Group for Regional Studies in Museums

ANNUAL STUDY WEEKEND & AGM
EDINBURGH 1981

20th Century Collecting
Friendly Societies
Sport and Museums
Historic Vegetable Garden
Edinburgh Conference 1981: Papers
Bibliographies

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Cover illustration; Johnnie Dowie's Tavern off the Royal Mile Edinburgh; the most famous Edinburgh tavern of the 18th century, visited by Robert Burns (and later named after him as in this engraving) and a meeting place for the major Scottish intellectual figures of the period.

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GRSM members should be encouraged by recent developments in specialist training within our broad field of social history/folk-life. This Group has been concerned for some time that there were serious gaps in the specialist training available, both in formal courses leading to the Diploma and in the irregular meetings and practical sessions organised by the GRSM, Area Museum Services and other professional bodies. This gap yawned widest in the area of artefact based studies, for which first degree courses fail to provide. A GRSM working party was formed to look into the problem and following consultations with the staff of the Museum Studies Dept., Leicester, and professional colleagues, proposals have been made which should help diploma students and holders alike in gaining a broader and firmer grounding in their subject.

The GRSM had hoped that more time could have been made for specialist subjects in both the graduate certificate and the two short diploma courses at Leicester. It is felt at Leicester however that this could not be done without diluting the inter-disciplinary approach to curatorial practice which has long been the ethos of the Dept. of Museum Studies This has thrown the responsibility for direction in specialist training back on to diploma tutors. Ultimately the training of curators must achieve a balance between museological theory and the accumulated experience of professional curators. For their part, Leicester are hoping to introduce in 1983 occasional week-long specialist courses and in the past year the staff there have made considerable progress towards offering an introduction to social history in the History Option course, the syllabus of which is included in this Journal.

Meanwhile, inspired by the programme of social history seminars announced in **GRSM News 2**, the GRSM Working Party is moving towards a parallel series of seminars, covering both the techniques of research and the collection and management of artefacts. A seminar organiser will be appointed at the next AGM and a programme of both nationally based and regional meetings, seminars and practical sessions is envisaged. The GRSM is also proposing changes in the diploma regulation to offer students a better chance to indicate their specialist knowledge. Perhaps the most constructive aspect that has emerged from the discussions over training is the attempt to define the subject range necessary within the title 'social historian'. In a similar fashion the new Social History and Industrial Classification reported in this journal should provide an immensely useful tool of definition of the subject, as well as an invaluable aid to cataloguing and classification.

I regret the misunderstanding that has arisen between the GRSM and the Dept. of Museum Studies over the editorial in **Newsletter No. 9**. It did not distinguish sufficiently between Leicester's specialist provision on the one-year graduate certificate course and the two short diploma courses. The staff of that department have joined enthusiastically in the discussions which have led to the proposals outlined above and we hope that the problems posed by shortage of time and money can be solved and that together training can be as closely related to the needs of the social history curator as possible. (Any slur on the Museum Studies Dept. was unintentional).

Finally a word concerning the new slick format of your GRSM publication. As the Newsletter grew bigger it outgrew its twice-yearly appearance and its duplicated format. The **GRSM News** was launched to fill the gap of topicality as the Newsletter grew to dinosaur proportions and a separate editor will be elected at the AGM for the News. The **GRSM Journal** will appear annually, publishing papers and bibliographies across the social history and folk-life spectrum. The Editor is always interested to receive contributions or additions to the bibliographies. (Please note his change of address). The success of the move into offset-litho depends on the membership climbing back to its height of nearly 200. You are encouraged to ensure that your museum receives a copy for reference as an institutional member and that colleagues or neighbours in the profession are manifested the practical benefits and social joys of membership.

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER
DEPARTMENT OF MUSEUM STUDIES

Your Committee has invited me to comment on the Editorial in the current issue of the **GRSM Journal** because a 'misunderstanding . . . has arisen between the GRSM and the Department of Museum Studies'. Briefly we have taken issue with the Editorial of **GRSM Newsletter 9** because the information given about the work of the Department was inaccurate and misleading. We appreciate the Editorial comment that no slur on the Department was intended but it is necessary to correct the false impression given.

University courses in Museum Studies

The Department provides courses leading to the Graduate Certificate and Master's degrees (MA and MSc) in museum studies for intending entrants to our profession. These courses give basic training in all aspects of one of six relevant subject disciplines.

The courses are both museological and museographical as one might reasonably expect from a University Department of Museum Studies. They are based on essential theory, without which sound practice cannot exist, and practical experience; for this it draws on the considerable collective experience of its staff and also on the profession at large. This year alone students have been taught by or had the opportunity to discuss curatorial issues with something like seventy practising curators through visiting lecturers to the Department, visits to museums, contact with the local museum service, and periods of attachments to museums.

In discussing the subject-based aspect of our work (paragraphs 2 and 3 of the June 1981 editorial) a very misleading picture was given. Firstly, reference is made to the history option being 'almost entirely museological' with alleged omissions in the course listed because there is 'scant mention' of them in the Learning Goals published by the Department. The introduction to the Learning Goals, however, clearly states that the content of the option courses is **not** included in this publication. Not only is the type of curatorial activity listed in the Editorial included in the history option but many aspects also figure in the interdisciplinary course as well, e.g. oral recording, display work, exhibition research, etc.

There is then reference to the Department of English Local History at Leicester no longer providing the museum studies history option. Leaving aside the fact that two of the three distinguished members of that Department mentioned in the editorial left the University a number of years ago (the third regrettably retires this year), the reason for the change was quite simple. The Department of English Local History did not have the resources to offer an option course geared to curatorial needs and we had to be content with joining them for one element in their taught Master's degree course. Excellent though this teaching was, it was in no sense concerned with history museums of the primary concern of museum curators, objects. When the opportunity came to employ a qualified curator in history, it was both logical and proper to provide this option internally. This course commenced in October 1980, not in the past year as the current editorial implies, and the syllabus can be found elsewhere in this issue of the **Journal**.

Another development in the Department's full-time course which has gone unnoticed (although communicated to the Editor in February 1981) was the introduction in October 1978 of specific training into the nature of materials, their characteristics and cultural implications, a fundamental curatorial requirement. This materials and culture element is taught on an interdisciplinary basis to all students, irrespective of their particular subject leanings. While neither folk life studies nor ethnology figures as a first degree course, very few such courses actually prepare curators for the museum requirements of their subject discipline whether concerned with material culture or the natural sciences.

Museums Association Diploma courses

The Department at Leicester acts as an agent to the Association in providing courses for the Diploma to a jointly agreed syllabus and timetable. It is not the ethos of the Department that determines the form of the courses; the 'A' and 'B' course concept was started before the move to Leicester. The view expressed by the Department to the Association in the early discussion stages was that two courses, each of three weeks' duration, was inadequate for curatorial training in a complex profession like ours. It is not therefore a question of 'diluting' the interdisciplinary approach' but finding ways of strengthening it and providing in addition ways of meeting the particular requirements of the subject disciplines which first degrees generally fail to provide.

It must be stressed that the Department of Museum Studies is quite independent from the Museums Association. The consultations between GRSM and the staff of the Department have been on this basis and we have been pleased to offer our expertise to the working party. Any proposals it may make to help Diploma students should be addressed to the Association.

Finally, the 'specialist courses' referred to in this editorial are part of the planned development of the Department's contribution to the profession. This policy was determined in 1979 - the initial survey of need was conducted the year before - but there was agreement with the Museums Association that our first concern must be to clear the accumulated backlog of Diploma students. This phase is nearly over and the short courses are expected to commence in 1983. The Association, for its part, has agreed to support this work. The duration of the courses will depend on the topics and their requirements and will not always be week-long as suggested in the editorial.

Geoffrey Lewis
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GRADUATE CERTIFICATE AND MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN MUSEUM STUDIES: HISTORY OPTION

The teaching of the history option on the post-graduate course became the responsibility of the Department from the beginning of the 1980/81 Academic Year. Previously history option students undertook a period of study with the English Local History Department.

The history option teaching is seminar based and for two terms occupies one afternoon per week, with occasional all day visits. The third term gives the opportunity for visits and for revision of topics, prior to the examinations.

The course consists of the study of the following areas, given here in outline only.

AN INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY IN MUSEUMS: definition of terms: identification of types of collections; the relationship of history to other disciplines; source material.

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY MUSEUMS: the contribution made to the development of history museums in Europe and America by both individuals and institutions.

CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT: the types, roles and functions of history museums in Britain today; the current situation and future prospects.

AGENCIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED WITH HISTORY STUDIES: review of international, national, regional, local, academic and professional societies and organisations, their relevance to museum work.

NATURE OF HISTORY MUSEUM COLLECTIONS: physical characteristics of principle material; information sources.

ACQUISITION AND DISPOSAL OF HISTORY COLLECTIONS: philosophy of and approaches to collecting: collecting policies; the ethical questions on the disposal of material.

DOCUMENTATION OF HISTORY COLLECTIONS: cataloguing systems; classification systems; extra collection records.

PREVENTATIVE CONSERVATION

STORAGE

HISTORY MUSEUM BUILDINGS AND SITES: historic buildings; period houses; heritage sites. Removal of historic buildings to site museum. Introduction to planning law.

HISTORY EXHIBITIONS: presentation of history material; interpretation and bias; labelling policy and practice.

HERITAGE INTERPRETATION: the policy and practice e.g. working demonstrations, living history museums, site museums history trails.

HISTORY MUSEUMS AND EDUCATIONAL SERVICES: the museum's contribution to history teaching; GCE and CSE curricula; history teaching in schools.

INFORMATION AND AUXILIARY SERVICES: enquiries; work with societies; publications; museum shop and restaurant

History Option: provisional timetable

The following timetable is intended as a guide to how the course will run during the Autumn and Spring terms. It is however subject to changes through such forces as the availability of the van. Furthermore, trips planned as part of the History Option Course have been known to be postponed because of bad weather conditions. However, as far as can be seen at this point, the timetable is roughly as follows:

Oct 12: The community and the museum. Visit to Hallaton

Oct 19: Community records. Visit to the County Records Office. **Kathryn Thompson, BA**, County Archivist, will discuss the records of Hallaton, their research potential and museum links.

Oct 21: Students may wish to use all or part of this day to pursue lines of enquiry on Hallaton by using archive material at the Records Office.

Oct 26: Human History and Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service. **R.A. Rutland, MA, AMA**, Keeper of Antiquities, will introduce the work of the service to the group followed by a tour of Newarke Houses.
There will be an opportunity to follow up enquiries about Hallaton by reference to the museum's catalogues.
A short collection seminar will be held at the end of the afteroon.

Nov 2: Collection Management. **Peter Brears, DipAD, AMA**, Director of Leeds Museum: Pottery.

Nov 9: Collection Management. **Catherine Wilson, AMA**, Keeper of Lincolnshire History: Agricultural Machinery (visit).

Nov 16: Collection Management. Newarke Houses: Hand tools.

Nov 18: Documentation and conservation of the historic environment. **Pete Liddle**, Archaeology Survey Officer, **Colin Thompson**, Senior Conservation Officer, Leicester City Council.

Nov 23: Oral history and photographic collections.

Nov 30: Collection Management. **Stuart Davies, BA, AMA**, Deputy Keeper, Birmingham History Department, Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery: Coins and tokens.

Dec 7: Documentation: **Stuart Holme, BSc, AMA**, Keeper of Social History and Industry, Balck Country Museum, Dudley.

History Option: Spring Term Timetable. 1982

Jan 11: Revision seminar. Collection management.

Jan 18: Seminar paper. The history, development and philosophical base of the history museum. **Dieter Hopkin**

Jan 25: Seminar paper. The history museum today: the contemporary context, where do we go from here? **Karen Harvey.**

Feb 1: Seminar paper. Historic houses. Define and discuss the museum link. **Helen Jackson.**

Feb 3: Preventative conservation. **Jo Williams**, Conservation Officer, City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham (visit).

Feb 8: Seminar paper. History research and the museum. Reality and potential. **Martin Collier.**

Feb 15: History museums - activities

Feb 22: History museums and education services. **Carol Adams** (ILEA) with education option.

March 1: History museums - exhibitions.

March 8: History museums - interpretation.

March 15: The museum as a community. **Adrian Babbidge,** MA, AMA, Torfaen Museum Service.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST:

P.C.D. Brears — **Horse Brasses** (County Life Library of Antiques County Life Books, 1981, £6.95
A readable and comprehensive introduction to the subject, including chapters on development, manufacture, collecting, designs, horse bells, bell founders and marks

D. Dymond — **Writing Local History** - a practical guide
Bedford Square Press 1981
from Macdonald and Evans Distribution Svces. Estover Road, Plymouth PL6 7P2 £2.95 + 35p p & p.

E. W. Gadd — **Victorian Logs**
K.A.F. Brewin Books, 1981, £7.95 + 95p p&p
A study of school log-books as a source for the local historian.

S. Hainson — **Yorkshire Farming Memories:**
Cassette tape of extracts from interviews with accompanying booklet, Castle Museum, York

V.C.Hartwich — **Ale an a'thing** (Aspects of the Grocery and Licenced Trades 1800 - 1950)
Dundee Museums & Art Galleries. 1981
£1.25 + p & p
A useful introduction to the traditional grocers and licensed shop prepared from interviews with Dundee tradesmen; goods stocked, style of traditional shops, customs and methods, hours of work, the development of these trades and their place in the local community.

Rural Industries of England & Wales - vols I-IV available c£2.50 from remainder bookshops

D. Hey — **Packmen, Carriers and Packhorse Roads; Trade and Communication in North Derbyshire and South Yorkshire**
Leicester Univ. Press. 1980 £12.50

K. Hudson — **Where we used to work** - John Baker, 1980 £7.95 - A study of working places in a variety of trades including building, furniture-making, catering, aircraft construction and biscuit manufacture.

ed. J. Liddie — **The Diaries of George Bond, Victorian Wheelwright in Lincolnshire 1862 - 1883**
from Mary, Emery Publications Unit Dept. of Adult Education. University of Nottingham, 14-22 Shakespeare St., Nottingham NG1 4FJ, £5.00 + £1.55 p&p

B. Trinder — **The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire**
Phillimore, 1981, £12 - a revised & expanded edition

D.J.Viner — **Transport in the Cotswolds, from old photographs** Hendon Pub. Co., 1981, £2.50

E.A.Wrigley & R.S.Schofield — **The Population History of England, 1541-1871 A Reconstruction** -Edward Arnold 1981 £45
The results of the agregative analysis of 404 parishes by the SSRC Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.

TWENTIETH CENTURY COLLECTING – SWEDEN LOOKS AT THE PROBLEMS

One of the concerns of the Group for Regional Studies in Museums must be contemporary collecting. The idea of deciding how material culture in current use should be represented in museum collections in the year 2000 (and beyond) to give a full picture of life in Britain in the 1980's is so daunting that the temptation to ignore it is often the easy way out. Comments such as 'we've still got gaps to fill from last century and time is running out' are to be expected. Curator's other duties make heavy demands on time, and spending money on contemporary material, unless, perhaps, it is seen as a bargain in the field of art and craftsmanship, is rarely greeted favourably by museum committees - although the case could be made that it is cheaper to collect contemporary products than the relatively recent items which dealers are already classing (and pricing) as antiques. Products presently on the supermarket shelves will 'be around for a good while yet', it is argued, but in a consumer society where built-in obsolescence is the norm this no longer holds good. Items from the 1970's collected even in the early 1980's cannot be said to be representative of half a decade age, owing to changing product ranges and chance in survival.

SAMDOK – A NATIONAL COOPERATIVE VENTURE

Attempts have been made by some museums abroad to record and collect twentieth century material as tomorrow's history. Perhaps one of the most ambitious to date is that of the Swedish Museums, the **Samdok** project. **Samdok** (an abbreviation of the Swedish Samtidsdokumentation) is a voluntary, nationally organised initiative by Swedish museums of cultural history and technology to record the material evidence for daily life in Sweden **now**. Sufficient public interest was raised for permanent funding of one professional with office space and technical services, operating from the Nordiska Museet (Sweden's museum of national post-medieval history) to co-ordinate the project. The co-ordinator, Gunilla Cedrenius, liaises with the parties involved to keep them informed of progress, to avoid unnecessary duplication and to monitor activities and to publish results.

This nation-wide approach is based on a sound scheme, a result of discussions beginning in the early 1970's. It is flexible enough to adapt if circumstances demand. Acknowledgement is made of the fact that it is impossible to collect everything, and the selective nature of the project dictates that the rationale for collecting in a certain field at a certain time be documented as fully as the items themselves. The central tenet is that for a museum to collect and conserve an object is not enough - every advantage must be taken of the opportunity, denied to material from earlier historical contexts, and the object must be fully documented from the point of production right through the marketing process, to use in the home or other environment, attitudes to the object being as important to record as provenance, size, shape made of use etc. Documentation, including a product's distribution and production quantity, should be as complete as possible, using all the appropriate means such as photography, tape recording, drawing etc. The need to justify methods of selection for future generations is explained in English in a booklet **'Today for Tomorrow'** which should be essential reading for all curators of cultural material, not merely those most concerned with recent and future history. Various approaches and selection principles are explored and there is discussion of the place of artifacts as 3-dimensional records of human activity, attitudes and values.

Samdok working groups have considered criteria for selecting objects for museum collections; rarity/common occurence, innovations, place of use, appeal to the public, representativeness, form. Cultural values attached to items include symbolic values (of various sorts), uniqueness, reference value, illustrative value, aesthetic value, prototypes, value to other (non-museum) collectors. Problems raised by contemporary collecting include decisions on whether new or used objects should be preserved. Used objects indicate wear, durability, use patterns and it is possible to record associations, ownership, attitudes and values. Brand new objects seen everyday on the shelves of department stores are just as much part of contemporary life. The manufacturer is spending time and effort making a new object, not a used one so there can be arguments for keeping examples of both unused and used products. **Samdok** advocates ideally collecting items at the points of production (or import), sale and use. The suggestion is made that a scheme akin to the copyright laws (which in Britain require that copies of published books be given to the British Library, and, if requested, to the other designated copyright libraries) should operate to ensure that examples of all mass-produced goods go to at least one national depository, possibly a museum. Acknowledgement is made of the practical difficulties of implementing such a scheme.

Samdok has undertaken several studies of contemporary life in Sweden. In 1979, the International Year of the Child, the focus was on children's environments. One museum gathered comparative data on children in manual workers' and office workers' families, and another contrasted the life styles of children in isolated and densley populated areas. Clothing styles change rapidly and another project records these changes. A special study of the Blue Jeans vogue and the objects inspired by it, such as imitation denim plastic bags and denim upholstered furniture resulted in a small but popular exhibition 'Jeans and much more' in summer 1981 at the Nordiska Museet. A collection of the cast-off clothes of one school girl over a period of several years, is to be paralleled for a school-age boy.

The highly selective nature of such projects is acknowledged, and a 'holistic' approach is recognised as being more representative, though, of course, it would generate most work, the greatest number of problems and the heaviest drain on resources over a long period of time - just one example is the permanent storage of objects and the associated documentation. The human experience varies according to environment or, to use the term chosen by **Samdok**, 'milieu'. For Samdok's purposes, these environments were classified broadly as:

a) home milieu (personal milieu)
b) working milieu (office, factory etc., encountered where one is earning a living)
c) public milieu (streets, parks etc.)
d) commercial milieu (supermarkets, banks etc)

It is recognised that for most purposes c) and d) can be combined, and, of course, one man's public milieu (e.g. pedestrian on the street) will be another man's working milieu (e.g. postman). In the end the home environment became the first of a total of 11 areas for study.

'DIVIDE AND RULE'

It was decided that the long term and nation-wide work of documenting contemporary Sweden should start by exploring the home milieu, the one sphere of life which was unquestioned as a category for study, and activities in this area are outlined later. Discussions among the museums have suggested 10 more categories, those classes of industry and activity used by the Swedish government and the United Nations for the purposes of official statistics etc:

1. Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing
2. Engineering industries - mining, metallurgy
3. Timber and paper industries
4. Food, drink and tobacco production, including chemicals
5. Textiles, clothing, leather and leather goods
6. Construction industries and energy
7. Trade and commerce
8. Communications - transport, post and telecommunication
9. Service industries - hotels, restaurants, banking, recreation
10. Public administration and services - police, law, sanitation, education etc.

Government statistics showed the geographical distribution of these, and it seemed rational that museums in regions dominated by certain industries should be members of the appropriate working party or 'pool'. The distribution of the industries quite conveniently parallels Sweden's museum resources, and so with 5 museums operating in each pool, the

whole country will be well represented regionally by the 50 museums in the 'working life pools', in addition to the 5 in the 'homes pool'.

5 pioneer museums joined the 'homes pool', with the intention that one museum should be actively involved for one year in every five, and that each would take turns with a different type of home. Participating museums agree to document the selected household as fully as possible, using, as necessary, photography, film, video, (structured) interviews, questionnaires, measured drawings, plans, surveys, sound recordings (for background noise, mood, dialect, voice patterns etc.). A collection is made of

a) the entire contents of one room (each museum will choose a different room) and

b) everything brought into the house new during the year prior to the inventory.

If these are not available from the informant, attempts are made to trace and buy exactly similar items elsewhere. The household is compensated with funds to replace the items with the latest equivalent on the market, in addition to an hourly rate for time spent being interviewed (in 1981 30 kroner per hour).(= c. £3) In 1978 the Halsinglands Museum, a provincial museum in Northern Sweden, undertook to document a flat in a local coucil housing development. This was followed the next year by an inventory of a suburban flat in the Stockholm area by the Nordiska Museum, and in 1980 a village home in the sparsely populated north by a local museum. In this last case the researcher lived in the home for 4 weeks and contributions were made for her board and lodging.

The households to be recorded are carefully selected from volunteers and naturally request for privacy and special restrictions on data are honoured. In the case of the Stockholm suburban household the archive cannot be published for 50 years, but may be consulted with the family's permission and names are changed. The village family have placed a 25 year time limit, so that the members of the family will still be alive to see their belongings in the museum. Participating museums are expected eventually to produce an exhibition and publish a catalogue and/or a book. The Halsinglands Museum mounted their exhibition in 1978 and produced a catalogue entitled **'Tre Rum och Kok i Hudiksvall'** (Three rooms and a kitchen in Hudiksvall) which is a summary of the documentation process and its results. It has proved popular with the local community.

