

**THE ARCHIVE AS AN ILLUSTRATED SPACE FOR DISPUTED, 'DUBIOUS'
AND HIDDEN NARRATIVES:** EMPLOYING AN ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF THE
ILLUSTRATIVE TURN IN ORDER TO RE-ESTABLISH IDENTITIES FOR
FAIRGROUND FEMALES WITHIN THE ESTABLISHED HISTORICAL RECORD.

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ABSTRACT:

This research asserts that an archive is a powerful narrative space whose structure can be manipulated to unveil and illustrate 'dubious' and hidden stories. This hypothesis is tested through an enquiry that physically builds an *archive as illustrated space* which (re-) establishes the identities of five fairground females through the utilisation of traditional signwriting and illustrative storytelling. Embedded within fairground heritage, both the research and practice elements of the enquiry are informed by an insider's appreciation of its rich history.

The research develops a relationship between the practices and theories of illustration and the archive: something under-developed when compared to the long-standing relationship between fine art and the archive. The framework of an *archive as illustrated space* is constructed by dissecting theories from varying standpoints. The research introduces the concept of the *illustrative turn* which borrows from the structure of a magic trick – involving the direction, subsequent misdirection, then reveal to the reader. The intention is for the framework to serve as a tool for illustrative practitioners to apply to their own archival research, and consequently the framework contributes to the critical discourse of illustration.

The National Fairground and Circus Archive (NFCA) is utilised to establish how the existing representations of the five females are not fully recorded, despite their pivotal roles within their respective communities. Applying this research within the theoretical framework demonstrates how illustration contributes to the expansion of the historical record – and broadens audience engagement with the material: narrative fragments of the fairground females are conveyed to re-establish their identities in illustrated spaces, and consequently in the NFCA context.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS:

LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG:

- 1a. She triumphs – but only just – to become the principal performer
- 2a. Victory in the tug 'o' war ensures her golden position
- 2b. Preparing for WWI, she consumes a hearty meal
- 3a. She finds a role that only someone of her stature could fill
- 3b. She hauls cart no. 106
- 3c. Striding along – she turns – finally her true self, reflected in gold
4. The _____ in the Room
- 5a. Though she appears golden, is her role still majestic?
- 5b. At the back of the show, the gold begins to flake
- 5c. Failure to escape, she is no longer majestic
- 5d. A shadow falls on her tug 'o' life
- 5e. She was weeping

MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT:

- 1a. The spinning of her key burdens
- 2a. Despite his presence, she has no visible means of support
- 2b. 'Flat' token depicts hidden, controversial love
- 3a. All's fair with our fair ladies: united on stage and on their political platform
- 3b. Ignited by envy, the control is turned
- 3c. A spectator of the remnants, her reputation begins to turn
4. The Swingboat Tips, The Balance Shifts
- 5a. The Phoenix: In someone's hour of peril
- 5b. Unconcerned, she can finally be heard
- 5c. 1949: Turning the lessons over to her grand-daughter
- 5d. She lent a hand
- 5e. She remains in the West Country, (her pivotal moment stays concealed)

SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE:

- 1a. Her fine reputation, edged in profanity
- 2a. Her guilt, concealed in the gild
- 2b. She should be wary of her own peculiar logic
- 3a. All's fair with ur fair ladies: united on stage and on their political platform
- 3b. Ignited by envy, the control is turned
- 3c. Fuelled by the remnants, her reputation begins to undo
4. The Balustrade Conceals the Yellow on Yellow
- 5a. She lent a hand
- 5b. Only she remains of the Living Pictures Bioscope Show
- 5c. Despite the constructed stories, the golden tales catch up with her
- 5d. A final reflection on her hidden love
- 5e. She disappears from the West Country, her finery in tatters

ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS:

- 1a. Breaking Ties and Breaking Necks
- 2a. Revolution at the Palace
- 2b. An Overnight Transformation
- 3a. A Frosty Reception for the Proprietress
- 3b. The Gainsborough Sessions
- 3c. She Destroys the Palace
4. The Ornate Shield (not) the Mark of Truth
- 5a. Forwarding Prestige and Propriety
- 5b. Feast your Eyes!
- 5c. She donated to the appeal
- 5d. Reputation at Stake (Three Cuts)
- 5e. Six Sons Stay Devoted, Despite her Bluntness

ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS:

1. She was weeping
2. She lent a hand
3. She lent a hand
4. She donated to the appeal
5. She was, truly, a most gracious lady

INTRODUCTION

This PhD enquiry argues that an archive is a powerful narrative space whose structure can be manipulated to unveil and illustrate 'dubious' and hidden stories, to construct a framework for an *archive as illustrated space*. Here, 'dubious' signifies narrative fragments that have been uncovered in the archive or conveyed orally, which are yet to be authenticated. The framework allows these 'dubious' stories to be held: creating the opportunity to establish their authenticity and value. The mechanism for constructing this space is located within the context of both illustration research and practice: the framework is built theoretically and then tested in practice to evolve its components. The *archive as illustrated space* framework can be used as a tool by illustrators to employ their archival research in practice, in a dynamic and engaging way for both the viewer and various audiences who may encounter the outputs through other archival practices and expositions. This is enriched through establishing a grounding between the practice and theories of illustration and the archive. This engagement of the viewer is partly constructed through what I refer to as the *illustrative turn* – a concept that I have developed to apply within the *archive as illustrated space* which involves the direction, subsequent misdirection, then reveal to the reader.

Deploying an illustrative approach this PhD enquiry utilises this framework to re-establish the identities of five fairground females in the archive: Lizzie (?-1926), Martha (1878-1953), Sophie (1854-1926), Annie (1843-1923) and Elizabeth (1859-1927). These five females are frequently spoken of as prominent, in regard to business and personal matters, within their respective travelling communities¹. This time period also allows for a reflection on the effects of national experiences, including the Suffragette movement and World War I. Within this enquiry, the term 're-establishing' is used as a shorthand term: in full, the application is focused on both re-establishing and bringing into focus stories and indeed the identities of the pertinent fairground females. Through physically building an *archive as illustrated space* the stories of these fairground females are illuminated. Here, the contribution is two-fold: to the discourse of illustration, in regard to the framework developed; and to the National Fairground and Circus Archive (NFCA)² and wider fairground industry, in regard to re-establishing the identities of the fairground females. Here, it is worth acknowledging that this is significant as the fairground community has a liminal presence in the historical record. This is in part due to the *mysterious* perception of show-folk and their transient nature, if compared to the historical record of settled society.

Traditional signwriting and illustrative storytelling govern my illustration work³. Through the application of this practice – using typography illustratively through working as a signwriter – both the telling of narratives and the concealment of stories inform and direct the creation of my work. Underlying this is a grounding in fairground heritage and archival research and an interest in how illustration itself can enrich archival material and vice versa (Fig.1&2). To contextualise this practice, key ideas that I have previously explored and build on in the PhD enquiry include: the concealment and hiding of

¹ This was noticed early on in the research and thus the enquiry was adjusted to focus on these five females with the timeframe spanning the years 1906-1953. Working to re-establish identities of females from this period is intentional: the enquiry records memories of people who are of septuagenarian and octogenarian age; their narrative fragments that would otherwise soon be lost.

² The NFCA (originally NFA – an acronym for No Fixed Abode, as well as National Fairground Archive) was established in 1994 by Professor Vanessa Toulmin and is housed at the University of Sheffield, where Toulmin was an academic at the time. In 2016 it received a major donation from the Circus Friends Association, and subsequently rebranded as the NFCA. Toulmin's 1997 PhD thesis, entitled 'Social and Oral History of Travelling Show-People from 1890 to the Present Day', informed her that fairground documentation was absent from the academic environment, hence she set out to establish the archive.

³ Traditional signwriting is utilised both in my illustration work and commercially, where I predominantly work in the heritage, fairground and circus industries. Evidence of this work can be found at www.a-goodwin.com.

narratives; authenticity; language play; and the utilisation of archival material in new and innovative contexts. There is scope in this PhD enquiry for this practice to be developed further: by situating myself within the parameters of illustration, it is possible to consider its discourse in relation to the archive, and subsequently evolve elements of it. Furthermore, the premise of collaboration is significant in this PhD enquiry⁴.

As a practitioner working within the expanded definition of illustration⁵, my anchor point relates to the view first offered by the illustrator and educator George Hardie, that to illustrate is “to illuminate or cast light on a subject”⁶. Thus, illustration can be seen as an *illumination* or explanatory tool which makes ideas or narratives more accessible⁴. Combining this with the knowledge that all illustration is narrative in its content – established through the possibilities that practitioners have to craft illustrations that enter into a dialogue with a text, in order to create a space that requires the reader to *illuminate* it – dictates that illustration is an active participant in communicating narrative information: a communication tool.

In this thesis, illustration is considered as a complex communication tool and yet due to its lack of critical discourse, it has been necessary to structure a methodology by borrowing from other disciplines⁷. Through illustration functioning as a communication tool, methods that deal with narrative, storytelling and the literary are applicable. A critical grounding has been established by utilising methods from theoretical and practice-led disciplines adjacent to illustration, including: social sciences, photography, fine art, curation and life writing.

This thesis is split into three chapters, in which the intention is to demonstrate how the framework for an *archive as illustrated space* has been theoretically structured and then applied to a body of research to produce a series of practical outputs. In doing so, this demonstrates how through practice this framework has been tested and evolved.

Chapter 1 is concerned with ‘The Role of the Archive’. This chapter comprises a theoretical investigation undertaken to determine a framework in order to build an *archive as illustrated space*⁸. This chapter is split into four key sections which focus on varying elements of the archive: ‘Theories of the Archive’ establishes how the archival structure is considered theoretically, in contemporary research, and how this can inform the illustrative practitioner; whilst ‘Artistic Approaches to the Archive’ details the appropriation of the conceptual archive by fine artists and how the boundaries of this can be pushed, if considered through the lens of illustration. ‘The Archive as a Participatory Tool’ examines the performative qualities of the archive: how these qualities can be extended by an illustrative approach confirming this is the space where the *illustrative turn* is best situated. Finally, ‘The Function of the Archive as Illustrated Space’ acts as the conclusion to this chapter, expanding on six key themes to contextualise and consolidate the function of the framework. Through doing so, the practitioner is

⁴ Collaborative relationships include: the NFCA, oral history participants, residencies with a traditional bookbinder, the exhibition / installation spaces, and the active participants themselves.

⁵ It can be considered that illustration occupies a peculiar position: it lies as a spectrum between graphic design and fine art and yet it functions as a creative discipline, present in more experimental realms.

⁶ George Hardie, ‘Foreward’, in *The Fundamentals of Illustration*, ed. by Lawrence Zeegan (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), p.9.

⁷ Illustration as a discipline suffers from a lack of published research that works to establish its critical discourse: over the last fifteen years there have been attempts and developments to illustration’s critical discourse, with important articles published by The Authorial of Illustrators’ ‘Varoom’ and Illustration Research Network’s ‘The Journal of Illustration’.

⁸ In this thesis ‘framework’ is used in regard to the initially theoretical and later practical concept of the *archive as illustrated space*: this framework is constructed by dissecting theories from varying standpoints and its intention is to exist as a tool for illustrative practitioners to apply to their own archival research.

equipped with the components to realise an *archive as illustrated space*. A series of diagrams support this theoretical analysis, all of which have been devised from and represent aspects of the research.

Chapter 2 explores the concept of 'Illustration Research as Practice'. The chapter's intention is to demonstrate how the amassed findings can both contribute to the holdings of the National Fairground and Circus Archive (NFCA) and to determine their significance as illustrative components within the framework. The methods devised in order to systematically analyse the archival newspapers and photographs, to collate the oral history, and to establish this concept of *illustration research as practice*, are discussed. This methodology assists this dual-intention section. Firstly, the intention is to consolidate my findings, through the presentation and contextualisation of this archival and oral history research, to demonstrate that the females are indeed absent within the current archival structure of the NFCA. The second intention is to document and critically discuss the early iterations of work, facilitated under the guise of *illustration research as practice* and explored during a series of residencies and an exhibition, to demonstrate how this illustrative approach is executed and ultimately realised.

Finally, Chapter 3 documents and reflects on the application of the devised framework to this research into the fairground females, in order to re-establish their identities. This is achieved through the writing of their life-stories, complemented by archival photographs, and the construction of a series of works for each female, presented as their *archive as illustrated space*. The two practical outputs – the life-story and the *illustrated space* – respond to one another, and the intention is to showcase how the *space* holds narrative fragments presented in the life-story. Furthermore the theoretical concept of the *illustrative turn* is put into practice in each *illustrated space* to assist in actively engaging the viewer. These *turns* work to direct, subsequently misdirect and then reveal narrative fragments to the viewer, that then encourage them to reassess their position as an active viewer and co-narrator⁹. A reflection on each *space* considers the illustrative process, the meaning behind the signs and how the framework is tested and evolved in each iteration.

The rationale behind the structure and the design of the thesis is not just to show the chronological development of the PhD enquiry but to support and complement the findings. The overall intentions for this PhD enquiry are: firstly, in regard to the archive and that of re-establishing the identities of fairground females; and secondly, for the framework to demonstrate how illustration has the potential to be applied as a tool to archival research, in order for practitioners to create works that are more dynamic and engaging for the viewer. This two-fold enquiry intends to contribute to the discourse of illustration, both theoretically through the framework and practically through expanding the use of traditional signwriting to illustratively reanimate and narrate these hidden and fragmented life-stories.

⁹Both 'viewer' and 'participant' are used in reference to the audience, yet with an awareness of the connotations of these two terms within illustration's discourse. In the context of this PhD, the use of 'reader' is in regard to an observational, passive nature whereas 'participant' is used as the *archive as illustrated space* framework is enacted, incurring a shift to an active nature.

CHAPTER 1.

THE ROLE OF THE ARCHIVE

[CHAPTER 2](#)

[CHAPTER 3](#)

1. INTRODUCTION – SECTION A:

The theoretical investigation that comprises the first chapter of this thesis is concerned with 'The Role of the Archive' (Fig.3). This section of the PhD builds a critical discourse and theoretical framework for an *archive as illustrated space* – in order for it to subsequently be realised in practice. This theoretical investigation is split into four parts and within this the diagrams support the argument made. The initial purpose of these diagrams is to assist the theoretical investigation, yet as they show how the thinking is mapped in a taxonomic manner they are intended to help the reader in their own interpretation.

The first part, 'Theories of the Archive', is a theoretical investigation within semiotic and illustration discourse: through examining existing frameworks the structure of the *archive as illustrated space* is informed. 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', the second part, examines practitioners' responses to the concept of the archive and the idea of the artistic archive, in order to understand how both the archive term and system is appropriated to hold narratives, alongside a consideration of how these archives appear to the viewer. The third part, 'The Archive as a Participatory Tool', is where the concept of the *illustrative turn* is fully embedded: it both expands this and questions how this *turn* can exist as one of many performative qualities of the archive. These three parts contribute to formulating the components employed in the framework of an *archive as illustrated space*. This framework is outlined and concluded in the final part, 'The Function of the Archive as Illustrated Space', which seeks to determine how this *space* can be realised (Fig.4).

The research underpinning this chapter pulls together theories that sit on the boundaries of illustration discourse. It is here that the research offers new insights by engaging with contemporary theories concerning the structure and function of archives and analysing this potential to be exploited in the delivery of 'dubious' narratives within the framework of an *archive as illustrated space*. The intention is to demonstrate how utilising illustrative layers within the structural, artistic and participatory elements of an archival space, allows the containment of multi-faceted narratives and thus, the creation of the framework for an *archive as illustrated space*.

1. THEORIES OF THE ARCHIVE – SECTION B:

The investigation into the 'Role of the Archive' begins with an examination into its structural qualities, in order to understand where there is scope for the structure to be manipulated (Fig.5). The purpose of this investigation is to create a robust method to introduce layers of narrative into the archival structure in order to actively engage the viewer within the *archive as illustrated space* framework. In order to undertake this analysis, it is pertinent to focus the investigation on five key concerns:

- the archive as a tool.
- the system of classification in archival spaces.
- the theoretical illustrative relationship between text and photograph.
- the practical illustrative relationship between text and photograph.
- positioning the photograph-text relationship within the *archive as illustrated space* framework.

To address these concerns this section utilises the work of five key theorists within semiotic and illustration discourses. These theorists are used as anchor points to push ideas of the structure of the archive forward, in order to contribute to the theoretical infrastructure of the enquiry. These theorists, and their key ideas, are:

- Michel Foucault's idea that an archive is a tool that works within an aesthetic field¹⁰.
- Kenneth Burke's investigation into how a framework broadens the understanding of archival practice¹¹.
- Walter Benjamin's theory of the *aura*, authenticity and his discussion of archival spaces¹².
- Roland Barthes' analysis of text and image¹³.
- Brian Dillon's discussion of the rational order of the archive¹⁴.

The intention is to address the key concerns through examining the identified theorists' stances associated with the archive. To fully understand the current stance on archival structure, both theoretically and in practice, these theoretical ideas are positioned alongside an analysis of Walter Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* and W. G. Sebald's *Austerlitz*¹⁵. These allow me to contextualise some of the arguments made in regard to ideas of what contributes to the structure of the archive. I am proposing that this will inform and contribute to the establishment of the structure of an *archive as illustrated space* as a *space* which holds narratives pertaining to the illustrative practitioners' enquiry – in this instance the five fairground females who are central to this study. This will include the 'dubious', disputed and subverted narratives that are created within the realms of the enquiry, interwoven into which are fragments from the archive and snippets that have been orally passed down over generations.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, (London: Routledge, 2002).

¹¹ Kenneth Burke, 'Dramatism', in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. by D. L. Sills and R. K. Merton (Michigan: Gale, 1968), p.445-51.

¹² Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

¹³ Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of Text*, (USA: Farrar, Straus and Giroux Inc., 1975).

¹⁴ Brian Dillon, *Objects in the Mirror*, (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013), p.320-347.

¹⁵ The works of Walter Benjamin and W. G. Sebald have been selected due to their archival tendencies and visual approaches, to both writing and collating.

The Archive as a Tool:

To fully understand the potential of the *archive as illustrated space*, it is necessary to determine how this *space* exists as a progression from how archives are viewed currently in archival theory. To do so we can look to social theorist Michel Foucault, who recognises that archives cannot document all of history but instead are fragmented and formed of presented artefacts¹⁶. This is evidenced by Foucault when he writes that “the archive cannot be described in its totality: it emerges in fragments, regions and levels, more fully, no doubt, and with greater sharpness”¹⁷.

Foucault’s view of the archive emerging in fragments is pertinent to this enquiry: fragmentary narratives when collated can enrich both the archival practitioner and viewer, yet they need to be afforded an importance, and a physical space. Yet, for Foucault, the concept of the archive is entirely theoretical, thus separated from a physical space. His idea that an archive is a historically embedded tool that works within an aesthetic field is key to the underpinning of the theoretical infrastructure of my enquiry. However, the challenge for this enquiry is for the *archive as illustrated space* framework to be applied physically within an illustrative context, holding fragmented narratives, and so Foucault’s archive concept needs to be extended.

Foucault presents a concept known as the ‘discursive formation’¹⁸ (Fig.6). This is a system of four ‘statements’ defined as (1) formation of objects, (2) formation of the subjective positions, (3) formation of concepts and (4) formation of strategic choices, which may take any order within themselves. Grouped together these ‘statements’ can be analysed and then correspond to a discourse. To define, this discourse can be applied to redefine or recast the archive itself, rather than the images or representations held within it. As Foucault describes, once situated within the system of the archive, the appearance of the ‘statements’ can exist as historical events¹⁹.

The archive concept is a thread that runs through much of Foucault’s writing. Particularly pertinent to my research are his essays ‘The Historical a priori and the Archive’ and ‘The Archaeology of Knowledge’, both published in 1969. The archive described in the latter is obscure: amongst other points he refers to the importance of directions (which I am considering as structure) and the document, which he believes is “always treated as the language of a voice since reduced to silence, it is fragile, but possibly a decipherable trace”²⁰. It is the document, and the interpretation of an archival document in particular, that momentarily fixes ‘truth’ within the archive and has the potential to be used as this trace. Foucault discusses this premise in relation to the author appearing to be absent, concealed within the document. The document becomes a function, one that can be applied to the overall system of construction.

Literary theorist Kenneth Burke presents a framework in order to describe his critical

¹⁶ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

¹⁷ Michel Foucault, ‘The Historical a priori and the Archive’, in *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*, ed. by Charles Merewether (London: The MIT Press, 2006), p.29.

¹⁸ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.130.

¹⁹ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.89.

²⁰ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.7.

method, opening up new possibilities for the analysis of archival practices (Fig.7). His theory proposes a five-stage framework: acts, agents, agencies, purposes and attitudes, which can be applied within the archive (the scene)²¹. The success depends on the agent (the researcher) establishing a connection with the scene (the archive). If established, the agent is unfixed in their archival methods, remaining open to uncovering new documents and reframing the research, which Burke states enables “us to access the hidden archives”²², illuminating their contents and subsequently existing in a more illustrative manner to Foucault’s.

Burke extends this by defining a two-stage relationship, relevant when working in an archive with personal familiarity. This shakes up the framework, and each of the five stages shift in response, creating new opportunities for uncovering documents – I see this as creating a productive tension that opens up possibilities for what we may uncover, see and value. This method allows for a more critical eye in regard to the purpose of the framework as the enquiry is both undertaken and rationalised. In this framework Burke gestures towards the concept of giving attention to and regard for other agents in the archive, in other words the viewer or audience²³. From analysis of Foucault and Burke it is determined how the archive can be used as a tool both within an aesthetic field and to analyse practice: translating this understanding to the framework of the *archive as illustrated space* enriches its abilities.

The System of Classification in Archival Spaces:

The philosopher, cultural critic and essayist Walter Benjamin experimented with the premise of research being a reflection of one’s own reality in his mid-Twentieth Century work, *The Arcades Project*²⁴. Whilst writing, Benjamin was living in Paris and was fascinated by the city’s elements that are often overlooked, particularly the arcades²⁵. As such he documented metropolitan fragments; the body of texts he created is often referred to as an archive. However, an archive denotes historical unity²⁶ and *The Arcades Project* is definitely not that — Benjamin’s method was of literary montage, instead of inventory²⁷ (Fig.8).

There is a subtle system of classification at work within *The Arcades Project*, and the reader is asked to imagine what the connections are between the facts and stories Benjamin offers them. His fragmentary text utilises sections, which he called ‘convolutes’, each of which correspond to a key subject (Fig.9). These connections exist within the ‘convolutes’, the archival spaces. This system of classification can be extended: the ‘convolutes’ reveal the biases and passions of the collector, and challenge the reader to turn back and forth between them. This reiterates the underlying method of montage and demonstrates how cross-referencing is key to accessing the material held within the archive — Benjamin was not willing to present anything chronologically or side-by-side. Instead he gathered artefacts and fragments and laid a groundwork, subtly interlinking

²¹ Burke, ‘Dramatism’, p.445-51.

²² Cheryl Glenn and Jessica Enoch, ‘Drama in the Archives: Rereading Methods, Rewriting History’, in *On Archival Research*, ed. by L. L. Gaillet, H. D. Eidson and D. Gammill Jr (New York: Routledge, 2016), p.188.

²³ Burke, ‘Dramatism’, p.445-51.

²⁴ It is important to note here that there is some debate over whether *The Arcades Project*, in its published form, is what Benjamin intended to make – as he died before finishing it.

²⁵ In this instance Benjamin is concerned with Paris’ iron-and-glass covered ‘arcades’, which began to be constructed at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Benjamin associated them with the city’s distinctive street life and saw them as providing one of the opportunities for being a ‘flâneur’ – strolling around a place to experience it.

²⁶ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.82

²⁷ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, (USA: Harvard University Press, 2002), N1a,8

1. THEORIES OF THE ARCHIVE – SECTION B:

the content: utilising the method of cross-referencing between ‘convolutes’ illuminates the work and findings. Therefore, it is these ‘convolutes’ that we can understand as alternative archival spaces, and, within this, the mechanism to be of cross-referencing.

The Theoretical Illustrative Relationship between Text and Photograph:

Acting as keystones to illustration discourse are the theories of Roland Barthes²⁸, and underlying this sub-section are his references and stance on the relationship between text and image. I revisit these theories later in the thesis when analysing the relationship between the photograph and caption, presented as the image and text, when considering the possibilities of the *illustrative turn*²⁹. However, at this moment, it is necessary to introduce them with regard to the examination of photographs. This examination is two-fold: firstly an analysis of how photographs can be documented and placed within a written text; and secondly defining the instances at which together these photographs and written texts become an illustration.

Barthes’ theories, when applied to the *archive as illustrated space* framework, offer the opportunity for photographs to be presented and interpreted as illustrations. For this to occur, it is necessary to examine and theoretically define how this can be possible. To do so Barthes’ analysis of firstly the photographic image, using *studium* and *punctum*³⁰ (Fig.10), and secondly his discussion of the relationship between the (photographic) image and text³¹, are examined.

Within Barthes’ analysis of the photographic image, the first factor he defines is *studium*. This, he says, is the element that initially gets your attention: proposed as a polite interest to the photograph itself, it also shows the intention of the photographer – we experience this intention in reverse as we view from a spectator’s perspective³². To elaborate on this intention, the photographer thinks of the idea and presents it photographically, and the spectator then has to act in the opposite way: through interpreting the photograph, they understand the ideas and intentions behind it. It is at this moment that the spectator’s culture becomes an important connotation within *studium* as “culture is a contract arrived at between creators and consumers”³³. Thus, culture becomes a point of contact that affects the ways ideas are translated between photographer and spectator: two spectators from completely different cultures analysing the same photograph will form two very different interpretations. Effectively, the *studium* works as a tool that can be considered to be illustrative due to its open communicative nature (to the spectator).

The second factor, in Barthes’ analysis of the photographic image, is that of *punctum*. *Punctum* considers rare details in the photograph that make the viewer feel that there is something compelling in the image – things that “prick or bruise”³⁴ – that they do not fully understand. In turn, this pushes the photograph even further, existing antithetically

²⁸ Early on in their Undergraduate study illustration students are introduced to Roland Barthes’ writings in order to establish a theoretical grounding around illustration.

²⁹ ‘The Archive as a Participatory Tool’, Chapter 1, Section D.

³⁰ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, (London: Vintage 2000, Random House, 1993).

³¹ Roland Barthes, *Image, Music Text*, (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1977).

³² Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, p.28.

³³ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, p.28.

³⁴ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, p.27.

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to illustration. Though these two factors can exist simultaneously, *punctum* disturbs *studium*; changing the spectator's reading and interpretation of the photograph. Brian Dillon, a contemporary author and art critic, describes Barthes' fascination to be "the way certain details or textures or moods seem to hold his attention"³⁵ – in other words a fascination with the photographer's art. Here, it should be noted that presenting examples of *punctum* within a collection of photographs is an impossible task, as the *punctum* always turns into the *studium* when expressed in language.

Clearly, the *punctum* is much more powerful and compelling to the spectator than that of *studium*. For photographers an understanding of the *punctum* could potentially allow stronger images to be made. *Punctum* exists at the point of impact, which in itself may have meaning – though not necessarily what was originally hidden within the photographic image's meaning. It points to those features of a photograph that seem to produce or convey a meaning without invoking any recognisable symbolic system, in which the meaning is unique to the response of each individual viewer of the image. This differs greatly from the *studium*, which draws on indications of historical, social and cultural meanings, all of which can be extracted through semiotic analysis. The *punctum* punctuates the *studium* and as a result 'pricks' the viewer: demanding a response, a participation. In this instance, the *punctum* can be considered as a tool within the *archive as illustrated space*: simultaneously it is applicable to presenting a photograph as an illustration. One instance of this presentation could be in regard to the use of illustrative approaches to the photograph, which include the appropriation of found photographs and the use of miscatalogued photographs.

The Practical Illustrative Relationship between Text and Photograph:

To fully understand and rationalise the illustrative use of photographs with text it is necessary to locate Barthes' theory, of the *studium* and *punctum*, alongside an analysis of the writings and uses of photography by W. G. Sebald, a writer and academic, and Walter Benjamin, who used photographs in *The Arcades Project*.

Sebald's illustrative approach to using photographs:

Sebald frequently makes use of photographs and other visual materials (such as architectural plans, engravings and paintings) to accompany or intersect his written works³⁶. He often drops un-captioned images into his text which imply an additional level of documentary evidence. These imply that Sebald really must have undertaken the walk or visited the building, or whatever the text is describing at that point. Here, the photographs work as illustrations, with an implied *studium* and desired interpretation of the *punctum*.

Sebald's key text, analysed in regard to the structure of the archive, is his 2001 novel

³⁵ Brian Dillon, 'RB and Me: An Education', in *Objects in the Mirror*, p.343.

³⁶ Few writers embed photographs in their literary works: John Berger's *A Fortunate Man* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd, 2016), which uses photographs taken by his friend Jean Mohr, is another example.

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Austerlitz – a novel which may or may not be fiction³⁷ (Fig.11). Here, Sebald extends his illustrative approach and uses found photographs to illustrate his character's life. It is because of our preconceived assumptions that we believe both the narrative and the figure photographed to be factual – the *studium* ensuring the relationship between the text and image authenticates the narrative, the found photographs also acting as narrative authenticators. Sebald's key intention is to use the photograph to convince the reader of the authenticity of the text. This is evident when he stipulates that "the written word is not a true document after all. The photograph is the true document, par excellence. People let themselves be convinced by a photograph"³⁸.

Here the photographs serve a purpose and it is in this moment, where they support and illustrate the narrative content, that they are acting as illustrations. This shifts the relationship from text-and-image to be image-and-text: the photograph, read as the image, holding the advantage.

When the viewer comprehends that *Austerlitz* is a work of fiction, travel and history – evident when Sebald comments that he has "always collected stray photographs, there's a great deal of memory in them"³⁹ – the status of the photographs becomes questionable. Suddenly, despite the authenticity that Sebald has worked to establish and the convincing qualities associated with the visuals of the photograph, we realise that *Austerlitz* himself is a composite of many people, partly constructed from Sebald's method of reappropriating and placing found photographs adjacent to his own photography.

Sebald claims that the photographs and documents he used were largely authentic because the people he documented in the text exist. In this instance, this sense of authenticity sees Sebald working with a different notion of the 'truth', one which is separate from a historical truth and instead concerned more with the moment that the event has left on the narrative. Hence, by placing this authentic status on the photographs he diminishes their value of truth: in doing so he highlights the possibility of fiction and uncertainty. Here Sebald is working with a literary reveal – asking the viewer to bridge the gap between the photographs and the text, placing an expectation on the viewer to participate despite their understanding of the narrative shifting – which is not too distant from the nature of the *illustrative turn*, in relation to its reliance on participation despite misdirection.

Benjamin's illustrative approach to using photographs:

Sebald's method brings us on to the discussion of the use of found photographs and allows us to expand on Benjamin's work, focusing both on his theoretical discussions of the *aura* and on his use of photographs in *The Arcades Project*.

³⁷ W. G. Sebald, *Austerlitz*, (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2002).

³⁸ Maya Jaggi, *The Last Word*, (London: The Guardian, 2001), p.2.

³⁹ Jaggi, *The Last Word*, p.2.

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Aura is a term first introduced by Benjamin in his 1936 essay, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*⁴⁰ (Fig.12). Benjamin links the concept of *aura* with authenticity – and subsequently to art, tradition and uniqueness – before determining how the *aura* should never be separated from its original function⁴¹. Benjamin stipulates that the *aura* is the effect of a work of art being uniquely present in time and space, as compared to a reproduced artwork never being fully present. This is evident when he comments that: “what shrinks in an age where the work of art can be reproduced by technological means is its *aura*”⁴². To expand on this definition, Benjamin sees the *aura* as fundamentally connected to tradition and the reproduced work of art as detached from this tradition: it loses its continuity of both its presentation and appreciation⁴³.

In his essay Benjamin argues against the use of technological means, such as camera and film (effectively photography), claiming that these advances would have a detrimental effect on the *aura* of an original artwork. Despite this, Benjamin openly admitted that the pages of *The Arcades Project* “provided a space for collection”⁴⁴, which included that of photographs and photographic fragments. In one section, ‘Arcades and Interiors’, Benjamin included three photographs taken by his friend Sasha Stone. Here Benjamin shifted the content of his writings in order to reflect, through description, what could be visually seen. This act of reappropriation is working against his discussions to retain the *aura*, yet is effectively contributing to the photograph becoming a key component in the relationship between image and text – it is here that the photographic images are acting as illustrations, with the text and to the reader.

Subsequently, in ‘Arcades and Interiors’ Benjamin nods to the responsive relationship between image and text, returning us to Barthes’ theoretical discussion. Barthes uses the term *relay*⁴⁵ to describe image-text relationships that are complementary, ones that when together create a narrative: this relationship holds the potential to become an active participator in communicating the narrative illustratively⁴⁶. If we extend this concept to consider the photograph to be the image in the relationship, we can examine the insignificance of the image as compared to the significance of the photograph, in regard to the text it relates to. The importance of the relationship between the photograph and the text is evidenced by Barthes when he comments that “the structure of the photograph is not isolated, it is in communication with at least one other structure: namely the text – title, caption, or article”⁴⁷.

Here Barthes’ stance shows how within this relationship the textual component could expand to become a photographic caption; the photographic component could extend to be a group of photographs that satisfy one strand of a narrative contained within the *archive as illustrated space*, for example. In this instance, Barthes’ stance is much more favourable to the photograph and text relationship, offering the opportunity for the creator to take advantage of this relationship.

⁴⁰ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*.

⁴¹ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p.7.

⁴² Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p.7.

⁴³ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p.7.

⁴⁴ Ursula Marx, ‘Rag Picking’, in *Walter Benjamin’s Archive*, (London: Verso Publishing, 2007), p.252.

⁴⁵ Barthes, ‘The Rhetoric of the Image’, in *Image, Music Text*, p.32.

⁴⁶ It is important to note here that Barthes later shifted his opinion in regard to the balance between text and image. In his 1961 essay ‘The Photographic Message’ he discusses how, within illustration, the text relies on the image, rather than existing in relation to it.

⁴⁷ Roland Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, in *Image, Music Text*, p.16.

Positioning the Photograph-Text Relationship within the Archive as Illustrated Space Framework:

Sebald's method of taking advantage of the relationship between photographic image and text differs somewhat from Benjamin's. Sebald's works, which shift freely between that of literary and visual, are set up as textual accounts of narrative, in which the lines between authenticity and fictionalisation are blurred. Sebald, as a writer, is using a multitude of theories to play with forms: though he is successful in utilising his system of photographs, he encounters problems in conceiving the ideal framework (Fig. 13).

At moments it could be considered that Sebald is concerned with creating an archive that is seductive, both visually and in its narrative content. This is evident if we consider the relationships that viewers can build from the knowledge that Sebald has laced through his writing. It is working in this manner that limits him from creating this ideal framework: Sebald remains at odds with acknowledging the rational order of the archive⁴⁸, instead focusing on creating a seductive archive, which opens up a risk that the archive itself will begin to undo its ordering principles. For Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* these ordering principles were lost when the work was shifted from the space he was working in to publication – in the same moment as the loss of the *aura*.

Sebald's photographs demand that they are read in conjunction with not just the narrative of the text, but more specifically the style. In order to position these narratives so they convey a truth of some kind, he has worked to present stories that are conveyed through the photographs. Sebald, by positioning himself as a narrator, is perfectly placed to cast doubt upon this boundary between truth and fiction – the boundary of uncertainty. The narration in *Austerlitz* uses memoir, with groups of photographs linked to a specific extract of text, to establish and reinforce the flow of time.

However this memoir (in which the image-text relationship is that of photograph-memoir) firstly reinforces and then later destabilises the sense of authenticity. It does so by exposing its own inconsistencies, therefore causing the reader to question where these boundaries of truth and fiction lie – similar to the intention of the *illustrative turn*. Though his passive engagement with the past is potentially problematic, employed as a tactic it allows Sebald to draw the reader into the questioning forms of history, memory and nostalgia, in the creation of convincing life stories. As Dillon proposes⁴⁹, Sebald's writing does this through its relationship to both creativity and melancholy⁵⁰.

A final analytical look at Sebald's *Austerlitz* is concerned with how the photographs act not only as illustrations but considers Barthes' analysis using the factors of *studium* and *punctum*. In this instance the found photographs Sebald appropriates hold a *punctum* quality, apparent to both narrator and reader, which is reinforced through their grainy condition. This condition could be described as *auratic*: present in order to illustrate a

⁴⁸ Brian Dillon, *The Seductiveness of Archives*, (London: Artangel, 2010).

⁴⁹ It is often thought that Dillon's own writing, both memoir and critique, is of a melancholic style reminiscent of Sebald – most notably his works *In the Dark Room* and *Essayism*.

⁵⁰ Dillon formulates this opinion during his 'In Conversation' with John Banville and Lara Feigel, an event facilitated by the Centre for Modern Literature and Culture Department, King's College London, as part of the exhibition *Melancholia, A Sebald Variation*, November 2017.

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truth about time, one that revolves around the role played by this semi-obscure quality in culture today, which we as readers are previously aware of, and as such affects our interpretation. Within the context of *Austerlitz* the grainy quality alludes to this physical presence of the past – definitely *aura* – not only referencing the memories associated with the narrative but illustrating the truths contained within the said narrative. Sebald takes this one step further: utilising this grainy effect as an illustrative approach to reframe the photograph as a remnant of archival material. It is at this instance that the photograph can be seen to be functioning fully as an illustration. Furthermore, by examining the image-text relationship through the lens of Benjamin's *The Arcades Project*, the use and application of photographs to be seen and presented as illustrations is consolidated further. Thus, this is a technique that holds the potential to advance the *archive as illustrated space* framework.

Contextualising Theories of the Archive:

The analyses of the (structural) theories of the archive allow the archive to be considered as a complex framework (Fig.14). Within this, the unpicking of the presentation of images with text, facilitated through examining frameworks by Foucault and Burke, and then expanded by an in-depth analysis of the underlying framework of Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* have advanced the possibilities of underpinning the complex methods of presenting images with text.

The illustrative relationship between image and text that Benjamin explored is advanced by reframing it within Barthes' theory of the role of the photograph: if this photograph is taken as the image and offered in relation to the text. In this instance it became possible to fully understand and utilise the production of the archival photograph, and indeed evidence how utilising Barthes' approach to these photographs can encourage the viewer to actively participate in the archive. Simultaneous to this, analysed through the lens of Sebald's practice, the archival photograph (when aligned with a narrative) can assist in convincing the viewer of the truth of the (illustrated) archive, and due to the participation of the viewer, the *illustrative turn*. Indeed, this evidences how underpinning an image (in this case, a photographic image) with a text, to structure an archive, is successful. In considering this archival structure, both in theory and practice, the potential to expand the *archive as illustrated space* framework has been created.

Upon analysis of various theories of the archive, and indeed consideration of how this informs and impacts the framework for an *archive as illustrated space*, it becomes apparent how this archival structure has the potential to be advanced further: through utilising an artistic approach. Thus, by refocusing the analysis towards the artistic archive, and positioning with knowledge established in this sub-section investigating the archival structure, it will be possible to deduce if the *archive as illustrated space* framework has the potential to exist as both fully immersive and participatory for the viewer.

The *archive as illustrated space* has the potential to utilise certain qualities of the archival structure, particularly the way archives communicate and our understanding of how archives function, to encourage the viewer to participate – as established in the previous section. But, in order for it to exist as illustrative and fully immersive for the viewer, this archival structure needs to be considered and analysed from an artistic approach (Fig.15). This is apparent from the art historian Beatrice von Bismarck's view that:

artistic archives can have the straightforward purpose of self-archiving, of self-representation with an autobiographical approach. Others are rather critically aimed at existing attitudes, relations and conditions... artistic archives put forward alternative modes of both representation and self-representation⁵¹

As a result, this section considers artistic practitioners' ideas, work and responses, to this idea of the artistic archive, and offers a theoretical grounding in order to rationalise these findings. Here, I am proposing that the discipline of illustration has the potential to extend the effects of these works. In this instance the practitioners considered – Christian Boltanski, Susan Hiller, Walid Raad and Jamie Shovlin – are all installation artists, rather than illustrators, yet work predominantly with conveying either personal or fictional narratives⁵². However, it is important to note that not only do they act as archival artists in a dynamic and engaging way, what the practitioners are doing allows us to understand elements of illustration more fully, particularly in regard to the use of narrative, photography and audience engagement. Thus, the key points that are examined are:

- the use of the archive term and its system.
- how the archive can be appropriated to hold work and manipulated to utilise the gaps.
- how these archives exist and appear to the viewer.
- the trace.

It is important to note that the work of these four practitioners is approached and analysed through the lens of a secondary position: none of the works have been experienced in their original installation format and context. This is an interesting perspective in which to have situated myself that is useful to consider within the overall framework of what an *archive as illustrated space* can be and, more importantly, how it can function with longevity. Thus, this section will consider this secondary viewing in order to understand how an *archive as illustrated space* can and will function once all that remains is the documentation⁵³. How, and in what form, will this documentation be archived? Due to this stance, the analysis of each of the practitioners' works is supported by diagrams made in response to this secondary viewing – rather than showcasing photographs of the actual physical installations.

The Use of the Archive Term and its System:

⁵¹ Beatrice von Bismarck, 'Positioning Difference: The Museological Archive', in *The Archive As A Productive Space Of Conflict*, ed. by Markus Meissen and Yann Chateigne (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016), p.66.

⁵² Chapter 2 is concerned with 'Illustration Research as Practice'. As such the selection of these four practitioners has been deliberate: all four foreground and utilise a body of research to create visual installations – their practices are research-driven. In terms of chronology, Boltanski and Hiller began making work at a similar time, with Raad and Shovlin embarking on projects later.

⁵³ This is enriched by including reviews and quotations from those who have experienced the installations first-hand and supported by reflections on secondary resources, such as post-exhibition website documentation and exhibition catalogues.

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There is a long-standing relationship between fine artists and the archive: artistic endeavours with the archive have been widely experimented with and successfully received by audiences. Art critic and historian Hal Foster's investigational essay 'An Archival Impulse'⁵⁴ examines the practices of artists, practitioners and documentary makers, seeking to understand how "archival artists seek to make historical information, often lost or displaced, physically present, elaborating on the found image, object and text and favouring the installation format as they do so"⁵⁵.

The relationship between illustrative practitioners and the archive is somewhat underdeveloped, in comparison to Foster's stance on archival artists. However, as mentioned earlier, archival artists utilise illustrative qualities and devices – communicating narratives through images, photographs and documents, for example – which analysis of can assist in our understanding of the successful artistic archive. This understanding begins with examining the practitioners' use of the archive term and its system.

For Christian Boltanski, a photographer, painter and film maker, his declared intention is to preserve and protect those individuals life stories that lie beneath both public knowledge and archival efforts – those that generally go unrecorded. Boltanski works with the "passage from the highly personal to the highly collective"⁵⁶. He achieves this by re-appropriating his own childhood memories to form fictitious narratives that are laced with truths — traces of his life that resonate with the audience — alongside historical references that the viewer recognises, such as images associated with the Holocaust. What is interesting is how he affords equal weighting to the fictions and the so-called truths, or fixed points. To refer to Christophe Kihm, a writer and curator:

the falsification of documents produces false forms of architecture, fictitious archives, even hoaxes, but it often masks its procedures, playing with the significance of certain codes of representation, or else with the belief that we can grant to certain narratives⁵⁷.

Boltanski's sophisticated infiltration of dubious elements into both a narrative and archival structure is taken a step further by Walid Raad, a contemporary media artist. For Raad, the distinction between fiction and non-fiction does not apply: both fantasy and imagination are present, though both are grounded in real events, dates and statistics and interwoven with broader historical moments and trends. Raad's work *The Atlas Group* (1989 - 2004) is anchored in the Middle East, particularly Lebanon, and elements of his personal narratives are also conveyed⁵⁸. As an archive, *The Atlas Group* presents a history that Raad felt was important: one that was missing from Lebanon's official archival documentation.

Raad's investigations are concerned with creating a sense of authenticity through presenting photographs, documents and first-person narratives. These components exist under three categories within the archival system of *The Atlas Group*: Raad

⁵⁴ Hal Foster, 'An Archival Impulse', in *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p.143-148.

⁵⁵ Foster, 'An Archival Impulse', p.143.

⁵⁶ Christian Boltanski, *The Possible Life of Christian Boltanski*, ed. by Catherine Grenier (Boston: MFA Publications, 2007), p.78.

⁵⁷ Christophe Kihm, 'What Art does to Archives', in *The Archive as a Productive Space of Conflict*, p.434.

⁵⁸ It is important to note here that Raad's project *The Atlas Group* is the closest in intent to a strand of this PhD enquiry: arguably, in both, there is an element that deals with what is absent, or hidden, in official or established archives.

utilising a recognisable framework to establish this authenticity (Fig.16). These works are catalogued depending on who was attributed to making them: Cat. A refers to documents attributed to individuals; Cat. FD for documents that are attributed to anonymous individuals, or institutions; and Cat. AGP, an acronym of Atlas Group Project, holds the documents attributed to the group itself. Here Raad is working in a method similar to one that Foster deduces the artist works in by “arranging materials according to a quasi-archival logic, a matrix of citation and juxtaposition, and presenting them in a quasi-archival architecture”⁵⁹.

Raad presents himself as an archivist of *The Atlas Group*, though in fact he was the sole member. Within its documentation, he openly unveils the group’s artistic strategies: manifested of complex layers of truth, which rely on storytelling and performance to unveil the narratives contained.

Jamie Shovlin, a conceptual fine artist, also unveils the strategies and truth of the narratives contained in his work *Naomi V. Jelish*, first exhibited in 2004. The character of Naomi is a schoolgirl who disappeared in 1991, her work later discovered and archived. The *Naomi V. Jelish* work is convincing despite its fictional nature as Shovlin works in a manner in keeping with the assumption of the archivist Sue Breakwell that “an archive is a set of traces, of actions, the records left by a life”⁶⁰ – in this instance the twelve-year-old schoolgirl, Naomi. Accompanying the exhibition is a catalogue and in its opening essay Shovlin introduces and commemorates John Ivesmail, presenting him as the original collector of Naomi’s work and the true curator of the exhibition. It is in this essay that Shovlin establishes his own connection to the artist’s work – by commenting that Ivesmail was his landlord – and this history provides another layer to convince the viewer of the validity of this artistic archive.

The exploratory media artist Susan Hiller’s practice ties in multi-faceted interests and subsequently her projects exist as contained, independent archives: if viewed together they are enriched, forming a larger archive – similar to that of Benjamin’s *The Arcades Project*⁶¹. Hiller’s practice focuses on the parts of our culture that are often overlooked and unnoticed. This is similar to Raad’s approach but a slight shift from the underlying narratives both Boltanski and Shovlin lace into their work, which are almost always inspired by self-experiences, self-history or personal interests. This shift in the methods of how the content of the work is archived, that we first analysed in Shovlin’s work, is stronger and more prominent in Hiller’s: she demands we approach the work from a different stance. Hiller’s territories of interest are memory, witness and archives⁶² and her attitude to what is archived can be seen as an advantage: not just in relation to the question of bias and personal connection, but in regard to the materials documented. To expand on this: it is the stories and experiences that exist between the seen and unseen, the heard and unheard, that act as limits to the areas that interest her. As curator Ann Gallagher states:

⁵⁹ Foster, ‘An Archival Impulse’, p.145.

⁶⁰ Sue Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, (London: Tate Papers, No. 9, 2008), p.1.

⁶¹ ‘Theories of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section B.

⁶² Susan Hiller, ‘Working Through Objects’, in *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p.40.

Hiller identifies her role as that of the curator... bringing to the task not just an ability to draw together works with hidden or unexpected connections but also to utilise her characteristic mode of arranging and ordering to select and display artworks to which she has been drawn⁶³.

Evidently, the approaches to the archive vary dependent on the practitioner and their intention. This is also true of their utilisation of the archive's system: they work in a multitude of ways to tell complex narratives, weaving both fact and fiction. It can be constituted that what is constant is the 'validity' of the archive, its authenticity: when fictional narratives are contained in the artistic archive, the installation artist is concerned with the unveiling of these. In comparison, with narratives that are factual or personal, the practitioner is concerned with the viewer accessing the complete story. It is now imperative to extend the archive term to fully understand how an artistic archive is formed: how it holds visual artworks and how the practitioner manipulates archival gaps.

How the Archive can be Appropriated To Hold Work and Manipulated To Utilise The Gaps:

The artistic archive has many visual components in which two, the appropriation of both narratives and photographs, are key to this investigation (Fig.17). For an installation to be viewed as an artistic archive we can return to Kihm, who states:

the constitution of an artistic archive can be understood as the genealogy of the research and production of the artwork. This archive is usually assembled through the collection of a set of retained traces and clues in the creative process: rough drawings, sketches, preparatory elements, notes, texts, objects, so on⁶⁴.

Ultimately then, the appropriation of visual components – which is what Kihm stipulates an archive is assembled through – is partly related to the possibilities created through the text and image relationship. Considering this relationship within the artistic archive structure offers an opportunity to return to Barthes. His theoretical suggestion supposes that for a reader to gain a full understanding of artwork, it must be presented and understood with its context, or shadow, which Barthes defines as "a bit of ideology... a bit of subject: ghosts, pockets, traces..."⁶⁵.

These shadows are present in Raad's use of photography. Raad draws on the use of the family photograph album to establish the authenticity of a character associated with *The Atlas Group*, and shadowing this is the construction of a plausible narrative for said character. Raad shadows the use of photographs by questioning their role as objective recordings, asserting that this method of reading is insufficient to enable a full understanding of historical events.

In comparison, Boltanski establishes a belief in his artistic archives by incorporating

⁶³ Ann Gallagher, 'Shape Shifting', in *Deconstructing Susan Hiller*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2011) p.13.

⁶⁴ Kihm, 'What Art does to Archives', p.431.

⁶⁵ Barthes, *The Pleasure of Text*, p.410.

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photographs from family albums, which are often deliberately enlarged and blurred, as a familiar artefact for an audience to hook onto and recognise. In establishing this belief it is then possible to infiltrate dubious elements into the narrative, and thus archive structure⁶⁶.

Shovlin's *Naomi V. Jelish* archive can be unpicked with reference to many of both Boltanski and Raad's devices – despite Shovlin working with a different method. All three practitioners utilise the black and white photograph in their archival structures: Boltanski using the object to establish the family context; Raad to explore the text-image relationship; and Shovlin to establish the authenticity of the character Naomi. Shovlin does so by using portraits and snapshots of Naomi as markers to both the wall text and catalogue essay. In doing so the photographs contribute to the text, rather than extending it, demanding that the illustrations themselves take a central role in the archive.

Boltanski, Raad and Shovlin all illustrate the creative potential of working with both found archival photographs and manipulated photographs. By playing with how these are presented in the artistic archive they provide the audience with alternative visual reference points that they may or may not consciously recognise and identify with. The artists' methods provide the audience with a different perspective on the concept of authenticity, allowing the archive to perform as "it not only draws on informal archives but produces them as well, as found yet constructed, factual yet fictive, public yet private"⁶⁷.

Raad's approach to the relationship between text and image is pertinent in regard to how his visual components not only occupy the public space, but convey narratives. He interrogates and in some instances undermines the assumed text-image relationship⁶⁸ by producing wall texts as accompaniments to installations, written either in the first person or in the voice of an imaginary character. He further illuminates this relationship by frequent lecture performances, occupying the stance of a scholar⁶⁹.

At points Shovlin extends the potential of the artistic archive further than Raad, particularly through his use of catalogue essays: pushing them further than Raad's fictive statements of *The Atlas Group*. Using the literary technique of *unreliable narration*⁷⁰, Shovlin's text works to confound the reader. By presenting the archive as curated by John Ivesmail, Shovlin manipulates the role of the author. In doing so, this triggers another clue to the fictitious element of the work as John Ivesmail is an anagram of Jamie Shovlin (as is Naomi V Jelish). Shovlin extends this literary technique by merging it with the seemingly objective archive: by employing a fictional character to discuss the real material of the archive⁷¹.

It is at this instance that Shovlin brings illustration to the forefront of the artistic archive:

⁶⁶ This could be seen as acting in a similar manner to how Sebald fuses factual and fictional elements, particularly photographs, into his writing – as discussed in 'Theories of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section B.

⁶⁷ Foster, 'An Archival Impulse', p.145.

⁶⁸ The text-image relationship, analysed in relation to theories by Roland Barthes and applied to the works of Sebald and Benjamin, is extensively discussed in 'Theories of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section B.

⁶⁹ Walid Raad, *The Atlas Group*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2016), p.33.

⁷⁰ Roland Barthes, 'Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives', in *Image, Music, Text*, p.79-124.

⁷¹ This is an established artistic archive strategy and has also been employed by artist Mark Dion, who does so by examining the potential of a curiosity cabinet and indeed an archive.

the *Naomi V. Jelish* archive contains her illustrations and sketchbooks. The wall text and catalogue essay support Naomi's work: presented with no caption, the visual context extends them, acting within Barthes' discussion of the text and image relationship⁷². These illustrations not only depict Naomi but they are a product of her hand and give the reader an insight into her character: the reader feels empathy for her. However this is not illustration in its truest form – Naomi's drawings are so detailed they read as having a photographic style. In this instance they are more credible if considered as meticulous copies of photographs, rather than as images drawn in the everyday: here illustration is used as a device to reference the fictitious element of the archive.

Focusing on memory, one of Hiller's self-identified territories, examination of her work shows that this memory is derived from oral traditions and presented through narrative. Hiller's motivation appears to lie deeper than this: in her work she questions how to embody these memories and narratives authentically within an artistic archive. Hiller achieves this by remaining aware of the contexts of the memories she is archiving, and subsequently her practice outputs vary accordingly. Hiller's approach is to layer the work with fragments in order to convey a multi-faceted narrative that ties in not just what has been heard but offers space for what is unheard. This is achieved by the employment of the narrative trace.

We have established that Shovlin allows the narratives to impact on the viewer but Hiller evolves this: through the narrative trace she allows the viewer space to interpret the stories for themselves, demanding they take on a participatory role. However, with this they bring their own personal experiences and biases. Thus, the narratives are subject to the participator, and thus the truths may be tarnished. This leads towards the concept of the truth and how often the archive is taken as a premise that houses truths, yet we know that "the archive is a truth surrounded by countless other truths... it does not tell us the truth, but it speaks of the truth"⁷³. It is through a methodological approach that Hiller layers truth within the narrative successfully. Because of this, and supported by the earlier analysis of Raad and Shovlin, it is possible to identify the narrative trace as a component in the construction of the *archive as illustrated space*.

It is Hiller who we can also look to in order to understand how the manipulation of 'gaps' can be utilised in archives, with regard to her attempts in encouraging the viewer to actively participate. The aesthetic ideology of what Hiller proposes the archive could become is enriched by highlighting the 'gaps': a trigger to the truth of the fabricated artistic archive. Simultaneously, Hiller is commenting on the archival system and its irony: how it can be seen as complete and authentic, due to its organising principles and means of display, but that fundamentally the 'gaps' are what is interesting. These 'gaps' are further emphasised in Hiller's mode of cataloguing the contents of the archive: the archival material is presented as evidence yet with the cataloguing she refrains from using archival language that the viewer would recognise as authentic – that of scientific,

⁷² 'Theories of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section B.

⁷³ Hans Ulrich Obrist, 'Archiving in Formation', in *The Archive As A Productive Space Of Conflict*, p.548.

historical or medical, as Raad does – instead favouring language which references fact or fiction, true or false testimony, and authentic experience or delusion. Here, Hiller has adopted a similar principle to that concerned with the use of the photographic caption: that the viewer will suspend their questioning of the language used in favour of accepting the archive to be true, due to the assumed authenticity of archival material when accompanied by a caption.

How these Archives Exist and Appear to the Viewer:

The artistic archive has the potential to exist and appear both as factual and authentic to the viewer. Yet, on occasion, practitioners demand that the archive in question appears as a participatory opportunity for the viewer – which aligns with the intention of the *archive as illustrated space*.

Despite the extensive cataloguing system of *The Atlas Group*, Raad attempted to disrupt the viewer's understanding of the archive by unveiling its fictive quality immediately. This is attempted due to how the viewer encounters a fictive statement upon occupying the space. However, more often than not, we are told that the viewer has failed to grasp this⁷⁴. This response perhaps stems from the established authority of archives "as the repositories of documents that enable and authorise our understanding of history"⁷⁵. It is because of this that Raad is able to extend this suspicion to all archival material. With suspicion inflected on the artefacts, he plays with the idea of authenticity, presenting the generated documents as alternative sources of truth.

In *Naomi V. Jelish* Shovlin also plays with the idea of authenticity. His nature of making, collating and presenting this fictitious archive not only works to convince the reader of its authenticity, but also confuses them. The wall statement clearly articulates its fictional nature, yet this truth is often overlooked by the audience, in the same manner that Raad's truth is avoided. This avoidance is due to their reluctance to counter the authenticity of the visuals they are exposed to, which disguise the truth. Unpicking Shovlin's method, art critic Rachel Tant deduces that through "using conventional presentation – the museum collection, archive, literary compendia – Shovlin questions how information manifests itself as authoritative"⁷⁶.

