Himid, so I was excited to hear about the Mandala project at MAO. I wanted to write about my observations, exploring the unique ways participants of the project learnt about the artworks and reflected on their own identity through theatre. What did participants and audience gain from the theatre project rather than just visiting the retrospective exhibition? In this paper I wanted to explain about the political background Himid worked in and some explanation of the paintings from my college dissertation. While I was observing the project I knew I was coming from my own intellectual background and the young drama students came to the project with possibly no formal knowledge of the context of the black arts movement. In the workshops the students developed fresh interpretations and meanings.

Before the Modern Art Oxford residency I was aware of the work of Mandala Theatre Company and had attended a performance Night Light at Pegasus Theatre Oxford, which toured the UK in 2016/17. The story concerned the lives of asylum seekers, and a question and answer session after the show with a panel of academics, politicians, refugees and NGO experts (Becoming Adult 2016). Mandala theatre is ´an Oxford-based Community Interest Company (CIC) that uses the power of theatre to change lives, build community and foster social justice. They aim to connect people enabling them to become global citizens through the arts’ and are led by director Yasmin Sidhwa. Their three year programme Place, Identity and Belonging ‘uses academic and community research to create live theatre, debates and creative workshops around community cohesion and social justice, which will feed back into Government policy’.[20] Their work is at the cutting edge.

Night Light explored ‘displacement in belonging, themes which resonate with Shakespeare’s *Pericles*’.[21] This was part of Oxford Shakespeare Festival 2016, working with ideas associated with a playwright who continues to be an important part of English heritage, and adapting themes to current issues.

A theme of Himid´s artwork has been to explicitly reference the works of European masters, such as Picasso, in a way which satirises the traditional white-centred art historical canon. For instance, the painting *Freedom and Change* (1984) which opened the MAO exhibition is a reworking of Picasso’s *Two Women Running on a Beach* (The Race) of 1922. Himid’s work plays around with the race of figures in the original paintings (in Picasso’s painting the women are white); this subverts ´one of the most canonical paintings in Western art history.[22] This explored colonial power relations, questioning the tradition of viewing black skin as a sign of slavery or subservience. The three dimensional element can be seen as breaking out of the traditional barriers of art history. Other works in the Modern Art exhibition dealt explicitly with slavery, journeys and the sea.

Figure 3: Mandala Theatre Residency by photographer Stu Allsopp, Modern Art Oxford 2017.

The theatre project mostly took place in the exhibition, the students working in relation to the artworks. In the first session Yasmin Sidhwa introduced Mandala, and her passion for using theatre to communicate about the world, using drama to make a difference. The group spent time looking at the exhibition – thinking about responses connecting with histories. Figure 3 (Allsopp 2017) is a photograph of one of the workshops in the gallery.

While observing the first session I found out that the materials used in the painting *Freedom and Change* were also used for theatre scenery. The artist had trained as a theatre designer, with an interest in how performance can be an agent for political change. I was excited to learn that there were links to theatre in the exhibits themselves.

The first group exercises involved thinking about identity. Activities involved lining up with lightest to darkest Eyes. Within the group of students different ethnic identities were represented. In groups they were asked to think of three words that sum up identity, choose one word and make a still scene. One group made a tableau which represented DNA – words linked to this were 'connections, intertwined, hierarchies, togetherness'.

Observing these activities taking place in the gallery I was excited about the potential of the project: what would be the final outcome? I will now describe how the project developed, engaging with techniques and creative ideas.

An exercise in the third week involved looking at paintings about French slavery in 1819 – the participants imagined themselves in the picture, in order to write and

perform a monologue in front of a painting. These paintings included *La Rodeur: The Lock* (2016), and *Revenge: A Masque in Five Tableaux* (1992). In the exhibition notes Himid is quoted: ´The readings of narratives about/ by people taken forcibly from west-coast Africa to the coasts of America in trading ships to be later used as slaves made an impact during the early part of my trading career'.[23]

In a later session the group rehearsed monologues in front of individual paintings. I saw a performance of a monologue in front of *Freedom and Change*. The actress said that movement in her performance such as running away referenced the painting. The rest of the group asked the actress questions to help develop her character, such as: what was she running from?

I saw a rehearsal of a monologue inspired by a painting *Zanzibar Say Goodbye Say Hello* (1999). When I first saw this painting, with geometric shapes, blue colours and drips, I thought it different from other works in the Exhibition. Reading the label I found out the painting was inspired by journeys, the sea and memory. The monologue was about tears and referenced drips relating to the painting – descriptions of a cold, wet and dreary atmosphere. I could see the pieces coming together leading to the final performance.

Another room had the works *Negative Positives* (2007- ongoing) where Himid coloured onto recent articles relating to race in The Guardian newspaper. The exhibition notes state that Himid ´over painted her regular newspaper to highlight images of black people she feels are implicitly prejudicial'.[24] On the artist's website there is an explanation of the continuous nature of this work which keeps up to date with current issues related to racism in the media. It states that 'British newspapers are often seriously challenged when representing the everyday truths about black people's lives in text and image', noting the year 2007 as the year Himid started this artwork. It was the year that the country "commemorated" the 200th anniversary of the Act of Parliament abolishing the slave trade in Britain.[25]

The theatre students were inspired by an article with a photo of a black character with hands over their eyes, copying the pose in their drama piece, playing on ideas surrounding seeing and looking. In another performance one actress pretended to be a news presenter. The final promenade performance was hosted by Sidwha leading and directing the audience around the exhibition with performances in front of the artworks generally involving 1-3 actors. The final group performance was with the sculpture *Bone in the China: Success to the Africa Trade* c.1985. This sculpture involves text, a Greek column and black circles, and was displayed in the centre of the gallery. In a display at Modern Art Oxford reviewing the project I saw in early 2019 Sidwha was quoted: 'What was incredible was the young people's deep and profound reflections and creativity in respond to this amazing exhibition of Lubaina Himids work' (MAO 2019).I thought it so interesting that this was the first time this type of project had happened with Himid´s work, although she was trained as a theatre designer! I wondered what she would have thought of the Mandala project herself.

As part of the public programme for Invisible Strategies I saw another performance in the basement of the galleries, Euston Daley´s Unlock the Chain Collective presented a performance End the Silence. This was a 'protest-for-change style of theatre performance, exploring black diaspora performance'. This was part of 'a trilogy of work fusing dance, theatre and performance poetry'; the three parts 'can be performed separately or all together.[27] The full show premiered at The Old Fire Station, Oxford in 2018.

The presentation I saw included clever techniques. For instance a projection onto the back wall said Black Lives Matter. The actors held up white protest banners so the words were projected onto the banners and the shadows onto the back wall were effective. Some audience feedback from the Euton Daly website states 'Such ground breaking work! The fusion of dance, drama and poetry is so powerful…', 'Second time I've seen this production. Equally powerful and thought provoking and effective…' (Ending The Silence 2018). This performance highlighted racism as a contemporary issue in England and the movement against it.

In exploring live events in museums and galleries which engage with contemporary issues, it is important to point out that theatre in museums is not the only genre developing engagement with contemporary audiences, and it is competing for priority at a sensitive time for arts funding. However, in relation to policy relating to development of museum audiences, the performances I have discussed fit with the aims of bodies such as Oxford City Council. The *Culture Strategy 2015-18* for Oxford City Council states that one of its aims is to: 'Improve opportunities for Oxford's diverse range of communities to be inspired by culture and to engage actively in a range of cultural activities'. The strategy also explains its 'partnership model for delivery of culture and the arts'; Modern Art Oxford and the Oxford University Museums are part of this partnership.[29]

To conclude, in this paper I have given a picture of projects in a particular area, Oxford in South East England. I have explored an art form which is developing museum audiences, at time of change in a country with a multicultural population. The projects I have looked at were successful and I believe this is an area which has a lot of scope for development.

References

Cairns, J. (2017) Mappa Mundi with Pegasus Theatre at the Ashmolean Museum, photograph provided by Creative Multilingualism, Oxford University

Cordova de la Rosa, V. (2016) 9 September 2016 viewed 23th September 2019 www.facebook.com

Curtis, J. (2017) Mappa Mundi Mother Tongue at Linguamania Creative Multilingualism viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.creativeml.ox.ac.uk/blog/exploring-multilingualism/mappa-mundi-mother-tongue-linguamania

Gardner, L. (2016) Migrants share the stories which led them to London in BAC's intimate show The Guardian viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2016/nov/12/london-stories-made-by-migrants-battersea-arts-centre-london

Ivens, E. (2017) interviewed by Claire Frampton March 2017

Jackson, A. and Kidd, J. (2008) PERFORMANCE, LEARNING & HERITAGE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY University of Manchester: Centre for Applied Research

Himid, L. (2019) Negative Positives Lubaina Himid viewed 23rd February 2019
http://lubainahimid.uk/portfolio/negative-positives/

Nightingale, C. (2016) Mandala is part of Oxford Shakespeare Festival Mandala Theatre Company viewed 25th December 2018
http://www.mandalatheatre.co.uk/mandala-is-part-of-oxford-shakespeare-festival/

Partum, E. Active Poetry by Eva MUZEUM museum of modern art in Warsaw viewed 25th December 2018
https://artmuseum.pl/en/kolekcja/praca/partum-ewa-active-poetry-poem-by-eva

Sidwha, Y. quoted on a display at Modern Art Oxford 'Creative learning at Modern Art Oxford' viewed 23rd February 2019

Tripney, N. (2016) London Stories: Made by Migrants review at Battersea Arts Centre – an invitation to listen The Stage viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/2016/london-stories-made-by-migrants-review-at-battersea-arts-centre/

Wallman, I. (2016) #2443migrants to be found in the #MediterraneanSea by artist Veronica Cordova de la Rosa, photographer Ian Wallman, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University 2016

Ashmolean Strategic Plan 2014-19 Oxford University viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.ashmolean.org/sites/default/files/ashmolean/documents/media/strategic_plan_final_2014-19.pdf

Veronica Cordova de la Rosa: How many corpses would be good enough for quality research ? (2015) UNIARTS HELSINKI viewed 5th January 2019
https://www.uniarts.fi/en/events/tue-05052015-1553/veronica-cordova-de-la-rosa-how-many-corpses-would-be-enough-good-quality

The Culture Strategy 2015-18 Oxford City Council viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.oxford.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/1892/culture_strategy_2015-2018.pdf

LiveFriday: Linguamania (2016) Creative Multilingualism viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.creativeml.ox.ac.uk/blog/exploring-multilingualism/video-mappa-mundi-mother-tongue-linguamania

STORMS WARS AND SHIPWRECKS (2016) University of Oxford viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.ashmolean.org/event/storms-war-and-shipwrecks

LIVEFRIDAY: UNDER THE SEA (2016) University of Oxford viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.ashmolean.org/event/livefriday-under-sea

Performance art pieces from Veronica de la Rosa and more at Oxford Brookes human rights festival (2016) Oxford Mail viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/14291520.Performance_art_piece_on_violence_at_uni_exhibition_on_human_rights/

Becoming Adult (2016) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
viewed 25th December 2018
https://becomingadult.net/2016/09/23/824/

Doing things Differently: Waving Goodbye to Victorian Dad (2016) Bristol City Council viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.bristolmuseums.org.uk/m-shed/whats-on/waving-goodbye-to-victorian-dad/

Video: Mappa Mundi Mother Tongue at Linguamania (2017) Creative Multilingualism viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.creativeml.ox.ac.uk/blog/exploring-multilingualism/video-mappa-mundi-mother-tongue-linguamania

Mandala Theatre Residency (2017) MODERN ART OXFORD viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.modernartoxford.org.uk/event/mandala-theatre-residency/

Lubaina Himid: Invisible Strategies (2017) MODERN ART OXFORD viewed 25th December 2018
https://www.modernartoxford.org.uk/event/lubaina-himid-invisible-strategies/ Exhibition notes
https://www.modernartoxford.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Lubaina-Himid-Invisible-Strategies-Exhibition-Notes.pdf

Ending the Silence Euton Daley Making Things Happen (2018) viewed 25th December 2018 http://www.eutondaley.com/ending-the-silence-2018.html

#Ending the Silence n.d. Arts at the Old Fire Station viewed 25th December 2018 https://oldfirestation.org.uk/whats-on/ending-the-silence/

[1] 'Why this Research', p.3.

[2] Ibid, p. 5.

[3] Doing Things Differently: Waving Goodbye to Victorian Dad 2016

[4] Gardner 2016

[5] Tripney 2016

[6] Gardner 2016

[7] LiveFriday: Linguamania 2016

[8] Ashmolean Strategic Plan, p. 1

[9] Ibid, p. 3

[10] Video: Mappa Mundi Mother Tongue at Linguamania 2017

[11] Curtis 2017

[12] Ivens 2017

[13] Livefriday: Under the Sea 2016

[14] Cordova 2016

[15] Veronica Cordova de la Rosa 2015

[16] Partum 1971

[17] Performance art pieces from Veronica Cordova de la Rosa 2016

[18] Lubaina Himid: Invisible Strategies Exhibition Notes 2017

[19] Mandala Theatre Residency 2017

[20] Our work n.d.

[21] Nightingale 2016

[22] Lubaina Himid: Invisible Strategies Exhibition Notes 2017

[23] Lubaina Himid: Invisible Strategies Exhibition Notes 2017

[24] Lubaina Himid: Invisible Strategies Exhibition Notes 2017

[25] Himid 2019

[26] #Ending the Silence Arts at the Old Fire Station

[27] Ending The Silence n.d.

[28] Oxford City Council Culture Strategy, p.1

[29] Ibid, p.2

Beyond the Family Tree: Using genealogy to explore cultural identity

Adrienne Wallman

To say genealogy is an extremely popular hobby is probably something of an understatement. While some historians have been rather condescending towards its practitioners - David Lowenthal, for example, referred to 'millions of roots-seekers swamp[ing] registries' – others do recognise what I like to think of as the subversive potential of genealogy and the benefits that family history and genealogical research can bring to a broader understanding of social and political history. In an article in History Workshop Journal in 2011 Tanya Evans argued

> *[…] when it comes to broader questions of historical change and continuity the techniques and findings of family historians disrupt many of our assumptions about the past. The construction of a family tree, the discovery of manifold secrets and lies, throw into question the solidity not only of the history of family, class relationships and the power relationships between men and women but also of the history of nation and empire.*

It is this more radical potential that underpins this article. It would be fair to say that the relationship between museums and genealogy has tended to be reactive – museums respond readily to requests from genealogists for information but have been slow to realise the wider potential of the outcomes of genealogical journeys and discoveries in contributing to museum displays, learning and outreach programmes, and to broader understanding of the communities they serve. A recent search on the Museums Association's website has only brought up one article specifically on genealogy, dating from 2007, which outlined how museum archives could help people researching their ancestors by providing practical information, and a few which list a genealogy service as one of a number of potential income-generating sources. In this article I use extracts from my interviews with people doing Jewish genealogy, to show how a genealogy project could help museums deliver learning and social outcomes within their communities and tackle issues such as identity, migration, and the complex make-up of our communities.

