"Public Service or Private Indulgence?"

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or
Private Indulgence?"

Society of Museum Archaeologists
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Society of Museum Archaeologists

Foreword

Since its inception the Society of Museum Archae-
ologists has held conferences of particular interest to
its members. Topics of practical professional impor-
tance such as display, storage, archives and site
interpretation have all been debated by society members
and other colleagues at strategic locations of ar-
chaeological importance around the country. The
resulting publications have added the museum ar-
chaeologists' point of view to the professional litera-
ture. It was with a mixture of trepidation and excite-
ment, therefore, that a small group of the executive
commitee met to plan a conference which was un-
ashamedly philosophical in theme and tone. Our
fundamental question was - If archaeology in muse-
ums is so wonderful (and we all think it is), why do
we feel it is starved of resources and attention? Could
it be that we had an exaggerated perception of our
own importance, combined with a mistaken percep-
tion of our purpose within museums? What "prod-
uct" were we actually selling, and to whom?

With this in mind we invited a group of speakers
from outside our profession to join SMA members in
debating the question - "Public Service or Private
Indulgence?". It turned out to be a salutory experi-
ence - we had to tackle some unpleasant facts of life
- yet in the end a positive one. As with other
conferences we enjoyed a blend of formal papers,
illustrated case studies and fervent discussions, not
all of which could necessarily be included in this
volume.

The Society owes a debt of gratitude to all who
participated in the conference. The City and County
Museums were our kind hosts in that wonderful city
of Lincoln, and Maggi Solly administered the event
there for us. Penny Spencer at Scunthorpe Museum
co-ordinated the speakers and the programme, and
we must also thank Scunthorpe Borough Council for
an evening visit and reception at the Museum.

As one of those who has been involved since that
early planning process it gives me particular pleasure
to assemble these proceedings. My thanks are due to
all the contributors to this volume and to John
Fielding at Liverpool Museum who designed and
produced the publication for the Society.

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INTRODUCTION

We curators open our mouths readily enough but the problem for our editor lies in persuading us to put it down on paper. Not untypically, I write my introduction to our conference almost exactly two years after we dispersed from Lincoln.

For me Lincoln was a happy, stimulating conference: a conference clouded only by the reflection that my old friend and former colleague Tony Gunstone had not been there to enjoy it and to receive our congratulations for a public museum service whose quality owed so much to him.

Two years on, a perusal of the lengthy series of notes I (wisely) jotted down throws up a series of seminal comments, facts and statistics, that retain in 1989 the importance that I gave to them during conference. I offer a selection, set down in the order in which they occurred, since they give the flavour of our discussions during that lovely weekend.

1. Museums show almost nothing of four hundred years of English medieval history. In 1987 only seven **British Archaeological Reports** were devoted to the epoch-making period William I to Richard III.

2. Wherever possible, finds should stay on site. Jorvik is admirable in this respect: yet suffers from the absurd separation of its famous helmet, which languishes, out of context, in another museum.

3. The now deeply researched and newly presented Roman baths and their associated temple complex at Bath owe everything to their commercial management.

4. We must give value for money.

5. Tourism causes horrendous wear and tear to archaeological sites.

6. The community has a right to discover its past.

7. Involve the community! Feed it with what it wants to know. People really are interested. If you neglect that, they will find out for themselves, armed, in ignorance, with metal detectors.

8. There may be an interest-divide between North and South. How else can we explain the contrast between Leicestershire's thirst for knowledge with the indifference shown by poor visitor response in Hampshire museums.

9. Our past is a non-renewable cultural resource. In heritage management, teamwork - between diggers, curators, teachers, local groups - is what it requires.

10. History should be accessible. Museums enjoy the priceless advantages of a community base, the element of participation and the potentially tremendous visual impact of their collections.

11. Marketing is one answer. For that, you must have a brand image.

12. Cadw is Welsh, in Wales, for Welsh people. Tourism is as vital to Wales as its agriculture. At their 127 castle and other sites, Cadw has changed the role and image of the security staff, created new facilities for the visitor and brought life to the monuments under its care.

13. There is great danger in static displays.

14. The problem is the dullness of the average archaeological object. Most people lack the knowledge to bring it alive.

15. Ninety one percent of our population think it is worth knowing about the past. Over forty percent are museum visitors. Should we stick with them or work on the remainder?

16. Visitors will come if summoned.

It is sad that two years after our conference had agreed that we were not an ivory-towered indulgence, the Victoria and Albert Museum is preparing to rehouse its own curators in a sort of private tower named Research and give to others, probably less-well qualified, the responsibility for its collections. At Lincoln it became clear that most museums, at least since 1945, had seen themselves as a public service. As I listened to our contributors, I thought back to my Birmingham days, where, in Archaeology, we took it in weekly turns to answer our invitingly labelled office door-bell throughout public hours, offering our varying degrees of expertise to whoever chose to enquire. That was no act of private indulgence. It was part of our service. When I came to Bristol I persuaded my curatorial colleagues, as an experiment, to man an identification office at our front door: expertise available the moment you entered the museum. The idea had been given to me by the late Michael Kirby, former curator at Scunthorpe. "Expertise in the galleries" he had called his own version, which comprised regular perambulation of public areas, speaking to anyone who chose to ask questions or just listen. I continue to regret the demise of my scheme, though it was not because we in Bristol decided to return to privacy. Our priorities had to be channelled in other directions.

That in Lincoln we even considered the possibility that the museum service might be a private indulgence was because we were, and still are, so deeply concerned with our principal responsibility, our collections, that certain other aspects of our work tend to be neglected. We do not know enough about our public. That is why most of us still write labels that appeal mainly to the informed; that cannot be understood by visitors of much below A-level education; that are not reader-friendly - visible even - to the bulk of our public. We continue to fail to promote ourselves adequately, despite the assurance of several of our conference contributors that the mass of people out there are anxious to join us if only we would invite them in. And we learned, at Lincoln, that giving value for money was not something we needed to view with suspicion but was, instead, an incentive which we could use, as they do at Bath, to our advantage.

What emerged throughout the weekend was the certainty that genuine objects, the raw material of history, our portable heritage, had no substitute, no equal, in the eyes of those who could see. Our duty - our great opportunity in 1987 and still today - was to arrange matters so that more people were given that priceless vision.

So, then, we are a public service. Our collections form a cultural resource strictly limited in volume, often of extreme fragility, whose capacity to inspire, inform and give entertainment is limited only by the level of our ability as curators to present and explain it. That ordinary people can be involved was beautifully demonstrated by the impressive community archaeology project in Leicestershire, where a lead was given and grass-roots enthusiasm did the rest. We were reminded that, thanks to the now late-lamented Community Programmes in the UK, there was a substantial body of young, mainly working-class people who, for the first time in our history, had been given a detailed, practical introduction to the mystery and the pleasure of archaeology. Through them, our museum public will never be quite the same again. As Henry Cleere emphasised, it must be through teamwork - field archaeologists, curators, teachers, trained local groups - that we harness our resources so that collections and information, sites and landscapes can be made available to people; and people can enjoy them without threat to their presentation. As in all walks of life, the contribution of teachers was seen to be crucial to the better understanding and the greater enjoyment of our museums.

Our Lincoln conference spelled out the challenge. Jon Hall, designer, explained it. Most things in our collections do not speak for themselves. It is for the curator to unravel the mystery so that the wonder of the original object can

emerge. Perhaps through lack of resources, most of us have to do this ourselves, composing labels, writing guide books, selecting visual aids as best we can. But we live in a world of technical sophistication which, until recently, would have been beyond belief. Today's curator must learn to combine its potential with his continuing insistence upon scholarship, expertise and the highest standards; not fearing competition from heritage centres and the like, not chary of the commercial world but seeing in it a potential ally. In this way we shall never again need to ask ourselves the question: "public service or private indulgence?".

Nicholas Thomas
Bristol Museum
March 1989

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRESENTATION - A PERSONAL VIEW
Anthony Emery

When I was asked if I would give the opening address to this conference I was uncertain if I was being asked in my capacity as one of the Commissioners of English Heritage, as an architectural historian specialising in the late medieval period, or as a businessman and company chairman. In the event, I have decided to make some comments on archaeological presentation from all three points of view.

Nevertheless, I feel rather like King Solomon when confronted by the 70 new wives who had just joined his harem. The King knew perfectly well what was expected of him - but he wasn't quite certain where to begin. I feel rather in the same position.

Let me start, therefore, with some facts about the museums in the care of English Heritage, then discuss a gap that I perceive in the study of museum archaeology today, and conclude with some options on museum presentation from the point of view of a businessman and tourist.

English Heritage is responsible for nearly 400 historic properties across the country, and an admission charge is made at over 100 of them. Because of the work carried out by the Inspectorate over several generations, and the very large number of archaeological excavations carried out under their aegis, the Commission now holds more than 5 million artefacts and finds. In quantitative terms, most of this is archaeological and architectural material, but the range also includes the paintings, furniture and textiles in six furnished homes, as well as the material from several eighteenth and nineteenth century mills and industrial sites in our care.

The key priority under John Musty's curatorship is to complete the inventory of this vast collection and to provide adequate storage and security for it. The size of the English Heritage's collection is vast.

There are .5 million fragments of glass, of which only a few thousand are identifiable, and .3 million carved stones, of which 60,000 are highly decorated. There are at least 125,000 Roman coins, 2,000 medieval coins - and 30 sacks of assorted coins from a well in Dover. There are 50,000 good quality floor tiles, 2,000 doors and windows, and 500 timber objects. Their total value has been estimated at £50 million.

Our display policy has been to install archaeological museums at monuments which have produced large collections of suitable material as at Avebury, Corbridge Roman site, Hailes Abbey and Beeston Castle. So far as architectural fragments are concerned, they are an integral part of the monument to which they relate and are being retained on site wherever possible. They are often the only guide to the decoration and structure of parts of a monument now demolished, and many are also artistic works of national importance, such as the rear wall of the lavatorum recently discovered at Southwick Priory in Hampshire.

Archaeological finds, however, especially from recent large excavations, are gradually being deposited in registered museums, supported by a storage grant. Some areas, such as the West Midlands and Kent, have no such museums, and these, unfortunately, are areas where English Heritage have a large number of properties.

The future policy for this material is initially to complete the inventory, begun in 1978, within the next year. Consideration is also being given as to how fragments and important archaeological finds can be better integrated with displays on the sites to which they relate, and also how artefacts can be used as a teaching resource for the growing number of school parties to our properties.

I have yet to see an attractively laid out and interesting display of architectural fragments either here or in Europe. They rarely appeal to members of the public and can only be one element in the total presentation of a site. By far,

the best presentation I have seen is the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City where the displays are on a scale unknown in this country. English Heritage have three of the leading prehistoric sites in Europe - Avebury, Stonehenge and Maiden Castle - but we have yet to achieve an adequate display at the first, and are currently held up by local opposition to achieving our plans for the other two sites. it is particularly regrettable that parochial intransigence is preventing sites of international importance from enjoying the presentation and facilities they so badly need and deserve.

Turning from English Heritage to archaeological displays in public and private museums in England and Wales, I find that there is a tendency to underplay one major area of this country's history.

English archaeology has always been fascinated with Roman Britain. Ever since the eighteenth century, there has been an unabated thread of enthusiasm for Roman villas, Roman forts, the Northern Walls and the Southern Shore forts. A continuous stream of articles and books have been published ever since the days of Haverfield and Collingwood, albeit becoming more technically sound and detailed but sometimes tending to proliferate in volume rather than in value of content.

This movement was supplemented earlier this century with the works of Gordon Childe, Chris Hawkes and J.G.D. Clark in the fields of prehistory, and more recently by detailed studies on the six centuries of Anglo-Saxon England. This last period now has its own annual volume of collected studies, monographs abound, books on the Vikings proliferate, and public interest has been stimulated by a series of spectacular excavations extending from Sutton Hoo to Jarrow, Winchester and York.

But what of the subsequent period - the four centuries between the Norman invasion and the ascent of the Tudors? Everyone feels comfortable with the Tudors - the public feel that they can relate to Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, they can picture their homes, and way of life, and identify with the Dallas-type syndrome of a multiplicity of wives, the killing of a Scottish Queen, and defeating a Falkland-type armada.

Too many museums, I suggest, are in danger of underplaying these vital four centuries of medieval England. They are, in fact, becoming the cinderella of English History. After the imposition of a highly impressive Norman culture, a general blur takes over in most people's minds about the Middle Ages in England. The very wealth of the material we possess almost bows us down, and much of it is within a conflicting historical context. Museums should help to clarify the situation, but do they? Medieval England, in truth, is in danger of becoming the no-man's land of archaeology.

Our three leading professors of archaeology at Cambridge, Oxford and Durham specialise on the Prehistoric Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods, respectively. There was no assessment of medieval English archaeology until ten years ago, and it was the fillip given by Colin Platt's book on medieval England that helped to stimulate Helen Clarke and John Steane to give us their brief, but much-needed summaries of recent research. Of the 81 current British volumes published by **British Archaeological Reports** at Oxford, only 7 are devoted to the medieval period. Even the long awaited exhibition at the Royal Academy this winter on our medieval culture is only going to cover the years 1200 to 1400. Why is the fifteenth century again being neglected in an archaeological and artistic context, as it has been in historical studies until recently?.

Until very recently, ecclesiastical architecture has been studied, not from an archaeological, but solely from an architectural point of view. For all the effort and argument expanded on discussing the origins of the English castle since the beginning of the century, less than 10 castles have been thoroughly excavated in the last 50 years.

Since the Second World War, two movements have tended to supplant the earlier religious and secular monographs - the study of vernacular architecture and that of deserted medieval villages. In both cases, the disciplines of social and economic history, architecture and archaeology have been inter-woven with fascinating results. But it is, nevertheless, easier to study the minutae of a cruck house and to lavish a hundred pages on describing every fragment of pottery excavated on a site rather than make the much needed assessment of such major sites as Warwick Castle, Penshurst Place or medieval Coventry. But where are the surveys, the examinations, the excavations of, say, Ludlow Castle, Haddon Hall, Durham Castle, and the majority of episcopal residences to name but a few of our key sites - sites more important in architectural, archaeological, historical and social terms than yet another long house on the margins of the Welsh border or a seventeenth century peasant cottage in Leicestershire.

The archaeology of the Middle Ages, is still considered to be a synonym for medieval architectural and art history. Historians naturally rely on documentary material and have essentially written the history of medieval England during the last 200 years from that viewpoint. **Your** source of material for the centuries following the Conquest is quite different in content and context, and can immeasurably widen our knowledge and understanding of British culture. Medieval archaeology is neither a substitute for, nor a poor relation to historical studies; it is a complementary discipline shedding light on aspects of society about which documentary evidence leaves us in relative ignorance.

Nor should medieval archaeology be treated in museums as a rarefied subject warranting only a few display cases of neatly labelled artefacts. The medieval material, for instance, at Birmingham museum is a disappointment, and the one site that might have warranted visual presentation there - Weoley Castle - sits sadly forlorn in the middle of a suburban housing estate. Even York, which certainly has a rich enough body of

material, has made no special effort to cover four of its richest centuries in the same way that it has devoted to the Roman and Viking periods.

Displays on medieval archaeology need to be seen in more human and changing cultural terms rather than as a display of selected artefacts. The development of England and Wales in the Middle Ages is not a consistent story. It unfolded in peaks and troughs, was affected by regional or more local trends, and was a complex amalgam of different social, economic, political and cultural factors. One of the reasons why the fifteenth century is the period least studied or understood in post-Conquest history is the failure to appreciate this pattern of conflicting and contrasting elements in favour of a more black and white assessment of selective evidence. If it was a period of instability and decline - and this was certainly true of much of the political activity - why was there such a rich crop of churches in the West Midlands, North Wales, or even in Northumberland? If the Wars of the Roses caused so much affray and dissension, why was Ralph Lord Cromwell building a totally unfortified house at Wingfield in Derby-shire between 1440 and 1456, and yet Lord Herbert was erecting a massive keep at Raglan only a few years later?. Although no major monasteries were established in the later Middle Ages, no one has yet explained or even studied the large outcrop of splendid houses built by abbots and priors during the century before the Dissolution. This subject still awaits its mentor.