The 10 other pools have yet to be ratified but guidelines for common means and standards of documentation and artifact collection are laid out in another Samdok publication 'Arbetsliv' (Working Life). Suggestions are made for selecting informants representative of the entire work force of a factory or office or institution from the boss down to the most junior employee in the works canteen, and for fields and methods of inquiries. The general reaction from the interested museums is favourable, and other parties consulted such as anthropologists, cultural geographers, statisticians have, in the main, supported the plan. After a 2 day conference in January 1982, the pools will have their own discussions to work out a common method of tackling their field. The agricultural pool, reckoned to be the easiest to organize, embarked on a pilot project in September 1981. The pools will have an annual meeting hosted by the museum currently involved where progress will be reported and future plans discussed in the light of the experience gained. It is realised that working life documentation could be quite expensive, particularly as some machinery is too large to collect easily, and models may be required. Samdok hopes that ideally a participating museum will concentrate 20% of its annual documentation resources on the project in the year of undertaking, and some of the industries involved may contribute funds. An arrangement has been made enabling the Nordiska Museum to be actively or passively involved in all or any of the pools. Each of its four main departments of domestic life, textiles, commercial and industrial life and research (non-material culture) is happy to act in an advisory capacity.

CENTRAL ORGANISATION

The 11 pools liaise with each other through the Secretary, Gunilla Cedrenius; she, in turn, is answerable to a Samdok Council or museum professionals who make the policy decisions and publish a quarterly bulletin in addition to the publications mentioned. Ms. Cedrenius keeps records of the museums' projects and the types of documentation which these hold, but the records and collections are held by the museum concerned. The Secretariat has summaries of the total collections of the museums and can build up a picture of aspects of life barely or rarely represented in Swedish museums as, for example, office environments. Recording the changes through a 5 year period may be possible by repeating the documentation of one household or factory but other priorities may be assigned to a museum in the form of a new target for investigation. To date **'Today for Tomorrow'** and a brief summary in **Current Sweden** by Birgitta Conradson **(1980) are the only accounts** in English but 1982 should bring an English translation of the latest, **Fordela Museernas Dokumentions Ansvar**, outlining the whole 'pools' scheme.

INSPIRATION OR ASPIRATION

It is still early days for Samdok's major project, and its progress will be watched with interest by colleagues around the world. This cooperative venture has brought forward some pioneer museums, which, in their own organisation and scope of collections can roughly be said to parallel the British scene with National, regional, municipal, small local and specialised museums. It would be easy to quote Sweden's comparatively small population (8,300,000 in 1980) as favouring the project - but arriving at agreement between enthusiastic members of a small profession is no mean feat. It could happen here. Regional patterns of preference and use of mass-produced goods are still discernible in Sweden, and Samdok is organised on regional lines which partly correspond with the focus (foci?) of the various pools. In this country a similar, less ambitious project might be conducted in a small area. As Rosander says (p. 32, 1980), 'Every country has a national documentary responsibility for its own important phenomena'. Perhaps the Group for Regional Studies in Museums should be pressing for Britain to 'do her bit' for the international community by recording 'to-day for tomorrow' now.

Jane Legget

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FRIENDLY SOCIETIES and their SYMBOLS AND RITUAL
BY SHERRI J. BROWN

Throughout the 19th century the most important of the voluntary associations concerned with self-help were the friendly societies. In their simplest form they were attempts by working men and women to prepare against the expenses of sickness and death. Relief could be given without the stigma attached to poor relief and having to go 'on the parish'. In Leicester, people knew the workhouse as the 'Bassil' - or Bastille, and in 1904 the Rev. Clement F. Rogers wrote:

> "the poor law is for people who are failures, and for them alone .... when such men are admittedly unable to take their place in society, the state steps in, and while keeping them clothed, housed and fed, takes them out of that society in which they have lost the right to live".

Friendly Societies were never a viable option for the very poor. Contributions could be high (depending upon which society one joined) and - despite the optimism of the upper classes - they were never a permanent answer. However, they provided for some very real needs - and not just physical ones. In Leicester in 1882 there were about 13,000 members of just the main affiliated orders; in 1904 there were about 28,000 members (the population had grown in about the same proportions). Many kinds of workers joined friendly societies in both the towns and the countryside - sometimes members came from the same workplace - and friendly societies were obviously fulfilling a real need.

Friendly societies are often talked about as if they were all the same. Actually, of course, they could be very different kinds of organisations. The legislation of 1875 and 1876 divided registered friendly societies into thirteen classes. Some could be very specialised indeed - such as the cattle insurance societies and the Jewish friendly societies. Others were trade associations which sheltered behind the friendly society name - the one established in Tolpuddle in Dorset in 1833 called itself 'The Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers'.

Most friendly societies dealt with sickness and funeral expenses. These included the local village societies (dealt with so ably in Margaret Fulter's book **West Country Friendly Societies**). These usually met in the village inn and were often very simply organised with uniform contributions. They were often unregistered and their numbers are difficult to establish, but they seem to have been almost universal. Everyone wishing to become a member usually had to be below a certain age, in good health and of moral character. The local societies often took the form of dividing societies, where the society's funds would be divided out between the members after an agreed period. Sometimes this could result in disaster. In Ealing in the late 18th Century, for example, a club without fixed rules had a majority of young members. These promptly decided to dissolve the society and divide out the funds - thereby defrauding all the old members of the provision for old age and infirmity they had been contributing to for so long. A new society was then formed of all the young people and the old members were left to the parish.

It was partly this kind of misfortune - and the appropriation of funds by a number of unreliable treasurers - coupled with a desire to encourage self-help that helped lead to formal legislation. Legislation offered friendly societies that registered certain protections and rewards. Yet, despite this, many societies remained unregistered.

Part of the trouble was the mixture of insurance with the convivial aspects of the clubs. The club meeting place was usually the pub. The members were expected to pay out a certain amount for beer during the meeting, and the publican was usually a member of the club. The meetings were social occasions as much as business ones, and they were expected to be enjoyable, with a club feast and procession at Whitsun - which had much more to do with the traditions of the village and the Whitsun Ales than with sickness benefit and registrars. As early as 1798 there were objections. Michael Scarth, Steward of Castle Eden Friendly Society in Durham, complained that:

> "There is great reason to believe that many societies have been established more for the advantage of the innkeeper than of their members". [1]

It was this aspect of friendly societies that never sat well with the upper classes - "the incongruity of buff boots and lincoln green coats with sick pay and funeral benefits" as one writer put it. The idea of self-help was one which appealed strongly to the reformers and the legislators alike, but they never understood why money should be spent on club feasts, regalia and beer - and it certainly should not, in their opinion, have come out of club funds.

However, support for the idea of self-help was strong among the upper classes. Many friendly societies were set up by them. As Rowland Burdon, Esquire, of the Castle Eden Friendly Society in Durham put it in 1797 -

> "the poor will by degrees, be induced to take care of themselves, assisted by the contributions, and encouraged by the countenance of their superiors"

- but as to the idea of doing anything about the poor laws:

> "I must acknowledge myself apprehensive as to the consequences of indulging our feeling too much in favour of these drones of society who throw themselves, almost without effort upon the provision made for age and infirmity by the benevolent laws of their country".

His society was set up in August 1793. Its trustees were the lord of the manor, the clergy, and justices of that and the two adjacent parishes. Very often societies like this were set up by the local vicar, and almost always they were not held in the local pub (the actual social centre of the village) for moral reasons. Often they had their own feast day - because it was expected and was sometimes the only way to take members from the established club.

The late 18th century and early 19th century saw the rise of the affiliated orders which were eventually to oust many of the smaller local friendly societies and take over their functions. Many were established, to begin with, in the Cities, and there were many internal splits - resulting in the different 'Unities' - such as the Independant Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity (as opposed to the other societies of Oddfellows) for example.

The Orders had a centralising body - either in a large town (like the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows) or one that moved from place to place (as did the main Court of the Foresters). Under this central body the Orders were divided into Districts - for example the Leicester District of Foresters, or the Leeds and Dewsbury District of Oddfellows. These Districts consisted of a number of often highly autonomous branches which are called "lodges" by the Oddfellows, "Courts" by the Ancient Order of Foresters, "tents" by the Rechabites, "banners" by the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, and "gorsedds" by the Ancient Order of Druids.

They claimed an immense antiquity. Dr. Price, former Grand Master of the Independant Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, declared in a lecture in 1814:

"the Order was first established by the Roman soldiers in camp, after the order of the Israelites, during the reign of Nero the Roman Emperor in the year of grace 55".

The Ancient Order of Foresters, on the other hand, declared modestly in the prefaces to their rules before 1880:

"Forestry claims its antiquity from Adam". They claimed William Rufus, Alfred the Great and James I as members.

The Order of Druids claimed Noah as their founder. For, they asserted, they were the inheritors of a revealed religion of the antediluvian world which the descendants of Japeth passed down. They also closely allied themselves with the ancient Britons.

P.H.J.H. Gosdon believes that the reason they advertised their longevity was partly due to an anxiety to show the permanence of their institution - but I think that it was rather

more than that. They felt a great **emotional** need to identify and ally themselves with the past - and the further back they could go the more secure they felt. It was not just in the titles they chose for their societies - the **Ancient** Order of Foresters, the United **Ancient** Order of Druids - but was also apparent in the style of much of their early medieval and 'Tudor-style' regalia. As late as 1826 the newly formed Loyal Order of Shepherds felt an obligation to call themselves the Loyal Order of **Ancient** Shepherds.

The past was an extremely important anchor in a period of very rapid change. These new Orders embodied a stable and very ritualised world where roles were definite and a feeling of responsibility and command could be experienced by people who normally would not have the chance to feel either in their normal working lives. The lodge created a community - and an exclusive one - at a time when the old community was being destroyed.

Another reason for this concentration on a mystical past is the Masonic connection. The Masons claimed they could trace their ancestry to the builders of King Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. Also, whereas the local friendly societies can be said to owe many of their traditions to the traditions of the village community itself, the affiliated Orders must acknowledge their debt to the Masons. Their ritual including the ceremonies (or 'lectures'), the different grades of Officers, the special handshake (or 'Grip'), password (the 'Word') and the signal (the 'Sign') must all originate in the ritual of the Masonic lodges which were closely related to the Oddfellows from their inception as the earliest of the Orders. Whereas the local societies were clubs, the Orders were secret societies.

The grip, word and sign remained secret although the ceremonies were published privately. As one old member of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes at the Abbey Lodge in Kirkstall told me, somewhat triumphantly, as I was given their books of rules and ritual - 'You won't find the secrets in there!'

The Affiliated Orders incorporated an element of ritual into what was otherwise basically an insurance and convivial club - and it was a most important element. It was one they kept to despite state, and sometimes church, opposition. This had been extremely marked - many of the early Oddfellows lodges were destroyed because they contravened the Seditious Meetings Act; and the opposition of some churchmen was very extreme. One Huddersfield clergyman told the Oddfellows in 1833 that they were:

> "worse than devils or infidels . . . . if you
> do not forsake your badges which are
> emblems of wickedness, you will not
> only go down to the grave as this man
> has done, but you will sink down to
> hell eternal" [2]

Yet there was never any attempt on the part of the members to give up any of the ritual side of the societies. They incorporated the words 'Loyal' and 'Royal' into their societies, titles to show their loyalty to the Crown and the establishment, and found sympathetic churchmen to conduct their services. However, the village societies had the regalia **without** the very elaborate rituals. Regalia and ritual was not always united. They had banners, staffs and sashes. These were worn on that most important day - the club feast.

The club walk or feast day usually took place about Whitsuntide. Whit Monday was a popular date and the club feast took over in some districts from the older more spontaneous Whitsun Ale festivals. May 29th - Oak Apple Day - was another popular choice, and they often incorporated elements from old May Day festivals. It was an important day for everyone in the village - as Alfred Williams said in about 1912 concerning the annual club day in South Marston in Wiltshire:

> "What a day the old club anniversary
> used to be . . . . It was quite the event
> of the year; Christmas and Easter
> were nothing to it . . . . The procession
> was headed by three men bearing blue
> silk flags with tassels and figures . . . The
> members wore regalia, red and blue
> sashes and rosettes and walked with
> blue staffs with gilt heads"[3]

The feast was adopted by the Orders as they spread and took over from the smaller societies. They too processed to church in their regalia carrying maces and signs of office and accompanied by a brass band. They marched on other occasions too - in jubilee celebrations for example. Accounts of club walks and Whitsuntide conferences often appear in the local papers. This account comes from the Leicester Daily Mercury of Wednesday June 6th 1906:

> "The annual dinner of the 'Loyal Beaumont'
> lodges of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, took place on
> Tuesday. The members walked through the village
> (Coleorton) to church headed by the Ibstock Excelsior
> Band. The sermon was preached by the Rev. A.G.Meakin,
> Vicar of Breedon on the Hill who took the subject of
> "Benefit Societies on Earth and Benefit Societies in
> Heaven". On returning to the "Beaumont Arms", the
> headquarters of the lodge, the members sat down to
> dinner . . . . The band played selections during dinner,
> and also during the afternoon".

The band was an important part of the procession often hired locally for the occasion. The dinner after the church service was usually for members only - and plenty of beer was usually available and there was much singing and speechmaking. There are still processions - there is an annual procession and church service at the Annual Conference of Friendly Societies, and the breakaway Foresters at Coverdale in Yorkshire dress in full regalia of the kind now no longer used elsewhere - and process through the village.

The club day was the public face of the societies. Then their regalia proclaimed them as Foresters, Oddfellows, or whatever, and the pride of the ledge as a whole was displayed, often taking that symbol of the lodge's pride - the banner - with them. It separated them from the community as something special.

Within the lodge the regalia was not so important for identification of members - that identification was supplemented by the password that had to be given at the door anyway - its real function was the marking out the status and role of the wearer of the regalia.

Regalia was ordered and bought by the lodges themselves. This meant that they bought what they could afford. - Sometimes they did not have banners as these could be expensive - although there were directions from the central authority as to what was thought to be appropriate. Early regalia was often very complex and included full length medieval style costumes. For example the costume of the Nottingham Imperial Oddfellows in 1835 included these -

> the chairman (called the Grand Imperial) had a scarlet
> robe with Crimson tassels on the end, trimmed with yellow
> silk or gold lace and a crimson velvet turban cap. The
> Vice Grand had a blue robe, belt and collar trimmed with
> white silk and gold lace and a light blue cap.

These descriptions can often be found in the rule books of the societies - many of which still survive. Even current ones can be helpful - if only because they give lists of Officers and can help decipher the initials that appear on much of the regalia and certificates.

The elaborate full regalia often seems to have been home made and it gradually gave way to the less flamboyant kind - the sashes that are still worn today, the aprons (usually of kid) and the medals - known to some societies as 'jewels'.

Some Orders had their own very special items - such as the crooks and the ram's heads of the Shepherds, or the beards of the Druids, or the wooden axes, bugles and bows of the Foresters.

Many items of regalia (including the banners and the member's certificates) came from the big regalia manufacturers - R. White of London, Slingsby of Nuneaton, Wilcox and Charles Usher of Birmingham, Toyes and Company (now Toye, Kenning and Spencer who still provide regalia for friendly societies), and - perhaps most well known of all - George Tutill of 83, City Road, London. Born in 1817, his father was a miller, his mother a regalia apron maker. At first he was a travelling showman until he had success with a banner painted

for a trade union friend and then he set up business in East London. He had a painting in the Royal Academy and his factory went on to make more trade union banners than anywhere else in the world. All the processes - dyeing, winding, warping, turning on, twisting in, weaving, finishing, designing, drawing, ornamenting, painting - were all done under the one roof. He obtained his weavers from Spitalfields. A letter now in the museum in Keighley, Yorkshire describes the factory in the 1930's:

> "Its an old house, built into, near Bunhill fields. They have a huge room where the numerous Friendly Societies Banners are painted - they make practically the whole lot. Mr. Tutill showed us many in the making and some of the gorgeous silk they still have made for them by the last Spitalsfield weavers" [4]

The reference to Mr. Tutill is interesting as George Tutill had died fifty years earlier. Catalogues and letters continued to be written as if he were still alive and personally controlling the business. George Tutill Ltd. is now managed by Mr. R.C. Caffyn who has been with the firm since 1931; his father being manager before him and his mother forewoman. There is little profit now in friendly society regalia apparently, and their main business is with flags, ensigns, pennants and self-cling car stickers. They were bombed out during the last war and are now in Buckinghamshire. Most of the records were destroyed in the war although one catalogue and a series of photographs depicting the banner making process survive from 1899. Mr. Caffyn himself has, of course, many personal memories.

Their basic designs and items for sale were featured in their catalogues. Much of what they sold could be used by any society - the devices for the Officers (for example crossed keys for the Treasurer or crossed pens for the secretary) and initials for the sashes. They sold items peculiar to particular orders too of course - brass crookheads for the Ancient Order of Shepherds (they had to provide their own poles); long dark robes in cloth with a velvet collar for the Druids (35/- each in 1895) and their long beards and wigs. They provided sashes, stars, tassels, caps, aprons and banner poles. They sold india rubber stamps, stationery, minute books and death certificates. Later the form of many of these documents were adopted by the Government. They could even provide the club's safe or piano, offered free fire insurance, and hired out regalia and banners to those who couldn't afford to buy.

The more ordinary items came from local suppliers - for example gloves and ribbons were bought from local linen and woollen drapers.

There was special regalia for funerals, and village societies had their own funeral regalia very often. The Manchester Unity of Oddfellows had thick black velvet sashes which they wore from shoulder to hip with a black tassel on the end and white gloves. The coffin itself would be draped with a thick black velvet cloth with golden tassels on it (the person who told me about this had only recently burnt the coffin drape!).

The Buffaloes wear different coloured sashes and regalia when they attend weddings and funerals depending upon the rank of the member. And the Ancient Order of Shepherds draped their ceremonial ram's head with a piece of black crepe when a member died.

Regalia changed quite frequently. Styles of decoration, the type of sash, the way the devices are attached can all help indicate date. However, once the regalia has been bought it was usually kept for as long as possible - it was, and still is, a very expensive item.

The rituals of the lodge are extremely complicated. The Officers (all with different names depending upon which society one is discussing) have very specific duties which are outlined very carefully in the rule books.

Passwords were issued for the lodge (inside and outside for the Grand Order of Oddfellows) and for travelling. (The ability to use the network of lodges to aid in searching for work was an important benefit). One sometimes comes across passwords scribbled inside books of ritual - the passwords for the Foresters Court at Knaresborough for 1890 were 'Spread Forestry' for the Court, and for travelling 'Do Be Men'. The quarterly password was 'Firm and Faithful'.

Once a member passed from his first degree - that of ordinary member - to the next, he often received an additional password to show he could now attend functions open to members of his new degree.

The Sign is usually given inside the lodge to the Chairman. An Ancient Shepherd gives the knock to the Minstrel as he enters the lodge which acts like a password, and then he goes into the Guardian and gives the Sign in front of the table on which a ram's head will be sitting together with two brass crookheads on wooden bases, and two small wooden bowls for subscriptions and change. (One person I spoke to said he remembered seeing the ram's head when he was very young and it was 'frightening and terrible'). The Sign for the Ancient Foresters of Court No. 20 (in 1838) was the hand on the breast for -

> "Our first parent Eve, plucking, eating and giving to Adam the Forbidden Fruit; she immediately perceived the fatal error,
> which caused her to place her hand on her heart thus".

The Grip also differed from Society to Society. For the Ancient Shepherds the crook was an important factor in the Grips of their higher officers. The Past-Master bent the fore-finger of the right hand in the shape of a crook for example.

Details of the ceremonies themselves can be found in the books dealing with the "lectures" or rituals which were published by the Orders. Often they survive in the pieces relevant to a particular person's role in the ceremony.

Initiation ceremonies were once very intricate and often resembled the Masonic initiation ceremonies in their form. They are a rite of passage and conform to all the rules drawn up by anthropologists for rites of this kind.

The new member begins outside the door with the two people who have nominated him. His name has usually already been put forward at a previous meeting and he has already been vetted for his moral standing and reputation as well as his health. The two nominators request his entrance. His identity is confirmed and then he's led in - often blindfolded and partly undressed to donate his special 'inbetween' status as neither member nor quite outsider. He'll then be questioned as to his age, his loyalty to the Crown, and his health. In earlier times this was followed by an ordeal.

The Oddfellows blindfolded and partly stripped the candidate. He was then placed in a coffin and touched with a hot poker. A coffin opened up and a skeleton came out of it. This was later replaced with questions and a speech.

The Ancient Shepherds, before 1835, blindfolded their candidate and when he entered the lodge

> "there was a rattling of chairs, shaking of sheet iron to imitation of thunder, clashing of swords, stamping of feet, upsetting of furniture and much more . . . Then in a sudden cessation, the beautiful words of the making would be heard in the otherwise silent gathering" [5]

Until 1843 the Foresters initiated their members by combat - partly because of their links with Robin Hood. The Chief Ranger gave the candidate the choice of two cudgels (previously it had been two swords) and then the candidate took one and gave the other to any member of the court and they would fight. If the candidate was thought worthy he was welcomed and the significance of the combat was fully explained to him.

Throughout the ceremonies songs were sung. These were composed by the members and some were made official and were printed. Singing was always important and songs usually appeared at important intervals in the ceremonies.

Often initiation songs - and actions - speak of death, blood and rebirth. The Grand Surrey Lodge of Buffaloes used to sing:

> "Oh! see him bleed! oh see him bleed
> Whilst o'er the waves blue lighting flash,
> Whilst o'er the foam blue surges dash
> Drink Brothers drink, for it bodes no good
> Drink Brothers drink from the bowl of blood".

Before a Buffalo can be initiated he must break a tobacco pipe in two, as a symbol of his commitment. In the past, it was broken over his shoulder or head. He must then be 'bled' - that is have his hair cut or singed (the cutting of hair is well known in all sorts of rituals all over the world as part of rites of passage) and he must drink "juniper" - that is wine or spirits. Both tobacco and juniper were extremely important ritual elements to the Buffaloes and 'juniper' is used to consecrate the lodges. Their use is carefully monitered within the lodge. Wine and spirit must always be called 'juniper' and tobacco 'weed' within the lodge. The importance of tobacco is reflected in the number of R.A.O.B. clay pipes that were produced and find their way into collections!

Every meeting of the lodge is begun with an Opening Ceremony where the links within the lodge are re-formed - usually by physically forming a circle - a link of Brotherly Love and Goodfellowship.