Shovlin's catalogue, as a shadow to the artwork, works both in-situ and independently, as a secondary viewing. The placement of triggers, hinting at the fictional nature of the artwork, are conceived to project doubt onto the reader. Both the exhibition and the catalogue consist of drawings, found articles and interruptive handwritten notes, extending this performance of authenticity. The inclusion of stains and indexical marks on the paper, that has yellowed and ripped in places, are all illustrative devices which Shovlin uses to imply authenticity to the reader. Yet all of these elements are laced with clues to the hidden truth – one newspaper article even reads "caught-out artist

⁷⁴ Raad, *The Atlas Group*, p.31.

⁷⁵ Raad, *The Atlas Group*, p.31.

⁷⁶ Rachel Tant, 'Jamie Shovlin: In Search of Perfect Harmony', in *Keep on Onnin'* (London: Tate Publishing, 2007), p.71.

was a liar and a cheat”⁷⁷. By directing the reader towards this lack of authenticity and simultaneously making the truth clear, Shovlin takes control of the lie within his artistic archive, whilst implementing mechanisms to reveal this.

Through the crafted catalogue, Shovlin subtly questions how fake information can impact on the reader as both subjective and objective truth. This dual-truth method contributes to the visual, illustrative impact of both the catalogue and the original artwork: Shovlin’s art has a superficial authenticity, a look that immediately persuades the reader to interpret the *Naomi V. Jelish* archive as factual. Thus, it is Shovlin, when compared to the other practitioners, whose documentation comes closest to one aspect of the *archive as illustrated space*: that of longevity and how an artistic archive can be viewed secondarily. Rather than solely documented in the traditional format of articles or books, Shovlin’s exhibition catalogue resonates and often reappropriates the finer details of the archive.

In comparison, rather than appearing as authentic, Hiller’s archives exist as opportunities for the viewer to take an active participatory role in unveiling the hidden meanings and thus complete the narratives⁷⁸ within her installations. She encourages and entices the viewer to continue their analysis by hinting that there is something there to unveil: working to “not completely cover them up but layer, occlude, obscure or shadow them”⁷⁹. Thus, when the participant makes the connections between the hidden elements they are rewarded with the completion of the narrative.

The Trace:

In ‘Theories of the Archive’ the concept of the trace was considered as a contributor to the framework for an *archive as illustrated space*: this can be established as true upon consideration of it through the artistic archive lens ([Fig.18](#)). From analysis of Foucault’s archival structure, it is possible to determine that the trace holds the potential to momentarily fix or offer a truth within the archive – in particular through the viewer’s interpretation of an archival document⁸⁰. In order to advance this concept of the trace, with regard to the artistic archive, we can return to Foster’s *archival impulse*⁸¹.

Foster, when considering the *archival impulse*, stipulates that archival artists are concerned less with absolute origins than with obscure traces, and how these traces will offer points of departure⁸². Kihm also explores the idea of the artistic archive, stating that it “is usually assembled through the collection of a set of retained traces and clues in the creative process”⁸³. Here, the concept of the trace is fully in conversation within the artistic archive.

The trace is imperative to the success of the archival artist’s work. If we consider artists who work with traces, we realise that the function of their archive is to preserve and present certain traces of the creative work. Paul Ricoeur, a philosopher, expands on the

⁷⁷ Jamie Shovlin, *Naomi V. Jelish, Curated by John Ivesmail, Presented by Jamie Shovlin*, (London: Rifle-maker Press, 2004).

⁷⁸ Roland Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, in *Image, Music, Text*, p.147.

⁷⁹ Susan Hiller, ‘The Performance of the Self: Hidden Histories’, in *The Provisional Texture of Reality*, p.71.

⁸⁰ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.7

⁸¹ ‘The Role of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section A.

⁸² Foster, ‘An Archival Impulse’, p.143.

⁸³ Kihm, ‘What Art does to Archives’, p.432.

trace, defining it as “such a requirement that can be shown if we examine the thought process that begins with the notion of archives then moves on to that of a document (and among documents, eyewitness testimony)”⁸⁴. Ricoeur develops his discussion of the trace, arguing that “traces are the ones that were not intended for our information”⁸⁵.

These valuable traces are pertinent to my PhD enquiry, particularly upon re-establishing identity through the archive, with respect to those that have been consciously or unconsciously obscured or lost. In this instance this stipulation also links to Foster’s initial observation that the archival artist’s intention is to seek to make historical information physically present, through artist intervention and creation — and by utilising this archival structure to “ensure a legibility”⁸⁶ as the preconceived ideal of an archive is that it exists as a historical and factual record⁸⁷. Yet if we consider what is absent from any given archive, or hidden, the place and function of that record becomes less secure, holding the potential to be manipulated. In other words it is assumed that artists working within archives are often drawn to unfulfilled beginnings or incomplete projects, for which many will offer points of departure.

Upon consideration of practitioners who are drawn to previous experiences as points of departure for their archives, we can return to Boltanski. Here, we can consider the trace as a potential to momentarily present a ‘truth’ within the archive for the viewer to interpret. Boltanski employs traces of his life that resonate with the audience – re-appropriating his own childhood memories to form fictitious narratives that are laced with truths – alongside hidden elements and historical references that the viewer immediately recognises. To extend this, Boltanski treats artefacts as traces within his artistic archives, in order to situate the authenticity of the narrative precisely and effectively. Within this technique he is concerned with “keeping a trace of all the moments of our lives and all the objects that have surrounded us”⁸⁸.

Within each of his archives that can be categorised as artistic, Boltanski layers the traces in order to document the whole story. Rather than working in a linear format, Boltanski utilises many physical outputs to convey scattered life-experiences: the viewer is offered the chance to actively engage with the contents of the archive. By playing with and manipulating the familiarity of the archival documents, the structure is read as authentic, convincing the reader until the deliberately positioned triggers encourage them to ask questions. This, combined with his use of recognisable elements in the stories (factual hooks), ensures the success of what could be defined as a partial *illustrative turn* – the premise and potential of the *turn* is expanded on in the next section, ‘The Archive as a Participatory Tool’.

Hiller’s frequent use of the trace signifies that she is working in a similar archival manner to Boltanski. This can be determined from examining her archive *Monument, 1980-1*: a series of 41 photographs of memorial plaques for late ‘ordinary’ Victorians ([Fig.19](#)).

⁸⁴ Paul Ricoeur, ‘Archives, Documents, Traces’, in *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p.66.

⁸⁵ Foster, ‘An Archival Impulse’, p.144.

⁸⁶ Foster, ‘An Archival Impulse’, p.143.

⁸⁷ Foster, ‘An Archival Impulse’, p.144.

⁸⁸ Christian Boltanski, ‘Research and Presentation of all that remains of my Childhood, 1944-1950’, in *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p.25.

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These photographs were exhibited with an audio recording of Hiller commentating on the themes of heroism, death, memory and representation. Here, Hiller uses memorial devices (gravestone plaques) visually and audibly to not only invite the audience to participate in the installation, but to create traces – in order to play with and represent absence. Through two outputs she recognises and commemorates each ‘ordinary’ individual: audibly through distinguishing their existence in numbers (of years lived); and visually through representing their existence as a commemorative plaque. It could be said that here Hiller is employing traces in response to philosopher Jaques Derrida’s comment on how often archives display “an ambiguous and fragmentary nature – that without the ‘presentness’ and absence of traces they record only what is written and processed, not what is said and thought”⁸⁹.

It is evident in *Monument, 1980-1*, and across her body of work, that Hiller is conveying the representation of absence through the trace. However, in order for the viewer to become part of the installation, this trace needs to be enticing yet remain ambiguous enough to allow room for viewer interpretation. Hiller achieves this through the tactic of narrative application, in which she describes there to be “two possible stories: one that the narrator thinks she is telling – the story-teller’s story – and the other that the listener is understanding, or hearing, or imagining”⁹⁰.

This is significant when examining Hiller’s *Monument, 1980-1* as her underlying intention for using audio recordings is to convey narratives of those figures whose identities were previously absent. Her method of communicating narrative shifts between objective and subjective, and it is at this shift that Hiller creates space for the reader to become part of the installation. Firstly, in the interpretation and understanding of the narratives conveyed; and secondly through listening to the audio in front of the memorial plaques: here, they become a physical part of the installation – both captured and seen as a barrier by others viewing the installation.

From examining the frameworks of the artistic archives created by Boltanski and Hiller it is evident that their performances are strengthened by the viewer, as it is they that: “hold together all of the traces”⁹¹, in order to complete the work. This determines the importance of using the trace as a component in the construction of an *archive as illustrated space*, as well as the necessity of fully engaging the viewer in order to achieve the moment of completion, or reveal, in the archival work.

Contextualising the Artistic Approaches to the Archive:

To summarise, a return to Breakwell’s argument that the archive is “a space where things are hidden in a state of stasis, imbued with secrecy, mystery and power”⁹² – evident when reflecting on the work of Hiller. Her work is subtle, serious in its devotion to conveying the truth of the particular cultural concern, but equally looks to and plays with

⁸⁹ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.3.

⁹⁰ Hiller, ‘Working Through Objects’, p.42.

⁹¹ Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, p.148.

⁹² Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.1.

exposing a seriousness of that concern through appropriating cultural artefacts. In Hiller's installations selected under-represented cultures are re-established using narrative techniques similar to those applied by both Boltanski and Raad – though their archives communicate personal narratives. Hiller aligns with the practice of Shovlin in regard to conveying and concealing the truth of the narratives in question, whilst subtly hinting the truth to the audience.

To position this enquiry into the artistic approaches to the archive in regard to the building of the framework of an *archive as illustrated space* (Fig.20), there are many parallels between elements of all four practitioners' and my investigation, with Hiller's work most relevant. However, Hiller has different motivations and intentions with her practice as compared to the *archive as illustrated space's* intention. Hiller approaches the archive in a different manner – as does Shovlin who uses the term to give a body of work both a context and an authenticity – if compared to my framework which aims to encourage a relationship between the practitioner and the archive, in order to produce an *archive as illustrated space*. Whilst illustratively convincing, Shovlin's *Naomi V. Jelish* archive is not grounded with a sustained body of archival research nor embedded in a self-identity or heritage.

Unlike Shovlin's approach, both Boltanski and Raad weave in self-narratives to their work – allowing themselves to self-identify with the archive presented. This connection, to the voices held and told, is paramount in the frameworks built by Boltanski, Raad and myself – in the instance of my PhD enquiry which is concerned with re-establishing the identities of fairground females. It is this connection, or lack of, that exists as the biggest gap between Hiller's archives and my approach with the *archive as illustrated space*.

Despite this gap, Hiller's methodology is most in keeping to that of the *archive as illustrated space*: her archival practice is strongly reflective of the intention for the *illustrated space* framework. Hiller and I are both attempting to draw attention to forgotten or absent narratives – I am investigating and testing ways of doing so by employing methods that are used in everyday life, whereas Hiller's ways are predominantly academic. As such I am expanding the boundaries of who will access the narratives, effectively speaking to a wider demographic than Hiller. This is assisted through the application of the *illustrative turn* which encourages the reveal of true narrative information, despite any misdirections, by the active participant – whereas the motivations of the four installation practitioners is in the telling of layered fictional narratives.

This concept of viewing the artistic archive secondarily remains a key consideration within the investigation. In regard to this, the documentation and reflection on the exhibition practice in Chapter 3 exists as a secondary viewing – operating in a similar manner to the analysis of these practitioners' work. Examining the four practitioners'

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work through this secondary lens, with regard to the artistic archive, leads me to conclude that the varying 'archives' exist as persuading to the viewer: both when viewed primarily in the exhibition space, and secondarily through the installation's documentation. They exist as persuading archives due to the creative potential employed by the practitioners to house, present and document the archival material.

The practitioners have evidenced how utilising the trace can assist the viewer: lacing the artefacts presented (whether that be photographs, illustrations, written documents or physical objects) with factual events, for the viewer to hook onto. Through the practitioner's successful manipulation of the text and image relationship, the viewer is able to access the full narrative content of the 'archive'. It is now imperative to evolve this investigation to establish an understanding of how the viewer can become an active participant in accessing the archive: gained through an analysis of its participatory qualities and an understanding of how and where the *illustrative turn* has scope to be applied.

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The investigation into the 'Role of the Archive' has so far considered the structural and artistic qualities of the archive. The premise for this investigation is to analyse these qualities in order to highlight how the *archive as illustrated space* has the potential to be informed by and draw from them. In doing so, it becomes evident how the investigation needs to evolve in order to establish how the viewer can become an active participant in accessing the narrative content of the *archive as illustrated space* (Fig.21).

Within this enquiry, I use *participatory* and *participant* in regard to the archive becoming a space in which the viewer is encouraged to take on an active role. Here, it should be noted that this participatory element aligns with one intention of the *illustrated space* framework, that of it existing as an expanded possibility of the archive itself, through the inclusion of illustrative layers. These layers are positioned within its structure and contain multi-faceted narratives. I am proposing that facilitating these two concerns, the active viewer and the use of illustrative layers, will allow the archive to become a truly participatory space.

Rather than focusing on the analysis of the qualities of the archive as positioned by theorists and explored by practitioners, this section expands upon the *illustrative turn*: a concept developed within this research to apply within the *archive as illustrated space*. The *illustrative turn* involves the direction, subsequent misdirection, then reveal to the reader. By employing this within my practice the reader is encouraged to treat the archival spaces as truthful, but hidden within are narrative strands waiting to be deciphered and re-interpreted by those who give it the required attention. If the *illustrative turn* is successful, the viewer has ultimately been rewarded with the unveiling of a complex narrative: in discovering the *turns*, through active participation, they achieve a more complete understanding. It is intended that this *illustrative turn* will be implemented into the *archive as illustrated space* as a series of components. Therefore, the third section explores 'The Archive as a Participatory Tool' and considers:

- how the participatory qualities of the archive can be extended by the illustrative approach and why this is a suitable location for the *illustrative turn*.
- the components that can be implemented to satisfy this *turn* and the mechanisms that can assist in their reveal.

Articulating a series of components enables the *illustrative turn* to be applied in a multitude of ways, so that it remains effective to the audience: if the *turn* was devised of just one component, once a viewer had recognised this the *turn* would become obsolete and no longer satisfy the viewer, upon its reveal. Within this section I examine theoretical and literary texts and visual artworks through a lens which focuses on the devices employed in these works to understand how these could be considered as components of the *illustrative turn*.

How the Participatory Qualities of the Archive can be extended by the Illustrative Approach and why this is a Suitable Location for the *Illustrative Turn*:

Foster's discussion of an approach taken by installation artists in response to the archive, in order to make obscured or hidden information physically present⁹³, has been explored in a previous section⁹⁴. It is now necessary to consider this approach in regard to the participatory qualities of the archive and the locating of the *illustrative turn*. Breakwell comments that currently "the archive is both more widely known and less fixed in its meaning"⁹⁵, which determines that the archive holds the potential to be extended in its appropriation and encounter – evolving Foster's installation view to create an interactive, participatory installation.

As illustration is primarily a communication tool, the illustrative practitioner uses layers in their work to create a narrative that tells many stories, or speaks from multiple viewpoints. As we now consider the archive to be a space "of doubled invention, rather than as the site of a singular discovery"⁹⁶, it is, in other words, also composed of layers. Taking the illustrative layers into the archival structure extends the possibilities of the archive, allowing it to become a participatory space – and simultaneously, it is these layers that can act as moments in the *illustrative turn*.

Breakwell's expansion on her perspective of the archive in regard to the experience of the viewer is evident when she comments that "multiple readings of archive material are possible, through each user having the same experience of encounter without disturbing the traces for others"⁹⁷. Whilst it is evident that this multiple reading concept is derived from the idea that multiple users will be encountering the archive, what if multiple readings of the archive for each individual viewer could be enacted through layers composed of illustrative content? If this is achieved, it is further convincing that an interactive archive is a suitable location for the *illustrative turn*.

The Components that can be Implemented to Satisfy this *Turn* and the Mechanisms that can Assist in their Reveal:

The *illustrative turn* offers the potential for the archive to extend how the viewer encounters the information (stories) held within, achieved due to the *turn's* demand that the viewer become a participant within the *space*, in order to reveal the hidden truths. We can rationalise the placing of the *illustrative turn* within an interactive archive, due to the understanding that illustration can extend how the archive is popularly and currently conceived as "a space where things are hidden in a state of static, imbued with secrecy, mystery and power"⁹⁸. The knowledge of the archive being imbued with such effects can assist the fabrication of the *illustrative turn*: within the illustrative context of the archive, this sense of 'static' can be evolved to one of an active nature, through layering the *illustrative turn* with "secrecy, mystery and power"⁹⁹ in order to reveal what is hidden.

⁹³ Foster, 'An Archival Impulse', p.143.

⁹⁴ 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', Chapter 1, Section C.

⁹⁵ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.1.

⁹⁶ Barbara A. Biesecker, 'Of Historicity, Rhetoric: The Archive as a Scene of Invention', in *On Archival Research*, p.156.

⁹⁷ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.2.

⁹⁸ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.2.

⁹⁹ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.2.

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Within the structure of an *archive as illustrated space* a successful *illustrative turn* requires consideration of the application of multiple components. This ensures that the viewer remains engaged in a variety of ways. Fabrication of the components of the *illustrative turn* is accomplished by working theoretically, alongside the development of the physical components; this satisfies both the *turn* the viewer experiences and the implementation of the triggers that help the viewer to reveal this *turn*. The physical components draw on an illustrative approach using both visual and written techniques, identified from devices that theorists, writers and visual artists employ (Fig.22).

Narrative Flow (in the archival space):

The success of the *illustrative turn* relies on the active participation by the viewer: the attentive reader who engages with the layers held within the *space* is rewarded by the reveal of the work and thus, the completion of the *turn*. This can be expanded by returning to the work of Barthes¹⁰⁰. When analysing narratives, Barthes makes a distinction between a traditional work and what he calls a 'text'¹⁰¹. He argues that traditional works render the reader passive, because the author has control of the narrative, unlike a 'text' where the reader is actively engaged in its production – because it is not restricted by conventions of linearity or authorial control¹⁰².

Barthes expands on this by distinguishing between *readerly* and *writerly* 'texts'. *Readerly* (also referred to as *closed*) 'texts' are produced with a single, definitive meaning in mind, rendering any interpretation from the audience inaccurate. In contrast, *writerly* (*open*) 'texts' have a proliferation of meaning and a disregard of narrative structure, which places the reader in a position of active control. They are open to interpretation and can have many different subjective meanings, individual to each viewer. We can consider 'texts' that are governed and extended by the context of illustration to be *writerly* (*open*) and thus, the audience is offered the chance to independently interpret them. This theoretical argument lends itself appropriately to the *illustrative turn*, when located within the interactive archive: the understanding that the *writerly* 'text' is not governed by linearity allowing the 'text' to imbue across the many layers present whilst enticing the viewer to be an active participant. This is only further encouraged by the incorporation of components.

In order for the viewer to actively participate in unveiling the *illustrative turn*, they need to be offered the required space and time to do so. This demands the author of the archive – whether that be a practitioner, an archivist or a curator – steps back from the work to allow the viewer to fully step in. Barthes expands on this by using the example of a storytelling or narrator who, unlike the author, "does not assume the responsibility of the narrative, and instead is lauded for their ability to relay stories"¹⁰³. Here, Barthes' theory of *the death of the author*¹⁰⁴ is enacted. Relaying the narrative layers through a voice which is slightly removed from the true archival maker offers the viewer the

¹⁰⁰ 'Theories of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section B.

¹⁰¹ Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p.147.

¹⁰² It should be noted here that a 'text' can take the form of any output: a piece of writing, an image, a music score.

¹⁰³ Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p.147.

¹⁰⁴ Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p.147.

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opportunity to actively peruse the narrative layers – another instance in which the archive is taking on a performative structure.

Barthes' *death of the author* theory can also be applied to instances when the reader is expected to take on an active role with regard to the unveiling of the *illustrative turn*. Lacing certain layers of the *turn* in a voice that is independent of the archive creator not only offers the viewer space to actively engage with the *archive as illustrated space*, but can be used to present a multi-faceted *turn*. Thus, a component of the *illustrative turn* can be presented as an instance when the reader needs to take an active role in deciphering the true author, in order to gain the full story – as Barthes comments: “when the author has been found, the rest is explained”¹⁰⁵. Effectively, this creates a participatory archive through encouraging the reader to actively determine who the true author is, by joining the connections offered in the texts and the *illustrative turns*, allowing the viewer to crack the narrative and gain access to the full story.

Photographic Captions:

My research has identified photographic captions as key components in the fabrication of the *illustrative turn*. Through devising a methodology for categorising photographs¹⁰⁶, the potential to exploit them was uncovered: all archival photographs contain captions and it is within the archive system itself that these captions can be disrupted by the practitioner, and the truth can be *turned*. In this PhD enquiry the gaps are located where substantial details have been omitted from the captions¹⁰⁷.

The act of taking the photograph as the archival sampling and disassociating it from its true origin – forcing it to lose its *aura*¹⁰⁸ – can be used as a vehicle to devise this *illustrative turn*. It is through the use of the photographic caption that a sense of authenticity and originality is created, regardless of whether it is accurate or complete. Barthes appears to confirm the idea that once a caption is added to a photograph, the photograph is assumed to resemble the idea explained in the caption, when he remarks that “the caption... by its very disposition, by its average measure of reading, appears to duplicate the image, that is, to be included in its denotation”¹⁰⁹.

We, as readers, are likely to accept that photographs are accurate and honest when sourced from an archive. Therefore it is possible that the reader applies a caption to a photograph without questioning its authenticity or originality. This encourages the artist to manipulate the found archival photographs “to connect what cannot be connected”¹¹⁰, presenting an opportunity to play with the fixed ‘truth’ of the caption within the *archive as illustrated space* (here this ‘truth’ is open to manipulation, assumption and incompleteness). If the reader is encouraged to actively question the authenticity of what is conveyed in the caption, then they are contributing to the reveal of the *illustrative turn*. This reveal can be encouraged by deliberately introducing

¹⁰⁵ Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, p.149.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Methodology: Systematic Photograph Analysis’, Chapter 2, Section B.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Methodology: Systematic Photograph Analysis’, Chapter 2, Section B.

¹⁰⁸ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p.7.

¹⁰⁹ Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, p.26.

¹¹⁰ Foster, ‘An Archival Impulse’, p.145.

photographs that fail to resemble what the caption is stating, misplaced captions and by employing dishonest and repeated captions. Hence, captions should never be accepted as true without some consideration of their origin – not just when a deliberate *illustrative turn* is enacted, but in the wider archival structure.

Literary Play and Language:

Another component in the fabrication of the *illustrative turn* is concerned with literary play and is partly rooted in the constraints set by the literary group, The Oulipo¹¹¹. Notable Oulipian works, identified by critics, include Raymond Queneau's *Exercises in Style*¹¹² and Georges Perec's, *A Void*¹¹³. The latter is a novel which omits the letter 'e': here, Perec is playing a literary game with the reader. The novel holds an autobiographical constant, that leans towards narratology, and an underlying, concealed significance. Furthermore, it is considered to be a metaphor for the Jewish experience of the Holocaust in World War II – which the viewer is able to establish through the bridging of the triggers Perec incorporates.

However, if we consider Perec's own name without the letter 'e', he himself has partly disappeared, implying that he was personally affected by the Holocaust (which is true). To realise this *turn*, Perec has enacted *the death of the author*¹¹⁴ – removing his own identity from the work, in order to manipulate how the viewer engages with the text. It is through Perec forcing us to rely purely on the words that we gain an understanding of the shadows present in the work and can unveil the underlying content. Effectively, this novel is not complete if the viewer does not unveil this truth. Here, Perec has employed the Oulipian constraint on a dual-level: as both a writing exercise and to demand the active participation of the viewer. In this instance Perec could be considered as implementing an *illustrative turn*.

Literary play can also be defined upon exploration of the relationship between the visual and textual elements of a narrative: manipulating them so that both visual and textual devices are contributing, in some way, towards emphasis of elements of the narrative, or to hint at what is concealed. Graham Rawle, an artist and writer, uses a collage method in his novel *Woman's World*¹¹⁵. The novel is constructed from fragments of text cut from 1950s women magazines: reassembled they tell the story of two siblings, Roy and Norma, and their struggle with the prescribed ideas of the woman. The voice of the instruction manual-like text gives the language of the narrative an authoritative tone. But more than this, the use of the collaged text authenticates the content of the narrative: that Norma is focused on becoming this perfect female.

The relationship between the visual and textual elements assists this narrative: the fragmented collaged text transforms how the viewer reads and interprets the story, not just through the language but also through how it appears on each page. In some

¹¹¹ The Oulipo, a literary group, was founded in 1960 by Francois Le Lionnais and Raymond Queneau, partly as a response to the Surrealists. Their aim was to invent (or reinvent) constraints – a set of rules – and apply them to writing exercises. These constraints included acrostics, anagrams, definitions, haikus and lipograms.

¹¹² Raymond Queneau, *Exercises in Style*, (Surrey: One World Classics Ltd., 2011).

¹¹³ Georges Perec, *A Void*, (London: Random House, Vintage Classics, 2008).

¹¹⁴ Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p.26.

¹¹⁵ Graham Rawle, *Woman's World*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2005).

instances, the collaged text spills out and off the page, in others it creates a hierarchy of importance: bold, striking words stand out when next to longer, quieter lines of found text. Rawle's use of collage text works on a secondary level: the fragmented visual language and literary play prompts the reader to actively participate and unveil that Norma is a character created and embodied by Roy.

Language as a (Narrative Trace):

The analysis of literary play leads us to further consider the capabilities of language as a narrative trace, as a component of the *illustrative turn*. By examining language used by practitioners in their archives we can consider the outputs translatable to the *illustrative turn* to be: writing which analyses the content of the work in question; performative talks given and then archived; and stand-alone performative pieces of writing.

Writing which analyses the content of the work in question sees a return to examining the work of Rawle: in this instance his novel, *The Card*¹¹⁶. In this novel, Rawle tells a story of Riley, who collects found cards and wonders at their significance and connections between one another. The design and page layout of *The Card* highlights Riley's intention of deciphering these connections: through the use of symbols and illustrated evidence, anagrams and other Oulipian tendencies Rawle hints at the truth of the narrative. In regard to determining how *The Card* exists as a piece of writing which analyses the content of itself, it is through Rawle's use of a concealed factual hook¹¹⁷, which encourages the reader to fully engage in the story – and become an active participant – that this is achieved. In this instance the hook manifests itself in a dual-manner: through Riley's connection-making and through the reader actively depicting the symbols. This hook demands the reader analyses and questions the validity of the narrative whilst also existing as an underlying trigger – historically placing the literary work in a certain period of time. The urgency of this hook is communicated both through language, in the increasingly erratic behaviour of Riley as the story progresses, and visually, through the increased appearance of symbols as the narrative evolves.

In regard to how performative talks given and then archived within can inform the narrative trace, the focus considers how: the viewer is offered space to take on a participatory role in order to interpret the narrative for themselves; and how this talk can be documented as evidence within the (archival) work. For this, we can look to conceptual and installation artist Jeremy Deller's work *It Is What It Is* – a dual-project consisting of an exhibition and a public space for conversations with passers-by, which sparked Deller's performative talks. In both instances Deller "explored diverse dialogues with the public as both an idea and an actuality"¹¹⁸, and subsequently the performative talks he constructed were laced with language of a personal tone, drawn from individuals. The performative talk, when positioned within the body of the work (alongside the exhibition), assists the viewer in accepting the archive as true. However,

¹¹⁶ Graham Rawle, *The Card*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2012).

¹¹⁷ A hook is often a factual narrative which holds a broader connotation in society and culture: in *The Card* Rawle uses the assassination of Princess Diana as this factual hook.

¹¹⁸ Glenn and Enoch, 'Drama in the Archives: Rereading Methods, Rewriting History', p.190.

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the use of language when applied in a dual-output – the convincing personal fragments first offered in a performative talk and later reiterated within the more complex archival structure – is not only an effective component in establishing an *illustrative turn*, but triggers the viewer to actively engage and unveil it.

Finally, in regard to language, it is pertinent to examine stand-alone pieces of writing. Here, we look to another Oulipo group member, writer Italo Calvino and his short text, 'Sophronia', part of the book *Invisible Cities*¹¹⁹. Calvino's *Invisible Cities* is a record of a dialogue, that may have never taken place, about a series of cities, that may have never existed. We can examine *Invisible Cities* as an archival body of work, with each of the fifty-five texts existing as individual archives – in an approach similar to that of Walter Benjamin's *The Arcades Project*¹²⁰. This approach allowed Calvino to take control and direct the viewer through his series of cities, creating a situation where the viewer accepts what is written as a 'truth'.

It is through language that Calvino laces 'Sophronia' with familiar notions – tangible elements that the reader can hook onto. The text discusses the concept of a city of two halves: the city and the fairground. Here, Calvino uses his control to pre-empt what the reader is thinking: he draws on what we previously know of the nature of fairgrounds, and of permanence and transience, before subverting it – which is where the *turn* exists. It is the structure of the text which we can break down in order to view it in a similar manner to that of an *illustrative turn*: the direction, misdirection (presence in the descriptive language Calvino uses), and then the reveal – it is the city which is unassembled, not the fairground. This shows how language, in a multitude of forms, can be employed effectively as a component to the *illustrative turn*.

The Journey (through the archival space):

The final component that could be used in the construction of the *illustrative turn* is concerned with the journey through the archival space: how the viewer can be guided through the archival matter in a predetermined order. *The Poetic Museum*, a theoretical text by writer Julian Spalding, is partly concerned with the narrative flow of the archival space, in which the potential to be both a storyteller and communicator is fully realised¹²¹. Spalding discusses that while a taxonomic approach can reveal much of a collection, a chronological approach, in which the viewer is guided through the space on a fixed journey, is much more successful in regard to conveying multiple narratives¹²².

In regard to taking an illustrative approach, the journey can be predetermined in such a way that tension is built up for the viewer, before the final reveal of the truth is activated by them (effectively the completion of the *illustrative turn*). Visual artist Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* follows a pattern of presenting found, or intentionally produced, photographs in a grid structure¹²³. Richter's formal and repetitive approach ensures the photographic

¹¹⁹ Italo Calvino, 'Sophronia', in *Invisible Cities*, (London: Random House, Vintage Classics, 1997), p.55.

¹²⁰ 'Theories of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section B.

¹²¹ Julian Spalding, *The Poetic Museum*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2002).

¹²² Spalding, *The Poetic Museum*, p.42.

¹²³ Gerhard Richter, *Atlas*, (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2003).

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archive is seemingly presented without an overbearing structural order. Despite this seemingly subjective approach, Richter's use of photographic captions determines an order to the images: taking the viewer on an intentional journey.

Both a tension and an awareness of the personal connection Richter has instilled in *Atlas* becomes increasingly prominent as the viewer progresses on their journey through his photographic archive. The images and captions are thematically grouped, and then juxtaposed next to one another on the outlined journey, creating a network of readings and interpretations - rendering *Atlas* to be a *writerly text*¹²⁴. Therefore, if the viewer allows themselves to be directed by the predetermined journey they gain a greater understanding of the meaning behind the work and realise that the archive is mapping a lifetime. With the inclusion of family members in the first four panels of *Atlas*, the underlying narrative unveiled is in regard to the mapping of Richter's lifetime.

Contextualising the Participatory Archive:

The collection of components, when examined in regard to contributing to the *illustrative turn*, enable me to conclude that this *turn* can be multi-faceted. In doing so this allows the *turn* to not only engage the viewer into an active participation but also to *turn* them: initially convincing them of the truth of the narratives presented within the *archive as illustrated space*, and then triggering them to question these narratives. It is necessary that these hooks are rooted in recognisable elements, whether that be factual resonances or the slip-up of language, to aid the viewer's awareness of the potential misdirection. What has become apparent is how, when applied within an illustrative framework and in tandem with one another, the components strengthen the *illustrative turn*. Whilst these components need not only be formed of visual means but can also be present in written communications and evidence, it is pertinent that this *turn* is applied within a participatory archive space – one in which the author's absence creates space for the viewer to actively participate. This effectively demonstrates how the *turn* is another contributor to the framework of an *archive as illustrated space* (Fig.23).

Consolidating the Investigation into Structural, Artistic and Participatory Archives:

The investigation into the structural, artistic and participatory elements of the archive have contributed to formulating the framework to build an *archive as illustrated space*. In doing so a critical discourse which corresponds to these three parts has been theoretically constructed. It is now necessary to outline this framework to consolidate the function of the *archive as illustrated space*, and subsequently determine how this *space* can be realised. Effectively, these three sections investigating the 'Role of the Archive' – considered through the lenses of the structural, artistic and participatory elements of the archive – work towards determining this function (of the *archive as illustrated space*), which exists as a conclusion to this theoretical investigation.

¹²⁴ Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p.147.

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This section summarises the theoretical investigation concerned with the 'Role of the Archive'. Within this key findings associated with the structural, artistic and participatory qualities of the archive are paired with the key discourses concerning archival theory and practice, in order to formulate a conclusion to the theoretical enquiry. In order to fully outline the *archive as illustrated space* it is necessary to expand on six themes, in which key points from earlier in this chapter are reiterated throughout. These themes are:

- what constitutes an archive and within that an artistic archive.
- the purpose of an analytical framework and an archival methodology.
- examining the framework, authority and rationalising the function of the *archive as illustrated space*.
- the ability of the *archive as illustrated space* to address and utilise archival gaps.
- articulating my position and any potential biases in the application of the framework.
- contextualising the *archive as illustrated space* framework and positioning within the context of illustration.

Here, I am proposing that the theoretical framework of an *archive as illustrated space* exists as a tool that can be applied by other illustrative practitioners to their own archival research. Through consolidating earlier findings it will become evident how working with both the systematic methods and this theoretical grounding has informed the practice of constructing the framework of an *archive as illustrated space*. This demonstrates how practitioners – in this instance illustrators, though the framework is transferrable to other disciplines – can adequately consider and evolve their approach to organising and redeploying the material housed within an archive. Furthermore, this shows how the practice of constructing alternative narratives in which the absences in the archive are brought to the fore is informed by this theoretical analysis.

What Constitutes an Archive and within that an Artistic Archive:

In the first instance it is necessary to be a little more explicit in regard to stating what an archive *should do*, regardless of the material held in its collection. Here it is enough to anchor our enquiry to the definition of the term: "a collection of historical documents or records providing information about a place, institution, or a group of people, in which the archive is the place where these historical documents or records are kept"¹²⁵.

Yet theorists have discussed the purpose and abilities of the archive at length to evolve this definition. As such it is imperative to consider some of these, in order to articulate a response to the term 'archive', to locate its use within illustration. To begin, it is pertinent to return to Breakwell's perspective, first introduced in 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', in which she determines that the archive "can seem like a more authoritative, somehow more authentic, body of information"¹²⁶ – which offers us an understanding of the

¹²⁵ Stevenson, Angus, *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.34.

¹²⁶ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.1.

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attraction to artists who employ the term. However, in this instance we are concerned with the more complicated role of the archive: not just focused on how artists employ the term, but of its overall function in both theory and practice.

Breakwell's perspective recasts notions of the archive expanded on in writing by theorists including Foucault and Ricouer¹²⁷, and in practice by Benjamin and Boltanski¹²⁸, all of whom evolved the concept of the archive, connecting it to trace, loss and testimony. To expand on this, Foucault's theoretical statement that "an archive is a truth surrounded by countless other truths... it is one truth: it does not tell us the whole truth, but it speaks of the truth"¹²⁹, can be reflected on. Though there is an instability in regard to the notion of the archive in this context, this question of truth – and the relationships formed through the traces – allows us to constitute the archive to be conceived as the stage where knowledge is constructed within the framework.

If we shift this view of the archive and focus instead on how the practitioner locates the body of their work using the term archive, it is through its assembly that the viewer is presented with the opportunity to participate – providing there are moments where their own interpretation is both encouraged and given space for. This invitation enables the viewer to become both a co-constructer and contributor to the knowledge creation – without their participation, the uncovering of narratives could be lost. This sits in parallel with evolving the constitution of the archive to that of the artistic archive. To expand on Kihm's perspective on the artistic archive¹³⁰, he states that the space "deals with works of art whose function is above all to preserve and render perceptible – through forms, objects and particular places – certain stages, traces and sometimes even certain rejects of a narrative"¹³¹. Thus, through the assembly of the works and its many relations, the research and production of artwork is also formulated – constituting the moment where the artistic archive emerges.

Kihm's stance offers the opportunity to return to Breakwell. Her theoretical point of an archive being "a set of traces, of actions, the records left by a life"¹³², is in accordance with Kihm's perspective and potentially offers an explanation as to why practitioners work as archival artists and employ the 'archive' term to their work – across a multitude of forms and approaches. The artistic archive opens up these approaches, incorporating "alternative modes of representation and self-representation in terms of critique and self-empowerment"¹³³.

To conclude, the archive – whether it is a historical or political space, or solely a space where documents are held – is fundamentally an authoritative space which speaks of a truth, or series of truths. The artistic archive advances this: rather than viewing the archive as a scene of singular discovery, the artistic archive can be viewed as a layered, dual invention. Effectively the artistic archive encourages and offers a space for the viewer to actively participate, in ways not usually afforded to them in a traditional archive.

¹²⁷ 'Theories of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section B.

¹²⁸ 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', Chapter 1, Section C.

¹²⁹ Foucault, 'The Historical a priori and the Archive', p.30.

¹³⁰ 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', Chapter 1, Section C.

¹³¹ Kihm, 'What Art does to Archives', p.433.

¹³² Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.2.

¹³³ Bismarck, 'Positioning Difference: The Museological Archive', p.59.

The Purpose of an Analytical Framework and an Archival Methodology:

The theoretical investigation examining the structural, artistic and participatory qualities of the archive has been framed by Foster's discussions of the *archival impulse*¹³⁴. Therefore, it seems pertinent to return to Foster here in order to locate the purpose of both the framework and methodology – in regard to the archival artist's approach towards constructing an archive. Foster stipulates that the archival artist “not only draws on informal archives but produces them as well... as found yet constructed, factional yet fictive, public yet private, arranging the materials according to a quasi-archival logic”¹³⁵.

It is this 'quasi-archival logic' that Foster considers to be the grounding for an analytical framework. The structure and complexity of this has evolved over time and currently exists to analyse, locate and frame the practitioner's approach to archival use. By advancing and fusing together the previously established constitutions of both the archive and the artistic archive we can expand on both the analytical framework and the archival methodology. In doing so, we can push the boundaries of what can be defined as an archive, effectively “reshaping the view of an archive from an inert repository of an artefact to a layered, historical record of dynamic stories”¹³⁶.

For the practitioner, the purpose of an analytical framework is to encourage them to expand their archival approach to incorporate the use of primary sources – such as oral history – alongside their archival research, and to guide them in regard to the outcomes they produce. This framework behaves as a theoretical constant: a grounding which enables the practitioner to craft a new approach to the archival enquiry. In turn, this shifts how we encounter both the archive's contents and possibilities. This analytical framework is thus in conversation with the archival research, and together they enhance and inform the practitioner: “their relationship creating a generative tension that opens up possibilities for what we see, value and then leverage... through putting their archival reading in conversation with their theoretical frame”¹³⁷. This further rationalises the method of devising the analytical framework for an *archive as illustrated space*: built theoretically, with an awareness of archival reading, this is to be applied and evolved subsequently in practice.

The conversation between archival reading and theoretical framing demands that the analytical framework, and indeed the archive, exist as a space that continues to evolve – rather than remaining static. This demands a continued appraisal of the methods used to construct the analytical framework and indeed “archival researchers are urged to document their methodologies and methods, including for archival construction itself”¹³⁸. To expand on the documentation of archival methodologies, literary academic Barbara L'Éplattenier states that practitioners should ensure their methodologies are apparent to other researchers to “highlight the uniqueness of archival study”¹³⁹, demonstrating the “depth and breadth of knowledge required that our discipline needs and uses”¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁴ 'The Role of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section A.

¹³⁵ Foster, 'An Archival Impulse', p.143.

¹³⁶ Lynee Lewis Gaillet, '(Per)forming Archival Research Methodologies' in *On Archival Research*, p.297.

¹³⁷ Glenn and Enoch, 'Drama in the Archives: Rereading Methods, Rewriting History', p.195.

¹³⁸ Gaillet, '(Per)forming Archival Research Methodologies', p.307.

¹³⁹ Kelly Ritter, 'Archival Research in Compositional Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian's Role', in *On Archival Research*, p.281.

¹⁴⁰ Ritter, 'Archival Research in Compositional Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian's Role', p.281.

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In turn, this rationalises both the extensive consideration and the documentation of the methodologies devised within this PhD enquiry for use by other practitioners, in their archival construction. This corroborates the intention for the *archive as illustrated space*: to exist as a framework for other illustrative practitioners to apply to their archival research – existing as an analytical framework, it can encourage them to expand their archival approach.

Examining the Framework, Authority and Rationalising the Function of the *Archive as Illustrated Space*:

We have established that the archive documents a truth, or series of truths – but not all truths – by forming a definition for the term; and that the artistic archive is informed by a set of traces¹⁴¹. Advancing this, by bringing in the consideration of the analytical framework and the archival methodology, serves as a rationale for building the framework of an *archive as illustrated space* (Fig.24). Furthermore, this *space* is designed to construct a relationship between the illustrative practitioner and the archival body their research is grounded in – evolving both ‘archive’ and ‘artistic archive’ approaches. Through consolidating the theoretical discussion concerning ‘Theories of the Archive’, ‘Artistic Approaches to the Archive’ and ‘The Archive as a Participatory Tool’, the following components, required to facilitate an *archive as illustrated space* in practice, can be rationalised:

The Illustrative Turn:

The application of the *illustrative turn* is to be undertaken in a multitude of ways, so that it remains effective to the audience. Fundamentally its structure is similar to that of a magic trick: as previously stated the *illustrative turn* involves the direction, subsequent misdirection, then reveal to the reader. The *turns* assist in directing the viewer to revealing the narrative strands hidden within the illustrative archival *spaces*. The *turn* allows the viewer to occupy the *space* and encourages them to give the attention required to actively participate in deciphering the narratives contained within it. The narratives are placed in the forefront of the *space* and the components that assist the viewer in unveiling them are manifested through the inclusion of: factual hooks; the use of captions; language: performative essays or talks, *writerly*¹⁴² (open-ended) texts and literary play; employing objects and artefacts as traces; and the journey of the viewer – how these *turns* are revealed in time and space, through the viewer’s journey.

The *illustrative turn* thus needs to take on a voice that is slightly removed from that of the practitioner, archivist or curator, to ensure that the viewer has the space and opportunity to engage with the work, in order to actively participate. This voice ensures the narratives are open to interpretation and can therefore support many subjective meanings, individual to each viewer. Furthermore, this creates an instance when the reader needs to take an

¹⁴¹ These definitions were established in the first theme of this section: ‘what constitutes an archive and within that an artistic archive’.

¹⁴² Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, p.147.

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active role in decoding or deciphering the true author, as well as the narratives contained, in order to unpick and formulate a richer understanding of the material: “when the author has been found, the rest is explained”¹⁴³. In doing so, the participant becomes an author in their own right – through moving through the *space* actively and unveiling the *illustrative turns*, they take on an authority within the archive.

The Underlying Grid:

An underlying grid grounding the *archive as illustrated space* allows the narratives of the subjects pertaining to the enquiry to be contained chronologically. Furthermore, the grid allows for the inclusion of the ‘dubious’, disputed and subverted narratives – in a traditional archival structure these are often hidden or absent – and those narratives that are created in the realms of the enquiry, through the collation of oral history¹⁴⁴. The points of the underlying grid may appear fragmentary but through connections – coincidences and crossovers – a system of classification is created (effectively the moments where the narratives contained intersect)¹⁴⁵.

The Trace:

The term ‘archive’ denotes an authority which transfers to the framework of the *archive as illustrated space*: this immediately defers any questioning of the authenticity of the *space*, or the truth in regard to what the *space* holds. However, the trace acts to encourage the viewer to participate and unveil the narratives contained within the archive, which may - or may not – dispel this authenticity. Furthermore, applying the trace as a component in the construction of the *archive as illustrated space* advances the approach of the archival artist – who employs the trace to preserve and present certain elements through the creative work – in a two-fold manner.

This two-fold manner of the trace is firstly imperative in regard to re-establishing a concise and more complete identity for the subject in question: it facilitates the inclusion of what was previously absent, or hidden, in a traditional archival structure. To expand on this, it is pertinent to refer again to Kihm¹⁴⁶ who states that, “the archive is usually assembled through the collection of a set of retained traces”¹⁴⁷ – traces that already exist, those that are present. The *archive as illustrated space* framework advances this, using the trace as a vehicle to uncover and subsequently document any narratives that have been consciously or unconsciously obscured or lost – in other words, those that are absent – both in the realm of the archive and in the fragmentation of oral history. This combination ensures the *archive as illustrated space* “holds together all the traces”¹⁴⁸, evolving the practitioner’s approach to present a fuller narrative, and thus re-establish an identity in a more complete and nuanced manner.

Secondly, the trace is imperative as a component in order to encourage and allow the

¹⁴³ Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, p.149.

¹⁴⁴ This is evidenced by the analysis of Gerhard Richter’s *Atlas* in ‘The Archive as a Participatory Tool’, Chapter 1, Section D.

¹⁴⁵ This is in line with Walter Benjamin’s method employed in *The Arcades Project* discussed in ‘Theories of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section B.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Artistic Approaches to the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section C.

¹⁴⁷ Kihm, ‘What Art does to Archives’, p.431.

¹⁴⁸ Roland Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, p.148.

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viewer to participate in unveiling the truths of the work: rewarded for their active – as opposed to passive – engagement. This trace can be manifested in a multitude of forms, usually by making allusions through the narratives and captions accompanying the work.

Narrative, as a tangent of the Trace:

The application of narrative, as a trace, is presented in relation to how the framework can utilise and appropriate gaps in the archival structure to facilitate ‘dubious’ and previously hidden stories within a multi-faceted narrative, subsequently creating an opportunity for the viewer to participate. This dual-level narrative allows what is both present and absent to be conveyed: visually presenting and giving space to the archival and narrative gaps.

This narrative is fabricated with an awareness of its complex facets and meanings, and how these are perceived and understood by the audience. Employing the narrative as a trace works in tandem with the *illustrative turn*: it encourages the participation of the viewer in regard to the interpretation and unveiling of the stories, and the *turn* assists in subtly hinting to the truths of the narratives in question – through active participation, the narratives are revealed and thus completed. Through the underlying grid and the captions, we can ensure that the narratives are not reordered or restructured by the viewer, effectively keeping the traces in their place so they build narrative tension without overwhelming the viewer.

Photographs as Illustrations, a tangent of the Trace:

The use of photographs as illustrations, applied as a tangent of the trace, within the *archive as illustrated space*, can be achieved in a multitude of outputs, all of which inform and contribute to the image-text relationship¹⁴⁹. These include the appropriation of found photographs and the use of miscatalogued photographs to support and illustrate the content of both the narratives and the *illustrative turns* – to both convince the viewer of the authenticity of the *space* and to be read as archival material.

The Curation of the Space, and the subsequent Journey of the Viewer:

In regard to facilitating the role of the viewer in the *archive as illustrated space*, the curation of the *space* is pivotal. The framework aligns with the manifesto of artist and designer El Lissitzky, and is thus underpinned by his solution of applying architectural effects to the exhibition: both the *space* and the physical artworks themselves¹⁵⁰. The strategies to do so are concerned with: raising and concealing platforms of the artworks; incorporating three-dimensional objects; shadows and viewing angles; hinged, sliding and turnable pieces of work (to encourage participation); and constraints, numbering artworks to correspond with narrative fragments.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Theories of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section B.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition’, Chapter 3, Section B.

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It is through this curation of the *archive as illustrated space* that the journey of the viewer can be directed and controlled: in doing so this can guide the viewer through the archival matter in a predetermined order. Using an illustrative approach, the journey can be designed in such a way as to create tension within each narrative the viewer is deciphering, potentially resulting in a more satisfying and meaningful reveal of an *illustrative turn*: a greater understanding of the nuanced meanings illustrated by the work.

Application of the Framework, in Practice:

We have established that the archive can be seen as a participatory space, and this is a constant premise within the framework of the *archive as illustrated space* – as such this participatory quality is a factor in the application of the framework, in practice¹⁵¹. The framework predominantly considers and questions the installation format – evolving the theoretical stance of Foster¹⁵² – and subsequently the exhibition of these *spaces*. Within the framework it is a fundamental concern that the exhibition context resonates with the content of the narratives conveyed in the *space*, in order to further illuminate the hidden or absent stories. As such, it is necessary to extend the concept of an exhibition space to outside of the gallery context.

Documentation, facilitating Secondary Viewing:

It is imperative that the *archive as illustrated space* creates a legacy that outlasts the format and context of its exhibition: effectively demanding a documentation that is approached in an archival manner, one that equips the viewer to experience the *space* effectively, through the lens of a secondary viewing. This documentation can be supplemented, and participation encouraged, through the inclusion of reviews and reflective quotes by those that viewed the physical *space*. This can be achieved through the platform of a secondary resource – such as a post-exhibition website or a catalogue. Within this, the secondary documentation must have strong connections to the original exhibition, resonating and often reappropriating the finer details of the (primary) *space*.

The Ability of the *Archive as Illustrated Space* to Address and Utilise Archival Gaps:

Researchers will encounter gaps in their archival study – truths and traces that are absent or hidden – and this is accepted as “part of the challenge of constructing and maintaining an archive”¹⁵³. We have established that gaps can exist as triggers to the audience, in regard to the truth of the archive in question, and have considered how these gaps can potentially further emphasise the audience’s questioning of this truth¹⁵⁴. These gaps are a form in which absences have manifested themselves. We also understand that narratives are incomplete when held in archives – the gaps “representing what is remembered and destroyed”¹⁵⁵ – echoing compositional theorist James Berlin’s argument that “all histories are partial accounts... incomplete”¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵¹ ‘The Archive as Participatory Tool’, Chapter 1, Section D.

¹⁵² ‘The Role of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section A.

¹⁵³ Ritter, ‘Archival Research in Compositional Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian’s Role’, p.289.

¹⁵⁴ ‘The Archive as Participatory Tool’, Chapter 1, Section D.

¹⁵⁵ Ritter, ‘Archival Research in Compositional Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian’s Role’, p.290.

¹⁵⁶ Ritter, ‘Archival Research in Compositional Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian’s Role’, p.287.

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However, utilising these archival gaps is a method that advances the approach of an *archive as illustrated space*, as compared to that of an artistic archive. Thus, it can be seen as a stand-alone application, rather than a component in the fabrication of the space. It is integral and works to interrogate the gaps, acting in both an illustrative manner and as an illustrative tool.

Initially, it was through analysing the archival methods and framework of the NFCA that I became aware of archival gaps and concerned with “stories that are not transmitted to the archive”¹⁵⁷, predominantly the fragments sourced from oral history¹⁵⁸. It became evident that those narrative snippets, passed down over generations, could easily become lost. Hence, constructing a method to incorporate the collation of oral history within the framework is key.

In doing so the authority of the archive is challenged, in regard to these archival gaps, and a method of “retracing and recovering a truth”¹⁵⁹ begins. This approach has facilitated both a response to the archival gaps of the NFCA and a method of utilising them: informing and propelling the narratives told through practice. In turn, this demands the “creation of a new archive”¹⁶⁰ – the *archive as illustrated space*.

Articulating my Position and any Potential Biases in the Application of the Framework:

In order to balance my responses to the primary material and the archival structures, both when researching and constructing an *archive as illustrated space*, it is imperative to articulate my position. Jacqueline Jones Royster, an author and theorist specialising in rhetorical, cultural and women’s studies, identifies the importance of “researchers articulating their own ideological standpoints of the community they are writing about: whatever the knowledge accrued, it should be both presented and represented within this community”¹⁶¹.

Thus, situating myself as a researcher working in an archive that I have a personal affiliation to demands that I systematically evaluate my role in regard to the representation of the females currently in the archive, and my approach to re-establishing their identities. This role needs to be undertaken with an awareness of how the agendas that exist from working as a female contemporaneously have shifted from those present in the era pertinent to that of the fairground females, as have the values the females once held which stem from existing within the travelling community.

Locating this position is also in line with theories established by Donna Haraway, a scholar in science and technology studies, through utilising her framework of *standpoint theory*. Haraway acknowledges that the author has a central role in regard to undertaking research with a potential bias, when she brings in the question of position. She demands that despite the advantages of the author’s given position, they should remain aware of and

¹⁵⁷ Ritter, ‘Archival Research in Compositional Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian’s Role’, p.288.

¹⁵⁸ This is due in part because of the questioning of the validity of oral history, discussed in ‘Methodologies: Facilitating and Analysing Oral History’, Chapter 2, Section B.

¹⁵⁹ Charles Merewether, ‘Archival Limits’, in *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p.9.

¹⁶⁰ Merewether, ‘Archival Limits’, p.10.

¹⁶¹ Glenn and Enoch, ‘Drama in the Archives: Rereading Methods, Rewriting History’, p.191.

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investigate all other positions associated with the research. Haraway stipulates that it is “about working to become answerable for what we learn to see”¹⁶².

Archival theorist Kelly Ritter expands on this in regard to the conflicted position archival researchers often find themselves in: how it is necessary to be immersed in the community you are communicating the stories of, but subsequently tricky to remain a completely objective reporter. Thus, the work is in itself conflicted, and potentially biased. Yet, it is evident that “what is key is that their position affords them access to those who created and collected the stories”¹⁶³, affording a deeper insight to form: in building the framework of the *archive as illustrated space* a positive use of this position has been taken. This framework informs and propels both the narratives contained and, what previously existed as, the archival gaps forward to be effectively utilised or highlighted¹⁶⁴.

Contextualising the *Archive as Illustrated Space* Framework and Positioning within the Context of Illustration:

We have established that the framework of the *archive as illustrated space* is structured from many theoretical standpoints, evolving into a body of components that can be applied by the practitioner to their archival research. This framework is underpinned by both an awareness and utilisation of the gaps commonly found in archives, and by an awareness and control held by the practitioner, in accordance with the position they are in.

Through this investigation into the archival structure, we know that any occupied archival space reflects or speaks of a powerful position – established through analysis of both Foster & Foucault’s approach to the archive¹⁶⁵ and the concept of the trace¹⁶⁶. As such the *archive as illustrated space* framework extends and evolves the viewer’s position, encouraging them to actively occupy and subsequently decipher the space, engaging with the layers and narratives held. This can be expanded on, and the framework advanced, through complicating the space by the use of cross-referencing and subtle interlinking within the content held in the archive. This is evidenced by the analysis of Benjamin’s exploration into the complex methods of presenting images with text¹⁶⁷.

Advances are made to this investigation by bringing Barthes and the illustrative approaches of the photograph into the conversation: subsequently the understanding of the importance of working with both an image, or series of images, and a text is established – in regard to the structure of the framework for an *archive as illustrated space*¹⁶⁸. Dillon’s stance evolves this: the placement of these images, with the narrative text, proposes a rational order to the archive¹⁶⁹.

This investigation into the archival structure is complemented with a consideration of the artistic archive, in which both theory and practitioners are examined. Analysis here focused on: the archive term and its system; how the archive can hold narratives, documents

¹⁶² Donna Haraway, ‘Modest Witness: Feminist Diffractions in Science Studies’, in *The Disunity of the Sciences: Boundaries, Contexts & Power*, ed. by Peter Galison (California: Stanford University Press, 1996), p.172-188.

¹⁶³ Ritter, ‘Archival Research in Compositional Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian’s Role’, p.281.

¹⁶⁴ This is in line with Donna Haraway’s theoretical discussions of feminist standpoint theory.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Artistic Approaches to the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section C.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Theories of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section B.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Theories of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section B.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Theories of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section B.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Theories of the Archive’, Chapter 1, Section B.

and photographs; how the archive exists and appears to the viewer; and the trace¹⁷⁰. These focusses were considered in response to the works made by four practitioners who all favour the installation format. This analysis was approached through a secondary lens – none of the works have been experienced in their original installation formats and contexts.

Upon considering the artistic approaches to the archive, the frameworks of four practitioners' installations – Boltanski, Hiller, Raad and Shovlin – were dissected. In doing so the importance of the trace, in regard to the active role of the viewer completing the work, was concluded: the performative elements of the archival frameworks help to encourage this active participation. Anchoring the premise of the trace particularly to Hiller's practice enabled it to be evolved: Hiller's use of the trace to engage the viewer in unveiling the hidden meanings and completing the narratives is far advanced if compared to the other practitioners' frameworks examined¹⁷¹.

However, from my secondary viewing and analysis of Hiller's work, it became apparent that it lacked an enticement for the viewer in ensuring they continue to engage: in other words, without the application of the *illustrative turn*, the viewer is not pushed far enough for Hiller to utilise the hidden meanings and the device of the narrative trace effectively. In comparison, the *archive as illustrated space* framework not only allows the viewer to become a fully active participant but the relationship between the practitioner and the archive is encouraged: evolving the current method taken by the archival artist, who appropriates the archive term to give a body of work both a context and an authenticity.