It is archaeologists who should be leading the way in throwing new light on our understanding of the visible, as well as the excavated remains of this complex era from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. To you, landscape above the ground should be as important as the study of man below the ground. And yet, this landscape is changing faster today than ever before. We all bemoan the fact that the Victorians swept away much of the early history of our towns in the name of industrial progress. They left the countryside alone, for agriculture settled into a period of decline. Today, the reverse is happening

- heavy industry is in decline, service industries are on the increase on green field sites, and agriculture is booming. Earthworks - ridge and furrow, fortifications, village boundaries, fish ponds, failed towns and deer parks - are being destroyed in the new agrarian revolution. Motorways and new towns are changing the landscape of Britain, and it is archaeologists who must be leading the vanguard of the total medieval scape of England and Wales.

As Trevor Rowley states in his recent book, "Traces of the buildings and landscape of the Middle Ages still provide us with a rich historical document..... It is, however, a record which is diminishing each year, and if the pace of destruction continues at its present rate, ours will be the last generation to see these works except in isolated pockets" (The High Middle Ages, 1986, p. 52).

If I make a plea for there to be a more balanced appraisal in the display of the country's archaeological culture, may I also make a plea for there to be less enthusiasm for collecting individual items from it to enhance displays in the alien environment of town or country museums. We need to reverse the trend of magpie acquisition which still continues to dominate much of the British Museum's thinking and, therefore, that of many other museums. Far preferable is the retention of artefacts **in situ** or at least in a nearby sympathetic environment.

Let me take an analogous example. Leeds, for instance, pioneered the movement in the 1920's of taking a stately house and using it as a setting for the conservation and sympathetic display of furniture. Today, Temple Newsham with its furnished rooms, catalogue raisonne and pertinent exhibitions is almost as interesting for the ordinary tourist as a visit to a National Trust House. The comparison with the long-established natural history display - at Woolaton Hall is instructive, while Aston Hall, which has been administered by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery for over one-and-a-quarter centuries, is still under-nourished in content and display, and

continues to lack the gardens which, historically, are a necessary adjunct to this property.

The display of the prehistoric finds from the lake villages in the Tribunal at Glastonbury in no way develops our appreciation of pre-Roman settlements in the Somerset levels, and is totally at variance with how a late medieval house should be displayed. Wherever possible, displays should be on the site from where they came or as close as possible, and for some major excavations, that should mean taking the site into local care. Coventry have done this with their presentation of the Roman fort, the Lunt at Baginton, and have created a highly stimulating reconstruction into the bargain. This, in my view, is a responsibility too often shrugged off, usually on grounds of cost. If this cannot be achieved, perhaps there should be less excavation, except upon sites at risk. Much as I respect the work achieved at the Weald and Downland Museum at Singleton, I find that the rescue of buildings there has led to an element of sterility, for the houses and farm buildings rebuilt there cry out for the furnishings, the environment, the artefacts, the smell and content of everyday life. Here is a golden opportunity to re-create a way of life not easily obtainable anywhere else in this country, but only the shell has been re-created so far.

Although I have been principally referring to the medieval period, let me widen the scope further. Archaeologists have not been a major force in the presentation of post-medieval history in England. This has tended to come under the banner of 'social historians' or 'conservators'. Yet this should not be so. Our understanding of eighteenth century Williamsburg in Virginia is immeasurably enriched by the detailed archaeological assessment made there over the last fifty years. Where has there been any comparable integrated study of eighteenth century England, say, at Bath or Cheltenham, including the excavation of buildings and gardens, the analysis of domestic life-styles, wills, furnishings, clothing, food, social habits, trades and tradesmen? To visit Williamsburg is a relevation rather than the artificial creation readily mocked by ped-

ants. Nor has the quality of the scholarship there suffered from sponsorship demands or visitor popularity. The archaeologists and curatorial staff have had the audacity at Williamsburg to re-create an eighteenth century environment where the placing of every artefact and the undertaking of any trade and social activity is grounded on a sound basis of authenticity. Nor are they afraid of modifying their assessment in the light of more detailed research as a visit shows to the austerely furnished rooms in the Governor's Palace compared with the more richly presented apartments of ten years ago. It is archaeologists who contributed most to that re-assessment, and more recently to the excavation and re-creation of the eighteenth century hospital. Who will take such a lead in England in fully re-creating a deserted medieval English village or an abandoned nineteenth century milltown?

As a businessman, I spend a considerable amount of time researching markets to see if the products I produce are needed by the public - and if so, how can they be improved. Do you do that? Do you determine by independent assessments rather than by personal opinion that visitors to your museum enjoy a stimulating and rewarding experience? Market research, as you probably appreciate, can often throw up some very uncomfortable facts.

Last Summer, such a survey was carried out at Maiden Castle to establish what knowledge visitors had of this prehistoric site, and to find out what sort of language they used to describe the place and the main events in its history. The results were disastrous, and demonstrated that even well-educated visitors can bring serious misconceptions about such sites. Such misconceptions arise because they are ill-informed rather than unintelligent, but it means that we have to be careful about the technical terms, the phraseology, length and liveliness of the language we use to communicate information to visitors.

I suspect that few museums have professionally identified the type of audience they should be serving, as against the school parties, higher educated groups, and coterie of academics they tend to serve. It is a fact that the public can relate more readily to costume displays, transport museums, and room recreations than to archaeological displays. Local history registers quite high on the Richter scale of public interest, and yet archaeology does not. It is, therefore, all the more necessary to overcome the intellectual barrier inherent in the subject.

I appreciate that many of our public museums were founded in Victorian and Edwardian England, and this can sometimes inhibit creating attractive and stimulating displays. This is possibly the reason why the archaeological displays, say, at Maidstone, Reading, or Nottingham museums are so disappointing. Yet, Wakefield museum has no display on Sandal Castle, even though it is close to the only major castle in this country which has been totally excavated and displayed during the last thirty years. In this particular case, the results can be directly contrasted with Norton Priory on the other side of the Pennines, now in the hands of a private trust, where the excavation and display of the site and the associated museum of monastic life and crafts are extremely interesting and excellently laid out.

Several recent museums fail to come up to the standards one might have expected. The Museum of London, built on far too small a site, has a sequence of over-crowded displays, while the presentation in the archaeological museum at Southampton is disappointing, in view of the extensive excavations of the town over the last twenty-five years. Good displays do not necessarily cost money as the Bede Museum at Jarrow amply demonstrates. It is to this end that one of my publications, **Museums and Galleries** has instituted the Grinstead Bursary simply to help museum staff learn more about modern marketing techniques and tempting presentation displays. The publication gives two bursaries each year, one of £1,000 and one of £2,000, to enable talented and innovative staff to visit museums of their choice overseas. It is possibly not surprising that we have less applications for these

bursaries each year than we had expected, for I sometimes wonder if staff really want to improve their museum's displays, or whether they see the public as a hindrance to their own private academic pursuits.

Finally, as the Chairman of a publishing company, I naturally tend to look at the publications sold in British museums. As a generalisation, I find them a pretty sorry lot. In too many cases, they reflect the individual preferences and academic subjects of their authors rather than attempt to provide a broad spectrum of knowledge to the museum's visitors.

What I look for, initially, is an attractive, easy-to-use guide to the museum's collections. Many institutions simply lack this basic tool. Then, I look for individual studies to specialist collections, an up-to-date assessment of the neighbouring townscape, landscape, or environment, and detailed coverage of important standing structures and excavated sites in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, such publications need to be written to a reasonably high academic standard (and not simply an off-print from an academic journal), with attractive illustrations and diagrams serving the interested rather than the specialist visitor.

What does a visitor find? Let me give you some random samples. Tewksbury is a town rich in late medieval and Tudor buildings, close to one of the finest abbeys in the country. The museum has not one publication of any of these primary properties, despite their historical, architectural and aesthetic importance, although it does have a sound monograph on the battle of Tewksbury of 1471. The larger City of Exeter has virtually no publications on its medieval riches, while the City of Hereford suffers likewise with no adequate appraisal of its religious or secular monuments. Norwich has set a much higher standard in this as in other museum developments with a broad range of attractively-based and well-produced publications matching its historical antecedents.

I have covered a wide range of topics in the course of this address, ranging from museums under English Heritage to the patchy approach to archaeology in many public and private galleries, their inability to provide a continuous assessment of English history after the Norman conquest, the tendency to bring objects to museums for hoarding or display rather than taking museums to the objects, the narrow vision of some museum archaeologists, and the poor quality and range of many publications and displays.

Most museum archaeologists have a deep love of their subject, but they are not always able to communicate it to others.

It rather reminds me of the story of the old woman who was sitting alone with her cat, polishing her lamp, when there was a sudden puff of smoke, and a genie appeared and offered her three wishes. The old woman thought quickly and then said, "I'd like to be rich; I'd like to be young again; and I'd like my cat to turn into a handsome prince".

There was a puff of smoke, and she found herself young and glamorous, and in a beautiful evening gown. The cat had disappeared, but a gorgeous prince stood beside her, holding out his arms. As she melted into his embrace, he murmured softly into her ear, "Now I bet you're sorry you took me to the vet for that little operation".

For many members of the public, archaeology is still a neutered subject - it is educational but lacks vitality and love. I truly hope that you can communicate your warmth and interest in archaeology in such a lively way that the public's appetite is stimulated to ask for more. If you can demonstrate that this is being achieved, then you can be counted among the relatively small number of people who provide a public service to a wide and occasionally hungry audience, anxious to develop their knowledge and a sense of adventure about this country's history, society and culture.

MUSEUMS AND ARCHAEOLOGY: THE PUBLIC POINT OF VIEW

Nick Merriman, Museum of London

With the current total of museums in Britain standing at 2131 (Prince & Higgins-McLoughlin 1987: 12) and still opening at the rate of 30 a year (Museums and Galleries Commission 1984: 46), it is surprising that we still know so little about what attracts people to museums and what deters other from visiting. In our own specialisation we also know very little about what people think archaeology is and what they like about it. Until we have a clearer idea about these issues, then attempts at improving the presentation of archaeology in museums are to a certain extent working in the dark.

In this article the following issues will be addressed:

1. Who goes to museums and who doesn't?

2. Why do some people go and others don't?

3. What is the public perception of archaeology and its value to Society?

4. How does archaeology in museums compare with other ways of finding out about the past?

Forming the basis of discussion will be the results of a nationwide survey of a statistically random sample of 1500 adults who were sent a questionnaire which asked about museums, archaeology and the past (1). For reasons of administrative ease and cost, the survey was implemented postally. The technique used is an American one known modestly as the Total Design Method (Dillman 1978), which involves paying careful attention to all details of format and personalisation, and using follow-ups to achieve high response. A 66% response rate was finally achieved, which is above average for a postal survey, and around that which might be expected for street surveys (Kviz 1977: 266) (2).

Museum Visitors and Non-Visitors

The survey confirmed on a national scale what has been shown locally time and time again (Cruickshank 1972, Doughty 1970, Greene 1978, Prince and Schadla-Hall 1985): that museum visitors are better educated and more affluent than the general population. As the characteristics of museum **visitors** are quite well known from the above surveys, results of the current survey have simply been summarised in Table 1, and discussion will now centre on a less well-explored aspect of the work, which is the possible reasons for visiting and, especially, non-visiting.

Table 1. Demographic tendencies of Museum Visitor and Non-Visitors

Non-Visitors	Visitors
The Over 60s	Aged 35-49
Council House Tenants	Owner-Occupiers
Do not have a car	Car owners
Retired, unemployed or housewives	Students or in work
Attended a non-selective school	Attended a selective school
Left school at minimum age	Stayed on at school

Reasons for Visiting and Non-Visiting

One hypothesis that could be put forward for non-visiting is that people do not visit museums simply because they are not interested in the past. It is important therefore to establish repondents' interest in the past as a baseline for the study. Fortunately, the survey shows this hypothesis not to be true: 91% of respondents thought it worthwhile to some extent to know about the past (Table 2) but nevertheless, only 58% expressed this interest by visiting a museum at least once a year (Table 3).

Table 2. Attitudes to the value of the past

'Do you think it is worth knowing about the past?'

Definitely	79%
Probably	12%
Perhaps	6%
No	4%
	(N = 934)

Table 3. Frequency of Museum Visiting in the last year

None	42%
1-2 Times	39
3-10 Times	17
11 + Times	2
	(N = 964)

Physical frailty, lack of transport and lack of nearby museums are additional factors which must be taken into account when assessing reasons for non-visiting, but the survey suggests that these are not the most significant reasons.

An obvious physical constraint on museum visiting is access to a vehicle. As might be anticipated, those with no transport of their own are much less likely to visit a museum (51% visit) than those who do have access to a vehicle (62-67% visit). The survey also showed that, in some rural areas with few museums, museum-visiting is lower than the national average. However, it also showed that in London, which has the greatest concentration of museums, average visiting is far below the average. This might suggest that museum-visiting might depend not entirely on the provision of museums but on the availability of alternative leisure choices.

Physical reasons for non-visiting, as with lack of interest, by no means account for all of the variation, and many of those who seemingly would have such reasons for not visiting still manage to visit museums. For example, although the over 60s are the only group who are more likely to be non-visitors than visitors, 39% of them still manage to visit (Table 4), and similarly, 51% of all those people who do not have access to a car are still able to visit a museum at least once a year. When it is considered that, according to the results of the survey, the elderly are also the people who are least likely to have access to a car and also least likely to express interest in the past anyway, then physical factors and lack of interest explain the behaviour of only a small proportion of non-visitors.

There is indeed some evidence that this may be just as much a factor to do with changed expectations and desires in old age as it is to do with inability to get to museums. A certain amount of work in the field of leisure studies, particularly that by Robert and Rhona Rapoport (1975), has looked at the sort of leisure activities that different age groups are likely to do, given the expec-

tations appropriate to the particular stage of the life-cycle which they are in. In the case of the elderly, they argue that retirement is a phase of gradual disengagement from public activity, when leisure is likely to be increasingly centred round the home and the family. The withdrawal of older people from museum-visiting is not thus necessarily purely for physical reasons: it is a cultural factor seen over the whole of the social arena. Indeed many questionnnaires were returned unanswered with the excuse of 'I'm too old to be interested in museums' or words to that effect.

Table 4. Museum Visiting Crosstabulated by Age

	Visitor	Non-Visitor	
17-19	59%	41%	[19]
20-24	59	41	[102]
25-34	64	36	[177]
35-49	67	33	[235]
50-59	67	33	[135]
60 +	39	61	[258]

The explanation of the majority of non-visiting must thus lie elsewhere. Answers to several questions indicate that for the main part, it is cultural factors to do with upbringing and formal education that deter certain people, who are otherwise interested in the past, from visiting museums.

minded them of most (Table 5). The largest category of visitors thought a museum most similar to a library (40%), while the largest group of non-visitors thought it most like a monument to the dead (46%).

Cultural deterrents: the image of the museum

The strongest indication of cultural deterrents to museum visiting came in a question aimed at gauging the public image of the museum. Respondents were asked to indicate, from a pre-prepared list, which building a museum re-

Table 5. The Image of the Museum

	Visitor	Non-Visitor
Monument to the dead	25%	46%
Community Centre	4	1
Church or Temple	8	12
School	12	9
Library	40	27
Department Store	1	—
Other	9	5
	(N=529)	(N=369)

This seems rather a Victorian image, and indeed the root of the problem may be traced to the municipal museum movement of the mid-late 19th century (Lewis 1984). Although museum provision in this period was inspired, as now, by a desire to improve the cultural provision of the population, it did so in a rather oppressive, didactic manner. Museums were Temples of Culture, whose architecture - based on the Classical Greek temple or the Gothic cathedral - was designed to inspire awe rather than enjoyment and understanding (Greenwood 1888: 177). Although we do not possess any clear idea of who went to these museums, there can be little doubt that they were understood only by those schooled to appreciate them: for the mass of the population they were intimidating reminders of the power of the ruling class and of their own ignorance (Hudson 1975).

This 'Victorian' image must still be largely true in order to survive. For example, non-visitors are much less likely than visitors to agree that museums have a pleasant atmosphere (51% compared with 75% of visitors) (Table 6) and non-visitors are much more likely to agree that museums are too middle class (Table 7).

