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The face of the factory girl: Educational rhetoric in the mediation of an historical place

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Abstract

World heritage cities and sites convey culture and form understandings of the past as well as show a way to relate to it in a present context. These cities and sites are concrete examples of what to remember; and their mediated rhetoric, as found in exhibitions and on websites, gives a view into the management of our collective, cultural memory. This article will analyse key elements of the website for New Lanark, a Scottish heritage site, and in so doing will observe how rhetorical agency is shaped through the use of iconic photographs, visual rhetoric and the foregrounding of specific topics. Predominant on this website is the face of a young factory girl, smiling at the viewer. The heritage site thus has its identity formed, but so does the public addressed by this rhetoric. The institutional position of the historical place and its mediated rhetoric point to the fact that world heritage sites are rhetorical educational texts, far from being as neutral as might be expected.

Keywords: Place identity, Historical sites, Heritage sites, Websites, Iconic pictures, Visual rhetoric, Ideological texts

Introduction

The focus of this article is how identities and collective memory connected to historical sites are rhetorically negotiated through the referential use of iconic images and verbal texts. The point of departure is the claim that the site itself, as well as its mediated representations, show ways of making and mediating social identities and collective memory. By analysing images of a factory girl and key texts on the website for an historical site, New Lanark, I will reveal how the website invites the viewer to co-construct a rhetorical situation where specific social identities are confirmed, negotiated and established. The process of mediation is a collective, social learning process where a place and an understanding of its history are shaped. The research questions I seek to answer are: What do collective authors presenting an historical site do “rhetorically”? How do they create place identity and rhetorical agency through the visual and verbal representations of the site? How does this public communication create learning?

I will seek to answer these questions by first discussing how to define and recognise place identity shaping, establishment of an audience and rhetorical agency. The theoretical and analytical terminology used in this article will concentrate on modern rhetoric. The analysis will focus on selected pictures of a factory girl and verbal texts from a website for the Scottish “New Lanark World Heritage Site” (New Lanark 2009 and 2010). The website presents a place that has undergone a transformation from industrial use to museum. New Lanark is now an historical site offering tours and activities for school children and other groups and individuals. The website contains essential visitor information, as well as stories from the industrial past and educational material aimed at school children.

The main analysis of the website will be from the ‘outsider’s’ view - the tourist visiting New Lanark and its website. This choice reflects the research question: to investigate the mediation of historical places and museums which participate in collective communication – that is, to the general public and not just special groups such as school children. If we use Umberto Eco’s term ‘model reader’, one could point to the fact that different elements of the website takes different model readers into account (Eco 1979). In focussing on elements of the homepage such as the logo and photographs I will argue that even the elements meant to entertain ‘everybody’ visiting the site are educational. This analysis will reveal that ‘model readers’ other than the outsider or tourist are strongly present on the website.

This focus on the construction of visual and written texts will highlight how an audience is made and rhetorical citizenship is shaped, and show how certain topics are foregrounded while others are left in the shadows. This is interesting for rhetorical research showing how communication ‘works’. However, places and their representations are also interesting for the text researcher interested in educational media in general. It is directly interesting because of the educational use of places such as museums or historical sites and their information material, and it is indirectly interesting because the shaping of public audiences is educative in a larger scale in the public field, creating ‘learning’ of collective memory. Steffan Selander argues that “the ideological text” – with its deliberative and persuasive elements created for a wider public – is within the corpus of texts important to analyse in the field of didactic

text research (Selander 2002). I will discuss Selander's conceptualisation of the educational and ideological text in the last section of this article.

In the first two sections I will outline the background to the research field, and the methodology. In section three I will take a closer look at the 'rhetorical situation' – the context of mediating New Lanark. Key images from the website will be analysed, making links to a discussion on the meaning of iconic pictures. In the next two sections I will more closely investigate the agency shaped and the audience addressed by the website. Finally, I will discuss the website as ideological text or 'rhetorical educational text'.

The time of redefining places

Throughout the Western world old industries are closing down, and factories and other industrial sites abandoned. Public, private, and cross-institutional investors redefine the use of these buildings by giving them a new identity and economic value. On a significant scale, we see the blooming of culture in old industrial buildings, providing the public with contemporary art, galleries, theatres, ateliers and national memory repositories such as local museums, visitor centres and working arts and crafts centres. On the websites connected to these projects, the areas are branded: their new identities highlighted. Here can also be found the narrative of the transition – from former to modern use – formulated to attract a certain audience. The importance of the site is argued in multimodal ways, taking advantage of the possibilities of the media. This communication is directly and indirectly selling the site, with or without an articulated strategy with regard to how the public should understand and use it. In other words, it is a process through which the site is commodified, and its users turned into consumers, even though the texts and pictures produced cannot always be recognised as advertisements (Olson, Finnegan and Hope 2008, 274). However, visitors learn more than simply how to 'consume' the site.