This investigation advances the possibilities of the relationship between archival research and the illustrative practitioner. Through methods employed by the archival artist¹⁷², the original intention of devising a framework that can exist as a tool to encourage and strengthen this relationship is successfully demonstrated. Furthermore, the framework considers and evolves the relationship between the viewer and the *space*: using techniques and components to encourage the viewer to actively participate in unveiling the narratives waiting to be deciphered. This is further strengthened by the implementation of the *illustrative turn*, which by creating bridges into the material facilitates an active role for the viewer.

The framing of illustration can extend how the archive is currently, and popularly, considered to be a "static space"¹⁷³ towards that of an active space, particularly through the implementation of *illustrative turns*¹⁷⁴. Subsequently, illustration can expand the possibilities of the archive through the inclusion of illustrative layers within its structure, to contain multi-faceted narratives – allowing the archive to become a participatory space. It is through this application – of conveying archival narratives illustratively within an active, participatory space – that it is possible to conclude that the framework itself contributes to the critical discourse of illustration. This is further rationalised through this

¹⁷⁰ 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', Chapter 1, Section C.

¹⁷¹ 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', Chapter 1, Section C.

¹⁷² 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', Chapter 1, Section C.

¹⁷³ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.2.

¹⁷⁴ 'The Archive as a Participatory Tool', Chapter 1, Section D.

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chapter's investigation into the 'Role of the Archive': through engaging with contemporary theories – which sit on the boundaries of illustration discourse – concerning the structure and function of archives, the significant contribution to knowledge is made. As previously outlined, there is scope and opportunity to evolve the *archive as illustrated space* framework further, through testing it in practice. Ahead of this it is necessary to define and evidence the relationship between illustration research and practice, in order to enrich and present the material analysed and reassembled in a systematic way.

CHAPTER 2.

ILLUSTRATION RESEARCH AS PRACTICE

[CHAPTER 1](#)

[CHAPTER 3](#)

This chapter expands on the grounding established and presented as a theoretical framework to construct an *archive as illustrated space* in Chapter 1, through considering the body of original source material – ahead of it being deployed to test this evolving framework, designed to house these alternative narratives, in Chapter 3 (Fig.25). Subsequently, this chapter documents the archival research undertaken at the National Fairground and Circus Archive (NFCA) and its subsequent display in a series of residences and an exhibition. It demonstrates how the approach to documenting and categorising data has led to the deducing of an absence in the recording of significant fairground females within the NFCA itself.

But more than this it demonstrates how the act of visually communicating the analysis and data – through working with an illustrative approach – is fundamental to the enquiry. In doing so there is an opportunity to simultaneously satisfy the concept of *illustration research as practice*, which will be expanded on in this chapter, and also demonstrate how new findings, collated from both archival and oral history research, can be both creatively and analytically communicated. This exploration of *illustration research as practice* is located within the remit of the *archive as illustrated space*: hence, it contributes to evolving a strand of the framework. Therefore, Chapter 2 focuses on:

- relaying the research methods devised in order to undertake: archival research of newspapers and photographs; the collation of oral history; and to establish the concept of *illustration research as practice*.
- presenting and contextualising this archival research: consolidating my findings and critically discussing how these findings have been displayed in early iterations of practice.

The analysis within this chapter was undertaken in order to test the hypothesis that significant women (or females) are not systematically documented in the NFCA, leading to the possible premise that their roles are overlooked or ignored within the realm of this archive. The methods adopted to undertake the research for this enquiry, contained in Section B of this Chapter, have led us to determine that it is necessary to re-establish the identities of the five females chosen for this study. It is evident in the studies of *The World's Fair*¹⁷⁵ newspaper, the archival photographs and in oral history fragments that the females, who within the timeframe were becoming fundamental to the successes of their associated fairgrounds, are absent from the archive and thus invisible. This is evident, for example, from their increased mentions in the newspaper articles and from their presence in the photographs – though here they are only decorative, due to not being identified, whereas men have the agency – and this is evidenced in Section C of this Chapter.

The agency of men in the NFCA mirrors their position within the wider fairground industry, and throughout its history: despite the importance of matriarchal figures in travelling families, the lexicon of the industry plays a part in the females' absence. This is evident if

¹⁷⁵ *The World's Fair* is the weekly newspaper for the fairground industry and was first published on June 18th, 1904 by Frank Mellor in Oldham, Greater Manchester (a copy of every edition from January 1906 is housed at the NFCA). Mellor owned a manufacturing company that supplied oil lamps to the fairground industry and showmen would often ask him to pass on news to other family members as he went around the various fairgrounds. This inspired him to publish a newspaper, specifically to serve showmen and the fairground industry. *The World's Fair* ceased publication on December 4th, 2019, blaming technology's impact on print.

we consider that it is The Showmen's Guild of Great Britain¹⁷⁶, the industry uses Showman's Engines to power and transport the fairground and 'The Showman's World' was a long-running column in *The World's Fair* newspaper. We can therefore deduce that – though academically and in the historical record the entire fairground community has a liminal presence – the females are obscured further: not just within the NFCA, but in their own community.

Here again, I reference my position, as this demands the methodological approach be devised to ensure an unbiased analysis. My background allows an insight into the insular nature of the travelling communities and to consider how the community is seen as somewhat closed off from the broader public. The common preconception is that show-folk are not affected by, or contribute to, major recorded historical trends and events and one intention of the enquiry is to demonstrate how these events did impact the travelling community. Within this insular community there is an awareness of how the females are further contained, and doubly hidden. Utilising the archive system allows me to position their re-established narratives alongside fixed historical events and themes, highlighting how they inflect their public and private lives, for example: the Suffragette movement, the 1930s Great Depression, and the two World Wars.

¹⁷⁶ The Showmen's Guild of Great Britain exists to protect the interests of travelling showmen in Great Britain. It was founded in 1889 in Salford, Greater Manchester, and in 1917 was recognised as the trade association for the travelling fairground business, acquiring the rights to represent the business at local and national levels. The Guild has a code of rules, an estimated membership of 4,700 people, and is organised into ten regional sections. The Guild's support for the NFCA establishes the archive's credibility within the context of the travelling community.

My upbringing – embedded within fairground heritage – implies a position in relation to my research. I am conscious that this has an effect on the material that I am drawn to (particularly in the archival context), meaning that rigorously articulating and adhering to a set of clearly defined methodologies is key to ensure the unbiased collation and analysis of the material uncovered. As such, the purpose of this section is to present the methodology, devised from theories sitting on the boundary of illustration¹⁷⁷, ahead of presenting the findings and visual applications of the research, undertaken to satisfy the concept of viewing *illustration research as practice*. The methodological approach for this research has been devised by identifying visual and oral methods as enquiry strands in regard to my position as a researcher in archives: examiner of *The World's Fair* newspapers and archival photographs; a facilitator documenting oral history; and a practitioner creating a new body of work, in response to the uncovered findings.

The NFCA collection — supported by The Showmen's Guild of Great Britain — details the history of travelling fairgrounds, circuses and popular entertainment in Great Britain from the Seventeenth Century onwards. As well as documenting the culture, business and life of travelling show-folk, it comprises a unique collection of photographs, printed material, manuscripts and audiovisual material – donated by both fairground families and enthusiasts. Though now part of Special Collections at the University of Sheffield, it relies on self-funding: the NFCA archivists apply to external funding bodies, and the archive has been the recipient of many Heritage Lottery Funding grants. The archive has an Acquisitions and Disposals Policy which dictates how the archive contents are to be listed, in three distinctive sections: named collections, individual items and curated collections. In this instance, the NFCA is the resource for two of the research enquiry strands: *The World's Fair* newspapers and the archival photographs.

By examining the archive through the lens of both visual and oral methods, the NFCA's material is positioned within the developing framework. In doing so, the workings of the NFCA, in regard to the policy mentioned above, are assessed and it is possible to interrogate the idea of bias within this archive – with regard to its cataloguing and collating. It is necessary to stipulate that the term *bias*, when employed in regard to the NFCA, is not intended to imply a deliberate bias; instead the term *unconscious bias* is more apt. Analysis of the NFCA's approach is also undertaken to situate my research and findings in order to determine whether they are significant.

By acting as a facilitator documenting oral history, my fairground heritage enables me to access the unarchived stories that have been passed down over generations, identifying and filling gaps in the archival narratives. It is because of my underlying knowledge that these female's stories have not been included in mainstream historical or archive-based narratives that their descendants are willing to tell their stories. Therefore, my position can be viewed as one of an *inside researcher*, which reinforces the importance of abiding by the methodology in order to remain a facilitator¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁷ It has previously been established that illustration is a communication tool and thus it is applicable to mould together methods from other disciplines – that deal with narrative and storytelling – to construct a working methodology.

¹⁷⁸ Toulmin, founder of the NFCA, is also embedded within fairground heritage: as such it was necessary for her to abide by certain methodologies in order to remain unbiased in her PhD study. Thus, we both take the standpoint of an *inside researcher*.

2. METHODOLOGIES – SECTION B:

This methodology is structured from analysing social science theories, both sociological and literary – an appropriate approach because illustration is fundamentally a communication tool. Recording findings systemically in tables and timelines ensures I remain aware of and constantly evaluate any potential biases. In doing so it is possible to translate the findings directly to my practice as evidence, informing the content – taking both a qualitative and quantitative approach. The outlined methods assist in making the speculative narratives present, when faced with their archival absence. Thus, a methodology for practice-led illustration research is created: to uncover the research findings and in order to produce visual works that communicate them. Within this section the following research methods are discussed:

- systematic newspaper analysis.
- systematic photograph analysis.
- facilitating and analysing oral history.
- illustration research as practice.

These methods are cross-referenced briefly to the research findings and conclusions and will become evident in Section C, where I discuss the research completed in more depth.

Systematic Newspaper Analysis:

For the analysis of newspapers within the NFCA a method derived from Michel Foucault's analysis of the role of image and text as persuasive tools is adopted: how these produce effects of truth and address the issues of absence¹⁷⁹. This aligns with a theoretical premise discussed in Chapter 1, wherein Foucault stipulates that all archives are fragmentary: subsequently the research needs to be methodical, in order to uncover any gaps¹⁸⁰. Each weekly newspaper is examined and any articles that mention either the females or the fairgrounds associated with them extracted and documented systematically, highlighting any absences to be addressed. This methodical analysis is undertaken whilst remaining conscious that newspaper records are a sampling, existing as partial narratives, and bias is thus considered. This analysis also investigates any unconscious biases that can be detected retrospectively.

This analysis is undertaken with the awareness that during the timeframe I am concerned with, 1906 - 1953, *The World's Fair* newspaper was privately published within the travelling community: it was not intended to be read or even seen by the broader public, nor produced to be uncovered or utilised within an archival structure. This dictates the content and voice of the articles: disruptions, disagreements and court cases appear; show-folks' deaths are widely covered; alongside advertisements of grounds to let, the locations of fairgrounds week to week and for sale notices¹⁸¹.

The first mode of content analysis is a table which numerically records how frequently the

¹⁷⁹ Michel Foucault in *Visual Methodologies*, ed. by Gillian Rose (New York: Sage Publications Ltd, 2001), p.135-139.

¹⁸⁰ 'Theories of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section B.

¹⁸¹ The collection of newspapers held at the NFCA was donated by *The World's Fair* itself. The editions from 1906-1950 are viewed on microfilm, with the originals from 1950 accessible. Both these viewing methods allow me to see evidence of how the newspapers have been kept: whether they are torn or ripped for example.

females and their associated fairgrounds feature in *The World's Fair* newspapers (Fig.26). This quantitative recording allows me to examine the shifts in frequency pertinent to how often each female is featured in direct comparison with the frequency of their associated fairground, and whether these two numerical figures have a relationship. Furthermore, it is an effective mode of recording to cross-reference between the five females, and allows me to propose that *The World's Fair* shifted its approach to recording the lives of the fairground females as the timeframe progresses.

The second mode of recording shifts from numerical collection to comprehensive documentation. The five mapping timelines, one for each female, record the material sourced from the archive – the newspaper articles above and the archival photographs below – alongside any oral history collated¹⁸². These timelines emphasise *The World's Fair*: recording each of the articles in full. Upon initial analysis, the intention is for these five timelines (Fig.27-31) to be viewed as a graph, visually recording how often each fairground is featured — this correlates to the numerical data in the frequency table.

Systematic Photograph Analysis:

My approach to the methodological photographic analysis, which examines how the archival photographs have been catalogued, is multi-faceted. Firstly, the intention is to contribute to the re-establishing of the five females in question and secondly, to evaluate any potential bias within the NFCA, specifically in regard to the choices made during the digitisation of the archival photographs. The digitisation project of the photograph collections held at the NFCA, funded by both the Heritage Lottery Fund and The Pilgrim Trust, began in 1998. The first grant funded the digitisation and cataloguing of over 30,000 archival photographs – since then another 80,000 photographs have been catalogued. This cataloguing follows a Library of Congress Policy, and as such certain details of the photographs are recorded in a very particular way: emphasising the location and date of the item in question, for example. However, other details concerning the photograph's content, including the cataloguing and identifying of people in each image, is completed at the digital archivist's discretion.

None of the five considered females are catalogued on the NFCA's digital system, nor does the NFCA identify any of them in the descriptions of the photographs they hold. The result of this is that the females are hidden within the archival structure. Therefore, it is through oral history interviews that I can establish when the females are present in photographs, effectively locating their identities. However, the digital archivist has catalogued the males that are present in the photographs. This reveals a hierarchy of recording and potentially an *unconscious bias* in the NFCA's approach. An intended outcome from the photographic analysis is to clarify this position of bias by carefully analysing this cataloguing system. This is just one instance in archival cataloguing where women are ignored, whether consciously or not, and yet this practice has lasting effects:

¹⁸² These mapping timelines are located in the appendices. The collated material can be easily read there.

consolidating data for the future digitisation of archives occurs from this source and so these absences, whether unwilling or not, will continue.

Thus it has been necessary, when describing the archival photographs, to introduce an alternative system of categorisation to code material in order to identify key themes and to develop a richer, more complete and balanced historical narrative. Underlying this analysis is Roland Barthes' discussion of how photographs can be interpreted to make meaning¹⁸³ – simultaneous to this is the awareness that, for the most part, Barthes' photographic meaning is dictated by its context. I am examining each of the photographs in regard to a set methodology, derived from Gillian Rose's discussions of compositional interpretation and content analysis¹⁸⁴, in which there is a regard to a set list of categories in order to categorise the images and unveil what they may signify. Sitting next to this analysis is the documentation of how the archive itself has categorised each photograph, highlighting the two perspectives: a methodological approach and the position of the archive itself.

This representation of an alternative system regarding photographic analysis has taken the form of a supporting bound-booklet, holding the photographs and their relative analytical table, one for each female¹⁸⁵, (these photographs can also be found in chronological placement in the timelines). An initial statement is that this analysis demonstrates that the key showmen, associated with the five females pertinent to the enquiry, are frequently catalogued and identified within photographs held by the NFCA, but not the females in question – despite their presence in multiple photographs. In undertaking this analytical exercise across all the photographs associated with the five females in the enquiry it is possible to determine that the archive's cataloguing method is consistent in its omission of the females.

This analysis enables me to identify key themes and connections between the photographs and their captions. By cross-referencing I can establish that, within the NFCA, the existing representation of the five females emphasises their absences: their identities are not recorded, despite their pivotal roles.

Facilitating and Analysing Oral History:

Within oral history theory there is a wealth of discussion concerning women, how they present themselves and how to analyse this in order to uncover the authentic female self. It is said that women undertake the role of conveying stories down through their families, and that the purpose of their storytelling strategies is to share meaning, thereby conveying their culture, positioning themselves within the world through their narratives¹⁸⁶. This discussion is pertinent to this PhD enquiry: to uncover new evidence of fairground females in order to construct alternative historical narratives. As there is some discussion concerning the validity or rigour of some forms of oral history, conveying life

¹⁸³ Roland Barthes, 'The Photographic Message', in *Image, Music Text*, p.15-31.

¹⁸⁴ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p.55.

¹⁸⁵ These photo analysis booklets are located in the appendices.

¹⁸⁶ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, (London: Routledge, 2016), p.126.

stories as anecdotes can be seen as an appropriate compromise, and one which allows a sense of authenticity to be established, which is a key part of this investigation. Thus I have adopted theories first developed by literary scholar Alessandro Portelli, who recognised that oral history is a communication event¹⁸⁷.

Central to this enquiry is my adoption of a facilitator role: allowing the interviewee to convey their narratives, while analysing their performance of, and the silences in, the conversation. In order to trigger memories the speaker is encouraged to look to photographs, referencing Portelli's theory of the relationship between independent and collective memory. This is valuable in regard to the oral history rhetoric created and to the content of the photographs examined: often the interviewee identifies the female in question in a photograph, which is incorporated into the archival analysis. Recording the conversations is the most challenging part of this methodological approach: in every instance the speaker has not given permission to be audibly recorded¹⁸⁸. As a result the documentation is through transcribing the conversations and documentary photography: recording the artefacts brought into the conversation, but never the speaker themselves.

These interviews have been conducted with both descendants and with those who have memories of the females pertinent to the enquiry. As Portelli suggests, my role is that of a facilitator: rather than pre-empting the conversation or preparing a list of questions, the interviewee can convey their memories as they process or think of them – with only physical objects, including photographs, prompting or directing their recollections. In doing so, the speakers themselves become loose illustrations to the oral history. The contexts of these interviews demand that I am flexible in my approach: fairgrounds, wagons and homes are all settings for the conversations. This relates to the archive institution and the understanding of how some fairground folk do not acknowledge an archive as a space for their stories – as I am aware of and understand their heritage and ways of life, they feel I can facilitate their voices and thus, offer me access to their oral history.

Illustration Research as Practice:

Applying these systematic methods to the archival and oral research enables me to extract narrative fragments that were previously lost, and in turn chronicle the lives of the five females, indicating traces, whilst simultaneously articulating negative spaces. To do so, it is imperative to present the research findings as a body of practice: thus, a method for this needs to be devised. The concept of research as practice stems from critic Kenneth Goldsmith's suggestion that artists show their research material as work, instead of the work itself¹⁸⁹. In this instance, the showcase is of more than just research material: data is visually communicated through an illustrative approach. In other words, new findings that are theoretically and historically relevant are communicated through a visual output – an analytical method.

¹⁸⁷ Alessandro Portelli, 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', in *Oral History Theory*, p.18-32.

¹⁸⁸ The oral history material is therefore recorded as a series of handwritten transcriptions and notes, effectively creating a sub-archive of sorts. This material has been collated into the mapping timelines, which are located in the appendices.

¹⁸⁹ Kenneth Goldsmith, *Uncreative Writing: Managing Language in the Digital Age*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p.45.

Subsequently, Goldsmith's suggestion needs to be gently modified and expanded to create a method that satisfies this approach. In order to evolve this, we can look to writer Christopher Frayling's three categories of research in art and design: research for, into and through practice¹⁹⁰. To expand on this, research into art and design involves examining practices through a historical or theoretical lens. Frayling states that research through art and design is concerned with process, and the development and refinement of that process – where the results are written up then communicated. The final category is where the method of research as practice can evolve to include an illustrative output: Frayling suggests that in research for art and design the artefact embodies the thinking process, and subsequently the knowledge contributed is not communicated in the same verbal manner as the second category¹⁹¹.

To expand this idea further, shifting from Frayling's research for practice, to the desired *illustration research as practice*, we can look to how Frayling's categories have been refined by philosopher Henk Borgdorff – repositioning the categories to research on, for and as¹⁹². In this instance, the latter category becomes a space “where the research unfolds in and through the acts of creating and performing”¹⁹³. Borgdorff's theoretical position is strengthened by academic Carole Gray's strategy for carrying research out through practice by “using predominant methodologies and specific methods familiar to us as practitioners in the visual arts”¹⁹⁴.

It is here that the method of working with the concept of *illustration research as practice* is defined as one that links back to the original intention: to visually communicate the data through my unique illustrative approach. This can also be considered through the lens of *information design*. An extension to visual communication, *information design* exists as a tool that provides a new analysis of archival data and, in this enquiry, can work to engage the viewer with unknown stories alongside foregrounding the role that women took on in the fairground.

Application of the Methodology:

The four methods, constructed from various theories sitting on the boundaries of illustration, are positioned in order for a complex research enquiry, from an unbiased position, to be undertaken. In doing so, the intention is to map out the stories, and thus re-establish the identities of, the fairground females pertinent to the enquiry. This is achieved through both the uncovering of the material housed (or hidden) in the NFCA and through the collation of oral history. In the following section, the mapping of this material – the newspaper fragments, archival photographs and oral history snippets – is evidenced, and subsequently the stance of the NFCA's cataloguing is confirmed. This mapping takes on an illustrative form, due to the *illustration research as practice* method, and the section documents and reflects on this output.

¹⁹⁰ Christopher Frayling, *Research in Art & Design*, (London: Royal College of Art Papers, 1993), Edition 1, Article 1, p.1-5.

¹⁹¹ Frayling, *Research in Art & Design*, p.3.

¹⁹² Henk Borgdorff, 'The Production of Knowledge in Artistic Research', in *The Routledge Companion to Research in the Arts*, ed. by Michael Biggs and Henrik Karlsson (London: Routledge, 2010), p.46-74.

¹⁹³ Borgdorff, 'The Production of Knowledge in Artistic Research', p.46.

¹⁹⁴ Carole Gray, 'Enquiry through Practice: Developing Appropriate Research Strategies in Art and Design', in *No Guru, No Method* (Helsinki: Research Institute of Art & Design, 1996), p.3

This section applies the multiple methodological approaches, outlined in the previous section, to evidence how pulling together primary research from various sources enables the mapping of each female identity, whilst rigorously identifying the existing gaps in the NFCA. This demonstrates how through the systematic analysis it is apparent that the females in question are not identified in any of the NFCA holdings, nor are they catalogued on their system for posterity.

To confirm this absence, the methodological approach entails researching primarily in the NFCA to establish the existing representations of the five fairground females and to extract narrative fragments from *The World's Fair* newspapers that might mention or concern them. This research is both methodical and analytical, and is positioned with the documentation of the archival photographs and the collation of reliable oral history: memories learnt and passed down by descendants of the five females. This section:

- presents and contextualises this archival research.
- documents and critically discusses the early iterations of visual practice.

Underlying this is the exploration and documentation of *illustration research as practice*, which is undertaken using the method articulated earlier¹⁹⁵. Latterly, in this section, the outcomes made in response to this concept are discussed: demonstrating the possibilities a practitioner is afforded in order to foreground their archival research. This exploration stems from the fact that the practice made in response to the findings is mostly research-based, with a focus on testing how systematic and taxonomic methods can become visual methods.

Presenting and Contextualising the Archival Research:

The archival research, namely the extraction of narrative fragments from *The World's Fair* newspapers and the uncovering of archival photographs, is positioned with the snippets collated from oral history interviews, to form a series of mapping timelines – one set for each female. These mapping timelines exist as the main *illustration research as practice* outcome¹⁹⁶. Upon initial analysis of these timelines, the shift in opacity is visually evident: bolder elements specifically mention or document the female in question, whereas faded entries reference articles that feature the fairground they are associated with but do not explicitly acknowledge their existence. This clearly communicates how underrepresented the females in question are. The timelines are colour-coded, to align with when there are crossovers: shared links and mentions of the other females in question. The timelines also visually respond to major historical events: the frequency of the newspaper articles dips during the periods of World War I and II as a result of both the fairground community travelling less and the rise in both printing and paper costs. This demonstrates how utilising this archival system contributes to the understanding of the females' lives in the context of the everyday.

¹⁹⁵ 'Methodologies: Illustration Research as Practice', Chapter 2, Section B.

¹⁹⁶ These mapping timelines are located in the appendices.

Supporting this is the systematic photograph analysis¹⁹⁷. The intention for this analysis is to demonstrate how the cataloguing of the archival photographs, held within the NFCA, omits women. Each booklet documents all of the photographs held in the archive that are catalogued under the relevant fairground within the stipulated timeframe, alongside their NFCA cataloguing. This is paired with a methodological analysis, working with a set list of categories, as demanded by Gillian Rose¹⁹⁸, in order to identify if the female in question is present in any of the photographs. These photographs can also be seen on the mapping timelines, in chronological order, and the findings from the analysis are documented in the frequency table¹⁹⁹ (Fig.32).

Focusing now on each of the five females in turn, the research uncovered in relation to their lives is presented to determine how their identities are currently hidden within the NFCA. The five females selected for this enquiry are frequently spoken of as prominent within their respective travelling communities – with respect to business, community and family matters, both personal and private – during the first half of the Twentieth Century:

1. Lizzie, a performer for Sedgwick's, a fairground and menagerie family that wintered in Sheffield, and toured most of the United Kingdom during the travelling months.
2. Martha De-Vey's role was pivotal to the success of Anderton & Rowland's, the fairground she was associated with, who travelled the West Country.
3. Sophie Hancock, a prominent fairground female in the early Twentieth Century in the West Country, where she travelled with her two brothers, William and Charles, under the title W. C. & S. Hancock.
4. Annie Holland's entry into the fairground industry was out of necessity, yet she became a formidable and famous name within the community. She travelled across the East Midlands.
5. Elizabeth Bostock's menagerie, Bostock & Wombwell's, travelled the breadth of the United Kingdom, and through her marriage and involvement, the firm became world-famous.

Lizzie the Elephant:

Lizzie is the reason I refer to the five subjects as 'females' rather than 'women': Lizzie is an elephant. The reason to include her as one of the five subjects stems from her enlistment for munitions work during World War I: facilitating the analysis to reflect on the context of this historic event alongside offering the chance to discuss how this affected the fairground industry (Fig.33). The identity of Lizzie presents an opportunity to play with the *illustrative turn*: by not revealing that she is an elephant explicitly in the work produced. Instead, this detail is concealed as a layer within the *archive as illustrated space*, which the viewer is required to decipher. This is aided by the language *The World's Fair* employs when describing Lizzie: the articles refer to her through an anthropomorphic lens, almost considering her as a woman.

¹⁹⁷ These photo analysis booklets are located in the appendices.

¹⁹⁸ 'Methodologies: Systematic Photograph Analysis', Chapter 2, Section B.

¹⁹⁹ Both the mapping timelines and photo analysis booklets, for each of the five females, are located in the appendices.

The frequency table determines that Lizzie, and indeed the Sedgwick firm are mentioned in *The World's Fair* in a consistent manner across the associated period, 1906-1927. Lizzie herself is mentioned in just over a third of the newspaper articles: 34 out of 84 reference her explicitly. Despite this, they do not cover her death – the only female in the five pertinent to this enquiry whose death is not documented in the newspaper²⁰⁰.

The cataloguing system of the archival photographs held by the NFCA often titles photographs with 'elephant', but the archivists do not apply the term as a tag in their system – instead using the tag 'performing animal' – thus rendering Lizzie absent, in an act that parallels the treatment of the four women. It is important to note here that I am considering her to be absent under her identity as an elephant, rather than contributing to the argument of the absence of women in the NFCA's cataloguing. However, giving this a wider context, it is still of interest: how a female in any guise can be absent yet present.

A second finding is the use of the tags 'industry' and 'war' throughout the cataloguing of the Sedgwick Collection: the NFCA clearly recognise that the Sedgwick firm were vital to the war effort – they loaned Lizzie to work in munitions hauling for the steel industry. Yet, they still do not specifically catalogue her. Out of seven photographs catalogued under Sedgwick's in the timeframe associated with Lizzie, 1906-1927, none are catalogued to be her, despite elephants appearing in three of them — these are denoted with a ● in the supporting bound-booklet. The opportunity to uncover whether Lizzie is present in these archival photographs is possible through cross-referencing to a photograph of Lizzie printed by *The World's Fair* newspaper²⁰¹: through systematic analysis it is evident that Lizzie is present in the three photographs denoted with a ■ in the bound booklet, determining that she is absent despite being present.

Martha De-Vey:

Immediate analysis of Martha's timeline shows that Anderton & Rowland's gain more recognition and popularity from *The World's Fair* newspaper as time progresses, with a marked shift occurring in 1913²⁰² (Fig.34). A surge in newspaper features occurs after World War I for Anderton & Rowland's, who then appear fairly consistently and at a high frequency, for the rest of the stipulated timeframe – with only a slight decline during World War II. However, Martha is only mentioned on 55 occasions, which is relatively low when one takes into consideration the 833 articles printed that mention her associated fairground: visually denoted by the shifting opacity on the mapping timeline.

Shifting to the archival photographs, none of the 113 photographs catalogued under 'Anderton & Rowland' contain captions or associated information identifying Martha as present. This is despite females, who could potentially be Martha, appearing in twenty-three of the photographs — these are denoted with a ● in the bound-booklet. Cross-

²⁰⁰ A letter printed in *The World's Fair*, No. 1,399, July 4th, 1931 does discuss Lizzie's death, but in 1926 when she died there was no newspaper coverage.

²⁰¹ *The World's Fair*, No. 462, July 26th, 1913.

²⁰² This shift corresponds with the decline of the frequency of newspaper articles featuring W. C. & S. Hancock, Sophie's firm, whom up to that point held the edge over their West Country rivals, Anderton & Rowland's.

referencing a photograph of Martha, first seen during an oral history interview²⁰³, with the archival photographs and examining them through methodological analysis shows that Martha is present in six photographs, denoted with a ■ in the bound booklet.

Sophie Hancock:

In regard to Sophie, and her associated fairground of W. C. & S. Hancock, the frequency of *The World's Fair* articles featuring them shift over time (Fig.35). Their popularity builds in the first decade of the Twentieth Century, with regular and extensive articles featuring them printed, and peaks during 1913-1914. The documentation steadily declines after this, ending abruptly with Sophie's death in 1926 – with only one memorial, in 1927, printed to remember her²⁰⁴. Throughout her life, Sophie frequently features in newspaper articles: 58 mentions in the 120 for her associated fairground, W. C. & S. Hancock – almost half.

However, this balance is not reflected in the archival photographs. The NFCA catalogues both Charles Hancock and William Hancock, Sophie's two brothers, on their photographic system but not Sophie: Charles is noted to be in one photograph and William in eight. In no instance does the NFCA mention Sophie. Females feature in six of the twenty photographs in the collection held by the archive – these are denoted with a ● in the bound-booklet. Systematic analysis of these six photographs is paired with a photograph of Sophie uncovered in the documentation of travelling cinematograph shows²⁰⁵. Through cross-referencing it is determined that Sophie is present in three of the archival photographs held by the NFCA, which are denoted with a ■ in the bound booklet.

A secondary comment on a particular photograph catalogued under 'Hancock' by the NFCA is one which features four female paraders²⁰⁶. Through systematic analysis it is possible to determine that this photograph features Martha, visually confirming the link between the two West Country fairgrounds – though the NFCA fail to acknowledge or catalogue this.

Annie Holland:

Analysis of Annie's timeline reveals that though *The World's Fair* is quite consistent in the frequency of articles featuring her fairground, mentions are significantly lower if compared to the other four females (Fig.36). As such, there is no peak or decline in the timeline: instead the mentions are consistently low. Interestingly, however, Annie is the most featured female post-death: her family printed memorials for her until 1941 – nearly twenty years. In regard to the quantitative analysis, Annie features in ten newspaper articles, compared to 23 for her associated fairground.

²⁰³ Oral History Interviewee Delcia Phipps, Martha's Granddaughter. Interview 15.04.2017, 10am-4pm, in her living wagon at her Winter Quarters, Cullompton, Devon. No audio recording permitted.

²⁰⁴ It is important to highlight the practice of printing death notices and memorials in *The World's Fair* during this period is common – for both men and women. What is surprising is that Sophie's memorial only featured for one year.

²⁰⁵ Kevin Scrivens & Stephen Smith, *The Travelling Cinematograph Show*, (Telford: New Era Publications, 1999), p.18.

²⁰⁶ In showmen's terms a 'parader' is a female performer or dancer whose aim is to entice the public into entering, and thus paying, to see the show – they usually parade along the front of the stage.

An initial observation on the NFCA's cataloguing system for their photograph collections is that despite frequent mentions of Annie Holland in photograph titles, her name does not appear as a cataloguing tag. As such, she is not searchable in the NFCA's digital database, thus rendering her absent. Despite the NFCA acknowledging her in many of the photograph titles, as she is not tagged we cannot take the title to be accurate – there is no method to support this presence. Twenty-one photographs are held under 'A. Holland & Sons' in the timeframe of 1906-1941, and within this females are present in seven of them – these have been methodologically analysed and are denoted with a • in the bound-booklet. Out of the seven, Annie is present in all seven of them, marked with a ■ in the bound booklet. This analysis is possible due to cross-referencing to a photograph that Florence, Annie's great-granddaughter, uncovered²⁰⁷.

Elizabeth Bostock:

The fifth female, Elizabeth, remains almost absent across both the newspaper and photographic analysis (Fig.37). Between 1906-1931 Bostock & Wombwell's Menagerie, her associated firm, are mentioned in *The World's Fair* on 213 occasions. The timeline clearly reflects the expansion of the firm in the first part of the Twentieth Century. It reached its peak just before World War I, before an expected dip during the war period, followed by a steady increase in the post-war period, and finally slowly declining until their end; reflecting the shift in popularity of travelling menageries as offshoots to the fairground industry. Elizabeth, though always present as a support to her husband, Edward Bostock, is seldom mentioned or acknowledged in the newspaper, with only 11 features.

In the archival photograph collection, Edward is catalogued but Elizabeth is absent. Out of forty-three photographs held in the Bostock & Wombwell Collection, fifteen were methodologically analysed, and upon analysis it was evident that females were present in three – these are denoted with a • in the bound-booklet. Cross-referencing to a photograph of Elizabeth printed in *The World's Fair*²⁰⁸ confirms that none of the archival photographs feature Elizabeth – in this instance she is not hidden, but wholly absent. Therefore, it is through *The World's Fair* that fragments of her life are recorded: both in articles and on one occasion visually, in her wedding photograph.

Consolidating the Archival Research:

This analysis and the identified gaps present opportunities for re-establishing the presence of the females through playing with fiction. The fragments uncovered from the newspaper allow me to establish a sense of authenticity and an awareness of the fairground community, and in particular its females. This enables me to infiltrate the mapping of the archival fragments with oral history narratives, as well as any stories previously hidden or considered 'dubious' – the collation of this research establishes

²⁰⁷ Oral History Interviewee Florence Baber, Annie's Great-Granddaughter. Interview 09.10.2017, 12pm-3pm, at Ilkeston Fair, Derby. No audio recording permitted.

²⁰⁸ *The World's Fair*, No. 688, November 17th, 1917.

the authenticity of these ‘dubious’ stories. As such, shifting to present them as narrative fragments, which hold value, is justified. Mirroring the source material with its visual as well as textual and history elements enables the fragments to have the potential to be explored through employing an illustrative language: the gaps filled with uncovered findings and narratives archived using the practice of traditional signwriting and illustrative storytelling. As a context for this, and in order to reiterate and reflect on the archival system, the archival research is presented within a system of works on paper, existing as a device to both demonstrate and satisfy this concept of *illustration research as practice*. In addition, these works themselves can be archived for posterity, creating a parallel set of material to the *archive as illustrated space*.

Documenting and Critically Discussing the Early Iterations of Practice:

Establishing a method to work in an unbiased manner, in regard to the premise of *illustration research as practice*, to visually showcase the archival and oral history research, is explored in a series of residences and an exhibition. This concept is first explored in a collaborative artist’s residency, with a traditional bookbinder, entitled *De-Vey née Haslam*. The residency focuses solely on Martha and tests ideas of how to exhibit the collated research: predominantly Martha’s mapping timeline, which spans 48 years. Martha’s entry in the 1891 census, in which she gave her occupation as *mesmeric subject*: recorded with the comment that “she was often suspended in mid-air without any visible means of support”²⁰⁹, offers a constraint for these tests. Together with the premise of folding – and the act of unfolding to unveil stories – the constraint inspires the hanging system for the residency: both for the mapping timeline and the signwriting test. The collaborative outputs involved devising methods of housing these timelines to produce a series of archival boxes (Fig.38).

The collaboration with a traditional bookbinder facilitated both the design and fabrication of this series of archival boxes. The underlying constraint for the visual language of the boxes is to be reminiscent of an archival collection, and as such their creation allows the collated material to be housed in a manner where each female is physically ‘taking up space’. Undertaking this collaborative process has a significant impact on the theoretical framework being developed: the production of the archival boxes offers the collated material a physical stance and highlights the importance of this material – namely the mapping timelines – being present in the iterations of the *archive as illustrated space*. As such, the theoretical framework is adapted to allow for this, which not only enriches the *space* being experienced by the viewer, but also satisfies this premise of *illustration research as practice*.

The signwriting test exists as a backdrop to the works on paper, conceived in order to further demonstrate the possibilities of presenting *illustration research as practice* – in this instance, within a gallery space. Conversations with Delcia, Martha’s granddaughter,

²⁰⁹ A narrative fragment passed down over generations which Delcia conveyed to me during our second interview, 05.08.2017, 1pm-4pm, at Anderton & Rowland’s Fairground, Torbay Seafront, Devon. No audio recordings permitted.

in the wagon where Martha spent her life triggers her memories: Delcia often looks around and draws on furniture and objects to prompt her recollections²¹⁰. During one conversation Delcia produced a letter given to her by Martha in March 1949, which contains a list of proverbs that she believed a fairground woman should live by²¹¹. It is this letter which acts as the vehicle for the production of the first iteration of signwriting, providing an avenue for re-establishing Martha's identity: finally giving voice to her experiences and philosophical outlook. As this document is not held by the NFCA it is necessary to respond to having uncovered it: by anchoring it in the mapping timeline and reinterpreting it through signwriting – an illustrative, visual attempt to re-establish Martha (Fig.39&40).

Twelve aluminium pieces hang in the window of the residency space emulating the folds in the letter. Here, the window lends itself to the double-sided nature of the letter: entering the exhibition space continues the immersion into the document and is rewarding for the viewer²¹². The proverbs are painted precisely as they exist on the letter: any mistakes that Martha originally made are repeated. Though some proverbs are specific to the travelling community, others are more recognisable and accessible: the intention for this piece is to contribute to highlighting how fairground females hold a connection with their counterparts in society (Fig.41).

The second residency, *Haslam V. Hancock* focuses on Martha and Sophie, and is devised for two purposes: firstly, to perfect the hanging system of the series of papers and secondly, to explore ideas of how to signify points of the relationship between the females. These points are expressed through a series of themes – dual, duel, unite, fire and death – and are situated as anchors in the centre of the residency space. Martha's timeline (the series of folded papers) hangs on one wall, and Sophie's on the opposite wall. Coloured thread denotes certain articles that reference the relationship between Martha and Sophie, and is anchored to the relevant theme. The two coloured threads, yellow for Martha and blue for Sophie, create a hierarchy: meeting at the anchor point signifies that their relationship is balanced at that time whereas the emphasis on one colour signifies a prevailing, controlling female. Through viewing this it is evident that eventually Martha holds control over Sophie – understood by the viewer firstly through the coloured visuals of the installation, and secondly through immersing themselves in the narrative fragments (Fig.42).

In order to fully establish this exploration of *illustration research as practice*, this working manner evolved to present the archival research in its entirety as the exhibition, *Subjects: •. •.M.A.L.E.S.*, installed at Dingles Fairground Heritage Museum²¹³, from May-September 2018 (Fig.43). The focus to physically cross-reference between the five females located: where the narratives intertwined; and the recording approaches and patterns of *The World's Fair* newspaper and its reoccurring gaps – which of these were therefore conclusive and indicated a bias within the newspaper. At this instance it is possible to

²¹⁰ This is in line with Portelli's theory introduced in 'Methodologies: Facilitating and Analysing Oral History', Chapter 2, Section B.

²¹¹ Delcia presented and read the letter during the interview conducted on 15.04.2017, 10am-4pm.

²¹² Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p.142-148.

²¹³ Dingles Fairground Heritage Museum is a museum and working fairground located in Lifton, Devon. It houses the National Fairground Collection and the Fairground Heritage Trust, and is part-funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund. I have recently been invited to become a Trustee of the Fairground Heritage Trust, following my extensive research undertaken in this PhD enquiry, my fairground heritage and my knowledge and experience of working as a traditional signwriter. Interestingly, I am the only female to be on the board.

extract the narratives to take forward into the making of the physical signwriting pieces, to be held within the installations presented as the *archive as illustrated space*.

The system of layering the works on paper when hung intends to not just show the breadth and depth of the primary research completed and the narratives uncovered, but to aid the visual aesthetics of the research, allowing it to be viewed as *illustration research as practice*. The folds in the paper assist this further: they allow the audience to fixate on fragments of the research, whilst the system of hanging allows them to literally unfold the stories, if they desire.

Contextualising the Early Iterations of Practice:

Expanding on these outcomes with regard to the field of illustration, the exhibition exists as a three-dimensional archive of the research – and indeed to an extent of the female subjects. This differs from a museum or gallery approach, instead existing as an *archive as illustrated space*. Testing ideas in this way during the residencies and exhibition evolved and refined the concept of the *archive as illustrated space*: within this *space* there is scope for the timelines as works on paper to be contained and exhibited in this systematic way, reflecting both the archival and theoretical considerations (Fig.44). The intention is for these timelines to become a backdrop to the physical signwriting pieces in the *archive as illustrated space*: providing the context and a wider narrative for each of the five females, whilst highlighting the findings uncovered and the links that exist between the studio pieces – fully satisfying the concept of *illustration research as practice*. Furthermore, this assists the *archive as illustrated space* in existing as a place where the fragments and gaps – known to be present in the NFCA – can be filled. This complements the quantitative research documented earlier, and offers a rationale for why it was necessary to undertake the extensive methodological and archival research processes, whilst simultaneously working to re-establish the identities of the females in question.

The thesis now turns its attention to documenting and reflecting on the methods of re-establishing the females pertinent to this enquiry: through the constructed life-stories and the visual work conceived, fabricated and exhibited as the series of *archives as illustrated spaces*. In doing so, it becomes evident how the grounding gained through the theoretical investigation, the archival and oral research collation, and the tests undertaken exploring the concept of *illustration research as practice*, enriches and informs the framework utilised to build an *archive as illustrated space*. Furthermore, the findings from the quantitative research, specifically the narrative fragments, are illustrated through these outputs: the depiction of life-stories and visual works subsequently re-establishing the identities of the five females within an archival structure.

CHAPTER 3.

IN PRACTICE: RE-ESTABLISHING IDENTITIES

[CHAPTER 1](#)

[CHAPTER 2](#)

This chapter documents how the theoretical framework created to allow the development of an *archive as illustrated space* is actively translated into practical outcomes (Fig.45). These outputs are informed by the components established in the methodological study – the qualitative and quantitative archival research – and the testing of innovative theoretical and practice approaches, to enrich the artwork produced to successfully embed the *illustrative turns*. In doing so this demonstrates how the practice outputs are working to satisfy the framework devised in this PhD enquiry. Through practice I conceptually and physically illustrate the absent females in order for them to become present and, within both visual and written contexts, finally allow them to ‘take up space’²¹⁴.

It is through using an illustrative approach, across two outputs, that the fairground females are able to ‘take up space’: the life-story and reflection on the *archive as illustrated space* exhibition. The life-story collates the archival research – both newspaper fragments and archival photographs – with the oral history, to present the most complete narrative for each female. This life-story is paired with a reflection on the installation of each *archive as illustrated space*. Within this reflection, the constraints, creation and curation are discussed, alongside the methodological approach and an analysis of how each iteration advances the theoretical framework of the *space*. This advancement is possible due to many considerations, particularly the shift in context and location for each *space*: these range from the NFCA and Dingles Fairground Heritage Museum, to two travelling fairgrounds, an old butchers shopfront and a P.O. Box. The locations are both static and transient.

In this doctoral enquiry (and in most instances regarding the female), negation is as important as presence: my concern is with articulating the ways in which the females are absent²¹⁵. As such, I recognise that the PhD itself (both in practice and thesis) is an archival structure, in which the continued intention is to make the females present: both the fairground females and myself as a female archival theorist and illustrative practitioner. Hence, all five of the females are given an equal physical space to reflect a balanced weighting. Within these physical spaces exist partial excavations of lives: not a whole life is retold, but fragments – traces. As these fragments are knitted together in a dual approach – the constructed life-story and the installation of the *archive as illustrated space* – they are documented in the thesis as such: the life-story pre-empting the exhibition reflection offers a grounding to the female in question’s life. The order that this dual-documentation is presented in is related to the order that the exhibitions occurred²¹⁶. Here, the writing style shifts to a documentary and anecdotal tone.

The design of the pamphlets, and more specifically the life-stories, reflects the desire to give each female an equal physical space. The gaps in the life-stories exist as a dual-signifier: of absence in both the archival fragments of that particular life and of the females’ lives within the archive structure. Foucault suggests that traces can exist within

²¹⁴ I have previously established that the archive is fundamentally concerned with taking up space in ‘The Function of the Archive as Illustrated Space’, Chapter 1, Section E.

²¹⁵ Considering and allowing for absence, as well as presence, in regard to the female has been explored, particularly in feminist writing, since the 1800s. Notable writers exploring this notion include Julia Kavanagh and, later, Virginia Woolf. This concern is still prevalent today, with contemporary writers, including Maggie Nelson, exploring and acknowledging female negation in their work.

²¹⁶ This order was governed by some of the contexts of the *illustrated spaces*: the NFCA requested that Lizzie’s *space* coincide with their exhibition on World War I, set for October 2018 - January 2019 and so this became the first exhibition; Dingles Fairground Heritage Centre asked for the work on Martha to coincide with their 2019 season which became the second *space*. It felt imperative to present Sophie’s *space* as the third, as it is in conversation with Martha’s, whilst for Elizabeth’s it was important this was the fifth, leaving Annie’s as the fourth *space*.

archival documents to momentarily fix truth²¹⁷, and thus the premise of the trace is in regard to the true author of the document (in this case the female) appearing to be absent, concealed within. As Foucault determines, this document becomes a function, one to be applied in the overall system of construction²¹⁸.

These stories are fragmentary: formed of snippets – interesting flashes of their lives – extracted from both the systematic archival and oral history research undertaken and supported by archival photographs. Thus, the tone of the storytelling reflects a balance between those research methods: there is a continuous dialogue with *The World's Fair* newspaper and subsequently the language is often reminiscent of a newspaper article. Timing is of the utmost importance in this enquiry: the uncovering of the stories through oral history is undertaken with an awareness that those speaking are either septuagenarian or octogenarian age, thus it is necessary for their memories to be recorded²¹⁹. Both this, and my fairground heritage, has afforded me this opportunity to uncover these oral snippets and rationalised the decision to weave this into the life-stories, alongside the archival research.

These stories are central to the PhD enquiry, but are located on the periphery: they are the findings from the research, a direct response to the archiving notion, and exist as stepping stones to the construction of the *archives as illustrated spaces*. These stories are presented in an illustrative manner: using colour to indicate where the crossovers between the five females are. Within these stories the narrative fragments to be taken forward and told visually in the *spaces* are identified. This series of life-stories also acknowledges gaps and creates an equal weighting for each of the females – effectively allowing them to 'take up space' in an unbiased manner. Simultaneously to this, in the *illustrated spaces*, the fairground females 'take up space' in fields where they have not been present before, such as galleries and museums. This is undertaken in response to how fairground females are often doubly marginalised and stereotyped, and have previously been viewed through specific lenses. Thus, the varying contexts for the exhibitions – working outside and on the periphery of the traditional gallery – open up the material, extending both the richness of the narrative's content and visual representation to new audiences.

I am aware that audiences will engage in different ways with various layers and expressions of the research and narratives embedded in each of the *archives as illustrated spaces*. Furthermore, I am aware that I cannot expect the viewers to decode every layer – as such I am working in accordance with Roland Barthes' theory of rewarding the attentive reader²²⁰. Thus, within each *archive as illustrated space* there is a parallel between audience participation and supported reading – there are constants in each *space*, implemented through the trace, existing as captions to each of the works and historical resonances. These captions guide and encourage the viewer to actively engage with the layers and decode the narratives – mirroring my archival research

²¹⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.7.

²¹⁸ 'Theories of the Archive', Chapter 1, Section B.

²¹⁹ During this PhD enquiry, one participant whom I interviewed three times, to collate stories of Annie Holland, sadly passed away: confirming the immediacy of collating this oral history.

²²⁰ 'The Archive as a Participatory Tool', Chapter 1, Section D.

3. INTRODUCTION – SECTION A:

experience – and contribute to the fabrication of the *illustrative turn*²²¹. The trace assists the viewer in fully engaging with the *space* – the historical resonances are elements that the viewer can hook onto. Acknowledging that not all the viewers will actively engage with the works held in the *space* ensures that there is room for both surface and deep readings to occur.

The following reflections dissect the thinking and making of each *archive as illustrated space* – in doing so, I link back to the methodological approach (Chapter 2) and the theoretical enquiry (Chapter 1) to demonstrate how they contribute to the building of this framework. Each reflection is presented in a format which documents the visuals of the *space* – the installation as a whole and the works individually – detailing both the curatorial and design choices made, including colour and typefaces, as well as the methods deployed to build narrative tension and to execute the *illustrative turns*. Though there is one *space* devoted to each female is it important to note that each contributes to a larger body of work, and the crossovers of narrative and content between the *spaces* are a result of this.

²²¹ 'The Archive as a Participatory Tool', Chapter 1, Section D.

3. METHODOLOGIES – SECTION B:

In order to produce the series of practice outputs, the life-stories and the *archive as illustrated space*, it is necessary to evolve the working manner from a theoretical and archival researcher, to that of a practitioner. In order to shift from research to practice successfully, the methodological approach needs to be expanded accordingly. From Chapter 2 we can establish that the females are hidden in the archive, with its layers of hierarchies. As it is necessary to address both this absence and hierarchical system in practice, the methodological approach expands to consider:

- the writing of life-stories.
- the making and curating of an exhibition.

In doing so, this expanded methodology fully accommodates the shift from research to practice: supporting the application of the archival and oral findings to written and visual outputs, in order to fully re-establish the identities of the fairground females in question.

The Writing of Life-Stories:

Biography is an investigation of identity and as such it can take many forms including: life-history, life-story, memoir and profile. In this instance we are taking biography to be a form of narrative, so life-story is the appropriate term. To expand on this it is considered that this life-story will involve an oral dimension: either the recounting of memories or the retelling of much-heard anecdotes in a performative manner²²² – to return to the approach outlined earlier by Portelli²²³. The construction of the life-story itself, and how it conveys narratives concerned with the subject rather than rationalising and arguing for its very existence, is the approach concentrated on in this enquiry. It must be said that although stories that are interesting from an illustration perspective are to be expanded on, the selection or foregrounding of those stories is determined from the archival and oral history research and documentation – though there is a bias, there is a constraint on the material available to work with.

Hermione Lee, a writer who has positioned forward-thinking ideas of both life-stories and women writers, evidences the common thought, of how women are ignored²²⁴. In her prevailing definition for bibliography – ‘the history of the lives of individual men, as a branch of literature’ – she hints that though biography is taken as a form of history, the role of the women is seldom accounted for²²⁵. Here, Lee inspired a movement of feminist study: writers, since the 1960s, are exploring ways to speak of women’s experiences and their role in shaping modern society, and in response women began to be documented in archives²²⁶. It is these stories from their everyday, domestic life and how women’s experiences directly inform the economic, social and cultural discourse – which due to its nature was automatically interwoven with that of the public – that makes this enquiry’s study of fairground females so fascinating from both an archival and illustrative perspective. The fairground females’ stories are currently unarchived and the

²²² Hermione Lee, ‘The Biography Channel’, in *Biography, A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.1.

²²³ Portelli, ‘The Peculiarities of Oral History’, p.18-32.

²²⁴ The exception to this is in regard to the upper class where women were viewed of more importance. As such there is an awareness within the enquiry of this label of class and education: two traits which often led to the recording of their lives.

²²⁵ Lee, ‘National Biography’, in *Biography, A Very Short Introduction*, p.65.

²²⁶ Some of the key feminist writers and their texts, in the Twentieth Century, include Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex* (1949) and Betty Friedan’s *Feminist Mystique* (1963).

oral histories are at risk of being lost, which creates the demand for the re-establishing of their life-stories. If necessary, these life-stories can be categorised into a strand of biography that writer Virginia Woolf denotes as the “lives of the obscure”²²⁷. This focus stems from an interest and tactic of biography speaking for alternative and hidden lives, particularly those of women, which Woolf grounded in a feminist interest²²⁸.

Taking as a grounding Hermione Lee’s writings and essay explorations, three key points form the method to structuring the writing of the life-stories: the emphasis of truth; retaining an objective position; and the value, both of the life-story and to the reader. In her essay explorations²²⁹, Hermione Lee emphasises that the story should be true: that as biographers we have a responsibility to tell the truth, and if the truth cannot be recorded, the story at this instance should take the form of an unanswerable question or a gap in the record²³⁰. This focus leans itself to the chronological life-story, with the true presentation allowing the biographer to record both the lived experiences and any cultural meanings.

Lee considers the point of retaining an objective position to the subject of the life-story, and acknowledges how any personal connections the biographer may have to the subject can be seen as a bias or burden – the premise of this burden is relatable to the complications experienced by an *inside researcher*²³¹. Lee emerged with a refined approach which takes into account the recording of oral history and popular anecdotes, alongside archival materials and a general cultural awareness: this method determines that a connection to either the subject or any descendants of the subject can be a productive and important position to hold²³². Indeed it is this shared experience, between the writer and the subject or its descendants, which contributes to the possibility of accessing oral history. This method aligns with Haraway’s theoretical framework of standpoint theory: the author, if in a position of bias, holds an advantage, in both accessing and later conveying the research²³³.

The final point which forms the method of writing a life-story is in regard to value. The value of the life-story, Lee argues, depends on the honesty and investigational approach of the biographer: in other words, nothing should be omitted. Lee expands this to stipulate that the life-story should have some value for the reader and, in regard to rescuing what Woolf’s referred to as the ‘lives of the obscure’, place a value on both anecdotes and little details to create a more complete sense of the person in question, for the reader²³⁴. In regard to taking an illustrative approach, this illuminates the subject: the intention for this illumination is to assist in creating this value for the reader.

The Making and Curating of an Exhibition:

In order to facilitate and present a series of explorations of the *archive as illustrated space* it is necessary to approach the material not just as a practitioner, but as an

²²⁷ Virginia Woolf, ‘Sketch of the Past’, in *Moments of Being*, (London: Pimlico, 1985), p.90.

²²⁸ It is important to note here that feminist biography is a shifting genre and Woolf’s ideas are often evolved: in the 1980s author Carolyn Heilbrun in *Writing a Woman’s Life* discussed this demand to rationalise how and why she was documenting particular women in her writing. Woolf’s ‘lives of the obscure’ also evolved: its recording claimed as the new status for women’s stories, which historian Carolyn Steedman identified in *Past Tenses: Essays on Writing, Autobiography and History*.

²²⁹ Lee, *Body Parts, Essays on Life Writing*, (London: Pimlico, 2005).

²³⁰ Lee, ‘National Biography’, p.67.

²³¹ The concept of the *inside researcher*, in relation to Donna Haraway’s theoretical stance, was first introduced in ‘The Function of the Archive as Illustrated Space’, Chapter 1, Section E.

²³² Lee, ‘Shelley’s Heart and Pepy’s Lobsters’, in *Body Parts, Essays on Life Writing*, p.8.

²³³ ‘The Function of the Archive as Illustrated Space’, Chapter 1, Section E.

²³⁴ Lee, ‘Virginia Woolf’s Nose’, in *Body Parts, Essays on Life Writing*, p.28.

exhibition maker and curator. Whilst the theoretical framework serves as an underlying guide, evolving the methodological approach adopted for this study acknowledges both roles: theories that concern exhibition making and ways of curating, alongside examining curatorial handbooks. As the intention behind the framework of an *archive as illustrated space* is for it to be a participatory archive, pushing the viewer to take on an active role to engage with the material in order to unveil the hidden layers of narratives, it is necessary to position the method in accordance with curator Hans Ulrich Obrist's ideas about how the viewer shifts from the observer to the performer²³⁵. This is achieved by presenting directions alongside the artworks in order to encourage the viewer to participate, and decide their own pathways into the material displayed. Obrist argues that this provokes movement and action in the galleries and museums that the artworks are displayed in²³⁶.

Obrist's method of the viewer shifting from observer to performer is relevant if we consider two of the planned contexts for the series of *archives as illustrated spaces*, the NFCA and Dingles Fairground Heritage Museum. However, this is not a method that can be adopted for the other locations: the travelling fairground, a shopfront and the hidden P.O. Box. As such, it is necessary to expand the methodology and bring in curatorial systems in order to build a set of constraints to be applied to the *archive as illustrated space* framework when working with such locations. This decision, to take a stance as a curator alongside that of an exhibition-maker, is rationalised by the recent developments in curatorial theory. A curator is now commonly considered to be someone who is "concerned with the whole physical and intellectual experience of the exhibition"²³⁷, someone who stands between the artist and the public to create a framework for experimentation²³⁸.