The interviews form the basis of my PhD, which examines the impact of researching Jewish family history on the genealogy practitioners themselves. The stories told by these Jewish genealogists, as well as by people in all your local communities, can play an important role in enabling museum visitors to understand the complexity of identity and to challenge simplistic notions of Britishness. The stories disrupt our assumptions about people, and have the potential to enable museums to add richer context to their displays and programmes and to discover things about their communities they might not get from basic demographics. The stories are all based on unexpected discoveries.

Anthony Phillips lives in Ealing, West London. I interviewed him in early January 2017 and there was a Christmas tree and nativity scene in the living room. Throughout the interview he sounded very matter-of-fact and unemotional, and acknowledged that his 36 years spent as a forensic scientist in the Metropolitan Police probably contributed to his apparent unemotional response to horrific situations. His way of speaking belies the complexity of his roots

[…] can you tell me how you currently define your religious, ethnic and national identity?

White, British, and religious identity is Roman Catholic. […] It's how I was brought up and kept my religion, and most of my friends are Catholic so I've carried on as such with that identity.

He said he knew that his father had a Jewish upbringing but goes on to describe the slightly more complicated family make-up

Well my father's family, a little bit mixed up to some extent by the mere fact there were four children. The oldest one was their sister Sophie who married a Dutchman and they lived in Amsterdam, and all I knew about them was that they died during the war. I knew nothing more about it, that was what the family said and my father never wanted to be pushed about it. In fact he refused to tell me anything about it. […] the middle brother married a Jewess and brought their son up as a Jew and my father married my Catholic mother and brought me up as a Catholic.

In 2011, having been researching his family history for 11 years, Anthony and his wife decided to visit the places in Europe that were associated with his Jewish family. Here he describes how he discovered details of his Jewish ancestry, in the archive in Jutroschin in Poland.

[…] eventually they came out with four files. Three were fairly thin, covered in dust, […] I don't suppose they'd been out since they were put in the archives. And the last one was much thicker and lo and behold it had a whole pile of papers written by my great great-grandfather who turns out to be a Rabbi in Jutroschin, which was the first time we found out he was one. And suddenly there was a list of all the Jews that were attached to the synagogue, so there were 20 families and it set out all the children and that was the first time I could identify the whole of the family. So that was very, very rewarding to go and find that out.

One of the key things that came out of the interview with Anthony was how his discoveries changed his relationship with the Holocaust, and the impact this has had both on his understanding of his own identity as well as on other people's perception of him. The teaching of the Holocaust is a mandatory subject in schools. Many survivors have already recorded testimony and there are major programmes to record interviews with remaining survivors, but what can be equally powerful is the impact on descendants, including those who never knew the full story of how the Holocaust impacted on their family. Through researching the compensation files at the archive in The Hague, Anthony discovered that his father's sister and her Dutch husband, as well as 12 other members of their family, had been murdered at Sobibor and Auschwitz. I asked him how this affected his perception of the Holocaust

Obviously you knew it as a historical event. But after discovering your family history did it change how you perceived it?

Yes it did because you've known people there that have been directly affected by it, where if you just read about something there it's OK, it's historical and that's fine, it's written and people accept that it's there. But when you can actually turn round and say, yes, that's where it was and a lot of people know I've got Jewish family blood in me and when we talk about times of family

history […] and they talk about the Holocaust and, yes, but, my aunt died in it with her husband and my two cousins, people do take an intake of breath and suddenly realise that they're talking to somebody who's got very close family who died in it and therefore you're affected by it.

Genealogists are not just interested in producing family trees; the context and detail of their families' lives are equally important and represent something more layered and textured that can be left for future generations. So, many of them write their own memoirs and family histories. Anthony and his wife Monica have written a very detailed account of their journey and this page, detailing the deaths of members of Anthony's Dutch family in the Holocaust, illustrates well the complex identity of this apparently matter-of-fact English Catholic. On the left are the repeated names Gersons and Heijmans, and on the right the various places of birth in The Netherlands together with the line-by-line list of deaths in Sobibor and Auschwitz.

In memoriam

The Connections

Suzanna Gersons is my aunt, Sophie **Phillips's**, mother in law.
Suzanna's children were, **Nathan**, **Sophie's** husband, Elizabeth, Benjamin, Abraham and Jacob & Henriette who alone survived the war.

The Families

Suzanna **Gersons**	b: 17 Feb 1868 in Tilburg, The Netherlands m: 13 Jun 1894 in Tilburg d: 16 Apr 1943 in **Sobibor**
Nathan **Heijmans**	b: 07 Oct 1896 in Alphen aan den Rijn, Zuid Holland, d: 02 Jul 1943 in **Sobibor**,
Sophie Phillips	b: 30 Oct 1899 in Cambridge Ave, Willesden, London, d: 02 Jul 1943 in **Sobibor**,
Anne Leah **Heijmans**	b: 25 Oct 1934 in Amsterdam, The Netherlands d: 02 Jul 1943 in **Sobibor**,
Joan Lucie **Heijmans**	b: 08 Oct 1938 in Nieuwer-Amstel, The Netherlands d: 02 Jul 1943 in **Sobibor**,
Elizabeth **Heijmans** Netherlands	b: 15 Mar 1898 in Alphen aan den Rijn, Zuid Holland, The d: 09 Jul 1943 in **Sobibor**,
Benjamin **Heijmans** Netherlands	b: 15 Aug 1899 in Alphen aan den Rijn, Zuid Holland, The d: 21 Oct 1942 in **Auschwitz 3**
Abraham Barend **Heijmans** Netherlands	b: 20 Jun 1901 in Alphen aan den Rijn, Zuid Holland, The d: 31 Oct 1942 in **Sobibor**,
Helena Heijmanns-Letter	b: 08 Jun 1901 in Zwolle, The Netherlands d: 10 Sep 1942 in **Auschwitz**
Rosalie Suze Heijmans	b: 04 Apr 1930 in Bossum, The Netherlands d: 02 Jul 1943 in **Sobibor**,
Arno Joseph Heijmans	b: 11 Nov 1932 in Bossum, The Netherlands d: 10 Sep 1942 in **Auschwitz**,
Gustaaf Josef Heijmans	b: 19 Nov 1937 in Bossum, The Netherlands d: 10 Sep 1942 in **Auschwitz**,
Leonard Heijmans	b: 18 May 1939 in Bossum, The Netherlands d: 10 Sep 1942 in **Auschwitz**,
Jacob **Heijmans**	b: 03 Mar 1903 in Alphen aan den Rijn, The Netherlands d: 28 Jan 1944 in **Auschwitz**,

Ephrata [a pseudonym] lives in Woldingham, a small village on the North Downs in Surrey. She was born to a Jewish mother and non-Jewish father, and so is considered Jewish according to Jewish law. However, she was christened and attended a Church of England school and grew up with no real knowledge or understanding of her Jewish background. She had been told the bare facts that her mother had come to England as a child and had lost her entire family in a concentration camp, but the fact

that this was because she was Jewish was always played down. It was only after her mother's death in 1988, when Ephrata was 27, that she saw a family tree and realised from the names that her mother was Jewish on both sides of the family, going back several generations. In contrast to Anthony's very cool and phlegmatic account of his discoveries she reveals her obvious emotion when she visited the village of Laisa, in the German province of Hessen, from where her mother had managed to escape on the last *Kindertransport* in 1939. Perhaps most significantly for museum work, her account shows the importance of objects and how these objects carry meaning as well as their own genealogies.

> *I went back to the village where she was born, where my grandfather was born. There were still some people there who had been at school with my mother and my uncle, they had known my grandparents. […] One of them even found a letter my grandfather had written, another old lady there had a cooking pot that had belonged to my grandmother and she'd kept it and so she gave it to me, so I was actually able to cook something in my grandmother's cooking pot […] I mean, it was just such an emotional intense experience so I have, the cooking pot sits beside my computer now.*

The interviews also give some idea of contrasting responses to complex identities and how these could offer opportunities for debate and discussion, in order to challenge ignorance or prejudice, as well as opportunities for intergenerational work.

Ephrata had explained that her brother said emphatically that he's not Jewish, but his son has a different response to his ancestry:

> *[…] what I find interesting and rewarding is that, the way his children feel about their heritage is completely different from the way I was, growing up. So for example, his, um, son, when he was about ten, one day I just overheard him saying, 'Am I a quarter German-Jewish?', and his mother said yes. He said 'oh, cool!'. And he's just really relaxed and open about it, it just wasn't a big deal at all. It wasn't scary, it wasn't taboo, it was, yeah, it's cool.*

In contrast, Jane Clucas describes her experience growing up in Yorkshire in the 1950s. It was only when she was bullied at school that Jane asked her mother for an explanation

> *The first I knew about it was when I was being bullied at school because of my surname Sniders and in break time they used to round on me and say 'You must be a Jew', you know 'Jews killed Jesus' and I kept saying 'But I'm not Jewish', I mean I knew I'd been baptised. And I couldn't understand it - 'Well if you're not Jewish you're German'. […] I remember going home very upset […] and for my mother to say 'but you are half Jewish Jane, your grandparents – gran and grandpa Sniders were Jews […] And it came as a bit of shock really because they were so despised, these Jews, at my Christian school, and there I am, part of this despicable group of people.*

Jane now lives in Bollington near Macclesfield and has been doing genealogy for about 40 years. I met her in 2016 when she was a volunteer at an exhibition on the wartime Jewish community in Macclesfield. This is how she describes her identity now

> *From a personal belief point of view I'm an atheist. From my identity, that is very mixed and I feel very strongly and proud of the fact that I was born in Yorkshire but I am half Jewish and my father's family, who were all from*

London, were Jewish through and through, and my mother's family were Methodist-based and they are Yorkshire through and through.

Jane articulates well how genealogy can reveal the complex nature of identity and she also relates it to the importance of objects and rituals in defining that identity

> *[…] it certainly has impacted my life far more than I anticipated. If you'd told me 20, 30 years ago that I would have Judaica in my home I would have said, why, I'm not Jewish? Which I keep saying, I keep saying that. But now it's important to me and the making of the challah , it's important to me, the lighting of the candles – important to me. I can't explain it because I am an atheist. […] Well it's part of your genetic make-up and to be Jewish is not just a religion is it, it's a race, and I am 50 percent of that race.*

Teenage confusion and attempting to make sense of one's identity, as well as the importance of roots, is echoed by Ruth (a pseudonym) and is something that could be explored further with younger visitors. And as with Jane, Ruth shows the importance of objects and customs in the construction of her identity.

> *I can't remember ever being told that my father's family were a Jewish family, um, I was not brought up with any form of Jewish customs and we were not told, um, so it's something that dawned on me, it dawned on me as a young teenager […] going to my granny's house, seeing the candles, some things around that gradually dawned on me […] so I was curious to know what all that was about I guess and why we weren't being told and why we might not being told and what might be dangerous about that identity or vulnerable about that identity or whatever, why it was sort of hidden and why the family name had changed, mm, to an Anglicised name so it was curiosity and also I think, er, for me it relates to looking for some sort of rootedness or connection […]*

I had known Ruth for several years in Lancaster. She had a Buddhist name and was heavily involved in sustainability and environmental issues, but I did not know much else about her. When I mentioned I was starting a PhD and told her what it was about she was really keen to be interviewed, and began to tell me her family history.

Her father was Jewish: his family came from near Riga in Latvia and Ruth can trace the family back to the early 19th century. In contrast her mother was descended from a farming family in Cumbria, which she can trace back about 24 generations to the 13th century. She has a copy of her mother's family tree showing a lineage deeply rooted in the north of England.

Ruth sees this rootedness within a community as part of her identity but also acknowledges the contrasting influences coming from the Jewish immigrant side.

> *[…] there are parts of who I am and how I am which do seem to be coming from the, er, north west English farming side and there are other parts which do seem to come from somewhere else […] in the, um, sort of earthiness and the rootedness and the love of this landscape and the love of, you know, north Lancashire, the Lakes, where the family came from. So there's quite a strong sense of territorial connection there […] endless generations have lived in this landscape and are buried all over it. […] I tend to ascribe whatever I have by way of intelligence more to the Jewish side of things […] there are all sorts of Rabbis and people and obviously very able people on that side of the family.*

> *And also […] maybe a sort of risk-taking recklessness, er, in the sense that, you know, great-grandparents upped-sticks and moved to a land they'd never been to, they didn't speak the language, had to make their own lives there, it's a sort of 'get-up and go-ness' […]*

Investigating genealogy and family history also allows us to see that economic migration is not new or limited to people moving from one country to another. In 'Common People: The History of an English Family', writer and historian Alison Light describes her search for her own family's history. In the 19th and early 20th centuries her family and others like them were perpetually on the move in search of work. This is a description of neighbours of her grandmother in Cotteridge, Worcestershire at the turn of the 20th century:

> *Fred Fairhead […] and his wife, Eliza, are Norfolk-bred. Children have been born en route. The Fairheads have a son from their Sheffield days; their daughter was born in York. […] The horse and cart of William Smith […] has taken him hundreds of miles from his tiny woodland village of Little Dewchurch in Herefordshire, to the seaside resort of St Leonards in Sussex […] then back to Llanwarne, in his home country on the Welsh borders. […] This is what the Industrial Revolution has meant: generations of people on the road.*

These links and connections are what make the wider exploration of the impact of genealogy so relevant today.

I found many of my interviewees through the Jewish Genealogical Society of Great Britain (JGSGB); however, similar stories could be found in a variety of ways. Knowing where to start, and concerns about ethical issues in terms of data protection, may be reasons why museums have been reluctant to tackle this subject. I would suggest that rather than setting up and running the project by yourself, you consider working in partnership with existing organisations. You could contact a genealogy or family history society in your area and offer to hold sessions in the museum where you invite members to tell their family stories. Invite the participants to help organise an exhibition based on their findings and to consider donating objects, photographs or written family histories that illustrate their ancestry. You could work with local schools and organisations for older people to run an intergenerational family history project. Local refugee support organisations may be able to put you in touch with recent arrivals from other countries, who could be made welcome by exchanging family histories with more established residents. And JGSGB has an email forum for members - I would be happy to post requests from museums who may be wondering if they have any genealogists in their area researching Jewish family history. I would also be happy to deposit copies of my own interviews, together with transcripts, in museums in relevant areas.

Stories that come out of these interviews can help deliver a variety of learning and social outcomes, as well as offering opportunities for exhibition, programming and collections development and providing a pathway to improved community engagement. Genealogy can also provide new ways of teaching the national curriculum, with the study of identity and migration covered in the Citizenship curriculum.