Table 6. The Atmosphere of Museums

'They are too middle class'

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	(N)
Museum Visitors	2%	9%	16%	56%	16%	[532]
Non-Visitors	5	18	23	47	7	[363]

'They have a pleasant atmosphere'

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Museum Visitor	14%	61%	16%	9%	—	[516]
Non-Visitor	8	43	29	18	1	[339]

There does therefore seem to be a strong impression amongst non-visitors to museums that museums are only aimed at a specific group (the well-educated), and are unwelcoming in their atmosphere to others.

One possible explanation for this impression is suggested by a consideration of the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who is rare in that some of his work has considered the role of museums and galleries within the wider French culture (Bourdieu & Darbel 1966, Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, Bourdieu 1984).

In his writings on educational theory (Bourdieu 1971, Bourdieu & Passeron 1977), Bourdieu suggests that individuals are socialized in the first instance by their family into various ways of thinking and feeling, which he terms 'the habitus'. The family habitus exerts a strong influence on achievement in the educational system. School culture is seen as being strongly couched in terms familiar to the middle class, who construct the syllabus and comprise the teaching staff. As a result, he argues, the middle class child is predisposed to higher achievement at school than the working class child because he or she will feel more at home in the school environment and will better be able to grasp the concepts used, or, in Bourdieu's terms, he/she will be better able to decipher the code of the school. If this arguement is extended to museums, museum displays can be seen as a code which has to be correctly decoded in order to be understood. The language of museums can also be seen as one which is spoken only by certain groups of people who possess sufficient educational background (similar to that of the curators) to understand the message of the museum. As Bourdieu points out (1966: 64-66), lack of

training in the conceptual method needed to make de-contextualised objects assume a historical meaning, can lead to an assessment of all museum objects in similar terms familiar within the vistor's range of experience. Objects may be assessed purely in terms of their size, colour, workmanship or exoticism, with the result that boredom can easily set in and inadequacy can be felt in the face of a failure to make the objects mean anything else.

For some people, then, possession of what Bourdieu terms the 'cultural capital' necessary to understand the museum is an adjunct to the economic power they already possess, part of a lifestyle appropriate to it. For others, however, museum visiting may be part of a strategy to emulate the economically privileged by adopting their cultured lifestyle. The parent taking the child to the museum 'because it is good for them' to become 'cultured' is an illustration of this phenomenon.

The survey data used here show that in general it is the better-educated and more affluent who feel most at home in the culture of the museum. This, it can be argued, is a product of two interlinked strands, both of the historical associations of the museum with high culture, and because it is the better-educated who possess the perceptual apparatus necessary to decode the message of the museum. For those who do not possess the code, even though very many museums now are bright, cheerful, entertaining and instructive, the **overall** image of museums is still that they are imposing and univiting. Thus, despite great improvements effected on the museum's image since the nineteenth century citadels of culture, the museum still seems in general terms to divide society into those who have the culture to understand it and those who do not.

Presenting archaeology in the museum

It is against this background of uneven participation in museums that the curator presenting

archaeology has to work. It has been established that **anyone** working in a museum has an uphill struggle in presenting the past to a representative cross-section of the public. As a next step it is necessary to look at ways in which the general subject of 'archaeology' is understood by non-specialists. Only then will museum archaeologists be able to appreciate the specific difficulties which face them when presenting the subject to a wide audience.

In the first instance, the survey established that very many people do not have a clear idea of what archaeology is. This was established only indirectly. In a question asking whether archaeology should be taught in schools, one of the 5 answer categories was: "I don't know enough about archaeology to answer this question". By far the largest group of respondents (41%) chose this reply. This group is more likely to be female than male, more likely to be elderly than young, low status than high status, and more likely to visit no heritage attractions at all (Table 7). Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, people who know little about archaeology tend **not** to visit museums. This suggests that the main battle to get people to visit archaeology displays will have to be fought outside the museum by informing people about archaeology and stimulating an interest in it.

The Image of Archaeology

A second area explored was the public image of what archaeology is. This was gauged from an open-ended question which asked people to write down what the word 'archaeology' meant to them. For analysis these answers were broken down into various groups depending on how many times a certain aspect was mentioned (Table 8).

The most frequent phrase mentioned by (62% of) respondents was that archaeology is to do with 'The Past' in some general way, and the next most frequent (53%) mentioned was that it was to do with Ruins and Old Objects. 45%

mentioned that it was to do with 'Digging' or 'Excavation', and 43% mentioned 'Study' or 'Research'. Only 27% mentioned that archaeology had anything to do with people in the past or that the aim of archaeology was to attempt to reconstruct former societies. 6% wrote that the word 'Archaeology' meant nothing to them.

Table 7. Awareness of Archaeology

'I don't know enough about archaeology to answer this question properly'

(% of respondents choosing this category out of five choices)

By Sex			(N)
	Male	37%	[173]
	Female	46%	[213]
By Age			
	17-19	37	[7]
	20-24	39	[40]
	25-34	35	[62]
	35-49	40	[94]
	50-59	41	[55]
	60-64	54	[44]
	65 +	44	[83]
By Status			
	High Status	33	[49]
	Intermediate	41	[244]
	Low Status	50	[86]
By Heritage Visitor			
	Visits Nothing	55	[125]
	Visits One	48	[92]
	Visits Two	37	[89]
	Visits Three	28	[67]

Table 8. The Image of Archaeology

Categories or Phrases used by Respondents

'The Past' in General	62%
Ruins and Objects	53
Excavation or Digging	45
Studying or Researching	43
Interpretation to reconstruct former societies	27
Discovery	10
'Nothing'	6
Other (Unclassifiable)	11

Although most people were agreed that the main emphasis of archaeology was on 'The Past' and 'Ruins and Objects', those with more formal education emphasised the research and interpretation aspects of the study, while those with minimum formal education emphasised 'excavation' or 'nothing'. The same can be said for museum visitors who are much more likely than non-visitors to emphasise study and interpretation, while non-visitors emphasise excavation or 'nothing' (Table 9).

In discussing the lack of knowledge of what the full realm of archaeology is, it is useful also to know how much value is placed on archaeology amongst non-specialists - perhaps again this lack of knowledge is explained by lack of interest. However, only 13% of respondents agreed with the suggestion that 'Archaeology has little of use to tell our own society', while 73% disagreed (Table 10a)

Table 9. Image of Archaeology Crosstabulated with Museum-Visiting

	Visitor	Non-Visitor
Excavation	42%	48%
Study and Research	50	33
Interpretation	33	18
'The Past'	64	60
Ruins and Objects	53	54
Discovery	11	9
Nothing	2	10
Other	12	10

Table 10. Interest in Archaeology

'Archaeology has little of use to tell our own society'

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
10a. Frequencies						**(N)**
	5%	8%	14%	51%	22%	(924)
10b. By Status						
High Status	2	7	9	54	28	(145)
Intermediate	4	7	14	52	23	(595)
Low Status	10	11	20	43	16	(168)
10c. By Heritage Visitor						
Visits None	6	14	32	39	10	(218)
Visits One	5	8	14	57	17	(191)
Visits Two	4	5	6	58	27	(238)
Visits Three	3	4	9	51	33	(246)

Again, it is the low status people who are most likely to agree with this statement (21%) and the high status who are least likely (9%) (Table 10b), and it is the non heritage visitors who are most likely to agree (20%), and the 'culture vultures' (Visitor Type 3) disagree (7%) (Table 10c).

From this it might be possible to conclude that the greatest contribution to lack of interest in, or awareness of archaeology is its perceived irrelevance to people's everyday lives.

This is given added support by answers to a question concerned with the image of 'Prehis-tory'. Respondents were asked to rank various periods, including the present, in the order in which they would most like to live in. The clearest positions were first - The Present - which 67% of people put first, and last - Prehistory - which 69% put last (Table 11). Interestingly, the order of preference into which people put the periods was strictly chronological, although the choices on the questionnaire were not ranged in chronological order. This does rather seem to indicate an implicit affirmation of the doctrine of progress, and perhaps that prehistory is seen to be most distant from people's experience and therefore irrelevant.

Table 11. The Image of Prehistory

'Please put these periods in order, depending on how much you would like to live in them

1. The Present	67%	[618]	
2. Victorian Period	43	[377]	
3. Elizabethan Period	47	[411]	
4. Middle Ages	40	[276]	
5. Roman Period	38	[328]	
6. Prehistoric Period	69	[605]	

When these answers were crosstabulated with people's socio-economic status, one can see clearly that people's image of prehistory, and perhaps the past in general, is very much dependent on their present position in society. High status people are more likely than either of the other two status groups to put the present as the period they would most like to live in, while the low status people are least likely to put it, and most likely to put it 6th (Table 12). Similarly, low status people are more likely to put prehistory 1st choice, and least likely to put it 6th. For some groups, then, the image of the past can be more attractive than for others, and this is most likely to be a reflection of current position, with those who are best off now likely to have a less agreeable view of the past than those who are worse off. Overall, however, there is an overwhelming belief that the present is the best period to live in.

Table 12. Preferences for the Present and Prehistoric Periods Crosstabulated by Status

The Present

	1st choice	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	(N)
High Status	76%	10%	7%	2%	2%	3%	[145]
Intermediate	67	13	7	5	3	6	[599]
Low Status	59	6	11	5	9	11	[163]

Prehistoric Period

	1st choice	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	(N)
High Status	2	2	4	1	8	83	[140]
Intermediate	2	3	6	5	15	68	[569]
Low Status	6	6	6	9	12	62	[149]

The survey has established that most people do not seem to have a very clear idea of what archaeology is, beyond dealing with ruins and objects dug up from a fairly inhospitable past. In order to explore alternatives, it is useful to look at the extent to which archaeology and related activities are participated in by the public. The idea of looking at related activities is to see which ones are most popular, and whether archaeologists can learn anything from them. In order to gauge this, a range of questions were asked concerning past-based leisure activities (Table 13). Although membership of organised clubs such as archaeological societies or antique collectors' clubs is quite low, participation in field archaeology seems to be quite high, involving (according to these figures), some 10% of the population at some time or other in their lives. This may however be a slight overestimation due to the phrasing of the question which meant that anyone who had just strolled across a field and found some pottery would have answered affirmatively to it. Of the historically-oriented choices here, research into the family tree is most popular (15%), and 7% of people claim to have used a metal detector for treasure-hunting at some time in their lives.

Table 13. Involvement in Archaeology

'Have you ever done any of the following things?'

Frequencies (%)		(N)
Been a member of a local history/archaeology society	4	[37]
Been a member of a local collectors' club	3	[32]
Used a metal detector for 'treasure hunting'	7	[69]
Gone on an archaeological dig/gone looking for pottery	10	[97]
Researched your family tree	15	[141]
Attended an adult education class	32	[305]

When participation in these various activities is crosstabulated with status, as might be expected, it is the high status respondents who are most likely to participate in history, archaeology or collectors' clubs, or to research their familytree (Table 14). However, practical archaeology in the form of excavation and fieldwalking has a much more even spread of participation, which may be an avenue for museum archaeologists to explore in greater detail, and it is the low status respondents who are most likely to have used a metal detector.

The case of metal detecting is an interesting one because it is the only past-related activity covered by the survey which is more likely to be participated in by low status people. It is worth therefore looking at it in a little more detail to see whether there are aspects of it that we may be able to learn from.

Table 14. Involvement in archaeology crosstabulated by status

	High	Intermediate	Low
Member of history/archaeology club	6% [9]	5% [28]	—
Member of collectors' club	6 [8]	3 [20]	2 [3]
Metal detector user	6 [8]	7 [42]	10 [17]
Gone on dig/fieldwalking	8 [12]	11 [69]	9 [16]
Researched family tree	20 [30]	15 [93]	10 [17]
Attended adult education class	52 [77]	32 [195]	17 [29]

Metal-detector use

Table 15 presents a summary of the main characteristics of metal-detector users as gleaned from the survey. They are an unusual group, with minimum formal education, unlikely to own their own house, but likely to have other indications of wealth (such as ownership of several cars) - they might perhaps be classified as 'affluent working class'. The most striking characteristic is that, as well as using metal detectors they are likely to be keen visitors to museums, castles, historic houses and other ancient monuments.

Table 15. Characteristics of metal detector users

1. Incidence — 7% of respondents

2. Demographic characteristics

Metal detector users are **more likely** to be:

Male

Young

Low Status

Left School at earliest opportunity

Council House or Private Tenants

Own more than one car

Be Keen Heritage Visitors

This contradicts those theories which suggest that metal detector users are those people who are alienated by the elitism of professional archaeology and museums, and set about discovering the past in their own way (Gregory 1983, 1986). This survey rather suggests instead that they are simply very enthusiastic about the past, although, in the eyes of archaeologists, misguided in their enthusiasm. Rather than being an overtly oppositional movement of alienated people, I would suggest that the reason metal-detecting is popular is for two reasons. First, in practical terms, it can be done alone, when you like, with the minimum of preparation (once the machine is bought), and it brings the thrill of actually finding things.

Second, and as a result, it avoids the commitment and, frequently, the elitism and stuffiness of organised clubs. Metal-detecting appeals particularly now because many people are effectively excluded from participation in field archaeology by the decline of amateurism consequent upon the professionalisation and academic requirements of archaeology. What archaeology has abandoned over the last 25 years is its emphasis on objects and its large-scale reliance on the fieldwork discoveries of enthusiastic amateurs. This is precisely what treasure-hunting now supplies, and it is this enthusiasm which we as archaeologists in museums can still tap into, for the good of the subject as a whole. The importance of fieldwork and the discovery of objects in the public appreciation of the past is emphasised in answers to a final set of questions on ways of finding out about the past.

Table 16. Most Enjoyable Way of Finding Out About the Past

Frequencies (%)

Visiting the area	20
Having a guided tour	19
Watching T.V.	16
Reading a book	13
Listening to a talk by an expert	12
Asking in the library	7
Visiting a Museum	7
Evening Classes	6

[N = 942]

Respondents were asked which, from a pre-prepared list, was the most enjoyable way of finding out about local history or some old local place. Out of 8 choices, museums were joint second from bottom with libraries, being chosen by only 7% of respondents as the most enjoyable way of finding out about the past (Table 16).

The two most enjoyable ways were visiting the locality by yourself (20%), and having a guided tour of the locality (19%), both of which are concerned with seeing things in context, in the field, either discovering them yourself or being guided.

To sum up then, the survey has confirmed that, despite expansion in the numbers of museums and a greater range of visitors than in the Victorian period, museums at root still only appeal to the wealthier and better educated section of the community. Archaeologists working in museums have to contend with this problem and with the problem of presenting a subject whose aims and methods are poorly understood by a substantial section of the population, especially those who don't visit museums. Although the value of archaeology in the abstract is affirmed by a large majority of the public, for most people it is seen to have little relevance to their lives, and it is this lack of percieved relevance which leads to lack of interest and understanding of the subject.

At the root of all these problems lies lack of education in its broadest sense. If we follow Bourdieu, it is lack of education in the code of museums that leads to the alienation of certain disadvantaged groups, and, as we have seen, it is lack of education that has made for an incomplete understanding of what archaeology is, or of the potential destructiveness of treasure-hunting. It is only by education that archaeologists can possibly hope to stimulate interest in the subject and care for the archaeological heritage, and it is only by getting out and doing it ourselves that this can be achieved. The public's interest in discovery, in objects and in seeing things in context points the way to the approach

we should be using, and the GCSE examinations with their stress on context and primary evidence may be the vehicle with which to achieve a wider understanding of archaeology.

Notes

1. It should be borne in mind that, because this is a national survey, it deals with the general use and image of 'the museum' and not specific museums, which might individually vary a great deal from the general picture presented here.

2. Details of the survey are given in the appendix below.

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Appendix: Survey Details

The Problem of Non-response

The 34% who did not reply are a crucial factor because their answers may be very different from those who did reply. Their answers must thus be estimated in order for a representative sample to be achieved. Their likely responses were calculated by using the answers of those who required 2 reminders before they replied, as a substitute for non-respondents, and by actually contacting a small sample of non-respondents by telephone to try to ascertain their reasons for non-response. On the basis of this information, weighting factors were added to the sample to emulate a representative sample of the total population. These weights cause systematic changes in the original, biased sample, and their use is standard survey practice (Moser & Kalton 1971: 183).

