SOCIAL HISTORY IN MUSEUMS

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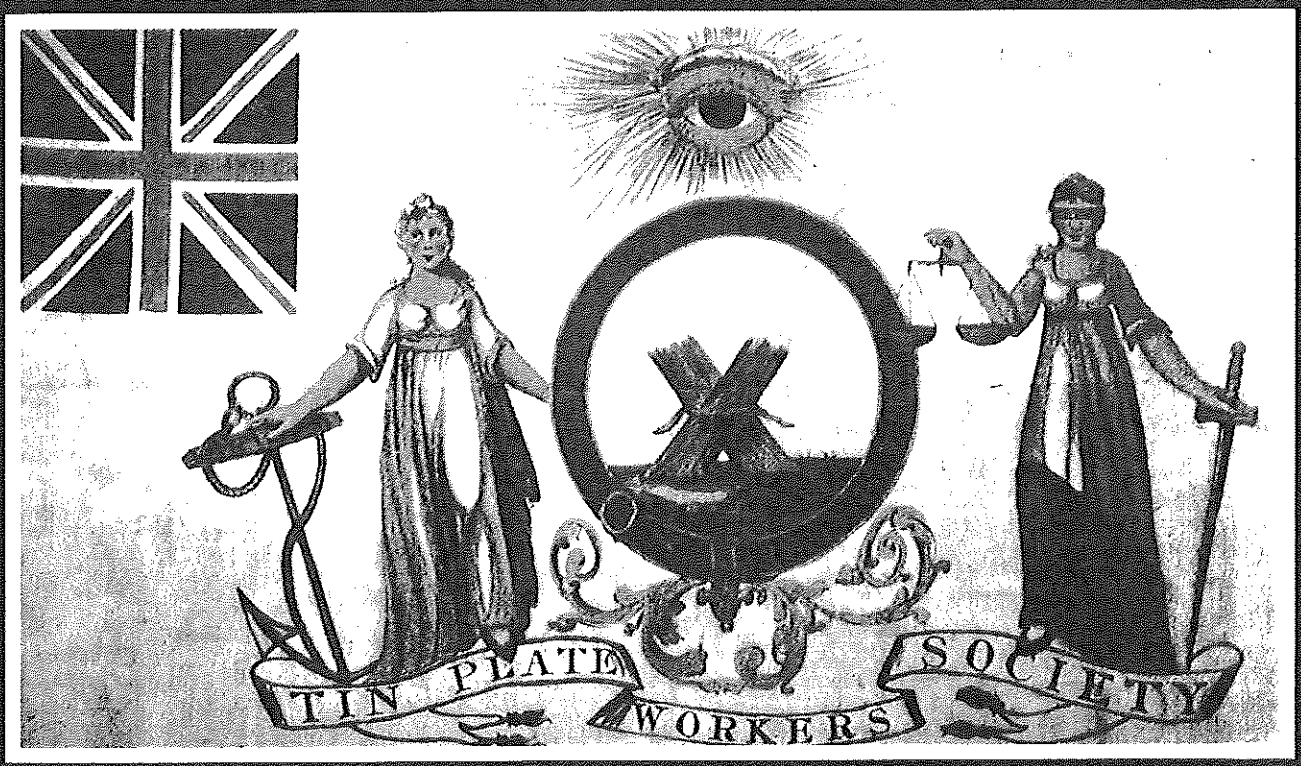

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The Colour of the Liverpool Tinplate Workers Society (National Museum of Labour History)

THE SOCIAL HISTORY CURATORS GROUP

SHCG aims to draw together all members of the museum profession, to promote social history in museums and improve the quality of curatorship.

It aims to:

- work with those who are continually developing standards, to improve the quality of collections care, research, presentation and interpretation.
- stimulate and act as a forum for debate on issues effecting the museum profession.
- act as a network for sharing and developing skills.
- advocate the study and practise of social history in museums.

SHCG is a point of contact for other organisations, as well as its own members. It represents the interests and concerns of members by liaising with Area Museum Councils, Federations, the Museums Association and Re:source.

The Group organises seminars throughout the year on a wide variety of topics which are a useful resource for member's Continuous Professional Development (CPD). The Annual Study Weekend provides a forum for a fuller analysis of major subjects such as interpretation, evaluation and community outreach. A *News* is issued several times a year and includes reviews of meetings and exhibitions, opinions on current issues and items of news.

Social History in Museums is issued annually and is issued to all members. Back issues are available from the Editor. Articles, reviews and books for review should be sent to the Editor, at Astley Hall Museum and Art Gallery, Astley Park, Chorley, PR7 1NP. SHCG does not accept responsibility for the opinions expressed by the contributors.

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SOCIAL HISTORY IN MUSEUMS

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NEGOTIATING THE PAST: CAN HISTORY HEAL?

ANTHONY BUCKLEY

The Annual Study Weekend of the Social History Curators' Group
at
The Ulster Museum
and
The Ulster Folk and Transport Museum
June 17th to June 20th 1999

Founded in the mid-1970s, the Social History Curators' Group provides a well-established and influential forum for museum professionals — and other interested parties — involved in the field of social history to discuss, research and develop their aims objectives and practices. After four years of negotiation, Tony Buckley of the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum and Vivienne Pollock of the Ulster Museum brought its "Annual Study Weekend" to Northern Ireland for the first time. A total of sixty-three participants and delegates attended the event. It was generously supported by the Community Relations Programme of the Community Relations Council, North Down District Council, Derry City Council, Belfast City Council, the Speaker's Office of the Northern Ireland Assembly, and most of all by National Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland

THE DISCUSSION

There can seldom have been a conference in which the participants stuck so faithfully to the topic and in which the papers gelled together to form a coherent whole, nor one in which the quality of the contributions and the discussions was so consistently high. The twin titles of the conference "Negotiating the Past" and "Can History Heal?" were deliberately provocative. The notion that one can "heal" the diverse ills of society has a clear attraction. But the idea that social history curators should act as "doctors" to their public has a paternalistic and a manipulative quality which many curators find implausible and unacceptable.

So too with the idea of "negotiating the past". The concept of "negotiating" is attractive enough, carrying with it connotations of "agreement" and "reconciliation"; but the phrase "negotiating the past" has an unfortunate implication, namely that the truth can be manipulated, constructed and "spun". Are the events of history so malleable that they can be forever reorganised for the benefit of current generations? And, indeed, are historiography and the exhibitions of museum curators merely forms of myth-making or romance?

SETTING THE SCENE

The debate began with a penetrating counter-argument to the provocative implications of the conference title. The distinguished historian Professor Sean Connolly gave a clear and concise assessment of competing and assumed ethnic and racial identities in Ireland over five centuries. He then rehearsed the controversies surrounding the Irish school of "revisionist" history, whose proponents have tried, through the critical exploration of documentary sources, to rescue history from the over-eager definition of heroes and the propagation of useful myths.

Following Connolly, the thesis of the conference was restated by sociologist Dr Tony Walter in a paper on bereavement and memorial. For Walter, the past could indeed heal, not least because it was constructed by negotiation and because it also had a mythic quality. Bereavement did not typically lead to the dead being forgotten. Rather the bereaved negotiated amongst themselves until they had constructed a mythical account of the dead person and his or her life. It was this narrative account of the dead person which allowed the bereaved to incorporate their memories of past events into a present experience.

Walter warned that there could be particular circumstances of behaviour or death where it might be difficult to come to a unified conclusion about the identity of the dead person. In such cases, the process of bereavement, and the healing process consequent upon it, was impeded by the inability of those affected to give an entirely accurate account which each could truly believe in.

From the beginning, therefore, the conference declaimed two apparently opposed impulses. One articulated a desire on the one hand to construct a simple personalised narrative of the past which would speak comfortably to the present. The other spoke of the need to pursue complex historical truths which the present might find difficult to stomach.

In the subsequent discussion, Dr Walter gave a perceptive response which pointed towards the resolution of this dichotomy. He said that for the process of bereavement to be satisfactory, the different bereaved individuals had to come to a narrative which satisfied *all* of their recollections. If the agreed mythical version of the past contained untruths, then these were likely to come to the surface sooner or later. Though there were often pressures to dissemble and to suppress evidence, it was generally much more satisfactory if individuals were able to tell their truths, and for these truths to be incorporated into the over-arching story. Indeed, this process of collaborative "truth-making" could iron out the partial nature of individual narrative so that a more truthful portrait of the past could be achieved. Thus, it seemed, in ideal circumstances, there was no distinction between the myth-making function of recollection and the quest for historical accuracy. The prime obstacle to a synthesis between these two was the suppression of evidence or mere silence.

DEVELOPMENT

Three papers then developed these opposing themes into new directions.

The first of these was by John Gray, Librarian of the venerable Linenhall Library in Belfast and custodian of that institution's Political Collection, undoubtedly the best collection of materials (pamphlets, newsletters and ephemera) relating to recent conflict in Northern Ireland. Gray retold the myth of the origin of this collection, how James Vitty, the then Librarian, was handed a political leaflet in a Belfast pub. After discarding and then salvaging it, Vitty brought the pamphlet to the Linenhall, where it became the basis of what is now a collection of many thousands of similar and related items.

Gray took the opportunity of his talk to chastise the other major cultural institutions in Northern Ireland for failing to do what his own institution had so admirably done. Other, better-resourced institutions, intimated Gray, had timidly avoided collecting and showing the Troubles. It was an unjust complaint, some of his audience insisted.

The second lecture was by Dr Harald Biermann on the *Haus der Geschichte* in Bonn which has an outreach museum in Leipzig. Beirmann's lecture attracted some vociferous criticism, but it usefully focused attention upon "social engineering". The *Haus der Geschichte*'s museum in Leipzig had the clear aim of encouraging East Germans ("affectionately known as 'Ossies'") to adopt

western capitalistic and democratic values, and to forget their so-called "ostalgia" for the good old totalitarian days of the DDR. There was some reaction in the conference to Biermann's reluctance to see that there was actually some worth in the values for which many "ostalgic" East Germans yearned. Such things as freedom from unemployment, social security and health provision, neighbourliness, respect for and involvement in cultural pursuits, and an opposition to the banalities of consumerism and selfishness: these, it was felt, should not be too lightly dismissed as ideologically suspect.

It also became clear that there was an underlying unhappiness that the ideas of one group of people should be dismissed as merely misguided or abhorrent while those of other groups should be elevated as truth. Reconciliation, it was argued, could not take the shape of a mere capitulation of "incorrect" accounts of the past before the force of "correct" alternatives. It had much more to do with affirming and valuing all truthful experiences, not just the views of the most powerful.

Dr Jonathan Bell's paper on recent exhibitions relating to the great Irish famine of 1846–51 opened by discussing the metaphorical relevance of this historic tragedy to the present day. In an echo of Prof. Connolly's comments regarding Irish historical revisionism, Bell pointed both to those who still looked to the Famine for political lessons about the evil done to Ireland by the British, and to those who exploited the "irony" of the Famine to challenge Irish nationalist ideals. As he spoke of his own efforts to use the Famine to help the comfortably-off in the present-day to understand the famines still found in Africa and elsewhere, he underlined the impossibility of constructing a satisfactory narrative about the past which did not in some sense speak to the present.

TWO MAJOR LECTURES

The undoubted high-spot of the weekend were two remarkable lectures, one given by Yasmin Sooka of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the other by Sir Kenneth Bloomfield former chairman of the Northern Ireland Victims Commission.

In a cynical world, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which sought to transcend the most appalling human sufferings and cruelties and bitter anger by means of truthfulness, represents for many one of the truly noble achievements of modern times. Yasmin Sooka, a leading member of this organisation,

stunned her audience to a palpable silence with her words. She surveyed the different varieties of truth that had proved to be important in explicating South Africa's human tragedy. We also learned that the consensus (however imperfect) which had emerged out of the pain-filled proceedings of the Commission about the dreadful events in South Africa under apartheid and war had provided a starting point for the emergence of a new society.