Working collaboratively with local archives offers a lot of possibilities, as the archives sector is now seeking to broaden its impact. The National Archives vision document states 'Archives Unlocked recognises the fundamental changes archives are making to attract new audiences and benefit local communities' and includes the following ambition:

> *Our collections will reflect all of society, so that, whether an individual, community or organisation, archives can tell us who we are and how we got here.*

In July 2013 the Museums Association (MA) published Museums Change Lives, detailing the way museums could make a positive social impact on people's lives, and highlighting the inclusion of 'more voices and experiences, to offer interpretations from multiple points of view and to reveal "hidden histories" [...]'. It also made the bold statement:

> *The best museums use their position of trust to encourage people to reflect on society's contemporary challenges. They promote social justice and human rights, challenge prejudice and champion fairness and equality.*

The MA now stresses the role museums can play in using their collections and providing spaces for contributing to the debates on identity, immigration and other complex issues:

> *With people moving around the globe more and more, there is no doubt that identity is far more fluid than it used to be. For museums, this provides an exciting opportunity to reflect these changes and to contribute to the debate about what this means for us as individuals, and as a nation.*
>
> *Museums work with the public as active and creative participants in the life of the museum – using it as a space for exchanging opinions, experiences, ideas and knowledge. Museums help us to understand and negotiate the complex world around us […]*

In summary, these are some potential outcomes of engaging with genealogy (adapted from Inspiring Learning for All)

Learning and Social Outcomes:

Deepen museums' understanding and knowledge of the communities they serve

Enable visitors and audiences to gain a deeper understanding of their local community

Help people to widen their knowledge and change their attitude to others in the community

Increased understanding of the nature of migration, whether from another country or within Britain itself

Links to Citizenship and History curriculum

Enabling opportunities for debate and discussion in order to challenge ignorance, intolerance, prejudice and bigotry

Opportunities for intergenerational work

Engender a sense of rootedness in order to help people feel part of a community

Help contribute to the Safer and Stronger Communities agenda through outreach work with professional groups such as the police or social services, to enable them to gain a deeper understanding of the communities they serve

Collections, Exhibition and Programming Outcomes:

Access to testimony and artefacts for future use e.g. exhibitions, learning programmes

Potential donation of objects to help contemporary collecting

Potential for community led/co-created exhibitions

Potential for talks and presentations by genealogists

Visitor outcomes:

Increased involvement in the museum by a wider range of people

I always intended that the outcomes of my research should be used by museums in exhibitions and learning programmes and have recently deposited some of my interviews at Manchester Jewish Museum. While I initially thought the material would only be relevant to Jewish museums, the complex identities of my interviewees make their stories good examples of what any museum will find in its local community, leading to greater resilience and relevance in a post-Brexit world.

Adrienne Wallman is doing a PhD in the Department of History at Lancaster University. Prior to this she had a 40 year career in museums, heritage, arts and educational television. She can be contacted on a.wallman1@lancaster.ac.uk

---

References

[1] Lowenthal, D. (1988) The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 16

[2] Evans, T. (2011) Secrets and Lies: the Radical Potential of Family History. History Workshop Journal, Issue 71, (Spring), 51

[3] www.museumsassociation.org (Accessed 13 October 2018)

[4] Mulhearn, D. (2007). Family Planning. Museums Journal (January 2007), 32-35

[5] Anthony Phillips, interviewed by Adrienne Wallman, 5 January 2017

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Files detailing compensation paid to surviving family members of victims of the Holocaust

[9] Anthony Phillips, interviewed by Adrienne Wallman, 5 January 2017

[10] Phillips, A. and M. (2011) In the Footsteps of My Forefathers. London: Self-published

[11] Ephrata', interviewed by Adrienne Wallman, 4 January 2017

[12] Ibid.

[13] Jane Clucas, interviewed by Adrienne Wallman, 23 August 2016

[14] Ibid.

[15] Jewish religious artefacts

[16] Plaited loaf served on the eve of the Jewish Sabbath and festivals

[17] Jane Clucas, ibid.

[18] 'Ruth', interviewed by Adrienne Wallman, 28 July 2015

[19] Ibid.

[20] Light, A. (2015) Common People: The History of an English Family. London: Penguin Books, 41-42

[21] Within the scope of this article I am not able to go into detail about the ethical considerations involved in carrying out this sort of project. Detailed information about gathering and storing data within an oral history project can be found on the Oral History Society website: http://www.ohs.org.uk/advice/data-protection/

[22] The National Archives (2017) Archives Unlocked: Delivering the Vision http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/Action-Plan-Brochure.pdf [accessed 11 January 2019], 2

[23] Ibid.

[24] Museums Association (2013) Museums Change Lives: The MA's Vision for the Impact of Museums. London: Museums Association, 10

[25] Ibid., 11

[26] Stephens, S. (2016) Museums Can Reflect the Fluidity of Identity. Museums Journal (April 2016), 4

[27] Museums Association (2017) Museums Change Lives. London: Museums Association, 5

[28] https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/measuring-outcomes

Faith, Hope and Fear: interpreting the human experience of medicine at the Science Museum

Isabelle Lawrence

The Medicine Galleries Project

In Autumn 2019, five new galleries exploring the history of medicine will open at the Science Museum (ScM), occupying the first floor of the museum for the next twenty to thirty years. These galleries have been designed through collaboration between the curatorial content team, our Masterplan team leading a drive to transform one third of ScM's public space, and a variety of external stakeholders, including the architects of the gallery spaces at Wilkinson Eyre. This £24 million project will feature 3000 objects, span over 2500 square feet, and will be the largest medical galleries in the world. They will explore a diverse range of themes, from changes in the way we understand, diagnose and treat the human body, to the impact this has had on communities and individuals. One of these galleries will focus explicitly on the emotional experience of medicine. Entitled 'Faith, Hope & Fear', it will highlight how a variety of different influences – such as our religious beliefs or the support of those around us – can shape both our relationship with our health, and the medical choices that we make.

This involves interpreting objects and experiences that have not traditionally fallen within the remit of a museum dedicated to science. A large portion of the objects intended for display are on long-term loan from the Wellcome Collection, and many of these objects, such as amulets, votive offerings, and figures of deities and saints, are very different to the scientific instruments you might expect to see in ScM. This has given us the opportunity to ask visitors to consider the multitude of ways that health and medicine have been approached across time and culture, through reflecting a broad range of experiences and emotions. 'Faith, Hope & Fear' will explore the emotional toll that ill health and medical care can take on patients and medical practitioners alike. Crucially, it will acknowledge that many of us look not only to biomedical knowledge and treatment, but also to social, spiritual and other cultural sources of cure and comfort. The practices or beliefs represented shape perceptions of illness and injury, and subsequently the decisions we make in terms of our treatment, or our relationship with medicine. The focus is therefore on the stories of ordinary people, in a space where visitors can reflect on and discuss their own perspective or personal experiences.

This is new territory for the museum, which usually explores how scientific developments, past and present, have contributed to the world that we live in today. It is fair to say that curatorial knowledge is also concentrated in this area, and that our anthropological expertise is somewhat limited. This has made interpreting objects that embody deep spiritual significance across different cultures more challenging. The content team has therefore been faced with the question of how we can reflect these meanings. This paper highlights the ways in which we have interpreted the objects, practices and experiences on gallery, but also how we have sought to expand our knowledge of this section of our collection. Starting with an introduction to how the museum has traditionally approached this collection, it will examine our new approach to interpretation, and how we have developed our expertise to do this. Emphasising the importance of developing and utilising relationships with a network of contacts and experts, it will demonstrate how this has enabled us to draw out the personal significance of these objects, inviting a variety of voices into the gallery.

A selection of the amulets from the Wellcome Collection. Credit: Science Museum Group Collection © The Board of Trustees of the Science Museum

Displaying the Wellcome Collection in the Science Museum

The majority of objects intended for display in this new gallery are on long-term loan from the Wellcome Collection, which is well known for its scale. Developed by the pharmaceutical entrepreneur, Henry Wellcome (1853-1936), from the late nineteenth century until his death, it was created to tell the 'great history "of the art and science of healing"' (Larson, 2009, p.4). This determination to tell the comprehensive story of health and medicine, combined with Wellcome's network of 'agents' across the world, ensured that the scope of his collecting was immense. As described by Frances Larson and Judith Hill (2004), this led to 'overflowing warehouses' of objects (Larson, 2009, p.4), which became unmanageable and later required a great deal of retrospective documentation. This led his successors to later disperse this collection through sales, transfers and, importantly, a large loan to ScM.

From 1976, approximately 115,000 objects were transferred to ScM, radically diversifying the museum's collection. Accepting the Wellcome loan established the history of medicine, as a new area of subject interest in the museum's collection, introducing objects with more humane and socio-historical associations (Bud, 2013, pp. 265-269; Boon, 2013, pp. 112-115). Critically, however, it also introduced objects from a diverse range of cultural backgrounds, reflecting different approaches to health and healing, such as amulets and votive offerings. These objects embody

practices that contrast greatly with professional biomedical approaches, and sit more comfortably alongside the scientific instruments typically found in ScM, which had traditionally celebrated innovations in science and industry since its establishment in 1909.

Arguably, the way in which the museum has interpreted such objects in past displays has often emphasised the distinction between scientific and 'alternative' approaches to medicine. Between 1981 and 2015, the 'Wellcome Museum of the History of Medicine' occupied the fourth and fifth floors of ScM. It weaved the Wellcome Collection into a broad chronological narrative. Here objects relating to practices that fell outside of professional biomedicine were framed as historical predecessors to more modern practices, appearing in sections such as 'Medicine in Tribal Societies' or 'Medieval Medicine'. Critically each of these sections preceded the 'Pre-1800' section of the gallery and preceded 'The Scientific Revolution' of the Renaissance (Science Museum, 1981, pp.). Arguably, this juxtaposition implied that these objects, and the beliefs and practices that they represent, are relics of the past, in contrast to 'modern' science-based medicine. This failed to reflect that many of these practices continue to be performed today, and possess considerable sociocultural legitimacy.

In recent decades, the museum has sought to remedy this, and redeveloped an existing section of the gallery in 2006, which transformed 'Medicine in Tribal Societies' into 'Living Medical Traditions'. By exploring four specific practices from different cultures, such as Ayurveda, and providing patient perspectives, it acknowledged the complexity of the contemporary medical marketplace. However, this exhibit received mixed responses in 2006 and 2011. On the one hand, the gallery was controversially understood to 'legitimise' alternative medicine at the expense of evidence-based treatments (see Robbins et al, 2011). This did not align with the perceived purpose of the museum, which was to 'to promote the idea of evidence as a means to developing effective treatments' (Davenport, 2011).

In contrast, Crispin Paine (2010, p.104) suggested that 'this inclusion of non-Western traditions' in a separate gallery 'points up the museum's almost exclusive understanding of Western medicine as professional biomedicine', presenting other approaches as 'alternative' or exceptional. Paine also implies that this was potentially due to this exhibit being developed by curators of science rather than anthropology, who are presumably predisposed to understand science and western medicine in this way. After all, ScM's mission was to bring science to life, which was subsequently reflected in our galleries, exhibitions and events. Our visitors therefore interpreted this exhibit in conflicting ways, reading different meanings from the language used and the juxtaposition of objects. Arguably, this suggests a level of ambiguity within the interpretation that had to be avoided in 'Faith, Hope and Fear'.

Although alterations were made to 'Living Medical Traditions' whilst open to the public, this is our first opportunity to create a gallery exploring this subject since 2006, and is therefore a learning experience. Today, our mission is to both engage our audiences with STEM subjects, and explore how science, technology, and medicine shape our lives (Science Museum, 2017). We are developing this gallery to explore the impact ill health and medicine have on our lives, and therefore achieve this second aim. However, this does not mean that visitors will interpret it in this way. How will they respond when they find themselves standing in a gallery entitled 'Faith, Hope and Fear'? Will they also question its relevance to ScM?

Approaching Faith, Hope and Fear

The team have therefore needed to carefully consider the overriding message of 'Faith, Hope and Fear', and how content should be framed. Significantly, our approach has been influenced by recent discussions surrounding the representation of religion in museums. Increasingly, museums and commentators on museum practice are acknowledging that, through processes of selection, conservation, and display, objects are decontextualized and given new meanings according to the episteme or mission of the museum (Pearce, 1994; 2012; Paine, 2013). For religious objects, this has often meant being valued in terms of their historic or aesthetic significance, particularly if they originate from non-western backgrounds. Wellcome's collection, for example, was originally created to demonstrate how our responses to illness and injury progressively evolved, culminating in 'enlightened' scientific practices (Lawrence, 2003). In his museum, objects were often arranged in particular ways to emphasise the difference between 'primitive' and 'enlightened' practices, and this juxtaposition reinforced the evolutionary principles that underlay the entire collection (Hill, 2004).

Treating these objects as historical evidence, or simply as one component of an overriding narrative, 'neuters' the religious significance of these objects (Paine, 2010), or 'hijack[s]…the potential power of religious and spiritual experiences' (Freudenheim, 2017, p.182). These spiritual meanings are crucial aspects of the objects' histories; they prompted their creation and use and can have a profound impact on individuals. Increasingly, museums are being encouraged to engage with these meanings, particularly in terms of the 'experiential heart' or reality of religion (Arthur, 2000: pp. 24-25), by which we mean the less tangible aspects of what it means to be religious. This has inspired museums to reconsider the way their collections are displayed. Several museums have used immersive techniques that invite visitors to physically engage with practices, such as kneeling on a prie dieu, to quite literally view objects from a devotional perspective (see Freudenheim, 2017). Oral histories have similarly been used to 'provide some sort of human soul' to interpretation by 'giving people freedom to talk about their faith' and to raise potentially conflicting views (Lovelace et al, 1995).

Museums are therefore looking for ways to convey what these objects can mean to individuals, an ambition central to 'Faith, Hope and Fear'. Whilst consulting an advisory group on interpretation in this gallery, it was strongly suggested that we focus upon the motivations - the beliefs, hopes, and fears – that influence the way we understand and respond to ill health. This focus on emotion has given us the opportunity to display religious and non-religious perspectives side by side. Instead of slotting objects into a chronological narrative or distinguishing between the scientific and the religious, we are exploring the reasons for which they were (and continue to be) created and used. As the human experience of ill health and healing is at the heart of the gallery, we are dividing objects according to the practices or experiences that they embody, and prioritising the very personal stories of individuals. For instance, mass displays of objects from Wellcome's collection, will appear alongside oral testimonies that have been recorded within the last year. Visitors will be able to listen to patients and healthcare practitioners discussing their personal experiences of illness and medical care, ranging from tackling cancer or undergoing IVF treatment, to caring for people who are dying. Collecting and displaying audio-recordings is a particularly direct way of capturing different perspectives, allowing individuals to quite literally speak for themselves.

At the centre of this gallery, mass displays will explore the veneration of deities and saints, the production of anatomical votives, and the application of healing waters. These practices are all culturally specific responses to the uncertainty of ill health, embodying human wishes that often transcend culture, such as the desire to ease pain, or to conceive a child. Our interpretation will focus on this starting point or motivation, encouraging visitors to consider the role these objects might have played in managing this uncertainty, particularly in situations where there is not a great deal more that we can do to heal ourselves. Where possible, we will highlight the ongoing significance of these practices. For example, contemporary contextual images will appear alongside these displays, depicting how similar objects continue to be used. Within these mass displays, we will also include a small number of contemporary objects. For example, votives produced and healing waters bottled during the last decade will be collected and displayed alongside their historical equivalents. By doing this, we hope to remind visitors that the beliefs and practices behind these objects remain part of living traditions, regardless of the object's age.