Explanatory Variables used in the survey

In summarising the main findings of the survey, the following explanatory variables will be used. The main ones are the usual demographic variables of age, sex, and educational background. Economic status was calculated by asking respondents, as is done in the census, about their housing tenure (whether they are owner occupiers, council tenants, or private tenants), and about their ownership of private vehicles. Overall socio-economic status was calculated by combining these two variables with educational background, such that those who left school at the minimum age, rented their accommodation and didn't have a private car, were categorised as low status, those who stayed on at school, owned their own house and had one or more vehicles were classified as high status, and the remainder were classified as intermediate status. The other main group of explanatory variables used were 'museum visitors' and 'non-visitors', and 'type of heritage visitor'. The latter typology was calculated on the basis of answers to questions concerning visits to museums, castles and historic houses. Those who visited none of these attractions in the course of a year were called 'Visitor Type 0', those who went to one were called 'Visitor Type 1', those who went to two were called 'Visitor Type 2' and those who went to museums, castles and historic houses at least once a year were called 'Visitor Type 3'.

"COULD YOU SELL MADAME TUSSAUD'S?"
Francis Burke, Yorkshire Television

You have invited me to talk to you about the 'Image' of archaeology in museums and I can only speak from my own background: by instinct I consider any subject from a television angle. Some people would see that as an instant recipe for sensationalism, or at best superficiality and, of course, that is the danger when we are using potent instruments which have enormous immediacy of effect: if I can make people jump by throwing fireworks, then, if I am that way inclined, I may be tempted to do it over and over again.

To my first point, then, which is not to strive for impact without responsibility, but to stand back and look afresh at the impact we are making.

Can I try to do that with you? I have a little experience of working with the museum service, so can I do some lateral thinking, based on that experience; can I try to draw some conclusions about policy as an introduction to an extract from one of our programmes about Marketing (for that is what we are talking about)?

For the moment, I should like to consider three elements I have observed in what I could pretentiously call 'good museum practice' - although, more honestly, I can say that these are three reasons why I have liked particular museums. However, let me remind you, the 'I' in this case is somebody most of whose working life is to do with image manufacturing.

The three elements are:

1. The community base
2. Participation
3. Visual impact
Let me take each of these in turn and reflect upon it.

1. The community base: in my experience of working with museums, those which have en-

thused me most have been the museums whose community links were strong. In fact, the best have also been very small, operating in smallish communities - I am thinking, for example of the Beck Isle Museum, Pickering and the Hornsea Museum.

I have identified certain elements which are present in this sort of museum and ensure an image which is livid and positive within their own communities:

(a) They operate within clearly defined constituencies.

(b) They represent accessible and indeed almost personal history.

(c) They are run by committees drawn from the local community for example, care of linen items may be undertaken by particular persons during the 'off-season'; responsibility for a particular room or display is given, in one case, to specific 'lay' persons.

(d) Even when the display seems to be mainly of objects, the unspoken agenda is 'This is how we used to live!.

Here we impinge momentarily on the world of TV, since "How We Used to Live" is the carefully chosen title of the most successful educational programme ever shown in the U.K. and made, as it happens, by Yorkshire Television.

In other words, the real strength of a museum must partly lie in making a community's history accessible to it - enabling people to reach back and 'touch'. It is something to do with interpreting the human experience which itself is always changing yet always a continuum of past and present.

2. Participation: perhaps the unattainable ideal here is Jorvik - the total historical experience. As a television person, I like it very much - you may or may not have reservations as museum people. Whatever about that, it remains true that any

good museum (especially of archaeology) must take further the community process I have outlined earlier by going all out (as I would see it) for **participation**. The public must in some way be drawn to share in an experience, not just look at objects.

Here, larger museums may have some advantage. I recall a Victorian school day at the Castle Museum York, run by a teacher with the active collaboration of the museum. The pupils lived for a day as their Victorian ancestors might - lessons, food, acted-out scenes in the wonderful re-creation of a contemporary street with which the museum is blessed. The headmaster arrived as a policeman and I (totally unknown to the pupils) walked into the classroom, kitted out by our wardrobe department as a Victorian Inspector of Schools.

Simple stuff, even stagey. Perhaps, but such a 'showbiz' approach is doing something I will touch on later: it is meeting the public where **they** are ready to experience and not where we think they should be.

3. Visual impact: it is presumptuous of me even to speak to you about this. Yet there is still a tremendous gap between the 'dead' display techniques of some museums and the best contemporary practice in marketing and the visual arts.

At its best, contemporary practice, like it or not, is based upon scientific and systematic study of means, aims and objectives - for example in the commercial world, where it is a matter of economic life or death to get things right. I am talking about

- the use of colour.
- standardising lettering, logos, art work
- having a 'brand image'
- doing market research

All these things are important and not to be rejected because they seem to be redolent of the market-place, for I can only repeat what I have already said: the whole problem of 'image' is well known to the commercial world and, in the last resort, we are talking about 'packaging' and 'selling' archaeology.

Put it another way: the **visual** is the first step towards the ultimate experience, which, as I said earlier, seems to me to be the objective of archaeological displays.

I can of course, put 'the visual' in terms of television too. You may have wonderful material in your show, but if it **looks** old-fashioned or amateurish or (worst of all!) **boring**, then people go away and make tea in droves, the audience viewing figures show it and the show comes out of the schedules.

In the end, the visual element is a combination of getting colours, lettering, logos and art-work at just the right level. I am suggesting that this is a matter of systematic planning, although, of course, without a genuine creative spark it never comes to life.

I have touched on the **community, participation** and **visual** elements of my suggested approach. What I am about to say takes these elements a little further, into the realm of the practical.

How would I, as a television practitioner, draw up a (say) 12-month programme for the transition from being a dull, worthy and rather esoteric institution to being a successful and life-enhancing experience (no apologies for the words used, by the way)

There would be several stages, overlapping or even simultaneous.

1. Planning: no TV programme goes on the air these days without meticulous planning. For a 5 minute 'piece to camera' - one person talking - 18 or 20 people may be involved, with carefully agreed cues and scripts.
There are meetings galore at which policy and detail alike are hammered out. This may involve getting in - and paying - expert advisers, 'programme consultants'. To my mind, there is no

way round this: lots of meetings, carefully working out policy, aims, objectives and practical planning. There is no room in the world of modern information systems for one man's or woman's unchecked 'hunches' to prevail - even if it be your local Chief Executive himself. Obvious advice - perhaps; but worth underlining yet again.

Research: it recently took me 10 months of work on background and scripts to prepare four and a half hours of Outside Broadcast, helped in the latter weeks by two or three other people.

There are some basic questions to be asked...

What am I trying to do?
Will people watch this programme?
What audience am I aiming it at?
Am I duplicating what other programmes are doing?

Over all that, like an atomic cloud, hangs the knowledge that I am going to be judged by audience, colleagues, critics - a healthy but painful process.

Can you see how all this applies directly to your museum service? Change the relevant words and the questions are directly pertinent to your work too. In the commercial world this operation is called **Market Research** and it is no fad - it can be a matter of economic life or death. The public make their own judgement just as they do on a television programme. Are you to some extent insulated from such research and such reaction? Is it all too crude and unscholarly? Yet, if your planning seems to indicate certain ways of running your museum how can you be sure they are right?

Such Market Research should be methodical and wide-ranging. It can lead to quite revolutionary changes. Among such revolutionary changes can be the emergence of what is called **'Brand Image'** - or in television terms, programme style. The really successful product or programme will have a recognisable image (hence the use of signature tunes or catch-phrases),

which says something very precise to the public, and is made up of very carefully coordinated elements - the visual (see my earlier remarks), the audible (signature tune) even the almost imperceptible elements of 'atmosphere'. How would you sell mustard and kitchen ware? The Mustard Shop in Norwich does it by the slogan "Step forward into the Past"

What is **your** "brand image"? Is it respectable - dull - unknown -mysterious? Could you sell your museum on the market if by some chance the government decided to privatise? How would you prepare for that day? 'Brand' or 'programme style' can be put in two statements:

"What do I want to say?"
or
"What do the public want to hear"?

The second statement is by far the most relevant to our discussion

Finally, consideration of
- Planning
- Market Research
- Brand Image

All these lead us to the final point I want to make. I shall put it in the form of a question, and it harks back to what I said at the beginning. The question is this:-

Where exactly does your transaction with the visiting public take place"?

A case study has been made of the whole process as gone through by Madame Tussaud's in London when they realised, as a result of declining numbers of visitors, that they had been left behind in a sort of worthy but dull ghetto. Hence my title "Could **you** sell Madame Tussaud's?"

I believe - without being facetious - that their starting point and yours display many similarities, certainly enough to provide food for thought. The most crucial step they took, I feel, was to locate exactly where **their** transaction with the public was happening. It turned out not to be in

the simple viewing of exhibits. There are some quite remarkable sequences in the record which show quite clearly that the vital transaction with the public was occurring (often quite movingly) somewhere between the viewer and the 'exhibit'. This involved for Madame Tussaud's the re-thinking of the style of presentation and solving some difficult problems.

But then problems are a stimulus to greater achievement.

On that, as on most things, Madame Tussaud's should have the last word: 'Waxworks' was found, by research, to have old-fashioned overtones. "Wax works!", on the other hand, kept a continuity with the past and solved the problem at a stroke whilst finding a new slogan.

(Editorial note:
This paper by Francis Burke formed the introduction to an extract from a television programme made by Yorkshire Television. The programme gave the background to the employment of marketing specialists to solve "Madame Tussaud's" particular problems. It highlighted the need to research the audience and its perceptions, and then to provide a direct appeal. The interaction between visitor and exhibit, often through the act of taking photographs, provided the key to the marketing solution.)

INSURING THE PAST? ENSURING THE FUTURE
Lizbeth Barrett, Cadw - Welsh Historic Monuments

Imagine approaching an insurance broker and asking him to quote you on a policy for protecting 30 acres of land with a moat and castle equalled in size at Windsor and, perhaps, Dover. Tell him that there is no roof on the castle and a continuing probem of rain water seeping through the walls. The castle stands in the centre of a small town with relatively high unemployment whose younger inhabitants occasionally re-enact the Siege of Cromwell and storm the gates, attack "invaders" (otherwise known as American tourists) from the towers and leave suggestive messages of hope and despair on the walls.

Once your broker has picked himself off the floor the price he will quote you will probably put you on the floor

And yet, this scenario is not so different from the one faced by the Museum Curator and the Castle Custodian alike - the acquisition, conservation and presentation of objects from the past. A castle is, in many respects an empty museum but also an exhibit in its own right within an historical landscape.

Lets go back to this castle whose future we wish to insure. How did we come by it, how did it get into the state it is in? Along with 125 other sites taken into the care of the Secretary of State for Wales, Cadw was, in effect, given it and like many of those sites the effects of weather and the odd battle have left their marks. The vast majority of sites came into care at the beginning of this century and are not, arguably, the most representative of the Welsh built heritage. No doubt, the debate would be fierce as to what was a representative sample depending on your archaeological, architectural or cultural preference (Edward I is hardly the most popular figure in Welsh history).

And given that new acquisitions are likely to be well considered and, therefore, few and far between - we have to do the best we can with what we have.

Having accepted that, what do we do with it? We are faced in the twentieth century with the reconciliation of two powerful forces, an increasing ability to alter the world in which we live but, at the same time, a growing desire to protect and preserve our past. It is the successful reconciliation of these two forces; alteration and preservation that will ensure the future of our ancient monuments (and that is probably the best form of insurance).

But who choses what we preserve? Who makes the value judgements? The historian, archaeologist, architect, economist, tourism operator? The choice is an important one since the act of chosing is, in itself, approbation of one period over another, one country over another, one political system over another. Why should the medieval period in Wales be more represented in our stock of ancient monuments than the industrial revolution? The physical remains of both are still visible and yet it is only in the very recent past that we have begun to take the latter type of monuments into care and onto schedules (Cadw has just four industrial monuments).

The choser also, to a large extent, determines the method and extent of conservation that is carried out on the monument. The perceived method of conservation carried out by Inspectors of Ancient Monuments is to "treat as found". The monument is a document which contains indications of the different periods of its history. Restoration is used to prevent total collapse or, occasionally, to promote better understanding. The argument is that you do not alter a manuscript and, therefore, you do not alter the monument. Decay is arrested.

And yet, a building is not a manuscript which is usually written just the once. A building is constructed, added to, demolished, repaired. Our forefathers were not adverse to adapting the

building for their own purposes - should we be so wary of doing this? Buildings have roofs and windows for aesthetic reasons but also for sound practical reasons. The cost and effort of seeking to protect ruins from the work of nature is both costly, timeconsuming and, ultimately, futile. Buildings cannot stand forever. But they will stand longer and be more understandable and, possibly more useful if they are covered.

A small castle on the A48 between Newport and Chepstow has been lovingly restored by a film director. He lives in part of the castle, opens most of it to the public, has restored much of the original moat and generally saved the building from the inevitable decay that would have resulted from its use when he bought it - a barn and cow shed.

Most visitors are delighted with the human scale of the castle, they enjoy picking up the "medieval objects" scattered here and there on window sills and tables. And yet the owner makes no pretence that these are medieval pieces. They are modern jugs, bowls and plates but they allow visitors not well briefed with medieval history or etiquette to understand something of the purpose of a room and to recognise that medieval people liked to decorate their rooms with treasured objects just like we do.

I wonder what an Historic Buildings Council of the nineteenth century would have made of the Marquess of Bute's application for listed building consent to alter Caerphilly castle or for scheduled monument consent to build Castell Coch on the site of an earlier ruin. But who would deny that either one of these buildings is any less a valued part of our heritage.

People need help to understand monuments and this brings me to Cadw. "Cadw" is not an anacronym (it does not stand for Cash Accumulation for Displaying Wales or for Careful Administration of Decaying Wales). It is a Welsh verb - it means to keep and it symbol is that of a celtic cross at Carew. Both symbol and name are appropriate for an organisation charged with

bringing a new look to the presentation of ancient monuments.

Cadw carries out the Secretary of State's functions with regard to :

- the preservation and maintainance of ancient monuments

- the statutory and related functions with regard to scheduled monuments and historic buildings

- the presentation of ancient monuments in the care of the Secretary of State.

The first two functions have been in operation under various divisions of government and the Welsh Office for many years and it is the third function that has, perhaps, more relevance to this Conference.

An earlier paper by Cadw's Inspector of Ancient Monuments set out the broad outline of Cadw's presentational function (Avent, R. The Presentation of Welsh Castles, in *The Interpretation of Archaeological Sites and Monuments*. SMA 1988.) The philosophy is to take a new approach to an old subject and to create a new image.

How have we gone about that?

First of all we started to get to know our markets. Who visited ancient monuments, why, when and how? What did they expect, what did they find? Who did not visit an ancient monument, why not and what might persuade them to do so?

Very little data was available for us to consider and so a number of market research programmes were undertaken and some very interesting facts began to emerge about our visitors. They consisted of an informed minority of historians but a large majority of people aged 25 to 45 very often accompanied by children, who had decided to visit the site on that day (or, perhaps the day before), had travelled less than 30 miles to visit and had chosen between the site and a

variety of other tourist attractions. There was also a considerable number of school children in school parties.

We reasoned that Group 1 would continue to visit and that it was in the latter groups that we needed to concentrate our efforts being faced with an increasingly competitive market for tourists (coupled with a decreasing number of tourists overall visiting Wales). Encouraging school visits was, it was argued, a means of helping to ensure visits in the future.

We also discovered that the image of ancient monuments was a bit stuffy, a "hands off" philosophy with little or no activity inside the castles. But changing your image is not just a question of changing your name and introducing a new logo. In all aspects of Cadw's work not just the immediately obvious areas of advertising or brochures, Cadw had to become associated with sound historical, archaeological and architectural information but presented in an accessible and enjoyable way.

Such a philosophy had sound practical applications. For instance a lot of time and effort can be wasted if, having achieved a colourful and informative piece in a newspaper, it appears alongside an article criticising Cadw for "stopping" a local congregation knocking down their listed but leaking chapel and replacing it with a more modern and, in their view, practical design. This is an example where the local pressure group does not understand the listing process and was unaware of its application when they started fund raising two years ago. An article on the work of the listing inspectors, and regular information about listed buildings and grants for restoration projects can help people understand (even if they do not agree on the particular). Which is why it is important that all Cadw's contact with the public is governed by the new philosophy. Nobody assumes anymore that "everyone knows what a listed building is".