When cities and sites change their use, they change their identities, and by that the conditions for people to 'position' themselves socially (Jørgensen 2003, Bourdieu 1984). In the transformation of places there is a more or less hidden debate of what should be foregrounded and why. This debate is present in verbal texts and in the visual elements in the material connected to or produced by people engaged in the transformation processes. With a rhetorical term we see the structure of a 'rhetorical situation', as I will discuss later. Therefore, if we look closer at what is present, hidden, and foregrounded in the images and texts, we will most likely find the structure of what motivated the preservation or transformation of the place. In this motivation we find the 'behind' – 'the motive' – of what the viewer is meant to learn (see Burke 1969).

By the concept *place identity* I mean two processes. First is the rhetorical 'shaping of position' of the place when it gains its physical borders, is named and its history told. Secondly, place identity is a process of the 'shaping of social difference and entity' – in this article through visual and textual perspectives and the foregrounding of particular identifiers. In addressing a public there is a more or less explicit argumentation of how people should use the place: either by visiting the physical site,

or the virtual site. The space for how the public should relate to and think about the place, and what to remember and transfer, is formed. By these processes of identity making and addressing, the place reflects and develops what can be called 'rhetorical agency'. Rhetorical agency is the communicative space or room and the possibilities for acting that are opened for an audience (Murray 1997, Burke 1969). The rhetorical agency forms the foreground and background of collective memory, creating ways of action, creating ways of being and establishing ideological positions. In other words, the rhetoric of place creates both an understanding of a specific place, creates a specific audience *and* the room for this audience to act. The presentations of places create opportunities and limitations for the reception of history, social structure and visions for the future – spatially, verbally and visually. Moreover, these limitations are also shown as rhetorical, communicative frames leading to rhetorical agency.

Where the cotton mill is no longer in use, we ask what value the cotton mill has. Some of the answers that might come first to mind are those of historical, collective, and cultural memory: "We can't afford to lose the place", we might say. "It is of great value for us and our descendants to remember", we might continue. The legitimacy of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention is based on the consensus that these answers are relevant (UNESCO 1972/2011). The transformation from industry to modern use becomes a matter for public opinion and public and/or private fundraising. In this sense the process of transformation becomes a rhetorical debate that influences the contexts and identities available for us as citizens living in areas, cities, regions, and nations. In these debates, our rhetorical citizenship is visible in its presence and absence, meaning it is open for what is possible for us to engage in and what kind of agency we are given. If we look closely we might even see the limitations.

How to look closer at place identity

When people produce images and texts of places and distribute them, they construct a rhetorical and ideological frame of the dimensions of public life: the social structure, the visual and verbal culture, and everyday life are shown. Directly or indirectly, these texts may argue for change. When the transformation of a city or site is on the political agenda, such texts can become more fervent and their rhetoric more loaded. However, even the everyday representation of a site or city is a statement of how the place should be interpreted and used in practice and rhetorically.

Ancient rhetoricians saw time and space as a resource that could be used in the creation of a speech (Kjeldsen 2002). This meant using the connection an audience had to a place in order to sway an argument in the speaker's favour. Today we still find political references linked to geographical origin. The rhetorical topic of belonging to a place is still part of the argumentation, but it has become a position of loaded ideology in a time when a large number of inhabitants may come from other places or cultures. The deictic use of 'here', 'there', 'we' and 'them' still point to the place of the speaker and point out the surroundings and the status of the audience. When place is actually used as a central topic rhetorically in, for example, the local political sphere and in local media, it has rhetorical importance in shaping the social field and rhetorical agency.

In the introduction I posed questions concerning what the collective producers of sites and cities do rhetorically, and how they create place identity and rhetorical agency through their rhetoric. I also asked how this communication becomes educational. To answer these questions I will analyse the case study – the New Lanark website. I will (1) define the rhetorical situation (or situational context) of the texts connected to the case study; (2) describe and analyse some of the central verbal and visual representations of the place in order to point out how the site constructs identity, makes it relevant for an audience and shapes agency; and (3) discuss the representation of the place as ideological text and educational rhetoric.

The rhetorical situation of New Lanark

Before I introduce the case study, I will make some remarks on a rhetorical concept, namely ‘the rhetorical situation’. This concept has something to offer when talking about what public the website addresses. Lloyd F. Bitzer stated in his famous article *The Rhetorical Situation* (1968) that some situations may contain a rhetorical ‘nature’ that may lead to rhetorical discourse because of its ‘exigence’. Exigence is a topic or problem that forces itself onto the rhetorical agenda. However, Bitzer’s critic, Richard E. Vatz, saw this the other way around: it is not the situations that create the rhetorical discourse but rhetorical discourse that creates rhetorical situations (Vatz 1973).