Once within the lodge strict rules of behaviour exist - it's another world and different rules of behaviour are appropriate to it. Certain words cannot be used, and there is a strict set of fines that are imposed if any of the rules are broken. The words used in the ceremonies are not words used in everyday conversation - they are formal and latinate. Ad-libbing was fairly common but it was felt by most of the Orders - especially as time passed - that it was better to get the words standardised. Its these words that were printed and survive.

The lodge was a very special place for its members - a place of secular ritual - where roles were comprehensively defined. Each person had a place within a linked circle of brothers. It was an inward looking world - a world within a world, remote from outside pressures, with many rituals, but one that included all the practicalities of dealing with sickness and other benefits.

Now the ritual element has almost disappeared from the societies - with the exception of the R.A.O.B. (who have always been rather different). As far as the rest of the Orders are concerned its almost too late to get descriptions of some of the ceremonies and the regalia used in them - the generation that really knew them well is already dead and gone. However, many of the Orders are now interested in their history and some members remember something of the elaborate ritual that has now almost totally disappeared. It is very important to reach these people before their memories too are lost to us. The friendly societies might never have been revolutionary, they might have been inward rather than outward looking and more orientated towards the artisan than the poor labourer - but to many people they were a whole world that was of vital importance. As Mr. Clarke of the Grand Independant Order of Loyal Caledonian Corks said to me

"Once a Cork always a Cork"

- and the end of a society meant the end of so much more than just "sick pay and funeral benefits".

Today, the surviving societies deal with specialised insurance on a large scale, although some (notably the R.A.O.B.) still keep up the more convivial side and do a great deal for the various charities. The traditional structure for the Officers survives, as does some of the ritual - although it's seldom used. Most of vital insurance functions of the societies were taken over by the state in the legislation of the earlier half of the twentieth century.

P.S.

Editor; There would appear to be significant holdings of friendly society material in private hands, ranging from personal regalia and rule books to the club-room boards, dispensations, boxes and documentation from defunct lodges. A recent appeal for such material in South Shropshire unearthed material from several societies now in private hands. The District Secretary of the A.O.F. has shown interest in collecting and conserving uniforms, scarves and sashes he discovered mouldering in a cupboard on recently taking up his post. It has been suggested that the most appropriate home for such material could be in a museum gallery sponsored by one or a group of friendly societies. The material would thus receive curatorial care but remain the property of the society as a long-term loan, avoiding the difficulties raised by the secrecy and exclusivity of such organisations. History curators are urged to examine the role of the various societies in their area and rescue material before it is discarded. Enquiries with local officials, usually to be found in the 'phone book, might also encourage interest in their own organisation's past.

Officers in the R.A.O.B. –

Grand Lodge

G.P. = Grand Primo
I.P.G.P. = Immediate Past Grand Primo
D.G.P. = Deputy Grand Primo
G.S. = Grand Secretary
G.Tr. = Grand Treasurer
G.Ch. = Grand Chamberlain
G.Ty. = Grand Tyler
G.Con. = Grand Constable
G.Reg. = Grand Registrar
G.A.J. = Grand Alderman of Juniper
G.A.B. = Grand Alderman of Benevolence
G.Min. = Grand Minstrel
G.W. = Grand Waiter
G.L. = Grand Lodge
P.G.L. = Provincial Grand Lodge

Provinicial Grand Lodge

as above but with an extra 'P' for Provincial

Minor Lodge

W.P. = Worthy Primo
C.Mar. = City Marshall
C.S. = City Secretary
A.B. = Alderman of Benevolence
C.Ch. = City Chamberlain
C.Ty. = City Tyler
C.Con. = City Constable
C.Reg. = City Registrar
C.Tr. = City Treasurer
C.Min. = City Minstrel
C.W. = City Waiter

Degrees

Bro = Brother
C.P. = Certified Primo
K.O.M. = Knight Order of Merit
R.O.H. = Roll of Honour

Officers in the I.O.O.F.M.U.

G.M. = Grand Master
D.G.M. = Deputy Grand Master
C.S. = Corresponding Secretary
I.P.G.M. = Immediate Past Grand Master

District

Prov. G.M. = Provincial Grand Master
Prov. D.G.M. = Provincial Deputy Grand Master
Prov. C.S. = Provincial Corresponding Secretary
I.P.P.G.M. = Immediate Past Provincial Grand Master

Lodge

N.G. = Noble Grand
I.P.N.G. = Immediate Past Noble Grand
V.G. = Vice Grand
Secretary
Elective Secretary
Treasurer

Assistant Officers:

Inside Guardian (& Outside Guardian)
Warden
Conductor
Right & Left Supporters to the NG
(Assistant or Pence Secretaries)
(Lecture Master)
(Organist)
(etc.) ( ) = may be appointed if necessary

Officers of the A.O.F.:

H.C.R.	= High Chief Ranger
P.H.C.R.	= Past High Chief Ranger
H.S.C.B.	= High Sub-Chief Ranger
P.H.S.C.R.	= Past High Sub-Chief Ranger
H.C.S	= High Court Secretary
H.C.T.	= High Court Treasurer
H.C.S.B.	= High Court Senior Beadle
H.C.J.B.	= High Court Junior Beadle
H.C.S.W.	= High Court Senior Woodward
H.C.J.W.	= High Court Junior Woodward

District

D.C.R.	= District Chief Ranger
P.D.C.R.	= Past District Chief Ranger
D.S.C.R.	= District Sub-Chief Ranger
D.T.	= District Treasurer
D.S.	= District Secretary
D.S.B	= District Senior Beadle etc.

Lodge

C.R	= Chief Ranger
P.C.R.	= Past Chief Ranger
S.C.R	= Sub Chief Ranger
S.	= Secretary
T (or TRE)	= Treasurer
S.B	= Senior Beadle
J.B.	= Junior Beadle
S.W.	= Senior Woodward
J.W.	= Junior Woodward

NOTE

The list of the Oddfellows and Forester Officers are guides only and are not totally inclusive. Also other abbreviations appear sometimes on different makes of regalia although the Officers are the same.

MAIN AFFILIATED ORDERS:

1. I.O.O.M.U. = Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity (Registered 1851), sometimes just M.U.
2. G.U.O.O. = Grand United Order of Oddfellows
3. Nottingham Ancient Imperial United Order of Oddfellows (Nottingham Imperial Order of Oddfellows)
4. R.O.F. = Royal Order of Foresters
5. A.O.F. = Ancient Order of Foresters
6. I.O.F. = Independent Order of Foresters
7. R.A.O.B. = Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes
8. Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity
9. U.A.O.D. = United Ancient Order of Druids
10. Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity (established 1835 - one of the temperance societies).
11. G.I.O.L.C.C. = Grand Independent Order of Loyal Caledonian Corks
12. O.G.O.T.A.S.P. = Original Grand Order of Total Abstinence Sons of the Phoenix.
13. British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners.

Suggested further reading:

Fuller, Margaret - **West Country Friendly Societies** University of Reading, 1964

Gordon, P.H.J.H. **The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875** Manchester University Press, 1961

Gosden, P.H.J.H. **Self Help - Voluntary Associations in the 19th Century**. London, Batsford, 1973

Ballam Stead, J. **A Short History of the Chief Affiliated Friendly Societies**. 1979 - 1880

Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor Reports Vols. I - III.

And any of the several publications published by the Order themselves, their magazines and booklets

References:

1. **Society for the Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor Reports. Vol. 1**
2. J. Ballam Stead, **A Short History of the Chief Affiliated Friendly Societies** (1879 - 1880), p. 3
3. A. Williams, **A Wiltshire Village** (1912), p.p. 234-5
4. A letter from "Clara Rose to her friend Jane". From the Cliffe Castle Museum, Keighley, Yorkshire.
5. **Ancient Order of Shepherds, Ashton Unity. Centenary Souvenir 1826 - 1926.**

GRSM COMMITTEE

Following the 1982 Annual General Meeting at the Carlisle Conference, the officers and committee for 1982/3 are:

Chairman:	**Crispin Paine**, Director, Area Museum Service for South Eastern England
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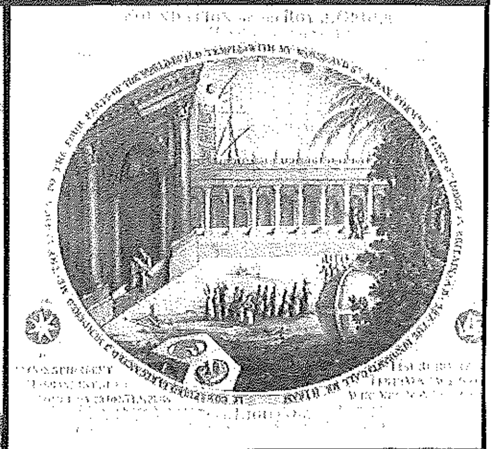
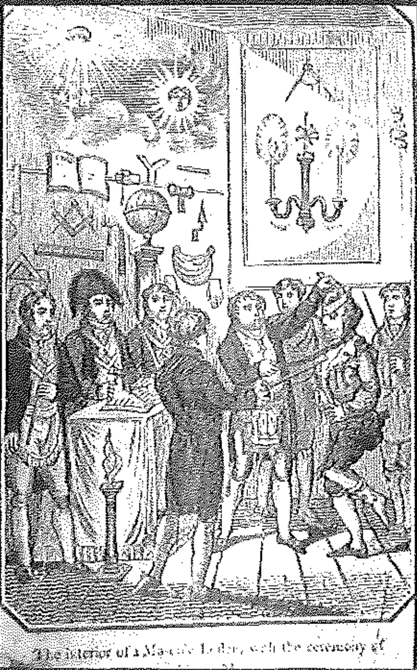
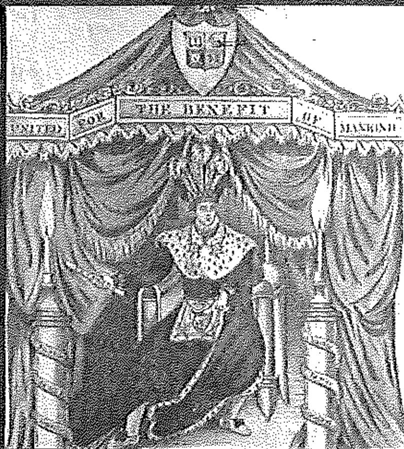


1. A print dated 1789 depicting the foundation of the Royal Order of Freemasons in Palestine.

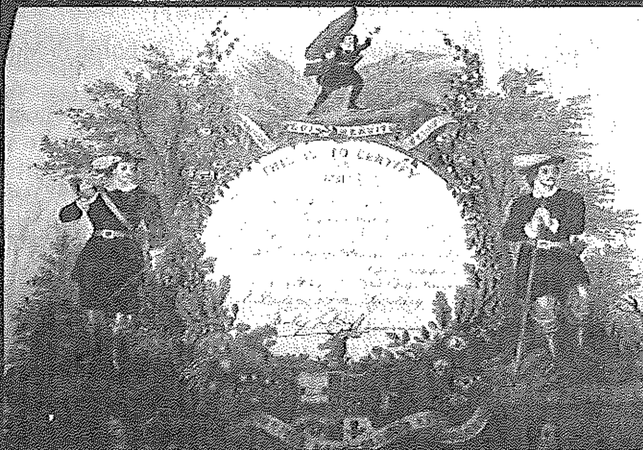


2. A Masonic initiation ceremony - note the blindfold, the sword at the breast and the dishevelled clothing. Masonic devices adorn the walls and above everything is the 'All Seeing Eye' of the Creator, an important symbol to all the Affiliated Societies.

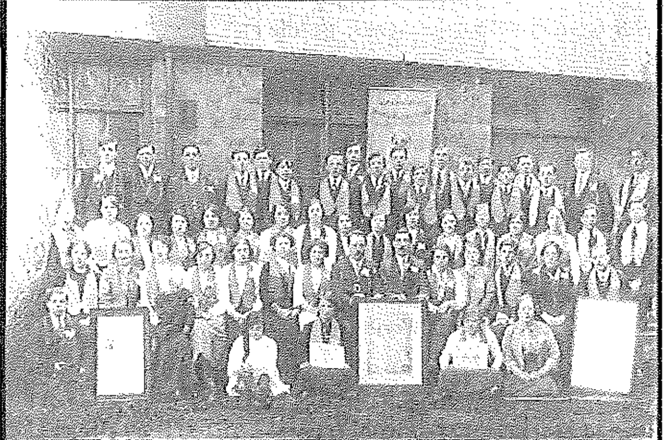


3. A Most Noble Grand of the Independent Order of Oddfellows in full regalia in c. 1829.

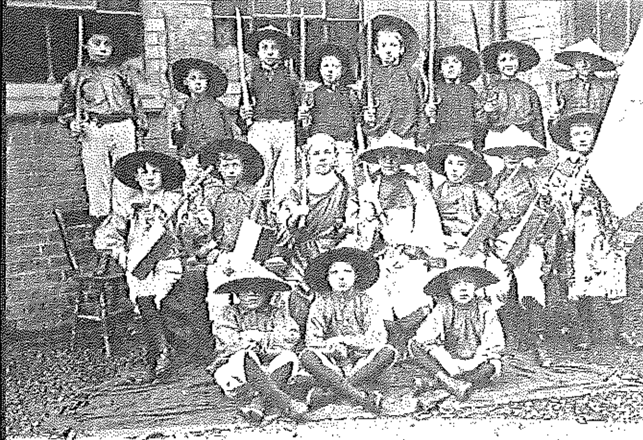
4. Ancient Order of Foresters at Glenfield in Leicestershire in c. 1900.



5. Past Chief Ranger's Certificate of the Ancient Order of Foresters dated 1929.

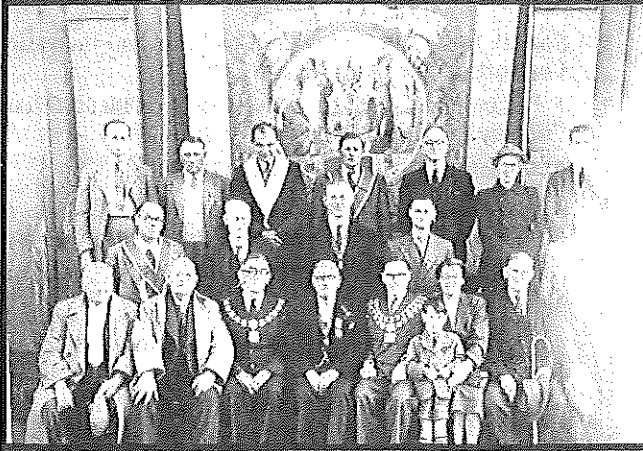


6. The Coalville branch of the Good Templars in c. 1912.



7. St. Mary's Band of Hope in Hinckley, Leicestershire in 1907. The children were dressed to appear in 'Sunrise Land'.

8. Friendly Society mace heads. Left to right: a Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds' crook; a brass bird used by the Cosby branch of the Nottingham Order of Oddfellows; and a village friendly society emblem probably from Dowlish Wake in Somerset (of Margaret Fuller, catalogue number 42.).



9. The Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, in Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire - note the chains of office as well as the collars and jewels.

(All items from Leicestershire Museums, Art Gallery and Record Office).

SPORT AND MUSEUMS – a few thoughts
Sam Mullins

The history of sport seems to be a subject from which many curators distance themselves. The brief of the social history curator is broad enough and each of us are aware of those areas within our responsibilities for which it is difficult to stoke up enthusiasm. Sport is not specific to particular locations, other than Lords, Wimbledon and Anfield, such that the attention of the local history curator is positively demanded. Perhaps this relative neglect of the subject is also an understandable reaction to the mass of unconsidered verbiage expended on sport by the media, whose tabloid sensationalism and frenetic enthusiasm seems to ascribe to sporting activity a greater siginificance than it deserves. Nevertheless, despite the great antiquity of sports and games, widespread contemporary interest and growing academic attention, the history of sport is a subject neglected by most museums.

The presentation of a skilled, physical activity in the museum environment poses problems. The great joy of sport is participation or spectating. The artefacts and costume associated with athletics, football or boxing do not seem to act as strongly as do a craftsman's tools or a cast-iron range as touchstones for the interpretation of the past. The sports' enthusiasts are interested in the present or recent triumphs and records. Despite the profound changes wrought by professionalism and politics on sport in the last thirty or forty years, it lacks that air of discontinuity, the feeling of a way of life that has irrevocably passed, which acts powerfully on many history museum's visitors. Museums in general have only collected in the field of rural sports and games and among the modern games with a mass appeal only cricket, the ultimate game for reflection and analysis, looks to the past and collects artefacts and memorabilia.

In recent years however, interest in the history and philosophy of sport has blossomed. One reason is the search for academic respectability in the teaching of physical education by the introduction of a B.Ed. qualification with a history and philosophy of sport dissertation within its curriculum. This hitherto neglected area of academic work is now being mapped out and developed as a 'new' subject. Another impetus has come from dissillusion, a reaction to the entanglement of 'simple' sporting competition with political involvement, professionalism, drug abuse and social ills such as hooliganism. Many have turned to the less sophisticated practice of sport in the past to seek to identify and re-affirm the ideals and inspiration of the pioneers and the argonauts of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. The success of the film 'Chariots of Fire' reflects this need to set a golden age against a modern malaise. The re-discovery of the Wenlock Olympian Society and its founder's contribution to the early years of athletic organisation in this country was largely brought about by media interest in stories to set against the shabby boycott of the Moscow Olympics of 1980.

My own concern with the subject of the history of sport has arisen out of the realisation that, in the archives and artefacts of the Wenlock Olympian Society, I was sitting on the earliest and best-documented athletic club in the country, created and inspired by one of the country's pioneers of the Olympic ideal. Looking a little further it was obvious that very little was known of the period before the Great War in this field and that much might be already lost. At the same time the British Olympic Association are considering the feasibility of forming an Olympic Museum and are generally looking to collect and further research into the origins of Olympianism. We hope to circulate museums this year in an attempt to assess the state of play of both archives and artefacts from all sports. An exhibition, 'the British Olympians' is planned for the BOA Open Day at the Crystal Palace in 1983. I would be most interested to hear of museums with significant holdings in this area and to know of material relating to the National Olympian Association, the German Gymnasium in London (near King's Cross) and E.G. Ravenstein, Secretary to the Gymnasium in the 1870's and 1880's.

Printed with this note is the text of an illustrated pamphlet shortly to be printed by the Shropshire County Museum Service, 'Dr. Brookes and the Olympics; the dawn of Olympianism in Victorian Britain'.

DR. BROOKES AND THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The small country town of Much Wenlock in Shropshire is an unlikely place to search for the origins of the modern Olympic Games. Yet here in 1850 Dr. William Penny Brookes founded the Wenlock Olympian Society and staged annual Olympian Games from that date. Despite the presence of some of the country's leading athletes in the 1870s and 1880s, the contribution of Dr. Brookes to Olympianism has been forgotten until recently. He was active in athletic and physical education organisations throughout his life, a leading member of the National Olympian Association founded in 1865 and in contact with Olympic pioneers in Greece. His role has been obscured by the success of the more influential Amateur Athletics Club (late the AAA) and by his remote sphere of activity. Despite this, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the true founder of the first modern Games at Athens in 1896, visited the autumn Games at Wenlock in 1890 and spoke and wrote enthusiastically of what he had seen, particularly in his periodical 'La Revue Athletique' of December 1890:

"... and of the Olympic Games which modern Greece has not yet revived, it is not a Greek to whom one is indebted but rather to Dr. W. P. Brookes ... now aged 82 ... still active, vigorous, organising and animating them ... Athletics does not count many partisans as convinced as W. P. Brookes."

William Penny Brookes was born in Much Wenlock in 1809, the son of Dr. William Brookes and his wife Mary. He studied medicine, qualified in 1831 and returned to Wenlock to join and eventually take up his father's practice. Always deeply involved with the affairs of his home town, his organisational energy and ability brought several projects to fruition; the restoration of the council chamber in the Guildhall in 1848, the building of the Corn Exchange by public subscription in 1852, a founding director of the Wenlock Gas Company in 1856, and Secretary to the Much Wenlock and Severn Junction Railway Company which connected the town to the railway network in 1861. In 1841 he founded and became the first president of the Wenlock Agricultural Reading Society which provided a reading room available to the local inhabitants for a small subscription; "... the inhabitants of this neighbourhood .... will be provided with a good library of well selected useful and improving works, which will furnish abundant rational recreation to the general reader, contain an ample store of scientific information ... and prove of practical value to the Agriculturalist, the Mechanic and the Artificer. ."

Similar improving sentiments led to the establishment of various subsidiary organisations or 'classes', including an Olympian Society "for the promotion of the moral, physical and intellectual improvement of the inhabitants of the town and neigbourhood of Wenlock, and especially of the working classes by the encouragement of outdoor recreation and by the award of prizes annually at public meetings for skill in athletic exercises and proficiency in intellectual and industrial attainments".

The first Wenlock Olympian Games were held in October 1850 on the racecourse at Much Wenlock. In the first few years, the events bore a closer resemblance to the traditional English rustic sports than to the classical Olympiad; football, cricket, quoits and old womens race for a pound of tea, a blindfold wheelbarrow race, a jingling match, prisonbase and chasing a pig through the town. The games changed character during the 1850s and by 1870 the programme was dominated by track and field events; running events, both flat and over hurdles, high leap and long leap, putting the 32lb stone, throwing the hammer and the pole vault. By this date, the Wenlock Olympian Games had come to wider notice and some noteable athletes from all over the country were competing. The five-fold general competition, or pentathlon introduced in 1868, was won in 1869 by H. W. Brooke, champion of the German Gymnastic Society of London in 1864 and 1867. His results included a high jump of 5'1", long jump of 18'5" and one shot putt with each hand totalling 30'4". In 1871 Robert Clement of the German Gymnastic Society won the pentathlon and throughout the hey-day of the Wenlock Games, the 1870's and 1880's, the prestige events were competed for and often won by outsiders, especially members of the Birmingham Athletic Club.

The day of the Games was accompanied by much pageantry, Brooke's inspiration being a mixture of classical Olympianism and the sporting heritage of rural England. A speech from Brookes outside the town's principal inn, the Gaskell Arms, began the day and then the athletes processed through the streets, where the houses were decked in greenery and tributes to the officials of the Society. The winners were presented with olive crowns, elaborate medals and odes to the victor were read. Invariably a formal dinner in the evening followed the procession back from the games ground. One of the events in particular, tilting at the ring, contributed to this pageant. This was a dramatic event, popular with the crowds and accorded pride of place in the newspaper reports of the day. A horseman dressed in a compulsory costume partly provide by the Society rode at a beam across the course from which was hung a small ring about 1¼" in diameter, and endeavoured to spear this ring with the long sharp point of a lance. The tilters in their brightly-coloured costumes and striped lances always led the procession, preceeded only by a young herald in costume of Henry VIII's time mounted on a white horse.