Particularly on the presentation side there is a need to get it right. Our image is one of dignity, caring and quiet enjoyment - not all the fun of the fair. Whilst we are competing in an increasingly sophisticated (in method if not content) market we are careful not to detract from the monuments themselves - we work with them not against them.

We people them with medieval re - enactment groups, musicians, dancers, actors. They can, sometimes, create the illusion that this is how it really was. But most visitors can accept that what they are seeing is an indication, a piece of drama or, if nothing else, a bit of fun. The important thing is that the castle is alive not just with the performers but with the visitors themselves who together create an event. And we restrict the events to the Bank Holidays and the Summer period so there is always an opportunity for a more reflective visit at other times (1).

Our events programme is part of, not separate to, our interpretation programme. It is three dimensional interpretation not a side show or a money spinner. If the event does not add to the understanding or enjoyment of the monument then it has failed. We try to use local talent and involve local groups. This in itself is an important element of our programme; restoring the monument to its place in the community in which it stands. For, love them or hate them, that is where they belong and in Wales this can be a not insignificant feat with so many "English" castles remaining in the Welsh heartlands.

Take Caernarfon, our major monument, which although recognised on the World Heritage List is treated with mistrust by many local people. The appointment of a local, Welsh speaking events organiser has brought in many local dance groups and choirs to perform for locals and visitors alike. Welshness is an important part of our events programme and of Cadw. This is, perhaps, a reason for our success in increasing visitor numbers, but also in creating the right sort of impression throughout our work.

All of what we do at the present follows the principle of treating as found; the interpretation through exhibitions and events, guidebooks and

marketing literature does not damage the monuments in any way (despite the occasional hoof marks on the manicured lawns). Some of the development projects will put some areas of the sites into use but it will, surely, be a long time before a castle is completely restored.

In the meantime we work with what we have and without the need for insurance brokers. The best means of ensuring the future for any ancient monument is not just physical maintenance to arrest decay nor indeed rebuilding every monument. It is the promotion of better understanding and the practical use of the monument within its historic environment for the economic, social and cultural benefit of the people who live around it or visit it.

We should not be afraid of putting the monuments to a twentieth century use and this is probably tourism and leisure. None of us should be unwilling to listen and learn - we ask our visitors to do it all the time, but they too have something to tell us.

Notes

1. The Events Programme has continued to develop and in 1988 a son et lumiere was staged at Caernarfon Castle. The performance was based on the history of the castle and told through actors, fireworks and lighting effects. Some 12,000 visited the castle during the week's performance and day time visitors increased during a period of generally static or declining visitor numbers.

(Editorial note:
Through the kind offices of Liz Barrett, the editor visited several of the North Wales Castles at Easter 1989. The events and exhibition programme has continued to develop e.g. discreet craft stalls selling local goods at Caernarfon, and a major new visitor centre and access point is nearing completion at Conwy. He was particularly pleased to see local shops in towns such as Caernarfon and Beaumaris displaying posters for events at "their" castles.)

THE ROLE OF MUSEUM ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN HERITAGE MANAGEMENT
Henry Cleere, Council for British Archaeology

When I went to the Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Dallas in 1975 I became aware for the first time of a phrase that was new to me. 'Cultural Resource Management' was the subject of several sessions of the meeting, which seemed to cover what I had always known as 'rescue archaeology'. But there was another dimension to the discussions the dimension of management as an active and dynamic process, which reached backwards to the planning decisions that occasioned rescue survey and excavation and projected forwards to encompass, where appropriate, the preservation and presentation of archaeological monuments for the benefit of the public that was, through its taxes, financing the archaeological work.

One of the members of the CBA delegation to that SAA meeting was the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings, and I enthusiastically drew his attention to what I saw as a positive and exciting approach to our mutual problems. His response was lofty and dismissive: 'That is what we have been going in the Inspectorate for nearly a hundred years'. It is not my intention today to attempt to refute that claim: I would suspect, however, that Andrew Saunders would be less confident on that score today.

In recent years cultural resource management has - by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in the name of its recently established International Committee - been transmuted into the more precise and meaningful 'archaeological heritage management', and has unquestionably become a reality in this country. Organisations such as English Heritage are specifically dedicated to it, the Institute of Field Archaeologists recognises it as an 'area of competence', and even the Theoretical Archaeology Group has devoted most of one of its annual conferences to the subject. My

purpose today is to trace the development of heritage management in Britain and to attempt to assess its organisational effectiveness, with special reference to the actual and potential role of the museum archaeologist in the structure.

The development of Heritage Management in Britain

Despite the claim made by Andrew Saunders in 1975, I would submit that heritage management, with the stress on the management element, was not being practised in Britain until comparatively recently. In the decades leading up to and immediately following World War II the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments was certainly responsible for the maintenance and presentation of a number of major monuments in State care, and it is undeniable that these were 'managed' in the sense that they were properly tended and curated. There was certainly a process of systematic survey and recording in progress, through the medium of the three Royal Commissions on Ancient and Historical Monuments, though this was an academic and magisterial operation, the results of which seem to have had little impact on the formulation of policies for the active protection and preservation of the nation's heritage. The same might be said of the scheduling procedure: an objective analysis of the monuments and sites that have statutory protection today suggests that they reflect the personal research interests of individual Inspectors of Ancient Monuments or the political clout of certain areas over the years rather than a positive approach to the management of a representative selection of the national stock of monuments. In fairness to English Heritage, I should add that the same view is taken in Fortress House, as the Monuments Protection Programme demonstrates.

Rescue excavation was haphazard and dependent principally upon the availability of university teachers during their long vacations or museum curators with an interest in fieldwork, combined with the occasional readiness on the part of local authorities to make both sites and

funds available. Such survey work as was done outside the Royal Commissions depended to a very large extent on the interests and degree of commitment of individuals, many of them amateurs.

All this changed rapidly in the early 1970s. I will not recapitulate here the events which led to the foundation of Rescue in 1971, since they will be well known to all of you and have, in any case, been amply documented. It might be appropriate, however, for me to remind you of a seminal document published by my own Council in 1972. I do not claim that **The Erosion of History** was the first attempt to evaluate and quantify the impact of development on the archaeological heritage (admirably described by one early CRM activist in the USA as a 'non-renewable cultural resource'). Credit for sending up the first warning signal must go to the English Royal Commission, which, in **A matter of time** (1960) attempted to evaluate the impact of minerals extraction on the archaeology of the British countryside. Whilst the RCHM document went largely unheeded, however, **The Erosion of History** was very influential: indeed, very few weeks go by when the CBA office is not contacted by a local authority or an amenity group with a request for information that is contained in that remarkable document.

And so from 1972 onwards the money began to flow for rescue archaeology, as a result of the highly successful campaign to influence public opinion operated by Rescue in its early years. At the same time the CBA launched a complementary initiative, mounting pressure on Counties to appoint Archaeological Officers with a primary function of reviewing all aspects of planning, from Structure Plans to Planning Applications, in order to assess their impact on archaeological sites. At the same time, County Planning Departments were urged to establish Sites and Monuments Records.

By 1979 there were over sixty full-time archaeological units in receipt of Department of the Environment grants for rescue excavation and survey, almost all the English Counties had archaeologists in post, most of them with SMRs in operation or being created, and the network of Welsh Archaeological Trusts was functioning. Only in Scotland was there no significant progress to report, a state of affairs that regrettably persists to the present day.

Museums in the development of Heritage Management

And where were the museums and their archaeologists in all this? To answer that question, it is necessary first to look at the organisation of State archaeology and its underlying legislation in this country. The Ancient Monuments Acts from 1882 to 1979 have applied solely, as their names imply, to sites and monuments: portable antiquities have always been specifically excluded from their provisions. Responsibility for their implementation passed from the Commissioners of Works via successive Ministries of similar name to the present-day Department of the Environment.

Museums by their very nature have tended to concentrate on artefactual rather than monumental antiquities, of course, and these are endowed with no form of legislative protection, apart from the very specialised provisions of that quaint anachronism known as the Royal Perogative of Treaure Trove. Responsibility for the establishment and funding of museums (with the exception of the handful of national museums) was entirely the concern of local authorities or private bodies until comparatively recently, when the Department of Education and Science and, later, the Office of Arts and Libraries has been responsible for the disbursement of limited Government funds. Such is the nature of Whitehall that there has been little or no coordination between the Departments responsible for these two interdependent components of the heritage.

It is also worthwhile looking at the composition of the Committee of Rescue in those early, heady days. The name of only one museum man

appears on the Rescue Committee listed in Philip Rahtz's Pelican published in 1974, and Neil Cossons was there by virtue of his expertise in industrial archaeology rather than as a museum director. It is hardly surprising therefore that no account was taken of museums and their archaeologists in a corporate sense in the days when the present kaleidoscopic structure for rescue archaeology was taking shape in the mid 1970s.

That is not to say, of course, that individual museums failed to take the initiative and to infiltrate themselves into the system. Bristol is an outstanding example of an early and effective response to the perceived need for excavation units, as is the Buckinghamshire County Museum at Aylesbury. The Museum of London did not achieve this - for the Greater London area at any rate - until after the abolition of the GLC in 1986. In other counties, originally independent units have been absorbed into County Museum Services - in Leicestershire and Norfolk, for example. Nor are all County Archaeological Officers and Sites and Monuments Records located in Planning Departments: a number of County Museum Services also operate SMRs, including several that I have already mentioned as having units along with several others, such as Wiltshire. Nevertheless, this museum involvement has depended upon the initiatives of individual museum directors such as Nicholas Thomas at Bristol rather than as a result of positive policies, on the part either of the funding agencies or the museum profession as a whole.

The result of this lack of guidance has had unfortunate results in certain cases. Stories of deliberate non-cooperation between County Archaeological Officers and units on the one hand and museums on the other have been reported to me on more than one occasion. In another area of heritage management the designation of an Area of Archaeological Importance under Part II of the 1979 Act has been delayed inordinately owing to a failure to resolve the competing claims of the County unit (in this case an independent body) and the County Museums Service, which operates the County SMR some

miles away from the historic town in question. It would be invidious for me to cite specific cases, but in any case most of you will be able to supply the name yourselves.

So far I have talked only about rescue archaeology, about the creation and maintenance of Sites and Monuments Records, and about the implementation of archaeological constraints in planning decisions and policies. There is, however, another aspect of archaeological heritage management that must not be overlooked in this discussion of the role of museums. The traditional function of archaeological museums has been to interpret the past for the benefit of the citizens of the present, primarily through the medium of displays of artefacts (although I fully concede that the artefactual basis of museum displays is no longer paramount, as new exhibits at Dorchester and Andover, for example, splendidly demonstrate). Museums have fulfilled this education role for many years, both in terms of general public instruction and, in a more didactic sense, through their work with schools. A number of museums have historic properties under their control and have proved themselves to be highly competent in displaying and interpreting monuments and buildings: it would perhaps be invidious to single out specific examples, though as President of the Sussex Archaeological Society I may perhaps be allowed the indulgence of expressing my admiration of the Fishbourne Roman Palace. Only belatedly have the bodies responsible for the maintenance of the monuments in State care - some 450 of them in England, for example - become aware that the survival of the best of what remains of our archaeological heritage can only be assured by making use of the special skills evolved within the museum profession to excite the interest and support of the public, upon whom in the last analysis their future depends.

The Future

The structure of archaeological resource management in Britain can be charitably described as kaleidoscopic - I will repress the temptation to

use a stronger epithet! I have lectured on a number of occasions to meetings of foreign heritage archaeologists in countries where the system in operation is a relatively straightforward and uncomplicated one; on such occasions, I have often observed with wry amusement expressions of incredulity spreading slowly over the faces of my audience as I have remorselessly expounded our system. One French colleague once described the evident success of our system by comparison with that in France as a triumph of British pragmatism (though I was not surprised to learn that the reorganisation of the structure of French heritage management, in which he played no small part, has taken very little over from this country).

The ideal heritage management system is probably that in the DDR, where there is total integration between museums, rescue archaeology, survey, inventory, and even research, organised on a regional basis. Such a system is, of course, possible only in a Socialist state operated with German efficiency and logic! The Scandinavian countries have admirable heritage management structures, but it must be observed that in Denmark, Norway, and, to a lesser extent, Sweden there are tensions between the museums and the other branches of the system, largely for historical reasons.

I am enough of a realist to acknowledge the fact that it would be impossible to impose a wholly logical and completely integrated structure on Britain, given our history and traditions. In any case, I have always taken as a guiding principle Emerson's aphorism that 'A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of small minds'. Nevertheless, I believe very strongly that our present structure, which developed in an uncoordinated way in the 1970s and was then petrified, is susceptible to a considerable measure of improvement and refinement.

It is not part of my brief today to provide you with a complete blueprint for the future, but simply to look at the role that museums should play. First, I think that it is imperative that close

and effective links should be established and maintained between the various components of the heritage management structure, which I would define as the rescue units, the County Archaeological Officers with their SMRs, those responsible at local authority level for the maintenance and presentation of historic buildings and archaeological monuments, county and local archaeological societies and groups, and museums (whether local authority or private) with archaeological expertise at their disposal. This can, of course, take the form of a county committee - as in Gloucestershire or Hampshire, for example - but that alone is not enough. Mechanisms must be set up for regular and continuous contact in addition to the more formal medium of a county or local committee, so as to create a comprehensive information network and a common database.

Secondly, the special expertise of museum archaeologists should be more profitably exploited in two connected fields: their professional skills in the display and interpretation of the material remains of our archaeological and historical heritage and their traditional experience in interfacing directly with the general public. Museum displays have improved out of all recognition in the past twenty years: gone are the long rows of pots or flint axes, with inconspicuous and over-detailed labelling, to be replaced by exciting graphic presentations mixing artefacts skilfully and effectively with reconstruction and bold maps and diagrams. The introduction of museum education services and the creation of museum societies for voluntary supporters and enthusiasts have brought most museum archaeologists out of their offices and reserve stocks into the public gaze, to the benefit of both. These are immensely valuable attributes, often sadly lacking among the members of the Standing Conference of Archaeological Unit Managers and the Association of County Archaeological Officers. Museum archaeologists have long experience in getting the right message over to the public, who are the ultimate paymasters, in a simple and effective way. It is surely not idealistic to think that arrangements should be made

for their services to be utilised properly when an excavation is to presented to the public or an archaeological planning policy needs promoting to a community.

The resources available for archaeological heritage management are too slender to permit demarcation disputes between different sections of the archaeological community. I realise that there will inevitably be bureaucratic obstacles to better integration of the kind that I am advocating. It is up to the archaeological community to ensure that they do not themselves create these obstacles and that they work together to overcome them.

PLANNING AND PRESENTATION - INFLUENCING THE PROCESS
Harvey Sheldon, Museum of London

When I asked Tim Schadla-Hall what he wanted me to discuss at the Conference, he said that he really wanted me to provide information on 'how we work as a Museum archaeological unit' and 'how we get archaeology to happen'. I should start therefore by explaining that I work in one of the two archaeological departments of the Museum of London, the Department of Greater London Archaeology, and that what I say relates to that department only, not to the Department of Urban Archaeology whose area of operation is the City.

The brief description of the heading for this section of the Conference refers to 'influences' - 'influences' in 'planning', 'conservation', and 'recovery'. 'Influence' is a shadowy and un-quantifiable word and I would say that we - our department - desperately try to have some influence on 'planning' while on the whole having virtually nothing to do with most aspects of 'conservation' - at least in the sense of conservation of buildings or other structures in situ.

This will, I hope, become clearer later. We certainly do however undertake directly a good deal of 'recovery', at least of data from archaeological sites. I hope that here we have some general influences and indeed 'impact' on national and local authorities, developers and the public, and also create a situation where it is easier for others to participate in the processes of rescue archaeology in Greater London.