Better Understanding Our Collection

One of the main obstacles to interpreting objects in this way lies in the uneven level of documentation across the Wellcome Collection. The number of objects collected by Wellcome at any one time often meant that fully cataloguing these objects was not possible (Hill, 2004). Although a fascinating amount of detail can be gleaned from accession records, catalogue cards, and correspondence (which the Wellcome Collection is currently digitising), the records for the majority are frustratingly bare. As a result, it is rare to find recorded personal stories for these objects, which means that they cannot be interpreted with the same level of specificity and individuality as our more contemporary material. Moreover, within the curatorial team, it is fair to say there is limited anthropological expertise, and we are less familiar with subjects relating to faith and spirituality. This has made expanding our collections knowledge or mitigating this lack of documentation more difficult.

We have therefore needed to expand our knowledge of how and why these objects might have been used, and, if possible, the significance that these practices continue to hold in the lives of individuals. Although this has involved extensive use of archival and library materials, developing a network of contacts has also had an undeniable impact on the gallery's development. They have enabled us to utilise expertise and experience from outside of the museum, thereby developing our own subject and collections knowledge. For example, Annie Thwaite conducted an audit of our collection of amulets and has been involved in planning their mass display. This has deepened our understanding of our collection and the contexts in which these amulets might have been used. This has, in turn, been highly influential in terms of selecting, categorising and interpreting amulets for display on gallery, and has acted as a foundation for further research. Conversations with other researchers or professionals elsewhere in the museum world have also helped to identify certain object's origins. Identifying sensitivities regarding display and terminology has enabled us to select appropriate objects and interpret them in ways that are respectful, whilst not perpetuating existing stereotypes. It has also prompted us to appoint a researcher to examine the remaining objects in the collection, which may be surrounded by comparable sensitivities.

As mentioned earlier, we also consulted an advisory or focus group early in the content development stage to discuss our interpretation plan. This advisory group involved a range of participants, including museum and heritage consultants, curators of comparable collections, galleries and exhibitions, representatives of spiritual care

organisations, academics, and a variety of other individuals who engage with this subject through their work. Due to their experience, each of the participants had a great deal of insight to offer, helping us to envisage how visitors might interpret and respond to content. It alerted us to potential issues in the way that we had designed the showcases, particularly in terms of the way in which we had grouped together objects from different faiths, regardless of age and the specific traditions they embody. For instance, displaying images of deities alongside saints (who are intercessors rather than deities) could suggest that these figures possess equal status, and ignores the unique significance each figure holds for different cultures and communities. Whilst we have altered the juxtaposition of objects in several cases in response to this advice, it has also driven home the importance of framing these displays in a way that focusing visitors instead on the motivations that encourage people to pray to or use these objects.

Ideally, we would have liked to have taken this consultation further by engaging with source communities or participation groups, as we have elsewhere in the galleries. Unfortunately, this was not possible as our budget would not have allowed us to do this in a sustained way. However, creating these networks has nonetheless enabled us to incorporate the voices of individuals whose experiences we would otherwise have been unable to represent. From the very beginning, it has been our intention to focus on the lived experiences of individuals throughout the entire gallery. This, we believe, provides relatable examples for our visitors to reflect on, but will also demonstrate just how relevant these objects can be in the everyday lives of individuals. Establishing relationships with organisations - such as hospitals, hospices, chaplaincy groups and places of religious worship - has made this possible, allowing us to then get in touch with a range of individuals happy for their story to appear on gallery. Not only has this enabled us generate audio content relating to the contemporary material on gallery, it has also inspired us to do something similar for several of our older objects in one of our mass-displays.

Displaying Deities and Saints: a sneak peak

Close to the entrance of the gallery visitors will see a mass-display of religious figures, featuring a range of deities and saints from different faiths. In addition to approaching these figures for cures, some people seek guidance, confidence in their doctor or the treatment they are receiving, or even the strength to transcend the pain and discomfort they feel. It is tricky to relay this intensely personal significance in traditional labels written by curators, and so we plan to reflect these nuances by quoting individuals in our interpretation for several of these objects.

These quotes have been provided by people for whom these objects hold personal significance, acting as examples of how these figures can influence the lives of individuals. However, by using the participant’s own words, these labels also reflect unique perspectives. For example, we are planning to interpret our figure of White Tara, a female bodhisattva associated with longevity, with this quote:

> *‘ …following my brain bleed, many weeks of quiet stillness were filled by looking at images of White Tara. The comfort and hope for beyond that dark state filled my being, well before I was able to read or say her mantra.’*

We will also be displaying a figure of Saint Damian, who, alongside his brother Saint Cosmas, is one of the most widely celebrated Roman Catholic patron saints of physicians. It therefore seems apt that it was a doctor who provided this short quote.

'. …I was a doctor, and we named our surgery after St Damian. He reminds us that we are asked to sacrifice ourselves for others, especially our patients.'

These quotes reveal the impact of these figures on the way the participants' experience of ill health and medical practice. Arguably, they also make complex concepts more relatable. The quote for White Tara, for example, demonstrates a long-term relationship with this bodhisattva. Rather than seeking immediate cure, the emphasis is placed on how the patient's faith supported them throughout this ordeal. In many ways, this reflects an influential Buddhist approach to holistic healing, which involves transcending pain and discomfort, achieved through accepting that pain is a necessary part of life. The quote for Saint Damian, on the other hand, reflects the popular Christian tradition of looking to Saints as role models and following their example. However, it also illustrates the complimentary roles that faith and science play in shaping the way that this GP understands the purpose of his role. These can be difficult concepts for visitors, who may not be familiar with these beliefs, to relate to or connect with through 60-word object labels. In contrast, these approaches are implicit in the experiences of individuals, and arguably become more relatable for visitors when explained in the words of those who practice them (see Paine, 2013, pp. 33-34).

The images above feature the statues of White Tara (left) and Saint Damian (right) to be included in this display. Credit: Science Museum Group Collection. ©The Board of Trustees of the Science Museum.

Unfortunately, it has been difficult to identify people willing to share their personal experiences on gallery (it is unclear why this is the case). Overall, focusing on organisations such as chaplaincy groups and specific places of worship has been successful, and we have managed to contact a variety of people willing to participate. However, this success has often been dependent on our ability to identify 'gatekeepers' eager to assist the project, with the knowledge of the community necessary to put us in touch with potential participants. For example, for a variety of our Buddhist religious figures, we were in contact with the founding member of

a Buddhist Chaplaincy Group, who used his contacts within the group to identify patients and other chaplains. In the end, he provided a wealth of testimonies, including the quote that we are now using to interpret the statue of White Tara. Whilst we have developed relationships with other 'gatekeepers', our efforts to collect quotes from some organisations and individuals have been more successful than others. Unfortunately, this means a higher proportion of religious figures from some faith groups will be interpreted in this way than others, which might have been mitigated had sustained engagement with source communities been possible.

Nonetheless, these quotes act as examples of the range of relationships that individuals have with the ideas, beliefs and practices these figures represent. Several of them are shared by multiple faith groups, within which there can be a variety of different practices. Equally, individuals often adapt these practices depending on their own interpretation of those teachings. As a result, only one third of our figures will be interpreted with a quote, with the rest interpreted using curatorial object labels that explain their wider significance. In the broader context of the gallery, perhaps this will be enough to encourage visitors to consider the roles these deities and saints can play in recovery and treatment.

Looking Forward to 2019

'Faith, Hope and Fear' represents a new approach to interpreting religious objects and practices within ScM's collection, particularly considering that religious and non-religious material will be displayed side by side. By utilising expertise and experience found outside of the museum to expand our collections knowledge and finetune our interpretation approach, we have been better equipped to reinterpret these objects in terms of their devotional meanings. Similarly, prioritising the perspectives of individuals, and the role that these beliefs and practices play in the medical experiences of individuals, has meant that the objects displayed will hopefully become more relatable, rather than being separated into the distinct categories 'scientific' and 'religious'. Instead, visitors will be invited to contemplate and discuss how our hopes and fears for the future shape the way we make sense of our health, and the choices that we make.

This has been a fascinating gallery to develop, and it will have a significant impact on the museum. This paper has focused exclusively on gallery interpretation for our historic collections, but there is a great deal more that can be said on a whole range of related subjects. For instance, the impact of this gallery on the development of our medical collections in the last five years would be intriguing to explore. The majority of recent acquisitions for the medical collections have been driven by the development of the new galleries, addressing under-represented areas of the collection, including contemporary objects of a religious nature. Filling such gaps was one of the main collecting priorities in ScM's most recent Collecting Policy Statement (Science Museum, 2016), but it will be interesting to see whether developing this collection of faith-related objects will remain a priority after the completion of the galleries.

Above all, we await the responses of future visitors to this gallery, and look forward to seeing how they engage with its content, and also the educational and cultural events that will add another layer of interpretation. The representation of religion is a subject that inevitably generates a variety of conflicting opinions. ScM's past experience alone can demonstrate how different opinions about the purview of the museum and the relationship between 'scientific' and 'alternative' treatments can colour responses to galleries exploring this subject. It would therefore be interesting to examine the way

visitors interpret ‘Faith, Hope and Fear’, and subsequently envisage the relationship between faith and science. Ultimately, listening to visitor responses to our choices will help us to judge whether we have created a gallery that offers meaningful insights into the human experience of health and medicine.

References

Arthur, C., (2000) ‘Exhibiting the Sacred’ in Paine C. (ed.) Godly things: museums, objects and religion. London: Leicester University Press, pp. 1-27

Boon, T. (2013) ‘Parallax Error? A Participant’s Account of the Science Museum, c.1980-c.200’ in Morris, P.J.T. (ed.), Science for the Nation: Perspectives on the History of the Science Museum. Basingstoke; Macmillan. pp. 111-135

Bud, R. (2013) ‘Collecting for the Science Museum: Constructing the Collections, the Culture and the Institution’ in Morris, P.J.T. (ed.), Science for the Nation: Perspectives on the History of the Science Museum. Basingstoke; Macmillan. pp. 250-272

Davenport, A. (2011), ‘Science Wooseum: Guest Post: An Un-Wellcome Divergence From Evidence’. Noodlemaz. Purely a Figment of Your Imagination. Blog Post. January 31 2011. DOP: https://noodlemaz.wordpress.com/2011/01/31/science-wooseum/ [Last Accessed 20/02/2019]

Freudenheim, T.L. (2017) ‘Museums and Religion: Uneasy Companions’ in Buggeln, G., Paine, C., and Plate, S.B. (eds) Religion in Museums: Global and Multidisciplinary Perspectives. London; Bloomsbury. pp. 181-188

Larson, F. (2009) An Infinity of Things: How Sir Henry Wellcome Collected The World. Oxford; Oxford University Press.

Lawrence, G. (2003) ‘Wellcome’s Museum for the Science of History’ in Arnold, K. and Olsen, D. (eds), Medicine Man: The Forgotten Museum of Henry Wellcome. London; British Museum Press., pp. 51-71

Lovelace, A., Carnegie, E, Dunlop, H. (1995) ‘St Mungo’s Museum of Religious Life and Art A New Development in Glasgow’. Journal of Museum Ethnography. no. 7. pp. 63-78

O’Neill, M. (2006) ‘Enlightenment Traditions, Sacred Objects and Sacred Cows in Museums: Response to Tiffany Jenkins’. Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief. 2(3): pp. 359-68

Paine, C. (2010) ‘Militant Atheist Objects: Anti-Religion Museums in the Soviet Union’ Present Pasts, 1(1), p. none. DOI: http://doi.org/10.5334/pp.13 [Last Accessed 20/02/2019]

Paine, C. (2013) Religious objects in museums: private lives and public duties. London: Bloomsbury.

Pearce, S.M. (1994) ‘Collecting Reconsidered’ in Pearce, S.M. (ed) Interpreting Objects and Collections. United Kingdom; Routledge. pp. 193-204

Pearce, S. (2012) ‘Museum Objects’ in Dudley, S. (ed) Museum Objects : Experiencing the Properties of Things. London; Routledge. pp. 23-25

Robbins, M., Baker, M. Davenport, A. (2011) ‘Homeopathy and other quackery at the Science Museum’. The Guardian. 8 February. p. none. DOB: https://www.theguardian.com/science/the-lay-scientist/2011/feb/08/1 [last accessed 20/02/2019]

Science Museum (1981) The Wellcome Museum of the History of Medicine: a part of the SCIENCE MUSEUM, Norwich; Jarold Colour Publications.

Science Museum Group (2017) Inspiring Futures: Strategic Priorities 2017-2030.

The Trouble with Women Artists.

Kitty Ross - *Curator of Leeds History/Social History, Leeds Museums and Galleries.*

As a social history curator with rather more exhibitions under my belt than I care to remember, it was inspiring to have the opportunity last year to try something different. After many years of creating exhibitions governed largely by the obvious stories and strengths of existing collections it was liberating to be able to work imaginatively with artists to fill in some of the gaps.

With 2018 looming, with all the expectations associated with the commemoration of the 1918 Representation of the People Act, it was clear that our exhibition needed to focus on women. Although Leeds Museums hold an important suffragette collection donated with great foresight by Leonora Cohen (the "Tower Suffragette") in 1966, this would not have been enough to create an exhibition focussed narrowly on the struggle for the vote. The most dramatic and visual highlights of the collection have been on permanent display in Leeds City Museum since 2008 and the remaining items in store are mostly archival, of great interest to researchers but hard to interpret in a display.

Instead, we decided to take a much broader sweep of history for the Abbey House exhibition and to put the suffrage struggle into a wider context of social change in women's lives from the 1860s to the present day. The exhibition would be thematic and range from the domestic and personal to the public and political. We hoped to draw out personal "hidden histories" as well as highlighting the stories of pioneering women. However, as with many museum collections, it was often hard to find objects with specific stories to tell when our predecessors were not as diligent at collecting or recording information as we try to be now. Although large areas of the collection would have been used or made by women, they are rarely named. If there is any reference in early documentation to the previous owner, they are often referred to as "the donor's mother" or something similarly vague. On the other hand, we also had a list of interesting Leeds women who were pioneers in their own fields, but were not represented in the museum's collection.

A solution to the latter came when Yvonne Hardman, our Head of Collections, spotted the work of Katch Skinner, a ceramic artist based in Hebden Bridge. Katch Skinner was working towards her own exhibition of pottery celebrating “Women in British History”. Her aim was to challenge “the male dominance of commemorative ware and pay tribute to female trailblazers and visionaries who helped change society”. As this exhibition would be running concurrently with the Abbey House display it was not an option to borrow any of her work. However, with a small additional budget courtesy of the Arts Council, we had the chance to commission some pieces for our exhibition. Katch had already produced a piece celebrating the world champion cyclist Beryl Burton (from Morley) and was happy to produce another version for us. The other three women we chose were Dr Edith Pechey (one of the first women to train a doctor in Edinburgh, and who became the first female GP in Leeds in the 1870s), Mary Gawthorpe (a Leeds Suffragette who left her archive in the USA) and the swing-band leader Ivy Benson. This proved a lovely way to represent the women at Abbey House, but they also found their way into Katch Skinner’s own exhibition, as she created two versions of each and thus gave us a chance to pick the one we wanted. Katch also took inspiration from the Abbey House collections when she visited in 2017. Our previous exhibition (looking at Fairy Tales) had featured toy theatre characters, which gave Katch the idea to create Ivy Benson as a flat-back figure, and to include her band in a row behind.