The achievement of Dr. Brookes and the Wenlock Olympians is all the more remarkable when the background to his life and work is considered. The population of the small, declining market town of Much Wenlock was just 2,487 in 1841. Its character was primarily agricultural, with a large minority of shopkeepers and tradesmen serving the needs of the surrounding country and a sprinkling of professional men, gentlemen farmers and minor gentry. Although the largest non-county borough in England, the Borough of Wenlock had a limited influence in the central portion of the south of the county. Kellys Post Office Directory of 1864 characterised Wenlock as 'chiefly agricultural but there is a considerable trade in malting and tanning, and in lime and limestone for which this neighbourhood is famous'. It was from this obscure and conservative background that Brookes struck a spark of the Olympic ideal, served on committees of national importance and became well known amongst continental sporting figures.

Brooke's qualities were vision and zeal, and he pursued his aims doggedly at national and international level. He was always aware of the wider implications of this athletic and moral vision and of the origins of Olympic competition. As early as 1859 a prize of £10 was sent by the Society to games held in Athens, the winner of which was made an honorary member of the Wenlock Olympian Society. In 1877 King George I of Greece presented Brookes with a trophy which was awarded at the National Olympian Association Games in Shrewsbury of that year. In 1881 it was reported in the Greek newspaper 'Clio' that 'Dr. Brookes, the enthusiastic Philhelline, is endeavouring to organise an international Olympian festival to be held in Athens'. While the Greek charge d'affaire in London, Gennadius carried on a correspondence with Brookes writing "as a Greek I can but feel indebted to you that you combine with this idea the project of a revival of the Olympic Games . . I believe that you will find a very sympathetic response in Greece". Only research abroad can reveal the true substance of these proposals.

His concern for the moral and physical benefits to be derived from athletic exercise was not confined to the Wenlock Games. Throughout his life he campaigned for the inclusion of physical education in school curricula and demonstrated the results of an experiment with children at the National School in Wenlock in 18 . The Society sent a petition to Parliament 'praying for the introduction of a clause into one of the educational bills empowering the Committees of Management of primary schools to combine physical with martial education'. In 1884 he was invited to be a member of the Physical Education Committee of the Birmingham School Board and in 1886 the committee of the National Physical Recreation Society. Just before his death in 1895 the Board of Education agreed to give special grants for physical exercise, drill and gymnastics in school, the objective for which Brookes had long agitated.

The foundation of the National Olympian Association in 1865, with John Hulley of Liverpool and E. Ravenstein of the German Gymnastic Society of London, might have been the most noteable achievement of his busy life. It was intended that the Association should be 'a centre of union for the many gymnastic, athletic, olympian and similar clubs rapidly springing up all over the country'. The first National Olympian Association Games were held at the Crystal Palace in 1866 and were a success. The Amateur Athletic Club, however, had been set up in response to the National Olympian Association and stole its thunder by organising their own championships before those of the National Olympian Association. A recent history of the Amateur Athletic Association suggests that the Amateur Athletic Club prospectus 'had been cobbled together over Christmas with no more purpose than to thwart the National Olympian Association'. This rival organisation was the creation of powerful London establishment figures and Oxford and Cambridge athletes, becoming the A.A.A. in 1880 and eclipsing the provinical efforts of Brookes and his Association. The National Olympian Association held five further games but faded from the national stage after the last at Hadley in 1883.

What then was William Penny Brooke's achievement? He was a pioneer in organising athletic sport and especially in introducing his Olympian ethic to a remote part of the country at a time when the idea was only just becoming current in the universities and the services. Such was his wider influence and inspiration that de Coubertin visited Wenlock and quoted the Olympian Society as an example to be emulated. His lobbying of politicians and dogged publicity of his ideas on physical education formed part of the groundswell of opinion that was to lead to considerable change in public and government attitudes towards sport. He was a devoted servant of his home town, truly the 'King of Wenlock' as nominated by a journalist of the time. Perhaps most important of all, he kept a detailed documentary and photographic record of the work of the Olympian Society, an archive of material on the early history of Olympianism that is unique and years ahead of other organisations. The meticulous minutes and scrapbook, typify his untiring energy and his steadfast publicity of the Olympic ideal.

Sam Mullins

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BREWING IN SCOTLAND

Ian Donnachie

Introduction

Any examination of the socio-economic history of the Scottish Lowlands since the eighteenth century needs to give substantial space to the area's most important consumer industry - brewing. The industry was among the first to pioneer mass-production techniques in large capital-intensive plants, becoming in the process an essentially urban activity - since the size of a brewery was always a reflection of its available market. So the concentration of the brewing trade in centres like Edingburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Falkirk, and Alloa occasions little surprise. Moreover, despite its essentially urban character the industry maintained close connections with the countryside, the source of its most important raw material - barley.

Before the eighteenth century brewing was a widespread domestic craft. The city of Aberdeen had no fewer than 144 brewers in 1693, while about the same time there were over 500 in Fife. The houses of the gentry had their own breweries: a splendid example, recently refurbished by the present laird, can be seen at Traquair House, Peeblesshire, its product being a traditional, Scottish strong ale. Not all beers were so palatable, however, for one English observer noted that even the ale drunk by 'the better sort of Citizens' was so bad that it would 'distemper a Stranger's body'.

Eighteenth Century Development

Despite problems of local and national taxation (notably the hated Malt Tax instituted under the Union of 1707, but later amended) larger mass-production breweries were established in increasing numbers after the middle of the eighteenth century. Among the more important firms were John and Robert Tennent of Wellpark Brewery, Glasgow (c. 1745), and William Younger of Holyrood in Edinburgh (1749). From the outset these family firms were brewers of consequence - and it is no accident that they ultimately came to dominate the Scottish trade during the early nineteenth century. Significantly, in the classic Industrial Revolution period Scottish brewing expanded rapidly along parallel paths: numerous breweries were built in country towns, while in the cities much larger units began to emerge. The size of a brewery more often than not reflected the size of its local market. Edinburgh became the focus of this rapidly expanding trade - partly a reflection of good water and grain supplies in its Lothian hinterland. Elsewhere Alloa, Falkirk, and Glasgow were important brewing centres. Such was the rate of expansion that by 1800 there were over 200 breweries and output was 400,000 barrels paying £75,000 in excise. The principal products of the age were table beer and strong ale, though quantities of porter based on English and Irish recipes were also brewed.

Brewing Techniques

In general Scottish brewing techniques before 1850 differed significantly from those elsewhere, particularly in malt mashing (using equipment known as a sparger) and in fermentation at lower temperatures than was the practice south of the Border. The usual brewhouse was a large, three-storey building, entered from a courtyard, around which were grouped maltings, cooperage, cellar, stables, and a counting house or office. Brewers often maintained close contact with the countryside, for the industry was still essentially seasonal, and availability of raw materials reflected harvest yields and grain prices. Many of the tasks in and around the brewery were actually akin to those on the farm. Additionally, the industry relied heavily on horse transport well into the railway age.

Nineteenth Century

The expansion of the Scottish brewing industry in the latter half of the nineteenth century far out-stripped its earlier growth. Brewing benefitted from the rapid advance in science and technology, especially a deeper understanding of the chemical processes involved in brewing. These advances - in Scotland as elsewhere - could best be exploited by increased production. The trend after 1850 was therefore toward larger breweries in traditional centres like Edingburgh, Alloa, and Glasgow. Improved technology raised the capital threshold of entry to the industry, although for old-established firms, like Younger and Tennent, the increased volume of profits which typified much of the period to 1914 allowed for higher investment in new plant and techniques. Capital in the Scottish industry rose from £600,000 in 1850 to over £6 million in 1900. This growth was accompanied by dramatic structural change, for the number of breweries fell from 220 in 1860 to 125 in 1900. Despite falling numbers several new and important firms, like that of William McEwan in Edinburgh, sprang into being, especially during the 'Brewery Boom' of the 1880's and 1890's. Peak production for the period of 2.2 million barrels was reached in 1899.

Notable product changes also occurred in the later Victorian era, when there was a swing in public taste from heavy to light ales. Scottish brewers took the lead in this respect for experimentation in the brewery science of the day was essentially concerned with low-temperature fermentation and cooling - in which the Scots had considerable experience. Perhaps the most famous product was pale ale - marketed world-wide to expatriate Scots in India and other farflung outposts of Empire. During the 1880s lager brewing was pioneered in Scotland by Tennent in Glasgow and Jeffrey in Edinburgh. Lager ultimately became very popular among Scottish beer drinkers.

Since 1914

Rationalisation after 1914 greatly altered the character of the trade as the number of breweries continued its steady decline. By 1930 there were 45 at work, with an output of 1.3 million barrels. A sign of the times - and a pointer to the future - was the formal linking in 1931 of William Younger and William McEwan, the two leading firms, in a new combine known as Scottish Brewers. Amalgamations became a major feature after World War II, and by 1960 most of the smaller firms had been absorbed by larger counterparts.

By the 1970s only two traditional breweries survived, Maclay's Thistle Brewery in Alloa and the Belhaven Brewery in Dunbar, East Lothian, while in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Alloa three of the 'Big Six' multinationals, Scottish and Newcastle, Tennent-Caledonian, and Allied Breweries dominated much of the Scottish market. English brewers, notably Whitbread and Bass, also expanded their sales north of the Border. Subsequently the resurgence in demand for traditional cask-conditioned ales - 'real ales' - has brought some interesting developments, including the opening by 1980 of two new, small breweries, the Broughton Brewery, Peeblesshire (which produces Greenmantle Ale), and the Bothwell Brewery in Hamilton, Lanarkshire. The brewery giants themselves were not long in being convinced of the demand for 'real ales' and revived the brewing of cask-conditioned beers, including some famous brand-names of former times, like I.P.A. and Eighty Shilling Ale.

As regards the preservation of the industry's history there have been some encouraging developments, notably the establishment at Heriot-Watt University in 1981 of the Scottish Brewing Archive, which has already gathered together many of the important surviving records of the industry in this country. While there is still no museum devoted exclusively to the industry, there is an excellent example of a small working eighteenth century brewery at the historic Traquair House, and most of the larger Scottish museums have brewing material. Several of the older companies still hold interesting items in their care. If all of this material was brought together, it would present a fascinating picture of the industry over two centuries. Pointers to what might be achieved in Edinburgh or Alloa - the logical sites for a Museum of Brewing - are provided by the splendid Bass Museum at Burton and by the Guiness Museum in Dublin. Such a development would be of widespread interest - and be a major asset not only to the brewing industry, but also to the Scottish tourist industry.

Reference

1. Donnachie (1979), **A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland**, John Donald Ltd.

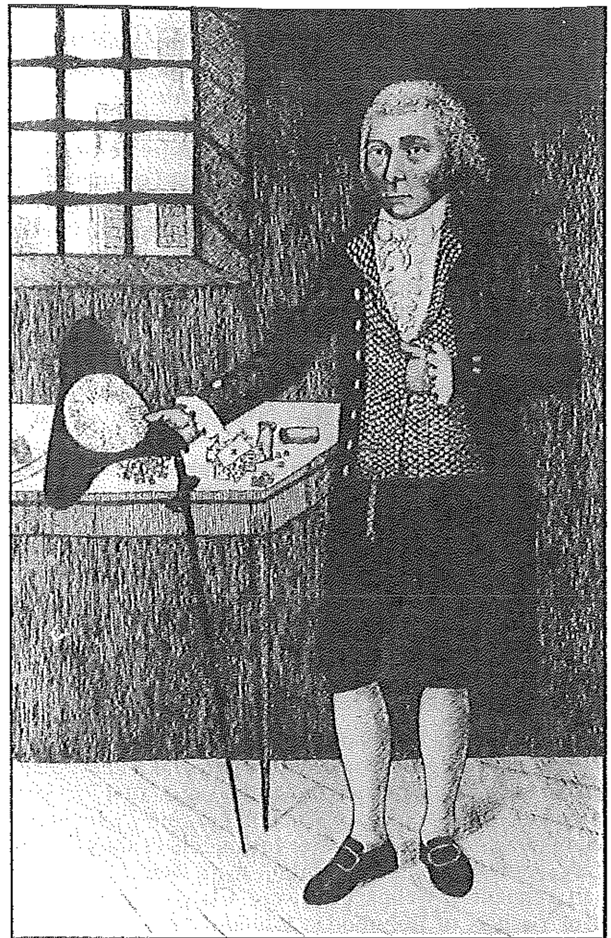
TAVERN NAMES OF THE ROYAL MILE

Graeme Cruickshank

This paper is a study of local historical traditions as reflected in tavern-names. It is confined to the dozen taverns in the Royal Mile whose names exhibit such traditions. There are many more in Edinburgh, the majority concentrated in the Old Town. Their names are specific and generally unique, in contrast to the wide-ranging distribution of common English tavern names, such as the Rose and Crown, the Fox and Hounds, and John Barleycorn.

1. **Ensign Ewart.** Charles Ewart, born on a hill-farm in Lanarkshire in 1769, achieved his boyhood ambition twenty years later when he enlisted in the Royal North British Dragoons. He soon distinguished himself in a series of campaigns in the Low Countries during the French Revolutionary Wars, but his great day came in 1815 at Waterloo. After a number of fierce hand-to-hand engagements, he captured one of the French Eagles - the emblems which were fixed to the poles supporting the regimental colours. His regiment, now known as the Royal Scots Greys, commemorated his act of valour by adopting the Eagle in the design of their badge: it still appears there today. Ewart was acclaimed as a hero, promoted to ensign, and feted wherever he went, notably at the Waterloo Dinner of 1816 in Edinburgh. He died peacefully in 1846 and was buried in Salford, Lancashire. The grave was lost, then rediscovered 90 years later, and his remains were reburied on the Esplanade in front of Edinburgh Castle. A memorial was erected on the spot in 1938, and the Eagle itself was presented to the Castle Museum in 1956, where it may be seen along with personal items belonging to Ensign Ewart. Now the first tavern in the Royal Mile is named after him, with his portrait hanging as its sign - a reminder of this hero of Waterloo, whose bones lie less than the distance of a cavalry charge away.

The Ensign Ewart



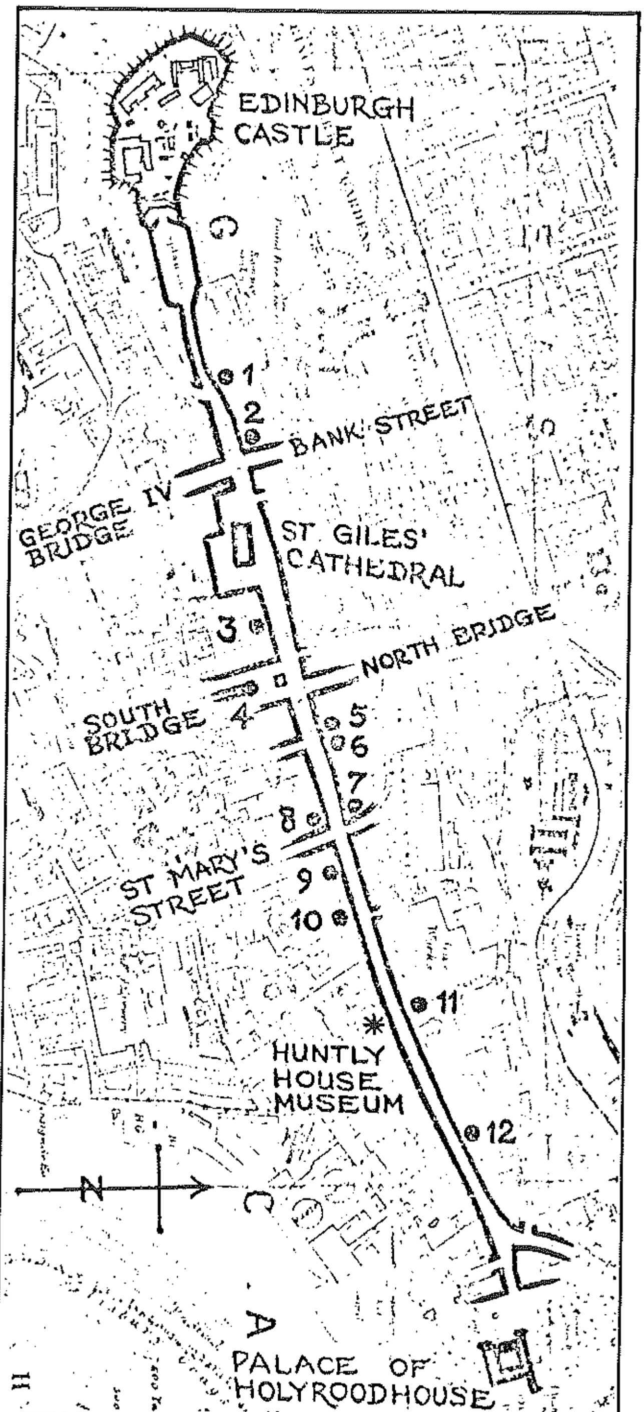
Deacon Brodie

2. **Deacon Brodie's.** William Brodie, a carpenter by training, carried on his father's business as a wright and cabinet-maker in the Lawnmarket in the 1780s. His trade prospered, he was elected a craft deacon, and he held a respected position in society, yet he longed for excitement. Cockfighting became his ruling passion, and then he turned to gambling, using all the tricks of a professional gambler to gain success at dice and cards. This was still not sufficient, however, and he devised more daring schemes. Towards the end of 1786, and for the next couple of years, a series of mysterious robberies occurred in and around the Capital which completely baffled the authorities, for there was never a single clue as to how they had been perpetrated. Merchandise disappeared from shops as if by magic, and the whole city was greatly alarmed. The culprit was William Brodie, and the secret of his success lay in the position of trust which he held. While visiting his shopkeeper friends in the normal course of his day's work, he would surreptitiously take impressions of the keys to their premises, which were normally kept hanging on a nail beside the door. He carried a lump of putty concealed in his hand for this purpose, and he then passed it on to an accomplice who used it to forge duplicate keys. Thus equipped, Brodie found that burglary was a very simple and a highly lucrative nocturnal hobby. Flushed by a number of successes, he then attempted to rob no lesser an establishment than the Excise Office, and although the scheme went wrong, none of the gang was caught. However, one of them who was already wanted by the law traded information with the authorities to save his own hide, and Deacon Brodie, fearing arrest, fled the country. A shocked city could scarcely credit his life of crime, but eventually he was pursued, and run to ground in Holland, on the eve of his departure for America. Brodie was returned to Edinburgh where he stood trial, and was found guilty and duly executed. By an ironical twist of fate, he was the first to test an improvement to the gallows which he himself had been instrumental in recommending - it is said that he died with a smile of satisfaction on his face! People were fascinated by the dual nature of his character - respected craft-deacon by day, rascally burglar by night - and a century later he was used as the prototype of Robert Louis Stevenson's classic example of a split personality, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

3. The Covenanter. The name relates to those who signed or adhered to the National Covenant of 1638. King Charles I, like his father James VI before him, was determined to force an episcopal form of religion upon Scotland, despite the fact that the majority of the population were presbyterians. Opposition to his policies reached a climax with the issuing of a new service book, nicknamed Laud's Liturgy, in 1637. When it was read in St. Giles' Cathedral a riot ensued, and the people's feelings were expressed in a great document called the National Covenant, first subscribed in Greyfriars Churchyard early in 1638. It consisted of three parts - a confession of faith, a list of the acts of parliament condemning popery and confirming presbyterianism, and a declaration that those signing it bound themselves to defend the crown and the 'true religion'. Well over four thousand people signed this document, including quite a few of the nobility and going right through the ranks of society, many of the lower orders simply putting their initials or marks. The Covenanting movement was to suffer much cruelty and repression over the next thirty years, until presbyterianism was finally established by the Revolution Settlement following the overthrow of James VII. To indicate the breadth of its support, copies of the National Covenant were sent to most towns in Scotland, and also to several additional locations in Edinburgh, including a house in the close adjacent to this tavern.

4. The Yellow Carvel. This was the name of a lightly-armed merchant ship, built in the early 1470s for King James III. Her weapons were intended for use against enemy personnel rather than enemy ships, and consisted of small guns, culverines, cross-bows, and double-handed swords. When the ship was grappled by hooks to an enemy, a variety of projectiles could be hurled down from the merse (a fighting platform near the top of the mainmast), such as javelins, fire-balls, and lime-pots. Although thus armed, the Yellow Carvel was essentially a trading ship, under the command of Sir Andrew Wood. The king placed him in charge of Scotland's embryo navy, charged with keeping the seas around the Firth of Forth free of English pirates. Following the assassination of James III, Henry VII of England sent a fleet to attack Dunbarton Castle, but Sir Andrew Wood drove them from the Clyde. Stung by this reversal, Henry retaliated by sending five of his largest vessels to attack shipping in the Forth, and to devastate the coastal towns of Fife and the Lothians. They were engaged by Wood with his fleet of two, the royal ship the Yellow Carvel and his own ship The Flower, and after a fierce action five English prizes were towed into Leith. Outraged by this defeat, Henry offered a reward plus an annual pension of £1000 to any man who could accomplish Wood's death or capture. The offer was taken up by Sir Stephen Bull, a London merchant, who was given the use of three of Henry's largest ships, manned by picked crews, including companies of cross-bow men and pike-men, plus a number of men of rank who joined as volunteers. Bull left the Thames in July 1490, sailed up the east coast, and anchored in the lee of the May Isle, waiting to surprise Wood on his return from Flanders. The English force engaged the Yellow Carvel and the Flower, and the conflict developed into a running fight up the coast of Fife as far as the mouth of the Tay. With all the ships grappled together, fierce hand-to-hand fighting continued for two days and a night, with Wood emerging victorious in the end, and the Yellow Carvel earning a proud place in Scotland's naval history.