Therefore, this methodological approach is undertaken in order to build a framework for experimentation. Formed of constraints, this framework can then be applied to the specific content of each *archive as illustrated space*, in order to produce an interactive exhibition. This framework is to be multi-faceted, as an exhibition itself is a strategic system of representation: a strategy which aims to engage its audiences with a set of prescribed values to alter or extend social knowledge²³⁹. Whilst doing so, the framework will simultaneously allow access to material that both exists and is created in order to account for and present an alternative to female absence. This dual framework needs to be able to adjust in response to the context that the work is situated in and, furthermore, as curator Adrian George states, "to the demography of people that will not only observe it, but to those that will participate in the works"²⁴⁰.

In order to construct a framework which adjusts according to the context it is applied in it is necessary to look to artist and designer El Lissitzky, who, in his manifesto, related his function as an exhibition-maker to his artistic practice²⁴¹. In doing so Lissitzky's exhibitions sought to create, by means of design, a participation by the observer, rather

²³⁵ Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Ways of Curating*, (London: Penguin Books, 2015), p.17.

²³⁶ Obrist, *Ways of Curating*, p.17.

²³⁷ Teresa Gleadowe, in *The Curator's Handbook*, ed. by Adrian George (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015), p.14.

²³⁸ Adrian George, *The Curator's Handbook*, p.308.

²³⁹ Bruce W. Ferguson, 'Exhibition Rhetoric: Material Speech and Utter Sense', in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. by Reesa Greenberg (Oxford: Routledge Publishing, 1996), p.175-190.

²⁴⁰ George, *The Curator's Handbook*, p.36.

²⁴¹ El Lissitzky, 'The Proun Space' installation and manifesto, unveiled at the Great Berlin Art Exhibition, 1923.

than a passive viewing²⁴². This approach demands that the exhibition-maker realise the potential of integrating painted colour with architecture: in order to encourage the observer to participate. This integration creates a distorted effect upon initial viewing, demanding the observer become active to fully interpret the exhibition. Lissitzky explores this notion in many installation formats and his solutions include: display manipulations (raised and suspended platforms, moveable and sliding panel systems) which conceal and reveal; architectural points (positioning and shifting angles of both vertical and horizontal vantage points); and colour manipulation (display colours, wall colours, shadow colours).

Lissitzky's solutions of architectural effects can be seen as the ideological context for a situation in which the observer becomes a participant in the exhibition – wherein Lissitzky's method demands the observer actively inhabit to move through a space. It is this solution, when placed and explored in the context of the *archive as illustrated space* framework – and aligned with other participatory elements, such as the *illustrative turn* and the concealment of narratives – that demands the observer becomes an active participant.

Therefore, to build an *archive as illustrated space*, the exhibition and curation framework is multi-faceted. Firstly, the framework is concerned with the architectural elements of the *space* and secondly, with the physical artworks themselves and their content. These constraints remain a constant, regardless of the installation context (Fig.46).

Application of the Methods:

The two outlined methods guide my application of both writing the life-stories and producing the visual artworks, using traditional signwriting and illustrative storytelling, to construct the *archives as illustrated spaces*. In these physical *spaces*, all the work is original: each artwork (the forty-five signs and the four manipulated three-dimensional objects) has been conceived, designed, fabricated and painted by myself – effectively the *design intervention*, working from concept, right through to production. The concepts, informed by both the quantitative and qualitative research undertaken – which is consolidated in the life-story – and governed by the theoretical framework are translated in the production of the signs. At times, the visual language is inspired by the archival nature of the enquiry: the intention being for some of the works to appear as from the NFCA's collection. This is undertaken simultaneously with considerations of the installation's premise – as both a maker and curator – and the logistical constraints. This process, emerging as an active iteration of the *archive as illustrated space*, is then reflected on: informing and evolving the framework after each installation²⁴³.

Each iteration of the *archive as illustrated space* focuses on a particular female and is conceived and responds to its context, which effectively becomes a signifier in

²⁴² Judith Barry, 'Dissenting Spaces', *Thinking About Exhibitions*, p.307-312.

²⁴³ These reflections shift between the continuous present and the past tense, due to their reflective nature. The design of these pamphlets signifies that these reflections are of a different tone through the use of a different typeface.

completing the narrative. These iterations take on a multitude of contexts, forms and visual languages but are governed by a set of constraints: each iteration holds a series of signs that chronologically tell the female in question's life-story. In most instances – all, except Lizzie – the females played an active role in the formation and organisation of fairgrounds across the country: their role going far beyond that of their counterparts in other contexts. In the Twentieth Century fairground, the female is expected to not just be housekeeper and mother, but secretary, accountant, worker and business partner. Their involvement with the industry varies from necessity through the loss of a husband, aptitude by showing a talent for a specific role, or purely by family heritage. The five installations are:

- 'Lizzie: Striding Along', installed at the NFCA due to Lizzie's personal connection with Sheffield – the fairground she is associated with, Sedgwick's, wintered in Sheffield – takes inspiration from the military and advertisement posters of World War I. Much of what is known about Lizzie has been sourced from *The World's Fair* articles and pieced together: as far as I am aware Lizzie has no descendants.
- 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject', installed surrounding Martha's living wagon at Dingles Fairground Heritage Museum, takes on the aesthetic of a fairground shooting gallery. Martha's role is pivotal to the success of Anderton & Rowland's, the fairground she is associated with: responsible for the accounts, employment and logistics of the fairground, yet rarely seen and seldom spoken of publicly.
- 'Sophie: Colourful Language', a travelling installation which takes the route Sophie once took through the West Country with a steam fairground. The visual language is governed by her continued rivalry with Martha and the impact of a fire. The premise that Sophie's life is full of secrets – some which concern love, some which discuss professional working relationships and some of bitter feuds – underlies both the visual language and the *space* itself.
- 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' is exhibited in a dual-manner – in an old butchers shopfront and an East End of London P.O. Box – to reflect her dual-life. The visual language is inspired by the Victorian shopfront, specifically the directional wording and language used on these advertisements. The *space* tells fragments of Annie's life that saw her apply herself across many 'male roles' in the industry, due to the necessities presented to her²⁴⁴.
- 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' takes on a multitude of forms: a fragment of Elizabeth's life is present in each of the four previous *spaces*, with the visual language exploring how typography itself can be absent yet present. This decision is due to Elizabeth remaining almost absent from the archival documentation, more non-existent than lost. Despite this, oral history snippets and the odd newspaper fragment have located her in

²⁴⁴ These 'male roles' include driving and manual work on steam engines, the building up of rides and shows, and the operation of rides.

3. METHODOLOGIES – SECTION B:

connection to the other four females: hence, her identity is re-established in regard to them.

This chapter now focuses on each female in turn – the order of which is chronological according to the exhibition timings. Documented is each female’s life-story, followed by the reflection on their *archive as illustrated space*. These dual-outputs for each female are intended to be read in sequence: the life-story pre-empting the exhibition reflection, effectively acting as a grounding in which the viewer can access the female’s full narrative, before learning how certain narrative fragments have been utilised in the fabrication of the *space*²⁴⁵. At this moment, the thesis itself demands a participatory action by the reader, prompted by the design: the envelope on the right needs to be opened in order to reveal the five pamphlets – herein, the reader is actively participating in unveiling the identities of the females.

²⁴⁵ The narrative fragments conveyed in the *spaces* are indicated by vertical coloured dash-lines in the life-stories. The singular coloured dashes signify connections between the five females.

LIZZIE
– STRIDING ALONG –

LIFE-STORY



3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1850s

1860s



1870s

1880s



3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1890s

1900



1901

1902



3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1903

1904

1905

1906

The earliest traceable documentation of Lizzie is 1906²⁴⁶, when she was working for Sedgwicks²⁴⁷. This documentation ironically reports on the firm nearly losing Lizzie, their principal performer, due to a near-drowning incident in the river Tone, Taunton. They were part of Anderton & Rowland's fairground at Jarvis' Field, Taunton, when one evening Lizzie was taken to the riverbank, for the purpose of allowing her to drink. Once in the water she realised that, owing to the steepness of the river bank, she was unable to get out. Luckily an attendant threw in a rope and after securing herself through a rope loop, aided by the men rigorously pulling her, Lizzie climbed out of the water. Despite being considerably exhausted by the antics, Lizzie speedily recovered and was able to take her accustomed part in the performance later that evening²⁴⁸.

²⁴⁶ *The World's Fair*, No. 93, June 23rd, 1906.

²⁴⁷ William and Nellie Sedgwick were an established fairground and menagerie family that wintered in Sheffield. They toured most of the United Kingdom during the travelling months.

²⁴⁸ *The World's Fair*, No. 93, June 23rd, 1906.

1907

1908

Her role as their principal performer was widely documented: both Sedgwicks and any reporters or enthusiasts attending the menagerie performance always discussed her lively antics as part of their articles submitted to *The World's Fair*²⁴⁹. From this, it can be said that Lizzie seemed to enjoy interacting with and performing for the public – she was a practical joker of sorts – as some of the newspaper articles allude to²⁵⁰. One of her performances was the spectacular finale held at the end of each menagerie show, 'The Tug of War'. This act was first introduced in February 1908²⁵¹ when Sedgwicks Menagerie were showing at Olympia, London, alongside Pat Collins' fairground²⁵². It began as a bet between the two proprietors, William Sedgwick and Pat Collins. Sedgwick commented that his lady, Lizzie, weighing a trifle over two-and-a-half tons, could pull, haul or otherwise pulverise a group of thirty men that were local to the area. Collins bet £50 that he could

²⁴⁹ Examples of these antics are included in: *The World's Fair* No. 163, October 26th, 1907; *The World's Fair*, No. 179, February 15th, 1908; and *The World's Fair*, No. 262, September 18th, 1909.

²⁵⁰ Examples of Lizzie's practical jokes are included in: *The World's Fair*, No. 339, March 11th, 1911 and *The World's Fair*, No. 367, September 23rd, 1911.

²⁵¹ *The World's Fair*, No. 179, February 15th, 1908.

²⁵² Pat Collins was a renowned fairground showman. His business was established in 1889 in the Black Country, following his run of successful fairs for traditional holidays there.

train a group of thirty men to beat Lizzie and so the contest was set. It was decided that the pull would be a twenty-four foot one and the rope was to be a tarred one. Despite a slow start from Lizzie (who seemed unaware of what she was supposed to be doing), she pulled thirty men over the line, winning in just 35 seconds. This competition drew in a huge crowd and subsequently Sedgwick continued with this act, advertising it as the 'grand finale'. As they travelled across the country he invited local men to compete against Lizzie – this role continued for her until the outbreak of World War I²⁵³.

1909

²⁵³ The last documentation of Lizzie performing in this role appears in *The World's Fair*, No. 506, May 23rd, 1914.

1910



254



255

²⁵⁴ Sedgwick's Elephant Parade – Lizzie is the centre elephant, her handler riding her. Unknown Fairground, 1910 – George Dawson Collection, NFCA.

²⁵⁵ Lizzie in full focus, with her handler (unidentified). Gloucestershire, 1910 – Lionel Bathe Collection, NFCA.

1911

Another of Lizzie's common traits was escaping: often in order to procure food. In November 1911 it was noted that during one night Lizzie escaped from her keeper, without waking him. Once free, Lizzie walked down to an opening which took her to a coach-house. The doors were barred, but she removed the bar and opened the doors. In a large box were six bags of barley flour, which she quickly consumed, followed by four stone of bran, in a barrel. Seeing nothing else, Lizzie moved on and found a field containing four score of broccoli: all but two were eaten. Lizzie, whose face was white all over from the barley flour, then went to move on, only to be disturbed by her keeper who had woken to discover she'd disappeared and gone in search of her, with only a lantern for assistance. She was eventually secured, but fearing that such a hearty meal might lead to complications, her keeper kept her in constant motion for the rest of the night, marching her up and down the street²⁵⁶.

1912

²⁵⁶ *The World's Fair*, No. 374, November 11th, 1911.

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1913

1914

Lizzie continued to travel with Sedgwicks until the outbreak of World War I. The war outbreak impacted greatly on the travelling fairground industry and its communities: restrictions on travel, rations on food and fuel, and general blackout conditions forced many show-families to retire to winter quarters. Sedgwicks were stationed at the Wicker Arches, Sheffield and refrained from travelling during the war, leasing most of their animals to Belle Vue Zoo in Manchester²⁵⁷. As is commonly known, females took on new roles during this period, and the fairground was not exempt from this. Lizzie was enlisted by a steel merchant, Tom Ward, to work at the Albion Works, Sheffield. She was enlisted because of the great dearth of carting facilities in Sheffield, following the horses' conscription by the government for the war effort. Thus, Ward's firm pressed Lizzie into service and it was often reported that she was striding along the streets of Sheffield, drawing a load of iron or

²⁵⁷ *The World's Fair*, No. 543, February 5th, 1915.

scrap metal to the munitions work – the weight of the load equal to that usually allotted to three horses. Her role was key in keeping the Ward company going during World War I. During this period Lizzie was stabled near their factory, rather than at her old home of the Wicker Arches²⁵⁸.

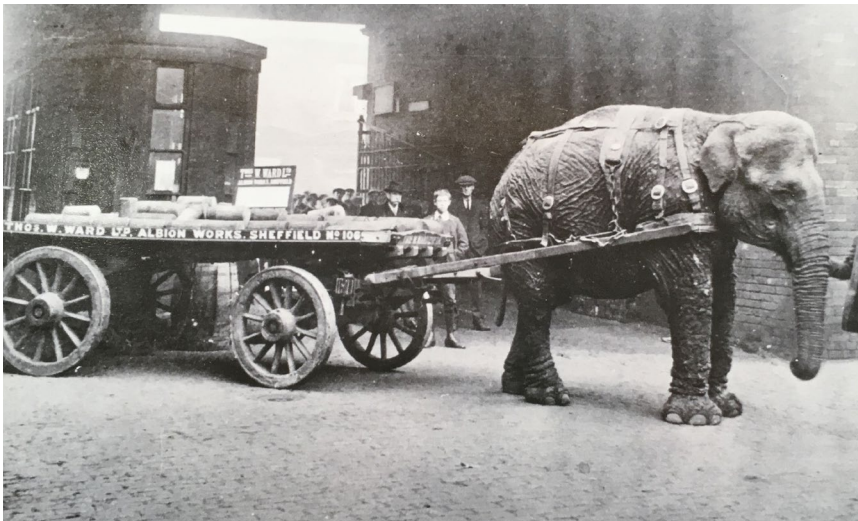
1915

²⁵⁸ *The World's Fair*, No. 595, February 7th, 1916.

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1916

1917



259

²⁵⁹ Lizzie, from Sedgwicks, working for Thomas Ward Steel Ltd. Sheffield, 1917 – Unknown Collection, NFCA.

1918

1919

Following the end of the War the identity of Lizzie is obscured: stories that she continued in her new role working in Sheffield's steel industry, until she was forced into retirement because the cobble stone roads of Sheffield had damaged her feet, have been passed around. Yet, it seems more plausible that she would have returned to her old role, like so many other females did, following the war. From piecing fragments together it can now be said that the latter is true: in 1917 William Sedgwick retired from the industry and sold his menagerie to Bostock & Wombwell's²⁶⁰. Hence when Lizzie returned to her old role, following World War I, she was working under new owners.

The documentation uncovered states that Bostock & Wombwell's introduced Lizzie as 'majestic'. However, this was far from the truth. Not only had she returned to her old role – following a stint hauling in World War I which was more in keeping with what she was originally bred to do – this role was less principle than before: at Sedgwicks' she was the star of the menagerie, now with Bostock's she was one of many²⁶¹. This led to a period of depression for Lizzie, reflected in *The World's Fair* documentation which does not reference any antics, performative qualities or crowd-pleasing endeavours in this period.

²⁶⁰ *The World's Fair*, No. 676, August 25th, 1917.

²⁶¹ *The World's Fair*, No. 776, July 28th, 1919.

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1920

1921



1922

1923



1924

1925

1926

In June, 1926 whilst the menagerie was at Swansea Lizzie got stuck in the well of her wagon and could not get up unaided, as she had an afflicted leg. The proprietors, Mr. & Mrs. E. Bostock, decided that the workmen should try to pull Lizzie through the gate of the wagon. After four hours of pulling, they realised she had dislodged herself slightly from the well of the wagon but was now stuck between the well and the posts. The proprietors then ordered for the emergency panel to be removed, so that the workmen could pull Lizzie out through the off-side of the wagon. Four horses were hitched onto Lizzie and hauled her out of the wagon, onto the ground. Despite a three-foot drop she was still alive, so they continued to haul her away from the wagon, moving some twelve feet away, giving her enough room to get up on her own. Once there and the horses' traces having been slackened, Lizzie gave one great shudder and died. It is reported to have been a very pathetic scene, one in which Mrs. Elizabeth Bostock was weeping²⁶².

A poster advertising Bostock & Wombwell's Menagerie's Swansea visit describes the highlight of the show to be 'an exhibition of a deceased elephant – never been seen before!'²⁶³. Bostock & Wombwell's charged sixpence per admission to see Lizzie and exhibited her for three days, before the Inspector of Health intervened. In response to this, Mr. & Mrs. E. Bostock quickly sold her to Swansea Museum, before moving onto the next ground with their menagerie. This is where *The World's Fair* documentation featuring Lizzie, in both articles and in letters from enthusiasts printed in the comments section, stops.

Yet, upon further research it can be clarified that in 1926, Swansea Museum employed a butcher and a carpenter to attend to Lizzie, so that the museum could display Lizzie as a historical piece²⁶⁴.

²⁶² *The World's Fair*, No. 1399, July 4th, 1931.

²⁶³ Poster Collection, Holding 178R3.155, 'Bostock & Wombwell's 3 Ring Menagerie', NFCA.

²⁶⁴ Evidence relayed by Swansea Museum during telephone conversation on 05.08.2018, 10am-11am.

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1927

1928



1929

1930



3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1931

1932



1933

1934



3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1935

1936



1937

1938



3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1939 Lizzie was displayed under the stairs on the ground floor of the museum until World War II, when Swansea Museum was bombed. During this bombing Lizzie was hit and lost part of her ear²⁶⁵.

1940

1941

1942

²⁶⁵ Evidence relayed by Swansea Museum, 05.08.2018.

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1943

1944

1945

1946

Swansea Museum reopened after World War II, Lizzie was still on display under the stairs²⁶⁶.

²⁶⁶ Evidence relayed by Swansea Museum, 05.08.2018.

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1947

1948



1949

1950



3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1951

1952

Lizzie remained on display until 1952 when an Inspector of Health found traces of arsenic in her and intervened – she was promptly burnt and disposed of²⁶⁷.

1953

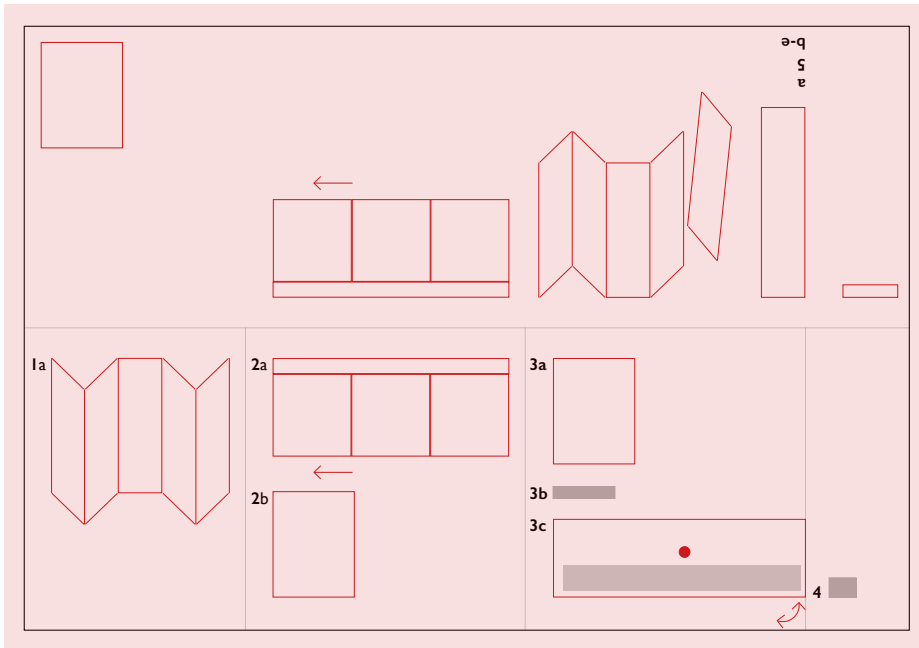
²⁶⁷ Evidence relayed by Swansea Museum, 05.08.2018.

LIZZIE
– STRIDING ALONG –

EXHIBITION REFLECTION

*Installed at The National Fairground & Circus Archive (NFCA),
Sheffield, October 2018 - January 2019.*

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



1. The Emergence of Big Lizzie:

- a. She triumphs – but only just – to become the principal performer

2. Lizzie's Youthful Antics:

- a. Victory in the tug 'o' war ensures her golden position
- b. Preparing for WWI, she consumes a hearty meal

3. Lizzie's Shift to Munitions Work:

- a. She finds a role that only someone of her stature could fill
- b. She hauls cart no. 106
- c. Striding along – she turns – finally her true self, reflected in gold

4. The _____ in the Room.

- a. Though she appears golden, is her role still majestic?

5. The End of Big Lizzie:

- b. At the back of the show, the gold begins to flake
- c. Failure to escape, she is no longer majestic
- d. A shadow falls on her tug 'o' life
- e. She was weeping

0. Lizzie's Identity: A Folded Context – 1906 - 1921

– see archive cabinet.
 – Lizzie as an object, not in her finest hour.
 – the gradient changes, as Lizzie's life evolves.
 – denotes an action by Elizabeth Bostock.

The Context:

The conversation about installing one *archive as illustrated space* at the NFCA began during my period of research in the archive²⁶⁸. It seemed apt to focus on Lizzie's identity due to her connection with Sheffield itself and also to coincide with the archive's exhibition, 'The Role of Popular Entertainment during World War One', which commemorates the 100th anniversary of World War I and pays tribute to the contribution of the entertainment sector. This *archive as illustrated space* consisted of a tabletop exhibition²⁶⁹, with the opportunity to display other works in archival cabinets. Here the installation alluded to the traditional archival approach, and created an interesting dialogue for the viewer: contemporary works displayed alongside original artefacts. For the viewer, interacting with the exhibition, the archival setup should have been seen as a comfortable space to encounter and access (viewing the works in the archival cabinets, for example). The integrated *archive as illustrated space* is slightly unsettling: a moment in which the viewer realised that there was a dual archival approach.

Facilitating this exhibition demanded I shift my approach as an artist, from installing works in an exhibition space to working within an archive, and thus consider other factors and constraints in the PhD's methodological enquiry. In particular this approach evolved how I approached curation, which has since become a fundamental consideration in the framework of the *archive as illustrated space*.

The Use of Captions:

Throughout this reflection I allude to the captions. These captions are offered as directions to the viewer in accordance with Hans Ulrich Obrist's stance that in doing so the viewer is encouraged to shift from observer to participant²⁷⁰. Acting as an accompaniment with the visual works, narrative

²⁶⁸ During a conversation with the NFCA's Collections Manager, Arantza Barrutia-Wood, and Curator, Andrew Moore, they relayed that the exhibition they were currently planning was focusing on World War I, and said that they would be interested in exhibiting Lizzie's *archive as illustrated space*, due to her connection to Sheffield.

²⁶⁹ The tabletop constraint was set following a discussion with the NFCA concerning the available space and as this format would remove any installation requirements (hanging, fixing, drilling, etc.), that are commonly used in galleries yet are unable to be employed in the archive setting.

²⁷⁰ Obrist, *Ways of Curating*, p.17.

Fig. 1: 'Plan of Works'

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Tabletop Exhibition



'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Archival Cabinet Exhibition

tension is articulated, increasing across the captions. The captions are offered to the viewer as narrative hints to aid them in unveiling the truths: the *illustrative turn* of Lizzie's archive as *illustrated space*. The captions are formatted in a 'Plan of Works' and offered to the viewer alongside a map of the installation. Printed chronologically, they contain a headline for each narrative thread, and then a direction pertinent to each sign (Fig. 1).

The Participant's Active Journey:

El Lissitzky's manifesto²⁷¹ considers the function of an exhibition-maker in relation to an artistic practice, in order to create an exhibition that seeks active participation by the observer, as opposed to a passive viewing. Working in accordance with this, the installation 'Lizzie: Striding Along' requested this participation in a multitude of ways²⁷². Primarily a tabletop exhibition, the installation employed a series of methods that Lissitzky first proposed: playing with the architectural elements of both the signs and the curation; and positioning the signs on hidden, raised platforms so they appear suspended.



'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Visual Artworks In-Situ

²⁷¹ Lissitzky, 'The Proun Space'.

²⁷² 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

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This also referenced the engineering of a fairground ride and incorporated signs that move or turn, to lead the viewer around the exhibition chronologically. Two triggers to this desired movement are present in the curation of the tabletop: altering the viewing direction – through utilising two perspectives – and through the edges of the tabletop, painted a light to dark grey. Both are designed to direct or push the viewer on their journey, though still allow for autonomy.

To analyse whether the viewer takes this recommended journey, it is necessary to consider the tabletop exhibition through the lens of its curation first. The pacing shifts on the second side of the tabletop, as the narrative, the build up to Lizzie's death, expands across the whole side: this viewing perspective gains an intensity in its pacing and visual nature, conveying a tension to the viewer. This pacing is assisted by the varnish lines, which separate the narrative threads²⁷³ and direct the viewer into moving chronologically through the signs – encouraged by the inclusion of directional numbers on the table.

With regard to the numbering on the tabletop, there is a gap where sign '3b.' should sit: the 'Plan of Works' directed the viewer to the sign installed alongside archival photographs in the archive cabinet (Fig.2). This gap explored



Fig.2: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Archival Cabinet Exhibition

²⁷³ These narrative threads have been constructed from the collation of fragments from *The World's Fair* newspaper; archival photographs and oral history snippets. These take the form of mapping timelines and are located in the appendices.

this curatorial and visual interplay through both an archival and contemporary illustrative manner to demand the audience considered the possibilities of how archival work can be exhibited. Also, this gap acts as a trigger to the fourth narrative thread, the fourth section on the tabletop.

From observation of the audience interacting with the exhibition, and through the artist talk given, it is apparent that these curatorial decisions successfully convinced the viewer to actively participate in the tabletop exhibition (they moved around the exhibition as intended, shifting between the tabletop and the archive cabinet when demanded to do so). This encouraged them to engage with the physical signs in order to unveil the narrative threads in question, thus rewarding their attention.

Constructing a (Methodological) Visual Language:

To refer back to the methodology derived from Lissitzky's manifesto²⁷⁴, the visual language of the ten signs on the tabletop – where some are placed on raised platforms – is conceived in order to create a hierarchy, which when viewed from above also creates a series of shadows. The visual signage and language used draw on direct references of both World War I and fairground advertisement posters. The intention is for the signs to occasionally reflect the language of a newspaper from the period, to indicate the underpinning of the archival research: the methods used to reconstruct these stories are embedded within the signs.

The visual language has been designed to reference matters of irony and hierarchy pertinent to Lizzie's narratives, alongside the change in Lizzie's role as time progresses – building a tension which culminates in her death. The use of repetition, with manipulations such as removed parts or amended viewing angles as the viewer shifts their perspective to the second side of the tabletop, further references the end of Lizzie's story and is reflected in the euphemistic language used to create the signs.

²⁷⁴ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

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The visual language of the signs evolved and intensified at moments in accordance with Lizzie's life-story. This is particularly prominent in the use of typefaces and colour, in which there are five tonal choices: gold; red (which shifts to maroon and pink); cream; grey (which darkens); and black. Each of these colours is used as a function, in order to convey a moment in the narrative related to Lizzie's character – aside from the cream which is employed for decoration only. The red and maroon tones are used in a directional manner: when Lizzie is referred to in the narrative as an object, not explicitly in her finest hour. The pink indicates the absence of women²⁷⁵. The use of grey darkens as the signs progress chronologically, referencing Lizzie's life passing. The black is used in a more traditional manner, in regard to signwriting application: to convey information directly and to further the narrative. Finally, gold is used in reference to Lizzie's majestic role, and is frequently referred to in the captions (Fig.3).



Fig.3: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Close-Ups: Typefaces & Colour

²⁷⁵ The colour pink is employed with the understanding of the theories and conversations around this colour, particularly in regard to its communicative function and how it has, previously, been associated with women. However, in recent times, as evidenced in Veronika Kroller's article 'Not just a Colour: Pink as a Gender and Sexuality Marker in Visual Communication' (2008), pink is reclaimed by feminists to some extent. Kroller mentions a tendency where women are redefining pink as a colour for women who are equal in both social and economic terms. Its use in the *archive as illustrative space* to refer to Mrs. E. Bostock is in regard to this equal: despite the lack of archival documentation on Elizabeth, it is important she holds the same weighting as the other females in the enquiry.

The Fabrication of the Signs to House the Illustrative Turns:

Working with the raised platforms, the viewing angles of some of the signs were altered, encouraging the viewer to shift their position to consider them: this also referenced moments in the narrative. In sign '1a.' the content of both the sign and the caption refers to Lizzie achieving a triumph by a narrow escape: the use of 'emergence' in the caption reflects the moment in the story where Lizzie nearly drowned whereas the angle of the sign, sloping downwards and folding in on itself, gives the viewer an impression of this narrow impact. As this is the first encounter of work in the installation, the unveiling is overly prompted with the intention of encouraging the viewer to decipher the subsequent signs using these methods (Fig.4).



Fig.4: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Sign '1a.'

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



Fig.5: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Sign '5c.'

Sign '5c.' is at first glance a mirror in physicality of '1a.', but with one panel missing – which responded to a fragment of the narrative. The concept of escape is reiterated, though not with a successful outcome this time – evident in the colour change. At one instance the signwriting works both horizontally and vertically, 'removed from the risk of side shows' can be deciphered if the viewer participates and decodes the signage, informing the viewer of Lizzie's death (Fig.5).

Lizzie's death is reiterated in the subsequent sign, '5d.'. This is a reflection of sign '2a.', which introduced the use of gold in the *archive as illustrated space*: reflecting the first moment in Lizzie's story that she is seen as majestic – as she has a role to perform. '2a.' is also the first demand of viewer participation: by sliding the sign to reveal the full narrative, they are rewarded by the gold.

Viewer participation in '5d.' reveals another change in the visual language: in this instance Lizzie's death is conveyed in both the use of 'lost' and the black shadow that underlies it, and the active viewer is prompted of this in the caption (Fig.6).



Fig.6: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Signs '2a.' & '5d.'

Sign '2b.' marks the beginning of the shift into the narratives documenting Lizzie's role in World War I, and the visual language of the sign reflects this: highlighting the importance this period held for Lizzie's role. In this instance the caption aids the viewer in considering the content and language of the sign – it hints at the true identity of Lizzie (an elephant), but in order to realise this the viewer is expected to actively link the knowledge of consumption to her (Fig.7).

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



Figs.7&8: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Signs '2b' & '3a'

The appropriation of the visual language of World War I advertisement posters continues in sign '3a.', as does the unveiling of her true identity in the caption. The most explicit clue offered to the viewer yet is given at this point: the grey silhouette painted in the background shadow of the sign resembles an elephant (Fig.8).

Sign '5b.' is framed as an advertisement poster – an appropriation of an archival document – which anticipates her impending death and forecasts that the fairground will financially capitalise on it. Not only is the gold on this sign flaking but the image the caption creates refers to the current depressive nature of Lizzie, and her impending demise (Fig.9).

Sign '3c.' creates the feeling of hierarchy through standing above all others on the tabletop, subtly referencing that it can move over its surroundings and

hinting that it could be shadowing things (in this instance the number '4'). This hierarchy also alludes to a participatory moment for the viewer: the turning of the sign. Here, the viewer is offered a second hint through the upside-down nature of part of the signwriting, an anagram of 'Lizzie the Elephant' – directly referred to in the caption. Thus, this *illustrative turn* is multi-faceted: it also reflects an important moment in Lizzie's life – a turn in her role that occurred during World War I (Fig.10).



Figs.9&10: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Signs '5b.' & '3c.'

The number '4.' on the tabletop is shadowed by the sign '3c.': if the viewer participates in turning '3c.' they are rewarded with the fourth number and a gap on the table. Though not explicitly referred to in the map, the true placement of the fourth piece is alluded to in the caption and relates to the previous use of the archival cabinet. This is the moment in the *archive as*

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



Fig. 11: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Sign '3b.'

illustrated space that breaks the constraints (this narrative thread should be formed of four signs but instead is one piece) and is a shift in visual language – leaning towards the installation format. This draws on the concept of the female in question taking up space in the archive three-dimensionally and acts as the reveal in the *illustrative turn*. Rather than continuing to work chronologically through the narratives extracted from *The World's Fair*, this fragment reveals Lizzie to be an elephant (Fig. 11).

The sign '5a.' also manipulates the change in hierarchy²⁷⁶ to allude to its narrative meaning: the sign is set into the tabletop, emulating a dip in Lizzie's life-story (Fig. 12). Again, this is multi-faceted: the content and size of the sign is ironic in regard to the narrative conveyed – following World War I Lizzie is no longer a majestic performer and yet continues to be advertised as such. Hence, the sign is small and sunken, and the caption is offered as a question.



Fig. 12: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Sign '5a.'

Finally, sign '5e.' introduces a complete change in visual language across its colour, typeface and fabrication, all of which notion to the fact that this sign is working to re-establish a narrative fragment of another female, the absent Elizabeth Bostock: at this moment Lizzie & Elizabeth's narratives overlap.

²⁷⁶This hierarchy mirrors the hierarchies present in archives themselves and plays conceptually with these orderings, referring once again to how the females are under-represented in the archival system.



Fig. 13: 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Sign '5e.'

The lack of signwriting – painting the background rather than the typeface, and the typeface existing as shadows rather than as lettering – further communicates the absence of Elizabeth. This is reiterated by the use of the third person, establishing Elizabeth's passive presence (Fig. 13).

Contextualising the installation as an *archive as illustrated space*:

To summarise, unpacking the thinking behind both the architectural elements of the curation and the physical artworks installed on the tabletop demonstrates how, through working with the methodological approach constructed from both Lissitzky and Obrist's thinking²⁷⁷, this installation exists as an *archive as illustrated space* in which the viewer is considered

²⁷⁷'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

3. LIZZIE: STRIDING ALONG, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

as an active participant, rather than an observer. This is demonstrated by rationalising how the concealment of narratives and the use of the *illustrative turn* encourages the viewer to take on the role of active participant, marking a shift in how exhibitions can be rewarding for the viewer. This framework can be considered successful upon consideration of the unveiling of the *illustrative turn* – revealing the true identity of Lizzie's character (that of an elephant). This became fully apparent to the active viewer as they moved onto the second side of the tabletop: the shift in pacing, physicality, colour and language all assisted the viewer to realise the truth and both unveil the *illustrative turn* and the story of Lizzie's death.



'Lizzie: Striding Along' – Visual Artworks In-Situ



The first iteration of an *archive as illustrated space*, 'Lizzie: Striding Along', has contributed to the framework through the testing of the mechanisms and constraints as outlined in this reflection. These mechanisms can now be refined in subsequent *spaces*. Refinements are particularly needed in regard to the participatory role offered to the viewer: though, in this instance, the viewer tended to participate and unveil the narrative threads, there appears a demand to expand this participation in regard to the physicality of the signs. Therefore developing this constraint so more of the signs in the *space* can be manipulated, whether that be through sliding and turning, or other movements (flipping, opening and closing) is key.

Extending the hierarchy of the signs, and utilising this mechanism in a multi-faceted way – rather than just positioning the signs but exaggerating (in either a positive or negative manner) the façade of the sign itself – will bring into sharper focus the critique that I am offering of these hierarchies. Moving away from a tabletop exhibition to an installation located around a fairground wagon for the second *archive as illustrated space* will demand the framework expands its manipulation of pacing, chronology and viewing perspectives. In doing so, this will ensure the framework holds the potential to be applied to many outputs, and is thus a broader contribution in itself to the field of illustration research.

MARTHA
– MESMERIC SUBJECT –

LIFE-STORY



3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1850s

1860s

1870s

1880s

In 1870, Martha's father, Albert Haslam, began performing as Professor Anderton. This constituted a change in profession: from working as an engine driver in the Sheffield steel industry to performing to the Victorian public at fairgrounds, with a conjuring act.

1890s

By 1890 Albert found himself widowed with seven children to support – Martha being his fifth born, and eldest daughter – and as such he realised he needed to expand his offerings²⁷⁸.

This expansion began during the season of 1891 with Albert offering the 'The House of Mysteries' to the Victorian public: a conjuring act show with hypnotic performances outside. The intention was that these acts would entice the public to pay for a ticket to enter the show (these acts were often more lavish than the display given on the inside). The most successful of the outside performances was 'The Flying Birdcage'. This act consisted of Professor Anderton suspending Martha in mid-air, without any visible means of support: a trick between father and daughter. In the 1891 census Martha noted her profession as 'mesmeric subject'²⁷⁹.

In the mid-1890's Professor Anderton expanded his fairground show again, adding animal acts. This coincided with Martha's brother, Arthur – under his stage name Captain Rowland – joining the business, forming the partnership of Anderton & Rowland²⁸⁰. The late 1890's were turbulent years for the firm and in order to clear debts they sold their menagerie (Fourpawh's) and relocated to the West Country. Here they continued using their approach of outside acts to entice the public, in this instance to enter a Cinematography Show. Before each screening a live variety performance was given at the front of the show. One of these performances, 'The Anderson Sisters', consisted of Martha dancing with Sophie Hancock, Nellie Anderson and Jennie Moig, whom Arthur married in 1906²⁸¹.

²⁷⁸ Collated from Delcia Phipps' memories of Martha, conveyed over two interviews: 15.04.2017, 10am-4pm, at her Winter Quarters, Cullompton, Devon; and 05.08.2017, 1pm-4pm, at Anderton & Rowland's fairground, Torbay Seafront, Devon. No audio recordings were permitted.

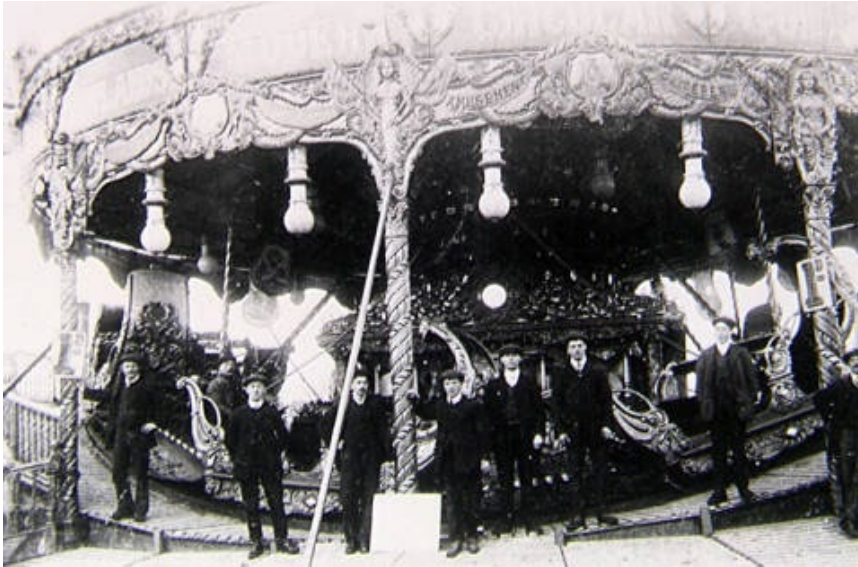
²⁷⁹ A narrative fragment passed down over generations which Delcia conveyed to me on 15.04.2017.

²⁸⁰ A narrative fragment passed down over generations which Delcia conveyed to me on 15.04.2017.

²⁸¹ *The World's Fair*, No. 85, April 28th, 1906.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1900



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1901

1902

In 1902 Martha secretly married George De-Vey: controversial as he was both an employee of the firm and significantly older than her. Furthermore, he hadn't grown up in the travelling world: George was the son of a railway worker from the north-east of England²⁸³. Upon leaving home George worked as an elephant boy for Bostock & Wombwell's Menagerie, before joining Anderton & Rowland's. After returning from the Bristol Registry Office they attempted to keep their marriage a secret from Martha's family – she even wore her wedding ring on a chain around her neck²⁸⁴.

As time passed George was accepted into the family and, with Martha, played a pivotal role in ensuring the firm's success. They purchased their own living wagon to travel in, and kept snakes in the belly boxes²⁸⁵ – the warmest place for them²⁸⁶.

1903

²⁸² Staff of Anderton & Rowland's 'Gondolas' ride, George De-Vey is standing on the far left. Plymouth Fair, 1900 – R.A. Taylor Collection, NFCA.

²⁸³ In showmen's terms, George De-Vey would have been referred to as a 'flattie' – someone who wasn't born into the fairground industry.

²⁸⁴ Collated from Delcia Phipps' memories of Martha, conveyed over two interviews: 15.04.2017 and 05.08.2017.

²⁸⁵ Belly boxes are wooden cupboards built into the chassis of a living wagon, underneath the living accommodation, and are commonly used for storage purposes.

²⁸⁶ A narrative fragment passed down over generations which Delcia conveyed to me on 15.04.2017.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1904

1905

Martha and George had four children: Laura May in 1905; George Julius in 1908; Ernest Valentine in 1911; and Nelson Victor in 1914. Interestingly, rather than any of her brothers descendants, it is Martha's great-grandchildren that currently run Anderton & Rowland's: now the longest-established fairground in the West Country²⁸⁷.

²⁸⁷ The direct line coming from the female breaks with the tradition of the fairground industry.

1906



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1907



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²⁸⁸ Professor Anderton and five of his children – Martha is standing underneath the archway. Bristol Fair, 1906 – R.A. Taylor Collection, NFCA.

²⁸⁹ 'The Anderson Sisters', produced by Professor Anderton – Martha is on the far right. Unknown Fairground, 1907 – Unknown Collection, NFCA.

1908



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1909

In 1909 at the fairground tober²⁹¹ in Sidmouth, Professor Anderton mysteriously drowned in the river, following a late night walk. The suspected suicide of her father affected Martha and the close relationship they shared is reflected in the annual memorials spanning almost thirty years she placed for him in *The World's Fair*²⁹². Professor Anderton's death was a catalyst for a new era: *The World's Fair* reported that Martha and two of her brothers, Arthur and Albert, were to take over the firm following their father's sudden death – confirming that Martha was paramount to their continued success²⁹³. Their earlier relocation to the West Country had created a sense of competition with a longer-established yet ailing firm, W. C. & S. Hancock – of which Sophie was a partner alongside her two brothers, William and Charles.

Despite Hancocks' feeling of being left behind by Anderton & Rowland's dominance since their move to the West Country, and their obvious dislike of one another, Sophie attended Professor Anderton's funeral²⁹⁴.

²⁹⁰ Professor Anderton introducing 'The Anderson Sisters' – Martha is on the central podium. Unknown Fairground, 1908 – William Keating Collection, NFCA.

²⁹¹ In showmen's terms the 'tober' refers to the ground that the fairground is currently 'built up' or 'open' on.

²⁹² These memorials featured from *The World's Fair*, No. 413, August 10th, 1912 to *The World's Fair*, No. 1,821, August 5th, 1939.

²⁹³ *The World's Fair*, No. 266, October 15th, 1909.

²⁹⁴ *The World's Fair*, No. 266, October 15th, 1909.



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1910



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²⁹⁵ George & Martha's Living Wagon – George at the front, Martha on the far right side. Unknown Fairground, 1909 – Phillip Swindlehurst Collection, NFCA.

²⁹⁶ Anderton & Rowland and W. C. & S. Hancocks fairground rides open together. Teignmouth Fair, 1910 – Harold Dever Collection, NFCA.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

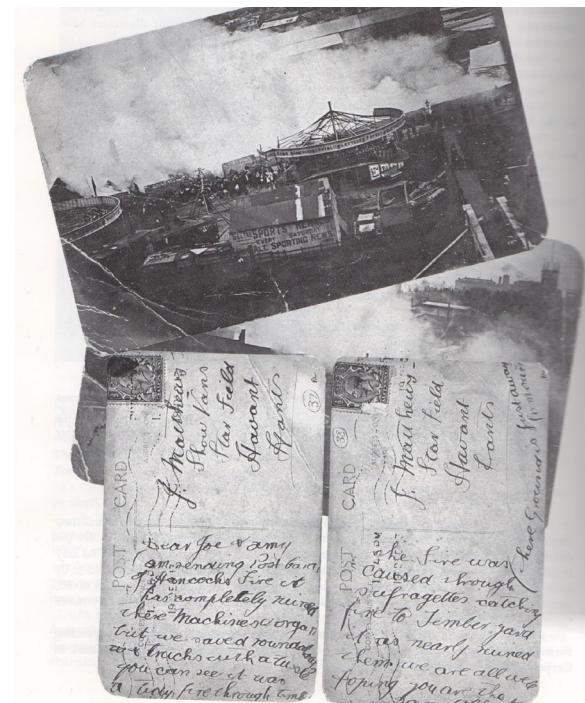
1911

In 1911 George De-Vey finally made his mark on the family through persuading them to move into fairground ride territory and purchase steam roundabouts – a move away from travelling cinematograph shows and performing acts. In doing so W. C. & S. Hancock continued to be pushed out of their annual spaces by their rivals. This prompted Sophie to organise a public meeting, in April 1911, to discuss their continuous outbidding. On the front row of the audience was Martha, who congratulated Sophie on a fine oratory performance before climbing into her ornate and lavish carriage²⁹⁷. This marked the moment the amicability between the two firms was lost.

1912

1913

In December 1913 Anderton & Rowland's gained full control over their rivals. Both firms wintered in Plymouth that year and witnessed many scenes of Suffragette protests and arson – both Martha and Sophie were previously supporters of the cause. One night Hancocks fairground was burnt down and a copy of 'The Suffragette' was found tied to a post near the scene. With it was a postcard: on one side was written 'Our reply to the torture of Mrs. Pankhurst and her cowardly arrest at Plymouth'; and the other, 'Votes for Women'²⁹⁸.



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²⁹⁷ *The World's Fair*, No. 345, April 22nd, 1911.

²⁹⁸ *The World's Fair*, No. 484, December 20th, 1913.

²⁹⁹ Suffragette postcards found at the scene of the arson attack. Devonport, 1913 – Unknown Collection, NFCA.

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1914

Extensive coverage of the Suffragettes attack on the Hancocks appeared in both *The World's Fair* and local newspapers. The fairground newspaper set up a fund to help assist them and many fairground families donated generously. Interestingly, no donation was sent from Anderton & Rowland's. Instead, Martha commented that they "were glad to note that everyone worked with speed, and no lives were lost"³⁰⁰. As Hancocks never truly recovered from the arson attack Anderton & Rowland's were able to firmly assert their position in the West as the main travelling fairground. Their success was due to Martha allegedly lighting the fire and deliberately planting it on the Suffragettes³⁰¹. In order for this act to remain a secret Martha attended the funerals of Charles in 1914, William in 1922 and Sophie in 1926³⁰².

In World War I Anderton & Rowland's opened a permanent fairground at the Pleasure Gardens, Plymouth, after relinquishing their collection of steam engines for the war effort³⁰³.

1915

1916

³⁰⁰ *The World's Fair*, No. 486, January 3rd, 1914.

³⁰¹ A narrative fragment passed down over generations which Delcia conveyed to me on 05.08.2017.

³⁰² *The World's Fair* No. 523, September 19th, 1914; *The World's Fair* No. 919, April 22nd, 1922; and *The World's Fair*, No. 1,148, September 11th, 1926.

³⁰³ The firm were convinced that the announcement of war would end their business due to four of their steam engines – 'John Bull', 'Unique', 'The Gladiator' and 'Lord Nelson' – being requisitioned, and many of their ride operators and engine drivers being called up. This left them with no choice but to open a permanent fairground which had to comply with government restrictions, such as blackout conditions.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1917

1918

1919

For the next ten years, predominantly through Martha and George's direction, Anderton & Rowland's steadily expanded their business: continuing their dominance over the West Country. During this time Martha continued to hold control over the accounts, employment and logistics of the fairground.

1920



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³⁰⁴ The Anderton & Rowland Family – Martha is standing third from the right. Unknown Fairground, 1920 – William Keating Collection.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1921

1922



1923

1924



3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1925 In 1925, in order to keep her hand in the public-facing elements, Martha expanded her work to designing costumes for the performances – as well as working behind the scenes managing the firm’s paperwork³⁰⁵.

1926

1927

1928

³⁰⁵ *The World’s Fair*, No. 1,089, July 23rd, 1925.

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1929

1930

1931

1932

George's death in 1931 saw Martha solely take on the running of the fairground – supported by her three sons and one daughter-in-law: George Junior's wife, Sophie³⁰⁶.

³⁰⁶ *The World's Fair*, No. 1,390, May 23rd, 1931.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1933

1934

1935

1936

Upon her brother Albert's death in 1936, Martha inherited his share of the fairground business. This put her in an even stronger position as a businesswoman³⁰⁷.

³⁰⁷ *The World's Fair*, No. 1,653, May 23rd, 1936.

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1937

1938

1939

During World War II Martha resided at Moorfield, Truro, where she opened a small fairground with her daughter-in-law, Sophie. She raised money to contribute to the Showmen's Guild's War Effort to fund the fabrication of a Spitfire aircraft, aptly named 'The Fun of the Fair'³⁰⁸. All three of Martha's sons were enlisted and survived the war: returning to fairground life³⁰⁹.

1940



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³⁰⁸ *The World's Fair*, No. 1,870, August 10th, 1940.

³⁰⁹ *The World's Fair*, No. 2,034, September 25th, 1943.

³¹⁰ *The World's Fair*, No. 1,870, August 10th, 1940.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1941

1942



1943

1944



3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1945

1946

Following World War II it is known that Martha was travelling with her two young granddaughters, Delcia and Norma (George's daughters), who she always let sleep on the inside of her living wagon bed. At this stage Martha had auburn tints in her greying hair which she covered by wearing her son Nelson's beret, from when he was in the army. She owned two dogs – Sooty and Bob-Dog – and kept a silver tin of dog biscuits by the fireplace in her living wagon, which Delcia was always tempted to eat³¹¹.

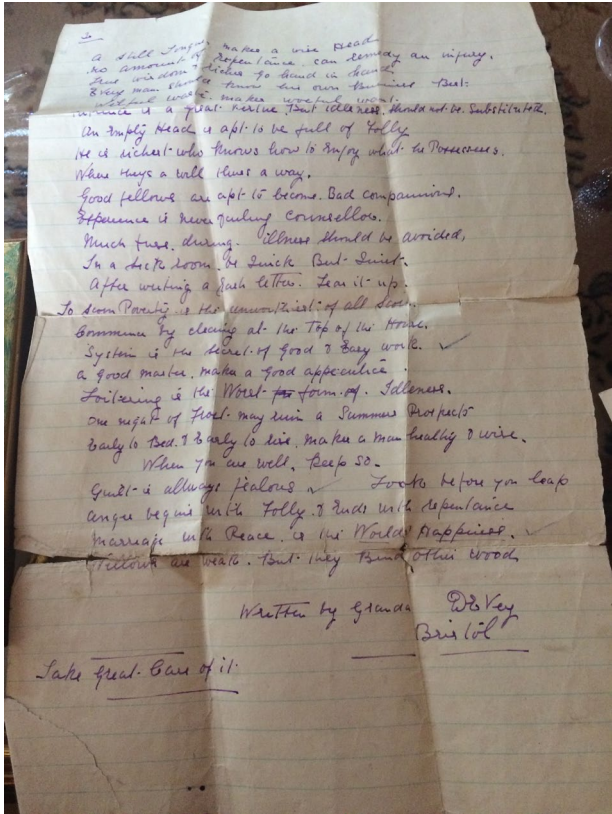
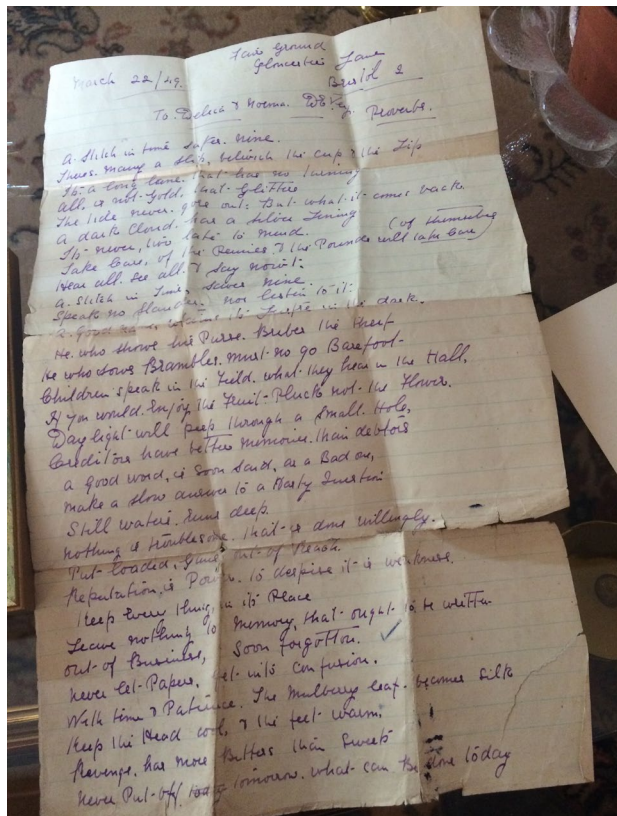
1947

1948

³¹¹ Collated from Delcia Phipps' memories of Martha, conveyed over two interviews: 15.04.2017 and 05.08.2017.

1949

Martha wrote many letters to Delcia and Norma during her later years. One, in March 1949, stipulates a list of proverbs that she believed a fairground women should live by. These proverbs included: ‘daylight must peep through a small hole’; ‘take care of the pennies, the pounds will look after themselves’; ‘it’s a long lane that has no turning’; ‘put loaded guns out of reach’; and ‘system is the secret of good and easy work’³¹².



³¹² Delcia presented and read this letter on 15.04.2017.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1950

1951

1952

It is in 1952 that Martha began to write into *The World's Fair* recording her memories of early years of fairground travelling, and sending in photographs for them to print³¹³. In these recollections she states that she is still travelling with the firm and wintering at the firm's quarters in Taunton, Somerset. She mentions that she has passed control over to her three sons and a nephew.

1953

In April 1953 *The World's Fair* confirms that Martha is still travelling with the firm³¹⁴. She reportedly continues to do so until, following a short two-week spell in hospital, her death on September 1st, 1953³¹⁵.

³¹³ *The World's Fair*, No. 2,501, August 23rd, 1952.

³¹⁴ *The World's Fair*, No. 2,534, April 11th, 1953.

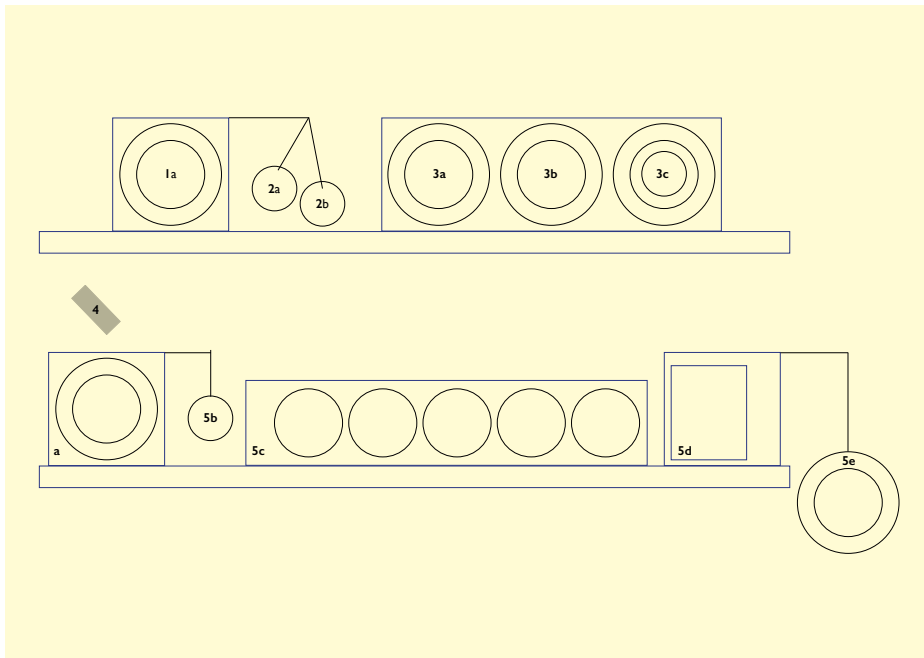
³¹⁵ *The World's Fair*, No. 2,557, September 19th, 1953.

MARTHA
– MESMERIC SUBJECT –

EXHIBITION REFLECTION

Installed at Dingles Fairground Heritage Centre,

Devon, June 2018 - September 2019.