The challenge was how to structure such a broad thematic exhibition and also how to prevent it becoming too preachy or didactic, particularly in the absence of enough individual women’s stories. We had good collections that could illustrate general themes, such as the opening up of new educational and work opportunities for women, but needed a way to interpret them in an interesting and entertaining way. Again, we were lucky to find an artist who was already working on a similar project. The feminist cartoonist Jacky Fleming had published her book “The Trouble with Women” in 2016. The Guardian review described it as a book that “runs with zany, deadpan exuberance through the story of women in history” and her witty take on rescuing women from “the dustbin of history” seemed be just what we were looking for. Fortunately Jacky Fleming lives just up the road in Otley and proved more than willing to work with us for a modest fee.

For some sections we used some of Jacky's drawings and captions verbatim as they seemed to encapsulate what we wanted to say. We also used the title image from her book as the exhibition logo – a humorous image of a woman trapped inside a very literal "domestic sphere". One of the first cases displayed an array of household appliances and supposed labour saving devices under a quotation from Jacky's book "The first women lived in a Domestic Sphere. Inside the Sphere women did things which weren't too demanding like childcare, scrubbing the floor, washing the sheets and curtains, sewing on buttons, and coalmining." Another case contained assorted items relating to education, from Victorian samplers to 20th century university gowns, which was illustrated by Jacky's illustration of an early Victorian girl listening in to her brother's lesson: "Girls who weren't servants, slaves or coalminers were too fragile for schooling, but they could always eavesdrop if they had brothers." One cartoon from the book that we had to include in our exhibition features the famous military painting titled "Scotland for Ever" by Lady Elizabeth Butler, which is a key work in Leeds Art Gallery. In Jacky's picture, a top hatted gentleman is peering at it with a magnifying glass and the caption is "Critics were quick to spot the weakness of the feminine hand once they knew who the art was by."

Jacky was also happy to revisit one of the cartoons from her earlier book "Be a bloody train driver" which came out in 1991. The original cartoon shows a boy holding a toy train under his arm while a girl operates on her doll saying "I'm going to be a brain surgeon". This seemed to be the perfect illustration for a case examining gender stereotyping in children's toys, from pink Sindy dolls to toy washing machines which work "just like mother's". Jacky redrew the cartoon for the exhibition and also allowed us to reword the caption to "Be a bloomin' train driver" for our family audience!

However, it was the opportunity to commission new drawings for the exhibition which was most exciting and rewarding. The challenge was how to articulate what we actually wanted. Some of our ideas turned out to be a little impractical. After Jacky had offered to create cut-out figures for the display cases, in addition to backdrop illustrations, I fantasised about the possibility of one of Jacky's drawings actually interacting with one of the exhibits. In particular I wanted her to draw a housewife leaning on a 1930s washing machine in despair. We tried sending some photographs to show what we wanted, but our acting skills were obviously deficient and Jacky

suggested instead that she should draw a woman holding some laundry and we had discussions about whether the resulting drawing looked just depressed or was in fact demented!

Jacky likes to work from photographs, so some of the pictures were based on archive photographs showing amongst others a First World War munitions worker, an early policewoman, a 1920s Leeds University graduate and members of the Women's Institute. Others involved a little more creativity. We wanted to include a figure of the famous Leeds suffragette Leonora Cohen. The only photographs we have of Leonora are studio images or photographs of her in later life (she lived to be 105). Her most infamous exploit (which earned her the nickname "The Tower Suffragette") had been to hurl an iron bar through a display case at the Tower of London in 1913. Jacky created a drawing of Leonora in the act of throwing the bar, something that was obviously never captured on camera at the time!

Some of the themes initially proved trickier to illustrate and we had to send photographs of colleagues acting out scenes to try and give Jacky an idea of what we were after. The case looking at Women and Health proved to be one of the most problematic. We didn't want anything too graphic, but did want to allude so some of the problems presented by women being examined only by male doctors. The resulting drawing, based on a couple of my colleagues with a table at the Leeds Discovery Centre, Jacky referred to as "The Idiot doctor". Even once we had the drawing, it took a while before we hit upon a caption that we were happy with.

One of my favourite drawings was the one that we used to illustrate "Women and Work". It shows a multi-tasking secretary using a typewriter, comptometer and telephone from the Leeds museum collections and was based on a photograph posed by Emily, one of our student volunteers. She proved that it is very difficult to type with a 1920s phone receiver wedged under your chin, but she managed to hold it long enough to pose for the photo and Jacky then transformed this into a delightful image.

Another one we had fun with was the figure of a catwalk model stumbling because of her impossible high heels, even though we were a little worried it would be misinterpreted as showing a girl on a drunken night out.

I can't promise that every collaboration between curator and artists will be as fruitful and fun as this one has been, but I would certainly recommend it for the social history curator looking for a different way to interpret the collections and in this case it certainly added the humour and wit that the exhibition needed.

Although the exhibition is now finished, the works commissioned from both artists are now part of the permanent collection as a legacy of the project and may form part of new displays that we haven't yet thought of.

The curator despairs over a 1930s washing machine

Websites:

Katch Skinner https://www.katchskinnerceramics.com/

Jacky Fleming https://www.jackyfleming.co.uk/

Benny Lynch: The little king of the Gorbals

Kevin Kerrigan

Benny Lynch training at Campsie Hills about 1935. Benny Lynch family.

On a warm September evening in 1936 on the banks of the River Clyde, 30,000 Glaswegians packed into a football stadium in their home city to watch one of the greatest boxing bouts in history. Their hero, Benny Lynch, had become World Champion exactly a year before and now faced his greatest test to hold onto his title. His opponent was Pat Palmer, a European Amateur boxing champion, and much fancied to take the title from a 'street scrapper' like Lynch, a reputation that had stuck with Lynch from his early days fighting in the boxing booths on Glasgow Green (Hamilton, 2014).

Despite the hype, Benny Lynch won in eight rounds by KO (Knockout) and established himself as the greatest Scottish boxer ever to have stepped into the ring (Brown, 2019). This was the peak of Lynch's career. A few highs did follow but they arrived in between periods of drinking, surprising defeats to lesser opponents in the ring, and several highly publicised court cases surrounding his behaviour, marriage break-up, and several altercations that led to criminal charges. Within two years of this fight in 1936 Benny Lynch was finished as a professional boxer. Soon after Benny lost his boxing license, his marriage was in decline and his father/son relationship with long-standing boxing coach and mentor, Sammy Wilson, ended acrimoniously. His health declined rapidly due to chronic alcoholism and on 6 August 1946, Benny succumbed to malnutrition and pneumonia, passing away in a Glasgow hospital. His career lasted just three years from the ages of 22 to 25. By the age of 33 he was dead, and the only memorial to his achievements was the headstone over his grave in St Kentigern's Cemetery in Glasgow. His story passed into legend and his legacy was that of a much-loved cult figure in the hearts and minds of the people of Glasgow.

But some felt that this was not enough and that he deserved more.

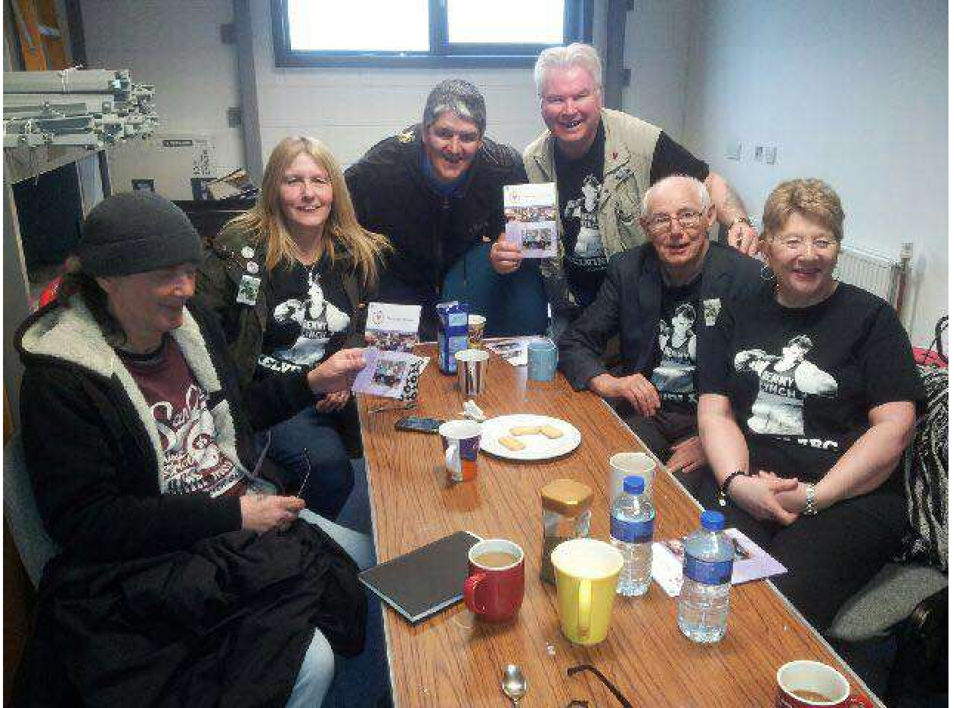
With Benny's back story in mind, we pick up things 80 years later when a chance browse through social media revealed a new grassroots campaign to raise funds to erect a statue to Benny Lynch in the city. A Facebook group with several thousand members, keenly posting stories and images from the life of Benny Lynch showed just how dearly he was still held in people's thoughts. This is where my interest and involvement with Benny Lynch began, and it also marked the beginning of what would be an incredible three-year adventure for me and a small, but active community group from the Gorbals.

My role in the Open Museum in Glasgow Museums is to engage with disparate community groups and people in the city who don't or can't use Glasgow Museums' buildings or collections for any reason. Basically, it's my job to take the museum to the community. If Mohammed won't come to the mountain, so to speak. So, when I came across the Facebook group, 'Remembering Benny Lynch' I saw an opportunity to bring our museum collections into contact with a community group and try to use these in a stimulating way with their campaign. In truth, I didn't know what to expect when I invited Lynne, Bryan and several of the other committee members into Glasgow Museums Resource Centre in the spring of 2016. But I did have a very special object to show them –the world championship trophy won by Benny Lynch at Shawfield Park in Glasgow in 1937. Benny fought for four titles and won them all between 1935–37, the last of which was this trophy. The 'Benny group' (as they became known to me) were a very active, committed core of volunteers who were passionate and incredibly knowledgeable about their subject. They had thousands of members on social media who enjoyed talking about Benny Lynch, sharing stories, pictures and even information about personal collections (more about that later), but the committee group were the hardcore 'Benny heads', the ones that drove the campaign forward, organized events and raised awareness about the statue cause. That was something that struck me the moment I sat down with them over coffee at that first meeting in the museum – just how dedicated they were and how much genuine love and affection they had for Benny Lynch. I took the small group to the store and showed them the trophy and they were in awe of it. This iconic piece that had never been on display and had been found in a box had the group enthralled and I knew then that we had to do something together.

The question was, what could we do with just one object and a small group of enthusiastic people? I met with the group over several weeks and we discussed various options, including having the trophy at events to raise awareness, taking the trophy around local schools or creating a travelling display for the trophy and touring it around venues in the city. We settled on the latter, with the condition that we put a shout out to the community to see if we could find anything else that could enhance the display and tell the story of Benny Lynch in a more interesting and varied way.

The planning stages of the project began in earnest, and it became evident from those first few meetings that the group wanted to retell the story of Benny Lynch for a new generation. By that I mean tell his story in a more balanced way to a younger audience that maybe knew about him but didn't fully appreciate the magnitude of his achievements. Ask anyone in Scotland about Benny Lynch and they will normally reply with 'It's such a shame what happened to him' or 'Such a tragic waste' or something along those lines. The point is it's often negative or focused on his downfall. The media too are at fault to an extent in nurturing this attitude. Often looking for the meaty part of the story, there have been hundreds of articles written about Lynch and it often

lingers on the darker areas of his life at the expense of the successes he had in life. It was clear that his rapid fall from grace and his alcoholism is what he is remembered for, not so much his achievements. That was a key outcome that the group wanted from this project, to change people's perspectives about Benny Lynch and present his life story (through objects) in a more balanced way. One of the things that I remember from that first meeting was Bryan Turnbull, the campaign secretary and self-appointed group historian telling me that '… a man was the sum of all his parts.' It's something I tried to keep in mind throughout this project.



The Benny Lynch campaign group at GMRC in 2016. Kevin Kerrigan.

One of the first objects to come from the community was a truly remarkable find. Sir Willie Haughey, a Gorbals man like Lynch himself, had built a career on selling refrigeration equipment to large retailers all over the world. He started a refrigeration company from modest beginnings in the Gorbals and turned it into a multinational, global company worth millions. His building, 'Caledonia House', still stands in the Gorbals today. Haughey was awarded a knighthood in 2012 and was recently awarded Scottish Entrepreneur of the Year in 2018 (Wikipedia entry, 2019). Haughey is a collector of sports memorabilia. He has been since his early days and was once on the board at Celtic Football Club. He also recently donated over £1,000,000 pounds to the Hampden regeneration project that keeps the Scotland football team at their national stadium. So, he has a passion and interest in Scottish sport that includes investing, collecting and donating to Scottish sporting ventures. A friend of a friend put me in touch with Haughey, as I heard that he may have some items relating to Benny Lynch, and I was invited to his office in the Gorbals to meet with him. I took along a member of the Benny group, Bryan, as I wanted this to be about the group discovering and collecting items rather than me chasing up objects and

telling them what I have. This is a project we do together and that was important to me. And to them.

Willie Haughey had Benny Lynch's European Championship trophy on display in his office. It was the first thing we saw when we walked in! The inscription on the trophy dated it as October 1937. It turns out it was won on the same night as the world championship trophy from the museum. A night when Benny Lynch won the British, European and World Championship. A night where everything was at stake for him and he won it all. And here we were on the brink of bringing those objects back together. Willie was happy to loan us the item and we returned a few weeks later with paperwork and collected the trophy. The moment of putting these two trophies side by side was very emotional for the Benny group members. After Benny Lynch retired from boxing and was struggling with alcoholism his possessions and personal artefacts began to disappear. We know he sold things to pay for his lifestyle. 'At the age of 25, Lynch bummed his way round Glasgow, selling his house and pawning his trophies.' (Boxing News, 2018).