When it comes to place development projects, one can see both aspects of the rhetorical situation: often social problems or local needs for space or infrastructure put pressure on local politicians to develop places or cities to address the situation – a rhetorical situation in Bitzer’s sense. At other times, the place just is there, open for new use, perhaps left behind by industry. At this point, public or private investors start a discussion on ownership, rights and visions, and a rhetorical situation is born, following Vatz. The two dimensions may also be seen as a continuum, or as two situations, often in sequence.

New Lanark is – or was – a Scottish cotton mill and the village established for its workers in 1786, next to the River Clyde in South Lanarkshire. In 2001, New Lanark gained its status as the fifth of Scotland’s UNESCO World Heritage Sites. It could perhaps be said that the establishment of UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention in 1972 was an outcome of the rhetorical situation connected to the change of use of such places – industries that closed down or relocated – as well as a growing consensus towards the importance of identifying, protecting and conserving these sites for future generations (UNESCO World Heritage Convention 1972). A further rhetorical situation, in Vatz’s sense, followed, in the form of binding textual agreements, as many nations signed up to the Convention. The managers of New Lanark had to relate to a situation consisting of both the local ‘exigence’, when New Lanark was no longer producing anything, and the textual and political reality in the Convention.

New Lanark achieved its status due to three UNESCO criteria. The first criterion was that the site needed “to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design”. (New Lanark

2011). The criterion was fulfilled by the fact “that Robert Owen [the owner from 1810 to 1828] created a model for industrial communities that was to spread across the world in the 19th and 20th centuries”, says the “nomination evaluation document” (my comment, New Lanark website on heritage 2011). The second criterion that New Lanark fulfilled was “to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history”. The place matched this criterion because “New Lanark saw the construction not only of well designed and equipped workers' housing but also public buildings designed to improve their spiritual as well as their physical needs.” The third criterion New Lanark fulfilled was “to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance” (New Lanark website on heritage 2011). Here, the nomination evaluation states “the name of New Lanark is synonymous with that of Robert Owen and his social philosophy in matters such as progressive education, factory reform, humane working practices, international cooperation, and garden cities, which was to have a profound influence on social developments throughout the 19th century and beyond” (New Lanark website on heritage 2011). The managers of New Lanark are committed by the words in the nomination evaluation documents to be a World Heritage Site. However, as will be seen, it is not the buildings nor Robert Owen that play the central role on the website homepage.

In the following analysis I will focus on the *mediation* of New Lanark on the website, and not the site itself. The site could also be analysed with semiotic theory or social-semiotic methodology (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). The website is connected to the historical site as a tourist attraction, and the homepage offers a choice of eight languages: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Dutch and Japanese. As mentioned in the introduction, I will enter the site in the role of an English-speaking tourist, which means that I will not try to analyse the website from, for example, a Scottish nationalist perspective.

The welcome page contains a short text:

Welcome to the website for New Lanark World Heritage Site, a beautifully restored 18th century cotton mill village in Southern Scotland, close to the Falls of Clyde and around an hour from Edinburgh and Glasgow. On this website you will find details of our award-winning Visitor Centre & Hotel in the village, which is one of Scotland's top attractions, welcoming over 400,000 visitors every year from all over the world. (New Lanark, accessed 15th November, 2010. My italics.)

Positively charged words and phrases (in italics) are over-represented here. Some of words (‘welcome’, ‘beautifully’) are meant to give a good feeling about the place – the *pathos*, whilst other words (‘award-winning’, ‘Scotland’s top attractions’) are meant to build the *ethos*. The description of the geographical placement of the place is something between an argument of rational choice (*logos*) of going to New Lanark and a part of the ethos-based argumentation, meaning the place is well-placed. The persuasive content has at least three implicit claims leading to the conclusion that one should visit and value the site: “New Lanark is beautiful”, “New Lanark is picked out to be special by the world’s most competent committee on historical sites”, and “visiting New Lanark should be easy”.

The interesting message here is that the three different claims in the welcome text seem to echo three *topoi*, or main aspects, for giving the historical place value. We have 'place as joy', 'place as important cultural memory', and 'place as good way to spend time'. Aristotle defined a *topos* as a specific/abstract place where we find material for content and argumentation structures (Aristoteles/Aristotle 2006, Gabrielsen 2008). In the debate on transformation of historical places, one could expect to find some specific *topos* among many, for example a *topos* of "economical balance of museum and enterprise" to satisfy the investors; a *topos* of "the value of cultural memory" to satisfy the legitimating institutions, and a *topos* of the "opportunities for realising ideas for city development" to satisfy the local engagement (see examples of established rhetoric on management of historical sites in Worthing and Bond 2008, Pichard 2001). These different *topoi* would consist of stereotypical examples and argumentation in more or less consistent ways. On the New Lanark website, *topoi* connected to entertainment are centrally placed in the opening text, but the *topos* connected to the value of cultural memory is also present, and this appears to point to the legitimating institutions as well as to an educational aspect about the place.