5. Allan Ramsay's. Named after the noted Scottish poet (1686 - 1758). He was apprenticed to an Edinburgh wig-maker in 1701, and soon set up his own business. However, Ramsay's great love was poetry, and from 1715 he published occasional rhymes on single sheets, which were well received. Soon he had converted his wig-maker's premises into a bookseller's and publisher's business. His eulogies, satires, and moral discourses attracted influential patrons, and he also indulged in versified correspondence with poetical friends. His fame grew, culminating with the publication in 1725 of his pastoral masterpiece, 'The Gentle Shepherd', which achieved instant success. It is an appreciation of beauty in nature, describing rural scenes, customs and characters. Loathe to risk his reputation, he wrote little during the remaining thirty years of his life, relying on the fame he had already won. Until 1726, when Allan



GROUP FOR REGIONAL STUDIES IN MUSEUMS

ANNUAL STUDY WEEKEND – EDINBURGH 1981

Tavern Names of the Royal Mile

The Lawnmarket

1 Ensign Ewart
2 Deacon Brodie's

The High Street

3 The Covenanter
4 The Yellow Carvel (Hunter Square)
5 Allan Ramsay's
6 The Royal Mile
7 The Royal Archer
8 The World's End

The Canongate

9 The White Horse
10 The Blue Blanket
11 The Tolbooth Tavern
12 Jenny Ha's

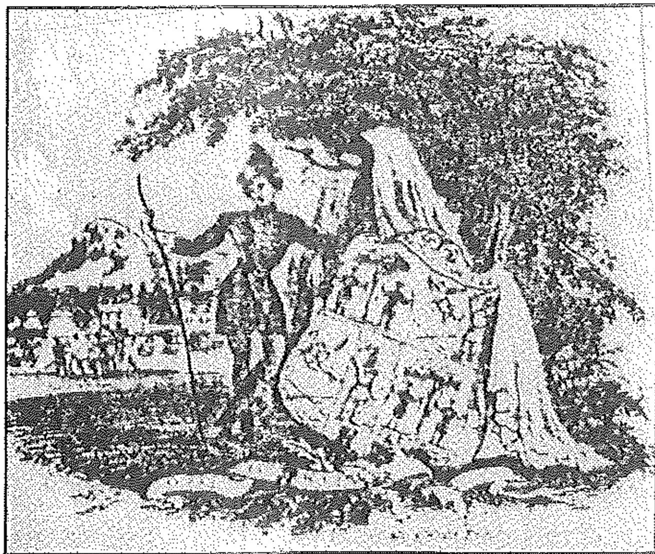
Graeme Cruickshank
Local History Officer
Edinburgh City Museums

Huntly House Museum
142 Canongate
Edinburgh 8

Ramsay moved to the Luckenbooths beside St. Giles' Cathedral, his bookseller's shop was located in the lower High Street, on the site where the tavern named after him now stands.

6. **The Royal Mile.** This is the modern name given to the thoroughfare which runs down the ridge stretching from Edinburgh Castle to the Palace of Holyroodhouse. It consists of five separate streets - Castlehill, the Lawnmarket, the High Street, the Canongate, and Abbey Strand. The Royal Mile has only been regarded as an entity in comparatively recent times, for until 1856 the Canongate was a burgh in its own right, outwith the official boundaries of the royal burgh of Edinburgh. It became known as the Royal Mile because there is a royal castle at the top and a royal palace at the bottom, with one mile between them - not a modern statute mile, however, but a long Scots mile, equal to 1984 yards.

7. **The Royal Archer.** The Royal Company of Archers may owe its origin to King James I, who appointed commissioners to enforce and supervise the practice of archery in the early 15th century. Because they were all expert bowmen and mostly men of rank, they were formed into a company to attend the king on occasions when he might be endangered. There is a tradition that on the field of Flodden, the body of James IV was found surrounded and virtually covered by the corpses of his archer guard. The practice of archery was encouraged, while pastimes of lesser military value such as football and golf were outlawed. The oldest extant records of the Royal Company of Archers date back to 1676. It received its charter from Queen Anne in 1703, and was given the offical title of the royal bodyguard for Scotland at the grand visit of George IV in 1822. Its duties are mainly ceremonial, such as furnishing the guard of honour at court and during receptions held by the monarch at the Palace of Holyroodhouse. During each visit, the Company must present the sovereign with the reddendo of three barbed arrows, as prescribed in its charter. In addition to performing ceremonial duties during royal visits, the members still engage in toxophily; regular competitions are held on the Meadows, and the Museelburgh Silver Arrow is still shot for, as it has been since 1603. The Company's toast is 'The Mark', for hitting the target has



The Royal Archer

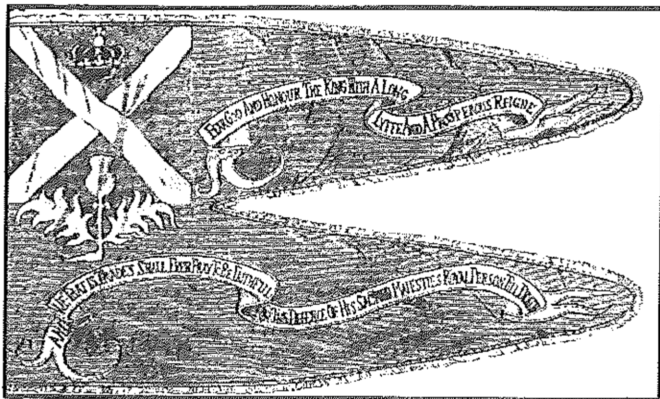
always been regarded as the first and foremost duty of the members of the Royal Company of Archers.

8. **The World's End.** This is the name given to the last close at the bottom of the High Street. As mentioned previously, the thoroughfare now known as the Royal Mile lay in two burghs - Edinburgh, growing downhill from the Castle, and the Canongate, growing uphill from the Abbey. The two met at St. Mary's Street, a little more than halfway down the ridge. The contrast between the two burghs was very marked. Edinburgh, perched along the high ridge, owed its prosperity to a charter granted by Robert the Bruce in 1329, based on foreign trade through the port of Leith, and thriving craft industries. A series of walls protected the city to the east and the south, while nature had done a more than adequate job to the west and north with the Castle Rock and the Nor' Loch. The Canongate, on the other hand, sat on the lower part of the ridge, and had no protection, either from nature or from man-made walls. As it was a holy foundation, stemming from the Abbey of Holyrood, its pious inhabitants hoped that God would be its protector, but this was not regarded as a deterrant by invading armies from England, and on several occasions the undefended Canongate was burnt down prior to an attack on Edinburgh. The principal gateway to the city lay at the bottom of the High Street, a heavily fortified structure known as the Netherbow Port. Several were built over a long period, and the last, constructed in 1606, was not removed until 1764. It was a potent physical reminder of the existance of two separate burghs, and of the fact that only one was defended. The last close in Edinburgh was called the World's End, for the next one lay outwith the protection afforded by the Netherbow Port.

9. **The White Horse.** The small White Horse at the top of the Canongate is but a pale reflection of the great White Horse Inn which stood here in the 18th century. It provided commodious if somewhat primitive accommodation, but is best remembered as a coaching inn, being the place of departure for the express coach to London, and also of services to Aberdeen, Stirling, Berwick, and Jedburgh. In addition to the normal pursuits of an inn at this time, the White Horse offered at least one unorthodox service. A particular room on the premises was the scene of frequent marriages of runaway English couples, who had come north to take advantage of Scotland's more liberal laws. The name of the tavern dates from the 1770's, when the innkeeper was James Boyd, a man much addicted to horse-racing. He took a keen interest, usually with a large financial stake to back it up, in all the races held on the sands at Leith. However, a run of bad luck brought him to the brink of ruin, but risking all, he gambled his future on a white horse. The animal did him proud and restored his fortunes, and in gratitude Boyd kept it in peaceful retirement for the rest of its days, and set up its portrait as the sign of his inn.

10. **The Blue Blanket.** This was the name given to the standard of the Craft Incorporations of Old Edinburgh. There is a fabled account that it originated during the Crusades, when a band of Scottish craftsmen assisted in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. Upon returning to Edinburgh, they lodged their banner in the church of St. Giles', where it became an object of veneration. The traditionally-accepted account of its origin, however, refers to an incident during the reign of James III. He had antagonised his nobles by preferring the counsel of low-born favourites to theirs, and by creating the notorious 'black money' by debasing the silver coinage. The people were also in a restless mood following bad harvests, famine, and plague, and the country was in no mood for war when James set out to meet the threat of an invasion from England in 1482. He was confronted by his nobles at Lauder, but he refused to dismiss his favourites, so the nobles hanged six of them, marched the King back to Edinburgh, and imprisoned him in the Castle. The English army installed the King's ambitious brother, the Duke of Albany, as Regent in his place, and left James a prisoner. It was at this point that the ordinary citizens of Edinburgh took a hand in events, and rising to the assistance of their sovereign, they secured his release. In gratitude, James granted a charter to Edinburgh bestowing special privileges on the city, and mindful that it was the craftsmen that he owed the biggest debt, he granted them the special right that whenever their sovereign or their own privileges were threatened, they were to rise in arms under a particular banner which he presented to them. It was made by the ladies of the court, and his queen, Margaret of Denmark, is reputed to have sewn on the decorative motifs herself. This flag was nicknamed the Blue Blanket. It was carried by the Edinburgh contingant to Flodden, and although the Lord provost, the four bailies, and a great many burgesses failed to return, the Blue Blanket did, though it was not to leave Edinburgh again. It was unfurled periodically in the 16th century by the craftsmen to aid a monarch in a difficult situation - about 1520, when James V was imprisoned in the Edinburgh Tolbooth for failing to meet his debts to the city; in 1567, when Mary Queen of

Scots was humiliated on the eve of her imprisonment in Loch Leven Castle; and in 1592, when James VI was trapped in the Tolbooth by an enraged mob, furious at his attempts to establish an episcopal form of religion. In all these efforts, the followers of the Blue Blanket were successful. It was also used as a general rallying point, as during the invasion of Henry



The Blue Blanket

VIII's army in 1544, and by the craftsmen in defence of their own rights, as in 1542 when the ruling merchant class threatened to exclude them from civic affairs entirely. With the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the monarch moved too far away to receive further assistance from the Blue Blanket, which was then lodged in the Hammermen's Chapel (they being the premier craft guild), which was located in the Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate, only a short distance from the modern tavern.

11. The Tolbooth Tavern. It nestles adjacent to the tower of the Canongate Tolbooth. Most Scottish burghs had a tolbooth, which acted as the centre of local administration, and the Canongate, being a burgh in its own right and separate from Edinburgh for most of its existence, had its own tolbooth. The present building dates from 1591, and was erected on the site of an earlier tolbooth; the burgh itself was founded in 1128. This Tolbooth served the Canongate for more than two and a half centuries, performing the triple function of council chamber, court house, and prison. It was sorely stretched to fulfil the latter capacity, especially in coping with the numbers of debtors, and the situation was only eased with the building of a new prison on the Calton Hill in 1817. The last civil cases were heard here before the magistrates in 1853, and under the Edinburgh Municipality Extension Act of 1856, the Canongate lost the authority of a burgh and was engrossed by the expanding royal burgh of Edinburgh. Although the legal function of the Tolbooth ceased at that time, it continued to serve the local community, acting in various capacities such as library, registrar's office, fire station, police office, management committee premises, and dance hall. Today it is recognised as one of the most picturesque buildings in Edinburgh, with its tower housing a belfrey (containing two bells, one for the old burgh, the other for the church next door) and also its turrets and corbie gable, its distinctive clock supported on curved brackets, and even oyster shells embedded in the mortar joints to ward off evil spirits. The Canongate Tolbooth now serves as a local museum.

12. Jenny Ha's. This was one of the most popular taverns in town in the 18th century. It was run by a jovial land-lady named Janet Hall, affectionately known as Jenny Ha', and gentlemen would often adjourn here after dinner parties. A favourited drink was claret from the butt, which was drunk by the pint! One of the many celebrated characters who frequented Jenny Ha's was Singing Jamie Balfour. When he had to be, he was a formal and efficient accountant, but he only did enough work to ensure that he could pursue his main pleasures in life - drinking and singing. In both of these activities he won great renown, his favourite tipple being cappie ale (ale served in wooden quaichs with 'wee thochts' of brandy in it). Another popular drink served at Jenny Ha's was Younger's Edinburgh Ale, a potent fluid which almost glued the lips of the drinker together! Very few people were able to dispatch more than one bottle at a sitting. The building itself, erected about 1600, was not constructed of masonry but simply of timber, lathe and plaster and it was in a somewhat ruinous condition when it was demolished in 1857. In this way there disappeared much of the colour and character of the old Edinburgh taverns.

Footnote:
It is an unfortunate feature of recent years that a number of the friendly hostelries and howffs have been converted into lounge bars and wine bars, with meaningless, trendy names replacing those which evoked a sense of history. Since I embarked on this project a few years ago, several have disappeared from the Royal Mile alone. When I started composing this paper in the late spring of 1981 there were fourteen; by the time I delivered it in the summer there were only twelve; and now, as it goes to press, the total has been reduced to eleven - sadly, the Yellow Carvel is no more.
It will be evident that this paper has not attempted to tell the full story, but I hope that it has at least indicated the extent to which the history of the Royal Mile is bound up in its tavern names. Clearly this was a factor considered to be of some importance by those who controlled the product outlet relating to the brewing and distilling industries. In studying this subject, the local historian must always remember to balance the academic examination of documentary sources with the essential first-hand experience which can only be gained through conscientious fieldwork!

Graeme Cruickshank

A note on the illustrations

(1) Ensign Ewart. This illustration shows Charles Ewart capturing one of the French Eagles. It is taken from a painting by Richard Ansdell, RA, entitled 'The Fight for the Standard', which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1848; Ewart sat for his portrait. It is now on display in the Scottish United Services Museum in Edinburgh Castle. It is illustrated in **The Scotsman**, 5th April 1962. The copy lithograph of the painting was published by Schenck & McFarlane, and is illustrated in James Paterson's **Autobiographical Reminiscences** (Glasgow, 1871), opp. p. 205; also in the Edinburgh Evening News, 13th March 1937.

(2) Deacon Brodie. This etching of William Brodie by John Kay, dated 1788, shows him wearing a rather sullen expression, possibly after his capture and incarseration in the condemned cell of the Tolbooth. On the table beside Brodie are playing cards, and dice and shakers, evidence of his disreputable career as a professional gambler. Below his hat is a pile of keys by which means he effected his daring burglaries. Reprinted from **A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay, miniature painter, Edinburgh** Edinburgh, 1837), plate CV, facing p. 256 (here reduced).

(7) The Royal Archer. Engraving of a member of the Royal Company of Archers in full livery, bow in hand. He is depicted leaning against a large shield which bears the Company's coat of arms; behind him an archery competition is taking place (probably on the Meadows), and in the distance is Arthur's Seat. The engraving was printed by Gellatly & White of Edinburgh to embellish the bill-heads of Peter Muir, bow maker to the Queen's Body Guard at Archers' Hall, Edinburgh. This example is dated 31st March 1863. It is believed that this is the first time that this illustration has been published. (Reproduced by courtesy of Edinburgh City Libraries).

(10) The Blue Blanket. This is the commonly-accepted representation of the standard of the Craft Incorporations of Old Edinburgh, poularly termed 'The Blue Blanket'. Reprinted from **Old and New Edinburgh** by James Grant (London, 1882 - 83, vol. 1, p. 36.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRADE:

THE CARLISLE AND DISTRICT STATE MANAGEMENT SCHEME 1916 - 1971.

The Carlisle and District State Management Scheme was one of the most drastic measures of liquor control ever carried out in the British Isles - in effect nationalisation of the breweries and public houses in the Carlisle area. Originally administered by the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) the scheme was set up in 1916 to counter the persistent drunkenness of immigrant navvies who had arrived to construct the huge munitions factory between Gretna and Longtown. In 1921 it became the Carlisle and District State Management Scheme. Official reports always referred to the Scheme as an experiment. It was however, an experiment which was to last 55 years until it was finally ended under the Conservative Government of 1971.

A. The background

Social questions dominated public thought in Britain at this time. The General Election of 1906 was the first token of this. Social legislation included measures concerning the health of school children, State pensions for the aged and National Insurance (for sickness and unemployment) and setting up Boards to supervise the 'sweated trades' and Labour Exchanges. It was also a period of social unrest indicated by the 1911 transport strikes and 1912 colliers' strikes.

The mid and late decades of the 19th century had seen the Temperance Reform Movement at the centre of a great debate on intoxicating liquors. However, this particular social problem was not successfully tackled on a large scale until the outbreak of war in 1914 when it became vitally necessary to restrict the consumption of alcohol because of the damaging effect of drunkeness on the war effort.

It wasn't only the British Government experiencing these problems. All states involved in the war needed to check the inefficiency and waste caused by drink. Even neutral nations took drastic action through considerations of efficiency or economy or both.

Russia, where State Monopoly of vodka made swift action practicable, without delay prohibited the state sale of vodka. The traffic in absinthe was suppressed in France, Italy and Egypt. Germany reduced the quantity of beer to be brewed down to 23% of average pre-war output so that barley could be kept for bread. Austria forbade the malting of corn whilst war conditions existed. To conserve their food supplies, neutral European states restricted the alcohol industries. For example, both Denmark and Switzerland delcared illegal the use of potatoes and certain kinds of corn for distilling. When the United States joined the Allies in the spring of 1917, the selling or giving of alcoholic liquor to American troops was prohibited. Further restrictions followed. In 1918 the coal shortage in the United States led to the drastic decision to close all breweries. A later Act decreed complete Prohibition for the term of the war and demobilisation. Measures were taken in Canada and in Australia and New Zealand too.

The motives worldwide were concern for military and industrial efficiency and the need for economy. The menace of drink to national safety, what a French publicist called the 'Internal enemy', was a very real threat. Governments therefore were prepared to risk the internal controversy proposed reform of the drink trade always caused.

B. The Setting up of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic)

Concern in Britain grew. Lloyd George's speech at Bangor on February 28th 1915 can be seen as a turning point:

"Most of our workmen are putting every ounce of strength into this urgent work for their country, loyally and patriotically. But that is not true of all. There are some, I am sorry to say, who shirk their duty in this great emergency. I hear of workmen in armament works who refuse to work a full week's work for the nation's need. What is the reason? They are a minority. But you must remember a small minority of workmen can throw a whole works out of gear. What is the reason? Sometimes it is one thing, sometimes it is another, but let us be perfectly candid. It is mostly the lure of the drink. They refuse to work full time, and, when they return, their strength and efficiency are impaired by the way in which they have spent their leisure. Drink is doing us more damage in the war than all the German submarines put together."

as quoted in 'The Times', March 1st, 1915.

The government formed a dual plan to deal with the problem. The first proposal was an increase in taxation of the Trade. It aroused great opposition and it was argued that the new taxes would cause widespread unemployment. Certainly they would have meant a huge increase in price. For example in 1914 the tax on heavy beer was 7s. 9d. per standard barrel. Under the new scale a tax of 60s. per barrel was proposed. By May 7, 1915 these measures were entirely withdrawn.

Having fought and won that battle the Trade seems to have had less energy to oppose the second measure - Control. Strong evidence of the ill-effects of drink on the war effort was given by Home Office Investigators involved at the shipyards, at munitions works and in transport areas. Part of the evidence cited by Lloyd George concerned a report on the shipyards by a deputation from ship-building firms:

"In many cases the number of hours being worked was actually less than before the war . . . less productiveness was being secured from the men. The deputation was of the opinion that this was principally due to the question of drink". He also referred to a report by a Munitions firm which stated:

"Loss of time from drink is most noticeable in the shell department, about ten per cent of the total time worked". The government countered the opposition to its plans for state control from the Labour Party and the Temperance Movement. The attitude of the trade itself is revealed by the words of Sir George Younger after a meeting of its representatives with Lloyd George.

"There was no trader there who did not dislike the proposals but they thought for patriotic reasons that they were bound to accept what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said was necessary".

In the Lords the Bill was championed by Lord Lansdown. On May 19 1915 it received the royal ascent. Names of the thirteen members of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) were announced on May 27. The powers of the Board were specifically expressed by a series of Liquor Control Regulations made under the Defence of the Realm (Amendment) No. 3 Act. No time was then lost in getting underway. On July 6 ten ship-building and transport areas were defined by Order in Council and restrictive orders made for them. From that date on one area after another was dealt with until the main manufacturing naval and military districts throughout Great Britain were brought under control. The call to act normally came from a Government department.

The work of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) had two sides - restrictive and constructive.

Its restrictive work can be summarised thus:

1. Restrictions of drinking facilities including closure of licensed premises, restrictions on the conditions of sale (for example 'treating' and the 'long pull' were prohibited).
2. Restrictions of the hours of sale (for example weekday 'on sale' hours were cut down to five and a half hours when in London they had been seventeen and in Scotland eleven to thirteen before the war).
3. Additional restrictions on the sale of spirits operating in certain areas (e.g. prohibition in North and West Scotland; fewer hours for off-sales; spirit-less weekends imposed on Carlisle).
4. Conditions as to distribution.

Its constructive work comprised:

1. State purchase in certain areas. This provision affected Enfield Lock (where there was a Royal Small Arms Factory); the Cromarty Firth area (naval base); the Gretna area and the Carlisle area (Munitions Factory).
2. Provision of Industrial Canteens in shipyards, dock areas munition works and an attempt to stimulate the sale of food on licensed premises.
3. Encouragement of the sale of 'light' beer (not more than 2% proof) and of the replacement of heavy by less alcoholic beer, strong by weaker spirits.

4. Investigation of the effects of alcohol by a team of doctors who published a book 'Alcohol! Its Action on the Human Organism' in 1918.

The work of the Board affected all licensed premises and registered clubs and all types of liquor. Contravention of an order by the Board could mean a maximum penalty of £100 and six months' imprisonment. Goods involved were confiscated. The Board had the power to stop the sale and supply of drink in any licensed premises. In the period 1916 - 1918 168 licensed premises were affected, the sale and supply of liquor prohibited for the remainder of the current licensing year.

(It is worth remembering the restrictions not imposed by the Board:
Prohibition Sex Discrimination Rationing Heavier Penalties.)

C. Carlisle: a special case.

Carlisle had already experienced the problems an over-large influx of immigrant workers can bring when thousands of Irish navvies arrived to construct the railways. They were homeless, exploited men living apart from their families. Their work was hard, its frustrations unleashed in their spare time. Drink provided and escape. The Carlisle liquor trade boomed and the number of public houses proliferated. Reports in the 'Carlisle Patriot' read like despatches from a revolutionary front and the militia had had to be called in to police the city.