The Development of Rescue Archaeology in the Museum of London

Perhaps I should begin by describing briefly the development of rescue archaeology within the Museum of London. The Museum of itself is an amalgamation of two older institutions. The Corporation of London's Guildhall Museum and the nationally funded London Museum which were brought together as one in 1975. Each had a separate rescue archaeological tradition. Peter Marsden was the last occupant of the 'excavations assistant' post at the Guildhall Museum working on city redevelopment sites from 1957 to 1972. The London Museum had had a Field Officer post since 1960: the first holder was Francis Celoria, who specialised in Southwark, while his successor Roy Canham, worked mainly in West London. Both had a general brief, however, over the whole of the London area.

In neither case was the accomplishment of the work easy. Noel Hume, Peter Marsden's Guildhall Museum predecessor between 1949 and 1957 described some of the qualities required. They included 'cunning', 'self-effacement' and a 'desire to avoid giving the builders cause to complain' (Noel-Hume, 1978). Marsden looking back on his years in the post, described them as 'a bad dream', characterised by 'missed opportunities' and 'ruthless destruction' (Marsden, 1980). We have no comparable printed documentation for the London Museum!

In the early 1970s the situation began to alter in London as it did elsewhere in Britain, a response of course to the successful pressure put upon local and national government to meet more adequately the needs of rescue archaeology.

The Guildhall Museum's Department of Urban Archaeology was formed late in 1973, though it was not the first rescue unit in London. This had been set up some 18 months previously by a voluntary body, the Southwark & Lambeth Archaeological Excavations Committee, on funds provided by the London Borough of Southwark and the DoE. It was principally to cover the northern part of Southwark, that ancient settlement which lay opposite to the City but was separated from it by the Thames.

Our leading historian of Roman London, Ralph Merrifield, then of Guildhall Museum, who was active in setting up the Southwark team made no secret of his hope that this example would encourage the Corporation of London into taking similarly appropriate steps north of the river. Within Greater London other teams followed. In 1974 the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society established an Inner London team to

cover the London boroughs north of the Thames near to the City. Shortly afterwards - shades perhaps of an old established county rivalry - the Surrey Archaeological Society set up a similar organisation - the South West London team - to cover those boroughs in the south-west which had historical allegiance to the County of Surrey.

At much the same time the London Museum's actual presence in the West Middlesex boroughs was strengthened by the taking on of support staff. Similarly east of the River Lea the Passmore Edwards Museum began to undertake active field work in the five Essex boroughs. The development of rescue archaeological coverage in London therefore was local and empirical. It involved the creation of both museum-based archaeological teams and independent ones. It represented local situations and needs, local loyalties and pressures; proceeded from increased but insecure funding and a sense of what it was practicable to achieve locally rather than regionally. It resulted therefore in the establishment of a number of teams each attempting to organise work in a part of Greater London.

Resources during the 1970s and early 1980s continued to be varied and uncertain; the coverage was uneven; but at least much more archaeological work was being undertaken in the context of redevelopment in London than was the case before.

I think it unlikely that either the Guildhall Museum or the London Museum could have played a larger part at the time, bearing in mind their previously limited roles. It was precisely then that they were actively preparing to 'vest' as the Museum of London and their staffing plans were worked out. Indeed the DUA posts created late in 1973 more than filled the complement of staff envisaged for the archaeological establishment overall and for a time there was considerable concern in London archaeological circles that the West London staff of the London Museum would be jettisoned when the Museums amalgamated in June 1975.

The Museum Takes Over

Disadvantages could of course be recognised in a disparate system of rescue archaeology provision in Greater London characterised by small, underfunded teams providing uneven and variable coverage. This was especially apparent to bodies dealing with the whole of the area such as the Greater London Council, and the major grant-giving authority, the Department of the Environment. Indeed, the GLC and the DoE together with the Museum of London, published late in 1976 a detailed report entitled 'Time on our Side?', which unequivocally called for the creation of 'a comprehensive archaeological rescue service for Greater London' (Anon, 1976).

This suggestion was enthusiastically pursued by the GLC - which in partnership with central government and the Corporation of London - funded the Museum of London. Indeed the GLC offered to provide considerable annual funds towards the costs of running such a service once one was established.

As a result of much discussion amongst many parties involved in the archaeology of Greater London, such a service, to be known as the London Archaeological Service, was introduced on 1st April, 1983. Principally, it was a service devolved upon the Museum of London and the Passmore Edwards Museum.

Under the arrangements the Museum of London took over the independent units working in North London, South-West London and Southwark & Lambeth. These were joined with the Museum's West London team so that the Museum could provide direct coverage for the areas that had once formed Middlesex, and those parts of ancient Surrey now incorporated within Greater London (23 of the 32 London boroughs). The four Kent boroughs, in the south-east, were to be covered for the Museum on an agency arrangement by the Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit. The five Essex boroughs lying east of the Lea were to be the separate responsibility of the Passmore Edwards Museum at Stratford.

Amazingly, within a few weeks of the London Archaeological Service getting off the ground the government decided to abolish the GLC! There was no guarantee that funds would be forthcoming after that happened for the new Museum based service. Indeed the government's first response to enquiries about survival was that the 32 individual London boroughs would each have to agree voluntarily to provide the necessary funds.

This was a hopelessly optimistic assessment of the situation, as we were able to prove on evidence collected from the London Boroughs concerning their intentions.

Much effort now had to be expended in order to ensure survival after the project date for the GLC's demise, but in the end a solution was found and embodied in the Museum of London Act which was passed just before abolition in March 1986. There are I think two aspects of that Act which merit particular attention.

Firstly, the Museum of London was empowered to 'provide archaeological services' and 'undertake archaeological investigations' in London in furtherance of its overall aims. This, for the first time provided statutory backing for the Museum's rescue archaeological activities. Secondly, the contribution which the GLC had made towards the projects and establishment of the London service was to be provided by central government through extra funds made available to English Heritage.

Thus, in one instance at least, English Heritage came to be responsible for granting monies for the establishment of an area archaeological service!

Greater London: the Scale of Work Done

Any description of the provision of rescue archaeological services in Greater London needs to be set in the context of the tremendous amount of work that needs to be done. Greater London is a complex area, a product of the relentless expansion of the metropolis. It contains 32 separate local authorities amalgamated into a "Greater London" which of course no longer has an overall county administration. Yet it is the largest urban conurbation in England. It covers an area of more than 600 sq miles - only about 1% of England's area but with a population of 7 million, nearly 15% of the total.

Redevelopment poses a major challenge. In 1984 nearly 50,000 town planning applications were decided in Greater London, well over 10% of the English total. The scale of that redevelopment and its threat to the buried archaeological deposits is enormous. The value of orders received by contractors in 1984 for construction in Greater London may have been as high as £1,500 million - more than 10% of the total in Great Britain.

To try and meet this threat we have a large and expanding programme of rescue work. During 1986/7 for example our staff excavated:

1. An Upper Palaeolithic - or late glacial - site on the banks of the Colne in Uxbridge.

2. Prehistoric and Romano-British rural sites on the West Middlesex and Surrey gravels. One of these sites is at Beddington on the river Wandle in the London Borough of Sutton, where a Roman villa complex has been investigated prior to the proposed extraction of some 400 acres for gravel.

3. Roman sites in the southern suburb of Londinium (Southwark) and areas of the cemetery lying immediately east of the City in Tower Hamlets. (We have also located a settlement in north Lambeth opposite to Westminster, parts of which lie in the grounds of Lambeth Palace).

4. Mid-Saxon sites now found to be surviving in some profusion north of the Strand on the route between the City and Westminster.

5. A number of medieval monastic houses including those of the Cluniacs at Bermondsey, the Cistercians at St Mary Graces, by the Tower, the Franciscan nuns at St Clare's in the Mi-

nories, the Augustinian canons at Merton, the Benedictine monks at St Peters, Westminster, and the establishments at Clerkenwell of the Benedictine nuns of St Mary's and the Knights Hospitaller of St John's of Jerusalem.

6. Medieval secular sites near to the Thames including the early 13th century bridge and timber waterfronts at Kingston and a number of riverside moated sites including the Duke of Cornwall's manor house at Isleworth, Edward III 'lost' home at Rotherhithe and the similarly grand establishment erected by his father about 25 years earlier just downriver of the medieval bridge in Southwark.

Clearly to do this work requires considerable resources. We estimate that the department spent directly about £1.25 million in 1986/7 of which something approaching a half came from developers. We currently employ about 160 staff, 30 or so of whom are on open-ended contracts, the rest on a series of fixed-term contracts. We have only had direct involvement with one substantial MSC scheme, that at the Beddington villa, where the London Borough of Sutton, as part of their programme, provided staff for the excavations including 3 supervisors and 31 diggers.

How the Department is Organised

As far as its archaeological activities are concerned our department is organised currently as a series of inter-connecting local field teams working from headquarters in Brentford, Kew, Southwark and Clerkenwell. In this way much of the tradition of separate area teams, inherited from the previous arrangements in London, has been continued. Changes in organisation are, I believe, necessary within the Department, a point I shall return to in a moment.

We have close links with other departments and sections in the Museum. In some, such as conservation, administration and photography, services are carried out directly for us. Last year, a separate environmental section, funded by English Heritage, was set up in the Museum to cover needs in the whole of the County.

We also need to have close relationships with other bodies who serve Greater London. In three of our four field areas we have set up what might best be termed "liaison committees" composed of representatives from borough authorities, museums and archaeological societies. These provide a formal channel for discussing rescue archaeology. Matters such as site selection, difficulties with developers, funding, the help required by local societies, the progress of our work etc. can be reported on. Broader issues such as the needs for scheduling, or the provision of adequate planning conditions, educative activities which we might be able to provide can also be debated.

The Need for Change

After some four years of trying to operate the major part of the London Archaeological Service, it is fairly clear that there is a need for substantial change within the Department to help the service run more effectively. Obviously in a complex multi-authority conurbation like London there is an undiminishing need to retain local bases and loyalties. However, it is also important to have more of our senior departmental staff involved in the overall aspects of London archaeology. It is also clear to us that we have got to put more of our direction and resources into post-excavation and publication.
We are therefore beginning to undertake major structural changes within the Department. These will include the creation of both central planning and negotiating, and post-excavation and publication sections. Field work will remain under the area teams. We will also be placing more direct emphasis on educational activities and hope to provide a planned programme of site visits, lectures and exhibitions in connection with our rescue archaeological activities throughout Greater London.

The Planning Process and Our Work

In this final section I will say a little about our struggles to use Antiquities, Burials, and general Planning legislation to help us to do our work more effectively.

Scheduled Monuments and AAI's

We know both from our own experience and from what developers say that it is much easier to get adequate provision for a threatened site if it is scheduled. In Southwark, for example, it was far easier to obtain proper facilities to investigate the complex known as Winchester Palace, which was scheduled and where major Roman and medieval buildings were encountered than it was to investigate the site of medieval London Bridge which, incredibly, was not.

We have attempted to get a number of sites in Southwark scheduled, including that where the Globe Theatre is likely to have stood. We have been unsuccessful, perhaps because of a combination of the old policy of not scheduling sites which are entirely buried and the newer one of scheduling only for long term 'protection'.

We have also attempted to get both Southwark and Westminster designated as AAI's under the 1979 Act. Presumably in line with government policy these applications, when made by the boroughs, have been rejected.

Burial Ground Legislation

Regulations concerned with the disturbances of human remains from burial grounds have proved helpful. Provisions for the proper removal of bodies have helped us in obtaining both consent to excavate the burials and funds to do the work. In this way sites containing substantial numbers of Roman and medieval burials have been dug with reasonable facilities near to the City. A reason for our ease of access may be that we are considerably cheaper than those specialist firms who arrange for removal and re-burial!

Planning Regulations and Conventions

We still find it very difficult to make effective use of the planning process, probably because regulations and conventions which are necessary to further rescue archaeology are inadequate. Not only is it often difficult to persuade

developers to provide adequate resources but it is sometimes hard even to get onto sites in advance of their disposal by local authorities to developers.

The site at Rotherhithe, now evaluated, contains, as I mentioned earlier, the substantial remains of a Royal residence erected in the mid 14th century by Edward III. Initially, LDDC refused permission for a trial excavation on the site. When they were eventually persuaded to change their minds, they wouldn't provide any money, which had to be sought elsewhere. Fortunately, the situation now is entirely different. LDDC are talking about preserving the building after excavation within some form of 'historic' complex.

Many in London believe that the best way forward for those sites where buried deposits containing potential historical information will be destroyed is the inclusion of appropriate planning conditions by the boroughs on the consents that they give. This does not appear to be easy to justify under existing legislation: the type of archaeological condition envisaged by the DoE in their Circular 1/85, for example, makes little sense in the context of excavating a site properly.

However, the agreement published a year ago made between SCAUM and the British Property Federation has helped in negotiations with developers in some cases, because it has shown that there is national acceptance by them of the need to make provision for archaeology. In that sense, it has made it easier for us to argue with local authorities that a planning condition to this effect would be appropriate.

Southwark has now included a Condition on sites within areas of "historical importance" stating that "no construction work shall be carried out" unless the provisions of the Code are "complied with to the satisfaction of the "Borough".

With the formal backing of the Code by local authorities it may well turn out to be much more effective than that drawn up some years ago for

sites where mineral extraction takes place. Our experience of these operations, which is limited largely to West London leads to the conclusion that only legal safeguards will lead to the provision of proper facilities for recording the historic landscape, or at least what is left of it.

Standing Buildings

Finally, there does appear to be immense difficulty in influencing the planning procedures where alterations or destruction of buildings not protected by statutory listing are envisaged. There are often obvious needs for recording. One such case was the premises of Burge and Goole in Uxbridge High Street in the London Borough of Hillingdon. The local conservation group failed to stop demolition although eventually some limited time was allowed to record what turned out to be a much-altered Tudor three-bay jettied timber framed building. Excavations beneath retrieved information on its 13th century predecessor, but, ironically, it was far easier to obtain the facilities for undertaking the below ground than the above ground archaeology.

Overall in Hillingdon, it has been calculated that about 25% of the 160 or so buildings erected before 1700 and which survived until into the 1930s have now disappeared without record. We are currently trying to investigate what system of local listings are used in Greater London and how they are applied in relation to planning applications. Unless we can find others to take this work on it may also be that the department will have to take some responsibility for the adequate recording of such buildings to prevent this loss of potential historical information continuing unabated.

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COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY IN LEICESTERSHIRE MUSEUMS

Peter Liddle, Leicestershire Museums Service

Since 1974 the Leicestershire Museums Service has had the responsibility for "the provision of archaeological... recording, research and advisory services within the County" (Boylan 1977, 3). This fits into a broad approach by the Service "in which the programmes and displays are directed particularly to the interpretation of the local environment of the museum" (Boylan 1982, 21). To undertake this work there are twelve staff. Seven are in the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit, responsible for excavation, report writing and associated research, and five are in the Archaeology Section, responsible for curatorial and conservation work (two staff) and archaeological survey (three staff), including aerial archaeology, earthwork surveying, fieldwalking, the sites and monuments record and a planning advisory service.

In short, the aim is to provide a comprehensive professional archaeological service to the County, but this does not mean that amateurs are excluded. We believe that the past is the property of the community at large which should have a right to participate in its discovery. There has been a concerted attempt to maximise both active and passive interest in the County's past through what we have called the 'Community Archaeology Scheme' (Liddle 1985). This is a strategy to collect, store and disseminate archaeological information in such a way as to involve ordinary people fully in the process. At the core of the scheme is the Archaeological Fieldwork Group which has some 300 members. It has a decentralised structure with local 'cells' undertaking research into their own areas (typically a two or three parish block).

The Museum Survey Team provides a central service including regular newsletters, meetings with speakers, training courses in identification and techniques and, of course, informal help and advice. Meetings generally attract between sixty and one hundred people. Most of the costs are met by the Museum Service.

Local 'cells' are provided with a Sites and Monuments print-out for their area, prints of the relevant OS 6" map, and diary sheets to record each day's fieldwork. Fieldwalking is always the major activity - and some groups and individuals have undertaken extremely competent local surveys (see Liddle *et al* 1986) - but earthwork surveys, buildings surveys and ecological surveys are also commonly undertaken and some groups have also completed small excavation projects. The 'cells' and other group members provide a most valuable network able to monitor their own areas. On the one hand, information about damage to sites can be passed on to the Museum, while on the other the Museum is able to ask fieldworkers to watch sites that have been identified in the Planning Advisory work as having potential. A good example of a positive result for such local vigilance was at Castle Donington in the Trent Valley. A new gravel pit was to be opened. Nothing was known but it was a site with possibilities in the light of discoveries from similar pits in Nottinghamshire. Access was arranged by the Survey Team for the local Burleigh Archaeological Group who eventually found a Norman timber watermill complex, part of which the Archaeological Unit was able to excavate. The timber is now being conserved in the Museum laboratories (Clay 1986).