The short, inviting text frames the rhetorical situation of New Lanark. New Lanark is a place in competition with other sites. The commodification of the place is a way to attract visitors and by that confirm for authorities that New Lanark is worth preserving as a tourist site. There is also the impression that the most important competition comes from other historical sites in Scotland. We get the impression that the most important public to impress are tourists, and not, for example, researchers or people with special interests. The producer of the text imitates the voice of the tourist guide, representing a diffuse collective producer behind a corporation or a semi-public organisation. The tourist is addressed as a person seeking comfort and prestige, as the voice of the guide takes part in an implicit dialog, answering questions such as: "Is New Lanark worth a visit?" "Does the place give prestige to visit?" and "Is it difficult or inconvenient to get there?" The indirect answers give a rhetorical agency where we as visitors are made less critical to the content delivered, and more focused on getting value for money and time spent here and now. We co-construct ourselves as consuming tourists.

The visual rhetoric of the factory girl

The following analysis of key visual elements of the website uses the theoretical framework of *visual rhetoric*. The Danish researcher on media and contemporary rhetoric, Jens E. Kjeldsen, introduced the term to a Norwegian academic context of text research in 2002 through his doctoral thesis (Kjeldsen 2002). Kjeldsen's work is an example of how the field of visual rhetoric has developed. He shows how a central Aristotelian concept like the *enthymeme* can be transferred from a verbal tradition to a visual contemporary context. In brief, an *enthymeme* can be described as an incomplete argument where the listener/viewer fills in the gaps, a process of cooperation which of course can be used manipulatively. Kjeldsen also uses the concepts of the iconic sign from semiotic theory, as discussed by Kress and van Leeuwens in *Reading Images* (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). Other contributions to visual rhetoric have developed in the same way, in dialogue with classical rhetoric

and semiotics, with connections to other theories in linguistics and art studies (see Olson, Finnegan & Hope 2008, and Hill & Helmers 2004). More recently, there have been theories of visual rhetoric and examples of interpretation of visual representations using the concept without direct connection to classical rhetoric or semiotics (ibid).

W.J.T. Mitchell is frequently cited to justify the importance of the visual as a field of study (see a list in Hariman & Lucaites 2007, 308). First of all, Mitchell claims evidence of a “pictorial turn” in the humanities (Mitchell 1994). Mitchell points out that the visual is not only what can be seen with our eyes, but also the images and conceptualisations in our minds, as well as the framing – in communities and cultures – of how we see and let ourselves be seen (Mitchell 1987, 1994, 2005). A helpful definition of visual rhetoric that mirrors Mitchell’s understanding of the visual can be found in the introduction to *Visual Rhetoric: A reader in Communication and American Culture* (Olson, Finnegan & Hope 2008).

Visual implies the cultural practices of seeing and looking, as well as the artefacts produced in diverse communicative forms and media. Visual media, images, and pictorial messages permeate the culture. We associate them with aesthetic expression and pleasure, emotional response, and both fine art and popular culture. Image makers use visualizations to record, document, investigate, instruct, report, thrill, excite, entertain, sell, and often to persuade. In contrast, by definition, *rhetoric* as practice and theory concerns persuasive symbolic actions primarily. Rhetoric seeks and creates public audiences through symbolic identifications situated in specific historical times, places, and contexts (Olson 2008).

Using this definition it follows that visual rhetoric is not only seen from a sender’s perspective. Visual rhetoric is grasping dialogism in the Bakhtinian sense: Viewers are not only perceivers but also producers and reproducers of visual rhetoric, and visual rhetorical representation should not be seen in isolation from other modalities, or from history or visions for the future (Bakhtin 1981). This idea will be developed further in the analysis of the case study website.

Photographs are just a part of an enormous visual rhetorical field, but they are perhaps the most frequently examined media within visual rhetoric. I will concentrate my analysis of the visual rhetoric on one central and repeated representation on the website, namely the factory girl. I will introduce the visual element by zooming in to take a closer look at the central image on the website: a photograph of a girl sitting beside the title on the homepage (see figure 1). In the text, the girl is named as Annie McLeod. There is no doubt that the choice to place Annie centrally in the upper left corner has an intention, and as such is rhetorical in the classical sense. The picture of Annie seems to highlight and sum up what is seen as important for the visitor to identify with in New Lanark and what is seen as central to “the world’s” heritage.



Figure 1: New Lanark homepage with two representations of the fictive Annie McLeod. One shows her sitting with her skipping rope in front of pictures from the site. The other shows her backlit, as an icon to click for information on the “Visitors Centre” (New Lanark 2009).