We seemed to gather momentum after this. A shout out through social media brought in various programmes, tickets, photographs and fight bills. Most of this material was already out in the community, in people's lofts, wardrobes and cupboards. Precious family heirlooms passed on with stories from parents and grandparents. The one thing I learned about Benny Lynch from this project is that the people of Glasgow all wanted to own a piece of him. That wasn't necessarily an actual object such as a medal or a poster, it was often just a story. If you walked into any pub in Glasgow and mentioned Benny Lynch, someone will have a story about him. I've said several times during this process that it often feels that everyone has an ancestor that knew, sparred with or drank with Benny Lynch!

With the deadline for the travelling display looming – technician time was booked for the build, the launch date was agreed, and the touring arrangements had been made with the first few venues, we realized that although we had some nice objects for the display, we were missing the holy grail of memorabilia. Benny's gloves. Despite a shout out to the community and several leads (all dead ends) I couldn't source Benny Lynch's gloves. With said deadline looming I decided on a compromise and after discussion with the group we agreed that a pair of period boxing gloves from the collection would have to suffice and that at least we could talk about what they were made of (badger hair of all things!) and show how they looked. I discovered a pair of 1930s boxing gloves in the collection that belonged to a local boxer called Elky Clark. Elky Clark tuned out be a mentor for Benny Lynch, and I subsequently discovered several photographs where they appeared together. Clark won the Scottish, British and European Championship as a boxer between 1921-27, winning everything except the elusive World title. In 1927 he fought for the world championship and lost, losing the sight in his eye in the process and retiring after this fight (Boxing History, 2014). So, it was the next best thing to having Benny Lynch's gloves.

The display launched in June 2016 at Gorbals Library, was opened by Jim Watt and attended by all the Benny group members, press, museum staff, donors (including Willie Haughey) and members of the public. It was a great success, and it attracted a lot of interest over the coming weeks. One of the people that it interested was a local woman from the Gorbals area, who contacted me out of the blue a few weeks after the display opened to tell me her father had Benny Lynch's gloves in his house. Her dad wasn't on social media so missed the shout out for objects, but he had asked his daughter to visit the library and see the display. When he saw it, he was shocked

that we didn't have Benny's gloves, so he wanted to donate his. And of course, we took them and reorganized the display to accommodate them and now we all felt that we had a more complete collection and could tell a more interesting story. We had more 'wow' objects in the display now and for a small travelling display that people can often walk past without a glance, the more big-impact objects the better. To have Benny's gloves felt like having the final piece of the puzzle. That wasn't the only instant impact the display had. At the launch one of the group members and accomplished amateur artist, Robert Miller, had brought along an oil painting of Benny Lynch, hoping to auction it at the launch and raise money for the campaign. On seeing the painting, Willie Haughey immediately offered £5,000 and the painting was sold. When the campaign group me that first day a few months before, they had around £1,500 in funds raised and one of their main outcomes was to raise more funds for the statue, a total that needed to be £70,000. To get a donation of £5,000 on the first day of the display launch was hugely significant. It showed the power of bringing not only objects together but people together too. Benny Lynch was a great leveller in that respect, as knights of the realm mixed with taxi drivers and cleaners at the launch of his first exhibition.

From a museum point of view, the bringing together of a distributed collection was hugely important. A collection that had been kept, stored, cared for and passed on through several generations by people in the community. Not by a museum, archive or library. To see this collection of objects come together for the first time felt like we were rescuing it. I have since created a distributed collection database of Benny Lynch objects from across the world that comprises of hundreds of items, from his World Championship Lonsdale belt held by Benny's family in Canada to ringside tickets and photographs found in a man's house in Glasgow less than a mile from the museum. We now know where this distributed collection exists should we want to ever expand on the travelling display idea and create a permanent exhibition in one of our museums. Additionally, we have advised people on the storage and protection of objects so that the owners will still have them in years to come – providing people with pouches, storage boxes and folders to help keep the objects safe as well as advising best on how to handle items. This wasn't an anticipated outcome of the project but seemed like a natural step when more and more objects began to appear, the majority of which we couldn't fit in the small travelling display and people had to hold on to.

The Open Museum makes travelling displays. That's one of the main things we do. Normally we will make a display case about a subject, for example we have one about football, called 'Football Fan Bus' that tells the story of football through the eyes of Glasgow football fans from various clubs like Celtic, Rangers and Partick Thistle. We place it in a venue, and we leave it there, normally for up to three months, and then we give that venue something else. With the Benny Lynch display we wanted to do something different. To really make use of the display and draw attention to it. With that in mind the group and the museum got together and decided on a strategy of planning out a series of high impact events that would keep the display in the public eye and expose it to more people than if it was in say a local library. We installed the display in the City Chambers in Glasgow, the largest public building in the city with thousands of visitors per day going though the main hall. It proved to be a very popular exercise, with thousands of residents and tourists getting to see and enjoy the display about Benny. The feedback was very positive. On the back of this we secured a spot on the concourse of Glasgow Central Station one Saturday in October 2016. We created an event to mark Benny Lynch's return to that station from his first world title fight in Manchester when he defeated Jackie Brown to become the first Scottish world boxing champion. He returned to Glasgow Central Station from Manchester on

15 October 1935, where 50,000 people packed into the station to welcome him home. To be able to take his gloves, trophies, etc to that spot to mark that occasion was very special. It also marked a change in how the Open Museum planned events in the future. We did the same event the following year except Benny's family came over from Canada with his Ring Magazine belt and we supervised handling sessions of the object in the middle of the station. Over the two events we had around 50,000 people go through the station and at least a quarter of those stopped to look at the display or interact with us at the stall. The group also raised over £10,000.

By the end of the two-year travelling display run, we had visited almost 30 venues with the display across the city, organized over a dozen events and even managed to catch the eye of Glasgow City Council, who gave Benny Lynch a civic reception in the City Chambers. We also had dozens of television, radio and newspaper appearances, articles and interviews about the campaign but with a focus on the display. But more importantly, the group got to tell his story again, in a different way to a new audience. In doing that they also managed to raise an incredible £45,000 in two years and have recently commissioned well known Glasgow sculptor, John McKenna, to begin work on the casting of the statue. The impact the objects and the display had on all of this cannot be underestimated.

The Benny Lynch travelling display, Gorbals Library 2016. Glasgow Museums.

The run of the travelling display came to an end in January 2018 and with that the Benny Lynch project. That meant returning objects to donors, breaking up this collection and returning the championship trophy back to a box in the museum store. It felt like a very difficult thing to do after all the hard work of bringing these objects together. So, we decided not to. I put together a proposal for a permanent display at the People's Palace in Glasgow, the home of the city's social history. The People's Palace is located in Glasgow Green, the city's most central park, and just across the river from the Gorbals area of Glasgow. Interestingly, it's where Benny Lynch used to train in between fights so it was the perfect location for a display. The proposal

was accepted, and I was given three months to pull together a larger display at the People's Palace. It was a perfect space and a great location for telling the story of one of Glasgow's most legendary characters.

The challenge was to fill a much larger display case in a short period of time. Once again, the museum looked to the community to provide us with objects for the exhibition. Another shout across social media and several open days at local libraries to get to those parts of the community that don't use social media (remember the boxing gloves?) and we soon had a plethora of donations. The donations were mostly ephemera, so photographs, newspaper cuttings and some programmes. Nice objects, but nothing special. I was looking for that 'wow' object again. And once again the public delivered.

I had already been in contact with Benny Lynch's son, Bobby Lynch, who lives with his family in Canada. I worked closely with him and his family on the travelling display, particularly when writing the story about Benny's life. I wanted to make sure I gave an accurate and balanced portrayal of Benny and they helped flesh him out for me as well as guide me through the minefield of myths and anecdotes to get the truth about him. So, I had got to know them well and we had a good relationship. When I approached them to borrow Benny Lynch's Ring Magazine belt, I must admit to thinking that I would hit a brick wall. The Ring Magazine belt was awarded to any boxer who became world champion. It was regarded as a great honour to receive it and the traditions of it date back to 1922. Benny was awarded his posthumously as the practice temporarily halted in the 1930s due to the Depression, but his family were presented with the belt a few years after his death in the late 1940s. They agreed to loan me the belt and after arranging to have it couriered over to Glasgow, I put it with the other collections ready for display.

Shortly after this I received a telephone call from a man called Dougie Wilson. Dougie introduced himself as Sammy Wilson's grandson. Sammy Wilson was Benny Lynch's first manager and the person who not only discovered Benny, but saw his potential, trained him from when he was a boy and took him all the way to the world title in 1935. It was a magical relationship. They split acrimoniously shortly after winning the title over purse money, and many saw this as the beginning of the end for Lynch. Wilson wasn't just a coach, he was a mentor and a father figure to Benny.

Dougie invited me to his house to look at what he describes as a 'large amount' of his grandfather's stuff relating to Benny Lynch. It tuned out he lived less than a mile from the museum and he did indeed have a large collection of Benny Lynch material. He had two old suitcases stuffed with original photographs, newspapers, cuttings, notebooks, magazines and more. Amongst all this he only had two objects relating to Benny Lynch. One was a pocket watch that the coach and boxer gifted each other after Lynch won the British title in 1934. Benny's watch was long since gone, pawned or sold off during his later years but Sammy always kept his and passed it on to his son and grandson. It was inscribed 'To Sammy from Benny, World Champion …?' Dougie explained that the question mark was inscribed as it was before Benny won the world title, but they were so sure he would win it they had it inscribed but left the date out. A lovely insight into the relationship through an object and of the confidence they had in Benny's ability.

The star object from this visit however wasn't the pocket watch. It was a boxing contract between the manager and boxer,. signed by both, with a wax seal at the bottom. The contract was between 1934–38 and covered the period where Benny Lynch won everything in boxing. It's also the only one of its kind in existence and it

was in an old suitcase, in a wardrobe less than a mile from the museum. But then nothing surprised me anymore about this story.

I brought the collection together for the second time, rewrote the story of Benny with the new objects and a new community display was opened on June 29 2018 at the People's Palace in Glasgow. It now tells a more balanced story about Benny Lynch. It talks about his personal life, his achievements, his relationship with his manager, his problems with alcoholism and the campaign to remember him with a statue in the city.

It could not have been done without the communities of Glasgow.

The Benny Lynch display can be seen in the Welcome Room of the People's Palace in Glasgow and will be on display until December 2020.

The Benny Lynch display at the People's Palace in 2018. Glasgow Museums.

References:

Hamilton, J. (2019). BBC - A Sporting Nation - Benny Lynch crowned world champion 1935. [online] Bbc.co.uk. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/sportscotland/asportingnation/article/0089/ [Accessed 19 Feb. 2019].

Brown, S. (2019). Top 12 All-Time Best Scottish Boxers -- Alba's Greatest Ring Warriors. [online] The Fight City. Available at: https://www.thefightcity.com/top-12-all-time-greatest-scottish-boxers-jim-watt-tancy-lee-benny-lynch-alexis-arguello-ricky-burns-scotland/ [Accessed 19 Feb. 2019].

En.wikipedia.org. (2019). Willie Haughey. [online] Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willie_Haughey [Accessed 19 Feb. 2019].

Staff, B., (2019). On This Day: The heartbreaking tale of Benny Lynch ends at just 33 years old - Boxing News. [online] Boxing News. Available at: http://www.boxingnewsonline.net/on-this-day-the-heartbreaking-tale-of-benny-lynch-ends-at-just-33-years-old/ [Accessed 19 Feb. 2019].

Boxinghistory.org.uk. (2019). Boxer Elky Clark Glasgow. [online] Available at: http://www.boxinghistory.org.uk/Boxer_Elky_Clark_Glasgow.htm [Accessed 19 Feb. 2019].

Anon, (2019). [online] Available at: http://boxrec.com/media/index.php/Category:The_Ring_Magazine_Champions Ring Magazine [Accessed 19 Feb. 2019].

BBC News. (2019). The rise and fall of the people's champion. [online] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-39051536 [Accessed 19 Feb. 2019].

Bibliography / Research

Burrowes, J. (1982). Benny Lynch. Edinburgh: Mainstream Pub.

Bryden, B. (1975). Benny Lynch. Edinburgh: Southside (Publishers) Ltd.

Engaging new audiences at Newstead Abbey

Simon Brown

Newstead Abbey is a historic house in north Nottinghamshire, in the historic Sherwood Forest. It has been administered by Nottingham City Museums and Galleries (NCMG) since 1931. The house is known all over the world as the ancestral home of the poet Lord Byron, one of the most remarkable figures in 19th century Europe. It is chiefly this connection that brings many thousands of visitors each year.

The building was founded as Newstead Priory, an Augustinian religious house, by Henry II in 1163. The residents were not monks, but canons – essentially ordained priests living communally. There were around a dozen living at Newstead at any one time. After the dissolution of the monasteries, Henry VIII granted Newstead to Sir John Byron in 1540, who renamed his new home Newstead Abbey. This commenced nearly 300 years of ownership by the Byron family. Successive generations of Byrons furnished, renovated and extended the building, culminating in Newstead's most famous resident of all: George Gordon, the sixth Lord Byron and tenth generation of the family to live there.

This connection is by far the most important in Newstead's history. But Lord Byron's story is just one of many over 800 years at Newstead. It is also one of the shortest, as he lived there for only a short period of his life, and Newstead was an almost total ruin in that time.

In 2017 and 2018, Newstead embarked on a project to interpret the history and relationships centred on the man who bought the house from Byron: Thomas Wildman.

Wildman had been at school with Byron at Harrow. He was in many ways completely

opposite to him: an upstanding man of society, who served at Waterloo, happily married for the majority of his life, and who held important political positions in Nottingham. He was widely respected as a gentleman. Wildman purchased Newstead from Byron in 1818, and remained there until his death 40 years later. In that time he spent his entire fortune on purchasing and refurbishing the house. He made extensive alterations and refurbishments, as the house was in an almost ruinous state during Byron's ownership. The house we see today is physically as much Wildman's house as any previous owner.

Wildman brings to Newstead a direct connection with the transatlantic slave trade. His father (also Thomas) owned a sugar plantation on the Quebec estate in Jamaica. This was worked by over 300 enslaved African people at any given time. Wildman inherited the plantation on his father's death, along with his fortune. He continued to benefit from the profits of the plantation. He went on to receive compensation from the Government at the abolition of the slave trade in 1833. All of this money was invested in purchasing Newstead and renovating it. These renovations were extensive. Lord Byron had inherited Newstead as a ruin, and could only afford to refurbish five out of around forty rooms. Wildman refurbished and extended the whole house.

In 2016, this history was not stated in any written interpretation in the house. The house guides knew of the connection, and it was openly discussed on guided tours. There was also a sentence in the house tour leaflet. This was the extent of the engagement, and this was how I found the connection being described when I was appointed curator at Newstead in April 2017.

Nottingham City Museums and Galleries had been approached by the University of Nottingham in late 2016. The University had been awarded a grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council to research connections between stately homes

and the slave trade across the country. This was with the aim of furthering work done at University College London, who had developed a database of all recipients of compensation money in 1833.

Academics at the University had already contributed to the book Slavery and the British Country House, released through English Heritage. The grant was to work with the community to produce a creative response to the research. The University had engaged Bright Ideas, a community agency in Nottingham, to facilitate that group. The proposal was that Newstead would be the permanent home of this creative response.