Sir Kenneth Bloomfield's investigation into victims in Northern Ireland had been on a smaller scale than the TRC's but his lecture had a similar impact. Former head of the Northern Ireland Civil Service, and a man of very broad experience, Sir Kenneth had clearly found himself in uncharted waters at the start of his commission. He talked to us in exceptionally personal terms of his own emotional journey as he grew to know the injured and bereaved. He stressed that one should seize the moment when it was appropriate to say things which were difficult to say, that one should choose the time and place with care and with sensitivity. He spoke movingly about his travels that very day, which had seen him with relatives of "the disappeared" as they stood, coffins waiting, in the sodden miserableness of rain-drenched Co. Louth watching Gardai search, as yet in vain, for the bodies of their loved-ones. Again we found ourselves pondering the need to give a voice to people — victims and others — who had participated in traumatic events.

TOWARDS A CONCLUSION

The last formal paper was by Pat Cooke, Director of Kilmainham Gaol Museum, and one of the most influential museum curators in Ireland. Kilmainham was first of all restored and transformed into a museum by a group of volunteers for whom it was a shrine to national independence, a place where generations of national heroes had been imprisoned or executed. Cooke considered the wisdom of deconstructing this veneration, eventually (and perhaps a little uncomfortably) concluding that such deconstruction was inappropriate. Not only did Kilmainham Gaol represent a story that needed to be told, and could be told in no other place, but he also found in the lives and deaths of so-called political heroes a genuinely human heroism.

His closing remarks seemed to sum up the conference. He spoke of enlightenment, and the impossibility of confining enlightenment. Enlightenment was not to be found at the end of a process but rather as one trod the path of life. Enlightenment,

he suggested, was also found in the most unlikely places and from the most accidental beginnings, citing the moves towards political reconciliation in contemporary Northern Ireland that had extended from prisons holding terrorists.

At the end of our own short journey, there was a lively panel discussion. As well as some of our speakers, this panel was led by some new voices. Maurna Crozier, Director of the Cultural Diversity Programme of the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council told us of her work, which, she said, was concerned above all to produce dialogue, regardless of the political correctness of particular ideological expressions. Cathy McKimm spoke of the aims of An Crann not only to collect oral testimony of the Troubles but also to encourage the artistic expression of the experiences as a vehicle for the public exposition and assuagement of private hurt.

From these comments and from those of speakers and the group generally, it was clear that a sobering consensus was emerging, embodying a diversity of insights and positions. At one point, in an echo of Pat Cooke's comments regarding enlightenment, we were sharply told that "social engineering doesn't work" and that the only positive and productive option open to us as museum professionals was to facilitate and to trust ordinary people to use our institutions to come to terms with themselves and their experiences. The need for Northern Irish museums to be much more active in publicly addressing topics relating to the Troubles, coupled with the idea that museums were uniquely endowed with the "neutral spaces" needed for the articulation and reconciliation of conflicting experiences of the past was emphasised by many.

DECONSTRUCTING THE SILENCE

Much repeated during the conference was the aphorism, popular in Northern Ireland, "Whatever you say, say nothing". It generally is taken to allude to the tendency of people in traumatic circumstances to remain silent about contentious and hurt-filled issues. The conference agreed both that museum visitors had the right to this privacy of feeling, and that museums themselves must respect and protect that right in all their works.

However, if there was a single lesson in the conference, it was that healing as well as historical truth is only found in the expression of all the ideas and all the experiences of all the people. Towards the end of the conference, Yasmin Sooka, a

quietly impressive presence throughout our deliberations, remarked that the aim should be to "deconstruct silence". It was that remark, which seemed to sum up what was needed. Our task as museum professionals is to allow people to have their say, no matter who they were or what their views.

BEREAVEMENT, BIOGRAPHY AND COMMEMORATION

TONY WALTER

We tend to see bereavement as the domain of psychologists and counsellors, and having little to do with the creation of history. But what is history but the formalising of how we talk about the dead, or the not quite dead? And talking about the dead is central to grief and mourning. Sometimes the links between personal bereavement, public commemoration and the forming and re-forming of historical awareness are made explicit — at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC, and in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission the public and the private come together in remarkable ways. But there are other less explicit ways in which bereavement, commemoration and the recording and presentation of history come together. In this article, I sketch some of the ordinary processes of bereavement and how they can impinge, sometimes in challenging ways, on the work of social history curators.

BEREAVEMENT

The dominant psychological theories of grief in the twentieth century have obscured rather than illuminated this matter. In contrast to the Victorian celebration of grief as evidence of continuing love for the deceased, Freud (1917) and most subsequent theorists have emphasised the importance of the mourner 'working through' the painful emotions of loss so that they can face up to the reality that they have to get on with life on their own; the aim seems to be to reconstitute them as autonomous individuals who, while not exactly forgetting the dead are not weighed down by them and can therefore move on and make new relationships. One can readily see how this view of grief fitted a twentieth century in which a dominant theme was the valuing of youth, progress and the future and a devaluing of old people, the dead, and the past.

Such theories have recently been challenged by researchers (e.g. Klass *et al.*, 1996; Stroebe *et al.*, 1992) who point out that many mourners do not leave the dead behind. Instead they incorporate the dead into the ongoing life of the living, as individuals, as families, and sometimes as communities and even as nations. The

dead refuse to go away — this may be obvious with someone such as Diana, Princess of Wales, and with the war dead, but it is also true in smaller groups of many less famous people. We turn the dead into what, in Japan or Africa or many other parts of the world, would be recognised as ancestors. Rather than being 'stuck' in grief, this often entails our moving on *with* the dead, rather than without them. One may readily see how this resonates with the late twentieth century uncertainty about the future, discovery of 'heritage', interest in family history and so forth.

How do modern westerners turn their dead into family, community or national ancestors? Individuals do this through sensing their presence and through talking to the dead (both surprisingly common activities), and through 'linking objects' — symbolic places and things which represent the dead, whether it be the grave, or a place s/he frequented, a piece of clothing, or photographs. Clearly some of the objects found in museums have this ability to rekindle the spirit of the deceased. Many of these objects provide private memories for private individuals. A few public places, such as the Vietnam Wall, provide public setting in which linking objects can be ritually laid, memories shared and stories told.

It seems to me, however, that the most important way in which the dead live on in the communal memory of groups is through the simple act of the living talking about the dead to each other, whether it be in a throwaway line or in extended reminiscence (Walter 1996, 1999). One of the most popular readings at British funerals is a poem by Henry Scott Holland whose line 'death is nothing at all' has attracted much criticism for its apparent denial of death, but the poem also contains the following:

> Call me by my old familiar name,
>
> speak to me in the easy way you always used....
>
> Let my name be ever the household word it always was.

This, it seems to me, is the major way that the dead become ancestors in a West that lacks more formalised rituals (such as praying at the family shrine that adorns millions of Japanese homes). Some religions formalise this talk, as with the Jewish *shiva* in which for seven days after the death the family are visited at home by friends and neighbours who talk, talk, talk about the dead. Even secularised Jews often see the value in this. This is what I call a 'biographical' theory of grief, in which mourners jointly constructing the biography of the dead helps

them know who they are grieving and helps them construct an ancestor who will accompany them into the future.

Talking about the dead can be inhibited, however, by a number of factors. Some families and some individuals hold a norm that one should not speak of the dead — they may fear they will become too emotional, or that truthful speaking may entail speaking ill of those who can no longer defend themselves. In some families, one member who wishes to talk is shut up by others who find it too painful. Typically nowadays, because of longevity and mobility, the chief mourners are no longer living together (the elderly widow and her various adult children may all be living in different towns) and the people they meet in everyday conversation (neighbours, work colleagues) did not know the deceased, or not at all well. My name may not continue as the household word it always was because the mourners no longer live in the same household.

More to the point of this article, there may be serious disagreement as to what kind of person the deceased was. A daughter abused by her now deceased father may not be able to share her story with the widow who adored him — they are mourning different people and are locked in their own isolation. Such a man does not become an ancestor, for ancestors belong to groups, not individuals. In families where different members take different sides in a civil war, the brother killed in battle may be a hero to some, a traitor to others. Where not everyone agrees, silence may be the most comfortable option. An article in *The Independent* (7 March 1996) titled 'Peer's family attack offensive obituary' starts, 'The family of Lord Jay, who has died aged 88, last night defended the former Labour Cabinet minister against an obituary which claimed he was mean, shabby and mediocre.' Disagreement about the dead, whether in a family or in the national press, can be painful.

This natural aspect of bereavement — people talking about the dead — is how the construction of history begins, in families, in newspapers, in nations. The social history curator is part of this process. Usually, the curator only gets involved long after the mourning is over, but disagreement over the dead can prolong the business of mourning, possibly over generations. This is often the case when the last chapter of the person's story is disputed.

THE LAST CHAPTER

The last chapter of a person's life is their death. How, when, where did they die? Did they die at peace with themselves and

their Maker, or in spiritual anguish and with a sense of failure at their life? Their story makes no sense if we do not know the ending. There are a number of circumstances in which the ending may be unknown, concealed or disputed.

The last chapter may simply be unknown. A man may disappear off a ferry, presumably drowned, but it is never known if it was an accident or suicide, and the body is never found. Grieving such a death can be extraordinarily difficult.

Or the facts about the death may be known by certain officials who have an interest in not revealing the truth to the family. When people living in police states disappear, as in Chile under the Pinochet regime or in South Africa under apartheid, it is all too common that the family do not know what happened, and — worse — know that others do know but will not reveal. Even if the circumstances of the death may never be told, relatives at least want to know where the person is buried, and time may not reduce such a desire:

> IRA READY TO IDENTIFY GRAVES The IRA is believed to be on the point of identifying the graves of about a dozen people it abducted and killed. The terrorist victims all disappeared between 1972 and 1980, but the many appeals from their families for the location of their bodies to be pinpointed have been rejected. Reports in Dublin, though, said the IRA leadership was ready to permit the remains to be returned. Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, called on anyone with information about the 'disappeared' to come forward to help those families to put the tragedy behind them.
> (*The Times* 27 June 1998)

Even in more peaceful Britain, there is a worrying trend of doctors under pressure not to tell exactly what happened for fear of a medical malpractice case. And in motor accidents, drivers are advised by insurance companies never to admit blame. Insurance companies and health care trusts do not have an interest in the truth being told; they have an interest in a story being told that does not leave them financially liable. Families may suspect they are not getting the full story, and the more they try to get it, the more evasion they encounter.

TRUTH, HISTORY AND HEALING

South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission seems to me to be a very creative solution to this kind of problem. The Commission was set up with an understanding of two things.

First, many families were less concerned with revenge against those who had killed their loved one than with simply knowing what happened, yet fear of the incrimination was preventing thousands — on both sides — from telling the truth. Second, if South Africa's recent history was to be re-written for a post-apartheid era then these stories had to be told, and told in public. The TRC was thus motivated by two things: a concern for the bereaved, and a concern for the re-writing of history. Both pointed in the same direction: there must be an amnesty from prosecution for those who promised to tell the truth about their participation in abductions, beatings and killings. A new history became the means for the healing of grief. The political and the personal were inextricable.

It is high time that someone adapts and applies the TRC approach to deaths in hospital and on the road in the UK where officials hide the truth for fear of financial liability. In the UK, we seem to be moving toward a culture of compensation in which official bodies are more and more often sued for everything from emotional damage to deaths they failed to prevent. Anger at the institution, fostering the desire for compensation, is often fuelled more by the cover-up than by the death itself. Given a choice between easy access to the truth and tortuously long and convoluted access to financial recompense, I suspect many bereaved people would choose the former. Some hospitals with a policy of openness and apology for operations that go wrong have not found they are sued more than other hospitals; instead families' anger is reduced and they feel less need to go to law.