To increase public awareness of archaeology information must not only be collected but made readily available to the public. A high profile has always been maintained in the local media with a constant stream of stories being directed to the local newspapers and an archaeological programme on 'Radio Leicester'. This helps to direct people to the more detailed information that the Museum makes available. Naturally, display is important in getting over the message. There are five museums with archaeological displays within the Service and displays are taken out to where the public are. A shop window in the "Haymarket Centre" has been used for a display, a replica Iron Age farm has been built at a local 'Pick Your Own' Farm, displays are taken to local functions and, increasingly, displays, leaflets and booklets are being developed around excavation projects. The Service

has a commitment to quick, cheap and accessible publication with seventeen monographs published since 1981 (and none costing more than £5). These include excavation reports, period by period assessments of the County's archaeology, a guide to visitable sites and a handbook to the scheme. For more detailed local information, the Sites and Monuments Record is available for inspection and as computerisation proceeds the amount of print-out provided for researchers is steadily increasing.

Assessment

The aim of Community Archaeology has been threefold: to maximise the quantity and quality of archaeological data; to involve actively as many as people as possible; and to make information available to the widest audience as quickly as possible. It is, of course, difficult to assess each of these objectively but there are some clear indicators. Since 1953 there has been an annual survey of sites found in the County published in the local **Transactions**. This allows the number of sites reported per year to be plotted (fig. 1). Between 1953 and 1976 (when the scheme started) an average of 1.4 Roman sites was found each year while from 1976 to 1986 the average had risen to 7.3 per year. This is a very clear improvement and yet when flint sites are similarly plotted the result is even more dramatic, justifying the claim to have totally changed local perceptions of the past.

The second criterion is a maximisation of active involvement. In 1976 there were probably only about six people who undertook fieldwork on anything like a regular basis. In 1987 there are about three hundred people on the mailing list but it seems likely that about one hundred are actively engaged in fieldwork of some sort. This represents a substantial advance.

The third criterion, of making information widely and quickly available, is being achieved with an active publicity and publications programme, even if restrictions of finance make the latter slower than would be ideally wished.

Conclusion

In Leicestershire a comprehensive professional archaeological service has made one of its major aims the encouragement of amateur involvement, particularly in fieldwork, with market success. This has confounded the view that growth in professional archaeology necessarily spells the end of the amateur. It also points the way to an important role for archaeological museums as centres of local archaeological research which can spearhead a new growth in involvement in archaeology where amateurs and professionals can work closely together for mutual benefit.

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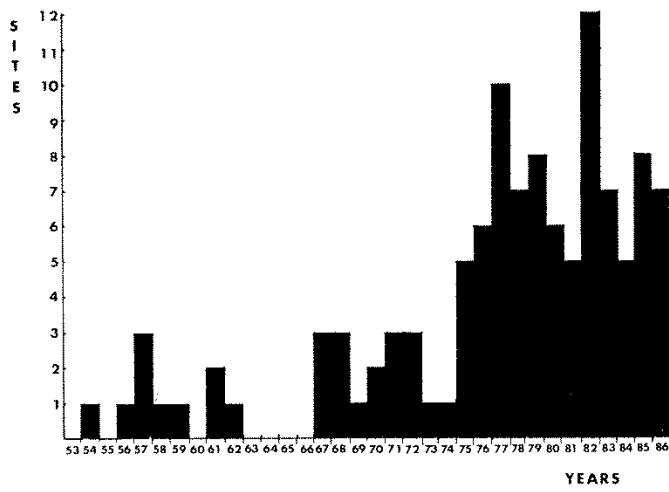
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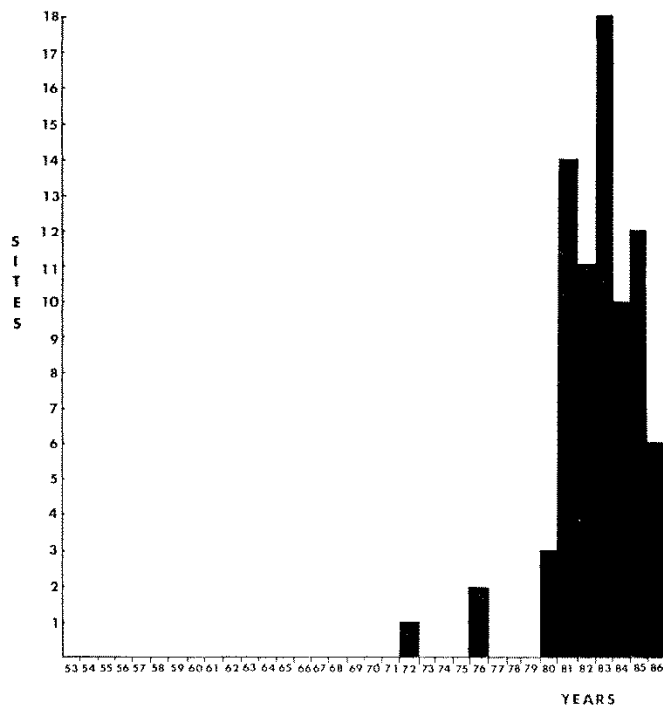
Flint Sites reported per year 1953 - 1986

Fig. 1 Sites recorded in Leicestershire from 1953 -1986.

'THE BITS BETWEEN': THE ROLE OF THE HAMPSHIRE COUNTY MUSEUMS SERVICE

David Allen, Hampshire County Museums Service.

Hampshire is a large county of 1,456 square miles, with a large resident population of 1.48 million, swelled in the season by a large influx of tourists. They come to enjoy the many natural beauties, such as 100 miles of varied coastline and the New Forest, and a vast range of man-made treasures and attractions, from ancient monuments to modern pleasure parks. There are also more than 40 museums to visit in the county, some distinctly local in their appeal, others decidedly national. Many have a military flavour, reflecting the strong military presence in the area. Several have a substantial archaeological content, with a few devoted exclusively to the subject. This case-study will look in detail only at the Local Authority museums.

Three Cities

The three cities in the county - Winchester, Southampton and Portsmouth are very much jewels in the Hampshire crown, and each has its own Museums Service. All are embarked upon, or closely involved with, major schemes to bring archaeology to the public.

In Winchester, major excavations at 'The Brooks' in the heart of the city, have just got underway. The work, intended to reveal much about the medieval and Roman settlement, is being managed by Heritage Projects Ltd., with a permanent exhibition area the eventual goal. Not surprisingly, the current emphasis is on publicity, accessibility, and sales.

Southampton presents a similar picture. With much of Saxon Hamwic revealed, the search is now on for more of its medieval successor - Hamtun. An impressive series of stone vaults is now being defined and emptied, and schemes are being drawn up to display them and the existing historic architecture and archaeology in a coherent fashion. At the time of writing no decision has yet been made on the 'Timebase' proposal, complete with its electric cars, but whichever scheme is selected the story of Southampton archaeology seems destined to be told in a new and imaginative way.

Portsmouth is perhaps the poor relation here, for although many of its military attractions have been grouped under the highly successful 'Defence of the Realm' heading, the only major archaeological contribution comes in the form of the 'Mary Rose' project, which is, of course, an independent venture. Nevertheless, the city's archaeology is well portrayed in Southsea Castle Museum, with educational and other aspects well catered for. In this is it paralleled by Winchester and Southampton, and despite obvious differences in staffing levels, all three can be considered as archaeological centres of excellence.

The County Museums Service

Outside the cities, some independent museums feature archaeology strongly, notably Beaulieu, with the displays relating to the Cistercian Abbey, but in the main the museum provision for the rest of the county rests with the Hampshire County Museums Service.

Briefly, the County Museums Service was created in the late 1960s by the union of the Willis Museum, Basingstoke, the Curtis Museum, Alton and the Red House Museum, Christchurch, with a headquarters (no exhibition space) at Chilcomb House, just outside Winchester. In more recent times the Rockbourne Roman Villa has been absorbed into the Service, and new museums opened at Havant (1979), Andover (1981), Manor Farm, Botley (1984), the Museum of the Iron Age at Andover, and Eastleigh Museum (1986). Fareham is next on the list.

Rescue Archaeology

Until quite recently the Museums Service concerned itself with Rescue Archaeology in the

field, but now it is content to leave that aspect to other organisations, notably the Trust for Wessex Archaeology, and Test Valley Archaeological Trust. The current pre-occupation is with the improvement of 'problem areas' in the stores, the location and cataloguing of this material and the (all too frequent!) new deliveries. To this end an MSC scheme has been running for two years and has just received another 12 month extension.

Research excavations

This is not to say, however, that the Museum Service does not dig. In common with numerous other institutions and societies, research excavations take place on an annual basis. Undoubtedly the largest programmes of work are carried out by the Oxford Institute, and Reading University, at Danebury Ring and Silchester respectively, but other work has been undertaken by Southampton University, and King Alfred's College, Winchester. The County Planning Department's archaeologist has a landscape project at Meonstoke, and the Museums Service excavates at Basing House and Odiham Castle.

Local Societies

Some of the archaeological societies in the county have a long history of involvement in excavation projects, but seem at the moment to be in a general decline. One of them has even been disbanded recently. There seems to be no simple cause for this moribund state. One appears to have suffered from the removal of a professional lead, another from its imposition. It is clear, however, that the nature of the Hampshire County Museums Service structure (one archaeological curator only) makes it difficult to lead a practical volunteer group in the way in which a city-based Museum Service can.

Archaeological Services

One call which the archaeological and historical societies, and the many and varied town and village groups and institutions and schools regularly make upon the Museums Service, is for lectures, field-visits, etc. These are, generally, a pleasure to provide, and can result in new information coming to light from those with local knowledge. The Museums Service also runs an identification service which, with six front desks now in operation, can be well patronised. Coins and tokens come under the heading of archaeology for this purpose, and identifications now total well over 200 per annum.

Access to the Reserve Collections is available to all on demand, and although most requests come from University based research students, there are also a number of general queries from local people writing parish histories, etc. In the same way the Environmental Record (our form of Sites and Monuments Record) is available for consultation, although sensitive information may be screened - e.g. because of the threat posed by metal-detecting. The Chilcomb House Headquarters, where most storage and all conservation now takes place, and where the records are kept, has a 'behind the scenes' Open Day every June.

Display

One problem area is display. It is the intention of the Service to provide up-to-date exhibits in all of the museums, but at the moment only the Willis Museum, Basingstoke can claim this. The Curtis Museum at Alton is, however, currently being refurbished, and plans to revolutionise things at Rockbourne are being prepared. A most pressing need is also evident at the Red House Museum, Christchurch, where the archaeology is excellent, but the displays are antiquated. A well-illustrated appeal document at this location succeeded in winning a prize, but not, so far, in raising money.

Museum of the Iron Age

The County Museums Service does, however, have one brand-new archaeological exhibition under its roof. The Museum of the Iron Age, which opened in September 1986 and shares the

same set of buildings as Andover Museum, results from Professor Barry Cunliffe's many seasons of work at Danebury Ring. It conveys, to a design by Robin Wade, a vivid impression of what life was like in the 1st millenium BC. Models and reconstructions, many of them life-sized, abound, and the public reaction to the displays has been very good indeed. School use of the Museum has also been encouraging, stimulated, in some instances, by the 'Notes for Teachers' and the three work packs which have been produced inhouse.

In addition, the Museum Service liaises wherever possible with the Recreation Department of Hampshire County Council, which looks after Danebury Ring. An interpretative trail has been set up at the site, and events are held there during the Summer season. Whilst the two departments sometimes agree to differ on matters of presentation, our over-riding aim is clearly to provide entertainment and education for as many of the public as possible. The recent creation of a site Marketing Unit within Hampshire County Council, will hopefully help to reach an ever-wider public.

In summary, the County Museums Service plays a varied role in Hampshire archaeology. It is usually able to provide for those who come forward and make a request - for an identification, a lecture, a look at the Reserve Collections, etc, but it is unable, with the present staff-levels, to go out and generate a 'Community Archaeology' programme as evidenced in Leicestershire, for example. Without doubt, there are many people who would take advantage of such a scheme.

Finally, however, if the main question posed by the conference 'Private Indulgence or Public Service' is examined, then all Museum Service activity can be firmly linked to the former. Only in terms of research excavation, perhaps, is it guilty of self-indulgence, but then this work also will eventually lead to the better understanding of a particular site and better portrayal in a constituent museum of one of 'the bits in-between'.

ARCHAEOLOGY ALIVE! HOW IT LOOKS FROM HULL

David Crowther, Hull City Museum

Museums can bring out the best and the worst in archaeology. Some of the most spectacular and most arcane aspects of the past fall within the brief of the museum archaeologist who has the power to captivate or intimidate the public in equal measure. Several factors influence the tipping of the scales. Money is one, for without it effective communication in an age of competing mass media may be briefly attainable, as Andy Warhol says, but quite unsustainable. Good collections help. However, it is the attitude of the museum archaeologist that determines, more than any other factor, whether his or hers is a public service or a private indulgence, for at the end of the day our institutions are only as lively as the people who work in them.

Even lively people get tired or disillusioned without the political and managerial support they need, and therein lies the rub. The arguments for archaeology must be politically and professionally convincing, or they will simply not prevail, and the resources will not be there to help make things happen. So if you are one of those who have argued and lost, have another go, or be eclipsed by others with more life. The confirmed, disillusioned museum archaeologist is not only self-indulgent, but also self-defeating: better perhaps to make a timely career switch and let somebody else have a bash.

This emphasis on attitude reads a little like a "Positive Thinking Learn-In" for tired salesmen, but we devalue it at our peril. Academic and professional reputations are made on the basis of acquired curatorial and specialist skills or knowledge, but above this essential foundation must come the persuasion and enthusiasm to instil into those with real power the conviction that their confidence in what we are offering is well founded.

Today in Hull attitudes are positive and circumstances favourable for the provision of an archaeology service from the museum that is, above all, relevant and justifiable. It embraces the preservation and presentation of the City's archaeology as a whole, advising the City as Planning Authority and landowner, acting as interpreter of the townscape, as well as curator and presenter of collections. The museum also has a collecting and interpretation role across North Humberside, including fieldwork, regional archival curation, and display, as well as exercising a legitimate research and 'archaeology resource management' interest across the Humber region as a whole. This is a direct consequence of exercising the museum's prerogative to collect, research, preserve and explain the past and our surroundings for the public good. Furthermore, it is an assertive approach that recognises that the process of archaeological discovery and learning is as much a public asset to be fostered as the lifeless objects and records that accrue.

It is, I would argue, this background of direct involvement in archaeology rather than the curation of its collected fragments alone that can give museum archaeology a heightened credibility both within a museum organisation and outside. Certainly in Hull the museums service is witnessing reinvestment on a truly massive scale because of the recognition of what the service as a whole is capable of achieving for the local community and for the tourist and leisure boom in the years ahead. We are not perceived of as mysterious custodial academics; rather we are active, noisy, opinionated, and busy. In short, a good investment. We operate in a climate where time once spent on cataloguing pots is now spent cultivating sponsors. If this combination of political or economic expediency and academic or professional probity should at times cause worries (did I find time to change the recording thermohygrographs?) their fruitful interaction brings about a result much more valuable than the sum of the parts (the newly-created post of Assistant Keeper can do it!).

A useful case-study to illustrate this point is the Hasholme Boat salvage and preservation opera-

tion. Discovered in July 1984, the Hasholme Boat was excavated over subsequent weeks by a team from the University of Durham assisted by the National Maritime Museum's Archaeological Research Centre (Millet and McGrail 1987). Funding came from English Heritage, the Museums and Galleries Commission and the Yorkshire and Humberside Area Museum Council in an operation co-ordinated by Hull City Museums to whom the boat had been donated from the day of discovery.