This was a very exciting project to start my new post at Newstead. It would bring a new perspective on the house, as well as new partnerships. It could also serve as a learning process for me. I was keen that Newstead could be part of a new way of engaging previously overlooked histories.

At the outset of the project, Bright Ideas engaged the group of volunteers to work with us. The group were mainly Afro-Caribbean people from Nottingham, who were interested in acknowledging the enforced work of their ancestors, which directly benefitted places like Newstead. We held a series of workshops to discuss the history and what we can do to represent it here. The group liked the connection with Byron, and the history of the house as a muse for poetry. One element the group loved was the tomb of Boatswain, Lord Byron's favourite dog. Boatswain died in 1808, and was buried in an elaborate tomb which remains one of the most visited areas of the gardens. Byron's lengthy epitaph includes a line that Boatswain was 'never debased by slavery'.

With this in mind, the group decided to add to this legacy by collectively writing a poem. We have worked in the past with a wonderful poet in Nottingham called Michelle Hubbard, so we decided to engage her to facilitate a workshop. Michelle gathered the group's words and wrote a powerful poem from that.

This was a welcome development, and coincided with the genesis of a separate project. At this point in time NCMG was awarded a grant from the Wolfson fund, which facilitates work in historic sites and museums to make them more accessible, in every sense of the word. This project was to develop two ground floor rooms at Newstead as an introduction to the site, particularly for visitors unable to visit the rooms beyond the ground floor.

The new gallery would be a wonderful repository for the poem, to embed it as part of a space that told the whole stretch of Newstead's history. The group were keen that their contribution should be a permanent part of the interpretation, in the context of the site's whole story.

When this development was put to the group at the next workshop in September, it was decided to make the poem into a film. This would help us meet Wolfson's requirements for accessibility too, as we could have it BSL interpreted. This was eventually how we concluded the project, working with the acclaimed director Shawn Sobers.

We were fortunate in many ways that we were able to complete this project. The motivations for carrying out the project are clear, in that it gave us an opportunity to represent a previously untold history at Newstead. Through this we could engage a group who felt they were not represented in the museum. The project provided us with a vehicle for giving a creative response to a difficult history, using the voices of our audience. We also had the opportunity to make new partnerships and work with new creative people, including Shawn Sobers and Michelle Hubbard. We were lucky that we were in contact with them, and knew their work to be high quality.

I was conscious throughout the project that my own voice – that of a white curator - is not the appropriate one to reflect on the connection between Newstead and slave money. The history of the transatlantic slave trade continues to be the context for institutional racism and racial inequalities, which continue to affect many people every day. This project allowed us to engage a group of creative, passionate people, who were able to give a personal response to the history of the site. This has enabled us to make tiny steps in the right direction.

Simon Brown is curator at Newstead Abbey, a historic house in Nottingham most famous as the home of Lord Byron. He is also a project curator at the National Justice Museum, a museum dedicated to engagement with justice and the law, housed in Nottingham's historic county gaol.

Simon's background is in front of house and collections work in museums. He has worked in schools programmes and as an exhibition install technician. He has managed Access Artefacts, Nottingham's handling collection, and has been a curator of social history and world cultures for Nottingham City Museums and Galleries.

Simon is a board member of the Museums Association. He has written for Museums Journal, the SHCG Newsletter, and various other publications. He is on the steering group for Culture Now, a platform for mid-career museum professionals, and co-hosts their regular podcast.

REFERENCES

AHRC ahrc.ukri.org

Newstead Abbey www.newsteadabbey.org.uk

Film on youtube www.youtube.com/watch?v=eos2yZxuYmY

Slavery and the British Country House https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/slavery-and-british-country-house/

Wolfson Fund www.wolfson.org.uk/funding

Creating a (s)hit show: What I learnt from curating Fatberg!

Vyki Sparkes, Curator of Social and Working History, Museum of London

Fatberg

Noun - *British*

A very large mass of solid waste in a sewerage system, consisting especially of congealed fat and personal hygiene products that have been flushed down toilets.

Origin - *Early 21st century: from **fat** and **iceberg**.*

Taking a closer look at the Whitechapel fatberg, part of the Fatberg! Display. ©Museum of London.

This article outlines the curation of the Fatberg! display at the Museum of London which ran from 9th February to 1st July 2018. After sharing the project's ambitious objectives, challenging timeframes and material, I detail the unprecedented press and public responses to the display. I then explore the project's main curatorial, conservation and collection care challenges, and outline the conservation and collection care team's ground-breaking work concerning the preservation and handling practices for this novel (to the museum sector at least) museum object. I conclude with reflections on what I have learnt from the critical and popular success of Fatberg!

The 'Monster of Whitechapel'

In September 2017, during routine checks, London sewer workers made a shocking discovery. Growing underneath Whitechapel streets was the largest fatberg ever found in the UK – over 250 metres long, and weighing an estimated 250 tonnes.[1] At the press conference announcing its discovery, two museum staff asked a simple yet mind boggling question: would it be possible for the Museum of London to have some for display? [2]

The story of this gross discovery and its almost unbelievable interest as a museum object, combined to create a powerful narrative that gripped people around the world. Within months, Thames Water research found that the Whitechapel fatberg had over 500 million Twitter impressions and that two thirds of Londoners are now aware of fatbergs.[3]

My entry into the fatberg story comes a short while later, when in November 2018 senior management looked to appoint a curator for the imminent display. At that point the museum had no contemporary collecting curator, and as curator of the incredibly varied 'social and working history' collection, I was probably the closest in remit. I had a rare opening in my work schedule, and a terrible habit of never saying no. It was a huge challenge, which I immediately accepted.

The brief and the curatorial challenge

The overall objectives for the fatberg display were concise and clear. It should increase visitor numbers, generate significant press and public interest and explore the challenges of urban living in a surprising and compelling way. It would form part of the museum's City Now City Future season, a combination of displays and events looking at the challenges of urban living. It was adamantly not to be a historical show.

Like many London attractions, the museum's visitor numbers had dropped after a series of terrorist attacks in the capital. To help mitigate these figures, the display had to open before the February half term,[4] traditionally our busiest week of the year. Time was against us. From the initial project meeting to the scheduled opening, leaving aside the somewhat inconvenient Christmas break, this would give us only seven full weeks.

However, it wasn't until I found out the size of the star exhibits – the fatberg samples set aside for the museum – that I realised how challenging the brief actually was. All that was left of the Whitechapel fatberg were two chunks, one shoebox sized and another which had crumbled into fragments. These had originally been intended as the test samples, as the museum investigated how to conserve a larger piece. But during the drying out period, the rest of the Whitechapel fatberg had been removed and destroyed. There was simply no more fatberg for us to display.

In the parlance of the Great British Bake Off, I was expected to create a show-stopping display with a small shoe box-sized amount of sewage. Which had just hatched flies in our store. The world's media were hungry, and the countdown was on.

FATBERG! – THE SUCCESSES

Fatberg! at the Museum of London Credit: ©Museum of London.

The resulting display, called Fatberg! opened on 6th February 2018. Despite its meagre 50m2 footprint, it quickly became our most talked about museum display ever, with over 1,400 pieces of coverage (and counting).[5] Our press preview saw over 50 news crews report on radio, television and print, helping create a record breaking week for media coverage with nearly 500 articles mentioning the museum. It featured prominently on international news, capturing the imagination of millions of people globally. Media interest was not limited to the opening, with the press reporting: the changes to the samples whilst on display; our visitors' creative responses; that we were thinking about acquiring it; the confirmation of its acquisition and the creation of a 24/7 live stream 'fatcam' when the samples went into storage after the display. Media highlights include the New York Times, ITV, CBS, Sky News, ABC Australia, Al Jazeera, every UK national paper, and, I would even go so far to say, every BBC news outlet. There was even a fatberg themed Thought for the Day. In monetary terms, the Advertising Value Equivalent of fatberg coverage for the museum, from the discovery in September 2017 to January 2019, is calculated at well over £9 million.[6] And it wasn't just traditional media that went crazy for Fatberg! – on Twitter alone, it was estimated that the fatberg was mentioned over 2 billion times before the display had closed.[7]

Fatberg! helped the museum out enormously during a very difficult time, crucially contributing to the museum ending the year ahead of its visitor targets. Of course, our other excellent displays and events also played a key role in bringing people in, including the newly opened *Votes for Women*. We do not count visitor numbers to free temporary displays such as *Fatberg!* as standard, but, according to exit interviews conducted during the exhibition, 42% of visitors (equating to 117,000 people) specifically recalled the *Fatberg!* display. Analysis of visitor numbers comparing the four financial quarters prior to *Fatberg!* Opening, with the two quarters including the

display shows a very significant uplift – an increase of just over 66,000 in total. A combination of a high percent recall from visitor surveys, extensive media coverage, Fatberg merchandise sales and positive visitor feedback lead us to estimate that *Fatberg!* drove 30-40,000 museum visits.[8]

What struck me most from my visits on the opening weekends was how *Fatberg!* literally created a buzz, an energy and inquisitive spirit that flowed from its position at the entrance through the rest of the displays. I heard so much laughter and conversation it made me realise how absent these are from a typical museum visit.

The museum received an unprecedented number of creative responses to *Fatberg!*, all directly inspired by the display. We know of numerous poems[9] and several children's short stories. There are now two fatberg-themed drag acts[10], one of whom paid weekly 'pilgrimage' to the fatberg whilst on display (we politely declined their offer to perform during its de-installation). A family musical 'Flushing Fatbergs' is currently in development.[11] Some of the museum's 'Team Fatberg!' also got in on the act, five of us performing an unforgettable (and unrepeatable) Museum Showoff set, involving an excellent Beastie Boys parody.[12] But my favourite response is one worthy of our Great British Bake Off analogy:

'Ethan Cox begged his mum to make him a fatberg cake for his 10th birthday after seeing the display. It had chocolate peanut butter icing, raisins for the flies that hatched shortly after Fatberg went on show—and even a chocolate wrapper poking out just like the real thing. But it sadly caught fire when the birthday candles were lit'.[13]

The calibre of these creative responses suggests that the display had successfully started that 'difficult conversation', and it was incredibly rewarding to see the subject matter take on a literal life of its own.

Legacy

Fatberg! the display may be gone, but it certainly isn't forgotten. The incredible public reactions to the samples helped argue them into the museum's permanent collection. Initially I had been sceptical about their long term value but, as I wrote in their successful acquisition proposal, during the display they proved themselves 'to be very powerful museum objects' that had 'become an iconic part of the Museum's institutional history'. Time will tell how accurate my prediction is that the display 'will be referred to by the general public and museologists for decades to come'.[14]

Fatberg is no ordinary museum object, demanding the limelight even in storage. Following the suggestion of the museum's director, the larger of the newly acquired samples had a camera fitted to its case in quarantine. It can now be seen live, anytime, anywhere via its livestream channel on Youtube - to date, this has had around 100,000 viewers worldwide, some of whom spend up to ten minutes watching the now somewhat mouldy fatberg.[15]

Serious academic interest in the display continues to be shown, from areas as diverse as museology, architecture, design, and the history of public health.[16] I have spoken on Fatberg as part of a panel on 'Curated Decay' at FutureFest 2018[17] , with a forthcoming session at New Scientist Live 2019. At least two PhD students have made *Fatberg!* a central element of their thesis, one of which investigates museums and the Anthropocene.[18] It is the focus of one Masters dissertation on Transcultural Studies[19], and a whole course unit collaboration with the Royal College of Art's School of Architecture.

The museum is now considered to hold an expertise in fatbergs, as repeated references to the display in the coverage of the recently discovered Sidmouth fatberg demonstrates.[20]

Our Conservation and Collection Care team are now world experts on the emerging science of fatberg preservation, presenting findings at international conferences in the Netherlands and Belfast. We have had numerous enquiries about the samples availability for loans, although none have progressed further as yet. And, as this article goes to press, *Fatberg!* has been shortlisted in two Museum and Heritage Awards 2019 categories: Best Temporary or Touring Exhibition and Best Partnership.[21]

Whichever way you measure it, *Fatberg!* was an 'undoubted triumph'.[22] Despite the near impossible brief, the team managed to create something truly worthy of a Paul Hollywood double handshake. How?

Curatorial considerations

I had five main considerations in mind while developing the *Fatberg!* display:

1. **Hold a conversation**

   Museum displays are often a result of months of in-depth research undertaken by specialists. They are the full stop, the coda, the final word on the subject. Putting fatberg on display was the perfect way to start a difficult conversation, about the detrimental impact of our habits on our city's (and cities') infrastructures. I saw the role of the museum not to tell people how to behave, but rather to reflect how we live, and raise questions. To avoid hectoring, I devised a positive narrative arc, including reference to how fatbergs can be converted into biodiesel - although clearly it is more efficient to not create them in the first place. I took a deliberate stance of collective responsibility, rather than focusing on Whitechapel - fatbergs have occurred in many parts of the city and, indeed, the world. When we started working on the display, there was still much that we did not know about the fatberg – what it was made of, how long it would take to deteriorate, or whether we would add it to our permanent collection after the display. I decided to be completely open about this, treating the display as a 'live experiment' to test whether the samples were suitable for longer term preservation.

2. **Acknowledge people's first reactions**

   Within the proliferation of tweets about the Whitechapel fatberg, there was a near universal response – that of the green face or vomiting emoji. To avoid creating a dry display, I had to take as a starting point these visceral responses of 'fascination and disgust', as I deliberately refer to them in almost every press release and media interview. (Or, to take a Simpson's reference, 'gross, but strangely compelling'). This dichotomy became a central organising principle of the design. The samples were sectioned off from the main content, allowing those who were fascinated to learn more about the fatberg, without alienating those who found it repulsive. The strong urge to know what fatbergs smell like also demanded acknowledgement. The fatberg was displayed within a specially sealed unit, so no particles, and therefore scent, would escape. Rather than use an artificial smell, I incorporated an outlandish quote comparing it to 'rotting meat mixed with the odour of a smelly toilet'. Hyperbolic quotes from Thames Water employees, writ large on the exhibition walls, were a great way of sharing emotive responses, allowing the text panels to have a more factual tone. It's interesting that the display still triggered sensory

responses - one visitor was adamant they 'could still smell it when I went in there, it seems very musty, and it was almost like I could smell the fatberg as it appeared, as it was, when they excavated it - and it was quite disgusting'.[23]

3. Say something new

The hundreds of newspaper articles already in existence about the Whitechapel fatberg boiled down to the same key points: what a fatberg is, when the Whitechapel one was discovered, its size and that a museum wanted to display some of it. A little later, articles began to include how long it took to destroy the Whitechapel fatberg, and that some had been turned into biodiesel. I wanted to move the story on, adding something new to the conversation, in part to avoid a vacuous Ripley's 'Believe it or not!' style display. My main focus was the ground-breaking conservation work being undertaken by the museum. By highlighting the risks of working with this potentially deadly material I also hoped it would allay any disappointment with the size of the samples. If people understood how deadly even small pieces of sewage could be, and the sheer amount of work needed to put a fatberg on display for the first time, I hoped I could invoke wonder rather than dismay.