DISCREDITED DEATHS

Sometimes, the facts of the death may be known, more or less, by all, but their meaning may be disputed. This is often the case in civil wars in which one person's hero is another's villain. It is also the case in discredited wars: the GI who dies in Vietnam, the German or Japanese soldier in World War II. How can their last chapter be spoken of with honour, when history has turned against the cause they fought for? And if history has declared their death dishonourable, does that not cast a shadow over the whole of their life, and over the worthiness of mourning them? How may they be commemorated, in memorials and museums?

Three emblematic places wrestle with such issues. One, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, whose construction was deeply controversial has proved to be a place of healing. The black (not

white, like most war memorials) marble wall, sunk in the ground, its polished surface reflecting the feelings expressed through the bodies of those who visit it, does the utmost honour to those who died and to the grief of those who mourn. It is a place where stories are told, artefacts left, and tears shed, a place where America comes to terms with a problematic part of its own history. The artefacts and messages left at the memorial are all collected up and stored by the Museum and Archaeological Regional Storage Facility; some have been published in Palmer (1988). The ordinary grief of thousands of mourners thus becomes part of America's permanent heritage, part of the long-term response to the war, and thus part of history itself.

Another is the statue by Käthe Kollwitz near the grave in Flanders of her son Peter, killed in World War I, a war Käthe did not believe in. Portraying the two grieving parents, it is a remarkable memorial to the pain and the pity of war. One family's grief becomes a powerful statement of the futility of that particular war. The memorial has been extensively discussed by Winter (1995) and others.

A third place in which the meaning of the ultimate sacrifice is ongoingly contested is the Tokyo's Yasukuni shrine and museum to the Japanese war dead. The dividing line here between honouring those who died for their country and honouring the cause for which they died is a matter of continual debate, and many younger Japanese feel uneasy visiting the place. As in the Imperial War Museum in London, exhibits in the museum vary from planes and torpedoes, to accounts of engagements, to personal letters home from the front. The stories of those who died are told, but by no means all are happy with the way in which they are told.

That dispute over the meaning of lives and of deaths can continue for not just decades but centuries is manifest in Ireland, where deaths from the great famine of the 1840s are still remembered and where the commemoration of battles long gone can still split communities. How the stories of such deaths are portrayed in history books, school classes and museums can comfort some and appall others. Ben-Ze'ev and Ben-Ari (1996) report on a museum of co-existence in Jerusalem 'where the narratives of two or more groups marked by confrontation are set out side by side', reflecting the idea of the museum as forum rather than as temple. But, being run by one side in the conflict and being located where it was, the museum failed. The Hause der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn aims to present the story of all Germany, yet has excluded the stories of

everyday life in the former East Germany, providing instead an overarching narrative of the triumph of the West. In other memorials and museums, the emphasis may change over time. At the site of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, where in 1876 Custer's Seventh Cavalry were wiped out by a much larger group of Sioux and Cheyennes, 1988 saw a hostile confrontation as members of the American Indian Movement resented the continuing adoration of Custer and the lack of any memorial to the Indians who died; in the early 1990s the site was officially renamed from Custer Battlefield to Little Bighorn Battlefield, and the Indian dead now memorialised alongside Custer's force. Changing views of native Americans have change the meanings, the commemoration, and the history of this battle (Reader and Walter 1993: ch. 7).

CONCLUSION

Telling the story of the dead is central both to mourning and to the making of history. War memorials are centrally involved in this dual process, but I hope this introduction to some of the issues shows that they can embroil anyone involved in the presentation of history, not least the curators of social history museums. The potential for healing, and the potential for further hurt, as stories of the dead and of death are told and retold, presented and re-presented, falsified and de-falsified, are enormous.

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SOCIAL EXCLUSION

CATHERINE ALLEN

Tackling Unemployment and Homelessness at The Pump House: People's History Museum

INTRODUCTION

Social exclusion is a key priority for the Labour Government, which set up the Social Exclusion Unit in 1997 to investigate how to reduce high levels of poverty, unemployment, homelessness, crime, and poor health care faced by a large section of the population. The Government wishes to involve a wide range of public institutions in this drive to tackle social exclusion, and seeks to achieve this through the work of Government Departments such as the Department for Culture Media and Sport, and the Department for Employment and Education. The Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) sets the policy for the heritage sector and aims to tie the activities of museums and galleries to Government priorities.

The Museums Association defines a museum as an institution that enables 'people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens which they hold in trust for society' (Museums Association, 1998). At first sight, responding to social exclusion appears to be beyond the scope of the Museums Association's definition, but it can be argued that museums provide a service in the community and as such should respond to the needs of that community to justify their existence to their stakeholders. Further, the DCMS firmly believes that museums and galleries can 'help tackle social exclusion by encouraging participation in museum activity and reaching across social and economic barriers' (DCMS, 1998). The Department suggests that arts and sport can make an important contribution to the Government's aims of reducing crime and unemployment as well as improving health and education (Smith, 1998).

Museum professionals are, therefore, currently debating the nature of the role that museums and galleries might have in achieving social inclusion. To some, it is merely limited to providing access for everyone, which can be easily accomplished by the removal of admission charges, whilst at the other extreme,

it is felt that museums should 're-position themselves as agents of social inclusion, regeneration and renewal' (Sandell, 1999, 31). Attempting to tackle issues of social exclusion rather than seeking ways to help socially excluded people participate more in the life of the museum, can be seen as going beyond the remit of museums. However, the anonymous author of the Comment in the July issue of the *Museums Journal* (1999, 14) states that social exclusion is about 'museums trying to tackle problems at the very heart of our society, not as a bonus but as a core function'.

Although a few museums, such as the Galleries of Justice in Nottingham, are tackling crime as a social concern, less is being done to address other social problems such as homelessness and unemployment. Such people tend to lack financial resources, and are therefore less likely to visit museums and galleries. They might also view such places as attracting middle-class, employed people, and consequently, feel socially out of place in such surroundings. This feeling of exclusion is aggravated by the fact that the subject of homelessness and unemployment is often ignored by museums purporting to represent the social history of an area. It is difficult for museums and galleries to present a balanced display without appearing to be condescending or patronising, hence the belief that this is a complex subject for museum curators who are generally trained as historians rather than social workers.

TACKLING UNEMPLOYMENT AND HOMELESSNESS

Although museums and galleries cannot have much direct effect on reducing the problems at the heart of today's society, there are ways in which they can approach the subject, for example, by raising awareness of problems faced by certain sectors of society. However, many museums and galleries tend to focus on their collections when creating an exhibition on a specific theme, which perpetuates the notion that museums are about recording the past, and this is particularly true of issues surrounding social deprivation such as poverty, unemployment and homelessness.

These issues might be addressed by a bland display of nineteenth century poverty compared with present day, conveyed via photographs and text, but a museum can create a more comprehensive and meaningful exhibition by involving homeless or unemployed people in contributing material that reflects their life

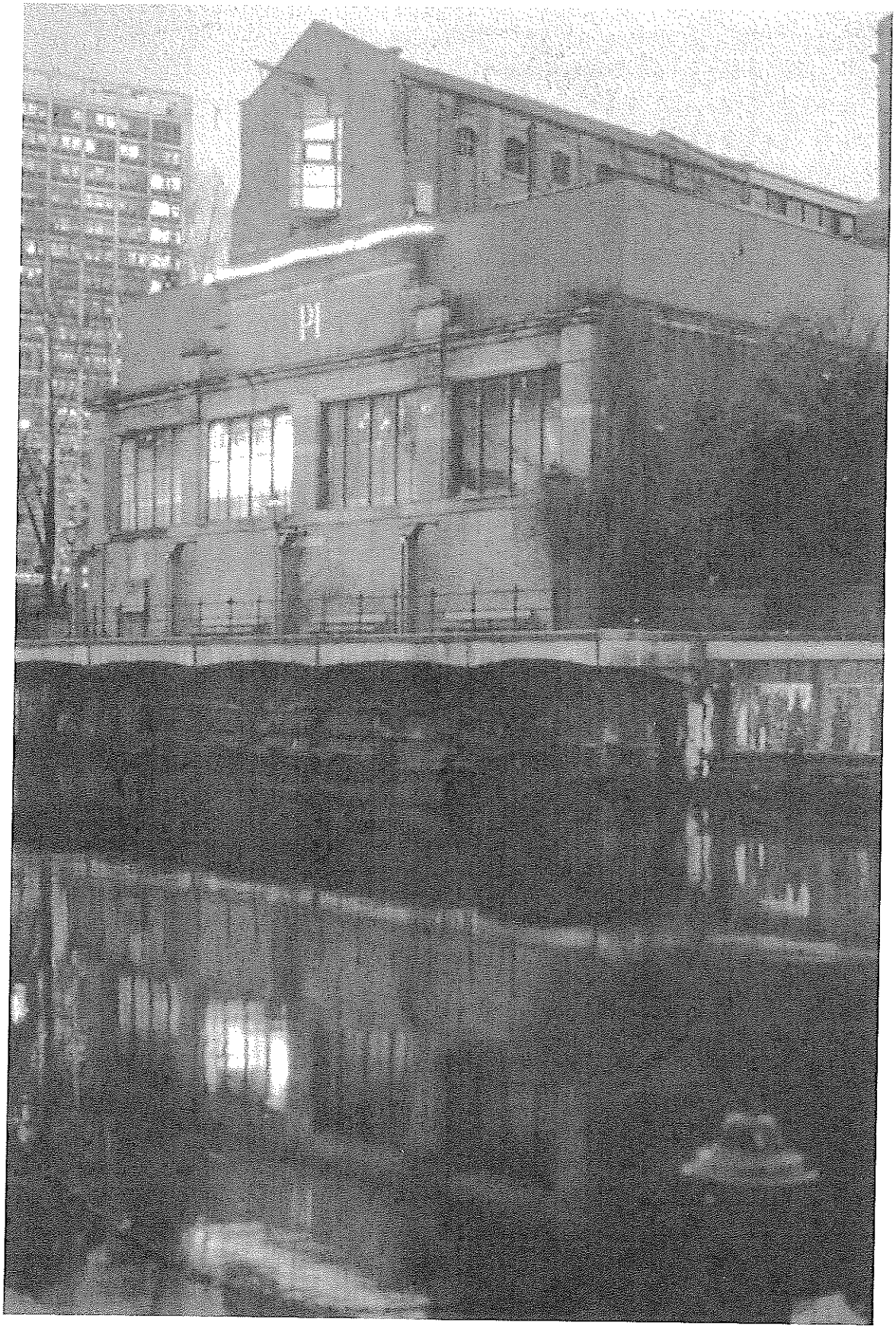
and experiences. To do this in a positive way, museums and galleries need to form partnerships with local agencies and organisations such as hostels for homeless people, and to provide assistance and guidance to enable people to tell their story. People experiencing homelessness and unemployment may find it hard to talk about their experiences, and this provides an opportunity to express themselves publicly and, if they wish, anonymously. Such projects help participants to develop new skills such as communication, self-awareness or practical skills. Having works admired by visitors to the museum or gallery can also boost self-confidence, and work produced can form part of a portfolio or curriculum vitae to enhance the chance of finding employment.

The Pump House: People's History Museum in Manchester has held two exhibitions that looked at unemployment and homelessness — the first was created in-house, whilst the second was a collaboration between the museum and the Booth Centre (a drop-in centre for homeless people at Manchester Cathedral). The remainder of this Paper will examine these two exhibitions to illustrate how a museum can make a positive contribution to Government social policy.