During the 1914 - 1918 war a similar situation arose. The Government purchased an area of land seven miles long between Longtown and Gretna. Thousands of Irish navvies were brought to build and man the factory since local men had volunteered and, in any case, the local labour force was inadequate for a task of such size. Something like 22,000 men arrived to help with the construction work. Accommodation was short - some were even lodged as far south as Penrith. Many landladies were somewhat unwilling to house the navvies. Each evening the men made for Carlisle to the one place they could be assured of a welcome - the public house. The labourers were very well paid - around £20 per week - but had little to spend their money on. Except drink.

The only available train to Carlisle on a working night arrived five minutes before closing time. Pints would be poured in readiness, Sammy Boustead's bar being closest to the station. Five thousand men would descend upon the city and their resulting drunkeness was frightening. An observer described:

"Inns where men stand in solid formation to make massed attacks on the alcohol and even stand in elevated echelon all up the staircases because there isn't room enough on the floor". Another felt that

"The spectacle of stupified men, often turned violent by their nightly excesses, can only offend the ordinary decent folk of this unfortunate town. But the spectacle of healthy young women rendered senseless by their manifest depravity can only be described as obscene".

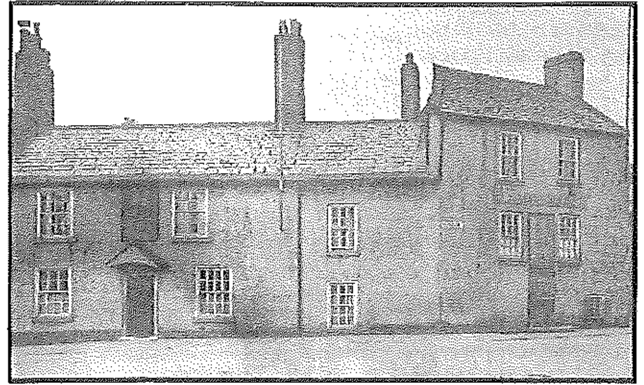
Convictions for drunkenness in Carlisle rose alarmingly.

Numbers Convicted	Period
35	July - September 1915
170	October - December 1915
213	January - March 1916
351	April - June 1916
199	July - September 1916
190	October - December 1916

Adequate supervision in the small overcrowded pubs was impossible. On November 22, 1915 the Central Control Board placed the area under general restrictions. Opening hours were restricted to five and a half hours; Monday to Friday and banned at weekends; 'treating' and the 'long pull' prohibited.

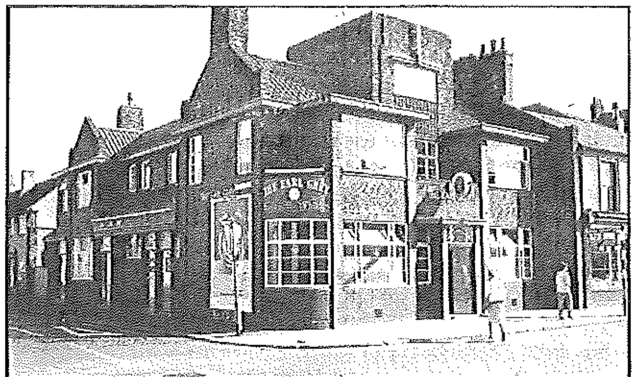
But these measures were not enough. In 1916 a list of 85 boroughs was drawn up showing the ratio of convictions for drunkeness to population. Carlisle came top of the list. The Gretna munitions workers were responsible for 788 of the 953 convictions in 1916. A conference involving the Central Control Board and the local authorities decided on more drastic action - the purchase of public houses in the immediate vicinity of the munitions factory. This began in March 1916.

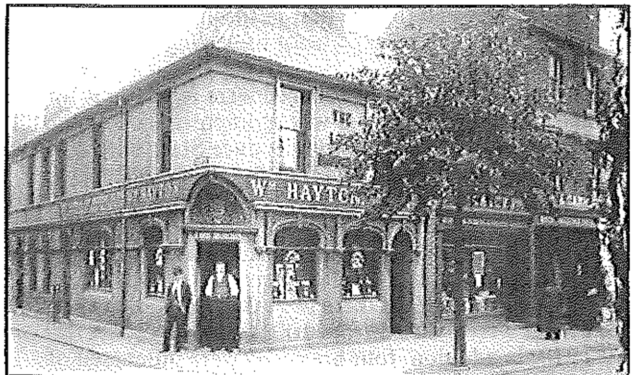
The undertakings of the Board at Enfield Lock and Cromarty Firth were small and did not affect local people very


Malt Shovel before rebuilding

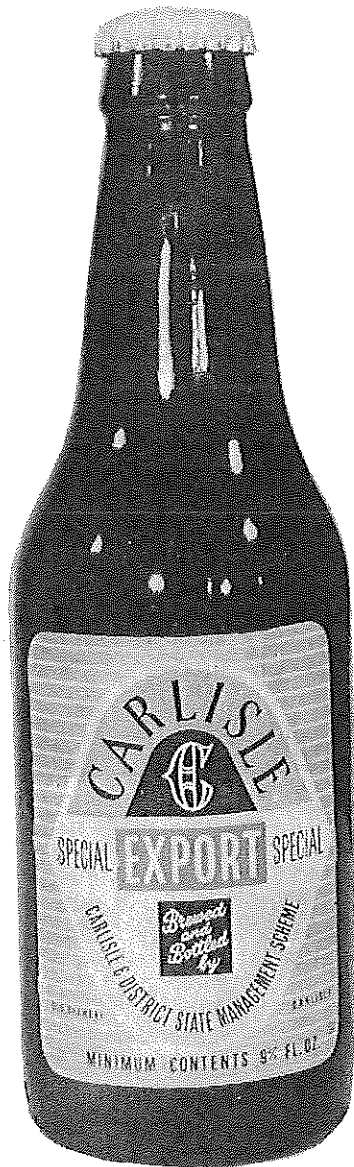
Malt Shovel after rebuilding

Golden Lion Hotel, Butchergate c.1900


The Earl Grey, Rydal Street



Lord Brougham Public House c1900



much. But this was not to be the case on the Border. The eventual area covered was 500 square miles extending from Ecclefechan to Maryport and a population of 140,000. First the township of Gretna and its district were taken over. The scheme was extended first to Annan, then eastwards to Longtown in England, then to the Firth of Solway on the English side and finally to Maryport (since a brewery there owned many of the pubs in Carlisle). Dumfries was never included. Much of the area is rural and its towns are small. The area of largest concentration of population, Carlisle, a city of 52,000 in 1914, was therefore affected more than any other area.

Mr. Edgar Sanders, later knighted for his achievements, was appointed the first General Manager. Previously he had worked as Clerk to one of the Licensing Justices in Liverpool which at that time had the strictest licensing Justices in Britain. He had had some experience of dealing with Irish immigrant workers, too.

Many of the measures introduced were regulations for all 'controlled' districts. But there was an important difference in the Carlisle area - the decision to introduce State Purchase, regarded by many as drastic and socialist. It meant that reforms could be carried out quicker and the area more easily supervised. A great many licensed premises were closed down. In June 1916 there were seven clubs and 119 licensed premises of which all but two hotel licences were acquired by the Board. By December 1918 there were only 69 'on' licences. 'Off' licences were reduced from 100, the 1916 figure, to 15 by 1918. In addition, four breweries were purchased of which the Board closed three. Many pubs were reconstructed to provide easily-supervised accommodation. The kitchen became a prominent part of the plans since the selling of cheap and good food, in order to discourage drinking of alcoholwas one of the Board's policies. The provision of music, games, facilities for writing letters etc. were other methods employed by the Board to discourage heavy drinking.

A statutory notice of acquisition was served personally on the occupier of the premises. Compensation often leaned to the side of generosity since the acquisition was compulsory. In most cases the tenant of the public house was then employed by the Central Control Board as manager. The generous salary of £2. 5s. a week was fixed irrespective of the trade done in alcohol and a commission was given on non-alcoholic sales. They were subject to a rigorous system of inspection and presented with a list of rules.

Advertising or 'printed pestering to drink' as the Board called it was dispensed with. The whole purpose of the Board's work was to give as little indication as possible that the buildings were public houses.

D. Harry Redfern.

Many of Charlie's pubs were closed. The rest were improved to make them places where supervision of customers was easier and drink was not the sole attraction. The man principally responsible for the rebuilding of the Scheme's houses was the architect Harry Redfern.

Redfern was appointed Architect to the Central Control Board in 1916 and he continued in this capacity under the State Management Scheme. Previously he had carried on a private practice in the south of England which included work for both Oxford and Cambridge Universities and restoration work on ancient buildings. He had an individual approach to architecture which in many ways was unorthodox. Yet its ingredients were a careful selection of many different styles o design.

The Board's first scheme was the conversion of the old Carlisle Post Office to the Gretna Tavern, the first of the 'Food Taverns". According to an official report it was "designed to provide for the navvies and munitions workers a comfortable place where a substantial meal, with beer, could be obtained at a reasonable price". It was a simple and inexpensive conversion - tables and benches were put in ,the post office counter became the bar and the walls were paintec a utility prison-grey. The sorting office became the restaurant At first the tavern failed to become popular since no-one had any desire to sit down to a meal and a drink in drab surround ings similar to a workplace. However, the walls were repaintec pink and in consequence became popular with the women munition workers - dinner cost 1/3d.

The first of Redfern's original designs to be carried out ir Carlisle was that for the 'Malt Shovel' on the corner of the Corporation Road and Rickergate. Redfern provided stabling for eight horses at the rear because of the proximity of the cattle market. Among architects, the plans for the 'Malt Shovel' are considered to be Redfern's best. The building was modern, yet balanced with the old Carlisle.

Redfern's next project was the 'Apple Tree Inn' in Lowther Street. This was little more than a drinking shop, with a very small frontage. The Control Board purchased the whole block and Redfern designed a new building which quadrupled the size of the old pub. It had six bars, including one especially long bar closed during the week but opened to accommodate heavy weekend trade. It is generally though that a private brewery could not have built a similar pub.

His most bizarre design must be that of the 'Crescent Inn' in Warwick Road. Its facade is faced with terra cotta wa and the roof is covered with bright green glazed tiles. What tl facade doesn't owe to Spanish-Moorish influence is rather unsubtle art . There is a balcony over the front door and someone has remarked that all the 'Crescent' needs to finish off its visual appearance is a dark-haired senorita clasping castanets and a gay young toreador standing in Warwick Road serenading her with his guitar whilst she tosses blood red roses at his feet! Some have felt it too exotic for Carlisle Redfern hunted all over the world to find the right terra cott and was just as particular about the interior of the building.

Upstairs, the interior is a peculiar mixture of Jacobean and Georgian styles - a mock minstrels' gallery and round arched windows.

There is a great variety and imagination shown in his work – (1928 - 1930)
Jacobean pastiche - in 'The Coach and Horses', Kingstown
broadly Georgian - 'The Crown', Stanwix
country retreats - 'The Spinners' Arms', Cummersdale
'The Horse and Farrier', Raffles
art deco, chromium plate - 'The Earl Grey', Botchergate

An official report presented to Parliament in 1931 said that:

"There are few houses in which considerable improvement has not been made, and the new houses . . . . are generally speaking, models of public house construction".

Speaking at the Institute of British Architects in 1932, Lord Amulree said that

"Mr. Redfern will leave behind him a monument more enduring than bricks and mortar. He has captured the spirit of the Border City, and designed different types of houses which are a tribute to his artistic and professional skill".

In his lifetime Redfern began to have a great influence on his fellow public house architects. For anyone setting about the serious business of designing a pub it was considered almost essential to pay a visit to Carlisle. Of all the people associated with the State Management Scheme, Redfern left the most distinctive impression. He died in 1950 and his name has been perpetuated in the 'Redfern Inn' on St. Ann's Hill in Carlisle. It was designed very much in Redfern's inimitable style by his assistant, Mr. Joseph Siddon.

E. The continuation of Control: the long Experiment

The Armistice was signed in November, 1918. The end of the war meant the run-down of the Gretna munitions factory. The population of the district which had been substantially boosted during the war years subsided to its natural level.

The regular population of the district had always believed that the Control Board's takeover of their drinking would be a temporary measure. It had been a measure to control the munitions workers rather than the normally sober citizens. So when the workers left most people thought that the Control Board's powers would be taken away and the experiment concluded.

There was a general feeling of disappointment when this did not happen. Returning soldiers were not pleased to find that what had been one of their simple pleasures had become the subject of Parliamentary concern. Soldiers whose families had kept pubs found it particularly difficult to take in the changes especially since as late as 1921 the matter of compensation had not been fully settled in some cases. There were complaints at the poor quality and high price of the beer - but such complaints were to be found all over the country. Surprisingly local people also objected to the Board's policy of reconstruction. It was regarded as a 'waste of money' during a time of war. There was also a feeling that it was spoiling perfectly good public houses. 'Snugs' were removed and with them privacy. Ernest Selley reports ('The English Public House as it is') that one woman told him that in the past she had been able to slip in for a drink without anyone being the wiser. This was no longer possible in the reconstructed pubs:

"There's no privacy now. If a woman wants a drink she has to go where she's seen and she doesn't like it'.

The indications are that most residents of Carlisle held strongly partisan opinions about state purchase. Had there been a referendum on the subject in 1919 or 1920 it is very unlikely that the result would have been in favour of continued control.

By the early 1920s the existence of the Board was being openly questioned. Its very name suggested an outmoded institution. In addition the war had destroyed the Victorian-Edwardian top-heavy moral consciousness. However, local officialdom took a very different view. Colonel Spence, the Chief Constable of Carlisle Police, referred annually in his reports to the good effects of the scheme. He felt that the improvement had come about mainly through the changed status of the landlords of pubs who as civil servants enjoyed a better relationship with the Law. The Local Advisory Committee also believed that State Control had been socially beneficial. Edgar Sanders, General Manager, took a less narrow view and suggested that the liquor trade could be carried on under reasonable regulation without interfering with the liberty and tastes of the people.

The decision to continue control was made without reference to the Carlisle public or local officials. Major Lowther, M.P. for Penrith and the Border, objected and the press too called for an end to the scheme. It was felt that it singled out the citizens of Carlisle unfairly, an unwelcome stigma. There was no decision to extend control - economies imposed by the Geddes Committee made it impossible - so the Bill proposed the dissolution of the Central Control Board by the continuation of control under the new title of the Carlisle and District State Management Scheme.

After the passage of the Licensing Act in September, 1921 the Carlisle scheme was officially regarded as an experiment in social policy and was referred to as such in Parliament.

The Carlisle scheme was placed under direct control of the Home Secretary, the Cromarty Firth and Gretna schemes under direct control of the Scottish Office. Such things as licensing, hours of opening, special licensing and restrictions were put in the hands of the local magistrates. There was no longer any point in actively discouraging drinking - it was not a severe social problem. However, the attitude towards advertising continued.

So the Scheme gradually consolidated its position and made a steadily rising profit.

In 1925 a Committee was set up under Lord Southborough to consider the system of 'disinterested management' in the State Management Schemes. It may be that the Conservative government headed by Stanley Baldwin wanted to wind up the Schemes. However, the Committee concluded, although somewhat half-heartedly, that the Schemes should be retained. In any case, by the mid 1920s Carlisle people were proud of a feature unique to the area and the feeling was that the Scheme did no harm and a lot of good.

The Scheme was reviewed again by the Royal Commission on Licensing 1929 - 1931. Although a Minority Report came out against the Scheme the main Report of 1932 recommended that State Management of the liquor trade should be applied elsewhere.

Extension of the Scheme to other areas was not considered again until after the war when Winston Churchill lost the General Election and a Labour Government headed by Clement Atlee came to power with great plans for the concept of nationalisation. The Home Secretary, Herbert Morrison, planned to introduce State Control in the New Towns. But all plans were filed when a Conservative Government was returned to power in 1951.

F. Ending of the Scheme

Perhaps apathy, more than anything else kept the Scheme in being for so long. Morrison's plans were not resurrected by Wilson's Governments.

At New Year, 1971 the Conservative Government announced its plans to denationalise the Carlisle, Gretna and Cromarty Firth Schemes (the Enfield Lock Scheme had been sold back to private enterprise in 1922). Too late the Labour Party began to show an interest. After 55 years local people had come to respect the Scheme. Carlisle M.P., Ron Lewis, ironically a member of the Temperance Group, put the case for the retention of the Scheme. But the Licensing (Abolition of State Management) Bill received 277 votes for and 226 against. The long 'experiment' was at an end.

Sue Kirby

THE PUBLIC HOUSE AND THE COMMUNITY

Veronica Hartwich

Until the first half of the 19th century, the public house looked much like what its name suggests - a domestic house which is open to the public. There were few alterations made to give it a distinctive appearance. It was the gradual industrialisation of brewing and the growth of spirit distilling which changed the publican's role from that of brewer to commercial retailer and, hence, encouraged changes in the form of the public house.

Little is known about pre-19th century Scottish public houses as few have survived into modern times and even fewer of these unaltered. Illustrations tend only to show exterior views. It seems certain, however, that they fitted into this pattern. In Dundee, examples are known to have existed both of converted dwelling houses and of buildings specifically constructed on domestic lines but with the addition of brewseat outbuildings at the back.

It is important to remember that the majority of the 19th and early 20th century public houses in Scotland were Free Houses, neither built by nor controlled by a brewery. A survey made for the Dundee Burgh Licensing Court during the early years of this century show that only a few houses were owned by breweries. Of these, one was the property of a firm from outside the town, while the rest were premises attached to the actual breweries to provide an immediate sales outlet. It is only since the last war and, particularly, since the 1960's when so many small local breweries were swallowed up by the big firms, that the brewers have come to take a place in the public house market. At first they began by building the pubs to serve the new outlying housing estates, then later moved to buying up older city premises. But, in Dundee at least, Free Houses are still to be found.

The Scottish urban public house characteristically occupied the street level flat (or occasionally an upper floor) of a tenement building. As in other parts of the country, corner sites were favoured. 19th century city tenement development was undertaken by property companies, individuals such as prosperous tradesmen, or by factory owners. The pub is an occupant of commercial premises which might equally well house a butcher's or shoe retailer's shop. Hence, the Licencing Court records show, as might be expected, that the publican was normally a tenant, holding the premises under rental. Very occasionally he might be landlord of the entire tenement block. Today, owner occupation of tenement flats is growing and most public houses if not brewery owned are either the property of the independent publican or are part of a local chain.

The actual site of a public house is of varying importance according to the community it is intended to serve. In a scattered rural settlement the house would need to be prominently sited on a main route, in order to gather as much passing trade as possible, whereas, on the contrary, a pub in a densely populated district would survive quite well in an obscure side street. From a study of the Ordnance Survey maps (public houses are marked on the earlier ones) it is found that the great majority of public houses in Dundee at the turn of the century were sited in the oldest parts of the town - in the principal centre thoroughfares, in the slum remanants of grand 16th - 17th century merchants' houses and in the streets which mark the first 19th century industrial expansion. In places they are crammed in very thick on the ground, four in a row on one side of the street and two - three more across the road. Later licencing restrictions gradually cut down the numbers but city redevelopment also had a far-reaching and more obvious effect. During the last two decades of the 19th century certain areas were cleared and rebuilt under the provisions of the Dundee Police and Improvement Act. The new streets included public houses, in reduced number but large and grandly appointed. By contrast, the mid-1960's redevelopments made virtually no provision for them at all. At the same time, the numbers of city centre houses were further reduced by the brewers' practice of buying houses solely to obtain the licence. A licence is not fixed to a particular shop but is geographically movable. As the total number of licences permitted is allotted per head of population, it is not affected by the kind of city expansion which took place in Dundee during the post-war years. For public houses to be built to serve these outlying housing schemes, the licences had to be transferred from existing premises in the older streets. The latter if not demolished, were put to other commercial uses.

It is clear that the earlier variations in development and ownership of public houses was not likely to result in any obvious house style of interior decoration. So far, the architects or designers of Dundee houses remain largely anonymous. Once the standard 19th century features of bar fitting - polished brass, mirrors, beer engines, spirit dispensers, etc. - had been accepted within the area, they were used in greater or lesser quantity, plainer or fancier, according to the personal taste or financial capacity of the owner.

Architectural plans drawn up for the Burgh Licencing Court during the years 1900 -30 show the oldest taverns to have large open rooms with only one or two small, unobtrusive serving counters. There is plenty of space for tables and the implication is that the customer received table service. The plans of those houses which are known to have been built around the middle of the century show a different style. Here the bar counter is extended along one whole wall and forms the dominant feature of the main room. The bar-room itself is divided into a number of small compartments or 'boxes', each containing one or two tables. Usually there are one or more side rooms which do not have direct access to the bar. Once begun, the pattern continued in more and more elaborate and highly decorated form but, almost always, the basic layout of bar-room with separate side rooms was retained. A striking feature in the development of public house design is the treatment of the bar itself. From being a straight counter parallel to the wall, it is bent and curved into bows and horseshoes and eventually, is found placed centrally, free-standing and totally separate from the room walls. All these new forms made for more space behind the counter, but more importantly, they provided a considerably larger serving area, with the result that many more customers could be served at a time. There is also a suggestion of a change in the approach to service; the assistants are boxed in behind huge counters and the customers, instead of being served at the table have to fetch and carry their own orders. The main rooms were designed to have more space for standing in but fewer tables, hence, more customers. Not all houses were well fitted out; some were minute single rooms. Some plans show a cheap version of the divided interior, with a clutter of irregularly placed and shaped compartments cut out from the room corners. Where these interiors still exist they are found to be made of matchboard partitioning, some 7 feet high; originally they may have been varnished but now they are, almost without variation, painted in cream gloss.

The between - wars trend for large, open and bare public houses, which are found elsewhere, does not seem to have affected Dundee at all. Interiors which were constructed during these years are traditional in form though less elaborate in detail. Some are very fine indeed, with beautiful polished wood wall panelling and art deco glass and lighting.

In Scotland, the earliest known laws relating to public house opening hours are those which were enacted by local borough councils on the basis of the rules in the First Book of Discipline of the new Reformed Church. They include the stipulation that no alehouse should be open for sales during the hours of church service on a Sunday. For the next 250 years, until Sunday closure was fixed by Parliament, kirk session records would contain complaints about the breaking of this rule.