1. The Range of Martha:

- a. The spinning of her key burdens

2. Martha's Captivating Concerns:

- a. Despite his presence, she has no visible means of support
- b. 'Flat' token depicts hidden, controversial love

3. Prowling Martha's Underhand Target:

- a. All's fair with our fair ladies: united on stage and on their political platform
- b. Ignited by envy, the control is turned
- c. A spectator of the remnants, her reputation begins to turn

4. The Swingboat Tips, the Balance Shifts.

- a. The Phoenix: In someone's hour of peril

5. The Mark of Martha:

- b. Unconcerned, she can finally be heard
- c. 1949: Turning the lessons over to her grand-daughters
- d. She lent a hand
- e. She remains in the West Country, (her pivotal moment stays concealed)

Gold – see on the corner. Gold – a fragment echoing a trait of Martha's character.
 Blue – the shadow is lost, as Martha triumphs over her rival. Pink – denotes an action by Elizabeth Bostock.

The Context:

It has always been the intention to install Martha's *archive as illustrated space* either around or in her living wagon, which is owned by her grand-daughter Delcia and is currently on loan to Dingles Fairground Heritage Centre. This was initiated in the oral history conversations held with Delcia during the first stage of the PhD enquiry. The relationship with Dingles was cemented upon the installation of the exhibition 'Subjects: MALES' over the summer of 2018, showcasing the research element of the PhD as a form of practice³¹⁶.

It felt fruitful to expand both the methodological approach, and specifically the involvement of the audience, if compared to the first installation, 'Lizzie: Striding Along'. Obrist's method, of how presenting directions to the viewer alongside the artwork encourages the viewer to shift from observer to performer, offered a useful grounding to evolve from³¹⁷. It needed to be expanded in order to incorporate other methods to ensure that the *space* created would test these interactive and participatory moments. Furthermore, as the context of the *archive as illustrated space* was a museum rather than an archive, the archival language that was so present in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' receded: instead the visual language used was in response to that of Martha's living wagon – its architectural quality, size and location. Thus, the curation of the *archive as illustrated space* was designed to wrap the chronology of major events in Martha's life around the wagon in which many of them took place.

The Use of Captions:

In this instance, the tabletops that the signs are fixed to don't explicitly allude to the chronological nature of the *archive as illustrated space*, as was the case in 'Lizzie: Striding Along'³¹⁸. Instead, the approach moves away from offering the viewer the required information (numbers) directly, and instead

³¹⁶ Both the conversations with Delcia and the exhibition 'Subjects: • • MALES' are documented in 'Illustration Research as Practice', Chapter 2, Section C.

³¹⁷ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

³¹⁸ In 'Lizzie: Striding Along' this was achieved through painting numbers on the tabletop, which corresponded to the signs adjacent to them. In 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' the signs are packed tightly next to one another, as there is less chance of mistaking the order no painted number is included.

Fig.14: 'Plan of Works'

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Perspective 1



'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Perspective 2

attempts to create a working relationship between the *illustrated space* and the 'Plan of Works' postcard (where each sign is numbered on the diagram provided) (Fig.14). This design works to evolve the methods of both Lissitzky and Obrist through presenting directions to the viewer (as captions) alongside the artworks to fully enact this participatory role³¹⁹.

As with 'Lizzie: Striding Along' these captions have been constructed as directions to the viewer, encouraging them to be an active participant in the space, rather than a passive observer³²⁰. These captions, when read alongside the visual works, help to convey and increase the narrative tension to the viewer as they move through the *illustrated space*. Using the same format as 'Lizzie: Striding Along' the captions are formatted chronologically in a 'Plan of Works': comprising a heading for each narrative thread and then a direction pertinent to each sign, they are offered to the reader alongside a map of the installation.

The Participant's Active Journey:

The *illustrated space*, surrounding Martha's wagon, existed as an end point to Dingles' exhibition, 'The Purpose of Fairground Art'³²¹. This assisted the curation, in regard to directing the viewer on a chronological journey of the *illustrated space*. The first sign is positioned at the end of Dingles' exhibition, which the audience initially encounters before subsequently viewing the signs in their chronological order, due to their fixed position.

Therefore, Obrist's theoretical grounding is enriched with methods of Lissitzky's, first employed and tested in 'Lizzie: Striding Along'. In this instance there is more focus on the participatory role of the viewer, through evolving the constraints of: the turning and moving of the signs; the hanging and install; and the rewarding of the attentive viewer³²².

³¹⁹ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

³²⁰ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

³²¹ Nick Sturgess, the curator at Dingles Fairground Heritage Centre when exhibiting the *archive as illustrated space* there was initially discussed, expressed that he would be interested in incorporating my signwriting work as a contemporary take on the documentation and approach to fairground art.

³²² Referencing Roland Barthes' theory, first discussed in 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', Chapter 1, Section C.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

Working to the established set of constraints, the fifth narrative fragment is concerned with the build up and eventual death of Martha. This demise is visually signified by a shift in viewing perspective – as was successful in ‘Lizzie: Striding Along’. However, in Martha’s *illustrated space* the viewer has to turn a corner. After the corner the visual language and perspective continues to build up narrative tension – using the methods constructed from Lissitzky’s manifesto – until it is lost at the end, signifying Martha’s death.

In order to help the viewer decipher and understand this chronology, the signs are positioned on two axis points and the viewer is required to turn a corner as they move through the *space*. Upon observation, this is more successful than the tabletop curation of ‘Lizzie: Striding Along’, where there was no clear beginning or end point.

Constructing a (Methodological) Visual Language:



Fig. 15: ‘Martha: Mesmeric Subject’ – Visual Language, Close-Ups

How the exhibition worked visually from a distance became a key consideration in how the *space* could interact and be framed by its backdrop of Martha’s living wagon. This marked a shift in axis when compared to the tabletop experience of the ‘Lizzie: Striding Along’ *space* instead working on a vertical axis to draw the viewer in from a distance. This visual technique is achieved by the concept of circles, which became another constraint throughout this *illustrated space*. At moments the circles: layer on top of one another; distort the lettering; are cut out; are suspended; and turn – all of which assist this notion of viewing from a distance, responding to the vertical perspective (Fig. 15). The participatory concept is further encouraged by the interactive elements of the signs: communicated both through their physicality and through the directional language used.

A secondary visual language which assists with both the participatory concept and alludes to some of the narrative fragments concealed in the signs utilises the artwork of shooting galleries and side stalls found on fairgrounds. This is partly inspired by the fact that Martha’s wagon is marked with a dent of a stray bullet, hit when the wagon was once positioned behind the shooting gallery at a fairground³²³.

As mentioned the underlying narrative is informed by the connotations of the circle, and this can be extended to the hanging circle: Martha hanging in the balance; hanging the rink around her neck; the suspended act (Martha as the mesmeric subject); and Martha hanging alongside, and subsequently falling out with, Sophie. This hanging circle is utilised systematically throughout this *archive as illustrated space* to not only allude to these narrative fragments but to signify the shift in Martha’s circumstances. The first visual shift occurs between the second and fifth fragment (signs ‘2a.’ and ‘2b.’, to ‘5b.’), marking the presence and absence of the two dominant males in her life, her father and her husband. The second visual shift signifies Martha’s death: the hanging circle changing from a solid disc to a ring (‘5e.’)

³²³ This was learnt during an oral history interview with Delcia on 05.08.2017.



Fig.16: 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Close-Ups: Typefaces & Colour

Five choices of typeface and colour feature within this *archive as illustrated space*³²⁴. In this instance the five tonal colours are heavily inspired by the visual language of fairground art: gold; yellow to flamboyant yellow; light to dark blue; pink; and black are used in accordance with the five typefaces to signify an array of different meanings (Fig.16).

As mentioned, the gold is used to signify an aspect of Martha's character. As an extension of this I employed the technique of concealing gold within the lettering by positioning it with flamboyant yellow, so there is a subtle shift for the viewer to interpret: this is applied in the instances when Martha is taking an action that is either unlawful or of an underhand nature. The use of yellow, and flamboyant yellow as an extension of this, increases chronologically through the *space* – yet this colour is also chosen in regard to its use during

³²⁴ It is important to note that the decisions of colour and typeface, both in their use and meaning, vary in each *archive as illustrated space*.

the Suffragette movement, which Martha used to her advantage over her West Country rival, Sophie Hancock³²⁵. Blue is used as both a lettering outline and shadow, darkening each use, until the *illustrative turn* is revealed – then the colour disappears. This is a reflection of Martha's relationship with her rival, Sophie, and the removal of the colour signifies Martha's eventual triumph. Pink has a constant meaning, aligning with the earlier *space* of 'Lizzie: Striding Along'³²⁶ and the use of black is again used in a traditional manner: to convey information and push the narrative on further.

The Fabrication of the Signs to House the *Illustrative Turns*:

In 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' the participatory, interactive nature of the signs is initiated from the beginning: sign '1a.' mirrors the structure of a spinning game and intends to communicate how Martha is at the centre of her circle. '1a.' has a dual-layer of circles, with a spinning arrow that points to eight of Martha's burdens – as they are referred to in the caption – all of which are concerns or tasks that occupied her during her fairground life. The caption further encourages the active participation of the viewer through the use of directional language (Fig.17).

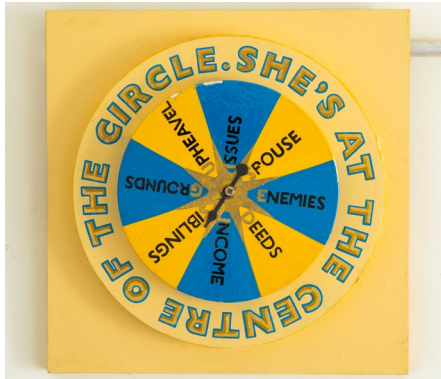
This *space* sees a play with acrostics – a technique first used in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' – to conceal 'disguise'. This further illustrates how Martha is not recognised for her endeavours, echoing the true burden of her life. As this is the first sign in the *archive as illustrated space* the viewer is assisted in unveiling this acrostic through the use of gold. There is a subtle clue that points to the *illustrative turn*, framed in one of the burdens the spinner could land on – enemies.

The suspended nature of the signs '2a.', '2b.' and '5b' visually differ from the other signs and are inspired by Martha's performative relationship with her father; their act was an illusion trick where he suspended her in the

³²⁵ In this enquiry each of the five females has been assigned a colour which relates to a fragment of their life and which becomes the dominant colour in their *archive as illustrated space*. Sophie's is blue, hence the removal of this colour in Martha's *space*, following Sophie's disappearance.

³²⁶ Pink is used to signify the absence of women in the archive documentation, and this is reiterated by the lack of a painted typeface.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



Figs.17&18: 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Signs '1a.' & '5b.'



Fig.18: 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Signs '2a.' & '2b.'

air, without any visible means of support³²⁷. In this instance the caption for '2a.' extends this narrative, alluding to the knowledge that despite this male 'support', Martha had no true allies in her endeavours and in her role on the fairground. '2b.' shifts the male focus to that of her husband, George, and here the physicality of the associated sign – a flat disc – resonates with him being a 'flattie'. This is a subtle reference to Martha's action of marrying a workman which was a controversial and defiant moment in her life. Again, this is elaborated on in the caption, implied through the reference to a token³²⁸. Together '2a.' and '2b.' exist as a pendulum, signifying the imbalance and struggle between the two men, hinting that they were not united in their support of Martha. The visual constraint of fairground art forms the backdrop allowing the poetic wording – conveyed in a script typeface – to take centre stage (Fig.18).

At moments in this *archive as illustrated space*, a narrative push occurs within the same fragment. This is particularly evident in the third narrative thread where the fundamental *illustrative turn* is concealed. Here, three signs are installed on one surface, in which the layers imply that three fragments

of a story are being communicated. These three signs ('3a.', '3b.' and '3c.') play with perspective and distance: utilising turnable elements and multiple surface layers as the signs progress signifies the building of tension in the narrative. Martha's relationship with Sophie is told in these three signs and throughout there is an underlying concept of 'closing in'. The three signs work individually, as single page narratives, and as one – which acts as the reveal of the *illustrative turn*. As the layers exist as raised platforms, the construction method alludes to the suspended nature of fairgrounds themselves, they are slightly distorted – demanding the viewer actively works to unveil the *turn*. These raised platforms also allude to the distortion and eventual ruin of the relationship of the two females – the first sign is formed of one layer and conveys unity: the latter signs having various layers signifies this shift to rivalry.

This *turn* – unveiled across the three signs as 'she's dancing her dominance in the West Country' – conveys to the viewer the ruin of Sophie and the subsequent shift in popularity for Martha: this is written along the edge of the turnable circle in '3c.'. The captions for this third fragment assist in the unveiling of this *illustrative turn*: the opening, 'prowling Martha's underhand target', immediately conveys to the audience that her actions are not

³²⁷ This hanging system was first explored in the residency *De-Vey nee Haslam*, documented in 'Illustration Research as Practice', Chapter 2, Section C.

³²⁸ A token, commonly a flat disc, is a form of money in the fairground industry used to operate rides.



Fig.19: 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Signs '3a', '3b' & '3c'

necessarily trustworthy or above-board. This is further implied by the use of 'ignited by envy' and 'a spectator'. Finally '3a.s' caption established that the relationship between Martha and her counterpart was initially balanced, denoted through reference to 'our fair ladies' (Fig.19).

'4' encourages and reiterates this concept of the shift in control and balance between the two females, ultimately assisting in the reveal of the *illustrative turn*. As with 'Lizzie: Striding Along', this fourth narrative fragment is the moment in the *archive as illustrated space* where the constraints are broken: existing as an object, rather than four signs. In 'Lizzie: Striding Along' the physical object was separated from the visual works (the signs) by the context of the archive and the use of an archival cabinet – and alluded to by a hidden number which demanded the active participation of the viewer turning a sign. In Martha's case the physical object marks the shift in perspective for the viewer – turning a corner in order to view the second set of works – and this alludes to the physical *turn* in the rivalry on the West Country fairground.

Rather than working with a found or archival object, as was the approach in 'Lizzie: Striding Along', in this *archive as illustrated space* the object has been

fabricated by myself, though undertaken with the intention of making it appear old. '4.' is positioned at an angle, which further determines this shift or tip in balance, and is the only instance where the female rivalry, between Martha and Sophie, is loosely acknowledged through the use of their identities, denoted by an 'M' and 'S' (Fig.20). It is at this instance where it becomes evident that this *space* and the stories held, or relayed, within it are part of larger themes: relationships between the females, for example. This connecting of stories was first introduced in 'Lizzie: Striding Along', through Mrs. Elizabeth Bostock – and she continues to be present in 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject', (this connection is established through a complete shift in the illustrative language). To return to '4' of this space, the tip of the swingboat alludes to the hierarchy that is present between the two West Country fairground females in this timeframe and is also a reflection of the hierarchy of the archive itself and specifically its documentation of women³²⁹.



Fig.20: 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Sign (Object) 4

The fifth narrative fragment explores, as dictated by the methodology, the chronological events that lead up to the eventual death of the female pertinent to each *space*. In this instance this is achieved by the physical shift of perspective, to a second viewing angle: the back of the fairground wagon. The signs that are contained within this fifth fragment are preceded by a nod

³²⁹ This hierarchy was first explored in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' through experimenting with the physicality and architectural viewing angles of the signs.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



Fig.21: 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Sign '5a.'



to World War II (sign '5a.'). conveying Martha's contribution to the purchase of a Spitfire aircraft, a fund conceived by the Showmen's Guild. The visual language of '5a.' references the visuals used on a Spitfire aircraft. The lettering which follows the circular edge is not concealed by the use of yellow, instead it stands proud: an instance where an action by Martha is not frowned upon. '5a.' takes on the same architectural physicality as '1a.', which conveyed, albeit disguising them, Martha's burdens. Highlighting this war contribution subtly alludes to her well-known and well-publicised lack of support to an earlier appeal by the Showmen's Guild and *The World's Fair*, to support her rivals the Hancocks following their devastating fire. The language in the caption reflects that Martha supports some in their hour of peril, is not only inspired by the language used during the war, but positioned with the use of 'phoenix' (which signifies a rise from the ashes), really demands the viewer becomes aware of this female rivalry – hinting at the *illustrative turn* one final time (Fig.21).

The *archive as illustrated space* then shifts to consider and fully allude to the events leading up to Martha's death and the impact that her mark had on her legacy, depicted through the fragments present here. As with 'Lizzie:

'Striding Along', this *space* deploys narrative repetition with amended parts and removed elements, as the viewer shifts their focus to the end of Martha's life. Sign '5b.' is similar in physicality, visual language and hanging to that of signs '2a.' and '2b.', but differs as it is one disc, rather than two. The language used on the sign alludes to the precarious future of Martha: upon losing her two male counterparts, she is hanging in the balance. With the participation of the viewer the sign can be spun to reveal both the loss of these two men, and that in the end she does prevail. The caption that relates to this moment in the *space* works with both a play on language (shifting from her two male 'concerns' to an 'unconcern', hinting that the males have gone) to the concept of her finally being heard – this could be taken as the moment that she is allowed an identity unto herself and hence can 'take up space' in the archive itself³³⁰.

This act of being heard provides the premise for the sequential sign '5c.', which is devised from a series of proverbs Martha relayed to her granddaughters Delcia and Norma³³¹ (Fig.22). Again, the visual language of this sign



Fig.22: 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Sign '5c.'

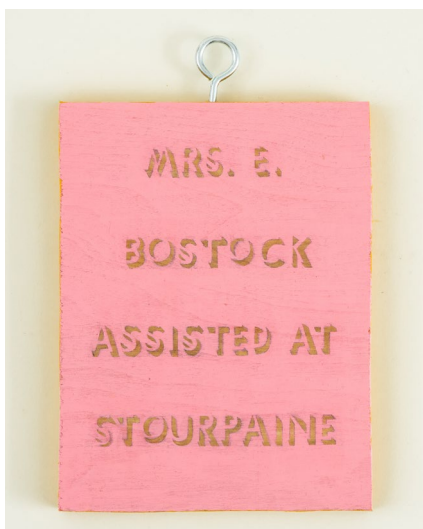
³³⁰ This is also apparent in *The World's Fair*, where in the years just before her death Martha's letters, memories and opinions featured as a column.

³³¹ These proverbs were told to me by Delcia on 15.04.2017.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

is inspired by shooting galleries and fairground art, and its physicality is reminiscent of earlier signs in the *illustrated space*. It is here that the architectural physicality has been pushed to the fore, responding to the content of each of Martha's proverbs. This is evident if we consider how the sign that requires turning relates to the proverb 'it is a long lane with no turning' and the sign when spun reveals the second part of the proverb 'look after the pennies, the pounds will look after themselves'. The sign which is positioned at a decreasing angle, imitating it fading away, conveys the proverb 'put loaded guns out of reach'. 'Daylight will peep through a small hole' is transcribed around a small hole made in the sign.

Similar to the technique in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' a complete change in visual language, across colour, typeface and fabrication, is applied in '5d.'. This marks the point where Martha and Mrs. Elizabeth Bostock's narratives collide. Here,



Figs.23&24: 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' – Signs '5d.' & '5e.'

the semi-impression of Elizabeth is implied with the lack of signwriting – the background of the sign is painted, rather than the lettering itself (Fig.23). The final sign, '5e.', is a reflection of an earlier fabrication of a hanging circle, but in this instance there has been a manipulation: instead of a solid disc, the sign is a ring and is hanging precariously over the edge. The colours used are duller, with no gold. These decisions all hint at both the loss of Martha's life and her unacknowledged impact on the success of her fairground (Fig.24).

Contextualising the installation as an *archive as illustrated space*:

To conclude, through unpacking the thinking behind the physical artworks, the architectural techniques and the deliberate curation – structured from both Lissitzky and Obrist's thinking³³² – this installation exists as an *archive as illustrated space* in which the viewer is considered to be an active participant, interpreting the narratives contained and revealing the *illustrative turn*. Upon reveal of this *illustrative turn* the viewer learns that it was Martha who lit the fire that destroyed the fairground of her West Country rival, Sophie Hancock. The physicality, language and colour of the signs, and the tension that was built up prior to the viewer turning the corner, all aid the viewer in realising this *turn*.

The key mechanisms and constraints employed in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' have been refined in this second iteration. Particular focus has been paid to the relationship between the participatory role of the viewer and the physicality of the signs. In 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' there is an increased number of opportunities for the viewer to physically manipulate the signs – through turning, flipping and sliding – and this has been further extended through positioning secondary narratives on either the flip side of the sign, or upside-down. This serves to fully satisfy the attentive viewer, who affords the *space* the required attention. This second iteration made use of an evolved multi-faceted hierarchy through: manipulating the façades of the signs to distort

³³² 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

3. MARTHA: MESMERIC SUBJECT, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

perspective; positioning signs at an angle; and controlling the façade to distort the signwriting, and thus the narrative conveyed.

In regard to the testing of the framework of an *archive as illustrated space*, both in this installation and the previous one of 'Lizzie: Striding Along', the success of the techniques employed has been solidified and thus the framework can be considered effective in its current guise – within both a museum and archive context. The second installation, 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' devised to be situated around Martha's living wagon, demonstrated that the framework is adaptable to the specifics of its site whilst still considering pacing, chronology and viewing perspective. It is now necessary to expand this framework to test whether the methods devised – and the key techniques and mechanisms identified – are still an effective framework to produce an *archive as illustrated space* if located in a context that differs from the traditional constructs of a gallery, museum or archive.

Response to the *archive as illustrated space*:

An addition to the reflection on this *archive as illustrated space* expands on how the installation is viewed by an informed audience. As part of the exhibition an event was staged specifically for descendants of Martha's family – including those that participated in the oral history interviews – where I gave a short talk, and they viewed the exhibition and the body of research that informed it³³³. The event was organised by Guy Belshaw³³⁴, and upon discussion with him it became apparent that his initial list of invitees were all showmen – no women³³⁵. This confirms not only the importance of this research, but that the disregard or lack of acknowledgement (or indeed the absence) of women is still paramount in this industry.

³³³ This research is documented in 'Illustration Research as Practice', Chapter 2, Section C. It is to be noted that in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' this research formed an integral part of the exhibition, yet here it was only utilised for the event.

³³⁴ Guy Belshaw is a fairground historian and trustee of the Fairground Heritage Trust, which manages and supports Dingles Fairground Heritage Centre, where the exhibition 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' is installed.

³³⁵ Upon realising this I asked for the list to be amended to include the female descendants of Martha, specifically her two grand-daughters Delcia and Norma who had been vital to attaining the oral history – if they were not invited, I expressed my reluctance to attend.

SOPHIE
– COLOURFUL LANGUAGE –

LIFE-STORY



3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1850s

Born in a living wagon on the 12th November, 1854 Sophie became a pivotal fairground female, particularly in the district of the West Country³³⁶. Travelling with her two brothers William and Charles, under the title 'W. C. & S. Hancock', she was the best known of the trio and was the undisputed boss of the firm. Despite never marrying, in the rough world of travelling she learnt to stand her ground and carried a reputation of someone not to cross. Her language, delivered in a fruity West Country accent, was said to be somewhat indelicate and her vocabulary of swear words larger and better than any man's – it was said she could go on for half an hour without repeating herself³³⁷. Her flamboyance also extended to her dress: her bright outfits and high cartwheel hats, with the occasional ostrich feather, made her famous throughout the West Country³³⁸.

Her role in the fairground was vast: a prominent figure in building up the fairground and in charge of the takings, she was also known to drive their fleet of traction engines³³⁹. It is said that one of the most memorable sights in the West is Sophie, wearing a large white panama hat, handling the reigns of six grey ponies attached to her private living wagon – like a true master of her job³⁴⁰.

1860s

1870s

1880s

1890s

³³⁶ Kevin Scrivens & Stephen Smith, *Hancocks of the West* (Telford: New Era Publications, 2006), p.3.

³³⁷ Scrivens & Smith, *Hancocks of the West*, p.18.

³³⁸ Collated from Peter Phillipps' memories of Sophie, conveyed over two interviews: 09.06.2017, 8am-11am and 24.02.2018, 4pm-6pm, at The Grand Organ Yard, Lanivet, Bodmin. No audio recordings were permitted.

³³⁹ A memory relayed by Peter Phillipps on 09.06.2017.

³⁴⁰ An elaboration on a memory relayed by Peter Phillipps on 09.06.2017.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1900
Sophie's flamboyant dress first became associated with her when she performed as one of 'The Anderson Sisters' in the early 1900s, as part of a Live Variety Performance presented by Anderton & Rowland's at their Cinematograph Show³⁴¹.

1901

1902

1903

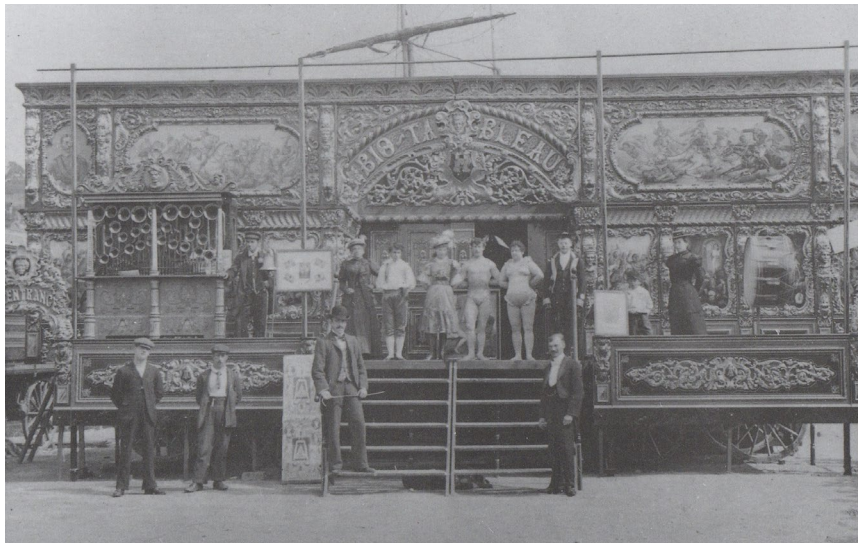
1904

1905

³⁴¹ *The World's Fair*, No. 85, April 28th, 1906.

1906

Without a doubt the Edwardian era was the peak of the Hancocks' success. Edward, Prince of Wales, patronised their fairground at Dartmouth Regatta and Sophie exploited this³⁴²: the Prince of Wales' plumes were painted on the wagons and engraved on the horses' harnesses and a Royal Coat of Arms was added to the Gallopers' centre engine³⁴³. Hancocks travelled a steam circus and roundabouts, though their fairground life was plagued by disaster: accidents, disputes and court cases are mentioned frequently in newspaper documentation concerning them³⁴⁴. The firm also travelled a Living Picture Cinematograph show, where Miss Phillis Kneebone worked for them³⁴⁵. It is difficult to measure the impact the redoubtable Miss. Kneebone had on the fair, but she acted as cashier, secretary and general factotum to the firm³⁴⁶.



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³⁴² *The World's Fair*, No. 87, May 12th, 1906.

³⁴³ *The World's Fair*, No. 98, July 28th, 1906.

³⁴⁴ *The World's Fair*, No. 98, July 28th, 1906; *The World's Fair*, No. 143, June 8th, 1907; and *The World's Fair*, No. 163, October 26th, 1907.

³⁴⁵ Phillis was born in 1863 to Peter and Mary Kneebone, in Paul, a village just outside Newlyn, Cornwall. She worked as a dressmaker before joining Hancocks' fair.

³⁴⁶ Scrivens & Smith, *Hancocks of the West*, p. 182.

³⁴⁷ Hancocks' 'Bio-Tableau' show, Sophie Hancock is standing at the top of the steps, on the left. Truro Fair, 1907 – Harry Poole Collection, NFCA.

1907

In 1907, Sophie's lawless dalliances proved expensive to the firm: her underhand tactics, enacted to move quicker between grounds in order to open longer to the public, found her caught out and fined by the police repeatedly. This included her decision to conceal the centre organ of the gallopers as a water cart by using a canvas sheet signwritten with 'water cart'³⁴⁸ – she was fined 10s plus costs³⁴⁹.

1908

In 1908, despite *The World's Fair* reporting a busy and prosperous season for them, cracks had begun to appear in the Hancocks' dominance over the West. This was intensified by their fiercest rivals, Anderton & Rowland's, taking over most of the tobers in the West Country³⁵⁰.

³⁴⁸ In 1907 the law stated that a steam engine could pull a load of three box trucks, totalling no more than 60 foot in length, and a water cart – Hancocks' Galloper ride equated to three box trucks and a centre organ.

³⁴⁹ *The World's Fair*, No. 143, June 8th, 1907

³⁵⁰ In this year Hancocks only featured in one article: *The World's Fair*, No. 219, November 21st, 1908.

1909 By 1909 Sophie felt like her firm had been left behind – this is reflected in print as, for a second year running, there is only one article mentioning them in *The World's Fair*, which refers to a court case they were involved in³⁵¹. This is remarkably different from their high-flying dominance at the turn of the century. Despite feeling pushed out by Anderton & Rowland's, in August 1909 Sophie and Miss. Kneebone attended the funeral of Martha's father Albert Anderton, whose death had come as a shock to the travelling fraternity³⁵².

Reputable when holding interviews, Sophie's techniques included questioning whether a driver had ever been in charge of a steam engine that had turned over. Upon William Alford's confident answer of 'no' in 1909 she refused to employ him – her decision based on the fact that if he had not crashed an engine before, the likelihood of it happening in her employ was higher³⁵³.

1910 If the Edwardian era marked the zenith of Hancocks business, the death of Edward VII in 1910 marked the end of their domination in the West. Many things were now clear, most notably that the competition from 'Anderton & Rowland's' – who had been working relentlessly to retain the edge over their rivals – was having an effect on the Hancocks and their rides were beginning to age as well³⁵⁴.

As a further insult they were taken advantage of by people close to them. It is often proved more profitable for a travelling show to attend different events to the riding machines meaning Sophie had to trust her nephew Teddy to supervise one tober whilst she and Miss. Kneebone were elsewhere. On one occasion word got to Sophie that business had been so poor that the workmen on the show had not been paid: immediately she sent money to rectify this. During the ride pull-down

³⁵¹ *The World's Fair*, No. 232, February 20th, 1909.

³⁵² *The World's Fair*, No. 266, October 15th, 1909.

³⁵³ A memory relayed by Peter Phillipps on 24.02.2018.

³⁵⁴ *The World's Fair*, No. 323, November 19th, 1910.

several gold sovereigns fell out of Teddy's pockets. Everyone looked at him in surprise yet Teddy just shouted, "Please don't tell Aunt Sophie"³⁵⁵. It is said even the wagon girls were cheating on Sophie, hiding gold sovereigns in the sandwiches they passed out to the workmen³⁵⁶. The only one that remained true was Miss. Kneebone.



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³⁵⁵ Scrivens & Smith, *Hancocks of the West*, p.107.

³⁵⁶ Scrivens & Smith, *Hancocks of the West*, p.107.

³⁵⁷ 'The Anderson Sisters', performing on Hancocks 'Bio-Tableau' show – Martha is on the left. Unknown Fairground, 1910 – Unknown Collection, NFCA.



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1911

In 1911 Sophie organised a public meeting to discuss their loss of their tobbers to rivals Anderton and Rowland's. Martha sat on the front row in silence during Sophie's passionate speech, before congratulating her on a fine oratory performance – marking the loss of the amicability between the two firms³⁵⁹. This also marked Hancocks' decision to leave the Western Section of the Showmen's Guild (of which Martha's husband George was President): as they no longer paid their subscriptions they were not insured against fire or theft³⁶⁰.

³⁵⁸ A carved rounding board, manufactured for Hancocks. Unknown Fairground, 1910 – George Orton, Sons & Spooner Collection, NFCA.
³⁵⁹ *The World's Fair*, No. 345, April 22nd, 1911.
³⁶⁰ *The World's Fair*, No. 353, June 17th, 1911.

1912

1912 didn't fare much better for the Hancocks: times were getting harder with the economic depression sweeping Britain and money was very tight for them³⁶¹.

1913

It was 1913 that proved to be the toughest year for the Hancock firm. Both Hancocks and Anderton & Rowland's wintered in Plymouth and that year witnessed scenes of the Suffragette protests. Both Martha and Sophie had previously supported the Suffragettes in their plight, allowing the women to protest audibly and by pasting paraphernalia on their fairgrounds.

Despite this support it was in December that the Suffragettes had a devastating effect on Sophie's fairground. Emmaline Pankhurst was returning to Britain following her tour of the United States and was expected to land at either Plymouth's Great Western Dock or Ocean Quay, and so the Suffragettes picketed the roads. However, after being arrested onboard, Mrs. Pankhurst was secretly landed at another docks – Milbay. Once the Suffragettes realised they had been outwitted by the

³⁶¹ *The World's Fair*, No. 408, July 6th, 1912.

police they showed considerable irritation with arson attacks across Plymouth. Initially no explanation could be offered for the outbreak of one fire, until a copy of 'The Suffragette' was found near the scene. With it was a postcard reading: 'Our reply to the torture of Mrs. Pankhurst and her cowardly arrest at Plymouth' and 'Votes for Women'³⁶².

The arson attack was widely documented by *The World's Fair*, which reported that Hancocks' Switchback ride and organ were practically destroyed, despite their employees and service men working with speed to save them³⁶³. The paper states that nobody worked harder than Sophie herself, as is shown by her hands which were badly burned and had to be attended to by the ambulance men. The paper's final lines describe Sophie sitting on the steps of her wagon surrounded by debris, gazing out on the damaged fairground. Her final comment puts the blame on the Suffragettes: "We are completely ruined and we have not a penny of insurance. Times have been very bad lately and we thought we might save the premiums. When the Suffragettes were here to rescue Mrs. Pankhurst, I said they were brave women and I got into trouble for it; I think now that they are only cruel, selfish women"³⁶⁴.

The extensive documentation of the Suffragettes' attack on the Hancocks continued, both in *The World's Fair* and in local newspapers. The fairground newspaper set up a fund to help assist them and many fairground families donated generously³⁶⁵. Interestingly no donation was sent from Anderton & Rowland's. Martha's only comment was that she "was glad to note that everyone worked with all speed, and no lives were lost". In contrast a fortuitous event was the arrival of Bostock & Wombwell's Menagerie into the West Country: Mr. & Mrs. E. Bostock had heard of the recent fire and promptly held a benefit for Hancocks. In addition to the sum raised by the Showmen's Guild and *The World's Fair* appeal, the Bostocks offered a substantial loan to the Hancocks³⁶⁶.

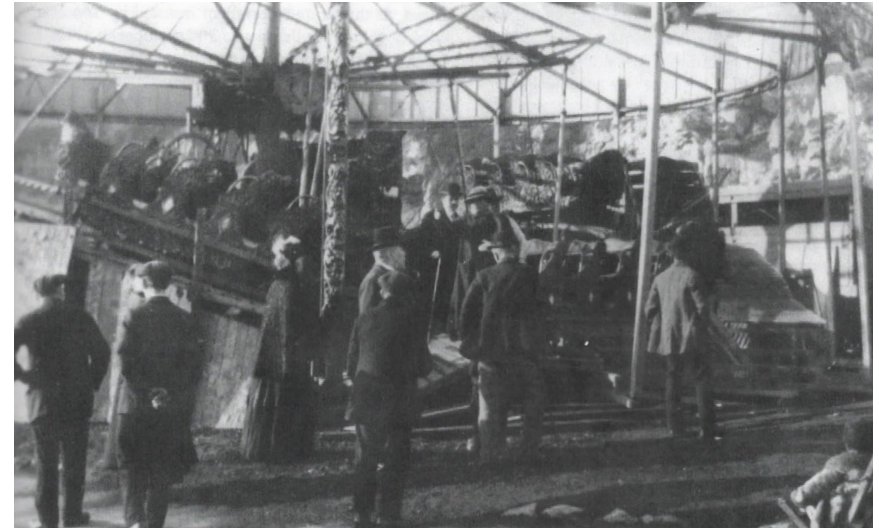
³⁶² *The World's Fair*, No. 484, December 20th, 1913.

³⁶³ *The World's Fair*, No. 484, December 20th, 1913.

³⁶⁴ *The World's Fair*, No. 485, December 27th, 1913.

³⁶⁵ *The World's Fair*, No. 486, January 3rd, 1914.

³⁶⁶ *The World's Fair*, No. 491, February 7th, 1914.



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³⁶⁷ Hancocks' Chariot Switchback – Sophie standing on the front of the ride. Richmond Walk, Plymouth, 1913 – Unknown Collection, NFCA.

³⁶⁸ W & S Hancock, with family and workmen – Sophie is on the centre left. Barnstaple Fair, 1913 – Unknown Collection, NFCA.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1914

Despite these offerings, Hancocks never truly recovered. During World War I they travelled just one ride machine, although their advertisements alluded to the new novelty machines from Germany³⁶⁹. Sophie deceptively publicised the fair with posters depicting a fairground with a wonderful set of Chair-o-Planes – yet all she actually offered were the old Gallopers, supported by some side-stalls and a few automatics. It is said that one visitor was brave enough to ask Sophie about the new ride, to which the reply was “horribly obscene” – causing the questioner to run from the fairground³⁷⁰.

1915

1916

1917

³⁶⁹ *The World's Fair*, No. 552, April 10th, 1915.

³⁷⁰ *The World's Fair*, No. 552, April 10th, 1915.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1918

1919

1920

1921

The arson attack allowed Anderton & Rowland's to firmly assert their position as the main traveling fairground in the West. By 1920, following the loss of both her brothers, Sophie and Miss. Kneebone were travelling predominantly in London, with little success³⁷¹.

³⁷¹ *The World's Fair*, No. 830, August 7th, 1920.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1922

1923



1924

1925



3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1926

Sophie's last fairground was in London at Luna Park, Tottenham³⁷². It was here, at 1.30pm on Tuesday 31st August, exactly twelve years after the death of her brother Charles, that 71-year-old Sophie's heart failed after a long and painful illness. What possessions Sophie still retained were not recorded in a will, but apart from the roundabout and her wagon, an accurate guess is that she left very little. Her remains were brought back to Bristol in a motor hearse and she was buried at Arnos Vale Cemetery on 3rd September 1926³⁷³. Miss. Kneebone was marked as a chief mourner and mentioned as a dependable lifelong companion. Reports determine that she continued to travel in Sophie's wagon until her own death in Madron on 8th March, 1929³⁷⁴. This is confirmed with an article published soon after Sophie's death describing how Miss. Kneebone had played host to Mrs. Stanley Baldwin, wife of the Prime Minister, who visited the living wagon and greatly admired the inside³⁷⁵.

1928

1927

A discreet memoriam from 1927, only a couple of sentences long and easily missed, hints at the hidden companionship and love between Sophie Hancock and Phillis Kneebone: never revealed or spoken of publicly by either of the two females³⁷⁶. The memorial reads: 'In Loving Memory of Miss. Sophie Hancock, who passed away after a long illness patiently borne. Loving and true, affectionally missed by her old pal and life companion, Phillis'³⁷⁷.

1929

³⁷² *The World's Fair*, No. 1, 134, June 5th, 1926.

³⁷³ *The World's Fair*, No. 1, 148, September 11th, 1926.

³⁷⁴ Scrivens & Smith, *Hancocks of the West*, p. 182.

³⁷⁵ *The World's Fair* No. 1, 150, September 25th, 1926.

³⁷⁶ This was unusual for *The World's Fair* which usually printed memorials with photographs.

³⁷⁷ *The World's Fair*, No. 1, 202, September 23rd, 1927.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1930

1931



1932

1933



3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1934

1935



1936

1937



3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1938

1939



1940

1941



3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1942

1943



1944

1945



3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1946

1947



1948

1949



3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1950

1951



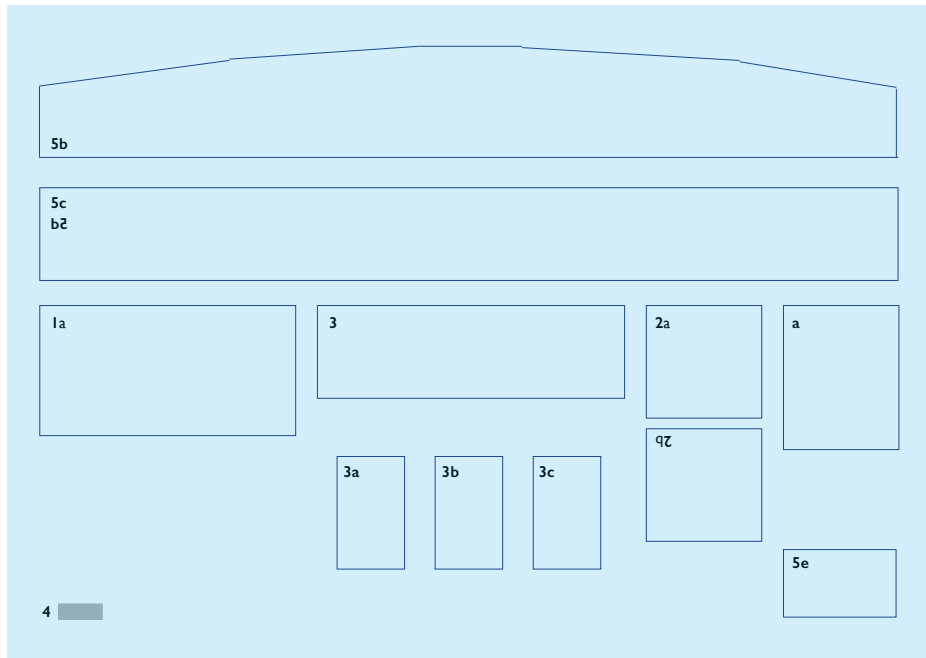
1952

1953



SOPHIE
– COLOURFUL LANGUAGE –

EXHIBITION REFLECTION
*Installed at a travelling West Country Fairground,
Cornwall & Devon, June 2018 - August 2019.*



1. The Unveiling of Sophie:

- a. Her fine reputation, edged in profanity

2. Sophie's Lawless Dalliances:

- a. Her guilt, concealed in the gild
- b. She should be wary of her own peculiar logic

3. The Redoubtable Sophie is Challenged:

- a. All's fair with our fair ladies: united on stage and on their political platform
- b. Ignited by envy, the control is turned
- c. Fuelled by the remnants, her reputation begins to undo

4. The Balustrade Conceals the Yellow on Yellow.

- a. She lent a hand.

5. The Curtain Falls on Sophie:

- b. Only she remains, of the Living Pictures Bioscope Show
- c. Despite the constructed stories, the golden tales catch up with her
- d. A final reflection on her hidden love
- e. She disappears from the West Country, her finery in tatters

█ – see by the ashes. Gold – a fragment echoing an untrustworthy action by Sophie.
 Blue – the blending darkens, as Sophie's life evolves. Pink – denotes an action by Elizabeth Bostock.

The Context:

For the third installation, to explore and refine the framework of an *archive as illustrated space* further, I felt it necessary to expand out of the traditional exhibition contexts and into an open space, one which also reflected the content of the narratives conveyed. I felt this would be interesting in terms of opening up the conversation (and indeed the question) of whether a series of visual works can be exhibited outside of these traditional contexts and still function as an *archive as illustrated space*. In this instance the previously used methodological approach, of Lissitzky and Obrist, which was fundamental in the first two installations of an *archive as illustrated space*, has been evolved: bringing in Teresa Gleadowe's stance of acting as a curator³⁷⁸, which is "concerned with the whole physical and intellectual experience of the exhibition"³⁷⁹.

It is Gleadowe's stance that theoretically grounded the decision to install an *archive as illustrated space* within a travelling fairground – simultaneously this is rationalised by the content of the narratives held in the *space*, in order to re-establish the identity of the female in question, Sophie Hancock. It has always been an intention to install one *space* with a travelling fairground – to locate the work in a context within which the females would have been familiar – and it is fitting to do so for this installation: no ancestral, historical or museum documentation exists for Sophie, but from *The World's Fair* newspapers and oral history it is known that she travelled for most of her life in the West Country. Thus, this transient *illustrated space* is apt for re-establishing Sophie as both her history and identity does not currently hold an anchorage point. The *space* travelling to an array of locations within the West Country – some which Sophie travelled to³⁸⁰ – offers her that.

The installation is therefore located within a travelling fairground and it was necessary to consider how, by moving away from the traditional contexts of

³⁷⁸ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

³⁷⁹ Teresa Gleadowe, in *The Curator's Handbook*, p.14.

³⁸⁰ This can be established due to *The World's Fair* articles announcing where each fairground's current tober is each week.

Fig.25: 'Plan of Works'

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Behind the Wagon

the museum and archive, the footfall of people, their knowledge and interest would differ greatly. Here, it was key to enact the method stated by curator Adrian George, wherein the demography of people not only observe the work but are able to participate in the work³⁸¹. Thus, it became apparent that the *archive as illustrated space* needed to physically interact with a part of the fairground, rather than existing as a separate installation – it needed to be rooted in some way. From this awareness came the development of installing the *space* as a hanging exhibition, fixed to the back of a fairground wagon – a progression from the *space* 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' as the work would physically interact with a wagon, rather than purely being installed around it. This further references the importance of the fairground wagon in regard to the female – as the domestic space where the role of the woman is recognised.



'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Behind the Wagon

³⁸¹ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Behind the Wagon

The Wider Context, Mapping Timelines:

Due to the site-specific constraints of this installation it was not possible to incorporate the mapping timelines³⁸² within the *archive as illustrated space*, which previously have been included to offer the viewer a context and grounding to the visual works produced³⁸³. However, this created the opportunity to test whether the *illustrated space* still functions effectively for the viewer without being prompted or supported by this research. Consequently, 'Sophie: Colourful Language' exists as a more fragmentary re-

³⁸² The creation and initial exhibition of these mapping timelines is discussed in 'Illustration Research as Practice', Chapter 2, Section C and they are located in the appendices.

³⁸³ These timelines were key in the space 'Lizzie: Striding Along', offering a bridge between the archival context and the visual works produced. They were present sporadically in 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject', most notably for an event attended by Martha's descendants who were keen to gain a more in-depth grounding of her life.

casting of her life – yet due to the focus on the language and wording of the visual works, the narratives could still be effectively located by the viewer³⁸⁴.

The Use of Captions:

The chronological nature of 'Sophie: Colourful Language' was more experimental as compared to the two previous *illustrated spaces*. Building in part on the tests in 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' the viewer was expected to create a working relationship between the *space* and the captions offered on the 'Plan of Works'. The intention in doing so was to highlight the captions, so the viewer used them as aids to the unveiling of the narratives more successfully. Despite this, the architectural hanging of the *space* did occasionally allude to a chronological order: the first, second and third fragments were installed as connected pieces respectively and took on the form of columns. The ordered, architectural use of columns to differentiate between these narrative fragments is disrupted in the fifth: the signs become less ordered, which mirrors Sophie's actions as she nears the end of her life.

Throughout this reflection the captions of the signs are referred to which, following their use in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' and 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject', have been constructed as directions to the viewer – encouraging them to become an active participant in the *space*, rather than a passive observer³⁸⁵. These captions, when accompanying the visual works, are also intended to convey and increase the narrative tension felt as the viewer moves through the *illustrated space*. These follow the previous established format: the captions are formatted chronologically in a 'Plan of Works', comprising a heading for each narrative thread and then the direction pertinent to each sign, and are offered to the reader alongside a map of the installation. This *space* was in conversation with 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' through both the use of colour and the captions: amendments in position and grammar act as hints to the viewer in their unveiling of the hidden truth (Fig.25).

³⁸⁴ My presence throughout the installation offered viewers the opportunity to access more of the *space* upon conversation, expanding it. This method mirrors, broadly, the concept of the *archive* existing as a fragmentary construction, and thus the accessibility is in fragments too.

³⁸⁵ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

Constructing a (Methodological) Visual Language:

Evolving the *illustrated space* to a physical-interactive installation, and in response to the nature of one of the *illustrative turns*, influenced the decision to limit the use of architectural effects, previously deployed in accordance with Lissitzky³⁸⁶. Instead, a focus on the language and wording of the painted signs worked to encourage the viewer to participate in unveiling the narratives, and to discover the concealed *illustrative turns*. However, the design of the hanging system did, at moments, lean towards Lissitzky's mode of thinking through utilising: mirrored signs, positioned at angles; the viewing perspective, by the inclusion of upside-down signs and backwards text; and a removal of the hanging system (the chain).

The order in which the viewer is encouraged to interpret the visual signs is aided by the use of blended colour: the blue darkens over the series of signs, referring to the progression of Sophie's life³⁸⁷, and the use of midnight blue signifies her life coming to an end. As determined by the methodology³⁸⁸,



Fig.26: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Close-Ups: Typefaces & Colour

³⁸⁶ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

³⁸⁷ This mechanism was successfully tested in the space 'Lizzie: Striding Along'.

³⁸⁸ In this enquiry each of the five females has been assigned a colour which relates to a fragment of their life and which becomes the dominant colour in their *archive as illustrated space*. Martha's is yellow, hence the increased use of this as we move chronologically through Sophie's space, to reflect their rivalry.

colour is also used to signify actions by Sophie. The use of gold echoes an untrustworthy action by Sophie, whereas pink denotes an action by Mrs. Elizabeth Bostock – consistent throughout all the *spaces*³⁸⁹. The use of yellow initially signifies the presence and later the overwhelming impact of Martha: linking to one of the *illustrative turns*, a narrative fragment between the two females³⁹⁰. All of the signwriting is painted onto exposed wood – bar '5a.' which re-establishes Mrs. E. Bostock's identity and thus follows those constraints – and has been finished with an ageing stain. The rationale for staining the wood is to allude to the charred (or burnt) nature of Sophie Hancock's fairground following the devastating fire (Fig.26).



Fig.27: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Sign '1a.'

The Fabrication of the Signs to House the *Illustrative Turns*:

The first sign in the *archive as illustrated space*, '1a.', draws on a fragment of Sophie's life-story which establishes her as a dominant and formidable character who still holds respect within the fairground industry³⁹¹ (Fig.27). Here, the caption alludes to her use of profanities and hints to the viewer that her reputation may be shadowed by antics that are also frowned upon. The

³⁸⁹ Pink is used to signify the absence of women in the archive documentation, and this is reiterated by the lack of a painted typeface.

³⁹⁰ This is the first *archive as illustrated space* where the colour black is not used to convey information and push the narratives forward, as was its task in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' and 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject'. This is due to the shift in physical interaction in the space to a focus on the language and wording encouraging the viewer to participate in the unveiling of the narratives and *illustrative turn* – thus, rendering the use of black obsolete.

³⁹¹ The oral snippets passed down in the fairground describe Sophie to use 'colourful language through her booming voice' which provided the title for this *archive as illustrated space*.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

second narrative fragment extends the concept of the column, in which signs '2a.' and '2b.' reflect one another – the latter is deliberately upside-down, referring to both the narrative in question and highlighting to the viewer the use of blending to darken the blue as they move through the space. The second fragment is fabricated to reveal Sophie's interactions with the law and the captions further allude to her guilt and mistrust (Fig.28).



Fig.28: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Signs '2a.' & '2b.'



Fig.29: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Signs '3a.', '3b.' & '3c.'

The language then shifts to allude to control: sign '3' describes how Martha's action shifts from 'aim with intent, at the target, to win' to 'aimed with intent, at the target, and won', in this *archive as illustrated space*. Assisted by the use of colour this signifies that the action has occurred and that Martha has triumphed over Sophie: yellow was used to signify to the viewer the acrostic 'arson' conveyed in the signs '3a.', '3b.' and '3c.' (again, echoing this concept of hanging in the balance). Across these three signs the language used in articles sourced from *The World's Fair* is included, in an effort to convey Sophie's voice and the rawness she felt following the devastating fire (Fig.29).

The trio of signs housed as the third fragment opened up the possibilities of utilising archival photographs within the exhibition, specifically to indicate a historical event: ultimately this created tension at points of the narrative within the *illustrated space*. This method used a visual interplay between archival and contemporary pieces of work, devised from Lissitzky's method³⁹² (Fig.30). This is an evolution from 'Lizzie: Striding Along', where an archival photograph was positioned adjacent to a sign, rather than them interacting

³⁹² 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.



Fig.30: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Signs '3a', '3b,' & '3c'.

with one another. This interplay allows the narrative to be extended in an interesting way, whilst offering the viewer a context through the inclusion of photographic evidence of the event.

A secondary reason to limit the use of architectural effects was due to the inclusion of a fairground balustrade, acting as '4.' in the *archive as illustrated space*. This is the moment where the constraints are broken and the illustrative object is introduced. In this *space*, the method echoes that used in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' and utilises a found (archival, though not presented as such) object – a balustrade once used on a travelling fairground. '4.' alludes to the *illustrative turn* of the fire through the visual language of the balustrade, its 'burnt' aspects conveyed through the techniques of marbled colours and flaky paint³⁹³. Furthermore, the balustrade is positioned as a barrier between the viewer and the work – one that is physically present but does not obstruct their view. This object is also intended to reflect how the public are often kept back by a barrier if a fire has taken place (Fig.31).

³⁹³ The balustrade heavily features yellows and blues which are the colours associated with Martha and Sophie.



Fig.31: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Sign (Object) 4.

In keeping with the constraint applied in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' and 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject', '5a.' occupies a complete change in visual language across colour, typeface and fabrication: marking the moment where the identity of Mrs. E. Bostock is brought into the realm of Sophie's *illustrated space* (Fig.32). Again, the absence of Elizabeth is implied with the lack of signwriting; the background of the sign painted, rather than the lettering itself. When viewed alongside the caption, '5a.' casts a positive light on the character and action of Mrs. E. Bostock, detailing how she helped Sophie financially following the fire.

'5b.' utilises the method of repeating elements of the *space*, in this instance not through the architectural physicality³⁹⁴ but through the content communicated verbally. This highlights the illusion of perspective – this sign mirrors, and also manipulates, the content of '1a.'. In the first four narrative fragments the overarching theme was concerned with Sophie's character – whether that be her own dominant actions or through Martha's targeting of her. However, it is known and documented, in both *The World's Fair* and the archival photographs, that her two brothers always came before her in the

³⁹⁴ In 'Lizzie: Striding Along' and 'Martha: Mesmeric Subject' this was achieved through manipulating the architectural physicality of the signs themselves: amending or removing parts of the visual works.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



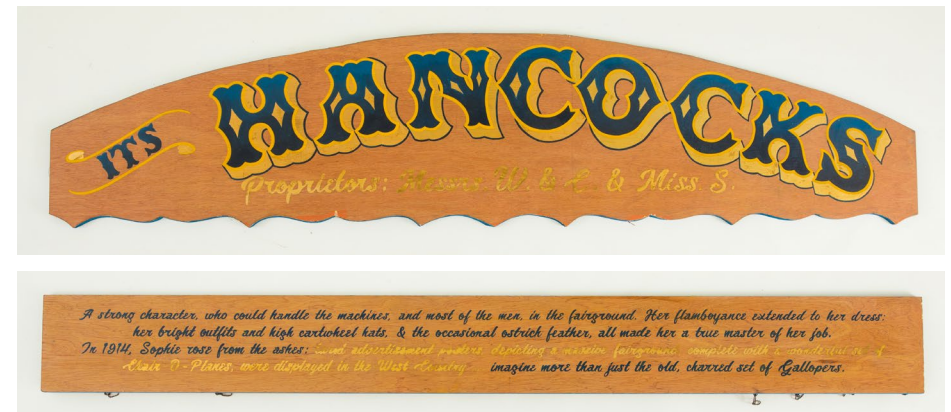
Fig.32: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Sign '5a.'



business. This hierarchy is transcribed in '5b.' where she is listed as the third proprietor – despite Sophie at this moment in the timeframe being the only sibling still alive, which the viewer is informed of through the caption. This sign has been inspired by an archival photograph³⁹⁵ – again drawing attention to the working relationship between the archival photographs and the method employed to communicate convincing narratives to the viewer. This is the final sign in the *illustrated space* which employs the use of yellow: signifying Sophie's last attempt at a physical impact on the West Country and specifically on Martha's fairground, marking the end of their relationship (Fig.33).

'5c.' documents an attempt by Sophie to impact the fairgrounds of the West Country remotely: following the devastating fire she created lurid advertisement posters describing a "massive fairground, complete with a new

³⁹⁵ 'Hancocks Living Pictures Show', this archival photograph can be found in Sophie's photo analysis booklet, located on p.185 in the appendices.



Figs.33&34: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Signs '5b.' & '5c.'

set of Chair-O-Planes"³⁹⁶. Yet this was an elaborate lie constructed by Sophie and speaks of her desperation. '5c.' employs the most obvious use of gold in the space, to signify this untrustworthy action, and the caption reveals that these actions eventually caught up with her (Fig.34).

A second *illustrative turn*, pertinent to Sophie only – though mirroring that of Martha's story – concerns a controversial and hidden love. However, whilst Martha's love story eventually became open and accepted, Sophie's remained secret all her life. '5d.' holds this *illustrative turn*, in which the viewer has to interact with the mirrored sign ('3'), to reveal the narrative that has been signwritten backwards (Fig.35). The caption indicates the key hidden element – which could refer to both the secret nature of the relationship and of the *turn* itself – and also determines, through the caption's use of 'final reflection', that this love stayed with her until the end³⁹⁷.