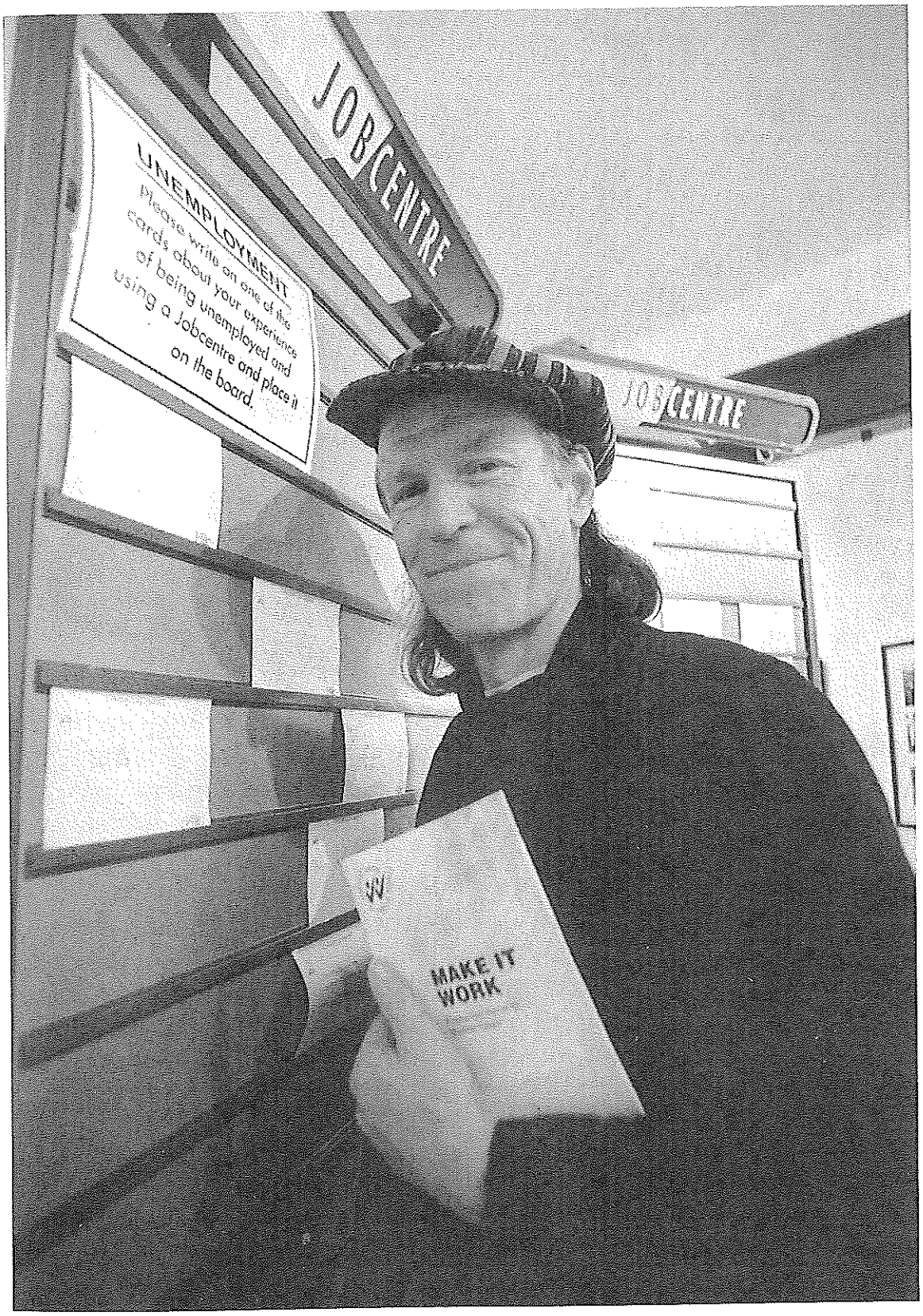
THE "OFFICE OF HOPE?" — A HISTORY OF THE LABOUR EXCHANGE

This exhibition was held in September to January 1997 and recounted not only the history of the labour exchange but focused on the experiences of both staff and users. Visitors were invited to add their own stories to the exhibition. This exhibition included a series of creative writing workshops with Clive Hopwood, writer in residence.

Adults, some of whom were unemployed, attended the workshops, the aim of which was to encourage participants to write from their own experiences and in response to the exhibition. The workshops were advertised in local job centres and other places where unemployed people could see them, to attract a broad mix of participants. It was intended that workshops should include people who had never worked, or who had been made redundant, or retired people able to look back on their experiences of unemployment. Four schools also took part, two primary and two secondary: St Mary's Primary School, Eccles and Brentnall Primary School (both year 6), Bury Grammar School for Girls and Shena Simon College, Manchester for 16 year olds.



The Pump House, People's History Museum, Manchester.



'The Office of Hope': a History of the Labour Exchange. An exhibition at the Pump House People's History Museum, September 1997–January 1998.

Clive Hopwood was commissioned to run creative writing workshops which resulted in a publication launched at the end of the exhibition.

The workshops examined attitudes towards work and unemployment over six sessions. Hopwood examined 'spin-offs' from unemployment such as lack of money, stress on relationships and problems such as the longer a person is unemployed the less likely they are to find employment. He stated that the long-term aim of the workshops was to give people who had faced unemployment the opportunity to talk openly about their personal feelings. People with traumatic or strong experiences were encouraged to publish their views, which were compiled in a booklet entitled 'The Office of Hope'. Hopwood believes that participation in workshops provides a number of benefits, including development of communication skills, self-awareness and personal development. He stated that unemployed people 'had strong feelings and vivid experiences' and were able to use 'creative writing as a safe place to express oneself'. The act of writing and presenting in a book was a public way of expressing innermost feelings. The aim of the sessions was to stimulate people to think for themselves, and to provide them with the tools and confidence to put their own thoughts on paper (Hopwood, 1999).

The approach with schools was slightly different, involving follow-up work in the classroom. Visits to the museum included a tour of the gallery, an introduction to creative writing based on photographs from the exhibition, which was to be continued in the classroom, and role play in small groups. According to Guy Perry, one of the tutors at the Shena Simon College, Manchester, about twenty students, aged 16–18, attended the exhibition and workshops, which met the requirements of their English Language A Level course. Guy Perry felt that the 'theme was important to the students' since 'the college ... attracts students from a traditionally labour background'. Perry believes that students 'benefit most from the museum and teacher working together', and that the more successful visits occur where 'the teacher discusses how the workshops are to be slanted before the visit so that they can be included within a structured scheme of work'. It is also important for 'feedback from the museum when the follow-up activity has been completed, so that the students feel that their work is valued. It is always good for them to have a second opinion and contact with the real world is invaluable' (G. Perry, 1999). This feedback was given a wider context by the public launch of the 'Office of Hope' book on a Saturday afternoon, tea and biscuits provided, when contributors read their work to an invited audience.

'Not Just Homeless' exhibition January–April 1999.
A user of the Booth Centre, a drop-in centre for homeless people, helps mount photographs in the 'Who is Homeless' section.

NOT JUST HOMELESS

This exhibition highlighted the problems faced by homeless people, and was produced by the Booth Centre at Manchester Cathedral in conjunction with the museum curators. Homeless people at the Centre take part in a variety of activities including drama, music, art and photography.

Participants in workshops at the Booth Centre produced a video, music, paintings, a giant Snakes and Ladder game, photographs and personal testimonies which formed the content of the exhibition. Visitors to the museum were encouraged to contribute by writing about their 'Dream Home', and were invited to identify people who were homeless from amongst some 200 photographs. There was also a time line chronicling major developments in government policy affecting homelessness, as well as images and text on poverty and wealth.

This was the first occasion on which the creative talents of people using the Booth Centre were on public display other than at the Cathedral. The purpose of the exhibition was to challenge pre-conceived ideas about homelessness by demonstrating that

such people are no different to anyone else in society. The exhibition was co-ordinated by Karin Albinsson who ran the photography workshops at the Booth Centre. Albinsson stated that the homeless people who took part were very proud of their work, and that the opportunity to discuss this with others was very important. Whenever she meets the participants in the street, they still talk about the project with enthusiasm and pride (K. Albinsson, 1999).

This exhibition was also complemented by workshops led by Clive Hopwood at the museum. Hopwood held four sessions involving one or two people from the Booth Centre, but mostly visitors to the museum. He wanted to try and use the workshops to find out about the experiences of homeless people as well as of people who were not homeless. Through the workshops, he looked at the wider interpretation of homelessness, broadening the subject to address, for example, the question of refugees. The concept of 'home' was examined by looking at the ideal home and the minimum required for a 'home'. He used a variety of media including written historical material, video, songs and film to look at other views besides those presented in the exhibition.

CONCLUSION

These are just two of the many exhibitions held by the Pump House: People's History Museum that have addressed social exclusion. Visitors are encouraged to confront their own perceptions, and to look at wider social issues that are not usually addressed in museums, which can lead to a change in attitude towards other people who may be deemed 'socially excluded'.

Many of the exhibitions are supported by activities such as creative writing or craft workshops, which broadens the scope of the exhibition to encourage an active rather than passive absorption of content. Workshops have a number of advantages including encouraging discussion about the issues raised by the exhibitions, and provide an opportunity for people who have been directly affected by social exclusion (eg homeless people) to attend the discussion and express their own feelings. As an additional spin-off, for museums seeking to secure funding, this is also evidence of the contribution towards the Government's drive to improve literacy.

Social exclusion is a complex area of work for museums, and can often result in an exhibition that is produced without consultation with the sector of society that the exhibition is purporting to represent. This can lead to hostile reactions, not just from

those people, but from general visitors to the museum as well. It is therefore important to collaborate closely with relevant organisations to encourage involvement in the production of an exhibition, and in linked activities, as was the case in both of these exhibitions. Thus, museums, such as The Pump House: People's History Museum, that lack the financial resources to offer an extensive outreach programme can still make a valid contribution to the Government's aim of combating social exclusion.

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This article is an extract from the final Dissertation entitled *Is Social Exclusion a Valid Role for Museums and Galleries?* that was produced for the Masters Degree in Heritage Management at the Ironbridge Institute, Shropshire.

KEEPING BANNERS BRIGHT — PRACTICAL ADVICE ON LOOKING AFTER BANNERS

KAREN THOMPSON

INTRODUCTION

This paper arose out of the National Banner Survey which was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund. The Survey set out to document all banners held in museums across Britain, assess the storage and conservation facilities for banners within these museums and establish a database with a comprehensive image bank. The survey identified a clear need for advice on caring for banners. The Survey returns and site visits carried out as part of the project confirmed that some curators and museum professionals were not able to provide much information on their banners because they found them difficult to examine due to their size and fragility. This raised concerns about collection care and the impact this could have on the survival of these fascinating objects.

The aim of this paper is to outline the basic principles of preventive conservation for the care of banners, offer handling and packing advice and identify some key issues to consider when planning to display a banner. (This information has also been produced as a leaflet for curators and funded by the Museums and Galleries Commission.)

Preventive conservation measures are essential in the care of all museum objects. Banners, because of their composition and size can make them expensive to conserve, so any small preventive conservation measure that can be introduced will help to reduce any future costs that could be incurred and help enhance their chances of long term survival.

Banners can be described as flat textiles with applied decoration. They are produced both professionally and at home using a wide range of materials (textiles, metal, paper, pigments) and techniques (painting, embroidery, appliqué, patchwork). Their construction and the fact that many were designed to be used infrequently brings a challenge in their care and display.

Like all textiles, banners are susceptible to damage and deterioration from dirt, over-exposure to light, incorrect environmental conditions, attack by pests and inappropriate handling

and storage. However, the implementation of preventive conservation measures can help to minimise these damaging effects. There are four main areas of preventive conservation that will be discussed:

- Environmental conditions
- Handling
- Storage
- Display

ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

Relative humidity and temperature

Banners are sensitive to poor environmental controls. They should be stored in stable conditions, ie stable relative humidity (RH) and temperature. Fluctuations in RH and temperature cause repeated contraction and expansion of the fibres which increase the risk of damage, particularly for mixed media objects such as painted banners. The level of RH and temperature is also important. The environment should neither be damp (high RH) or too dry (low RH).

High levels of RH (eg above 65%) could promote or encourage:

- mould growth which could lead to staining and damage to the textile fibres
- bloom on painted surfaces
- corrosion of metal
- pests to flourish
- dyes to fade more rapidly

Low RH leads to embrittlement of fibres and cracking of paint.

The optimum RH is between 50–55% and temperature is 18–20C.