Licencing was introduced to Scotland during the 18th century, solely for the purpose of ensuring that the Revenue authorities received the duty payable on the liquor. In 1828 the Home-Drummond Act made the first steps towards placing controls on the Scottish liquor trade. This was followed by the Forbes-Mackenzie Act of 1853 on Sunday closing and the licencing of grocers' shops. There were further attempts by M.P.'s to bring yet more stringent controls on the trade and these resulted, finally, in the Temperance Act (Scotland) of 1913, which drastically cut down the hours of opening.

By law a publican is entitled to make his or her own decision about whom he may or may not wish to serve. Anyone who is refused service has no means of appeal, even though their case may be justifiable. The odd notices which appear on the doors of public houses, such as (examples from Dundee) . . "Ladies and couples only" (a precaution taken when the Lounge bar is excessively small), "Service is refused to anyone under 21 years of age", "An identity card or passport may be required to be shown as proof of age" (True, really!) "No denims after 7 p.m. (!) . . are all quite within the law.

Perhaps the best known and most extreme of all restrictions placed on potential customers was the banning of women from public houses. Until the recent Sexual Discrimination Act took effect, many Scottish pubs were wholly or partly "Men Only". This had no formal legal basis but was covered only by the above understanding. The public house has for long been treated in some way like a man's club. This is far from being a purely Scottish phenomenon, although there is nowhere else in Britain that it has been so forcibly stated. As well as being a means to a social communion, drinking is, unfortunately, regarded as a sign of manliness. The working man goes off to the pub with his mates, thinking as little of taking his wife out with him for a drink as he would of feeding the baby or doing the washing for her.

Looking back at the interior design of the public house, the boxes and side rooms seem to have been intended at a fairly early stage to cater for women. Later, specially designated Ladies and Family Rooms appeared on the scene. However, as time passed, the Family Rooms became the Lounge Bars, the Ladies were allowed to disappear, leaving the "Men Only" tag firmly fixed. As a curiousity, the earliest example of a ladies' toilet to be found in the Dundee Licencing Court plans is dated 1913. This is not too bad at a time when many houses still had no toilet facilities at all.

Victorian morality had a low regard for the public house and a woman who went into one was not respectable. So, did women drink? They did and in the peace of their homes. The Bottle and Jug compartment of the public house was usually well screened off from the rest of the establishment. Dundee women were certainly in the habit of popping out to the local or to the grocer's for a jugful of beer or a gill of whisky; the story goes that their beer was usually carried wrapped up in a vain attempt to conceal the nature of the purchase.

Even within the "Men Only" shop the exceptions to the rule were the barmaid and the landlady. Some published histories of drinking houses would have it that the tradition of the landlady relates the public house to the brothel - the landlady is Madame. The reasons for the tradition are a lot more ordinary and practical and less romantic. Within the rural division of duties, particularly on a farm, the wife's responsibilities include brewing. The produce of her dairying, the butter and cheeses, could be sold and the selling and the proceeds thereof were her own responsibility. The same might very likely apply with beer. It would be quite possible for a woman who was making a good sum on the sale of surplus ale to step up her production and make it a profession. Women, more often than men, were tavern keepers and ale brewers in Scotland; historic and literary sources refer frequently to the women themselves, or their establishments, as "Lucky So-and so's". The industrial processes tend to dominate histories of brewing and the women's contribution is forgotten since industrialisation brought the dominance of the male businessman and craftsman.

At a later date, and still today, the women who became landladies were often widowed or single, in either case, one who had to earn a living for herself. In Scottish law, the transfer of a licence within a family is possible. This was a dodge commonly resorted to when the husband or father was in danger of succumbing to the temptation of his stock and becoming a drunkard (or, today, an alcoholic). The wife or daughter took over the licence in order to avoid the total loss of the family income. It is worth noting that public house keeping, in spite of tied houses and chain shops, is very much a family trade. Quite complex family links still exist among the Dundee publicans and, also, the related trades.

Over and above the sale of alcoholic beverages, the public house has provided many and varied services to the community. In the absence of anything better, it acted as a sort of 'community centre', a place where local inhabitants and passers by might meet, where newspapers might be obtained, - a source of all the latest news and gossip from far and near. Once the Turnpike Roads had been constructed, carrier services grew. They needed to work from stations which were identifiable and conveniently sited for their communities. Public houses fitted the bill, with the publican acting as agent. Several houses in Dundee were stations, taking goods for numerous routes covering the country from Aberdeen in the north to Edinburgh in the south. Public houses were occasionally put to more unlikely uses. A local historian records that for quite a long period in the early 19th century, a Sunday School was held in one of the rooms of an alehouse in Lochee, now a suburb of Dundee. Before the days of village halls, the public house might have been the only function room available in a small community.

It goes without saying that the public house can also encourage misery and distress. One particularly damaging custom of the 19th century was the payment of workmen's wages in the pub. This was particularly done with miners, shipbuilders and dockers and had the obvious effect of encouraging them to drink their earnings before they even got out of the shop. 1872 and 1883 Acts of Parliament outlawed the practice. Taverns by their very nature, free of public access yet not open to all eyes, were very suitable places for illegal procedures such as betting and the sale of stolen goods. They were made dangerous by common thieves and pick-pockets, by the press gangs and army recruiting officers looking for men sufficiently lost in their senses to accept the Queen's Shilling.

Although the modern pub has lost much of its importance as the sole community meeting place, it can still find a part to play beyond that of being a mere watering hole. There are still many well-managed houses where the publican acts as a support to elderly folk in the neighbourhood. Pub outings and socials have been organised for the 'regulars' since the coming of the charabanc, and between the wars often provided a much needed break for poorer folk. There is also a long and continuing tradition of pub games and sports. Public houses are less used now by societies such as the Masons and trade guilds, but they are still very useful as meeting places for discussion groups and embryo societies with no premises of their own.

This article is based on research done primarily within the area of Dundee and its immediate neighbours and is thus, essentially, a regional study of a general theme. The equivalent work, even of a light-hearted nature, has been done in Scotland. The information presented and conclusions drawn here are applicable to their locality but, within Scotland as a whole, are far from a complete picture.

(S Harrison for the SHIC Working Party)

SOCIAL HISTORY AND INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION (SHIC) – a subject classification for museum collections

Introduction

Workers within the field of social and industrial history in museums have for many years felt the need for a subject classification to facilitate the rapid tracing of material in their collections related to any particular sphere of activity. A number of individual museums have devised their own arrangements, but compatibility between different institutions is clearly desirable. The Library profession has for many years had the choice of several generally accepted subject classifications such as the Dewey Decimal, the Library of Congress, UDC, etc. The museum profession, however, has to date really had only one widely adopted system. This was developed by the Museum of English Rural Life at Reading and is generally referred to as the MERL Classification. It naturally reflects the agricultural bias of that institution and although adaptable to suit the needs of many rural museums, it has proved less than ideal for many larger collections. This has led several institutions to devise alternatives, including the North of England Open Air Museum at Beamish whose staff devoted much time and effort to the creation of a new classification which, whilst it owed much to MERL, laid greater emphasis on non-agricultural subjects.

The Beamish classification was seen by the staff of several other museums to be a promising basis for a widely acceptable alternative to the MERL system. The Black Country Museum adopted it in 1976, gradually refining it in consultation with the staff at Beamish. York Castle Museum also took a close interest and in 1979, largely at the instigation of Peter Brears, at that time Curator of the Castle Museum, a meeting was held in Birmingham under the auspices of the Group for Regional Studies in Museums, to gauge the reaction of the profession to the introduction of a standard classification. The outcome was the setting up of a working party including GRSM members to investigate the problem and produce a draft classification for consideration by other workers in the social and industrial field.

The composition of the Working Party, which has been meeting regularly since then, has varied slightly, but the following institutions have been represented throughout: Beamish Museum (Rosemary Allan), Black Country Museum (Stuart Holm), Ironbridge Gorge Museum (David de Haan, Michael Vanns), Leeds City Museum (Peter Brears), Lucas Industries, Group Museum and Archive (Alison Roper), Sheffield University, Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language (Paul Smith), York Castle Museum (Stephen Harrison), In addition, help has been received from the Manor Farm Museum, Cogges, Oxfordshire (Chris Page) and the Museum of Lincolnshire Life (Catherine Wilson). Latterly there has been consultation with the Museum Documentation Association to ensure that SHIC will be compatible with the Museum Documentation System.

These institutions cover a wide spectrum of the social and industrial field and it was felt that if a classification could be created which satisfied the needs of as many as possible of them, it should have some chance of acceptance by the profession as a whole. Successful pilot studies have already been undertaken within the museums represented on the Working Party.

The SHIC classification outlined below is now ready for publication and it is hoped that this will be undertaken jointly by the Museum Association and the GRSM by mid 1982.

1 THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIAL HISTORY & INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION (SHIC)

SHIC provides a broad interdisciplinary structure for the arrangement of objects, photographs, archival material, tape recordings, information files and all other forms of museum material in the field of human history. It can cope with abstract concepts and material of a very general nature in addition to more precisely defined items.

The Classification has an hierarchical structure with levels that run from the general to the more specific. As a rule the higher levels are conceptual whilst the lower levels are more directly object based.

Objects and ideas are grouped according to the sphere of activity with which they are primarily associated. The aim of the Classification is to relate objects, etc. to their function in context with other objects. A carpenter's hammer, for example, is used with other carpenter's tools, and is therefore classified alongside those related items.

The Classification does not group material according to generic type of family similarities. A carpenter's hammer could be classified with all other percussive tools regardless of the trades and industries in which they were used but this is not the aim of SHIC.

2 THE OPERATION OF SHIC

There are four primary headings (Sections) covering all aspects of man's activities as a social animal:

Community Life

Domestic and Family Life

Personal Life (including the ICOM "Vocabulary of Basic Terms for Cataloguing Costume")

Working Life (closely based on the Central Statistical Office's publication "Standard Industrial Classification - Revised 1980")

These four Sections are considered equal in importance but are not always mutually exclusive.

The rest of the Classification is arranged as an hierarchy with a decimal structure facilitating the use of digital coding. The next four levels below the Sections are known in descending order as Division, Class, Group and Subgroup. Not all material will be classified to the lowest available level in the system. A sagger maker's bottom knocker is classifiable to a very precise heading at the bottom of the hierarchy, whereas a book on the life of an Edwardian housewife could not be classifiable beyond the General heading under Domestic Life, as it will relate to many headings within that section.

Each object or concept normally has a single classification, but cross references are encouraged. If there is doubt over the allocation of material to a particular heading, the previous general heading should be considered.

In the case of working activities in Sections 1 and 4, further subdivision is possible beyond the heading which describes the activity (Activity Heading).

An index to the Classification is provided in computer print-out format, including names of typical objects falling within particular headings throughout the Classification, but these lists are far from exhaustive at present.

3 USING SHIC

Material is classified by proceeding through the Classification moving down the hierarchy one step at a time, until either no further progress can be made or a sufficiently detailed classification has been reached to satisfy the needs of the user.

For example, a domestic coal scuttle would be classified to 2.3116. This classification is reached in the following way:

First, it must be allocated to one of the four primary SECTIONS. They are:

1 Community Life
2 Domestic and Family Life
3 Personal Life
4 Working Life

In this case the coal scuttle clearly lies in Section 2.

This Section has nine DIVISIONS as follows:

2.1 Administration and records
2.2 House structure and infrastructure
2.3 Heating, lighting, water and sanitation
2.4 Furnishings and Fittings
2.5 Cleaning and maintenance
2.6 Food, drink and tobacco
2.7 Medical
2.8 Hobbies, crafts and pastimes
2.9 Domestic life not elsewhere specified

Coal, fires and accessories relating to them are classified to 2.3.

This heading is in turn subdivided into four CLASSES as follows:

2.31	Heating
2.32	Lighting
2.33	Water
2.34	Sanitation

2.31 is the obvious heading in this case.

This Class is divided into six GROUPS:

2.311	Soldi Fuel
2.312	Liquid Fuel
2.313	Gas
2.314	Electric
2.318	Radiators
2.319	Other heating appliances

The correct heading for this example is 2.311
This Group is further divided into six SUBGROUPS:

2.3111	Open grates
2.3112	Ranges
2.3113	Enclosed stoves
2.3114	Boilers
2.3115	Attachments
2.3116	Accessories

A coal scuttle is classed as an accessory and is therefore classified to 2.3116.
The completed example may be summarized as:

Section	2	Domestic Life
Division	2.3	Heating, lighting, water & sanitation
Class	2.31	Heating
Group	2.311	Solid Fuel
Subgroup	2.3116	Accessories

Depending on the needs of a museum and the scope or specialisation of its collections, the classification can be as specific or as general as is deemed necessary. The classification in this example could be left as 2.3 if detailed classification is not required.
Sometimes a specific classification will be inappropriate.
In the case of a housewife's apron, the correct full classification is 2.50 formed thus:

2	Domestic life
2.5	Cleaning and maintenance
2.50	General

There might be a temptation to classify an apron to 2.52 (Dish washing) or 2.65 (Cooking), both of which seem appropriate. However, anything with several different areas of use should not be assigned to a specific heading. The lowest general head which includes both these subjects is 2.0, but in this case the explanatory notes under the cleaning and cooking headings indicate that the correct general head is 2.50.

Activity Subdivisions

In Working Life and certain parts of Community Life the four subsidiary levels in the hierarchy (Division, Class, Group and Subgroup) can be further subdivided using ACTIVITY SUBDIVISIONS.
These Activity Subdivisions are usually employed to break down Subgroup headings, but may be applied to higher levels in some cases.

A General Model for the creation of Activity Subdivisions is provided, followed by specific examples for Christian Religion, Community Regulation and Control, Education, Warfare, Agriculture, Manufacturing Companies and Railway Companies.

Using the appropriate Activity Subdivision an enamel advertisement for Sunlight Soap would be classified to 4.2351.624, formed as follows:

Section	4	Working Life
Division	4.2	Minerals and chemicals
Class	4.23	Chemical industry
Group	4.235	Soap and toilet preparations
Subgroup	4.2351	Soap and synthetic detergents
	(4.2351.6	External operations & support services
Activity	(4.2351.62	Advertising and publicity
Subheadings	(4.2351.624	Advertisements, catalogues, etc.

An eight-digit classification such as this would only be used when the material in a collection warranted this much detail. However, the systematic use of digital coding as outlined in the Activity Subdivision Models has obvious advantages in tracing all items concerned with (say) "Advertising" from various trades and industries which can be quickly retrieved under X.624 and X.62.

Retrieval

As classification can be to any desired level it should be remembered when searching indexes, etc. arranged according to the SHIC system that relevant material may be found at levels other than the obvious one. If researching domestic vacuum cleaners, for example, one should look first under 2.511 (Domestic, Cleaning, House, Dry) but might also expect to find relevant material under 2.50 (Domestic, Cleaning, General), or even under 2.0 (Domestic, General) in the case of a textbook on domestic management which might contain several pages on vacuum cleaners.

4 MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION

Since SHIC groups objects and ideas according to the sphere of activity with which they are primarily associated, there should normally be only one classification per item. However, in certain cases this rule will be difficult to implement, and multiple classifications will be required. Pictorial material, for example, may need several classifications to deal with the various objects, activities, scenes, etc. depicted in a single view. Similarly, if a building has undergone changes of use since it was erected, more than one classification will be desirable.
The importance of each extra classification will depend on the needs of the individual museum. However, the advantages of multiple classification become more obvious and desirable if SHIC is seen as a means of exchanging museum information nationally.
In the case of manufactured artifacts it will often be desirable to cross reference to the industry which produced them. This Production classification, in addition to its more obvious function of relating objects to their present manufacturing industries, would also facilitate the generation of indexes based on family similarities. If, for example, one museum classified a piano to Domestic Life (2.813) because it was used in the home, and another museum classified an identical piano to Concert halls (4.953) because that is where their example was used, the advantages of both museums also adding the classification of Piano manufacture (4.4921) to their records would be immediately apparent.
When the elements in the multiple classification are of equal importance, the classification numbers will be separated by a semicolon, which is consistent with MDA conventions.
e.g. 1.112; 1.612
When one of the elements in the multiple classification is a cross reference or acts as a secondary classification it will be placed in brackets after the primary classification and separated by a semicolon.
e.g. 4.6143.413; (4.3712.4)

5 POSSIBLE MODIFICATIONS TO SHIC PURELY FOR INTERNAL MUSEUM USE

Museums which only use one or two Activity headings extensively may feel that the use of the full numerical code plus subdivision code produces an unnecessarily cumbersome classification number. There is no reason why they should not in such cases adopt an internal convention whereby commonly-used headings are expressed by single code letters.
For example, Agriculture, which has the full heading code of 4.0100 could be expressed as 4.A. Similarly, Blacksmithing (4.332) could become 4.B; Wheelwrighting, 4.W and so on. Provided such abbreviations are confined to internal use, different institutions could use the same code letters for totally different headings without fear of confusion. They may be subdivided using Activity Subdivisions in the usual way.

In the same way specialist one-subject museums (e.g. Company museums) whose collections lie wholly within one heading could, for internal use, drop the Section number and Activity heading code altogether. The full classification, however, must be expressed numerically in any communication, between museums if the full potential of SHIC as a national system is to be realised.

6 UPDATING SHIC

The Classification is capable of expansion as future concepts or industries etc. become the concern of museums; additional headings can be created as required. Normally no attempt will be made to provide a new heading until an accumulation of material warrants this. The SHIC Working Party will continue to meet to review the Classification. Meanwhile, it may occasionally be convenient for individual institutions to create temporary subheadings as a purely internal convention to serve until permanent headings are finalised. Such temporary headings should not be allocated numbers. Any suggestions for the creation of new headings should be passed to a member of the Working Party.

The alphabetical index to SHIC, while providing a very useful aid to new users of the Classification, is by no means an exhaustive word-list for social and industrial history items. It is envisaged that after publication of the first edition, the Working Party will concentrate its efforts on amplifying this index. This extensive task will be approached systematically taking a particular section at a time (e.g. dairying equipment, medical instruments, wheelwright's tools, etc.).

It would greatly assist the Working Party if any GRSM members currently cataloguing a significant holding of objects from a particular field, or who have already compiled 'exhaustive' word-lists, would make their work available for possible inclusion in subsequent editions.

SUMMARY OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY HEADINGS

1. COMMUNITY LIFE
   - 1.0 General
   - 1.1 Cultural tradition
   - 1.2 Organisations
   - 1.3 Regulation and control
   - 1.4 Welfare and wellbeing
   - 1.5 Education
   - 1.6 Amenities, entertainment and sport
   - 1.7 Communications and currency
   - 1.8 Warfare and defence
   - 1.9 Other

2. DOMESTIC AND FAMILY LIFE
   - 2.0 General
   - 2.1 Administration and records
   - 2.2 House structure and infrastructure
   - 2.3 Heating, lighting, water and sanitation
   - 2.4 Furnishings and fittings
   - 2.5 Cleaning and maintenance
   - 2.6 Food, drink and tobacco
   - 2.7 Medical
   - 2.8 Hobbies, crafts and pastimes

3. PERSONAL LIFE
   - 3.0 General
   - 3.1 Administration and records
   - 3.2 Relics, mementos and memorials
   - 3.3 Costume
   - 3.4 Accessories
   - 3.5 Toilet
   - 3.6 Food, drink and tobacco
   - 3.7 Medical and infant raising
   - 3.9 Other

4. WORKING LIFE
   - 4.0 General
   - 4.0 Agriculture, forestry and fishing
   - 4.1 Energy and water supply
   - 4.2 Minerals and chemicals
   - 4.3 Metals and metal goods, engineering, etc.
   - 4.4 Other manufacturing industries
   - 4.5 Construction
   - 4.6 Transport and communication
   - 4.7 Distribution, hotels and catering
   - 4.8 Banking and finance, business services & leasing
   - 4.9 Other services

N.B. The distinction between 4.0 General working life and 4.0 Agriculture, etc. is made at the next level down.

i.e. 4.00 General
4.01 Agriculture, forestry and fishing

Appendix II – SHIC CLASSIFICATION WORKING PARTY

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OXFORD: CITY, UNIVERSITY AND COUNTY
Seminar; 28th/29th January 1982

After weeks of cancelled meetings and Arctic weather, it was a pleasure to motor down to Oxford for one of the GRSM's exhausting yet inspirational weekend seminars. The theme of our meeting in Oxford was the contrasting of city and university, 'town and gown', and the agricultural county around it. We met and based much of the weekend on the Museum of Oxford, still one of the best museum treatments of the story of a town. Dan Chadwick, curator of the museum, introduced the outline of Oxford's development, the perenial co-occupation of the town's compact site by market town and university. Chris Day of the Victoria County History continued the story into this century and charted the great changes wrought by the foundation of the Morris Motor Co. This transformed a middling South Midland market town, an economic backwater heavily dependent on the University and a large number of small tradesmen for its living, into a major industrial centre.

Lunch provided an opportunity for re-acquaintance with the 'Chequers', a mellowing experience. Our afternoon was taken up with a tour of the Bodleian Library, a many-headed library, both record-office, copyright library and undergraduate reading room. In particular we spent a fascinating hour or so with the John Johnson Collection of printed ephemera. This was a revelation, a collection of wide provenance and great diversity covering to varying degrees the whole spectrum of social history. A brief look under headings such as Trades, Costume, Gas etc. revealed useful illustrative material for exhibitions and publications. The catalogue of a recent exhibition of the Collection is available from the Bodleian at £2.50. The Bodleian adds a mile of shelved books a year to its collection and we ventured into the depths of the stack and followed the 'railway' transporting books beneath Broad St. and re-emerged at the Radcliffe Camera. The delights of Old Bodley were then viewed, including Duke Humphrey's and Arts End.

A sumptuous meal at the 'Opium Den' was followed by John Ashdown's personal view as the City's Conservation Officer of the buildings for which he has a responsibility. Again he emphasised the disparity between the tourist's view of the town, all gleaming limestone and donnish quads, and the more obscure heritage of Morris's first garage, real tennis courts and the remains of the medieval halls. He contrasted his search for the architectural influences and models for college and university buildings with the sprawl of Cowley. He was followed by the training manager of Pressed Steel Fisher, the body plant for BL at Cowley, who traced the history of his company. The problems posed by modern industrial plant and machinery for the museum curator were stressed, in both its sheer size and rapid technical advance. He used as an example the new line for producing bodies for BL's LC10 car which has rendered itself obsolete twice in three years before a single car has been produced.