The final sign in the *archive as illustrated space* concerns that of Sophie's death. This is signified through the use of just midnight blue and by the careful and deliberate hanging of the sign: this is the only moment in the space where

³⁹⁶ *The World's Fair*, No. 484, April 10th, 1915.

³⁹⁷ This is known from Phillis Kneebone, Sophie's lifelong companion, placing a memorial on the first anniversary of Sophie's death: *The World's Fair*, No. 1131, September 23rd, 1927.

3. SOPHIE: COLOURFUL LANGUAGE, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



Fig.35: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Sign '5d' (seen in mirror).

only one chain has been used as a fixing, forcing the sign to rest on the ground – with the intention of signifying tiredness and weakness. Again, this sign works by repeating previous elements denoted by the space, in this instance 'her fruity West Country accent'. Furthermore, the geographical use of 'London's Luna Park', when considered alongside the caption which details her disappearance, confirms the impact that Martha had on the remainder of Sophie's life. This captions also take on the concept of repetition: shifting from a 'fine reputation' ('1a.') to 'her finery in tatters' ('5e.') (Fig.36).



Fig.36: 'Sophie: Colourful Language' – Sign '5e.'

Contextualising 'Sophie: Colourful Language' as an archive as illustrated space:

To summarise, this installation is designed to function as an *archive as illustrated space* in which the viewer is considered to be an active participant in regard to interpreting the narratives and to revealing the *illustrative turns*. This is determined through unpacking the thinking behind the visual artworks produced and the various methods employed within. The *illustrative turns*, which the viewer is required to unveil in order to be rewarded, fully re-establish Sophie's identity through unveiling the dramatic narratives of who lit the fire that destroyed her fairground and who her lifelong companion was. The physicality, language, colours and the captions all assisted the viewer in both becoming aware of the build-up of narrative tension and in realising these *illustrative turns*.

This iteration of an *archive as illustrated space* successfully advances the framework tested on the two previous occasions, demonstrating that it can be applied by a practitioner working outside of the realms of the traditional contexts of an exhibition (a gallery, museum or archive). This has been achieved due to evolving the curatorial methods to consider not just Lissitzky and Obrist, but Gleadowe and George³⁹⁸, effectively adapting the framework to the specifics of an exhibition installed in an unconventional setting. Yet, there is still an opportunity to evolve the framework further. In 'Sophie: Colourful Language' the series of works produced physically interacted with its context (the back of the fairground wagon). This creates the question: can the two elements – the works and their context – extend this interaction? Is it possible for the framework to allow the context to become a fundamental element of the *archive as illustrated space*? To do so, the context needs to become part of the narrative, and potentially part of the *illustrative turn* – if achieved this would fully realise the *archive as illustrated space*, as it would provide a rationale as to why the visual works are displayed in such a context.

³⁹⁸ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

ANNIE
– CHALLENGING PATRONS –

LIFE-STORY



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1850s

Oral history snippets form the majority of this documentation³⁹⁹: *The World's Fair* seldom mentions Annie, though her children placed memorials for her in the newspaper for nearly twenty years following her death⁴⁰⁰. Her entry into the fairground industry was due to necessity: when she was a young child her father died, leaving her mother (Mrs. Payne) a widow at just forty, with three young children to support – one of which was a boy who was largely overweight⁴⁰¹. At the time freak show exhibits were popular and drew in large crowds, and so Mrs. Payne's solution to her financial problem was to exhibit her overweight son, advertising the attraction as 'a young boy that weighs in excess of forty stone'. She bought a little booth and travelled the Derbyshire area, meaning Annie spent the majority of her childhood travelling⁴⁰².

1860s

1870s

1880s

³⁹⁹ Snippets collated from a series of oral history interviews held with Annie's great-granddaughter, Florence Baber, on: 20.10.2017, 11am-2pm at Ilkeston Fair; 12.12.2017, 5pm-6pm over the telephone; and 17.01.2018, 2pm-3.30pm at Market Harborough Cemetery, where Annie is buried. No audio recordings were permitted.

⁴⁰⁰ These memorials featured from *The World's Fair*, No. 1,032, June 21st, 1924 to *The World's Fair*, No. 1,918, June 13th, 1941.

⁴⁰¹ Learnt during the conversation with Florence Baber on 20.10.2017.

⁴⁰² An elaboration on a memory recalled during the conversation with Florence Baber on 20.10.2017.

3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1890s

1900

1901

Upon her marriage to a 'flattie'⁴⁰³, the London-based butcher Mr. Holland, Annie temporarily left the fairground industry. She met him when he frequented the areas Annie travelled with her family, buying cattle from Derbyshire farms to take back to London. When first married Annie worked in the slaughter industry of her husband's family butchers, located in Mile End⁴⁰⁴. Annie had six sons with him, in quick succession: James, Bert, Arthur, Charles, Edward and Albert. Despite this, she found adjusting to life outside of the travelling world difficult and subsequently became unhappy⁴⁰⁵.

After becoming estranged from her husband in 1901 – though upon her return to the Derbyshire area, with her six sons, she stated that her husband had died – she purchased her first Bioscope Show, 'The Palace of Light'. She began travelling areas familiar to her – Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire – and wintered at Market Harborough⁴⁰⁶.

⁴⁰³ In showland Annie Holland's husband would have been referred to as a 'flattie' – someone who was not born into the fairground industry.

⁴⁰⁴ At the time, a butcher located a mile out of Central London was exempt from paying a fee to slaughter animals.

⁴⁰⁵ Learnt during the conversation with Florence Baber on 20.10.2017.

⁴⁰⁶ Learnt during the conversation with Florence Baber on 20.10.2017.

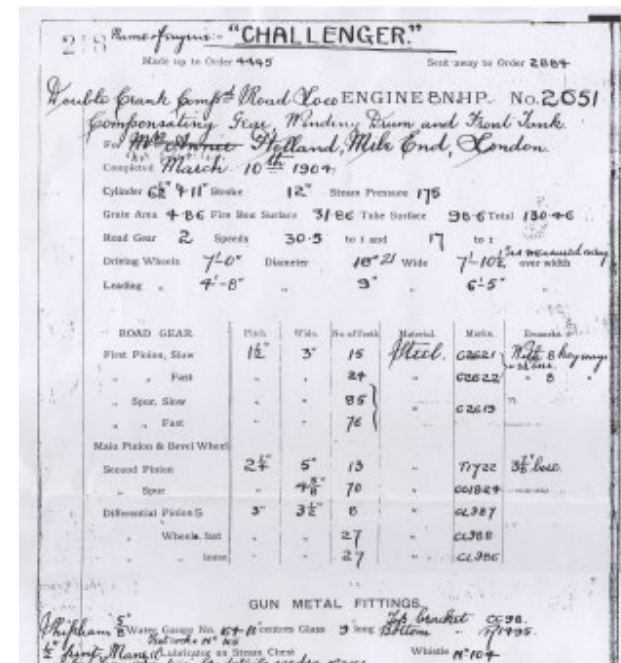
1902

This purchase facilitated Annie to become known as the most famous Bioscope Show proprietor. ‘The Palace of Light’ began as a two-wagon fronted-booth and included a gilded, carved proscenium. This proscenium was the crowning glory of the show: consisting of eighteen carved, heavily ornate pieces, including a top centre piece of two winged angels holding ribbons which supported a shield bearing an interwoven inscription of the letters ‘A.H.’. Both the exterior and interior were elaborately decorated in fine Italian cloth, with a mass of Japanese lampshades suspended from the inside top lining. Annie’s show could hold up to a thousand people – six hundred seated, four hundred standing⁴⁰⁷.

1903

1904

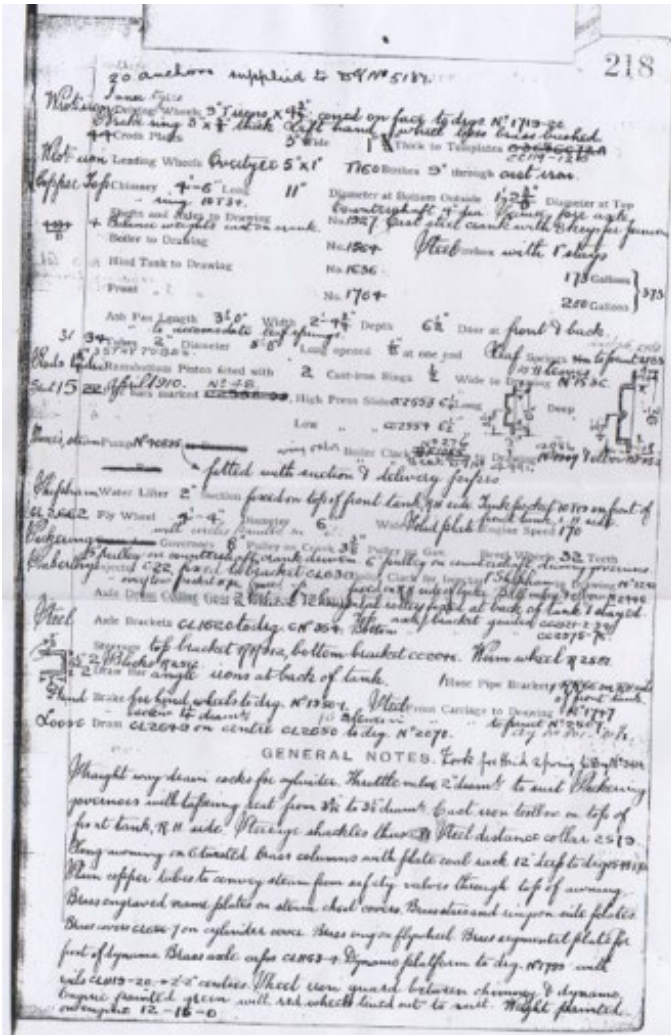
In March, 1904 Annie purchased a steam engine: Burrell Showman’s Road Locomotive, ‘Challenger’ (works no. 2651) – one of the first women to purchase one⁴⁰⁸. This allowed her Bioscope Show to expand: not only could she move between grounds more quickly but the show itself became more impressive: expanding for the steam engine to become a focal part in its front appearance. It is in the details of the purchase order form that Annie gives her address as ‘Mile End, London’ which confirms that Annie kept her postal address as London, despite the estrangement from her husband⁴⁰⁹. This is due to Annie covering up her estranged marriage and believing that a London postal address would encourage a higher class of people to patronise her fairground.



⁴⁰⁷ A description of Annie’s ‘Palace of Light’ was recalled by Florence Baber on 7.01.2018.

⁴⁰⁸ This conversation of women owning steam engines was a constant reference point in the oral history interviews held in person with Dick Wood – who owned the steam engine ‘Challenger’ at the time of our conversations. These conversations, all held at Dick’s home, took place on: 04.04.2017, 10am-12.30pm; 15.08.2017, 10am-11am; and 29.12.2017, 9am-11am. No audio recordings were permitted.

⁴⁰⁹ This is proven by the order sheet for ‘Challenger’, shown to me by Dick Wood on 04.04.2017.



1905

410

⁴¹⁰ A copy of the order sheet for 'Challenger', shown to me by Dick Wood on 04.04.2017.

1906

In 1906 Annie introduced a lottery to the patrons at Gainsborough Fair, giving a ticket bearing a number to each person as they entered the show. Numbers were then thrown onto a screen and those holding corresponding tickets were entitled to a prize. The authorities decided that this was gambling, and fined Annie 10s plus costs, despite her pleading ignorance⁴¹¹.

As often done over winters fairgrounds would change the names of rides and shows, to deceive the public that a new attraction was offered to them in the following season. Annie did this with both 'The Palace of Light' – one season naming it 'Electrograph' – and her steam engine: one winter she painted 'Challenger' green and renamed her 'Greenfly' – this name showmen still use today⁴¹².

⁴¹¹ The World's Fair, No. 87, May 12th, 1906

⁴¹² The World's Fair, No. 87, May 12th, 1906

3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1907



413

1908

Annie continued to travel 'The Palace of Light' extensively, in all weathers and seasons, establishing herself as the most famous Bioscope proprietor of the time. *The World's Fair* often reported that the show was taken down, moved and built up overnight, so that she could profit from visiting a different town each day⁴¹⁴. This operation was assisted by 'Challenger', which provided the light to the workmen late at night.

⁴¹³ Annie Holland's Bioscope Loads (& Water Cart) – Annie is standing third from left. En-route from Lincoln to Boston, 1907 – Unknown Collection, NFCA.
⁴¹⁴ *The World's Fair*, No. 191, May 10th, 1908.

1909



415

1910

⁴¹⁵ 'Challenger' hauling 'The Palace of Light' loads – Annie is standing in the centre. On the road to Radcliffe-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire, 1909 – Rowland Scott Collection, NFCA.

1911

1912

In February 1912 Annie was open on the Anglesey Hotel Grounds, Hednesford, on a wild winter night with a strong north-east wind lashing the canvas of the booth against the rafters. Shortly after the final Saturday evening performance, when the show was in darkness, a spark from ‘Challenger’ landed on the canvas tilt of the show, setting it ablaze. The wind soon ensured that the whole booth was engulfed, destroying the inside linings, seating and gilded carvings around the screen. Luckily, due to the quick workmen’s actions dousing the fire, the front of the show and fairground organ were saved from the flames⁴¹⁶. Due to her esteemed position Annie was able to quickly purchase another show from Edwin Lawrence of Swandlincote: combining the remains of her show with Lawrence’s a second ‘Palace of Light’ was constructed⁴¹⁷. This amalgamated show Annie travelled up until the outbreak of World War I.

⁴¹⁶ *The World’s Fair*, No. 387, February 10th, 1912.

⁴¹⁷ *The World’s Fair*, No. 387, February 10th, 1912.

1913

1914

During World War I Annie passed on the running of her business to two of her sons, Bert and Charles. They moved away from the Bioscope Show and invested in fairground rides, including airships and a joy wheel⁴¹⁸. Annie is often mentioned to be travelling with them and is still responsible for the accounts and logistics of the business, but chose to remain hidden from the public eye⁴¹⁹. She continued to reside in her living wagon: wintering in Market Harborough and travelling with her sons during the season – who had all married and given Annie grandchildren⁴²⁰. The shelves of her living wagon, running around the top of its interior, were full of jars of pickled produce (she didn’t like anything to go to waste and, like many on the road, lived with the seasons) – it is noted that “these jars were like eyes looking down on you from the high shelves, scaring her grandchildren”⁴²¹.

⁴¹⁸ *The World’s Fair*, No. 628, May 20th, 1916.

⁴¹⁹ Annie’s actions were passed down to Florence Baber by her father and recalled to me on 12.12.2017.

⁴²⁰ *The World’s Fair*, No. 628, May 20th, 1916.

⁴²¹ An anecdote told by Florence Baber on 17.01.2018.

3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1915

1916



1917

1918



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1919

1920



1921

1922



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1923 On June 23rd, 1923 *The World's Fair* extensively reported Annie's death: "the formidable head of a well-known family, who died in her wagon at the advanced age of 83 years, retaining her faculties to the last day, following a remarkable career"⁴²². The elaborate funeral signify her sons respect and awe for Annie – this is reflected through them placing memorials for her in *The World's Fair* for nearly twenty years following her death⁴²³.



1925
1926

⁴²² *The World's Fair*, No. 980, June 23rd, 1923.
⁴²³ These memorials featured from *The World's Fair*, No. 1,032, June 21st, 1924 to *The World's Fair*, No. 1,918, June 13th, 1941.

3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1927

1928



1929

1930



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1931

1932



1933

1934



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1935

1936



1937

1938



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1939

1940



1941

1942



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1943

1944



1945

1946



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1947

1948



1949

1950



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1951

1952



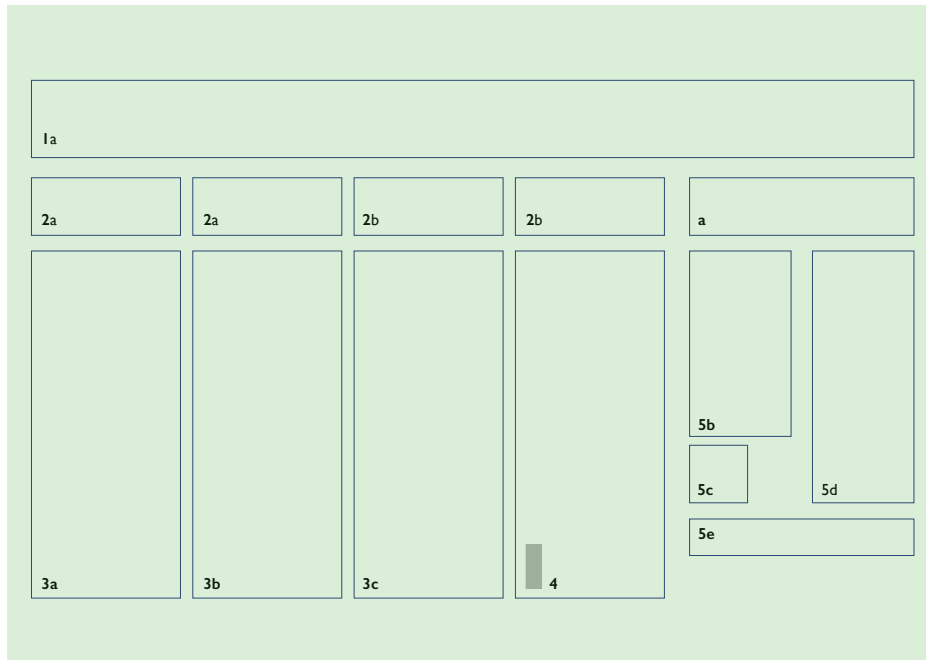
1953



ANNIE
– CHALLENGING PATRONS –

EXHIBITION REFLECTION

*Installed in an old butchers shopfront & an East-End P.O. Box,
Cornwall & London, August 2019 - October 2019.*



The Context:

For this fourth installation I focused on extending the interaction between the series of works produced and the context they were exhibited in. In doing so, the intention was to test whether it was possible for the context to become a fundamental element of the *archive as illustrated space* framework. This demanded the context become part of the narrative and the *illustrative turn* and, if successful, provide a rationale as to why the visual works are displayed in this manner. As with ‘Sophie: Colourful Language’ this installation has been expanded out of the traditional contexts of the gallery, museum or archive, and into a context which reflects the content of the narratives held.

In this instance the *archive as illustrated space* ‘Annie: Challenging Patrons’ has been two-fold: the primary installation is in an old butchers shopfront in Falmouth, and the secondary in a P.O. Box in Mile End, London. The decision for this dual-installation is directly linked to Annie’s life-story: her marriage to and subsequent estrangement from a butcher, yet her continued use of his P.O. Box as her address, despite this separation. The visual works play with the concept of absence and presence in these *spaces*: the series of signs are physically located in the butchers shopfront (a place which Annie removed herself from), and an imitation of the signs is installed in the P.O. Box (a place which Annie kept). This extends the concept and the framework of the *archive as illustrated space*: the contexts of the work and the locations have a direct role on the storytelling – satisfying this extension of the method tested in the previous *space*, ‘Sophie: Colourful Language’.

This reflection predominantly focuses on the primary exhibition in the butcher’s shopfront and latterly shifts to the secondary iteration, the P.O. Box. It is the shopfront exhibition that is referred to as the *archive as illustrated space* in this reflection. In this *space* I worked with the expanded methodology established in ‘Sophie: Colourful Language’, which primarily considered

1. **The Duplicity of Annie:**
 - a. Breaking Ties and Breaking Necks
2. **Annie’s Calculated Challenges:**
 - a. Revolution at the Palace
 - b. An Overnight Transformation
3. **Annie’s Frowned-Upon Foray’s:**
 - a. A Frosty Reception for the Proprietress
 - b. The Gainsborough Sessions
 - c. She Destroys the Palace
4. **The Ornate Shield (not) the Mark of Truth.**
 - a. Forwarding Prestige and Propriety
5. **The Fine Quality of Annie:**
 - b. Feast Your Eyes!
 - c. She Donated to the Hancocks’ Appeal
 - d. Reputation at Stake (Three Cuts)
 - e. Six Sons Stay Devoted, Despite her Bluntness

— see in the window. Gold – a fragment echoing a challenge by Annie.
 Green – the focus shifts between the foreground and the butcher. Pink – denotes an action by Elizabeth Bostock.

Fig.37: ‘Plan of Works’

3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Iteration No. 1: Butchers Shopfront



'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Iteration No. 2: P.O. Box

Gleadowe's stance of acting as a curator⁴²⁴ who is "concerned with the whole physical and intellectual experience of the exhibition"⁴²⁵. However, the context of this *archive as illustrated space* demanded that the method was slightly adjusted to consider the audience: instead of a travelling fairground, the method needed to consider the impact the *space* could have on passers-by, and how the work could encourage or entice them to actively participate, supported by the captions (Fig.37). Thus, the method is extended to become a dual framework that adjusts in response to the demography of people that will experience the *space* – as determined by curator Adrian George⁴²⁶.

The Participant's Active Journey:

Similarly to 'Sophie: Colourful Language', the use of participatory manipulations was not a fundamental constraint and instead the focus was on the shopfront itself becoming the constant in the narrative – in this instance acting as an architectural effect. The shopfront also acted as a border for each of the visual works: both the series of signs and the physical object. With regard to the context of the *space* enticing the viewers to actively participate with the work, the focus was on the language used – both the wording and through using typography illustratively – to encourage the viewer to unveil both the narratives concealed within and the *illustrative turn*. Extending this method from the tests in 'Sophie: Colourful Language', and responding to shopfront constructs – the windows – manipulating the appearance of reflections was key, as was creating illusions through the positioning and layout of words. This manipulation of appearance was further assisted by the effects that the windows in the shopfront had on the colours used: the green lettering was not always obvious (the light made it tricky to see) which added to the mysterious nature of the *illustrated space*, as well as encouraging the viewer to participate physically, by moving to catch the light to fully decipher the signs (Fig.38).

⁴²⁴ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

⁴²⁵ Gleadowe, in *The Curator's Handbook*, p.14.

⁴²⁶ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.



Fig.38: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Close-Ups: Typefaces & Colour

Constructing a (Methodological) Visual Language:

The architecture of the shopfront created a constraint for the visual signs: each window acted as a boundary to a sign, allowing each to become a single page narrative. This structure also lent itself to the method of repetition: employing slight manipulations to the language or phrasing of the panels, in a manner first tested in 'Lizzie: Striding Along' and developed in accordance with the ideas of El Lissitzky⁴²⁷, created a systematic pacing in the chronological recounting of Annie's life. The butcher's shopfront also contributed to the underlying narrative theme of the *archive as illustrated space*, alluding to the male Holland, the butcher: his presence and absence, and how his role affected Annie's character and story.

⁴²⁷ 'Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition', Chapter 3, Section B.

The Fabrication of the Signs to House the *Illustrative Turns*:

The underlying theme of Annie's elusive husband is established in the first sign '1a.', which locates a pivotal moment associated with 'Holland's Butchers' – the inclusion of 'family run business' creates an allusion to the characters of both Annie and the family she is joining. The caption supports this, revealing that she is breaking ties with the fairground upon her marriage to a flattie. The caption expands on her role in the butchers, with its reference to the breaking of necks. The street name, Mile End Road, geographically locates the narratives in a location which the viewer may recognise and thus, it acts as a trigger for them to access the *space* and subsequently decipher the narratives concealed. It also prompts them to begin questioning the validity of the *space*, as the road the work is installed on is not Mile End Road – a trigger to one of the *illustrative turns* (Fig.39).



Fig.39: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Sign '1a.'

3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



Fig.40: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Sign '2a.'

'2a.' and '2b.' draw on the act of repeated language and of Barthes' theory of rewarding the attentive reader⁴²⁸, in order to reveal one of the *illustrative turns*: Annie's deceptive nature. '2a.' gives a context to the legacy of the offering Annie travels fairgrounds with, projecting the image that she is of 'world-famous' status (Fig.40).

Sign '2b.' establishes the geographical context introduced earlier, in '1a', through the referral to Mile End. This not only links back to the location of the butcher's shop, but also extends the *illustrated space* to incorporate the knowledge collated through oral history – the order form for Annie's steam engine 'Challenger' being addressed to Mile End. Both signs use repetition in the language to allude to the underhand tactics of Annie, in regard to her transformation methods: both the public offering ('2a.') and the steam engine she owns ('2b.') (Fig.41).

Revealing the *illustrative turns*, aided through the captions given, determines that Annie would rename her travelling show each winter in order to convince the public it was a new offering, and rename (through repainting) her steam engine overnight to fool the public into thinking she owns a fleet of engines, and is thus more successful. In this narrative fragment the use of green is asserted to be synonymous with Annie herself: despite its use for 'Holland's Butchers' ('1a.') and it being her married name, it is Annie that emerges as the prominent 'Holland'.

⁴²⁸ Referencing Roland Barthes' theory, first discussed in 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive', Chapter I, Section C.



Fig.41: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Sign '2b.'

The narratives told under the third fragment are all concerned with Annie's actions on the fairground, forays which the public frowned upon. Here, the design and typographical layout of the three signs is inspired by Victorian advertisements and each exist as a single page narrative, as well as contributing to the overall narrative tension and the reveal of another *illustrative turn*. '3a.' documents Annie's return with her six sons to the fairground industry: whilst encouraging the public to enter her show, her estrangement from her husband is reiterated. The caption alludes to this frosty return and is visually conveyed through the frosted glass on part of this sign. Her estrangement from her husband is referenced using both explicit and concealed techniques: the use of just 'A. Holland' rather than 'Mrs. A. Holland' and the visual interplay between 'window' and 'widow', in which the loss of the letter 'n' acts as a trigger to one of the *illustrative turns* (Fig.42).

The second sign in this fragment, '3b.', contextualises Annie's lawless dalliances, through the geographical location of Gainsborough given in the caption. Here, the tension created in '3a.' is built on and it becomes apparent to the viewer that this tension is working towards a reveal. This sign also plays with the knowledge that Annie's tactic is to push her chances and then plead ignorance – this hints at her ability to shift in persona which again triggers the viewer into questioning the validity of her marital status. '3c.' extends the fact unveiled in '3b.', of the increased fines against Annie, and here the viewer is expected to fill a gap in the narrative, that of debt, in order to realise the fire

3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

is an insurance ploy. Again, the caption supports this participatory moment for the viewer, assisting in the reveal of the second *illustrative turn*: Annie herself destroyed the ‘Palace of Light’.

As with the three previous *archive as illustrated spaces*, the fourth fragment dictates a break in the set constraints: instead of working with a sequential set of signs, a three-dimensional object is displayed. In this instance, the object is embedded in the installation fully, given the same physical space as the signs (a window panel), and is set behind the glass – an evolved approach if compared to the first three *illustrated spaces*. This found object is an ornate panel which takes on the visual form reminiscent of a panel from Annie’s ‘Palace of Light’,



Fig.43: ‘Annie: Challenging Patrons’ – Sign (Object) 4.



Fig.42: ‘Annie: Challenging Patrons’ – Signs ‘3a.’, ‘3b.’ & ‘3c.’

as known from the archival photographic documentation. Manipulation has enriched the use of the panel: the inclusion of the initials ‘A.H.’ on the shield adds to the allusion that this is an object which originates from Annie’s show – the use of a challenge on this validity, in the brackets of the caption, assists in triggering the viewer to realise this is not a genuine historical remnant (Fig.43).

The fifth narrative fragment alludes to the final stages of Annie’s life, as is the constraint set by the methodological investigation into the making process, and chronologically conveys this build-up to her death. ‘5a.’ mirrors the content offered in ‘1a.’ through referring to her relationship with the East End of London. The positioning and visual language of this sign is inspired by Victorian pubs, where the details of the proprietor would be located above the threshold to the premises. This sign alludes to the deceptive appearance Annie kept for the period of her life between leaving her husband and her death: her continued use of a Mile End postal address⁴²⁹. The *illustrative turn*, of Annie not living at this address following the separation from her husband, is hinted at through the language used (particularly ‘appearance’) and the caption, which further reiterates both this and references Annie’s decision in keeping this address (Fig.44).

⁴²⁹ This is proven by the order sheet for ‘Challenger’, shown to me by Dick Wood on 04.04.2017.

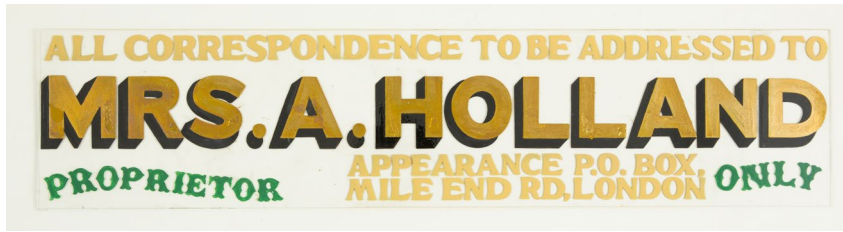


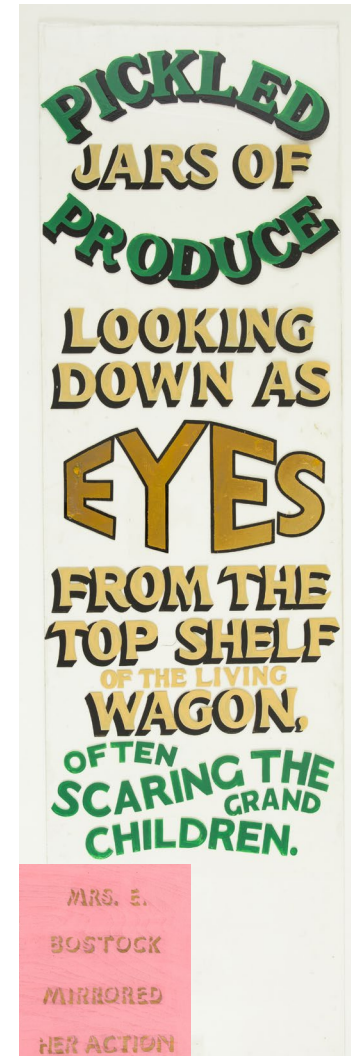
Fig.44: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Sign '5a.'

Here, 'forwarding' uses a postal language and implies that she is not physically there, whilst 'prestige and propriety' relates to Annie's decision to keep the address in order to attract a higher class of people to patronage her show.

Inspired by an oral history fragment '5b.' recounts a personal memory⁴³⁰. This fragment creates an image of Annie as both a family-orientated person and a grandmother, whilst also creating an illusion of her as a practical and resourceful person. However, the language is slightly sinister and this hints at the underhand tactical elements of Annie's character. The illustrative layout of this wording alludes to the content through illustration: the layout and style of 'eyes', for example (Fig.45).

Continuing with establishing a relationship with previous spaces, it is at this point in 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' where, to fully understand the premise and context of the narrative conveyed, the viewer needs an awareness of the earlier *archive as illustrated spaces*. '5c.' extends the story of Mrs. E. Bostock: recounting through the caption that Annie donated to the Hancocks' appeal, and through the sign that Mrs. E. Bostock mirrored this action (Fig.46). To fully realise the impact of these donations and strengthen the impact of the *illustrative turn*, having an awareness of the complete story and thus knowing that Martha did not donate (due to her being responsible for the fire), allows a greater understanding of each of the females and their generosity to form. As with the other spaces the sign conveying Elizabeth's action takes on the

⁴³⁰ This fragment was recounted by Florence Baber on 20.10.2017.



Figs.45,46&47: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Signs '5b.', '5c.' & '5d.'



3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

visual language previously established, which sets it apart from the other signs in the space: a pink background in which the shadows of the lettering are exposed, asking the viewer to actively participate in order to reveal what is communicated.

Both the sign and caption for '5d.' manipulated the language used in the Victorian era, and they both work to position the reputation of Annie against that of her husband. In this instance, the sign can be read in three ways and the caption alludes to this – along with stating that a set of reputations are at stake. Here, colour plays a key part in regard to the viewer decoding the content of the sign: the gold lettering establishes the purpose and intention of the 'Holland' name or action; the green and gold lettering, when read together, reveals the success and reputation of Annie; and together the cream and gold lettering that of her mysterious, and absent, husband. The use of green to relay Annie's character reiterates the earlier use of green in sign '1a.', where the name 'Holland' is established: in doing so, this determines that Annie, rather than her male counterpart, is the more famous and successful 'Holland'. However, the positioning of the green lettering beneath the cream equates to the hierarchical position as dictated by society: the dominant male over the female, despite her greater success (Fig.47).



Fig.48: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Sign '5e.'

The final sign, '5e.', is inspired by the quote engraved on Annie's headstone and reiterates her dominance over the fairground, aside from her period of marriage to the London butcher⁴³¹. The caption reiterates the respect

⁴³¹ This was discovered during a research visit to Market Harborough's Cemetery, where Annie is buried, and reads: 'it's to thy cross I cling: all her life on the road, bar when at the butcher's'.

her sons held for her and the business she established, but also hints at her mysterious disappearance⁴³² (Fig.48).

The secondary installation of an archive as illustrated space:

The secondary installation of this *archive as illustrated space* was located in an East End of London P.O. Box and directly responded to the parameters of Annie's life-story, and her actions. The concept behind the decision to install an iteration of the work and subsequently interact with the viewers through the context of a P.O. Box derived from the research content. Annie first became a Holland and established herself under that name within the parameter of the butchers, and so the physical visual works were installed in a butcher's shopfront – despite Annie herself attempting to remove any connection with them. The connection she did acknowledge and maintain was with the London address, through the P.O. Box: in response the secondary installation acted as a postcard version of the *illustrated space* – an appearance-only exhibition, rather than a set of visual works (Fig.49).



Fig.49: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Iteration No. 2: P.O. Box



⁴³² This is known due to their placement of memorials for Annie for nearly twenty years following her death beginning with *The World's Fair*, No. 1,032, June 21st, 1924 and ending with *The World's Fair*, No. 1,918, June 13th, 1941.

3. ANNIE: CHALLENGING PATRONS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

This secondary installation advanced the framework of the *archive as illustrated space*: the viewers attended the installation at individually appointed times, creating a possibility to gauge both how they engaged with the *space* and their reaction. In this *space* the visually illustrated shopfront is translated to the medium of the postcard and is presented with the ‘Plan of Works’, detailing the series of captions and the diagrammatic plan – the visual signs illustrated on the front of the postcard are legible and able to be interpreted by the viewer (Fig.50).



Fig.50: 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' – Iteration No. 2: P.O. Box, 'Plan of Works'.

Contextualising the installation as an *archive as illustrated space*:

The primary installation for 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' has advanced the framework of the *archive as illustrated space*, in particular the use of the exhibition context. Here, through portraying and communicating an element

of the narrative, the context alluded to and worked as part of the larger story. This iteration confirms a previous finding, put forward in 'Sophie: Colourful Language', in regard to a practitioner utilising the framework when working outside of the realms of the traditional contexts of the exhibition. Alongside this, the success of the *space* determines why the visual works are displayed in such a manner. Within this, there is scope for the narratives to be fully embedded and thus immediately created is a pacing to the *space*: the framing of the windows ensures the signs immediately convey a chronological aspect. Subsequently this has a positive impact on the *illustrative turn*: the exhibition context itself contributes to the unveiling of this narrative fragment, and effectively enriches and extends the possibilities of this framework to fully realise the *archive as illustrated space*. The dual-installation aspect of this *illustrated space* assists in advancing the audience participatory element, whilst offering the work to a wider context.

Response to the *archive as illustrated space*:

In the main iteration of this *archive as illustrated space* a Private View was facilitated, where viewers gathered around the shopfront and I was present to assist in their interpretation and participation of the *space*. In this instance, accompanying the 'Plan of Works' which details the captions⁴³³, was a smaller card detailing a brief biography of Annie and an overview of the PhD enquiry. This addition, when compared to the initial response and participation in previous *spaces*, really altered the viewer's role: the brief biography encouraged them to shift to an active participant quicker and, through the supported role that I took on in the Private View, the concealed narratives were unveiled and the *illustrative turns* realised by numerous viewers.

⁴³³ These captions are structured in a similar manner to the earlier *spaces*: a series of headings and then directions related to the visual signs themselves, convince and encourage the viewer to participate in the *illustrated space*.

ELIZABETH
– IN THE SHADOWS –

LIFE-STORY



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1850s Elizabeth Bostock was the daughter of Henry Bostock and was born on the 25th October, 1859.

1860s

1870s

1880s

Elizabeth married Edward Henry Bostock, her first cousin, on the 16th August 1881 at the St. Edward the Confessor, Old Church, Leek⁴³⁴. Little is known of Elizabeth before her marriage and the only located photograph of her is a portrait taken on her wedding day – later printed in an edition of *The World's Fair* newspaper⁴³⁵. Together Elizabeth and her husband Edward became world-famous with Bostock & Wombwell's Menagerie, travelling the breadth of the United Kingdom – later their sons took the concept to America, South Africa and Australia⁴³⁶. Their business travelled until 1931, making it the last menagerie on the road. It survived Elizabeth's death amongst other family strife⁴³⁷.

⁴³⁴ John Middlemiss, *A Zoo on Wheels, Bostock & Wombwell's Menagerie*, (Burton-on-Trent: Dalebrook Publications, 1987), p.4.

⁴³⁵ *The World's Fair*, No. 688, November 17th, 1917.

⁴³⁶ *The World's Fair*, No. 170, December 14th, 1907.

⁴³⁷ *The World's Fair*, No. 1,408, September 5th, 1931.



438

1882

With Edward, Elizabeth went on to have five sons and three daughters: Edward Henry Augustus, 'Gus', in 1882; Francis in 1883; Alexander Gordon in 1884; Arthur Douglas Fairgrieve in 1886; John Reginald Wombwell in 1888; Violet Hilda in 1891; Lucy Constance Jackson in 1894; and Frances Elizabeth in 1900. All of her children Elizabeth gave birth to in a living wagon, surrounded by their menagerie's wild beasts on whichever tober they were currently open at⁴³⁹. She lost one child in infancy and two sons in World War I – the latter causing her great pain and eventually contributing to her death⁴⁴⁰.

1883

1884

⁴³⁸ *The World's Fair*, No. 688, November 17th, 1917.

⁴³⁹ Scrivens & Smith, *Anderton & Rowland's: Illusion & Reality*, p.4.

⁴⁴⁰ *The World's Fair*, No. 1,214, December 17th, 1927.

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1885

Elizabeth is first mentioned in association with Anderton & Rowland's: she employed George De-Vey as an elephant boy in 1885⁴⁴¹ – he later went on to marry Martha. At the time, Martha's family were invested in a travelling menagerie, 'Fourpawrs', basing their ideas on those of Bostock & Wombwell's – before finding themselves in debt from financial setbacks associated with the running of one⁴⁴². Whilst they were both open with menageries at Stourpaine, Elizabeth assisted Martha in sorting out her firm's finances⁴⁴³.

1900

1901

1890s

1901

⁴⁴¹ Middlemiss, *A Zoo on Wheels, Bostock & Wombwell's Menagerie*, p.46.

⁴⁴² Kevin Scrivens & Stephen Smith, *Anderton & Rowland's: Illusion & Reality* (Telford: New Era Publications, 2008), p.17.

⁴⁴³ Scrivens & Smith, *Anderton & Rowland's: Illusion & Reality*, p.17.

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1902

1903



1904

1905



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1906

1907



1908

1909



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1910

1911



1912

1913



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1914



In 1914, Elizabeth's actions mirror those of Annie Holland's with her donation to *The World's Fair* appeal to support the Hancock family after the arson attack on their fairground⁴⁴⁴. It is noted that Mr. & Mrs. E. Bostock's arrival with their menagerie into the West Country was a "most fortuitous event": they held a benefit for Hancocks, before offering them a substantial loan⁴⁴⁵.



1916

1915

Elizabeth's absence is hinted at in an article from *The World's Fair* in March 1915, when the reporter writes that: "it was a matter of surprise to hear Mrs. E. Bostock speak to say a cheering announcement that the house is full – truly a most gracious lady"⁴⁴⁶. The truth here could be that the reporter was surprised to hear her speak, rather than a comment on the sold-out nature of the show.



1917



In 1917 Bostock & Wombwell's bought out Sedgwick's Menagerie, becoming the sole menagerie-traveller in England⁴⁴⁷. With this purchase came the ownership of Lizzie the Elephant, who was currently requisitioned to the War Department. Lizzie later became Elizabeth's favourite.

⁴⁴⁴ *The World's Fair*, No. 488, January 17th, 1914.

⁴⁴⁵ *The World's Fair*, No. 488, January 17th, 1914.

⁴⁴⁶ *The World's Fair*, No. 557, March 13th, 1915.

⁴⁴⁷ *The World's Fair*, No. 658, August 25th, 1917.

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1918

1919



1920

1921



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1922

1923



1924

1925



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1926
It is in the 1926 reports of Lizzie’s death that traits of Elizabeth Bostock’s character are most clear: it is reported that “during the pathetic scene of Lizzie’s death, Mrs. E. Bostock was weeping”⁴⁴⁸.



1928

1927
The absence of Elizabeth Bostock is reflected in the lack of newspaper articles concerning her death – unusually this wasn’t extensively reported by *The World’s Fair*. Only two articles mentioned her illness, one reported her death and there was no report of her funeral⁴⁴⁹. It is known that she died at a Glasgow Nursing Home (rather than whilst travelling) on the 12th December, 1927, following six years of suffering with heart trouble, principally brought on by the loss of two of her two sons in World War I. It is commented that she was of an extremely kind disposition and always tried to be of service to others. Edward Bostock remarried just three weeks after Elizabeth’s death⁴⁵⁰: as such no memorials were ever placed for her.

1929

⁴⁴⁸ *The World’s Fair*, No. 1,399, July 4th, 1931.

⁴⁴⁹ *The World’s Fair*, No. 1,211, November 26th, 1927 and *The World’s Fair*, No. 1,213, December 10th, 1927 reported her illness, whilst *The World’s Fair*, No. 1,214, December 17th, 1927 reported her death.

⁴⁵⁰ Scrivens & Smith, *Anderton & Rowland’s: Illusion & Reality*, p.5.

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1930

1931



1932

1933



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1934

1935



1936

1937



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1938

1939



1940

1941



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1942

1943



1944

1945



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1946

1947



1948

1949



3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, LIFE-STORY – SECTION C:

1950

1951



1952

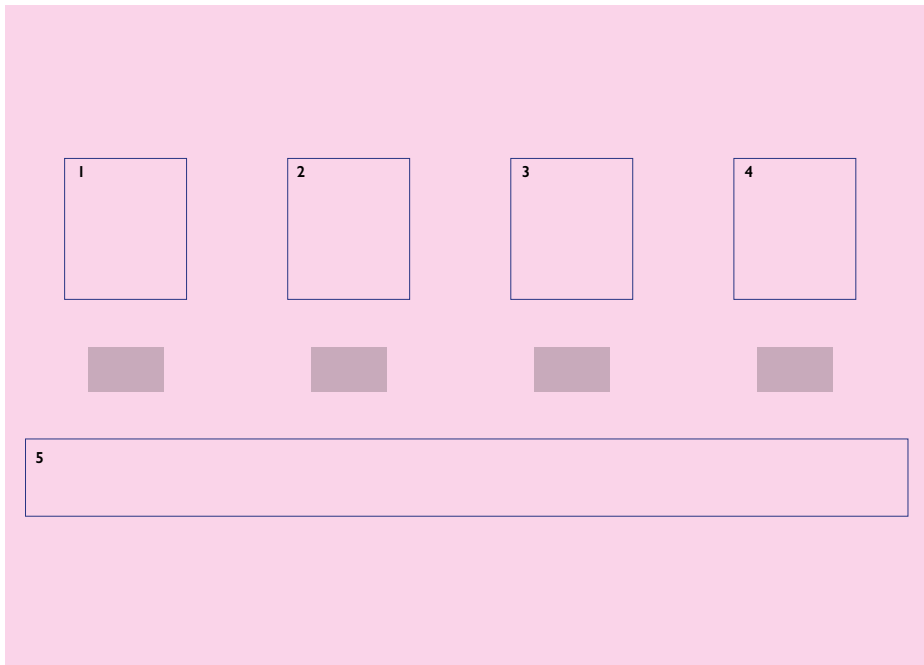
1953



ELIZABETH
– IN THE SHADOWS –

EXHIBITION REFLECTION

*Installed at The Great Dorset Steam Fair (GDSF),
Dorset, August 2019 - September 2019.*



1. **Lizzie: Striding Along**
E.B: She was weeping
2. **Martha: Mesmeric Subject**
E.B: She lent a hand.
3. **Sophie: Colourful Language**
E.B: She lent a hand.
4. **Annie: Challenging Patrons**
E.B: She donated to the appeal.
5. **... and the House is Full:**
E.B: She was truly a most gracious lady.

Her absence is denoted by the lack of signwriting.

■ documents its position in the original *archive as illustrated space*.

Red – denotes the context of Lizzie. Yellow – denotes the context of Martha.
Blue – denotes the context of Sophie. Green – denotes the context of Annie.

The Context:

The final iteration of an *archive as illustrated space* exists in a slightly different manner: one visual sign pertaining to Elizabeth has been exhibited in each of the four earlier *spaces*, as such Elizabeth exists and is re-established as the backbone to the five females pertinent to this PhD enquiry. It should be noted that this decision has been dictated to from the archival and oral history research, in which the identity of Elizabeth remained almost absent. She is only mentioned in three newspaper fragments: in conversation or relation to the other four females; to a reporter, when acknowledging the capacity and popularity of her business; and in regard to her death. As such, the fifth *archive as illustrated space* broke with the majority of the constraints set and instead housed an artwork first exhibited in each of the four earlier *spaces*, alongside one artwork made to convey her death.

The culmination of this *space* – the installation of it in its entirety – also took a different approach. This *archive as illustrated space* sits somewhere between the installations ‘Lizzie: Striding Along’ and ‘Martha: Mesmeric Subject’, and the more unpredictable, in terms of the viewer, ‘Annie: Challenging Patrons’. It is closest to, in its manifestation, ‘Sophie: Colourful Language’ – but only in regard to the audience (the fairground), not its immediate context (a fairground wagon in ‘Sophie: Colourful Language’ as compared to a location within a fairground for ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’).

The Use of Captions:

The constraints set for the writing of the captions – acting as directions to the viewer and offered as the ‘Plan of Works’ – remained as such in ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’, if we consider their structure: first the headline and then the direction (Fig. 51). However, in the instance of the first four signs, rather than hinting at the narrative fragment, the headline referred to the original location

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' – At the Fairground.



'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' – At the Fairground.

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

of the sign: another female's *archive as illustrated space*. The directions, for the first four *spaces*, were a copy of those used previously – with the addition of Elizabeth's initials. This was to direct the viewer to unveiling what this action of Elizabeth's entailed: the impact her choice had on the overall narrative. The fifth headline and direction is presented in the same manner (with Elizabeth's initials) but pertains to the sign only exhibited in her actual *illustrated space*. The additional details on the 'Plan of Works' assist the viewer in understanding the impact and importance of Elizabeth's continued absence, in the context of this enquiry, and highlight her relationship with the other four females: their denoted colours encourage the viewer to realise which visual sign connects them to Elizabeth, and subsequently the visual qualities of their *space*, through the photograph. This technique extends the viewer's understanding and awareness of the breadth of the PhD enquiry, particularly those that are encountering 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' as their initial *archive as illustrated space*.

In 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' an extension of this Plan of Works was offered. Taking the form of a small card, detailing a brief biography of Annie herself and an overview of the PhD enquiry, it appeared to really alter and encourage the viewer's role, to become an active participatory one. Due to this success, a small card was produced for Elizabeth and offered to the viewer alongside the 'Plan of Works' (Fig.52). Similarly to the Private View element of 'Annie: Challenging Patrons', in 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' I took on a supportive role throughout the duration of the installation: in doing so my presence, alongside the card, encouraged the viewer in their active role. Subsequently, the concealed narratives were unveiled and the *illustrative turn* realised by numerous viewers.

The Participant's Active Journey:

In the parameters of 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows', the visual language does not

ELIZABETH BOSTOCK

Elizabeth (1859 - 1927) travelled with the world-famous Bostock & Wombwell Menagerie for the majority of her life – determined first by her birth as a Bostock, and later through marrying her first cousin. Travelling the breadth of the United Kingdom, she birthed all eight of her children in a living wagon, at whichever ground they were currently residing at.

Interestingly, despite travelling with the business most-featured in *The World's Fair* newspaper (if compared to the other four females), Elizabeth's identity remains almost absent from archival documentation. The newspaper fragments that do locate Elizabeth are in connection with the other four females, thus she has featured in all of their *illustrated spaces*. In doing so her identity is subsequently re-established and in this instance is installed as a complete *space*, due to including the narrative depicting her death.

ANNIE HOLLAND

Annie (1844-1923) travelled with a fairground in the Derbyshire area and spent her entire life on the road – except for her brief time in London upon her marriage to an East End Butcher, whom she had six sons with. Returning to the fairground from London, in 1901, she began travelling a Bioscope Show (an early form of cinema) – holding 1,000 people at a time, she became known as a Bioscope Pioneer. This success facilitated her to become the first woman to purchase and drive a steam engine – 'Challenger'. Until her death her address remained as Mile End, London, despite her estrangement from both her husband and the place.

This exhibition tells fragments of Annie's life, which are collated from extensive archival and oral history research. Conversations with Annie's great-granddaughter, Florence, and Dick, who now owns Annie's steam engine, have proved invaluable to the work.

Fig.52: Supportive Biographical Cards

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

have as strong a shift – in colour, typeface and fabrication of the sign – as it did in the four earlier *spaces*, but still assists in building tension to unveil the *illustrative turn* pertinent to Elizabeth, whilst simultaneously working to re-establish her identity. The moments when she collided or interacted with the other four females are still traceable, as is the understanding that Elizabeth herself remains an absent presence. Of course, these four signs demand the active participation of the viewer, to decode their content through interpreting the shadows of the lettering and fragments (Fig.53).



Fig.53: 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' – Close-Ups: Typefaces & Colour

This participation was enriched by a shift in the demography of viewers. In 'Annie: Challenging Patrons' the *space* was installed in a butchers shopfront, and thus it was assumed the viewer would have little or no knowledge of the fairground. However, 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows', in the same manner as the first three illustrated *spaces*, attracted a viewing audience of – more than likely – those interested in the fairground industry⁴⁵¹. To extend this narrative, this context had other connections to Elizabeth, existing in three-dimensional objects, such as the steam engines and living wagons she once owned. Furthermore, direct descendants (great-grandchildren) of Elizabeth viewed the exhibition⁴⁵², and interacted actively with the content.

Constructing a (Methodological) Visual Language:

Initially this *space* was installed under a different guise, a visual sign concealed in each of the four *spaces*, effectively staggering the reveal of the *illustrative turn*. This curation provided a broader, more explicit commentary on the threads that connect all of these five females: through communicating and exhibiting their narratives, the females were re-established and their absence highlighted.

To elaborate on the decision to use only one tonal colour when conveying the narratives in Elizabeth's *space*, and for that colour to be pink, it is necessary to consider the impact and connotations that this colour carries when used in contemporary illustration. Ultimately, in this instance, pink is used to convey the absence of the female, and the typographic style also assists in communicating this: the background and lettering is painted pink, the shadow is left exposed as plywood – this effectively tells Elizabeth's narratives through shadows. This technique also demanded the viewer to participate in unveiling the content of the narrative in question: through actively deciphering the fragment from its shadows. In recent times, pink has been utilised to communicate an enduring cliché of femininity⁴⁵³: within the framework of

⁴⁵¹ The *space* was installed at The Great Dorset Steam Fair. This is the largest organised preservation fair in the world and attracts fairground enthusiasts alongside fairground families and showmen.

⁴⁵² This was purely by chance, they stumbled on it.

⁴⁵³ Veronika Kroller, 'Not just a Colour: Pink as a Gender and Sexuality Marker in Visual Communication', in *Visual Communication*, (London: Royal College of Art, 2008), p.395-423.

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

the *archive as illustrated space*, pink is used to refer to Elizabeth as having the same weighting as the other four females in the enquiry, despite the lack of archival documentation collated for her. When viewed as one complete *space*, ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’ considers Elizabeth as semi-present, rather than wholly absent, and the shift between pink and its darker tones – prominent in the fifth sign, only present in the context of her own *space* – dictates this.

Despite the breaking of the earlier-set constraints, certain methodologically developed techniques were re-introduced for the fabrication of ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’. These were in regard to architectural elements and platforms, first tested and evolved in ‘Lizzie: Striding Along’ and ‘Martha: Mesmeric Subject’. In this instance, a focus was on platforms and hierarchies and advancing the methods first proposed by Lissitzky of playing with the architectural elements of the signs: positioning the signs on hidden, raised platforms so they appear suspended⁴⁵⁴. When exploring and testing this method previously, its visual representation of the engineering of a fairground ride was noted, and due to ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’ installation within the location of a travelling fairground (though not interacting as explicitly as ‘Sophie: Colourful Language’ did), it was pertinent to reintroduce this constraint. As a secondary visual representation, also derived from Lissitzky’s manifesto, the visual language of the signs is conceived in order to create a hierarchy, and subsequently creates a series of shadows⁴⁵⁵.

Constructing a (Methodological) Curatorial Language:

Despite this deliberate breaking of the methodological constraint – that for each chronological narrative fragment conveyed, the number of visual artworks related – the stipulations regarding the use of illustrative typography, colour and the physical size of the artworks were still dictated by the methodology. Moreover, in this *illustrated space*, a stronger relationship with the contexts and visual qualities of the previous *spaces* was present, as was



‘Lizzie: Striding Along’



‘Martha: Mesmeric Subject’

⁴⁵⁴ ‘Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition’, Chapter 3, Section B.

⁴⁵⁵ ‘Methodologies: The Making and Curating of an Exhibition’, Chapter 3, Section B.

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:



'Sophie: Colourful Language'

the premise of both communicating a continuous narrative and the concept of absence of the female in question. This relationship with the earlier spaces was established through displaying photographic evidence of the original *archive as illustrated spaces* underneath each of the four signs, curated as the extended context in this instance. The curation dictated a hierarchy: the signs positioned on a more exaggerated level than the photographs, which were raised more than the fifth (final sign), created a hierarchical decline which signified the chronological aspects of Elizabeth's life. This curation also assisted in demonstrating how each space contributed to a larger body of work, clearly highlighting the crossovers between the females pertinent to the enquiry and effectively telling Elizabeth's stories through the shadows.



'Annie: Challenging Patrons'

The Fabrication of the Signs to House the *Illustrative Turns*:

The first four signs work to reveal qualities of Elizabeth's character: her emotional and heartfelt nature, through weeping over Lizzie's death; her supportive role, through assisting Martha's fairground for a season; her generous nature, in holding a fundraiser for Sophie; and her collaborative work, evident from her actions taken with Annie (Fig.54).

The fifth, and final, sign extends the visual language concerned with typography and colour, yet breaks the constraint in regard to size and fabrication. Architecturally, the fifth sign spans the width of the entire *archive*

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

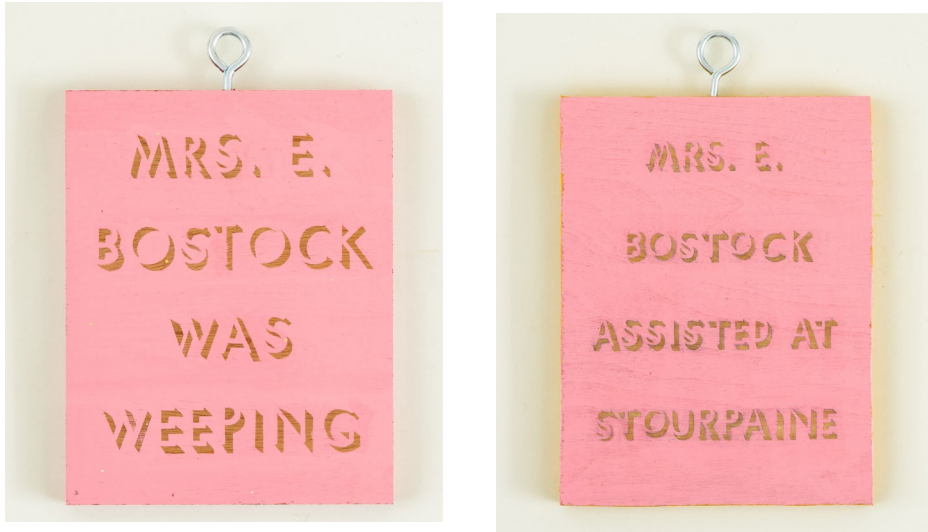


Fig.54: 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' – Signs '1' & '2'

as *illustrated space* (the total width of the first four signs). This method immediately relays a meaning to this sign, which relates to the archival documentation that inspired its content: that Elizabeth was visibly present at her fairground close to her death, and that it was a surprise to hear her speak⁴⁵⁶. The caption supports the viewer in unveiling the *illustrative turn*, denoting her presence at her fairground⁴⁵⁷, whilst simultaneously alluding to her death – as is the constraint for the fifth fragment. The caption extends this allusion to death, supporting the viewer to actively reveal it: “the house is full” holding a double meaning, referencing both the success of the fairground and Elizabeth’s own awareness that there is not any space for her (Fig.55).