Light

Light is damaging to textiles and this damage is cumulative and non-reversible and should be controlled, wherever possible.

As a guide, it is recommended that light sensitive objects such as textiles should not be exposed to light levels above 50 lux. However, they can be exposed at higher light levels for limited periods, compensated by longer periods with lower light levels or darkness. This can be calculated on the *total light dosage*

measured in lux hours (eg lux hours = amount of light in lux × time in hours). For example, in one year, a museum open for 8 hours a day can safely display a textile at 50 lux which is equivalent to displaying it a 100 lux for 26 weeks.

Ultra-violet (UV) radiation is the most damaging part of the light spectrum and it should be screened out. This can be done using UV screening or filters on lights and windows. In storage all light should be excluded except when an object is being viewed.

Dirt and atmospheric pollution

It is important that the storage/display area is kept clean. Apart from being visually disfiguring, dirt contains many different particles that could be acidic (which would weaken fibres), sharp (which could cut fibres), or a food source for pests.

HANDLING

Often because of a banner's large size it may require two people to handle it safely. It should be handled wearing clean gloves or with clean hands and jewellery or anything that could catch or snag the textile should be removed. When examining a banner or preparing it for storage, a clean surface should be prepared that is large enough to enable the banner to be laid out flat.

It is important to support the banner evenly at all times. Moving a banner by dragging it by the corners would put strain on it and could lead to tears or splits. Large banners should be rolled to turn them over to ensure that the banner is adequately supported. When carrying a rolled textile, it is important to hold the roller at each end of the tube, and to avoid holding it in the middle and squeezing it as this could lead to damage by crushing.

STORAGE

Acid free or pH neutral materials should be used for storage. Ideally unbuffered (ie naturally pH neutral) acid free tissue, card etc should be used. Some materials are buffered to a neutral pH (such as buffered acid free); however, as these lose their acid free qualities more quickly than the unbuffered acid free materials it is necessary to replace them more regularly. Yellow discoloration of tissue etc gives some indication that it has become acidic.

Before a banner is stored it should be checked to ensure that there are no signs of insect activity. It should be dry with no

dampness present, otherwise mould growth could develop whilst the banner is in storage.

Ideally a banner should be stored flat or rolled. It is best to avoid folding a banner, whenever possible. However, if it has to be folded due to space constraints or if it has multi-layers, which could make it difficult to roll, it should be folded loosely and any folds should be padded out with thick rolls of acid free tissue. The aim is not to allow any sharp creases to form, which would lead to damage, therefore avoid folding a textile in two directions (ie in quarters) and placing any heavy item or number of items on top of a folded textile.

As a general rule painted textiles should not be folded. The paint is not flexible enough to enable it to be folded safely and this could lead to cracks in the paint or splits along the junction of the paint and textile. It is not uncommon to find this type of damage.

Because of their large size it is often most convenient to store banners rolled, although it is important to ensure that it is sufficiently flexible to do this. If a banner has been folded for a long time and has sharp creases or if the fabric is brittle it may require a textile conservator to prepare it for storage.

The diameter to the tube is important. If a painted banner is rolled on too narrow a tube, such as around its own pole, this could cause the paint to deform and crack. This can also lead to stress between the paint and textile at the junction between the two and lead to splits.

Storing a banner in its original box and rolled around its pole can also lead to damage. The inappropriate narrow diameter pole and acidic conditions created by the box can cause the banner to deteriorate, leading to brittle silk and damaged paint. Even though a banner may still be in its original box, it is often better to store them separately and in a more appropriate manner.

Ideally a rolled banner should be stored suspended on a racking system so that the weight is evenly distributed and the banner is not crushed under its own weight and that of the tube. Alternatively, if this is not possible, the banner could be stored on a shelf with the ends of the tube resting on wedges of card, wood or bubble wrap to raise it up. It should not be stored with other banners or items stacked on top of it.

The following is a step by step guide on how to roll a banner.

Rolling a banner

You may require two people to roll the banner.

1. Prepare a clean flat surface and cover with a layer of acid free tissue.

2. The banner should be rolled on an appropriate diameter tube. The diameter of the tube required depends on the flexibility of the banner, ie the less flexible the banner, the wider the tube required. As a guide, painted banners should be rolled on a tube of 20 cm/8″ or wider to reduce the curvature of the paint. If it is not possible to obtain a wide diameter tube, the diameter of a small tube can be increased by wrapping it in polyester wadding and covering with a layer of acid free tissue.

The tube should be at least 20 cm longer than the banner to allow a handling edge when carrying the rolled banner.

3. Prepare the tube for rolling the banner. The tube should ideally be made from acid free cardboard wrapped in a layer of acid free tissue.

If it is not possible to obtain an acid free cardboard tube, an ordinary cardboard tube may have to be used. The banner should be protected from the acids in the cardboard by wrapping it with an isolating material and then a layer of acid free tissue. The isolating layer acts as a barrier to acids or other volatile substances in the cardboard. Such isolating materials include Melinex™ or Mylar™ (polyester films) or Moistop™ (an aluminium barrier foil).

A short-term solution is to wrap the tube in several layers of acid free tissue. However, the tissue would need to be replaced regularly as it soon absorbs the acids from the cardboard and loses its acid free qualities.

4. Remove the pole from the banner. This may not be possible if the pole loops are too tight or if they have been nailed to the pole. If this is the case it may be safer for the banner if the pole is left in place.

5. Lay the banner face down, so that it is rolled with its face outermost. This is important to reduce the curvature and stresses on the face of the banner and therefore minimise any possible damage. Ensure there is a layer of acid free tissue under the top ledge to aid rolling.

6. Ensure the banner is flat and there are no folds or creases in it.

7. Cover it with a layer of acid free tissue, this acts as a buffer between successive layers and helps to protect each layer.

8. Soften and cushion any raised decoration by covering with a layer, or layers, of polyester wadding between acid free tissue to

obtain as flat a surface as possible. Any bumps would cause distortion over time.

9. Align the prepared tube with the banner. If the pole has been removed begin by rolling the banner from this end. However if it is not possible to remove the pole safely, start to roll the banner from the bottom edge and soften the bulk of the fringe by covering with a layer, or layers, of polyester wadding between acid free tissue. It is important that the banner is rolled in the direction of the warp or weft threads.

10. Ensure even pick-up of the banner; pick up the three layers (tissue, banner and tissue).

11. Roll the banner, ensuring it is rolled smoothly with an even tension to avoid creases.

12. Once the banner is rolled, if the pole is still attached, lash it to the tube to prevent it slipping; any slippage could lead to creases.

13. Protect the rolled banner from dust and light, wrap it in Tyvek™ (spun bonded non-woven polyester fabric) or in washed, undyed calico. Do not wrap a banner (or any textile) in polythene for storage (polythene may be used for transportation only). Polythene attracts static electricity and dust and traps in moisture which could lead to mould growth. Secure the cover with wide cotton tapes tied loosely and attach a label to the banner.

DISPLAY

When planning to include a banner in a display it is essential to assess its condition to ensure that it is stable and safe. The fabric may appear to be sound but may be fragile; it is important to look for any splits or tears. Painted textiles in particular should be closely examined at the junction between the painted area and textile, as this area is very vulnerable. A textile conservator should be consulted if in doubt about a banner's condition.

On display, banners should be hung using a pole sleeve or Velcro™ (hook and loop fastener) or mounted on a board. Tacks or pins should not be used. Generally, free-hanging banners should only be on display for short periods of time (eg 6–12 months) and this should also be determined by their condition. Heavy decoration such as embroidery or paint would stretch and deform a banner if it is on display for a long period of time.

Ideally banners should be displayed in a case which would help to provide a buffered environment and protect against dirt.

If a banner is to be on open display, the area should be environmentally controlled, monitored and clean.

To sum up:

- The optimum RH is between 50–55% and temperature is 18–20°C
- Control and monitor light
- Keep storage/display area clean, check for pests
- When handling a large banner ask for help
- Use acid free/pH neutral materials for storage and replace these regularly
- Store a banner flat or rolled
- Display free hanging banners for only short periods of time
- If you are unsure if a banner is safe to display consult a textile conservator, most textile conservators will provide advice on all types of banners

'WHY ARE THERE NO CHARTIST BANNERS?' — THE 'MISSING LINK' IN 19th CENTURY BANNERS

NICK MANSFIELD

Academic historians have been relatively slow in the UK to use museum collections as evidence in their work. Likewise curators of social history museums have often been woefully ignorant about their collections and unaware of their potential significance to academic debate. The Simon Fellowship project on which I am working at Manchester University during 1999–2000, is an attempt to demonstrate how a category of museum objects — banners — can be analysed and related to the study of working class culture and politics in 19th century Britain. It is a modest object lesson in trying to get together two groups of people who may not talk to each other, with some accessible published material at the end of it.

Currently the romantic Marxist view of Edward Thompson in his classic *Making of the English Working Class* (1963) is being challenged by a new generation of post modernist cultural historians who stress the populist and more diverse reactions to the industrial revolution. The latter — mainly Manchester based, like Patrick Joyce and James Vernon — have described the use of banners in their accounts of the 19th century political process.

Another issue, is the total absence of Chartist banners. The Chartist political reform movement of the early Victorian period, was the first working class mass movement. It had hundreds of thousands of members and used banners extensively, which some scholars have studied in detail from press reports. This absence is all the more surprising given that other early 19th century political banners survive, 24 from the 1832 Reform Act crisis alone.

Although banners are notoriously difficult to date, as they retain archaic styles and both donors and curators want to think that they are older than they actually are, the Survey also seems to identify a mid-19th century gap for other types of banners. So there are several dozen trade union banners from around 1820 to 1840, only 15 examples from 1840 to 1890 and then the bulk of material in museum collections dates from post-1900. Similarly there are significant pre-1840 friendly society banners and with only a few exceptions, most surviving banners are

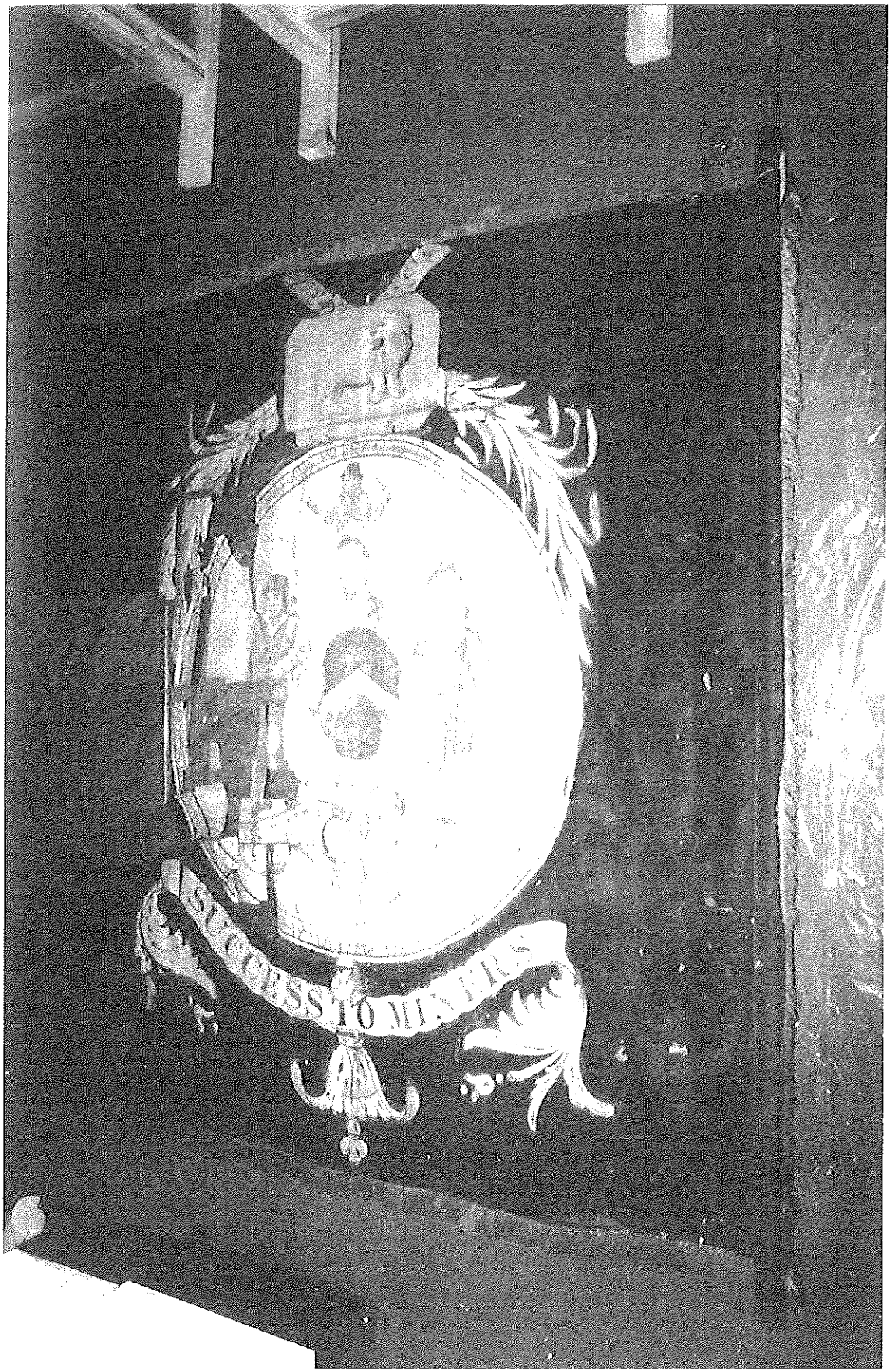
from 1900 onwards. This is the 'Missing Link' referred to in the title.