Late into the night suitably strong licquor released a torrent of discussion and debate, back-stabbing of fellow 'professionals', hounding of false prophets and general tearing at the 39 Articles of the Established Museum. We met again next morning at the Cotswold Fold and Agricultural Museum at Astall Barrow near Burford. Opened in 1967 this is a very fine collection assembled by a private individual, Chris Walker. It serves as a good example of the advantages of the private individual as a collector, well-known in the locality, more trusted than a distant, impersonal County Council, and working for a time for a firm of auctioneers with easy access to house and farm sales. An established museum however ought to offer in the long term the essential permanence, conservation, security and effective cataloguing and documentation. At Astall the collection has outgrown its premises and has been severely dealt with by the recent hard weather and the owner is now looking to shift the responsibility without breaking up the collection he has laboriously accumulated.

The obvious answer ought to be the County Museum Service. However few local authority museums, particularly in the shire counties, have at the moment the resources, staff or storage to take on such a large and important collection. As we saw at Manor Farm Museum, Cogges, next day, the county's agricultural collection has problems of its own. Packed into the fine barns at the farm, which are in danger of falling in around it, the collection has little hope of exhibition let alone such a major addition. The project at Manor Farm should be a success in a populous and much-visited county like Oxfordshire but is under severe pressure to succeed quickly and plans include the possibility of hiving it off to a county-inspired charitable trust. The attractive range of farm and domestic buildings has suffered with the building of a large estate just over the fence and this detracts from its rural flavour. Chris Page kindly showed us over the farm and explained plans for the coming season.

Earlier in our trip to Witney, we visited 55 West End where Mr. Richard Early demonstrated handloom blanket weaving in the former premises of his family's blanket factory. His family has been involved in the trade since the mid-seventeenth century, which he spoke of quite convincingly as if it were yesterday! As he worked at the handloom, with the dust and decay lit only by the window behind him, he lectured on the trading of his firm's blankets for beaver pelts in North America, the origins of the duffle coat and the mechanism of his loom. The effect was almost timeless, the handled parts of his loom worn smooth by his predecessors.

Back in Oxford we assembled liquid refreshment, devoured cardboard pizzas and settled for an evening of homespun entertainment. Our plucky convenor took the part of Mr. William Potts, former editor of the Banbury Guardian, and delivered an astonishing series of lantern slides of Stanley's discovery of the source of the Nile. His able assistants grappled manfully with the up-to-the-minute technical intricacies of the lantern, rarely deviating from the text of Mr. Paine's spirited delivery, and then only occasionally discerned by the riotous crew in the front stalls. Mr. Paine is to be congratulated on a lecture worthy of the Mechanics Institute, Banbury, in its Victorian hey-day and in particular for his ability to pronounce the most complex and consonant-ridden foreign place-name without the oral gymnastics of Ms Rippon.

After such an entertainment, the pace of the weekend began to take its toll and the company became decidedly jaded, perhaps discouraged by the prospect of committee and working-party meetings on the morrow. Our thanks to Crispin and Dan for setting up a very pleasant weekend and for their acreage of floor space. The only disappointment was that so few of our members took advantage of their offer. Where were you?

The British Association for Local History
Inaugural Meeting, London March 13th, 1982

The demise of The Standing Conference for Local History at the end of March 1982 has made essential the setting up of a new national organisation whose sole purpose will be to promote the study of local history. The BALH's provisional Constitution includes under its 'Purposes and Powers' the following clauses:

"(a) The Association is established to promote the advancement of education through the study of local history.
(b) In furtherance of the above purposes but not further or otherwise the Association may:—

i. Promote and organise co-operation in the achievement of the same, nationally, internationally and locally, and to that end may bring together in conference representatives of voluntary agencies, government departments, statutory authorities and other bodies and individuals engaged in the furtherance of the same.

ii. Promote and carry out or assist in promoting and carrying out research, surveys and investigations and publish the results thereof.

iii. Arrange and provide for or join in arranging and providing for the holding of exhibitions, meetings, lectures, seminars and training courses.

iv. Collect and disseminate information on all matters affecting the above purposes and exchange such information with other bodies having similar purposes whether in this country or overseas."

This inaugural meeting was attended by about 150 people. It was mainly spent in agreeing to the title of the organisation, approving the provisional constitution and electing a 17-strong Steering Management Council, the Chairman of which is to be Professor Norman McCord of Newcastle University.

Stuart Davies

Working Class Organisations
Manchester/North Cheshire, 18th - 19th March

The Group's second visit to the North West within two years had a dual theme. Thursday took us to the salt district of North Cheshire whilst Friday was given over to working class history. At a time when the Group is considering a change of name - possibly to Social History Curator's Group - it was appropriate that we should be looking at a strongly regional industry and a theme central to social history.

Thursday started at the Lion Salt Works, Marston, the last open pan works in Britain. Throughout its history, it has been owned by the Thompson family; they entered the salt business in 1721 and moved to Marston in 1842. We were guided round the site by the present owner, Jonathan Thompson, who has developed a second role for the works as a working museum.

Our tour started at No. 1 pump house where a steam engine (still in situ) once pumped brine from 150 feet below ground. From here we moved on to No. 3 salt pan and stove, both of which have been restored to their 1900 condition, complete with obscurely named hand tools. At one time the vast salt pan and the adjacent stove would have been worked by one family - the man firing the pan and draining the salt, the woman firming the blocks of salt and arranging them on the stove to dry.

Our next stop gave us a rare glimpse of a working salt pan - and a warning of things to come. From a bubbling, erupting tank of boiling brine rose dense and acrid clouds of all-enveloping steam. Photographers fumbled to protect their cameras, those of a delicate constitution coughed delicately and sinners paused to reflect upon their wrong doings.

All in all a memorable experience - a working museum without any of the deliberate orderliness of a contrived site.

From Marston our convoy of cars set out for the Salt Museum, Northwich. This new and thoroughly designed museum illustrates the historical development of the Cheshire salt industry from Roman times to the present day, with particular emphasis on its 19th century heyday. Besides the technology of the industry, the displays cover the geology, transport network and social history of the district.

With commendable foresight, Cheshire County Council had sited their museum next to a public house.

The highlight of the afternoon was our banishment to the salt mines. ICI's plant at Meadowbank is the only working rock salt mine in Britain, with an output of 2.5 million tonnes per year. Anyone with preconceptions based on coal mines or the notorious Siberian mines would have been in for a surprise. The seams, which are only a few hundred feet below ground level, are over twenty feet thick; the air is cool and free from explosive gasses. Over the years, extraction has left a labyrinth of wide avenues, interspersed with rock pillars. Nor were the avenues without their traffic: besides our own electric vehicles we passed the managerial Ford Transit, dump trucks and excavators. The rock salt, which is used on roads, is crushed before leaving the mine. At a convenient point we stopped to pick weighty and carefully selected specimens of this rare(?) mineral, before returning, heavily encumbered, to the surface.

Thursday's last formal session took us back to the Salt Museum for a showing of films on the salt industry and the museum's own audio-visual programme. Normally visitors would see this at the end of their visit and, quite sensibly, it concentrates on a clearly defined subject - subsidence - a theme which has an obvious, sometimes dramatic impact on the wider landscape of north Cheshire. The most memorable images were of entire buildings, tilted at precarious angles and shopkeepers reaching up to street level from their semi-subterranean premises.

Day One ended amidst the polite, almost precious surroundings of Knutsford (alias Tinsletown alias Cranford) where, to their eternal shame, even the coarse, pub-brawling Scots condescended to eat and drink at the genteelly named Sir Roger's Wine Bar.

Day Two restored our faith in the Group's commitment. Our venue was the Salford Museum of Mining and our host Geoff Preece, Keeper of Industrial Archaeology. On our last visit to Manchester we had heard of the difficulties in putting a coal mining museum into an 1826 mansion house. This time we had a chance to see how they had been overcome. The main interpretive elements are housed on the first floor with reconstructions occupying ground and basement levels. Despite their unlikely setting, the reconstructions are convincing, though I would say my prayers regularly were I Health and Safety Officer for the premises. Upstairs, the interpretive displays make good use of the limited space available with a mix of objects and standardised text/photo/graphic panels. If criticism is sought, it might be said that the texts are too extensive for the lay visitor, though they can be read at leisure after a visit in a 128 page handbook.

Geoff Preece gave an introduction to the museum which was followed by a remarkable film on a collier's working day, shot at Wigan in 1910. The 1911 Mines Act brought many changes in working practice and the film captured features typical of the mid to late 19th century. Particularly striking was the number of women surface workers - on the coal screen, moving tubs, shifting pit props. Home from work, the collier greets his wife with a cordial hand-shake - was censorship really that tight? - and the film concludes with a brilliant, if unintentional piece of social comment: the fruits of his labours being burnt in a home far more affluent than his own.

Thus we came to the core of the day's session, a series of papers on aspects of working class history. In the first, Sherri Brown introduced us to the curious, complex symbols and rituals of Friendly Societies. This is a little frequented corner of social history and one which would justify closer examination by museums. I understand that the paper is to be published by GRSM.

Elspeth King, in her paper, was her usual dry, incisive yet quietly committed self. In her view, working class history was not merely concerned with organisations but with all aspects of their collective experience - hence the use of the term 'peoples' history' in the title of her paper. Few, if any, museums have been as active in collecting and researching 'peoples' history' as has the People's Palace Museum in Glasgow. Much of this is the result of unceasing efforts by Elspeth King and Michael Donnelly. It is regrettable that, while spending so lavishly on the Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums cannot see fit to give a higher priority to its own history.

After lunch we met Edmund and Ruth Frow who were to be our hosts that evening. Edmund explained how, almost by chance, they had started to collect the books, pamphlets, broadsheets and printed ephemera which now make up the Working Class Movement Library. In illustrating its present scope he produced volume after volume of unique or rare works. The library, and their home which houses it, have been willed to a trust, thus ensuring its survival. Overall Edmund and Ruth came over as enthusiastic, conscientious but disarmingly modest about their achievements.

In the last of the day's papers, John Smethurst, a private collector of working class banners, gave us, as curators (or was it librarians/archivists?) a collective wrist-slapping for failing to take on the banners which he had winkled out of one source or another. Granted, there are museums which are not active (or even passive) in collecting material of this type, but are matters quite so black and white? If a museum is offered a banner, knowing that it has neither the finances nor the resources to restore and conserve it, is it really being so philistine in turning it down? I feel that here lies a prickly problem of ethics (Graem Cruickshank please note) to which not only the museum profession but also private collectors should apply their minds.

Later that same day on the way to the Frow's home Manchester put on a display of what it is best at - being rained upon. Their home, the Working Class Movement Library is, from the outside, an ordinary suburban semi, with a caravan in the front garden (the W.C.M. mobile library perhaps?). Inside, every available wall space is clad with shelves, each one packed with books. After a brief guided tour we were left to browse at our leisure. All at once even the most unlikely of us discovered our solid working class credentials. The evening went all too quickly and, given the opportunity, many of us will return for a longer look at this remarkable collection.

In retrospect, a valuable, purposeful two days. In the enthusiasm and knowledge of others we all found inspiration which, it is to be hoped, will be expressed in our own museums. Gaby Porter is to be congratulated on organising the meeting and our thanks are also extended to all those who contributed.

John Shaw

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Gloucester City Library Brunswick Road, Gloucester - the Gloucestershire Collection has a number of newspapers, pamphlets, articles, documents etc. that are relevant.

Gloucester Folk Museum, 99-103 Westgate Street, Gloucester - has many of the above published works, a collection of local newspaper cuttings and trade catalogues (e.g. R.A. Lister & Co.'s "Cotswold Cheesemaking Equipment"; Clarilac cheese-making equipment by Clares of Wells, Somerset.

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

Gloucester Folk Museum, 99-103 Westgate Street, Gloucester - has a permanent display of Double Gloucester Dairy equipment. The Museum also houses all the cheesemaking equipment used formerly by Miss Victoria Smith of Old Court Farm, Stone, who was one of the last practising cheesemakers of the "old school" in the county.

Cheltenham Museum, 40 Clarence Street, Cheltenham - display on Dairying in the Cotswolds.

PRACTISING CHEESEMAKERS

Charles and Monica Martell, Laurel Farm, Bromsgreen, Dymock - they keep a herd of Old Gloucester Cattle and make both Single and Double Gloucester Cheese.

C. I. Morris, Gloucester Folk Museum
December 1981

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C. I. Morris, Gloucester Folk Museum
December 1981

STRAW PLAIT (an enlargement of the 'Straw Hats' bibliography of J. G. Dony, reproduced by permission of the Costume Society and the Recreation Services Dept., Luton.

The English straw-hat industry emerged from the closely connected straw-plaiting industry which flourished in the South Midlands and a few other areas from the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century. During the eighteenth any straw hats of quality worn in Britain were imported from or made from straw plait from Italy. In the nineteenth century a considerable millinery industry developed in London as distinct from the manufacture of untrimmed ladies' hats which became concentrated in Luton. From about 1900 the ladies' hat manufacturers have used, increasingly, materials other than straw plait and since about 1920 the industry has become more closely associated with the mens' felt-hat industry which is now localised at Denton and Stockport.

Historians have been mainly interested either in the social conditions of the workers in the various branches of the hat industry or in the techniques of manufacture. Few have paid more than the passing attention to changes in fashion. There are numerous references to hats in published works on clothing, local industry, womens' labour, etc., but few of these contain original material.

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CREATING AN HISTORIC VEGETABLE GARDEN

At Styal, not far from the Mill, the Quarry Bank Mill Trust has started to establish an historic allotment garden. What distinguishes it from some other vegetable plots planted near cottages in open air museums, and similar sites, are two objectives: it aims to acquire and grow appropriate mid Victorian varieties of vegetable - nothing later. And it is prepared to take on the role, in association with other bodies, of helping to conserve those vegetables which are threatened with extinction.

The project, which is described below, is in its early stages and would welcome help and advice, as it seems to be charting unfamiliar territory, at least in this country. While historic landscape gardens, orchards and woodlands have been carefully and thoughtfully restored or re-created, vegetable gardens have been unjustly neglected. The annual labour cost, of course, is very high; and the research has not been so thoroughly carried out. Finally, there is the problem of obtaining the older varieties, at a time when the regional variations of potatoes, turnips or carrots have been systematically eliminated.

In the Styal factory colony founded by Samuel Greg in the early 19th century, everyone grew their own vegetables, even the Apprentices. Each of the 60 cottages had a long allotment strip (about 70' x 30'). In this rural factory colony economy, the cultivation of the allotment was a necessity. There is evidence that surplus crops were shared, or sold to the village co-operative store, and one can obtain from oral evidence how many hours of work were needed, how local knowledge and seeds were handed on, and how the family was provided with fresh vegetables all the year round.

The Styal tradition of allotment gardening in the traditional sense all but ceased at the end of the last war, and a good many of the old allotments were restored to fields or woodland. The Quarry Bank Mill Trust, which is developing the Mill as a working Museum, and working with the National Trust to interpret the whole of Styal, evolved the plan to establish an historic allotment, because the topic is central to an understanding of life in a 19th Century rural factory colony.

The site chosen was in the garden of the Apprentice House, halfway between the Mill and Village (rather than in the village itself, so as to limit the risk of unwanted cross pollination, and to distinguish it from the present tenants' gardens in the village: it is not the Trust's aim to draw the visitors' attention to them.)

The objectives were threefold. To grow what we know was grown at Styal. Records of nurseries are uncommon; but at the County Record Office, documents from a local nursery survive, showing the vegetables bought by Samuel Greg (probably for his own use) from 1793-98. Secondly, we aim to grow vegetables which we know were available locally in the mid Victorian period; several were distinctive regional items. Records of the same nursery, as well as books, seedsmens lists, etc. have been consulted. Thirdly, where other evidence is lacking, we are prepared to grow typical Victorian varieties.

In all cases, we are prepared to save seed, and are benefitting from the professional advice from the Henry Doubleday Research Association, and the Northern Horticultural Society at Harlow Car Gardens, Harrogate.

Finding the varieties is sometimes easy; Scarlet Runner Beans, Moss Curled Parsley, Windsor Beans, and White Lisbon Onion, were known in Samuel Greg's time, and are still available today, improved, perhaps, but not improved beyond recognition.

Seedsmen's urge to improve has, however, led to the elimination of the Early Frame Peas and Charlton peas, as well as Mazagan, and Toker beans, all important varieties historically. Our search for specific Vegetables has led us to the Prince Albert pea (c.1837) which is directly descended from Charlton and Early Frame, a round seeded cream coloured pea, obtained from Holland via U.S.A. It may not have been grown in this country for several generations.

Among regional varieties which local contacts have turned up are Manchester Market Turnip, the Altrincham Carrot, Carrington Perfection Beetroot and a Timperley rhubarb, of impeccable provenance, dating back 120 years. Very many more local varieties existed until a few years ago, when the trade was obliged by law to eliminate synonyms from the National List. The Henry Doubleday Research Association waged a campaign to save as many of the threatened varieties as possible, arguing that their genetic potential was invaluable. They won, and a national vegetable seed library has been established at Wellesbourne.

The HDRA now provides an annual catalogue of 'outlawed' seeds to those members who wish to become 'seed guardians' - gardeners who will adopt a variety, maintain its vigour, and produce seeds from it.

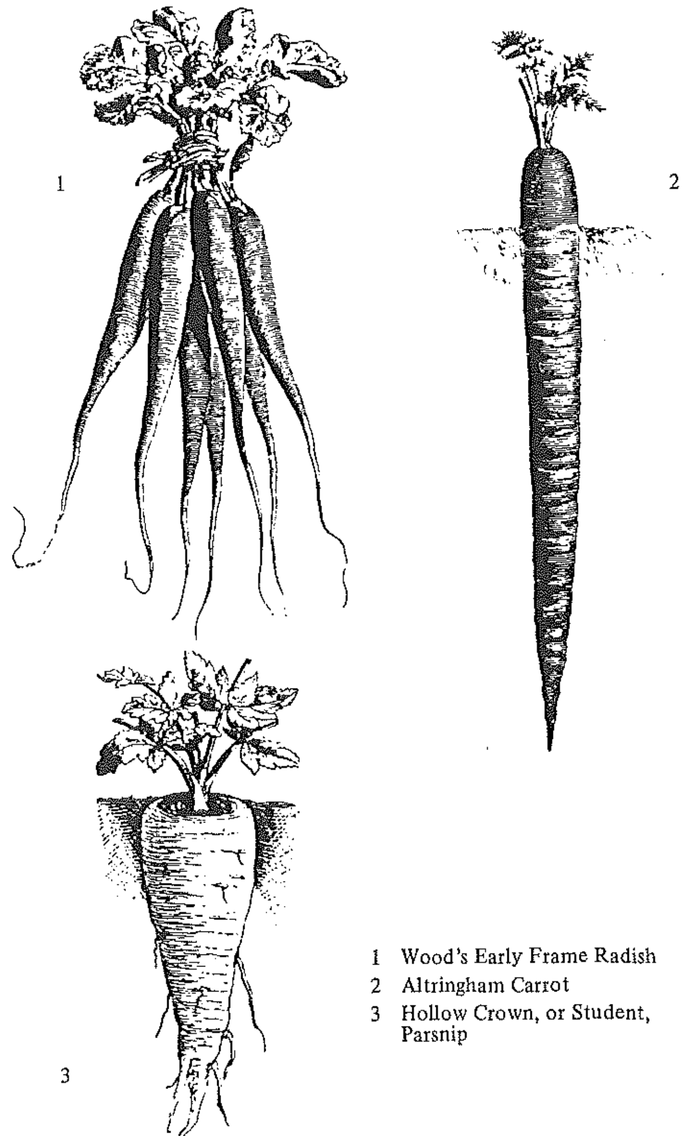
From them we have obtained excellent early Victorian examples of Kale, Cauliflower, peas and beans, and potatoes likewise from the well known Scottish potato specialist, Donald McLean.

Contact with local gardeners continues, and we hope to find and grow further examples of relevant 'historic' vegetables.

The gardening work is done by two members of staff when time permits, and full records are kept (including notes of tastings: the flavour of older varieties is a topic of exceptional interest). There are times of the year when much more help is needed.

Visitors to the Apprentice House are encouraged to buy a cheap descriptive guide leaflet, which is provided annually. Copies of this year's leaflet are obtainable free to GRSM members. Send S.A.E. (marked GRSM) to Lucy Connell, Quarry Bank Mill, Styal, SK9 4LA.

In spite of the limitations of time, staff, and available varieties, this part of the project is beginning to work. It helps visitors to understand and appreciate the role of allotments at Styal, and it is also a pioneer site, in a way, for the presentation of historic varieties of vegetable.



1 Wood's Early Frame Radish
2 Altringham Carrot
3 Hollow Crown, or Student, Parsnip

STOP PRESS:

British Association for Local History

Following the inaugural meeting in March, reported elsewhere in this journal, full details of the Association are now available. Membership is open to institutions, organisations and individuals over 18 at an annual subscription of £4. Benefits include preferential enrolment terms at courses and seminars, "especially favourable annual subscription rate to the " 'Local Historian', a twice-yearly newsheet as well as the Association's role in making known the views of the local historian to central government and other agencies on issues affecting the practise of their craft. Full details from the British Association for Local History, 43 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3DP (Tel. 01-636 4066). Many record offices have leaflets with application forms.

SOCIAL HISTORY & INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

The GRSM Classification Working Party has arranged publication at Sheffield University and at the time of writing is hoping to see the fruits of their labours available by the middle of September.
(16/8/82)

Peter Brears (Director, Leeds City Museums) has copies of his recent article on knitting sheathes in the **Journal of Folk-Life Studies** available as off-prints. 24pp, 100 illustrations, distribution plan, it details almost every provenanced knitting sheath in known English and Welsh collections and includes a full classification and description. Off-prints are 90p + p & p each or 60p + p & p for 12 copies or more for resale from Director, Leeds City Museum, Calverley St., Leeds LS1 3AA.

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GRSM SPECIALIST BIBLIOGRAPHIES

As several of the earliest **GRSM Newsletters** are no longer available, it has been decided to reprint all the GRSM Specialist Bibliographies listed below. If you have any additions or corrections to make please contact the Editor before November 15th.

1. Agricultural Technology
2. Steam in Agriculture
3. Slaughtering and Butchery
4. Bread-Making
5. Brush-Making
6. Charcoal Burning
7. Horn Working
8. Rope-Making
9. Cheese-Making
10. Besom-Making
11. The Grocery Trade
12. Willow Basket Making
13. Straw Plait

BACK-NUMBERS, GRSM Newsletter Nos. 5 - 9
Available from the Treasurer, Jane Legget,
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