According to the text, Annie used to live in the village in the 1820s and worked in the mill as a ‘piecer’. “This means she has to run between the spinning machines to tie the threads that have broken,” one page explains (New Lanark 2009). Now, however, she is a ghost and works as a guide in the Visitors Centre. There are many pictures of girls between eight and twelve years old on the website, some referred to as Annie, others pictures of visitors engaged in various activities, such as working on a computer or sitting in the old school room. However, we find no images of boys on the pages: this becomes an element “not there” that creates meaning. The ‘girl theme’ makes Annie a symbol as well as an indexical sign of the branding fictive character. She signals the connection between the past, the present and the future, dressed as she is in traditional Scottish shawl, looking the viewer straight in the eye and mirroring the experiences of the children visiting. It could also be suggested that these images of Annie show her as a disarming figure, calm and self-disciplined. Perhaps this is a clue to the ‘no boys’ theme: a girl might represent a demeanour appropriate to the surroundings, whereas a boy could represent less-disciplined, more boisterous behaviour.

Annie’s gender, appearance and age link the images to familiar photographs of child labourers from the 20th century, a connection I will discuss later. The words ‘child labour’ are found on the site on the pages intended for school visitors. In 2010 there were questions for classroom discussion about child labour in the learning material (New Lanark 2010). Child labour is one of several themes suggested for school visits, but the theme is not highlighted on the website, only in the educational resources for downloading. It is obvious that Annie, in general, is not a mode of persuasion based on *logos*, but rather one of *pathos* and *ethos*. Her image is not used to illustrate the sad theme of child labour directly; it suits the purpose of addressing the audience in a

broad rhetorical appeal. Following the definition of visual rhetoric above, this address makes the visual use of Annie rhetorical.

As already mentioned, the reasons for UNESCO awarding New Lanark World Heritage status can be found on the website (New Lanark website on heritage 2011). One could imagine finding the criteria reflected more strongly visually on the website. The page explaining the UNESCO nomination states that the previous owner of New Lanark, Robert Owen, and his reform ideas, together with the buildings' early industrial history and unchanged appearance are the most important reasons for preserving the site (New Lanark on heritage 2011). Preserving the memory of child labour is not a central issue but is an indirect reference as Owen, in contrast to other factory owners of the era, made it possible for working class children to have time to attend school. Annie's major role on the site and her visual rhetorical power is not explained by the explicitly formulated place identity and the intentions of historical memory communication of the site.

Standing on the shoulders of iconic pictures

The photographs of Annie are not historical, meaning they are not 'true' documentary or photojournalistic pictures of a factory girl. Even if Annie were from an original photograph, the new contextualisation, together with the loss of details about the original context, would make the link to the original 'trueness' very thin (Kielbach 2009). Judith Kielbach, in an article about photographs connected to Holocaust, discusses the questionable relationship between what we think is photographic documentary and the contextual status of a photograph (Keilbach 2009:69). The pictures on the website are fictive reconstructions showing what *could* have been photographs of a child labourer from 1820. However, photography was in its early days around 1820. Historical correctness is not the message here, logos is underplayed.

The pictures of Annie may remind us thematically and aesthetically of the original photojournalistic pictures of child labour, not from the 19th century, but from the early 20th century, except for the smile and the colours. One of the first photographers to take pictures of the conditions of working class people was Lewis Hine (1874-1940). He documented child labour on a significant scale for the purpose of placing social reform on the political agenda, and some historians give him part credit for the shift in public opinion concerning child labour and the gradual change in laws and practice in the 1920s and 1930s (Golden 2005). Hine's pictures have been reproduced many times. Some of them are used, with or without reference to Hine, as illustrations of conditions for children in the industrial age. Some of these pictures are referred to as 'iconic' (i.e. *Photo Icons volume I and II*, Koetzle 2008).

Iconic pictures in general reveal the dynamic and rhetorical relationship between past and present, and according to Kjeldsen, the memory of iconic pictures can evoke feelings in the reception of similar pictures (Kjeldsen 2002). It could be argued that the use of Annie on the website of New Lanark activates some of the photo icon's power of rhetorical persuasion.

In Hine's case the photographs of child labour have contributed to the public memory of the conditions of children at the old factories. They are icons that activate historical knowledge, experience, political positions and discussions about child labour, working class conditions and childhood. Outside the specific fields of documentary and photography, one might not know who made the pictures. Nonetheless, the images are recognisable as a story of the industrial age, and might be seen not as documentary photographs concerning a specific theme, but as pictures that mirror Western society in its infancy. In figure 2 are some of Hine's pictures of factory girls. The picture of the girl looking out the window at the Carolina Cotton Mill in the USA, and the picture of the girl leaning on the machine behind her (right corner) at the New England Mill have been identified as iconic in a popular photo book of the history of icons (Koetzle 2008). What is special about the iconic status of Hine's pictures of child labour is that it is not just one picture that stands out as *the* icon. It is the serial nature and multiplicity of the pictures – the quantity as well as their beauty and technical quality – that contribute to the construction of the 'child labour icon' or 'the factory girl'.



Figure 2: Photographs by Lewis Hine, USA (The National Archives, 2009).