4. Answer the questions people already have

In the deluge of social media responses to the initial press announcements, people mainly expressed questions, including the very legitimate one of why on earth a museum would want to collect a fatberg. These responses helped me quickly define the key messages of the display as well as the interpretive format. Most of our five exhibition text panels deliberately took the questions and answers approach, namely: 'What is a 'fatberg'?'; 'Why collect a fatberg?'; 'Can we collect a fatberg?' and 'Can't you get more fatberg?' Whilst working on the interpretive film, a quick appeal for Fatberg-related questions on social media directly shaped the final content. For example, in our exhibition film Collection Care Manager, Andy Holbrook, describes the fatberg as feeling 'lighter than you imagine… like pumice stone', directly answering a question I had received just the night before filming.

5. Put on a show

I knew this display was not a newspaper article, or a book on a wall - it was a show, and like every great one, it needed some drama to it. The samples may have been small, but the story was massive, and I had to convey that in 3D form. My unofficial personal motto of the time was the rather naff but ultimately effective 'go big, or go home'. I came up with outlandish ideas to visually extend the fatberg, from sewer like structures stretching the length of the galleries, to mirrored cases like Victorian illusions. Consultant 3D designer Paul Tansey helped us translate these principles into a workable, but still ambitious, exhibition design. The exhibition space was completely redesigned, knocking through into what was then a crammed store cupboard to create a separate, but adjoining room to host the fatberg samples. This enclosed space with its dark wall colours created a sewer-like feel, and allowed for more intimate viewing of the samples. Our in-house 2D designer, Jayne Davis, created a bold, brash design which incorporated visual references to hazard signage and sewer walls. Ambitions were not tempered around the content either. Sewer workers' uniform was loaned to help create a screen/attractor to the display, despite the amount of work it created for our registrar, collection movement, conservation and collection care teams. Despite time pressures, we also pressed ahead with an exhibition film. We didn't have time to develop a storyboard, but with our external filming company TNR we managed to create a compelling film within

10 days from first shoot to final edit[24], exploring the fascinating and potentially risky work undertaken by our conservation team.

Taming the Monster of Whitechapel: the conservation approach

Displaying a fatberg was a world-first. Fatbergs are usually removed and destroyed, and nobody had tried to preserve or exhibit one before. The risks of working with sewage are well documented . Handled incorrectly, even small amounts of fatberg could kill, from lethal bacteria which can cause life-threatening conditions such as Weil's Disease or hepatitis. Additionally, fatbergs emit hydrogen sulphide and carbon monoxide, both toxic and flammable gases.

Our Conservation and Collection Care team are very experienced in managing hazardous collections, including asbestos and radiation, but had never encountered a completely unknown material like fatberg. There were no conservation precedents to draw upon, and it was unclear what exactly we were dealing with, even what we should compare it to. For example, would it be more like a candle, and be at risk of melting at high display temperatures, or was it more stable, like a bar of soap?

To consider the best method to stabilise the fatberg, the team looked at organic matter in contemporary art. Preserving in formaldehyde, like a Damian Hirst cow, would likely dissolve the sewage and create a toxic, wet mess. We did not have the infrastructure to keep the samples frozen, the method used to preserve Self, Marc Quinn's self-portrait cast from his own blood. In the end, the team opted for air-drying, whilst Thames Water monitored the emissions of the samples for toxic gases conservation.[26] But even dried, the samples continue to misbehave, with the larger sample unexpectedly hatching flies in store.

Safe handling, storage and display procedures had to be developed from scratch. Each sample was stored in a box, inside a box, inside a third box. Only trained staff members have access to the quarantine area where the samples are stored, and they have to wear full protective clothing including a Tyvek suit, mask and goggles. Our technicians created specially sealed units to house the samples, so that nothing could escape into the display showcases.

The larger sample of the Whitechapel Fatberg inside its specially sealed unit. Note the condensation on the side of the case. Credit: ©Museum of London.

To find out whether the samples contained sharp items disposed of in the sewer system, such as needles, we needed to X-ray them. Even working out the correct exposure took trial and error - our Conservation Manager Helen Ganiaris tested different exposure lengths with a bar of soap and a Tupperware box of goose fat, both brought from home. Fortunately our samples do not contain anything sharp, and the surprisingly beautiful X-ray images added much to the display and interpretive film.

To get a better understanding of the chemical make-up of our fatberg, we sent some for scientific analysis to Dr Raffaella Villa, Reader in Applied Microbiology and Biotechnology at Cranfield Water Science Institute. The results showed that our fatberg was mainly fats, rather than wipes, and that the fats came not only from cooking but also from beauty products such as conditioners.[27]

The final conservation decision which really strengthened the interpretation was made not before, but after the display opening. During the opening weeks of *Fatberg!*, much to the delight of the world's press and our visitors, the larger sample again hatched flies. It also visibly 'sweated' condensation, and changed appearance. The Conservation and Collection Care team and I took the decision not to dry out the condensation through installing silica gel, but instead to monitor and share our findings through our online 'Fatberg diaries'.[28] The display was intended to test the suitability of the samples for longer term preservation. Our visitors were fascinated by the very obvious and unexpected changes occurring right in front of their eyes. It not only added drama to the display but also reinforced the message that fatbergs are unusual, unpredictable and potentially dangerous materials. FatCam now documents the changes to the samples when off display – we have seen the larger sample grow visible mould, identified as aspergillus.

WHAT *FATBERG!* TAUGHT ME

The Museum of London is currently in a process of transformation, as we prepare to not only move to, but also become, a new museum. During this process, senior management have been reflecting on our successes, including *Fatberg!* Whilst the lasting legacy of this display on our museum culture is yet to be seen, here are the thoughts I have shared with staff internally:

- **To do something different you need to work differently**

  Fatberg was a new material, subject, approach, and space for the museum. Without time for testing different iterations, we only had one chance to make an impact. The project embraced risks, even though personally I knew this also meant embracing a strong chance of failure. Everyone in the team had a clear role and mandate, and there was little time for their contribution to be revised. Although the feedback of others was sought as required, decision making was streamlined - the ultimate say on exhibition content came down to just two people, myself and the Project Champion. I firmly believe that this small, empowered working group created the energy and clear voice that flowed into the final display.

- **Go to press early, and often**

  The early media interest from September 2017 onwards provided plentiful social media responses. These proved a rich resource to help develop the curatorial key messages, approach and content. In previous exhibition projects I've been involved with, the press are the last to be informed, but having access to public opinion throughout the creative process was invaluable.

- **First: write your text**

Never before have I written interpretation on the first day of an exhibition project. Whilst the questions and answer text panels underwent several revisions, they changed remarkably little in format. Having text from the very start meant the key messages of the display could be shared with all team members, and informed key media messages during interviews.

- **Use skills from across the organisation**

As with all exhibitions, it takes people from across numerous departments to make them happen. *Fatberg!* however tapped into skills within the organisation in a way that had not been done before. When you have to move so quickly, you have to open your eyes to alternative solutions. The much-praised accompanying merchandise was based on a lunchtime doodle by our stock controller. And when our filming company were deemed too expensive, we put together an internal team instead to capture footage of the biodiesel conversion process, another first for the museum.

- **Serious can be playful too**

The display approached a serious topic in a light-hearted, engaging way, yet carried enough weight to be of serious academic interest. When we raise questions, in whatever tone we think is appropriate, our audiences will be able to reach their own conclusions. As shown by the myriad of creative responses received, these can be even more wonderful than we imagined.

- **It's ok to say you don't know**

By making it clear that we didn't know if the fatberg was suitable for permanent preservation, we created space for the discussions about its acquisition to be played out in the public domain. We embraced the unexpected, openly sharing the flies, mould growth and sweating witnessed during the display. This not only gave insight into the processes of conservation, but also kept people engaged with the display as a 'live experiment'.

I hope this article offers useful insight into how our curatorial practice can be adapted to create a quick turnaround populist show with real merit. So, when work hands you sewage, go create your own (s)hit show.

References

[1] Thames Water (2017) 'Monster fatberg longer than two Wembley football pitches clogging up Whitechapel sewer' [online] *Thames Water*. Available at https://corporate.thameswater.co.uk/Media/News-releases/Monster-fatberg-longer-than-two-Wembley-football-pitches-clogging-up-Whitechapel-sewer [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019]

[2] The idea of collecting a fatberg was first discussed by the Museum's Director, Sharon Ament, and the Chief Curator, Alex Werner, in 2013 after the discovery of the Kingston-Upon-Thames fatberg. However, the museum did not act quick enough to secure any. This laid the seed of collecting a fatberg, and demonstrated the need for the museum to act quicker in future.

[3] Burton, A; Berry, S; Muncaster, G; and Asser, H (2017) *Customer Impact of the Whitechapel Fatberg Story*, Internal report, Thames Water. Unpublished.

[4] Powell, T (26 December 2017) 'Central London tourism plummeted amid 2017 terror attacks, industry bosses reveal', Evening Standard. Available at https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/central-london-tourism-plummeted-amid-2017-terror-attacks-industry-bosses-reveal-a3726976.html [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

[5] Balcombe, K (17 Jan. 2019) RE: M+H Awards 2019 - *Fatberg!* [email].

[6] AVE from September 2017 to 15 January calculate at £9,091,690.73. Balcombe, K (15 Jan. 2019) RE: M+H Awards 2019 - *Fatberg!* [email].

[7] ICON (2018) Spotlight: Conserving a monster [online] https://icon.org.uk/news/spotlight-conserving-a-monster [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

[8] Sweet, R and Williams, R (29 Jan. 2019) RE: Last chance for comments: M+H Awards Best temporary exhibition entry - *Fatberg!* [email].

[9] For examples of poems known to be inspired by *Fatberg!* see Drake, N 'Stranger Things', in Out of Range (Hexham: Bloodaxe Books Ltd, 2018); Pletts, H (2018) 'The Monster London Fatberg' [online] ink sweat and tears. Available at http://www.inksweatandtears.co.uk/pages/?p=16392 [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019]; also Pletts, H (2018) 'Plastic', [poem]. Shortlisted for the Bridport Prize 2018. Unpublished.

[10] For Miss Hernia see https://www.instagram.com/misshernia/?hl=en [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019] and for Timberlina see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zg6pRChSpfo&=&feature=youtu.be [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019]

[11] Moore-Bridger, B (3 May 2018) 'London's giant fatberg to become subject of new musical', Evening Standard. Available at https://www.standard.co.uk/go/london/theatre/londons-giant-fatberg-to-become-subject-of-new-musical-a3830261.html [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

[12] We later recorded a version of the song, see Fox, B; Holbrook, A; Ramage, D; Robinson-Calver, S and Sparkes, V (2018) 'Into the Fatberg Territory' [online]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wez1Y1RVIiY [Accessed 10. Feb 2019].

[13] Brooke, M (27 Jun. 2018) 'Whitechapel's sewage 'fatberg' at Museum of London inspires kids' comic, birthday cake and drag acts' The Docklands and East London Advertiser. Available at https://www.eastlondonadvertiser.co.uk/news/environment/whitechapel-s-sewage-fatberg-at-museum-of-london-inspires-kids-comic-birthday-cake-and-drag-acts-1-5580032 [Accessed 12 Feb. 2019].

[14] Sparkes, V (2018) Acquisition Proposal PR516: Whitechapel fatberg samples. Internal report, Museum of London. Unpublished.

[15] Museum of London (2018) 'FatCam! Watch fatberg in real time' Museum of London Discover Blog [online]. Available at https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/fatcam-watch-fatberg-live [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

[16] Chinneck, S (2018) 'A Revealing Look at London Sewer's Obesity Problem' Health and History, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 122–127. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5401/healthhist.20.2.0122.

[17] Buser, M, DeSilvey, C; and Sparkes, V (2018) 'Curated decay' [talk], chaired by Harrison, R. See https://www.futurefest.org/curated-decay [accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

[18] For a synopsis of the approach of one of these PhD students, see Thorsson B (2018), 'When matter becomes a monster: Examining Anthropocenic Objects in Museums in Museological Review: Museums of the Future Issue 22, pp44-53.

[19] Kung, K (7 Sep. 2018) Subject: Ref 18-2350 Contact us Form Submission [email].

[20] For example, see Belam, M (9 Jan. 2019) 'Don't feed the fatberg: what not to flush', The Guardian. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/shortcuts/2019/jan/09/dont-feed-the-fatberg-what-not-to-flush [Accessed 10. Feb 2019].

[21] Museums and Heritage Show and Awards (2019) '2019 Shortlist' Museums and Heritage Awards [online]. Available at https://awards.museumsandheritage.com/awards-2019/ [Accessed 19 Mar. 2019]. Winners announced in May 2019, after this article goes to print.

[22] Moss, S (18 Feb. 2018) 'Don't feed the fatberg! What a slice of oily sewage says about modern life', The Guardian. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/feb/18/dont-feed-fatberg-museum-london-clogging-sewers-oil [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

[23] Interview with museum visitor Cathy Holder. The Quartz (2018) The Museum of London's fatberg [film]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CYCuESfmluc [Accessed 12 Feb 19].

[24] Museum of London (2018) Fatberg! on display at Museum of London 9 February - 1 July 2018 [film]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cqaExHig1yw [Accessed 12 Feb. 19].

[25] See Health and Safety Executive (2011) Working with sewage The health hazards: A guide for employer [online] http://www.hse.gov.uk/pubns/indg198.pdf [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

[26] For further information about fatberg preservation methods, see Robinson-Calver, S (12 Dec. 2017) 'Putting Fatberg on display' Museum of London Discover Blog [online]. Available at https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/putting-fatberg-display [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

[27] Cranfield Water Science Institute (2018) Fatberg Analysis. Museum of London, internal report, Cranfield Water Science Institute. Unpublished.

[28] Museum of London (2018) 'The Fatberg Diaries' and 'The Fatberg Diaries – Updated' Museum of London Discover Blog [online]. Available at https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/fatberg-diaries [Accessed 10 Feb. 2019].

Social History in Museums

Edited by Amy Rowbottom and Jessie Petheram

Contents

2017 Conference Papers

Tony Butler — **Keynote:** 'Changing Tides'

Claire Frampton — **Developing Museum Audiences Through Theatre:** Performance in museums and galleries which engages with migration and cultural identity

Adrienne Wallman — **Beyond the Family Tree:** Using genealogy to explore cultural identity

2018 Conference Papers

Isabelle Lawrence — **Faith, Hope and Fear:** Interpreting the human experience of medicine and health at the Science Museum

Kitty Ross — **The Trouble with Women Artists**

Kevin Kerrigan — **Benny Lynch:** The little king of the Gorbals

Simon Brown — **Engaging new audiences at Newstead Abbey**

Collecting and Interpreting Collections

Vyki Sparks — **Creating a (S)hit show**

Design and print by www.nickdrewdesign.co.uk

ISSN 1350-9551

FSC www.fsc.org MIX Paper from responsible sources FSC® C092690