The Simon Fellowship project studies a select group of 170 banners, divided roughly into three types. Firstly there are 65 from guilds, trade societies and trade unions. Secondly there are 50 political banners (mainly from reform movements) with another related 28 election banners (a surprisingly small number of survivals). The remainder are various community or civic banners, but as we shall see, there was considerable overlap between these types. This group was also studied in relation to changes in banner design in the 19th century, whether this relates to their use — broadly the abandonment of the single pole flag in favour of the rigidly held 2 poled banner, or whether it relates to their production — or the gradual and complicated shift away from locally made, towards mass produced banners.

Many working class organisations in the early 19th century met in secret, a culture encouraged by government persecution of trade union and reform movements. Amongst their regalia, the significance of which we can only guess at, were small textiles. Perhaps they were wall hanging emblems, or aprons, or table coverings. Surviving examples include those of the United Female Friendly Society at the Museum of English Rural Life, Reading and those of the Loyal United Free Mechanics, found in several museums. Some early banners, eg the 1832 Plumbers flag at the National Museum of Labour History (NMLH) consist of these earlier small hanging textiles simply sewn onto a sheet for a particular event. Other early banners, eg the Duns Shoemakers Reform flag, also at the NMLH, have been collected with associated smaller textiles, probably ceremonial aprons.

This secret tradition also included painted trade society emblems, like the Norwich Plumbers emblem discussed by me in No. 14 (1987), of this journal. Made by local sign-writers or talented members, and hanging in secrecy in the meeting rooms of pubs, they already display the deliberately backward looking iconography — a visual bid for respectability — which was to characterise trade union banners for the next 200 years. Of particular interest for my project was an early 19th century Wigan Miner's emblem. It includes a mock coat of arms lifted from a non-existent City of London livery company, a celebration of the tools of the trade and the skills needed to use them and supporters in outdated costumes — in this case one in working costume and another in what appears to be a processional uniform.

At some point in the early 19th century, this secret world came out into the open, with flags like that of the White Lion Friendly



Flag of the White Lion Friendly Society, Ashover, Derbyshire, early 19th century (NMLH).

Society of Ashover, near Chesterfield in Derbyshire. It displays, on the other side of the Pennines, almost exactly the same miners' symbolism seen on the Wigan emblem, including an identical underground pit scene, along with the slogan 'Success to Miners'. This and other better dated flags seem to have been used in community ceremonies quite unrelated to the momentous upheavals in industrial relations like the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824.

Indeed, an older trades banner tradition already existed with the guilds. Although the City of London companies had become rich men's drinking clubs by 1800, in some provincial towns (Ludlow, Chester, and Coventry for example) elaborate painted banners of a long swallow-tailed design, were still used by skilled groups of workers participating in an ongoing calendar of local and national celebrations. In some towns, Norwich for instance, small groups of ceremonial workers were employed as standard bearers as late as 1832. Contemporary illustrations show how these one poled swallow-tailed flags were used in this civic ritual, which also involved elaborate flourishing techniques, probably adopted from military drill.

In Scotland, Incorporations — particularly of Weavers — occupied this grey area between the guilds and trade unions, long after their official abolition in 1846. Their material culture survives in several dozen banners. Typical is the banner of the Cupar Weavers, in the Fife Folk Museum collection, which is more likely to date from the early 19th century than from its self proclaimed date of 1727 (Very few banners exist before the late 18th century.) Its home made style suggests a much poorer organisation although the banner typically uses backward looking iconography. Cupar's reputation as a politically radical area is proudly proclaimed in the egalitarian slogan. 'The Weaver's trade it is most fine, and is renowned so, that there is neither poor, nor rich, yet doth without it go'.

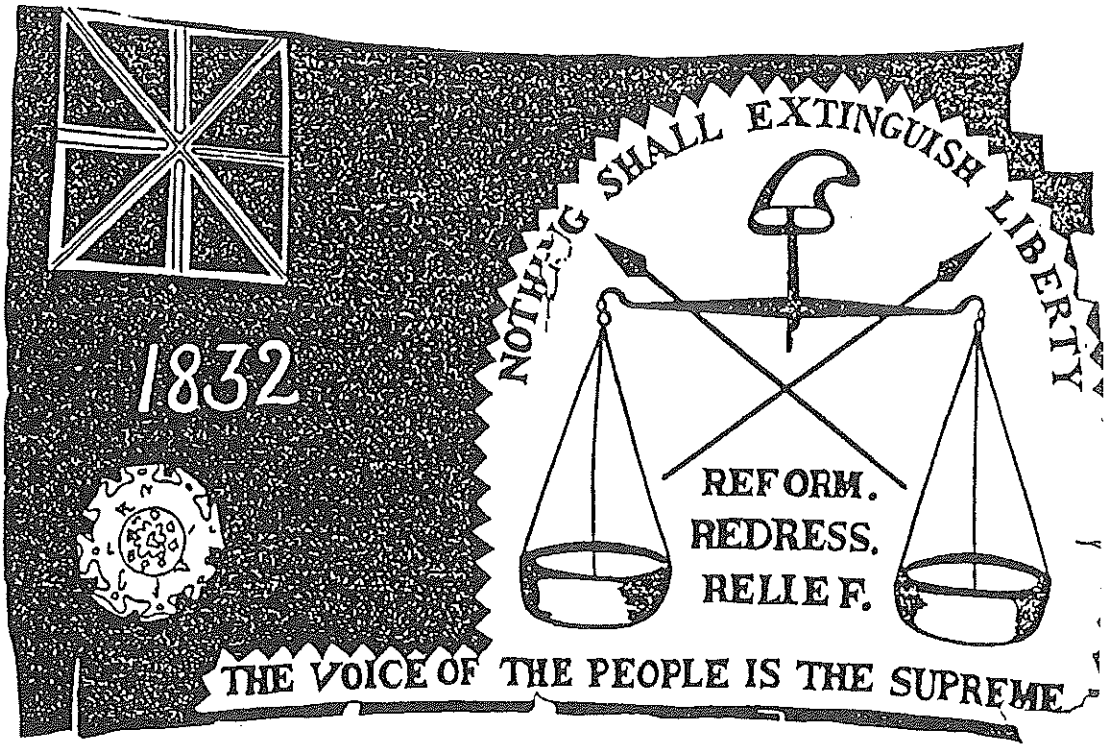
Many of the examples studied are from Scotland and the Hawick Hosiers banner of 1797 has been described by the late John Gorman — doyen of banner historians — as the oldest extant trade union banner. It displays the tools of the woollen hosiers trade as well as thistles, the symbol of Scottishness, but the main design feature is the union flag (the union jack) in the top left hand canton, nearest the flag pole. If the date of 1797 is right — and the union jack in the corner is the pre Act of Union with Ireland version — then one is tempted to suggest that given the acute political crisis of the period (the war with revolutionary France) this banner is an active demonstration of loyalty by

workers to the British crown and state. Indeed it is almost a copy of a regimental colour of the British army. However there are nearly a score of various trade society and political banners which also display the union jack, and this tends to support the argument of historian Linda Colley: 'Crudely, but also fundamentally, class and nation in Britain at this time were not antithetical but two sides of the same historical process.'

There is some doubt about whether the 'colour' of the Liverpool tinplate workers, at the NMLH, dates from 1821 or 1838, but it was certainly made for the coronation celebrations of either George IV or Queen Victoria (Front Cover). Whilst the union jack style does not readily connect with the radical political role usually ascribed to artisans in the early-19th century, it does fit in with the newer 'radical patriotism' interpretation of Linda Colley and Hugh Cunningham. Historians I've consulted about this, interpret the union jack as a radical demand to be included as part of the political nation and even as a sophisticated bid for their organisations to be included in the new United Kingdom.

There are also 11 Scottish trade and political banners, which display the St Andrew's saltire, like that of the Incorporation of Hammermen, in Elgin Museum. Perhaps these should be interpreted as celebrating Scottish culture, rather than demanding political independence, confirmed perhaps by their use in civic ceremonies like the Common Ridings, the beating of the parish bounds still held in some Scottish towns, typically on the Borders. What are we to make of the early 19th century banner of the Wanlockhead Lead Miners from southern Scotland, which incorporates both union jack and Scottish saltire? Is the ideology loyalist or radical, or both at the same time? Is it celebrating Scottishness or Britishness, or both?

There are only half a dozen banners surviving from the heroic episode of political radicalism after the Napoleonic Wars. Historians of the period stress the importance of the revolutionary cap of liberty as a contested icon in violent outbreaks like the Peterloo Massacre. Yet the cap of liberty does not occur in any of the surviving banners. A typical survival is the Skelmanthorp banner from West Yorkshire, in the Tolson Museum, in Huddersfield. It was made by a local sign-writer for the demonstrations against the violence of Peterloo in 1819 and incorporates a typical radical rhyme and the supplicating black man, the logo of the Anti-Slave Trade movement. This banner was used in the town on civic occasions throughout the 19th century and in radical political protest, including Chartism, until the 1880s. Far from being a revolutionary symbol proposed by some historians, the



Kirkintilloch Waterside Weaver's Reform banner, 1832 (East Dunbartonshire Museums).