Contextualising the installation as an *archive as illustrated space*:

To conclude, in corroboration with the findings from the spaces ‘Sophie:

⁴⁵⁶ Inspired by an article found in *The World’s Fair*, No. 557, March 13th, 1915, which reports that they were surprised to hear Mrs. E. Bostock speak to say a cheering announcement that the house is full – this has been taken as both a surprise of the success and of hearing her actually speak.

⁴⁵⁷ From research, it has been established that Edward Bostock, Elizabeth’s husband, remarried only three weeks after her death, and never placed a memorial for her in *The World’s Fair* newspaper.

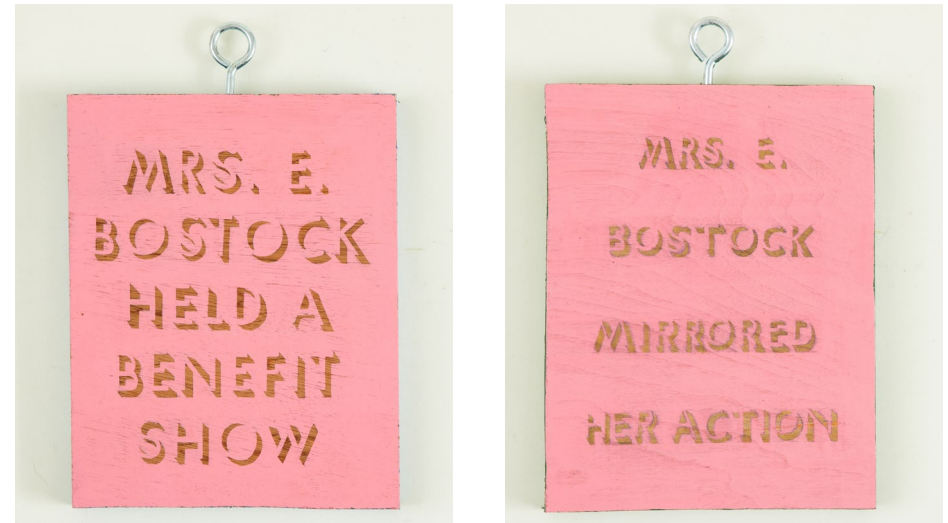


Fig.54: 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' – Signs '3' & '4'

Colourful Language’ and ‘Annie: Challenging Patrons’, ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’ confirms that an *archive as illustrated space* can be installed outside of the traditional contexts of the exhibition, namely a gallery, museum or archive. However, it became evident that to offer and encourage an active participatory role for the viewer – through the physical manipulations of the visual signs – the components employed in the previous *spaces* were successful: this can be confirmed through the absence of these components in ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’ and the subsequent lack of physical interaction from the viewer themselves. ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’ has proved an interesting final test of the *archive as illustrated space* framework: not necessarily focused on advancing any particular components of the framework, instead this iteration was predominantly concerned with both the conveying and impact of a complex narrative. This iteration demonstrated that it is possible to convey a narrative over a series of *illustrated spaces* and for

3. ELIZABETH: IN THE SHADOWS, EXHIBITION REFLECTION – SECTION C:

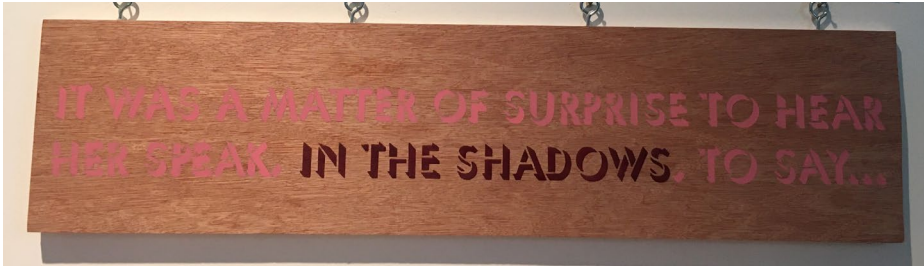


Fig.55: 'Elizabeth: In the Shadows' – Sign '5'

these to fully take effect in the final iteration, thus creating and embedding a more complex and engaging narrative. Furthermore, this clearly demonstrates that highlighting absences, and indeed the semi-presence, of females is possible through utilising this framework, in a manner simultaneous to that of re-establishing the females' identities.

3. CONCLUSION – SECTION D:

This chapter re-establishes the identities of the five fairground females in question, and documents the application of the extensive archival and oral history research to the theoretical and methodological framework, in order to construct their life-stories and build a series of *archives as illustrated space*. In doing so, the creation of a series of visually engaging *spaces*, which actively involve and are therefore rewarding for the viewer, not only contributes to the re-establishing of these identities but also, in each iteration, evolves the premise of what an *archive as illustrated space* can be – refining its framework. Within this, the physical *spaces* allow the females to ‘take up space’ in a variety of contexts, in which they have not been present before. The geographical scale of this context can be mapped across the breadth of the country: static *illustrated spaces* were installed in Cornwall and Devon, Sheffield and London; whilst transient *spaces* travelled with fairgrounds across the West Country, from Cornwall to Dorset. The transient *spaces* attracted a widespread audience: ‘Sophie: Colourful Language’ accrued c.111,000 visitors whilst at the Royal Cornwall Show fairground and ‘Elizabeth: In the Shadows’ hosted c.170,000 visitors during its installation at The Great Dorset Steam Fair.

Acting as a stepping stone to this visual output, and located as a prelude to each *illustrated space*, are the life-stories, in which this archival and oral history research is formatted and collated chronologically. Through design tactics, these life-stories allow the pertinent females to be seen as having an equal weighting, an equal importance: the allocated space for each female’s life-story is constant, the gaps shift in each in regard to the content and mass of the story collated. The stories are formed of narrative fragments extracted from both the systematic archival and oral history research undertaken and are supported by the archival photographs – as such the tone imitates and represents these research sources.

Working alongside the life-stories, the exhibition reflections document the active engagement with the theoretical premise of the *archive as illustrated space* demonstrating how the practice outputs not only produce artworks to satisfy this framework, but evolve it in each iteration. Here, the practice conceptually and physically illustrates the absent females in order for them to become present, re-establishing their identities. As a complete *archive as illustrated space*, (considering the five installations together), forty-five original signs were produced and exhibited alongside four manipulated three-dimensional objects (Fig.47). The scale of the signs range from those viewed on a tabletop (the smallest sign measuring 150mm by 20mm) to a sign spanning the width of the back of a travelling fairground wagon (measuring 2,700mm in width). The complete *space* is supported by the archival research collated and presented as a series of timelines, housed in fourteen bespoke clam-shell archival boxes. A summative exhibition has been commissioned by Cecil Sharp House, London and will be installed in Spring 2021. This marks the first instance in which the *archive as illustrated space* will be showcased in its entirety.

3. CONCLUSION – SECTION D:

A reflection for each *illustrated space* dissects both the thinking and making process – in connection with both the methodological approach and the theoretical framework. These reflections document the visuals of each *archive as illustrated space* – the installation as a whole and the individual works – and detail both the curatorial and design choices made, as well as the methods deployed to build narrative tension and to execute the *illustrative turns*. As they progress, each reflection builds upon the previous one: outlining how concepts of the framework continued to be tested and evolved in each iteration. These evolved concepts predominantly focused on: the role of the context of the *space*, how this can function as a communicator to the narratives held within; the investigation of how to illustrate absence as well as presence; and the role of the viewer, how to encourage and entice an active participation.

The success of encouraging the viewer to actively participate is ultimately strengthened by the use of captions and, latterly, the inclusion of postcards with a brief biography – these act as a stepping stone for the viewer, an accessible way in. Upon reflection, it is clear that on instances where my role in the *illustrated space* was of a presence – as a performative speaker, or through interacting with descendants or those with preconceived knowledge of the fairground industry – the viewer is assisted in their participation of the *space*, and subsequently takes on a more active role. This is evidenced from qualitative feedback gathered from written, postcard responses. Examples of these responses include: “the methodological approach you developed to present research, alongside the exhibition itself, was so fascinating”⁴⁵⁸, from ‘Lizzie: Striding Along’; and “to learn about a specific fairground woman was so interesting – please continue as you are, it’s brilliant”⁴⁵⁹, from ‘Martha: Mesmeric Subject’.

Each manifestation of the *archive as illustrated space* holds a multitude of *illustrative turns* – the reveal of which relies on this active participation of the viewer. These *turns* correspond with moments of reveal in the female in question’s life-story, and assist in building the narrative tension of the *space*. Upon acknowledgement of these *turns*, it is imperative to say that despite any possible misdirections, the important and engaging fragments of the females’ stories ensure that the argument for each of them to be re-established remains valid. It is purely in regard to pacing the reveal of narrative information, and encouraging the active participation of the viewer, that these *turns* are present. Though there is a *space* dedicated to each female, they are working as one cohesive body of *spaces*, and as such there are crossovers of narratives and content between them. This is also true of the *illustrative turns*, which is evident upon their reveal:

- Lizzie was enlisted for munitions work in World War I because she was a female elephant.
- Martha married one of her workmen in secret, and later their partnership – and her decision to burn down Sophie’s fairground, framing it on the Suffragettes – ensured her fairground’s success.

⁴⁵⁸ Catherine Kennedy, Written Postcard Response, ‘Lizzie: Striding Along’, NFCA, Sheffield, 20.11.2018.

⁴⁵⁹ Visitor No. 25, Written Postcard Response, ‘Martha: Mesmeric Subject’, Dingles Fairground Heritage Centre, Devon, 07.07.2019.

3. CONCLUSION – SECTION D:

- Sophie spent her life with a female companion, Phillis, whom she kept hidden. She attempted to envisage a successful fairground through the use of lurid (but false) advertisement posters.
- Annie stated she was a widow, whereas in fact she had left her husband, and repeatedly fooled both the public and the law through her deceptive actions.
- Elizabeth’s narrative fragments were present in the above four installations, yet her own presence is not firmly established: instead the *turn* is that it is surprising to hear her speak within her own fairground.

For the viewer, realising these *illustrative turns* offers the ultimate reward: the completion of the narrative and subsequently, a fuller understanding of the life-story for the female in question. The partial telling of these lives, combined with the partial concealment of the narrative fragments, highlights both the fragility of these narratives and how, when the viewer is active in their interpretations, the narratives become more stabilised – the *illustrative turns* assisting in this process. This particular approach to the material is also undertaken in order to demonstrate the benefit of the co-creation, or indeed formation, element of these narratives which aligns with the theoretical grounding previously established.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION:

This PhD enquiry builds a theoretical framework for constructing an *archive as illustrated space* which is then tested in practice to evolve its components and possibilities. Using an illustrative approach the identities of fairground females are re-established in an archival manner. The framework subsequently becomes the mechanism for achieving the construction of an *archive as illustrated space* and, within the context of illustration, illuminates the stories of these fairground females. Here, the contribution is to both illustration and the archive. Firstly, to the discourse of illustration, in regard to the framework – through expanding the possibilities and methods that are offered to the researching illustrator – and through establishing the principles of the *illustrative turn*. Secondly, to the NFCA, in regard to the re-establishing of the identities of fairground females. In this instance, the research opens up the archive to be a space that can be considered illustrative and as a structure that practitioners can engage with in a particularly dynamic and engaging way. Throughout there is a concern for how the archive currently exists, and for what it can become, within the context of illustration research and practice.

We can determine that the framework of the *archive as illustrated space* is structured from many theoretical standpoints, evolving into a body of components that can be applied by the practitioner to their archival research. This framework is underpinned by both an awareness and utilisation of the gaps commonly found in archives; and by the understanding and control held by the practitioner in accordance with the position they are in.

Within this enquiry, the framework for an *archive as illustrated space* was theoretically constructed in order to establish it as a tool that could be applied by illustrative practitioners to their archival research. In doing so it became possible to consolidate the findings, to evidence how working with both systematic methods and theoretical grounding has informed this construction of an *archive as illustrated space* – advancing this use of the archive as compared to its current employment by archival artists. A secondary premise of this investigation demonstrates how practitioners – fundamentally illustrators, though the framework is transferable to other visual disciplines – can consider and evolve their approach to organising and redeploying the archival material they intend to creatively reconstruct or reframe.

An archive is formed of fragmentary evidence, but it is afforded an authority of truth – and thus offers a powerful position to the maker and/or author⁴⁶⁰. Within the framework of the *archive as illustrated space* this dynamic is evolved: through the fabrication of the *illustrative turn* an archival space that is layered with “secrecy and mystery”⁴⁶¹ is created, affording the practitioner an active, powerful position. This allows the practitioner to draw the viewer’s attention to the perceived authority of the archive – highlighting to them the gaps, tensions and biases within archival structures.

⁴⁶⁰ Foster, ‘An Archival Impulse’, p.144.

⁴⁶¹ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.2.

CONCLUSION:

Within this space, the *illustrative turn* possesses an ability to be multi-faceted. This further encourages the viewer to actively participate, specifically within the realms of an interactive space – which an *archive as illustrated space* exists as. Furthermore, the *illustrative turn* intends to not only engage the viewer but also to *turn* them: initially convincing them of the truth of the narratives held in the *space*, and then triggering them to question these narratives. To achieve this, my enquiry dictates that triggers (hooks) need to be rooted in recognisable elements, whether that be factual resonances or the manipulation of language, to aid the viewer's awareness of the potential misdirection.

In the PhD enquiry it is apparent that the application of the *illustrative turn* can be strengthened when applied as a series of components. These work in tandem with one another: ensuring that the *illustrative turn* can be applied in a multitude of ways, so that it remains effective to the audience. These components need not only be formed of visual means – they can also be present in written communications and evidence. However, this is only successful if the *turn* is applied within an archival space which both allows and demands the viewer to actively participate in these reconstructions.

In using this framework as a tool, the possibilities of the relationship between archival research and the illustrative practitioner are advanced, specifically when compared to the methods employed by the archival artist⁴⁶². This demonstrates how the original intention for the framework to exist as a tool to encourage and strengthen this relationship between archival research and illustrative practice is successful, in theoretical terms. The framing of illustration can challenge how the archive is currently and popularly considered as a “static space”⁴⁶³, evolving its conception to that of an active space, particularly through the implementation of the *illustrative turns*, as this has a tendency to both involve and inform the viewer. Subsequently, illustration can expand the possibilities of the archive through the inclusion of illustrative layers within its structure, to contain multi-faceted narratives. Thus, within the realm of this theoretical investigation, it is possible to conclude that the framework contributes to the critical discourse of illustration.

It was necessary to utilise this framework in practice, to test and evolve its structure through the creations of physical works, forming installations referred to as *illustrated spaces*. In doing so, and aligned with this premise of *illustration research as practice*, the enquiry satisfied the second intention: to demonstrate the absence of, and subsequently re-establish the identities of, significant fairground females. Fundamental to this, the visual communication of the research – the analysis, data and narratives collated – evidences how these findings can be both creatively and analytically communicated, through working with an illustrative approach⁴⁶⁴. In doing so, the creation of a series of visually engaging *spaces*, which actively involve and are therefore rewarding for the viewer, not only contributes to the re-establishing of these identities but also, in each

⁴⁶² These methods are extensively discussed in ‘The Artistic Archive’, Chapter 1, Section C.

⁴⁶³ Breakwell, *Perspectives: Negotiating the Archive*, p.2.

⁴⁶⁴ Here, the findings from the archival and oral history research are consolidated to effectively demonstrate that the females in question are absent within the current archival structure of the NFCA. These mapping timelines and photo analysis booklets are located in the appendices.

CONCLUSION:

iteration, evolves the premise of what an *archive as illustrated space* can be – refining the framework. Here, it becomes evident how the grounding gained through the theoretical, archival and oral research, and through the tests undertaken when exploring the concept of *illustration research as practice*, enriches and informs the framework. Subsequently, the practice conceptually and physically illustrates the absent females in order for them to become present, re-establishing their identities.

The active engagement with the theoretical premise of the *archive as illustrated space* demonstrates how the practice outputs not only satisfy this theoretical framework, but evolve it through each iteration. These evolving concerns focus on: the role of the viewer, and how to encourage them to actively participate; the role of the context of the installation space, and how this could become a communicator to the narratives held within; and the investigation of how to illustrate absence as well as presence. It is predominantly these concerns which can be considered by other illustrative practitioners upon their translation of archival research to an *illustrated space*.

Illustrating absence became fundamental to the enquiry, in regard to both what an archive is and what it can become if applied through the framework of the *archive as illustrated space*. Here it becomes apparent that negation is as important as presence: thus, the focus was on both re-establishing the females and highlighting the ways in which the female has been, and continues to be, obscured. Simultaneously realised is how the PhD itself, both in practice and in thesis, is an archival structure whose constant intention is to make the female present: both the fairground females and myself as a female archival theorist and illustrative practitioner. Evolving the premise of the *archive as illustrated space* actively engages with this illustration of absence and subsequently the females are finally able to 'take up space'. Furthermore, the contexts the *illustrated spaces* manifested themselves in allow the fairground females to take up space in fields where they have not been present before.

The PhD enquiry positions these fairground females so they become present in both an existing archive, the NFCA, and in an *archive as illustrated space*, where the components and the *illustrative turn* encourage the viewer to actively participate with fragments of their life-stories. In doing so the potential for further research, to expand the remit of this PhD enquiry, has been identified: to utilise the framework and approach to collate stories and re-establish the identities of other fairground females. Here, the established connections with the oral history participants can be utilised further: currently the discussions have centred around females two or three generations before them, but this can be broadened to collate stories of their mothers – effectively widening the timeframe of the *archive as illustrated space*. Finally, there is scope to establish the *archive as illustrated space* as an archive (in its own right), rather than solely existing as a collection in the NFCA.

CONCLUSION:

Being housed within the NFCA offers scope for others to creatively deploy the collation of the material used to re-establish the identities of the fairground females: here there is potential for other researchers to access and interpret the stories in their own manifestations, or be inspired to examine and locate other absent or hidden fairground females. Furthermore, if there is an awareness of both this construction of life-stories, and the visual *illustrated spaces* produced, other researchers could transform the work in new contexts or to a new audience. This also creates an interaction of this *design intervention* through viewing the iterations of the *archive as illustrated space* within or alongside the archive itself.

Within these *illustrated spaces*, the theoretical concept of the *illustrative turn* – which borrows from the structure of a magic trick, involving the direction, subsequent misdirection, then reveal to the reader – is applied as a component in the *archive as illustrated space*. The success of the *illustrative turn* relies on the active participation of the viewer: the attentive reader, who engages with the narrative layers held within the archival space, is rewarded by the reveal of the *illustrative turn*. This is aided, and more successful for the viewer, if the *turn* is multi-faceted. The viewer who realises the crossovers and coincidences between the *spaces*, communicated through the *turns*, is offered the ultimate reward: the completion of all of the narratives and subsequently, a fuller understanding of the life-stories for the females in question. Thus, the *illustrative turn* contributes to the illustrative practitioner's method of working: how both the viewer and the narratives held are engaged in an interesting and dynamic way.

Each manifestation of the *archive as illustrated space* holds a multitude of *illustrative turns*, which correspond with reveals of moments of the female in question's life-story, and assist in building interactive tension in the narrative of the *space*. Upon the acknowledgement of these *turns*, it is imperative to say that despite any possible misdirections, the important and engaging fragments of their stories ensures that the argument for each of them to be re-established is still valid. In this instance, the application of the *illustrative turns* is to encourage the revealing of narrative information, and subsequently the active participation of the viewer. Here, the overall ethos is of the unveiling of the truth, to re-present what was previously lost or displaced, rather than of a deception: this marks the difference in approach if compared to the archival artist.

The use of this illustrative approach establishes the importance of illustrative storytelling to the visual practitioner. This is evident upon the successful application of illustrative storytelling as an *illustrative turn* within the context of an *archive as illustrated space*: which assists in facilitating this reward for the viewer. This can be verified from an awareness of both the role of the illustrative practitioner and how utilising the visual language of illustrative storytelling allows it to function as a communication tool – specifically in the realm of the *archive as illustrated space* framework. Originally considered as a communication tool, illustration has recently experienced a period where

its function has been dissipated slightly, and instead its viewed as an image-making tool. The PhD re-establishes its potential as a communication tool through the practice of traditional signwriting – yet the framework can be adapted to other illustrative outputs, in accordance with archival research, determining that it is contributing to illustration’s discourse. The techniques employed to construct these illustrative participatory spaces, which have an impact on the viewer, demonstrates the power of illustration. It is interesting to note that these *illustrated spaces*, if viewed through this thesis only, offer the viewer a secondary viewing: in a similar manner that synthesises with the interpretation of the possibilities and parameters of the artistic archive undertaken earlier.

Recently there has been a movement within illustration for the illustrator’s authorial role as an active generator to be recognised⁴⁶⁵. However, despite these developments an illustrator’s considered and deliberate authorship is still only expected to exist and manifest itself so far. Subsequently the value and potential role of illustration is still questioned. By re-establishing illustration as a communication tool, and by devising a framework grounded in theoretical enquiry, this PhD enquiry has evidenced that the construction of an *archive as illustrated space* – to house archival and oral history research which is communicated through an illustrative language – exists as an active generator. In doing so this illuminates, in this instance, the stories of five fairground females, effectively re-establishing their identities⁴⁶⁶. Here, then, it is clear how an illustrative approach has the potential to transform other visual communication discourses, such as fine art and graphic design.

This potential to enrich other discourses is confirmed by the theoretical grounding: both through the investigations into practitioners that use the term ‘archive’ and the realisation that without the component of the *illustrative turn*, the *spaces* created are not facilitating the engagement of viewers into an active participation. For illustration to continue to expand, the parameters need to be broadened further: its fundamental role evolving to a complex communication and curatorial tool, rather than just that of an image-making tool. So, the question of ‘what illustration is’ should be reframed to ‘what is illustration communicating, or illuminating’. Then, subsequently, rather than focusing on the visuals produced – and whether they fit under the visual discipline of illustration – the focus shifts to considering what narratives are communicated: their unveiling and their subsequent illumination, evidenced by the re-establishing of fairground females in the context of this PhD enquiry.

⁴⁶⁵ Stephen Braund, *The Authorial Illustrator* (Cornwall: Atlantic Press, 2012), p.4.

⁴⁶⁶ It feels important to note here that this PhD enquiry has facilitated the completion of a body of original research into the lives of these fairground females, which exists both as a series of *illustrated spaces* and as a collation of archival and oral material, forming the life-stories.

DIAGRAMS

REFERRED TO AS 'FIGS.' IN THE TEXT



Fig.1 – Own Heritage (Film Photograph).

<u>NO.</u>	<u>YEAR BUILT</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>N.H.P.</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>SHOWLAND OWNERS</u>
2471	1902	SRL	6	'John Bull'	- John Proctor, Belper, Derbys, 1902-1906 Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1906-1915
2690	1904	RL	6	'John Bull II'	Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1923-1932
2716	1904	SRL	8	'The Showman'	A. Anderton, Middlesborough, 1904-1909 (from new)
2744	1905	RL	8	'Jumbo', (then) 'Unique'	- Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1907-1918
2804	1906	SRL	8	'The White Rose of York', (then) 'Griffin'*	Alf Payne, York Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1923-1929
3159	1909	SRL	7	'The Gladiator'*	- Anderton & Rowland , Bristol, 1909-1932 (from new) T. Whitelegg & Sons, Plymouth, 1932-1953 The Gladiator Club, Cornwall, 1953-1985 D. H. Goodwin , Cornwall, 1985-present
3441	1913	SRL	8	'William IV'	Wm. Murphy, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne Anderton & Rowland, 1934-1947 (last engine purchased by firm)
3443	1913	SRL	8	'Lord Nelson'*	- Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1913-1940 (from new) John Cole, Bristol
3833	1920	SRL	8	'Queen Mary'*	Alf Payne, York Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1923-1943
3896	1921	SRL	8	'Earl Beatty'*	Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1921-1948 (from new) (spent all her working life with the firm)
3912	1921	SRL	8	'Dragon'*	Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1921-1943 (from new) Sam Smart & Sons, Bristol
3933	1922	SRL	7	'Princess Mary'*	Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1922-1932 (from new)
19782	1932	SRL	10	'The Lion'*	Anderton & Rowland, Bristol, 1932-1950 (from new)

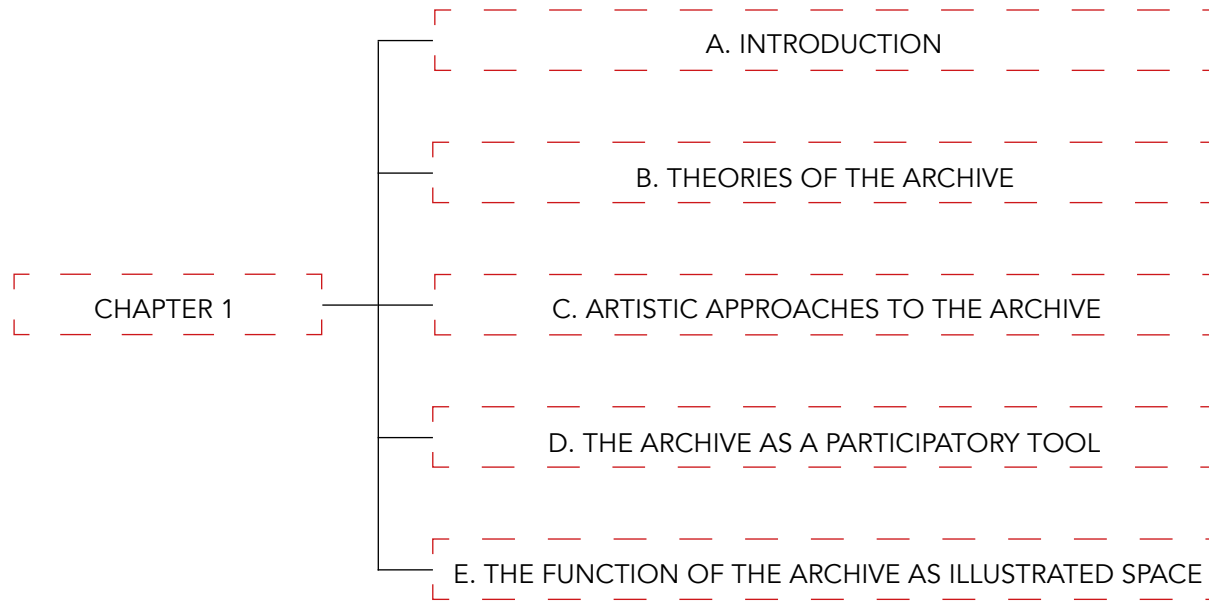
SRL: Showman's Road Locomotive
RL: Road Locomotive
N.H.P.: Horse Power

* denotes still in use today
- requisitioned by War Department
for WWI – John Bull never returned.

Fig.2 – Anderton & Rowland's Engine Ownership – determines own heritage link to fairground – [return to text](#)

KEY:

Red: theoretical underpinning
Yellow: own analysis / findings



CHAPTER 1.

THE ROLE OF THE ARCHIVE

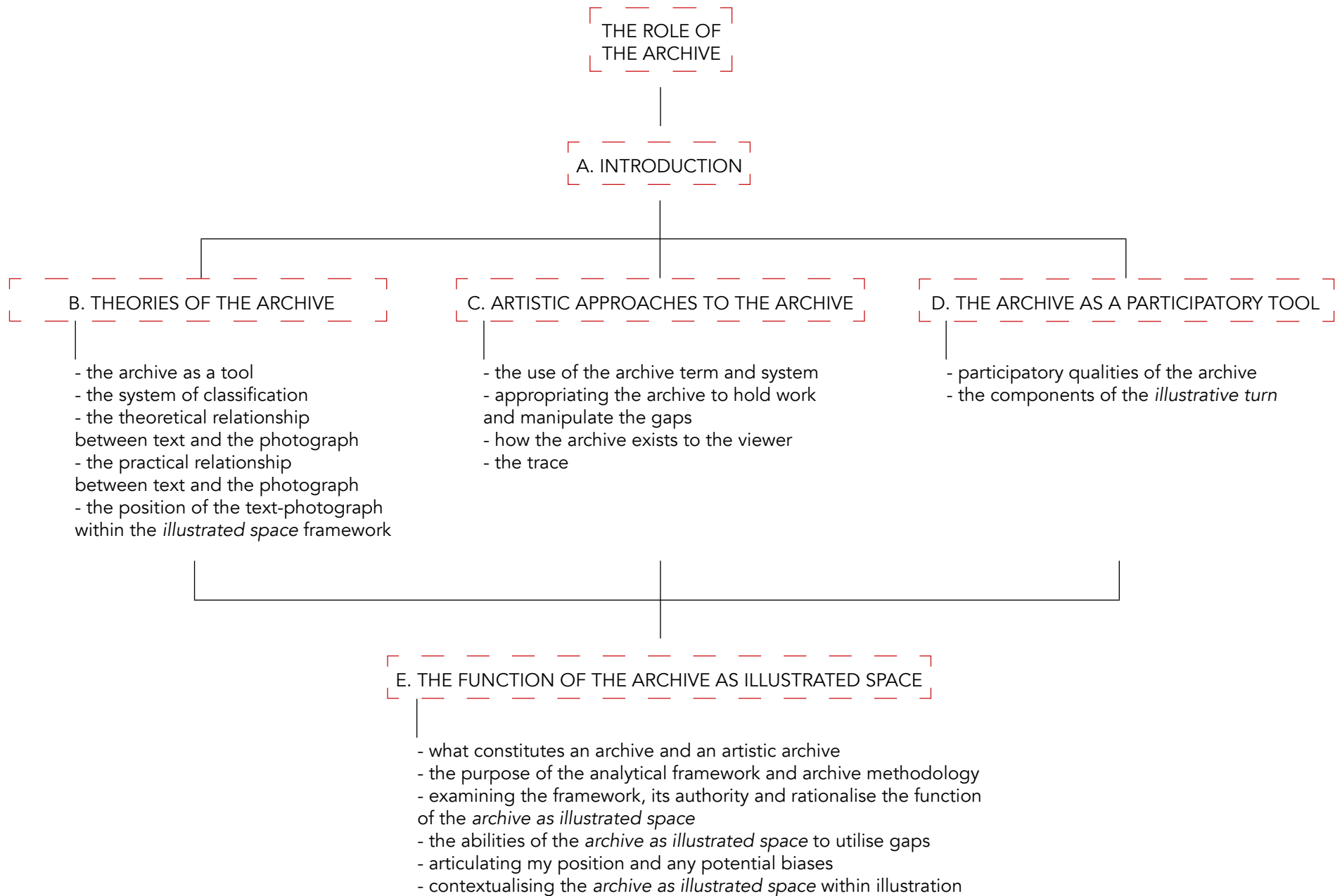


Fig. 4 – Chapter 1, 'The Role of the Archive' – [return to text](#)

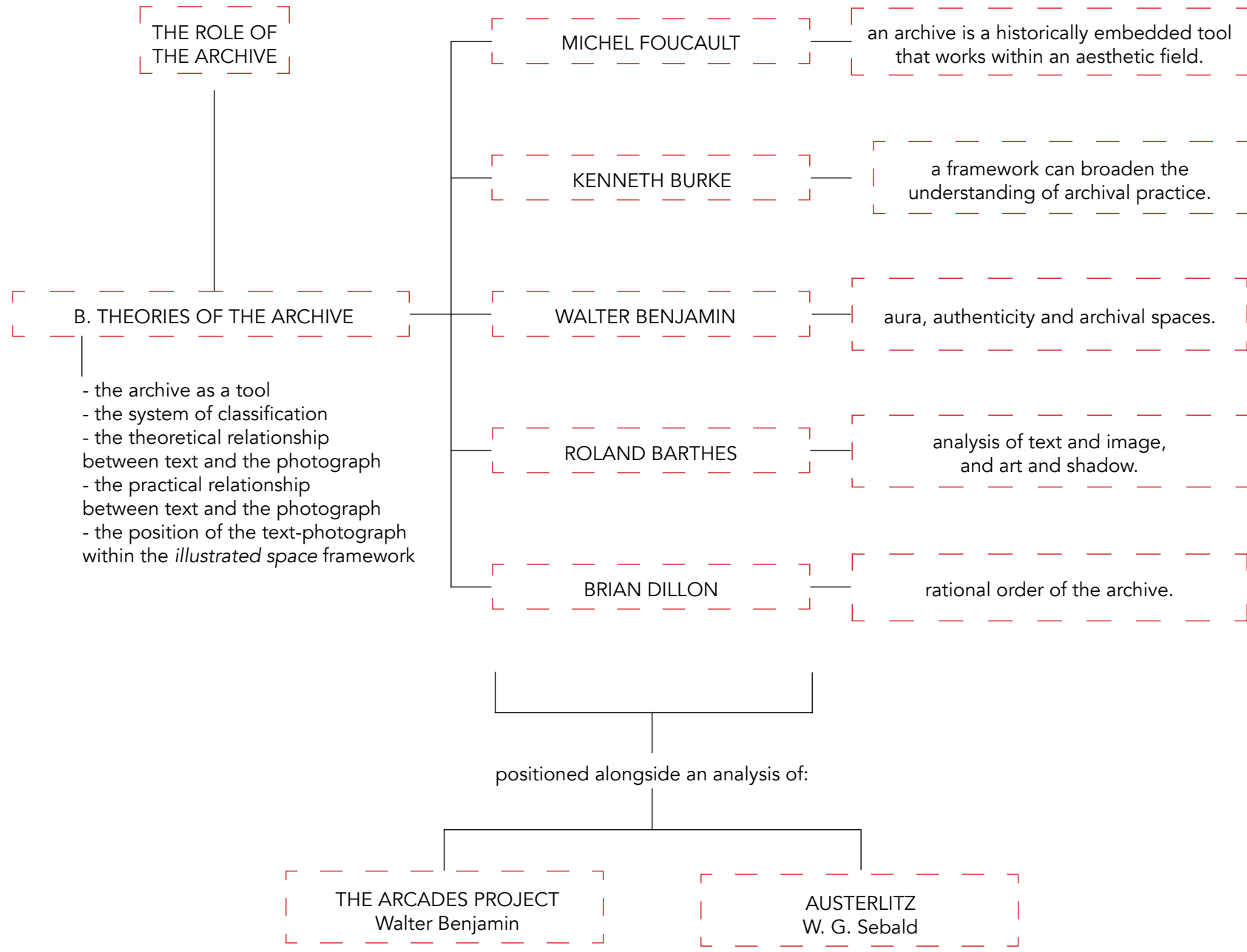


Fig. 5 – Chapter 1, Section B: 'Theories of the Archive' – [return to text](#)

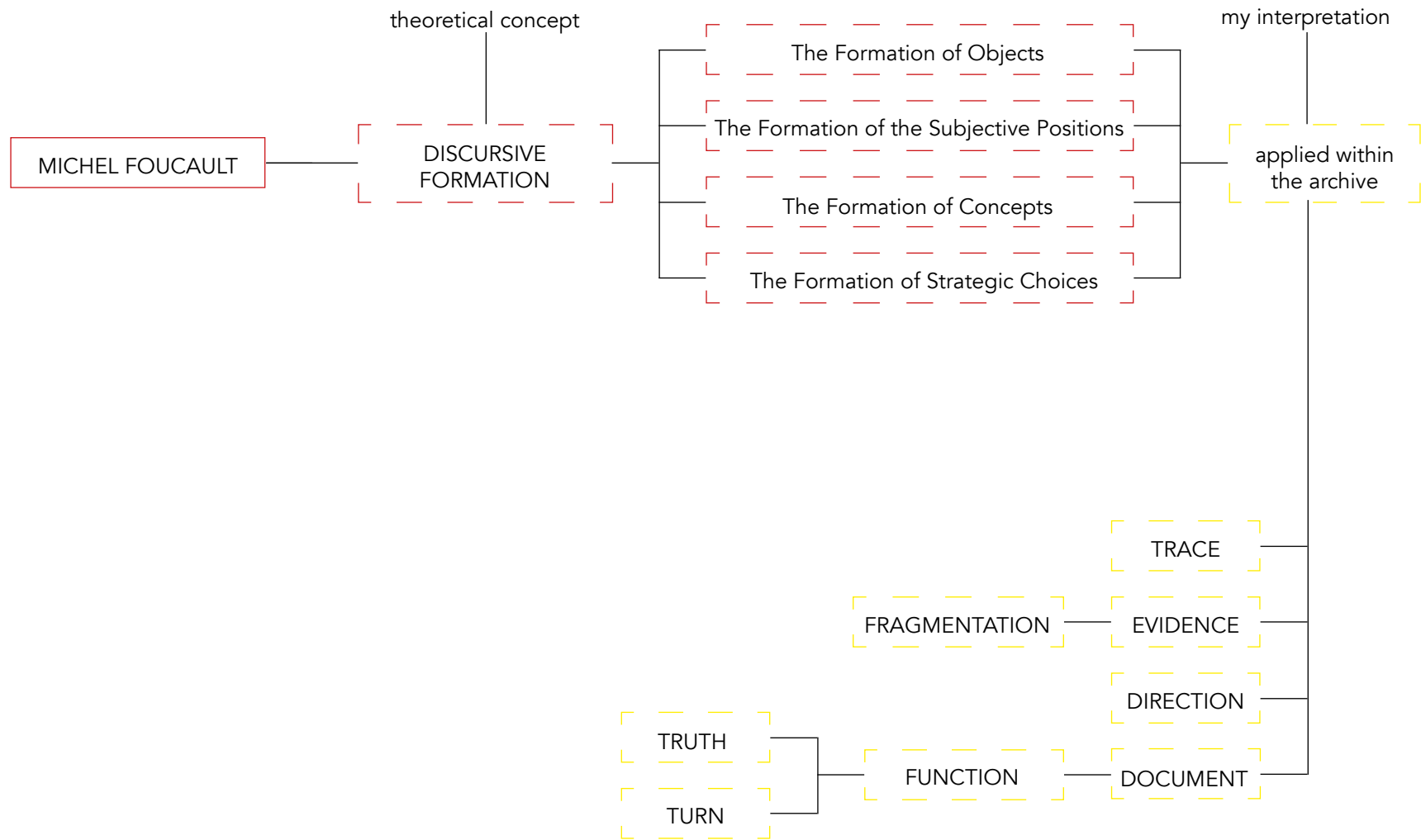


Fig. 6 – Theoretical Breakdown: Foucault – [return to text](#)

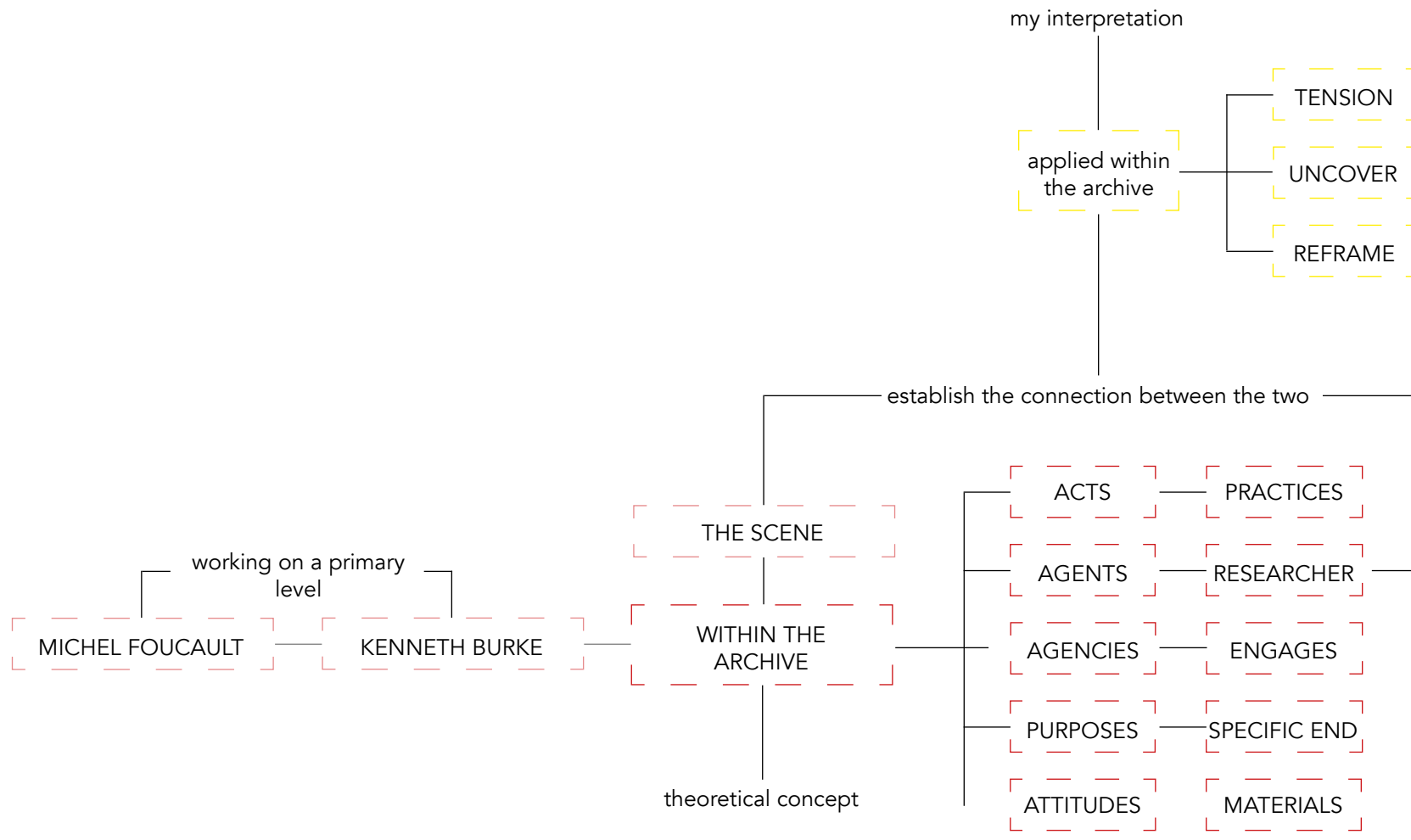


Fig. 7 – Theoretical Breakdown: Burke – [return to text](#)



Fig. 8 – Structural Breakdown: Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* – [return to text](#)

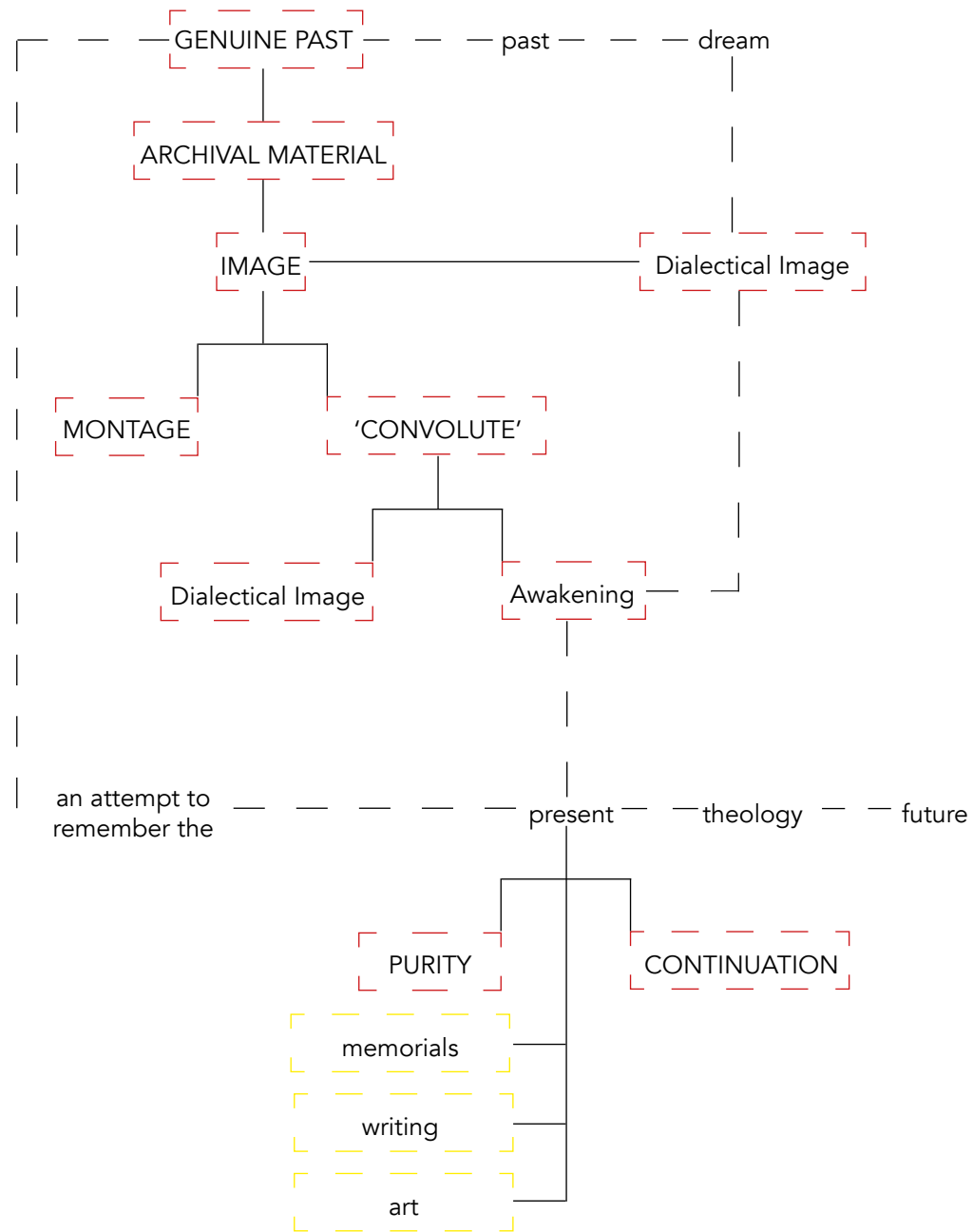


Fig. 9 – Theoretical Breakdown: Benjamin's 'convolutes' – [return to text](#)

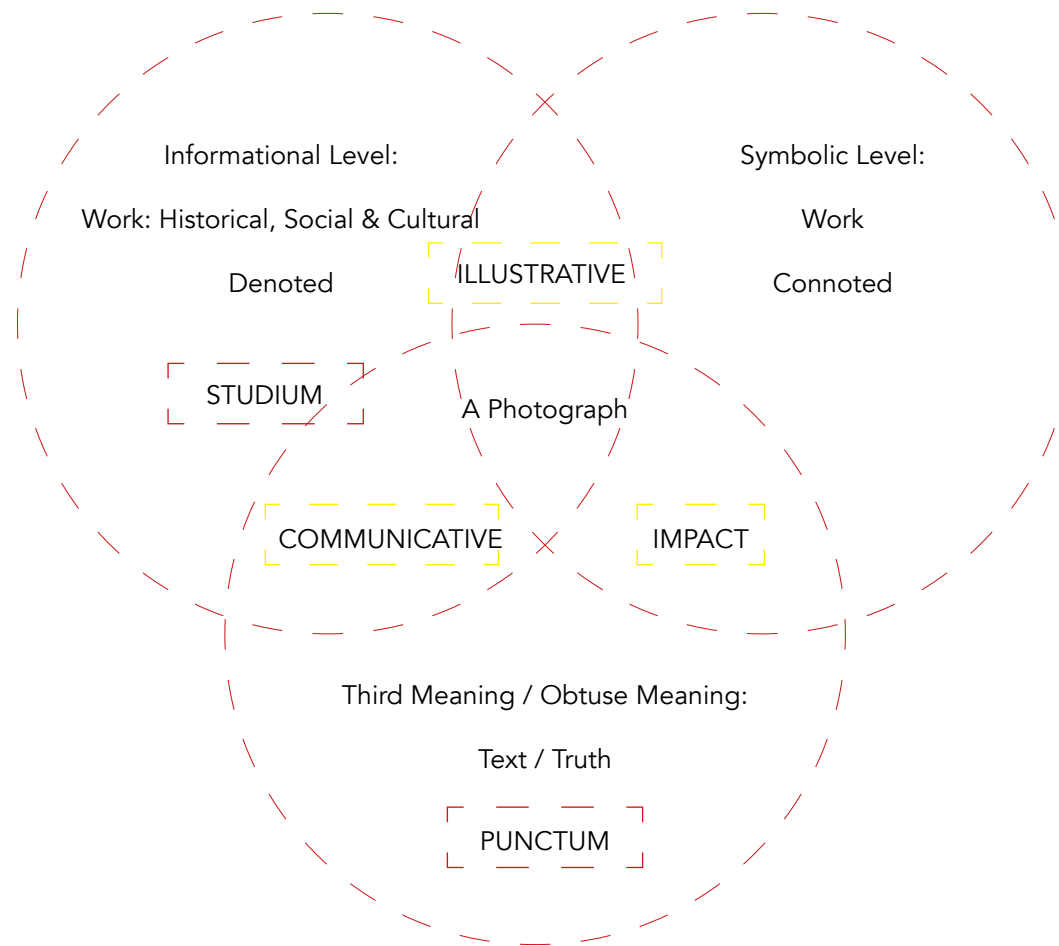


Fig. 10 – Theoretical Breakdown: Barthes' *studium* & *punctum* – [return to text](#)

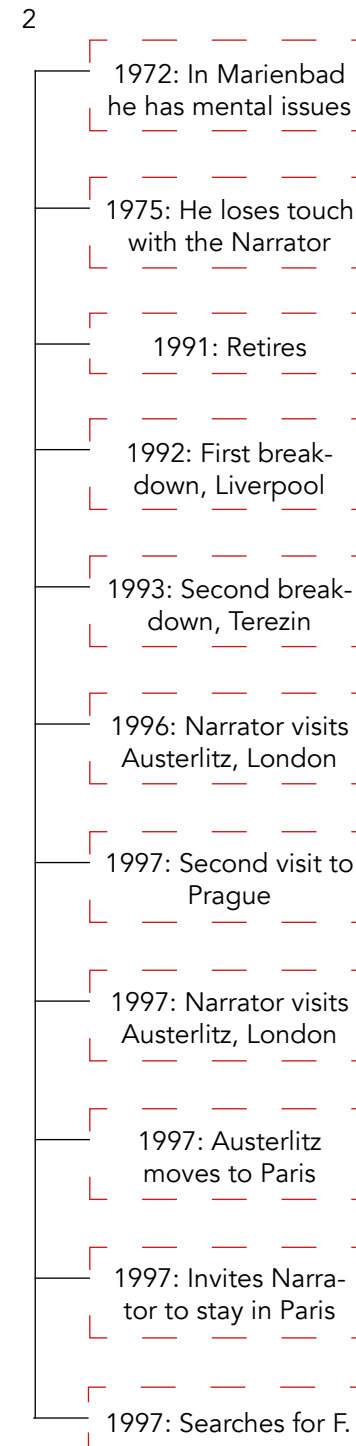
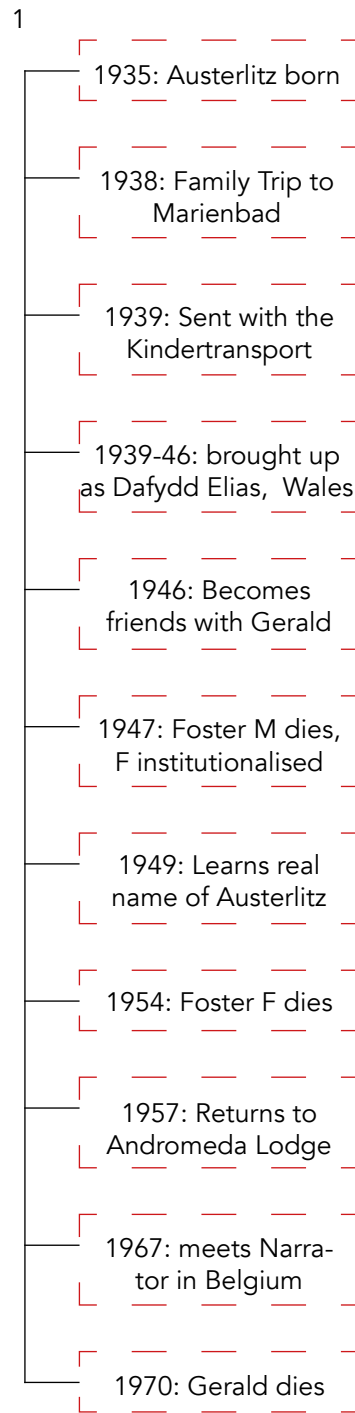


Fig. 11 – Structural Breakdown: Sebald's *Austerlitz* – [return to text](#)

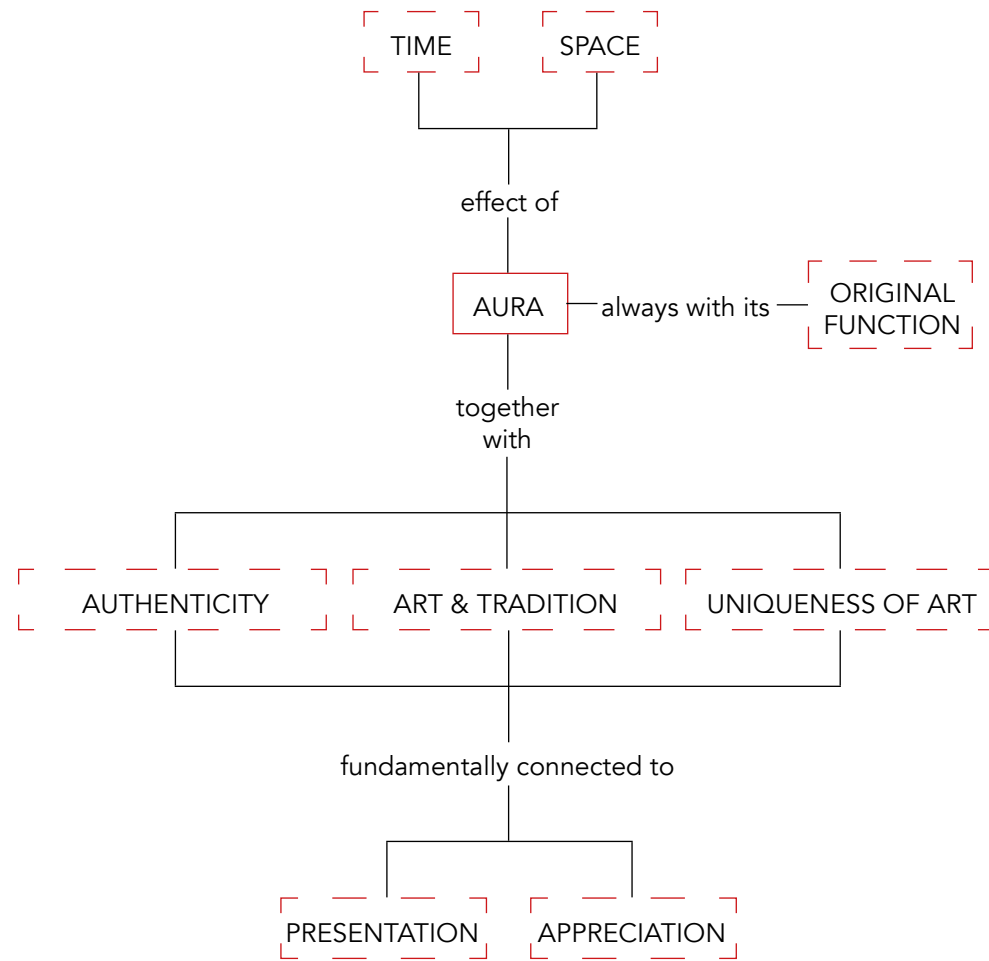


Fig. 12 – Theoretical Breakdown: Benjamin’s *aura* – [return to text](#)