Robert Hariman and Louis Lucaites examine the iconic status of photographs in their recent contributions to visual rhetoric. They define photojournalistic icons as "... those photographic images appearing in print, electronic, or digital media that are widely recognized and remembered, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate strong emotional identification or response, and are reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics. A few images meet these criteria" (Heriman and Lucaites 2007, 27). Some of the photographs of Lewis Hine represent child labour both historically and politically. Like all other pictures they highlight a point of view and let others fade into the background. They contribute to the public memory and its cultural and civic identity in the understanding of what

could be called “the transformation from industrial culture to culture industry”. However, their meaning and rhetorical power is not static. As Hariman and Lucaites emphasise: “Even though iconic images usually are recognized as such immediately, and even if they are capable of doing the heavy lifting required to change public opinion and motivate action on behalf of a public interest, their meaning and effects are likely to be established slowly, shift with changes in context and use, and be fully evident only in a history of both official and vernacular appropriations.” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2008, 177). In other words, iconic images gain their rhetorical power in dialectical relationship with the actual rhetorical situation.

Hine’s pictures have a rather complex connection with representations of mill workers in a modern rhetoric like that of New Lanark. The visual representations of Annie contribute to the argumentation politically – or ideologically – in an intertextual or ‘inter-visual’ way. One might as well make a connection between the visual icon and the rhetorical term of *topos*. References to iconic pictures link to a structure of themes and arguments like verbal *topoi* do. Using an indirect reference to the visual memory of pictures of child labour brings in the rhetorical power connected to the icon. It is not at all clear what the power consists of because the icon is not a clear, but rather a vague collective category in constant change, following Hariman and Lucaites.

Shaping rhetorical agency

When we connect the iconic rhetorical power of the Hine pictures with the actual representations on the New Lanark website it is a way to contextualise the visual rhetorical power. We can get an idea of the potential meaning of the pictures by asking what the images of child labour meant for the public in the beginning of the 20th century and what the reconstruction of these images means for us now – on the New Lanark website. Professor of history Janet Golden writes about “reform photography” and its reception in the late 19th century: the images “...allow us to see not only what cities and the poor ‘looked like’ but also to interpret the ways in which outsiders gazed at the poor” (Golden 2005: 394). Still, there is more to the visual rhetoric than satisfying curiosity about the “others,” and that is to impel people through fear. Golden writes:

In reform photographs, street urchins, mill girls, and slap-heap boys stared at the viewer with a nonchalance that underscored the hard lessons already learned. Their toughness (and ultimate vulnerability) conveyed a warning: without proper supervision and sufficient schooling – in short, without proper social intervention – the youngsters would fall pray to criminal influences and contribute to the breakdown of the social order (Golden 2005, 394).

Today the original rhetorical power of Hine’s pictures is actualised through copy, which describes the similarities between Western social history and the reality in new industrial economies such as India and China. However, it is likely that the visual rhetoric in Hine’s pictures, as well as that presented by the pictures of Annie McLeod, is no longer persuasive in the way Golden interpreted. The visual rhetoric makes the contemporary public remember, and thereby the rhetoric constructs a part of the collective identity by offering a spectacle to look upon (about “remembering and

memorializing”, see Olson 2008). However, for a contemporary audience the children’s appearance does not frighten, but more likely it makes us feel *relief* that Western society has developed from this kind of social need. At least that is what we like to think, though child labour in new forms is still found many places in the Western world. The time span creates distance. Probably the tourists have no personal experiences or actual social context to correct the pictures by. We might even feel a romantic longing for a simpler life, a feeling that could press the pictures’ original persuasive rhetoric in the background, and leave the contemporary spectator with an identification not based on moral indignation or fear, but on longing for the old days.

Compared with Lewis Hine’s photographs it is clear that the face of Annie McLeod is far from indicating a forthcoming threat – as can be seen on the two versions in figure 1. The expressions on her face in the two photographs indicate that Annie is having a good time. A child labourer who is smiling is a contradiction within Hine’s visual rhetoric, but the New Lanark website does not draw our attention to the paradox. Annie is a ghost, the website tells us, but she is not staring at us with any kind of toughness. The girl looks more like a child actor – a child from the present dressed up – than a true child labourer. This indicates social success more than social depression. It is her clothes and the verbal texts about Annie and the mill workers that create the links to the visual rhetoric of the iconic reform photography like those of Lewis Hine. In the text we are told about the hard conditions of the mill workers. However, the visual rhetoric of the website shows that the social threat is in the past – or elsewhere – and identification with the poor life of child labourers is toned down. We are now offered a possibility to identify with a girl coping with her surroundings in a positive way. Annie represents a time gone by and the belief in a better future. One of the other pages on the website seems to make this interpretation likely: here we see a girl running happily from left to right of the screen under the title “Harmony in the Future”. In the background is a big clock. The picture is an advertisement for a film you can see when visiting New Lanark.