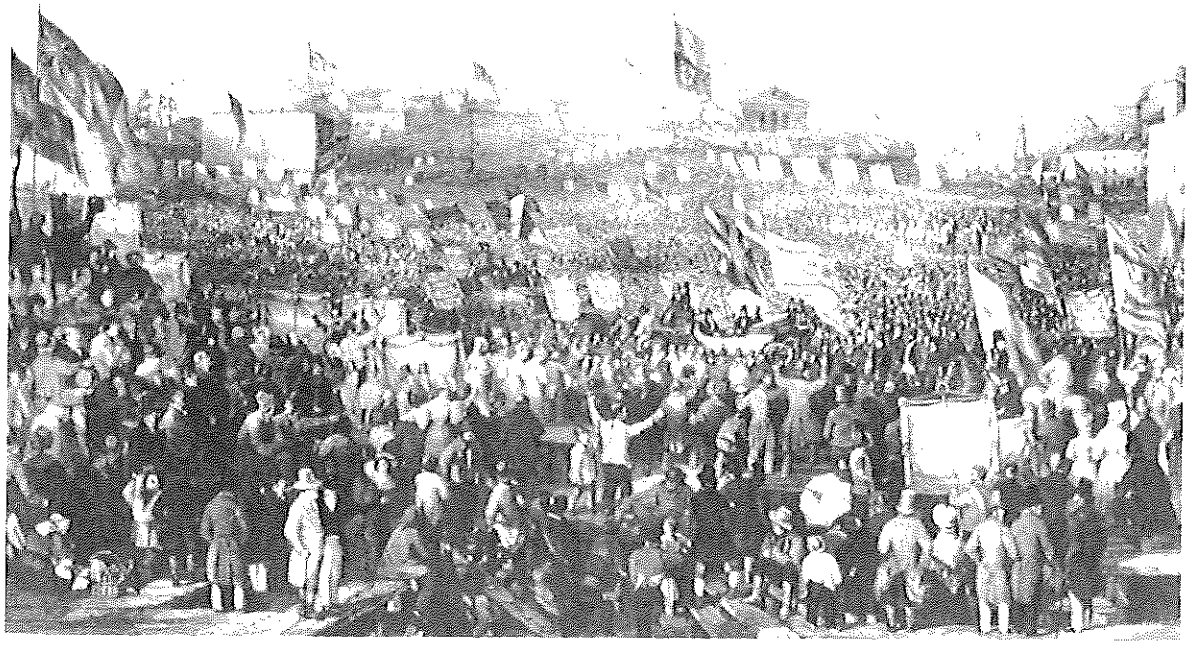
National Banner Survey shows that the cap of liberty was retained in more mainstream iconography in the early 19th century. The banner of the Goosnargh Amicable Society — a village friendly society from near Preston — shows its use along with other loyalist symbols like the royal coat of arms.

The Survey has located the astonishing number of 24 banners associated with the Reform Act of 1832, mainly relics of working class or trades involvement in the agitation. The flag of the Kirkintilloch weavers — from the East Dunbartonshire Museums collection — was made in the political crisis before the passing of the act. It is the only surviving banner which shows revolutionary icons — the cap of liberty and pikes — yet combines them with the union jack, which argues again for a radical interpretation of that symbol. Most of these banners though, were made for the celebratory processions which commemorated the passing of the act in June 1832. The shoemakers flag from Dunns, Berwickshire, in the NMLH collection, is typical of these. It incorporates the symbols of the trade, King Crispin's crown and the half moon knife and the division in the trade between 'ladies' men' and 'men's men' is represented by two Jane Austenish gentry figures holding boots and slippers, the products of the shoemakers' labours. It's puns and rhymes are also typical of

Wanlockhead Lead Miner's banner, early 19th century (Scottish Lead Mining Museum).

banners of the period: 'We will be true to the last' and 'The Battle's won, Britannia's sons are free, the Despots tremble at the Victory'. Other Reform Act banners make heroes of Whig politicians like Grey, Russell and Brougham, who were rapidly to become 'Despots' themselves, in the eyes of the trades, through their treatment of the Tolpuddle Martyrs.

The Reform Act crisis also produced the earliest accurate representations of banners in use. A print of the New Hall Hill Reform meeting in Birmingham in 1832, as well as showing the popularity of such events, demonstrates the gradual changeover from flags to banners. Some historians have argued that popular politics was becoming more regimented, and this may relate to the decline of flags and the rise of rigidly held banners, whose messages could be more easily read. The emerging two poled



Print of the New Hall Hill Reform meeting 1832 (NMLH).

banner also had the advantage of being able to display messages on both sides. This method was also adopted by the new banner manufacturers, like George Tutill of London, established in 1837. However alongside the new type of banner, the older flag form continued to be made and used, as we know from other contemporary illustrations and from the numerous examples recorded by the Survey.

There are images of Chartist banners in use, indistinct fluttering flags are just visible in the famous photograph of the last great monster petition meeting on Kennington Common in London in 1848, yet none survive. Many were probably destroyed, either through police action or by Chartists themselves wishing to destroy evidence of illegal activity. There was no successor organisation and as many Chartists became respectable in latter life, there was little motivation to deposit evidence of youthful militancy in local museums. The missing Chartist banners probably resembled the Sunderland employers banner made to celebrate the granting of the eight hour day in 1871, which probably survives because it was only used once. We know that the Chartists spent a lot of money on large painted banners and it seems likely that they were amongst the first major customers of manufacturers, like Tutill's or Henry Whaite (established in Manchester in the early 1840s). This type of banner became universally adopted, yet its very construction — oil painting on silk — doomed it to built-in obsolescence. The Chartists, I am therefore arguing, were victims of Victorian

Sunderland Employers banner, 1871 (NMLH).

consumerism and in particular the clever marketing and distribution methods of George Tutill. This theory may also explain why only a few trade union banners survive from the late Victorian period. Those that do, like the banner of the Co-operative Smiths, in the GMB collection, are in the local sign-writer tradition, rather than from the large manufacturers. In fact the Survey confirms that only two or three *painted* trade union banners, on the Tutill system, survive from the 19th century and all are from the very end of the century.

When in 1877, Queen Victoria made it clear that she would not open Manchester's new town hall if it meant shaking hands with Abel Heywood, the ex-Chartist Lord Mayor, the council decided to celebrate the occasion with a trades procession. A detailed account lists dozens of banners, some relics of the 1832 reform agitation, but most of modern design. A surviving watercolour of the event in the City Art Gallery collection, vividly depicts the practical difficulties and common accidents when Tutill's sail-like creations was manoeuvred in the British climate. After such mishaps, the by now relatively affluent trade unions found it easier to order a new banner. This no doubt kept Tutill's happy, but it has meant that very few Victorian banners have

survived in British museums.

To conclude, this project is just one of the research possibilities which the National Banner Survey database makes possible. The growing interest in friendly societies could be explored through their banners — using particularly the unique West Country naïve art tradition. More could be done on the production of banners, both amateur and professional, and its relationship to the design and marketing of other 19th century consumables, which seem to show similar trends. Gender issues and overseas comparisons are also under researched. In conjunction with the thousands of images in the John Gorman collection — also at the NMLH — work could now be attempted on the role of ideologies in 20th century union banners.

A more detailed account of the project, **Radical rhymes and union jacks: a search for evidence of ideologies in the symbolism of 19th century banners**, a departmental working paper, will be published by the History Department, Manchester University, in September. Please contact the author at the NMLH, 103, Princess St., Manchester, M1 6DD, for details.

THE BANNER AS AN AWARD FOR LABOUR

VALERIA NEZGOVOROVA

The history of the Collection of banners, flags, pennants, etc at the State Central Museum of Contemporary History of Russia dates from the very first years that the Museum was in existence. Now there are more than 5,000 objects including 2,500 banners.

The main idea behind this Museum as a political-history Museum of Russia, has determined the actual structure of the collection itself. All the objects of the collection can be divided into different groups — Russian banners for political parties, social units, military banners and banners which have been presented to factories, industrial enterprises and collective farms for special success in work and production. A similar structure can be observed in the collection of foreign banners, belonging to the Museum. Banners of honour total 240 units. Further, 37 banners of the industrial enterprises date back to the 1930s, where you can find Russian history of that period reflected.

A banner as an award for successful work, is a specific form of motivation for Russian people from the late 1920s up to the middle 1980s. This particular event has not come into existence by chance. After the October Revolution new authorities nationalised all factors of production in the USSR. So by the early 1930s the market economy, based on private property, free business, profit-gaining opportunities and competition, had been eliminated.

According to the first Five Year Economic Programme (Platlietka) accepted in 1929, such industries as fuel, metallurgy, chemical and heavy industries, electronics and mechanical engineering, were declared to make the USSR a technically independent state. So the development of the above mentioned branches had been defined to be the main economic problem to be solved. The rapid growth of the economy was only possible through the intensive work of the Soviet people: builders, workers, miners, etc. Therefore, to solve the problem, the Communist Party proclaimed that social emulation at factories and enterprises was the main incentive to higher labour productivity. Such kind of emulation was to replace the individual initiative and true competition based on profit advantages. Professional trade organisations (Trade Unions) were assigned to be in charge of the socialist emulation movement.

The mass professional trade organisations (Trade Unions) were created in Russia within the period of the first Russian Revolution (1905–1907). Unlike the West European Trade Unions, Russian trade organisations appeared after the political parties had come into existence. Therefore from the very beginning they were supervised by the top political forces. By the early 1930s all spheres of public life were controlled by the Communist Party. Not being independent, the Trade Unions could only formally lead the Emulation Movement.

The Communist Party used all its means of propaganda to involve as many people as possible. The problem of rewarding those individuals that achieved the best results was of great importance. Some kind of valuable money compensation could not be significant and universal. So at first the workers were rewarded with some valuable presents like dress lengths, musical tools (concertinas in most cases), etc. And since the middle 1930s with portable gramophones, free sanatorium and holiday home allowances, visiting-the-capital trips, etc. The most outstanding workers were often promoted with good accommodation.

But much more attention was paid to moral encouragement: Banners of Honour, honorary titles and ranks, diplomas, etc. In the 1930s the country experienced true enthusiasm, when people were doing their best: working hard, working overtime, overfulfilling their production norms and plans. The best of them, the so-called "Socialist emulation winners', were rewarded with the Red Banner at a special ceremony. Unlike the other rewards the Red Banner was a sign of recognition, responsibility and honour for collective labour achievements, a kind of moral encouragement. It could be passed on from one owner to another like a challenge-cup. This new form of motivation was fixed by the Communist Party Central Committee resolution on 9 May 1929, "About the socialist emulation at factories and industrial enterprises". According to this document the Trade Unions, Ministries, Communist and Comsomol Committees were given the right to award Red Banners.

Thirty seven honorary banners (1930–1940) from the Museum Stock Collection could be considered a true reflection of the "Emulation Movement". The socialist emulation with a lot of people involved within the particular enterprise became the most popular emulation form. The workers formed special groups (brigades) and everybody was responsible for the common result of the collective performance. And the Red Banner of Honour awarded by the Administration Board or the Trade Union Committee was the compensation for the brigade in most cases.

The socialist emulation within the region or the city area was the next higher level. The winners were honoured by the City of Regional Trade Union Committee Red Banner. The highest competition level was the all-Union Emulation — the emulation within a particular branch of industry (heavy industry, mining, etc). The winner was awarded with the Branch Ministry or the Trade Union Committee Red Banner. Such Honorary Banners were first established in 1932–1934 for metallurgical enterprises. It's interesting to note that the Heavy Industry Trade Union was the oldest, the most numerous and well organised labour society in Russia.

Since 1937 the Challenge Honorary Red Banners had been established in each industry branch, on transport, in construction and agriculture. In 1940 the "Pravda" Honorary Banner was established (the "Pravda" — the Communist Party central printing body).

The dimensions, fabric, pictures, logos, emblems and slogans were not regulated officially. The banner cloth was made of silk or velvet. The banners of the 1930s are known to be decorated with coloured pictures and done in different techniques such as embroidery, painting and appliqué. The USSR State Emblem has been found printed most frequently as well as the Soviet Republic Emblems. The portrait of Stalin has been the second most frequently printed image in accordance with the spirit of the time. Sometimes the portraits of Lenin, Marx and Engels are depicted. Lenin's portrait has been only found twice. And the heavy industry minister, S Ordzonikidze's portrait, was displayed only once. Moreover, the banner cloth was often decorated with political cartoons depicting the workers, miners, construction sites, industrial landscapes, etc. The Emulation winners in branches used to receiving Honorary Banners were decorated with Trade Union logos depicting buildings, workshops, gears, tools, ears of wheat, red banners, five-pointed stars, etc. The banner images corresponded to the aesthetic ideals of the time.

Unfortunately, there is no significant information available about the producers. Two banners are the only exception to the rule.