The Hasholme Boat measures 12.5 m in length and weighs between five and six tonnes. The vessel is a "log boat" hewn out of a single gigantic oak tree, with an elaborate two-piece bow with wash-strakes along each side, a bulkhead or transom at the stern with a provision for a steerman's deck forward of the transom. Radiocarbon dates, and subsequent dendrochronological studies date the vessel to around 300 BC. Considerable damage at the bow was caused by the drain-cutting machine that led to its discovery, but this is repairable and does not prevent the vessel being the best preserved logboat in Britain; it is also the largest, and technologically the most complex.

For many reasons the Hasholme Boat represents a truly phenomenal asset for the museum. Hull and Humber have a history dominated by shipping, seafaring and trade, and this gives the area a particular character and sense of identity that is widely and proudly felt. Central to the story of the region is the river and its tributaries, and their social and economic impact over millennia. The Hasholme Boat gives people a tangible link with a past not of mysterious, remote curiosities, but one filled with familiar opportunities and problems - river traffic, boat building, trade and transport - and these coming not from centuries, but from thousands of years ago. For some people in Hull the Hasholme Boat has more than doubled their history. Furthermore, the Hasholme Boat stands as living - or at least dripping - proof of the fabulous wealth the Humber Wetlands contain in terms of archaeological survival. Waterlogged contexts offer far

and away our finest insights into reading the past - the quality and quantity of evidence they contain eclipses their dry counterparts - yet their potential needs highlighting and popularising if their dwindling potential in the face of modern drainage and destruction is to be realised. The Hasholme Boat makes the point in spectacular style, and heightens the public's awareness of the special qualities of the region's landscapes in which they live. In addition, the special conservation problems the Hasholme Boat poses have forced some radical, not to say courageous decision-making on the part of the museum authority as a result of which a unique preservation and display project has now commenced with far-reaching consequences.

The Boat was salvaged in a robust steel cradle built in sections around it, and transported to Greenwich, where examination of the Boat timbers by staff of the National Maritime Museum established that impregnation with Polyethylene Glycol (PEG) such as the BP product "Breox" would be required. After discussion with the Mary Rose Trust, and the York Archaeological Trust, a variant of the so-called "twinning" method was proposed. By this method, the harder core of the timbers would be impregnated with a low molecular weight PEG 600. The soft, spongy outer crust would be consolidated with the much heavier, denser PEG 4000. Estimates of how long the process would take have tended to be between seven and ten years. Clearly the scale of the task was considerable and in devising a scheme that was feasible, several critical factors had to be taken into consideration.

Firstly, it would cost a lot of money, and secondly, ten years is a long time. Therefore the project had to be justifiable and relevant now, in terms of the public service we are here to provide. So, there could be no behind-the-scenes laboratory conservation of a precious artefact. Public interest would be maintained by conducting the process in the public eye. Further investigation of conservation options showed there to be no significant advantages or disadvantages

between tanking or spraying the vessel. As tanking would, it was reputed, give us an exhibit that might look like a colossal vat of mulligatawny soup, and we wanted people to see an Iron Age freighter being conserved, we decided to spray. Finally, the corrosive qualities of the spray solution were such that all fixtures, fittings and supports would have to be of either timber, plastic, or stainless steel, with the last being altogether the most favoured on grounds of durability and dimensional stability. The Boat would have to leave its steel salvage cradle for a support rig of stainless steel. For the Boat, the old cradle had been its means of mobility: to Greenwich and back, then back to Hull, craned high over a school and winched into a disused swimming baths for cleaning and temporary display. Loss of cradle meant loss of mobility - to build a stainless steel replacement of similar strength would have been an act of madness! So, with the loss of mobility, there was only one possible location for the conservation programme, and that was the final display location - the heart of the museum. A display laboratory - Boatlab - had to be designed - a building within a building - that could contain hundreds of gallons of wax and water operating at temperatures as high as 60°C without jeopardising the gallery environment. Old displays had to be dismantled, walls had to be demolished to get the Boat in, a delicate transport and transfer operation from cradle to spray rig had to be devised, and around the newly positioned vessel, Boatlab had to be built, heralding the start of a new generation of exhibits in what will eventually be a new museum of archaeology and natural history. By the time Boatlab has done its job, the new displays should be well established, and Boatlab, with its network of sprays, pumps, filters and vents can be dismantled, leaving the Hasholme Boat a free-standing exhibit.

The project has attracted industrial sponsorship worth around £50,000, has increased visitor figures by nearly 50%, and given the City a unique exhibit based on political, economic, and curatorial collaboration that promises to bear fruit for many years to come.
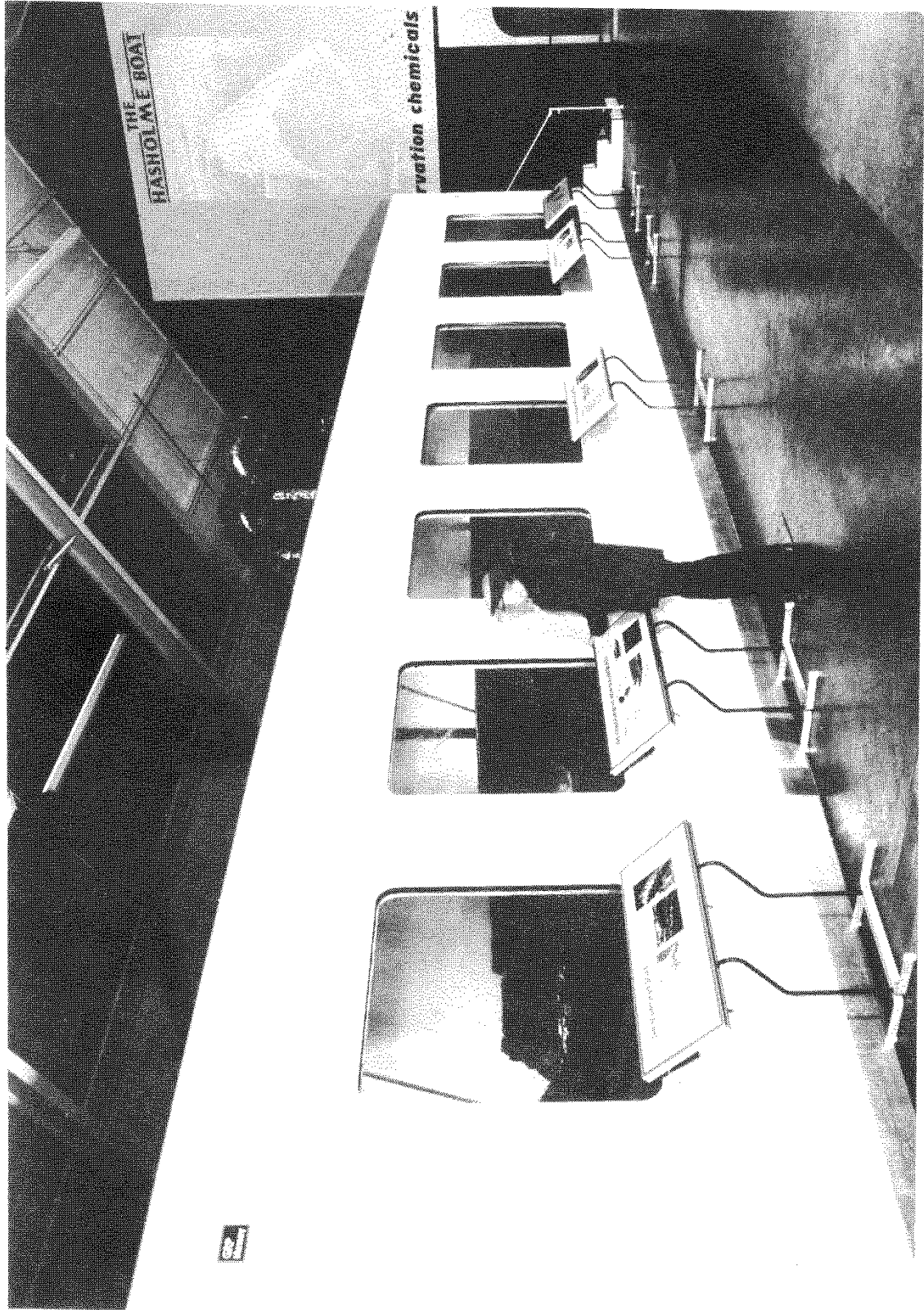
Reference

Millet, M and McGrail, S (1987) The Archaeology of the Hasholme Boat. *Archaeol. Journ. 144,* 69-155.
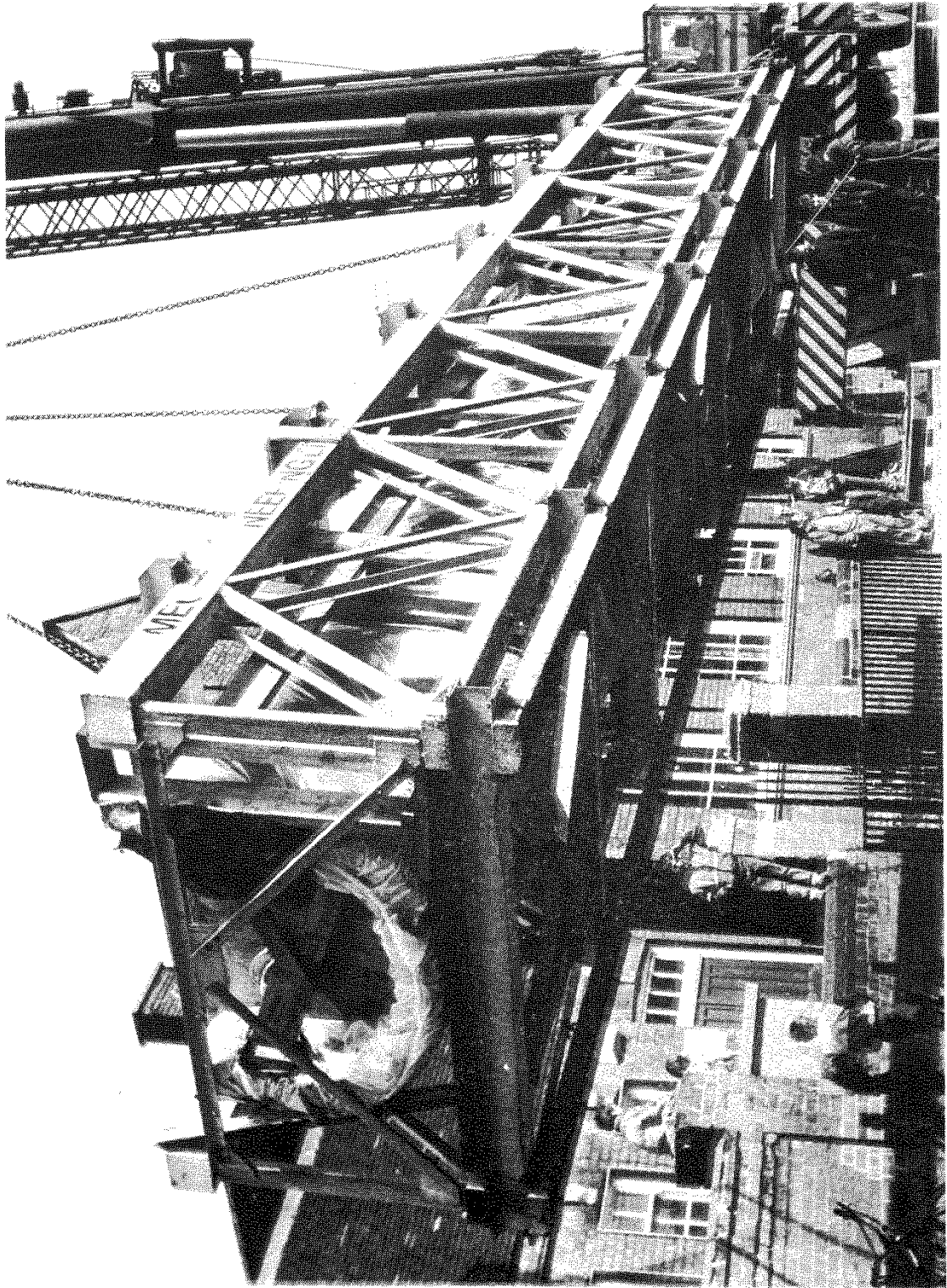
1. Hasholme Boat in salvage cradle.
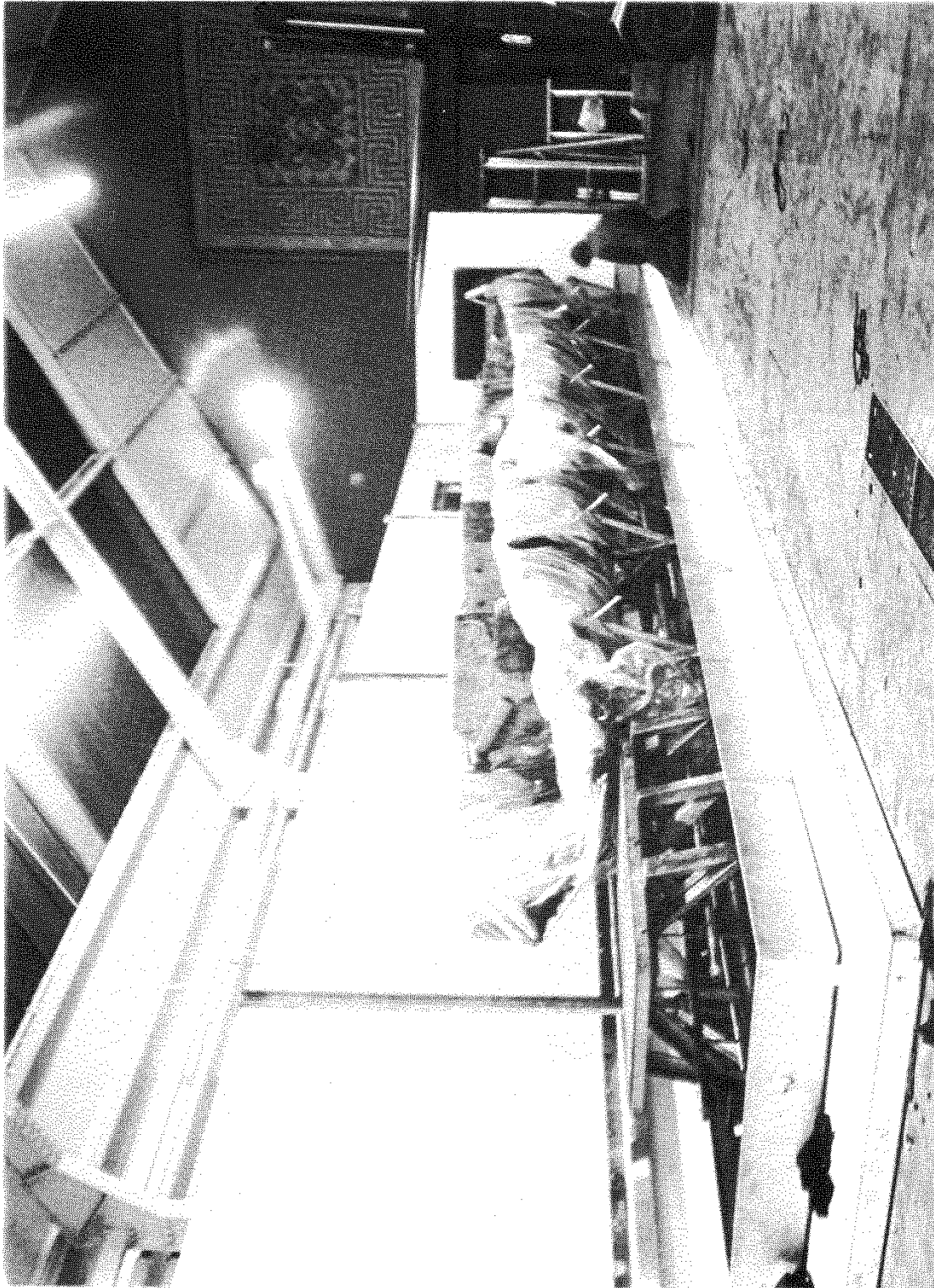
2. Boatlab under construction in museum gallery

3. Boatlab complete.

4. View of the stern under sprays within Boatlab