If we take a closer look at Annie’s picture as it appears on the trademark of the site, we see another face in the background just behind her head (see figure 1). This is a picture of the mill’s manager and part owner from 1810-1828, Robert Owen. The website states that Owen had a social conscience and vision for building a harmonious society: he improved conditions for mill workers in New Lanark, especially the children (New Lanark 2009). On the web page for children, the fictive Annie is quoted: “I started work in the mills when I was ten – it’s not a bad place to work.” However, by reading through the texts on the website we still get the impression that Annie lived a far from ideal life. On the same page she says: “I work at the spinning machines where I join the broken threads. Oh, you have to take care, cause the machines dinnae [dialect] stop for no-one!” and just below is a list of accidents that occurred in New Lanark (New Lanark website 2009). The implicit connection of child labour and accidents makes a frightening identification model for the contemporary child. And what happened to Annie? Why is she a ghost? The visual rhetoric together with the verbal offers a fuzzy and uncanny spectacle of history, though it is the smiling Annie who is centre stage. The rhetorical agency shaped in the foreground is not of action towards bad social conditions, but rather that of coping with the surroundings and enjoying your time: and indirectly appreciative of people like Owen who changed history.

The audience addressed

I have offered some interpretations of a few central images of the virtual museum – the website – connected to the physical site of New Lanark, but I do not say that these interpretations paint the full picture. I will now pay brief attention to what might be the public or the audience that is addressed by the website. Hariman and Lucaites define ‘the public’ as “a discursive organized body of strangers constituted solely by the acts of being addressed and paying attention (...) The daily stream of photojournalistic images (...) defines the public through an act of common spectatorship. When the event shown is itself a part of national life, the public seems to see itself, and to see itself in terms of a particular conception of civic identity” (Hariman and Lucaites 2008, 176). On the New Lanark website it is not that obvious who is the model reader addressed next to an international tourist, but the public responding might be reflected in other texts using New Lanark as a reference. If you follow the network of texts using the New Lanark website, it turns out that New Lanark mostly appears in local press and links connected to a website for tourism. I get the impression that the actual public addressed *and responding* consists of local visitors looking for entertainment on a tour or searching for educational or historical knowledge.

Together with tourists from other countries searching for historical knowledge of Scotland (in a convenient way), the locals, and especially teachers and school children, are the central audience. This makes the connections to the larger public of the photo icons important. Through visual rhetoric and references to photo icons the local civic identity is connected with a larger collective identity crossing time and national borders. By this, the local becomes part of the reception of national and international industrial history and vice versa.

The pictures of child labourers are familiar to the general public in a Western society. They almost have their own genre because they have been recycled, echoed, and transformed so many times. On the website the pictures of Annie McLeod are used in a textual context so that the viewer does not pay any attention to their paradoxical potential. We accept the iconic smiling factory girl as a positive trademark. Her appearance, gender and age form the memory of the social conditions of the working class people. The remembering and memorialising are not political, nor questioning about child labour in general. The rhetorical agency shaped is far from political. Hariman and Lucaites have a central point in their study of American photo icons of the 20th century: the iconic images “reveal a shift within public culture from more democratic to more liberal norms of political identity” (2007, 13). This means that the audience is no longer addressed as members of groups, citizens, nations, classes but rather as individuals making individual choices. Annie’s pictures move in the same direction. They teach about individual success more than the success of a social group.

It could be said that Hine’s photographs were created as an answer to a rhetorical situation in the industrial culture where child labour was exploited. However, Hine’s photographs became rhetorical in Vatz’s sense as well: they created new rhetorical situations in political discussion of reforms for more than thirty years until laws and

practices changed. Later the pictures contributed to the creation of a public through their iconic status within Western cultural history. Over time the audience has changed, together with the meaning of pictures like Hine's, in a complex, intertextual and contextual way. The pictures of a smiling factory girl on the website of New Lanark are part of a completely different rhetorical situation: here the pictures brand the individual seeking happiness, but do not agitate for political action.

The mediated place as ideological text or educational rhetoric

Iconic pictures are often found in learning material, where they have different didactic functions. On the New Lanark website Annie illustrates a thematic view of the industrial age, and her face only echoes iconic pictures. There is either a metaphoric or metonymic relationship between bad conditions for child labourers and the photographs on the website, and the pictures are not documentary journalism. The pictures are not there as pure ornamentation either. The didactic role of the pictures is most likely connected to their ideological or identity-shaping potential, in turn connected to the overall attempt to shape identity for the place and the public addressed.

Stephan Selander has played a central role in the textual research field in Scandinavia, specifically in the field of educational texts and media and their institutional roles. Selander has also studied the images and design of texts. In "Pedagogiska texter och andra artefakter för kunskap och kommunikation" (*Educational texts and other artefacts for knowledge and communication*, Selander 2002) Selander outlines the research field, defining the concept of educational texts. He sees the museum, amongst other examples, as an educational text. Selander notes that museums are one of the places where our collective memory is stored (Selander 2002: 184). However, he argues that museums – like media such as television – depend on the entertainment factor more than schoolbooks, where we have to pay attention to everything (ibid.). The question is where to locate the New Lanark website in Selander's definitions.