The first one is the banner of the Central Committee of the Municipal and House Building Trade Union. The cloth itself is velvet. Stalin's portrait, with flying banner on the background, is represented on the front side of the banner. It has been done in silk and velvet appliqué style. The picture has the author's name: "Esk t. Kolobova" (Comrade Kolobov is the author of a cartoon). The most popular Soviet slogans of that period are

embroidered in silk. They proclaim: "Laborers all over the world — unite", "Long live the great and invincible course of Marx, Engels, Lenin!" The reverse side is embroidered with the Construction Trade Union logo. It says: "The Municipal and House Building Union Central Committee". The front and reverse sides of the banner with the names: "Vsekohudozhnik Asurovitch, Vsekohudozhnik Shtrobinder". The Vsekohudozhnik stands for the Russian association of the Fine Art co-operatives with its own workshops.

The second mentioned barrier is the "Pravda" and Mining Ministry banner intended for the Mining Ministry Emulation winner. There are 6 polychromatic pictures on the velvet banner cloth done in appliqué and embroidery techniques. They are: the State USSR Emblem, the portraits of Lenin and Stalin, the inner view of the mine tunnel, miner's lamp and miner holding a pneumatic pick. The slogans are embroidered in a silk chain stitch. The embroiderer's names are depicted on the front and reverse sides of the cloth. It says: "Ivanova, Trophimova".

Within the years of the pre-war Piatiletka programmes (Piatiletka means a 5 year State economic programme), socialist Emulation passed through some stages, each of them having a particular slogan. The banner slogans were changing just the same way as they were appearing in real life. It has been the starting point of identifying the banner's origin date.

In his speech to the XVII's Communist Party Congress in 1930, Stalin called for a further raise in the 1st Piatiletka production programme, insisting that in a great many aspects, it could be over-filled. "5 equals 4", "5 years instead of 4". "5 year programme in a 4 year period". Those slogans were the most popular in that particular period. They were represented everywhere — in newspapers and magazines, on posters and postcards, on transparencies and banners. For example, the Makejevka metallurgical plant banner, had the worker painted in oil with the machine tools in the background. The corresponding slogan says: "Fulfil a 5 year programme in a 4 year period!" Destined for those enthusiasts of the Soviet Society Building who over-fulfil their production task!"

In other words, production over-fulfilment was the principle aspect to be aimed at. This fact is confirmed in case of Honorary Banners. Most slogans say: "To the best workshop group for the best performance"; "To the advanced enterprise group for over-fulfilling their production task". Sometimes the texts just resemble celebratory appeals chanted from the tribune at holiday demonstrations: "Let's fight for the production over-fulfilment!"

The most famous among the first construction projects of the 1st Piatiletka, were two giant metallurgical plants in Magnitogorsk on the Ural and Kuznetsk in Western Siberia. They were built in an extremely short time and started to produce metal at the beginning of 1932. There are two Banners of Honour in the Museum Stock Collection presented to Magnitka and Kuznetsk builders.

The forced rate of industrialisation required additional manpower and a cheap labour force, especially in the remote areas of the North, Ural and Siberia. And they were found. Since the beginning of the 1930s, the forced labour of prisoners had been used widely. "The expanse of the concentration camps became the part of our state economic programme", marked A. Solzenitsin, the well known Russian writer. The White Sea–Baltic Canal became the first GULAG construction action. GULAG stands for the Central Board of the Concentration Camps in the USSR. It has been one of the most dramatic periods in contemporary Russian history.

The cotton banner from the Museum Stock Collection is a severe reminder of that time. It joined the collection in 1933 and came from OGPU. (OGPU stands for the State Political Department.) The words painted on the banner say: "To the women group Udarnitsa from KVCh 4". (KVCh stands for Supervisory Control Department in a prison.) There is also a corresponding letter saying that there were 40 women in the group, they constantly over-fulfilled their production tasks by twenty percent at the earth-moving work and were presented with the above mentioned banner. Therefore, we could see that Socialist Emulation had even come into the concentration camp area. It was the invention of Stalin's regime. A lot of time had passed before the Soviet people learned the truth about Stalin's concentration camps and camp-emulation from the book, *The GULAG Archipelago*, by A. Solzenitsin.

The second Piatiletka (1934–1937) passed under the slogan of mastering advanced engineering. "The Personnel determine everything" — this Stalin aphorism became most popular. These words were embroidered on the Transport Engineering Central Committee Banner and placed just next to the leader's portrait. The Branch Trade Union was awarded with that banner for the successful work on teaching illiterate workers and their family members.

The enthusiasm in mastering the newest engineering and technology has been entirely revealed in the Stakhanovite Movement. It was on 31 August 1935 that the ordinary miner from Ukraine

(Donetsk), Alexey Stakhanov, working an eight shift, improved his job technology and dug out 102 tons of bituminous coal instead of the quoted 7 tons.

The Stakhanov's labour feat found a response all over the country and became a starting point for the Stakhanovite Movement in industry, transport, construction and agriculture. The movement was of great importance and the achievements were widely advertised. So the text words on the Banners of Honour changed their nature and sounded as follows: "for providing the new Stakhanovite victories!"; "for the best production achievements in Stakhanovite movement!" The most popular slogans and citations were used on banner cloths. For example, "The Stakhanovite Movement will develop greatly, expend on all the areas and regions of our country and show the miracle of new achievements. Stalin." That slogan can be found on the Petrol Ministry Banner, as well as the "Pravda" and Coal-mining Ministry Banner. The political appeals have been frequently found too. They sound like: "Long live the Stalin's Constitution!"; "The Stakahnovite Movement is the true example of high productivity that only socialism can provide".

In 1930 a number of foreign observers considered the Stakhanovite Movement as a kind of cunning way of raising salaries. The Stakhanovite salaries were really above the average earnings. But the workers were fully confident that they worked for the Socialist Motherland prosperity not for money. The awarding of banners had just strengthened people's confidence in socialist ideals.

The third Piatiletka programme (1938–1942) was not carried out because of the Great Patriotic War. During those years the banners weren't changed a lot. The Stakhanovite Movement kept its most popular emulation form. The mass enthusiasm was still high, but the organisation system was getting rather weak. A great number of founders could award several banners to one particular enterprise, therefore, banners lost their prestige and unique nature as a labour reward in a socialist emulation.

In May 1941 a special Trade Union and Ministries Committee was founded to work out a new programme and improve the organisation system of the emulation. But it failed because of the Great Patriotic War. During the war some new forms of emulation appeared. Sometimes the pre-war banners were used to award the winners.

After the war the Banners of Honour were kept by the enterprises as valuable relics in special honorary rooms. On

celebrations they were used to decorate the assembly halls and taken out on holiday demonstrations. Most banners of the 1930s came into the Museum Stock Collection from the enterprises by the late 1950s. The "Great Leader of the peoples' myth was debunked. Old symbols became the past. There were new times on the threshold with their symbols and myths.

BOOK REVIEW

British Chimney Sweeps: Five Centuries of Chimney Sweeping
by BENITA CULLINGFORD
The Book Guild 251 pp.
A Review by Karen Grunzweil.

Until I read this book, my knowledge of chimney sweeps began and ended with Dick van Dyke in Mary Poppins.

This book provides a very readable and well-researched study into the chimney sweeps' trade and the vast social issues related to it.

The author does not only consider the trade, but also provides the reader with an insight into related subject areas such as changes in architecture and societal developments.

Through a non-chronological approach, Benita Cullingford discusses why chimney sweeps were needed in a lively and highly evocative style, and begins by discussing early methods of soot removal (the use of live turkeys, geese and ducks amongst others), the historical development of chimneys and why they needed to be swept.

The first professional sweep is believed to be John Scott, who plied his trade in Norfolk, but in all the time since then sweeps have never had a tradesman's guild, only a friendly society.

When coal replaced wood as the fuel of choice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the profession really went through the roof, so to speak, with the abundance of soot providing an alternative source of income for sweeps. The soot was bagged up and sold to farmers, but the sweeps' habit of mixing it with other substances gave them a reputation of untrustworthiness.

It was surprising to find such a contrast within the trade, with poorer sweeps trawling the street seeking work while Master sweeps contracted to clean the chimneys of the rich and famous, could afford to live in respectable areas of town and advertise for work.

Sweeps often doubled as chimney 'doctors', curing fires that became blocked and backfired, but it was the sweeps' young apprentice 'climbing boys' who put out chimney fires.

If the idea of cleaning chimneys doesn't appeal, consider that poorer sweeps had to resort in the lean summer months to being nightmen, cleaning out the soil from house privies. This job fitted in with the sweep's more unconventional working hours.

The darker side of the trade was tackled by legislation, with attempts to first protect children and, after 1834, ban the apprenticeship of boys under ten. However, it is revealing that child fatalities were no higher in the profession than other trades during the Victorian era.

All aspects of the sweep's life are examined in this book, such as the

disease known as chimney sweep's cancer which affected adults who stood sifting soot all day.

All through the book there are fascinating snippits of information, which shed new light on the profession. Afternoons were devoted to pleasurable pursuits, but as well as drinking and boxing, this included regular visits to the theatre!

The author looks at both the general development of the trade, and the specific characters and personalities who shaped it and bring the story of the sweep to life.

A number of the chapters are devoted to the legislation which affected chimney sweeping, and the social reformers who played their part in this area. The section on legendary sweeps also helps to lend a touch of colour to the book.

Of particular interest to me was the chapter on women Master sweeps. This section concentrates again on individuals, although I would have liked to have learned move of the difficulties women had to be respected as Master sweeps, and the barriers they had to overcome.

The book ends with a look at the controversy caused by the introduction of automatic chimney sweeping machines, the many appearances of sweeps in literature, and the equally numerous fables and traditions which surround the profession.

Out of all the social histories I have read, I found this to be one of the most lively and interesting. I would certainly recommend this book to anyone, whether working within the field of social history or if you simply have an interest in the subject. Cullingford covers the subject with a very broad brush and the book would make an excellent starting point for anyone wishing to delve further into the topic.

I have no doubt that *British Chimney Sweeps* will become an invaluable source to the social history curator and will certainly generate a few laughs along the way. I will certainly look at Dick van Dyke in a different light!

Notes for Contributors

The Editor will be pleased to consider articles for inclusion in *Social History in Museums*. The article should be typewritten, double spaced, on one side only, with reasonable margins. Articles should be in the region of 2–3000 words, but longer articles will always be considered. Illustrations should be of a high quality, either black and white or colour photographs, or colour transparencies. Two copies of the article should be sent.

References (Footnotes)

Contributors may use either of the standard conventions:

(a) in text citation of sources (b) citation in footnotes

(a) in-text citation. Give author's surname, date of publication and page references (if any) in parentheses in the body of the text, e.g. (Falassi, 1980, 114). Where a second or subsequent work by a particular author in the same year is cited, references should be distinguished by letters (a, b, c, etc) placed after the date. A complete list of references cited, arranged alphabetically by author's surname, should be typed double-spaced at the end of the article in the form:

Falassi, A. 1980, *Folklore by the Fireside: Text and Context of the Tuscan Veglia* (Austin, Texas)

Give place of publication, not the publisher. Titles of books, articles and journals should be in the form of the examples in these notes.

(b) citation in footnotes

References should be given in notes, numbered consecutively through the typescript with raised numbers. Type the notes double-spaced on separate pages at the end of the article. Full publication details should be given at first mention, a short form thereafter:

John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the landscape: the Rural Poor in English Painting*, 1730–1840 (Cambridge, 1980), p. 89.
D. Kramer (ed), *Critical Approaches to Hardy's Fiction* (London, 1979), pp. 17–18
B. Reay, 'The last rising of the agricultural labourers: the battle in Bossenden Wood, 1838', *History Workshop*, 26 (1988), pp. 81–2

Short forms:

Barrell, *Dark Side*. p. 90
Kramer (ed), *Hardy's Fiction*. pp. 175–6
Reay, 'The last rising', p. 82

Quotations

Quotations should be in single inverted commas, with double used only for quotations within quotations. Quotations of more than five lines should be set off from the text and indented. Type double-spaced.

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SOCIAL HISTORY IN MUSEUMS

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