Selander categorises educational texts ("pädagogisk text") as 'type one' and 'type two' in a scheme where the 'research article' and the 'ideological text' are also represented (Selander 2002, 227). The educational text type one is typically the course material, the educational textbook, CD-roms, the teacher's book, the instruction book, and the student's text. All of these are meant for a specific receiver and produced within a specific institutional frame and controlled by the institution and/or fellow researchers. The educational text type two is typically certain handbooks, encyclopedia, the instruction book, the traffic sign, and popular science. These texts are not meant for a specific public and are used across institutional frames and not always controlled by authorities and/or fellow researchers. What is interesting in the context of this article is the difference between the two types of educational text and the type called the 'ideological text'. The ideological text type is defined also by not being made to a defined public or within institutional frames and without control. Examples of this type are the political speech, the commercial, the teacher's curriculum and the sermon. This type is very close to the traditional field of rhetorical research on rhetorical texts (Kjeldsen 2002). However, a rhetorical text is

made foremost for a specific public, and becomes rhetorical in the addressing of a public taking advantage of a specific rhetorical situation.

My claim here is that the museum as a site, and as a mediated text such as a website, is a type of ideological text in Selander's definition. However, its relationship to the public, in addressing specific groups, and the institutional mandate of being a public voice for the collective memory, makes it a crossover concept within Selander's terminology: it is also an educational text type two – and even has elements from type one. The entertainment role of the museum, which makes it appear commercial, does not make it less educational than the traditional schoolbook, but rather makes the museum *rhetorical* with its pictures, artefacts, site views, shop facilities, café, tourist ads, website, and so on having an agenda to attract visitors and bring a certain understanding of the identity of the place, identities of the public, and a version of what is interesting about the past. The museum being a place that counts its success by the number of visitors, brings about a commodification of place and an establishment of a consumer identity among the visitors. However, this does not move away the fact that the content of the message is also educational. On the contrary, the rhetorical intention of making collective memory must be educational to be strategic and rhetorically powerful.

Selander's term 'ideological texts' used in its clear definition brings a political focus to the analysis of the museum, which I think does not lead to an understanding of what role the museum and its texts play in society as a learning arena for social identity making and collective memory shaping. However, a term such as 'rhetorical educational text' has a focus both on the intentional dimension (rhetoric) as well as the asymmetrical and more silent convincing dimension (educational text).

Schoolbooks are connected to a national learning institution with a particular history and learning culture that selects what to pass on to future generations. It could be said that the relationship between the rhetor/sender and the public/receiver in the museum is different because the institutional context is more diffuse. The museum represents a much broader national and international cultural understanding of what to preserve and store; what to present in exhibitions and websites; and for whom and how. The political mandate given to the public (or semi-public) museums by public institutions such as UNESCO mirrors the social field and rhetorical situation of who is supposed to tell "The Story of the Past". Therefore, the educational content of, for example, the New Lanark website, cannot be reduced to the material made for school children. All the mediating communication from a historical place such as New Lanark must be seen as negotiating the past, and as an attempt to implement a version of the collective memory of the industrial age. This reflects a rhetorical situation, where the elements chosen – pictures, artefacts, texts – are part of the rhetorical educational project.

Some final remarks

I began by painting the theme of this paper with a broad brush, discussing how identities and collective memory connected to *historical places* are rhetorically negotiated through the use of iconic pictures and verbal text on websites. With a much smaller brush I have illustrated how one website achieves this through its

images of a factory girl and a topical focus. The identity shaped is connected to a nostalgic story of the industrial age and the rhetorical agency opened is of enjoying your time and accepting a positive belief in the future – not dwelling on the sad or political aspects of the working class and its social position.

The educational process inherent in the rhetorical mediation of collective memory is not ideological in a direct or political sense. The intention of rhetoric is not to convince the audience logically about a specific version of the past. Instead, the various rhetorical elements lead us to pay attention to and cooperate in constructing certain identities of place, and of ourselves as audience. Moreover, we co-construct the story of the past in allowing ourselves to be addressed. The feelings communicated point to the public addressed – a consuming public, a public who can choose to visit any historical site they wish, but should choose New Lanark because: “New Lanark is beautiful”, “New Lanark is picked out to be special by the world’s most competent committee on historical sites”, and “visiting New Lanark should be easy”. The ideological content is found in the acceptance to be the public addressed, and the co-constructive shaping of place identity becomes educational in the stream of joining. The small picture reflects dimensions of the greater picture of what rhetorical management of historical places means for different generations dealing with history, present rhetorical agency and actions for the future. It matters *how* the rhetoric of place is done, because we learn by it.

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