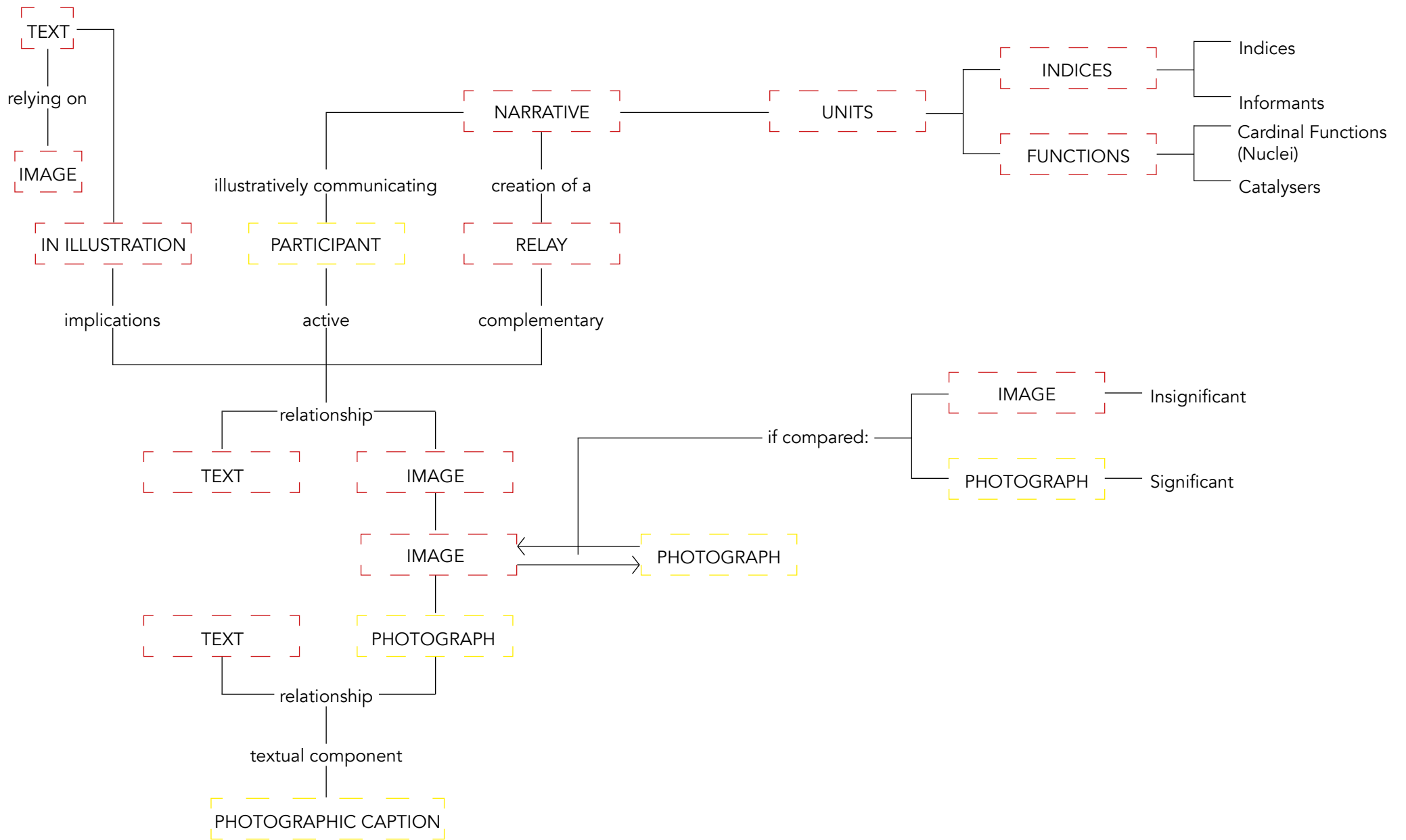


Fig. 13 – Theoretical Breakdown: Text & Image Relationship, Image as a Photograph – [return to text](#)

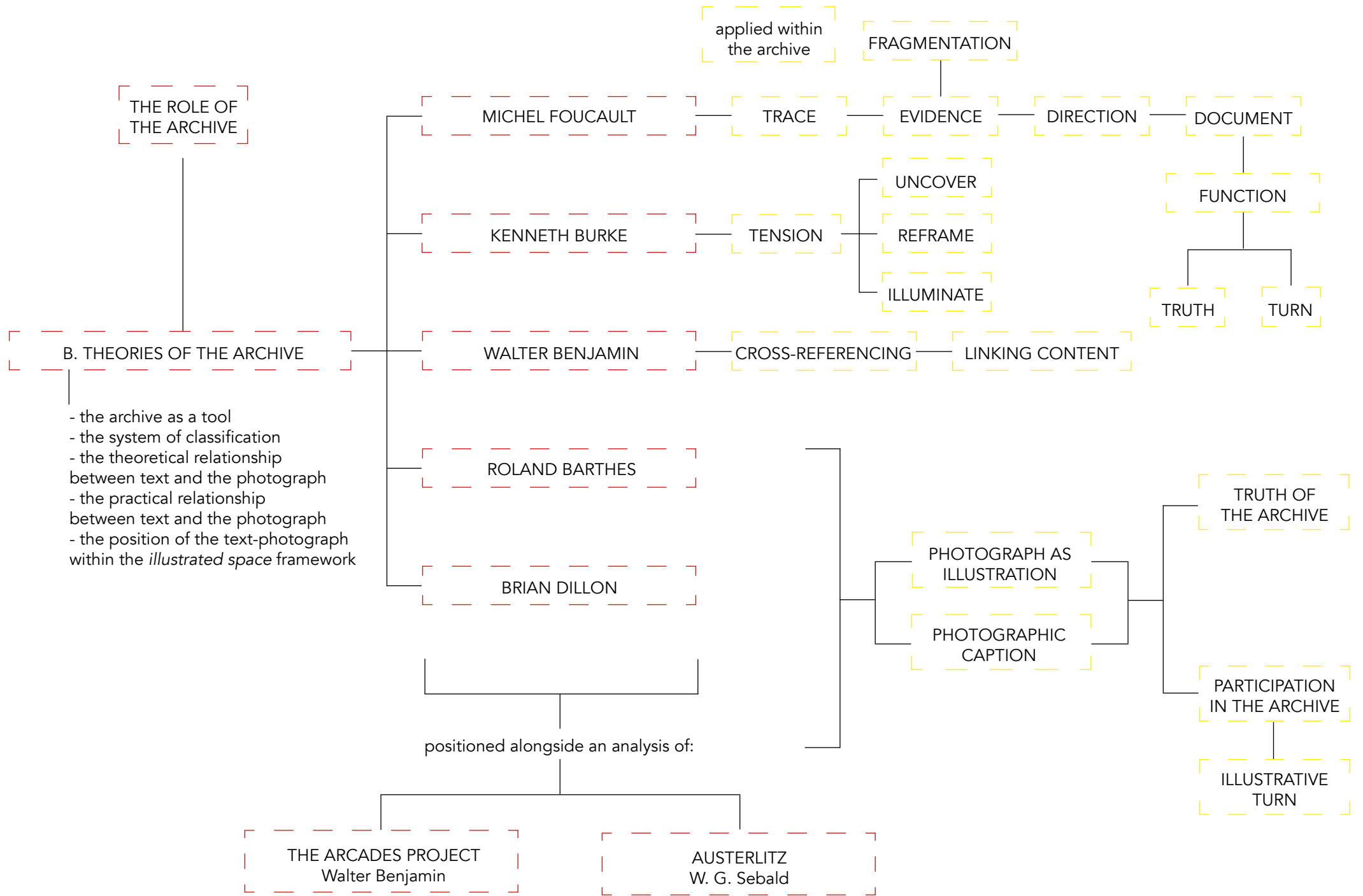


Fig. 14 – Chapter 1, Section B: ‘Theories of the Archive’ – [return to text](#)

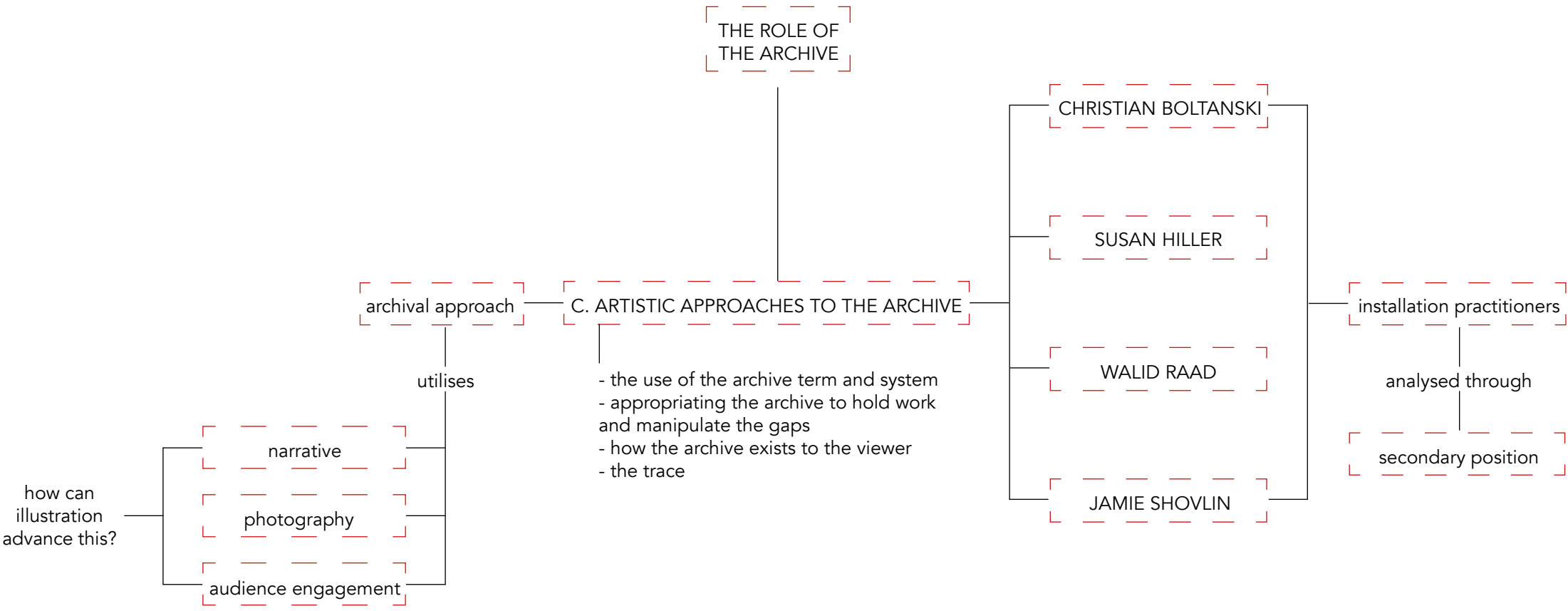


Fig. 15 – Chapter 1, Section C: ‘Artistic Approaches to the Archive’ – [return to text](#)

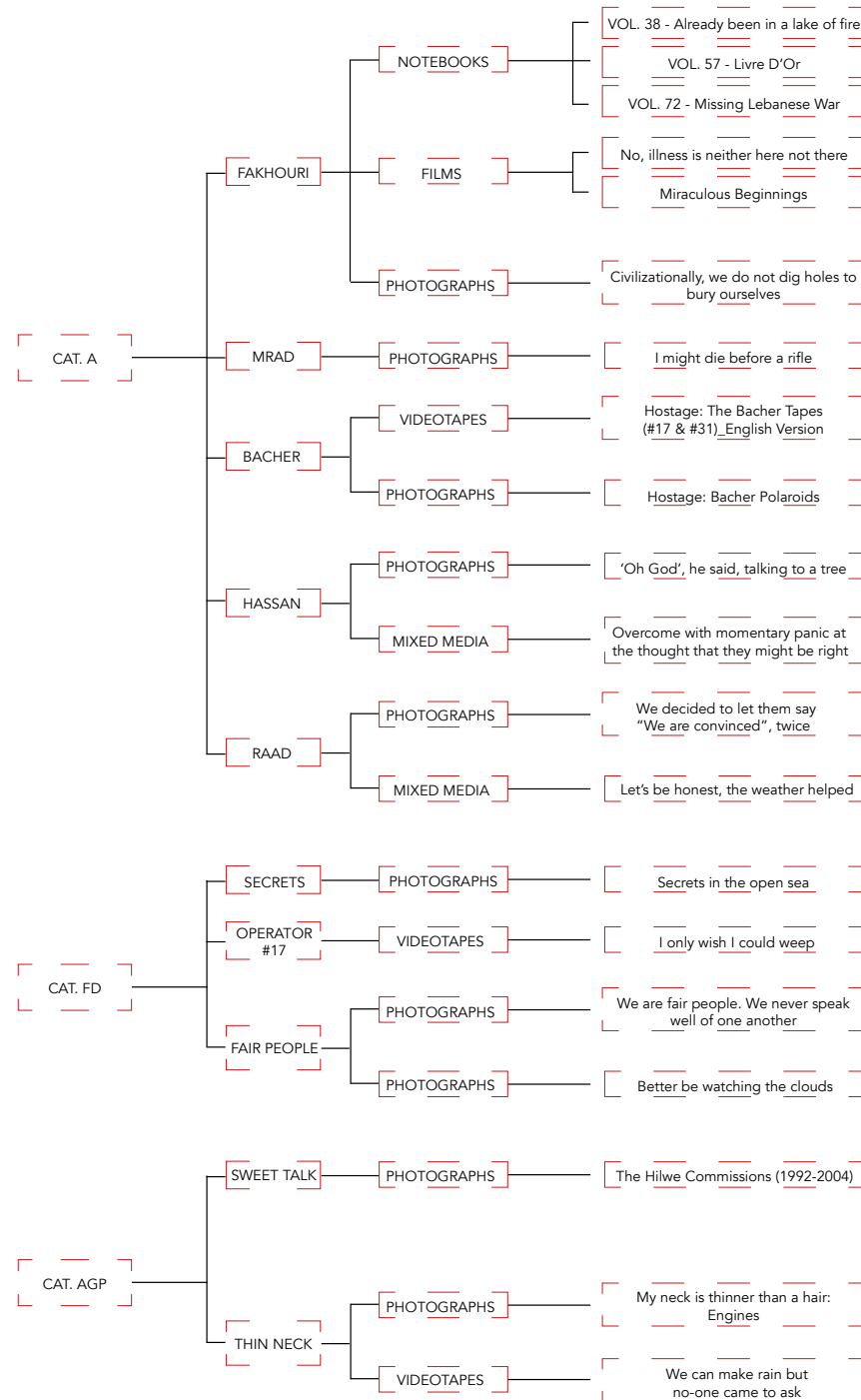


Fig. 16 – Structural Breakdown: Raad's *The Atlas Project* – [return to text](#)

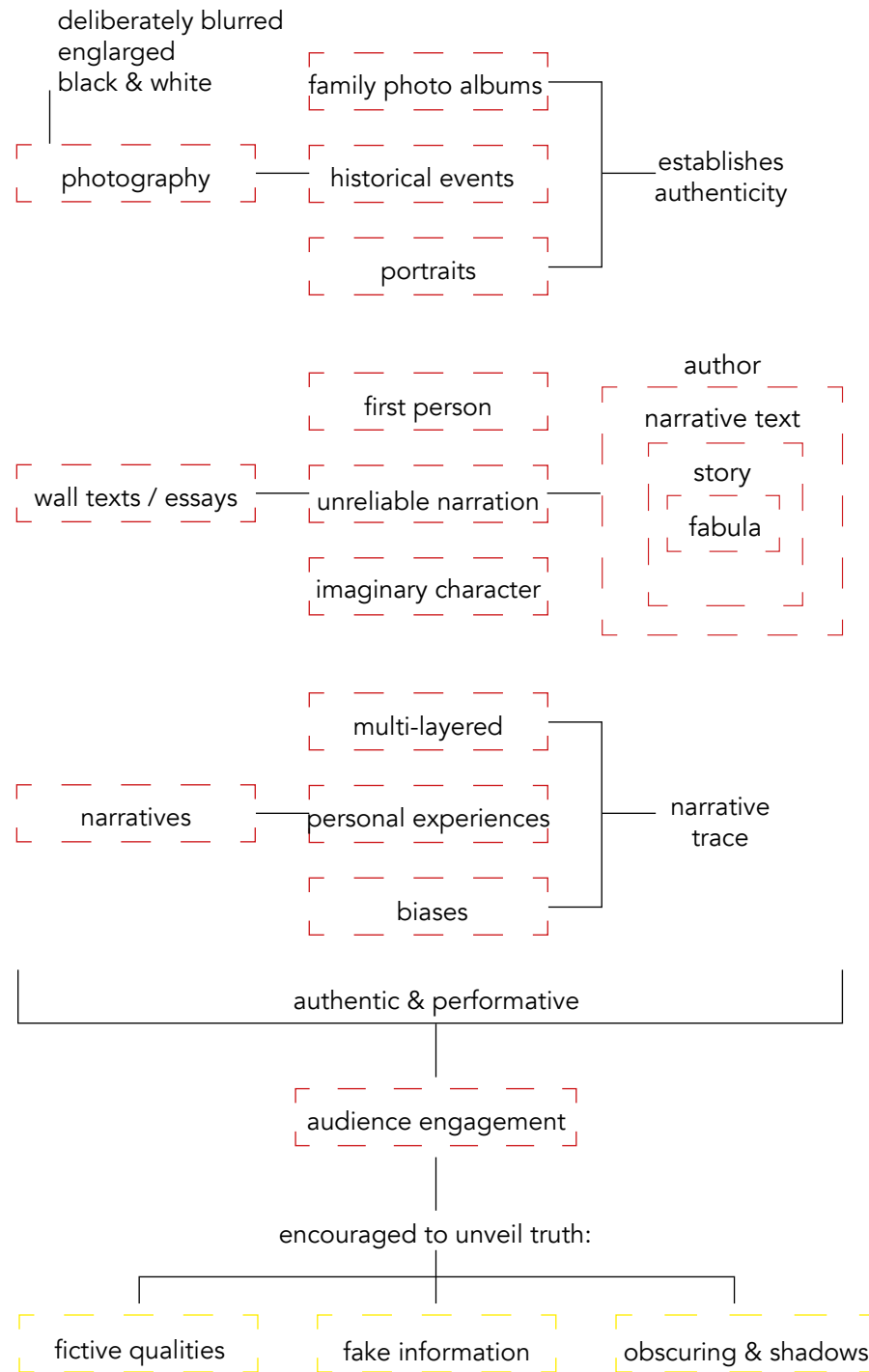


Fig. 17 – Structural Breakdown: Work held by the Archive – [return to text](#)

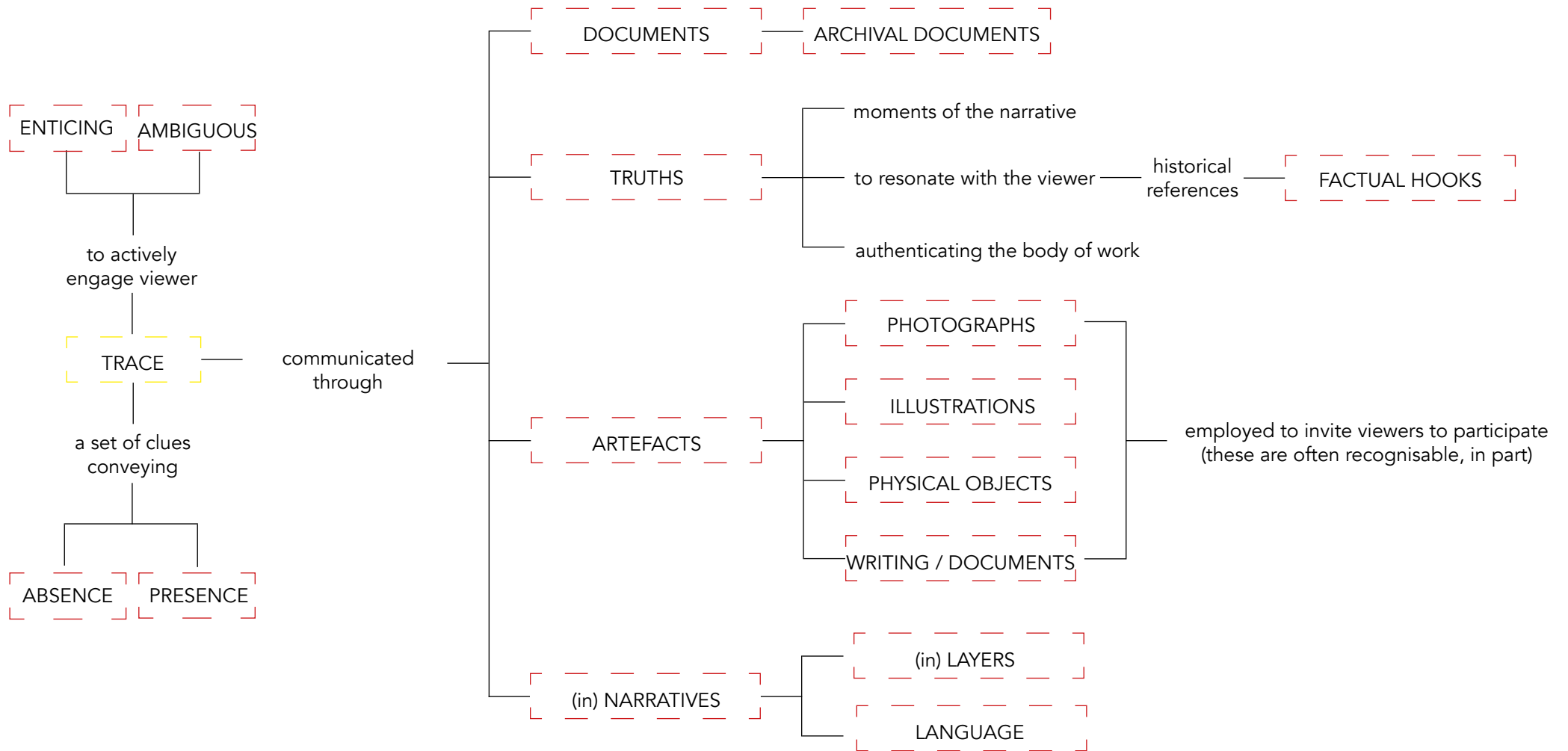


Fig. 18 – Theoretical Breakdown: The Trace – [return to text](#)

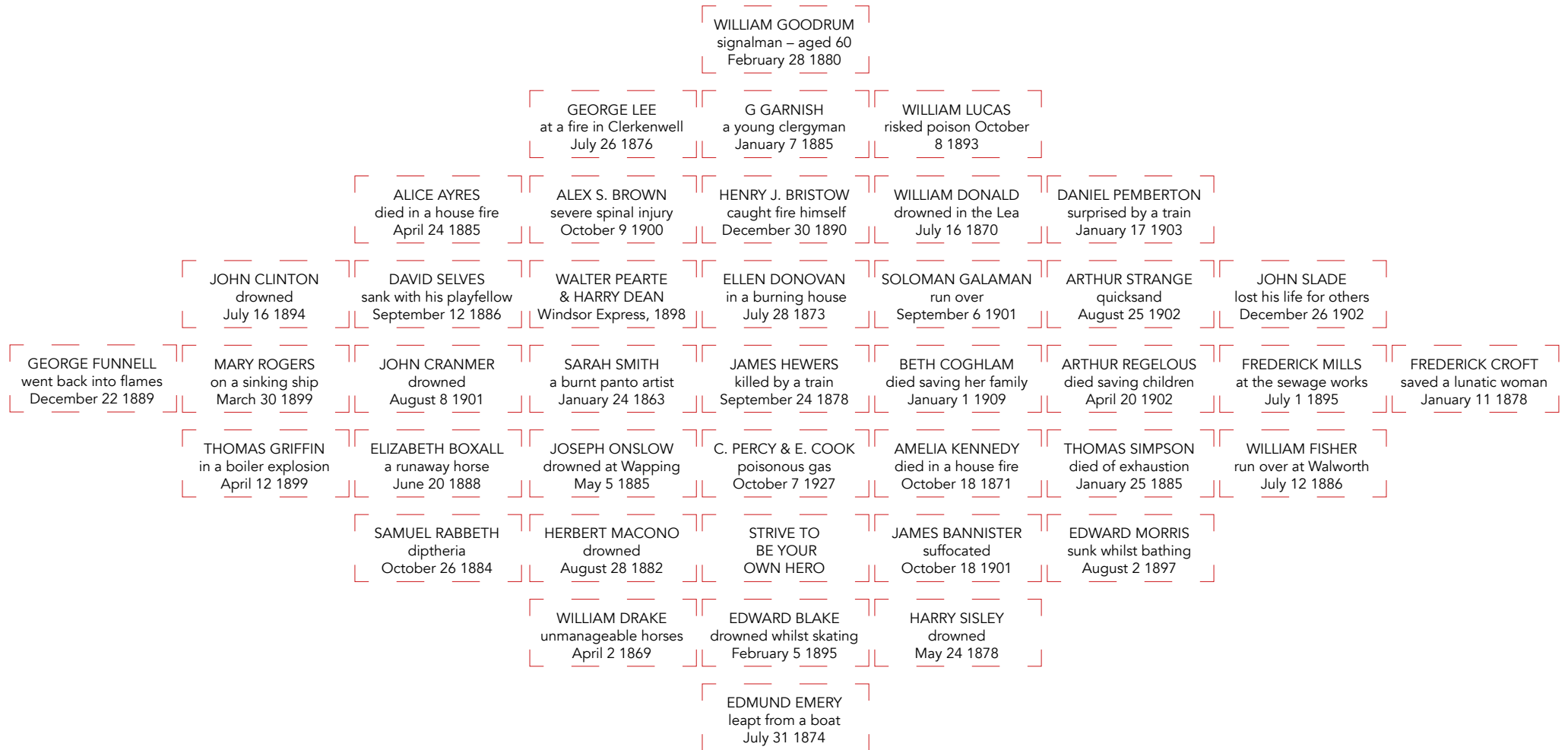


Fig. 19 – Structural Breakdown: Hiller's Monument, 1980-1 – [return to text](#)

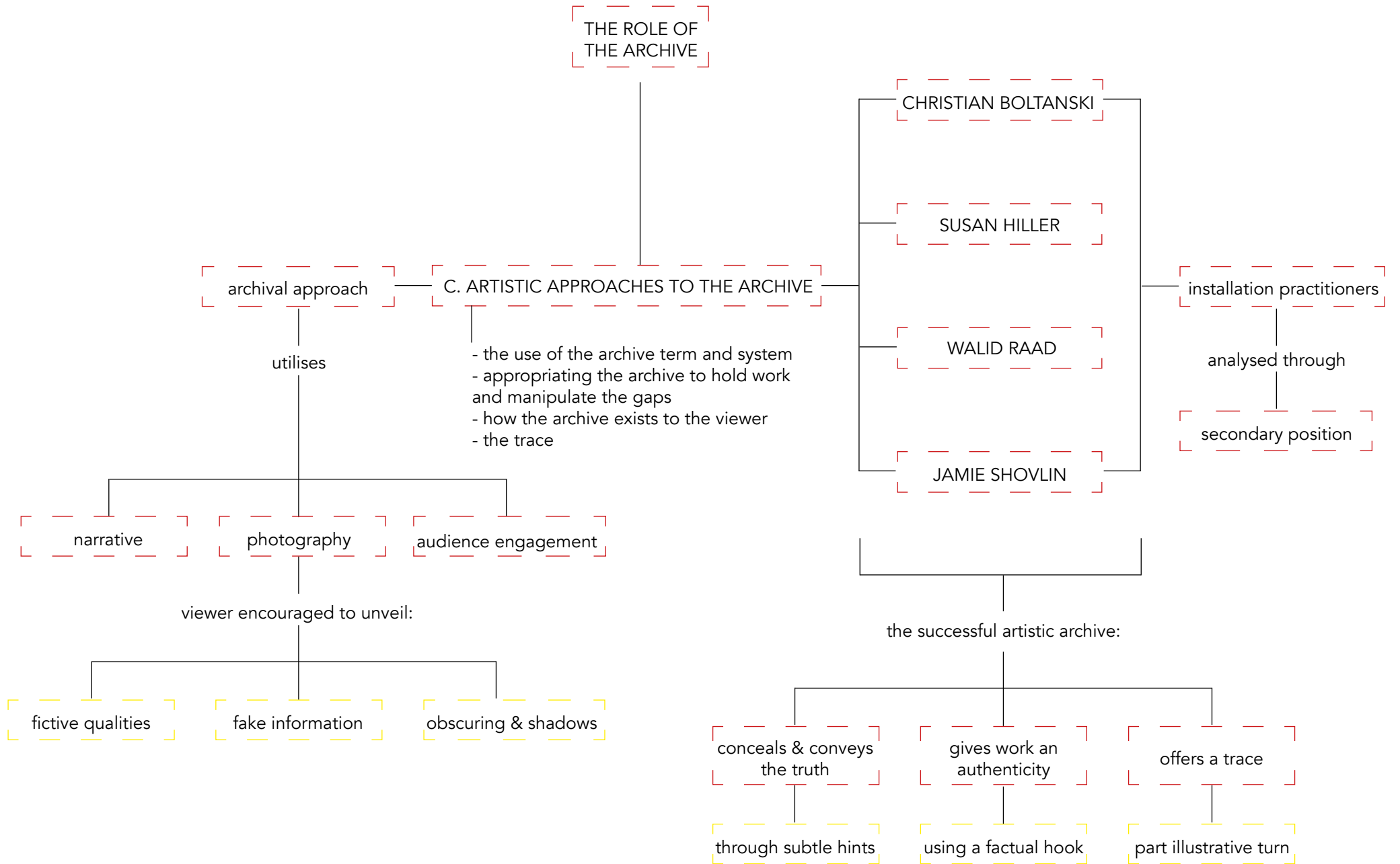


Fig. 20 – Chapter 1, Section C: 'Artistic Approaches to the Archive' – [return to text](#)

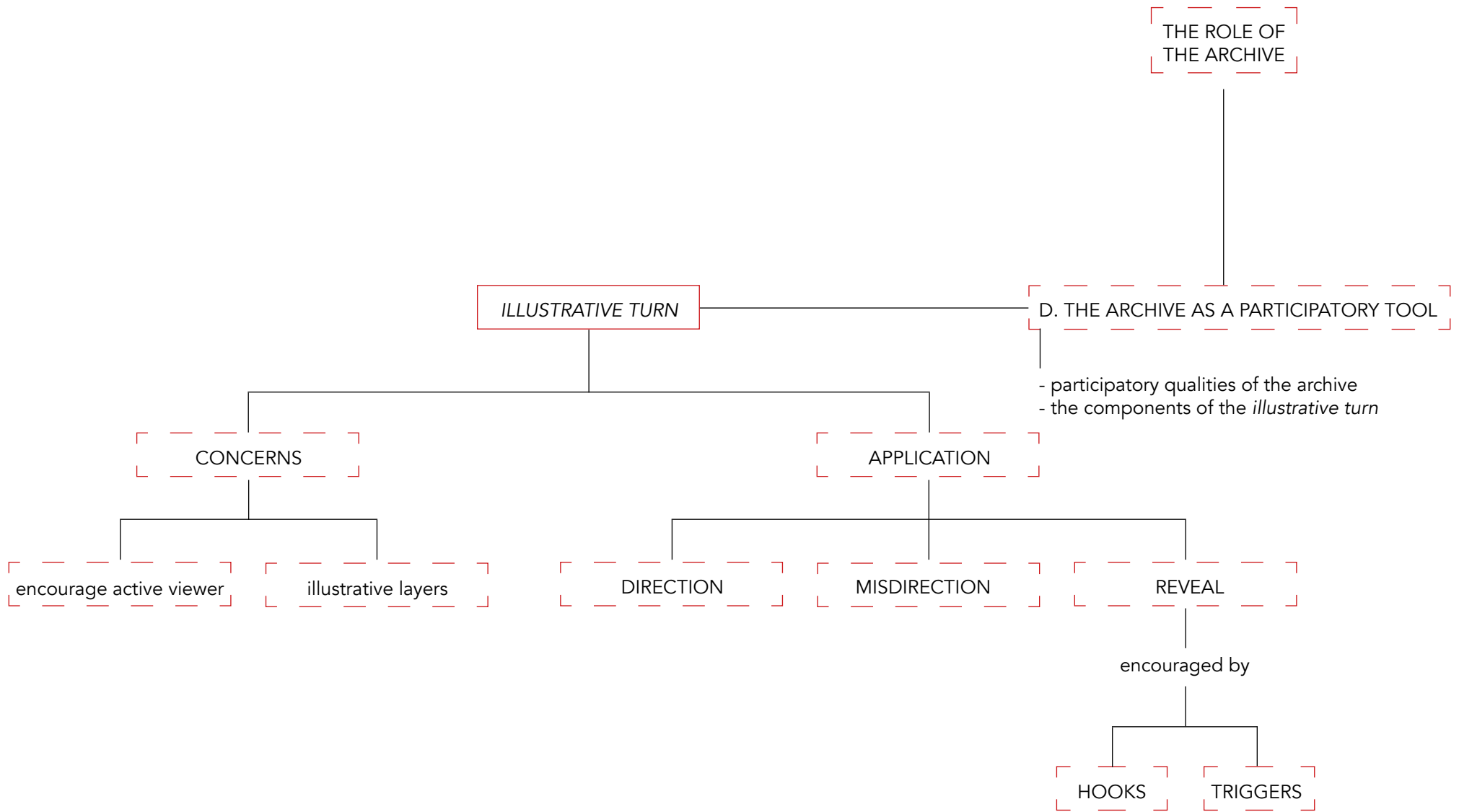


Fig. 21 – Chapter 1, Section D: ‘The Archive as a Participatory Tool’ – [return to text](#)

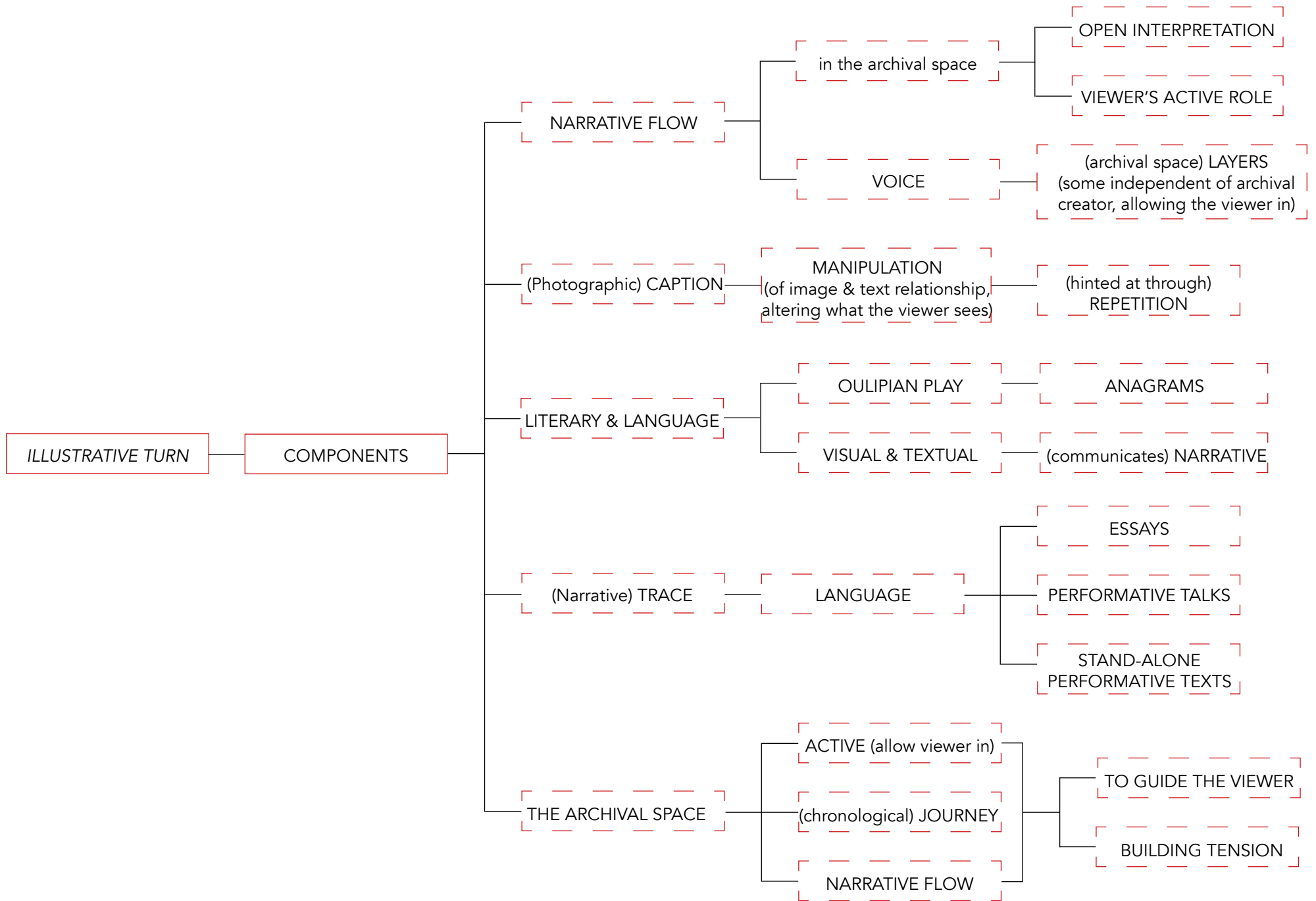


Fig. 22 – Components: The *Illustrative Turn* – [return to text](#)

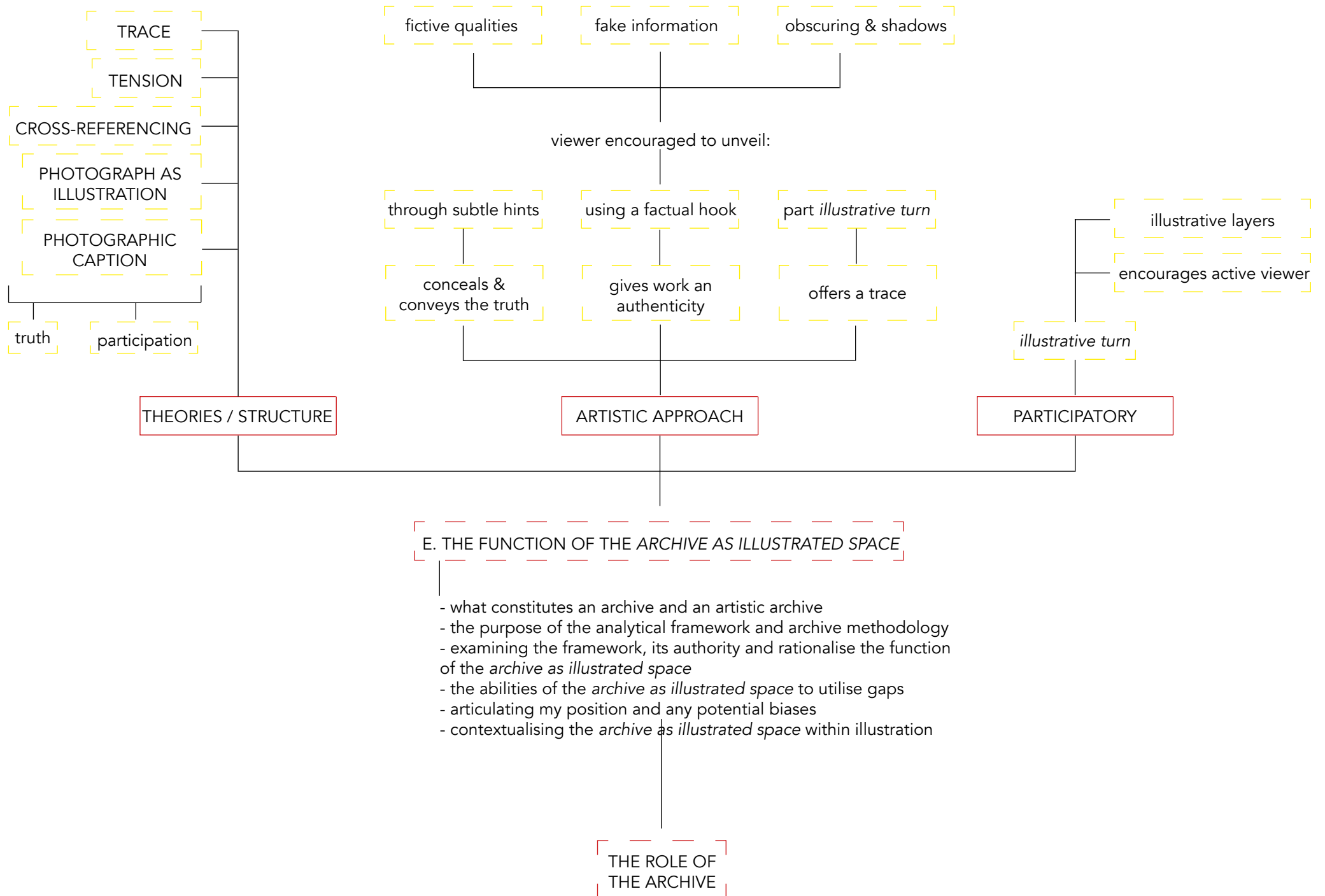


Fig. 23 – Chapter 1, Section E: 'The Function of the *Archive as Illustrated Space*' – [return to text](#)

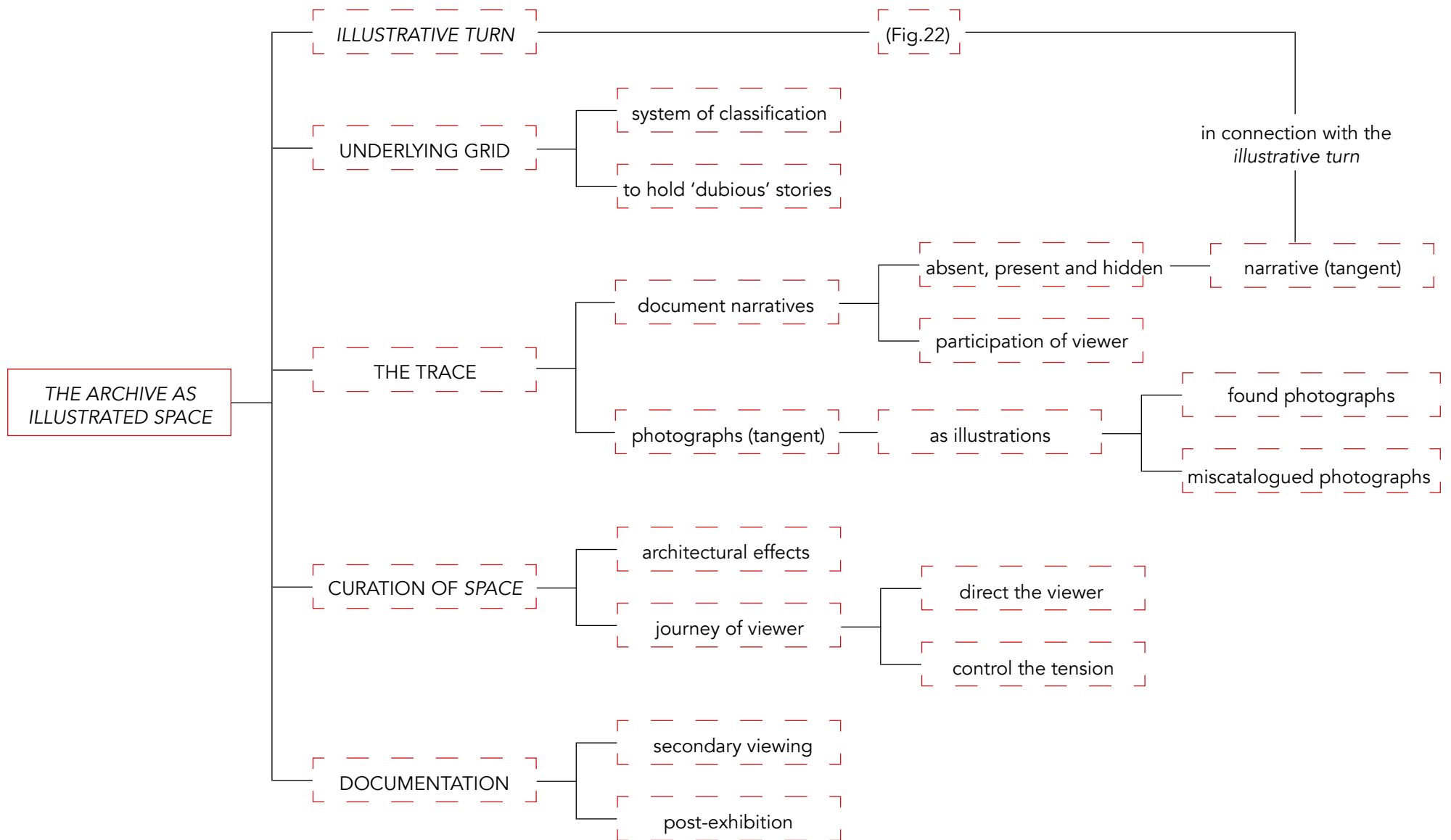
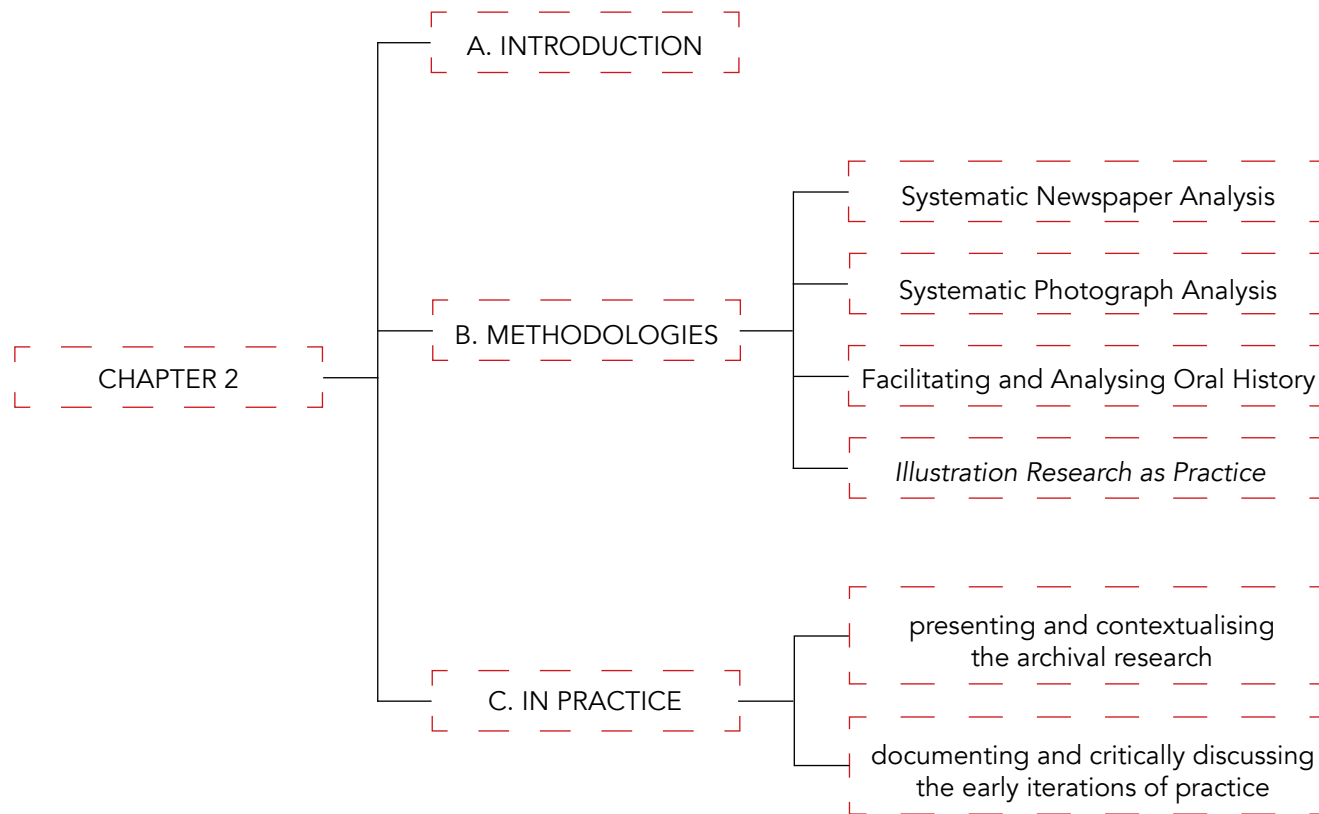


Fig. 24 – Framework: The Archive as Illustrated Space – [return to text](#)



CHAPTER 2.

ILLUSTRATION RESEARCH AS PRACTICE

Within The National Fairground & Circus Archive Holdings:

The World's Fair (newspaper mentions)

Fairground Female Fairground Business	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Lizzie	6	8	2	2	4	3	1	2			2									1	1			
Sedgwick's Menagerie	3	5	6	6	15	7	10	10	10	1	8	3	In 1917 Sedgwick's was bought by Bostock & Wombwell's. Following WWI Lizzie worked for them.											
Martha Haslam				1			1	1	1	1	1						1		1	2			1	1
Anderton & Rowland's	2	1		1	1	2	4	8	12	8	7	11	3	8	11	7	7	6	26	29	24	24	30	37
Sophie Hancock		2					2	3	5	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	6	1	12	5	10	1		
W. C. & S. Hancock	4	3	1	1	3	8	11	14	24	2	3	2	2		4	5	8	2	11	6	6			
Annie Holland	1		1		1	1	1	1	2								2	2	1	1			1	1
A. Holland & Sons	2		2		1	1	3	2		1	1	1		2	2		2	3	Annie Holland died in 1923, 1 is a memorial.					
Elizabeth Bostock									2	1				1		1	1	1		1			3	
B&W No. 1 Menagerie	4	3	11	10	16	26	12	10	17	14	10	17	5	5	4	3	3	3	7	5	8	10		

Fairground Female Fairground Business	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	Total
Lizzie		1																							34
Sedgwick's Menagerie	Lizzie died in 1926, 1 is a memorial.																							84	
Martha Haslam	1	2	2	2	4	1	2	2	3	5	1					2				2	1	1	1	11	55
Anderton & Rowland's	29	25	40	20	35	25	26	30	20	20	12	3	2	13	8	15	13	5	15	38	36	46	42	48	833
Sophie Hancock																									58
W. C. & S. Hancock	Sophie Hancock died in 1926, 1 is a memorial.																							120	
Annie Holland	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1													10
A. Holland & Sons	Annie Holland died in 1923, 1 is a memorial.																							23	
Elizabeth Bostock																									11
B&W No. 1 Menagerie	Elizabeth Bostock died in 1927, 1 is a memorial.																							213	

Fig.26 – Frequency Table: *The World's Fair* Newspapers – [return to text](#)

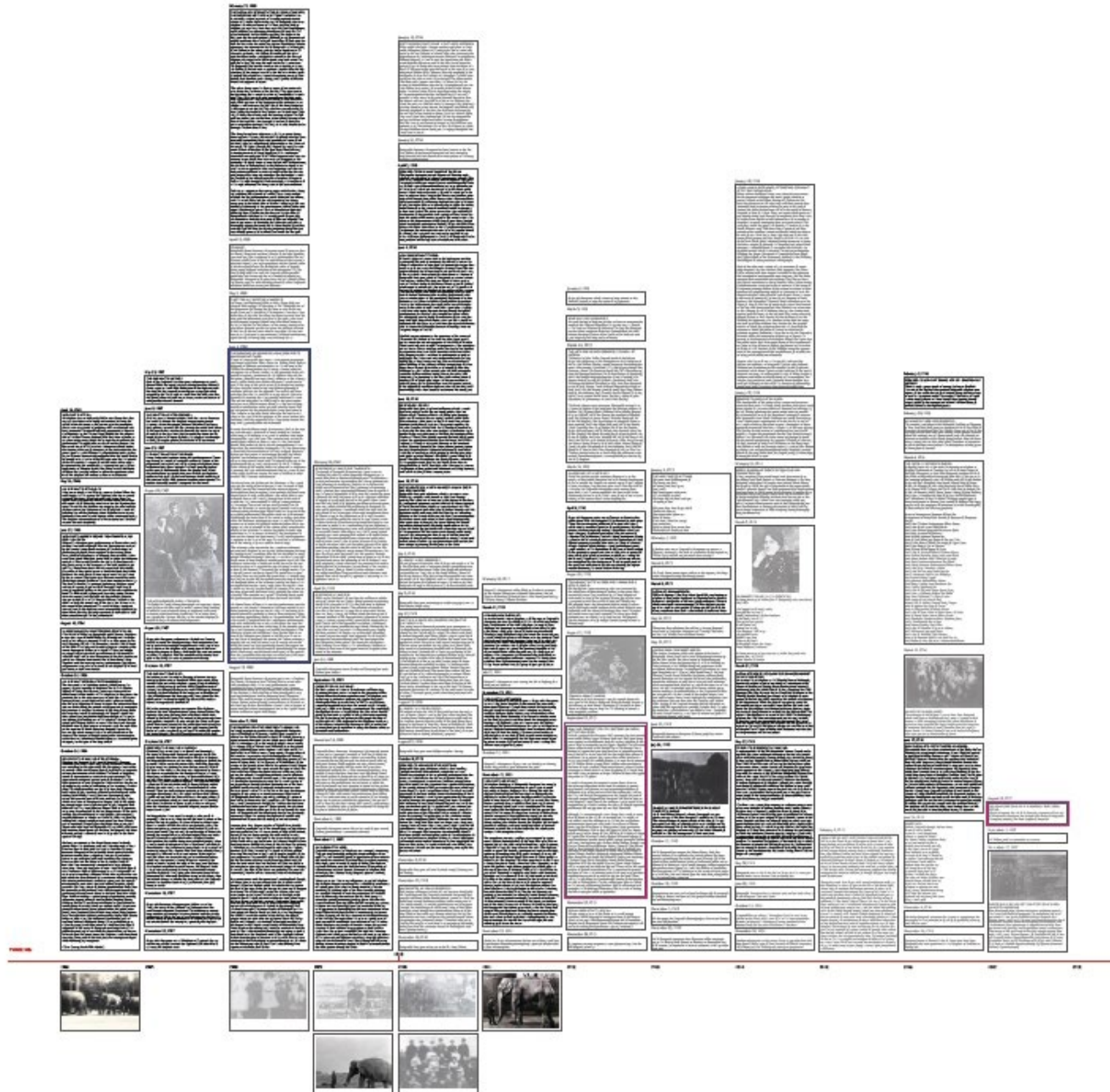


Fig.27 – Mapping Timeline: Lizzie

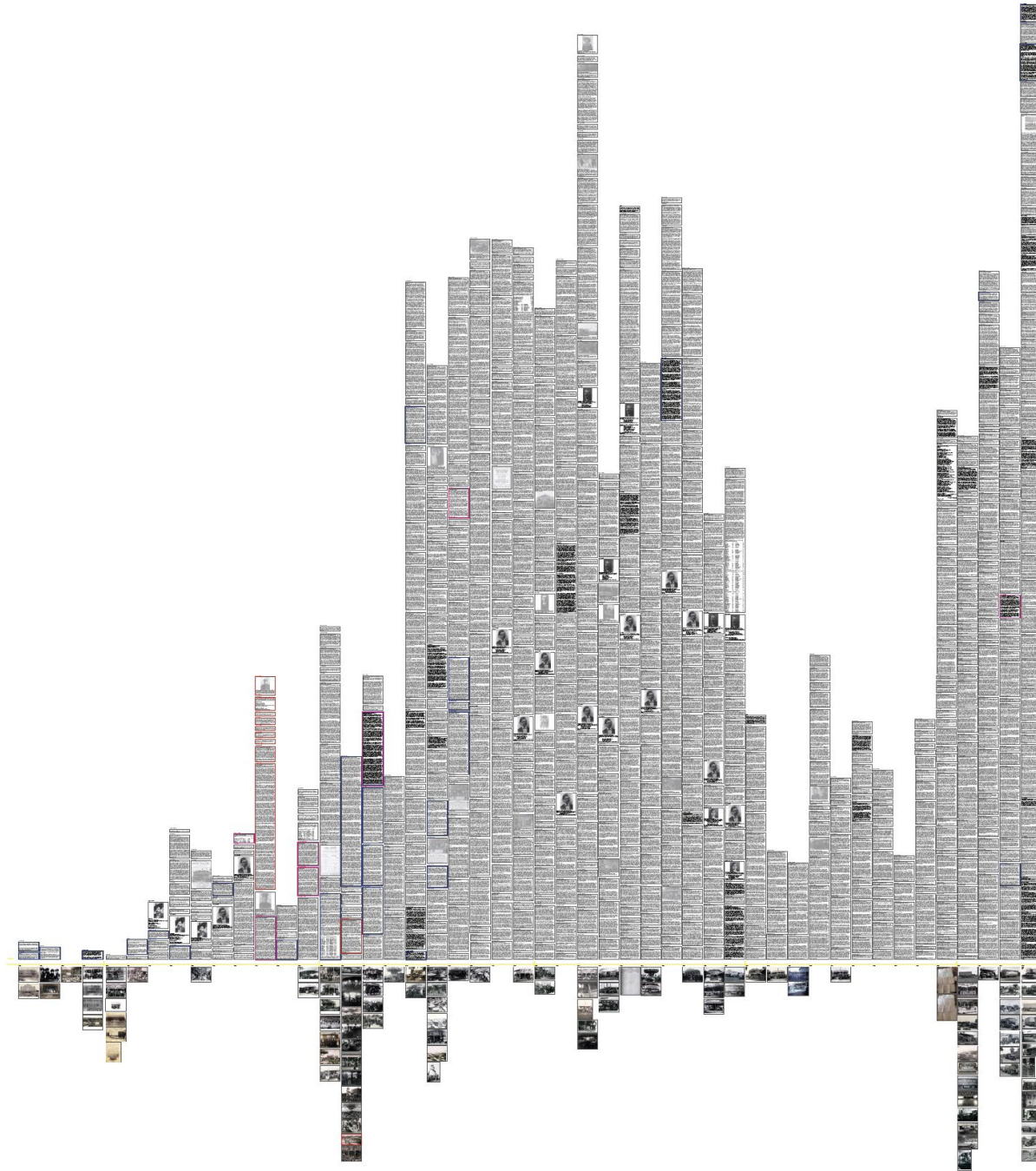


Fig.28 – Mapping Timeline: Martha



Fig.29 – Mapping Timeline: Sophie

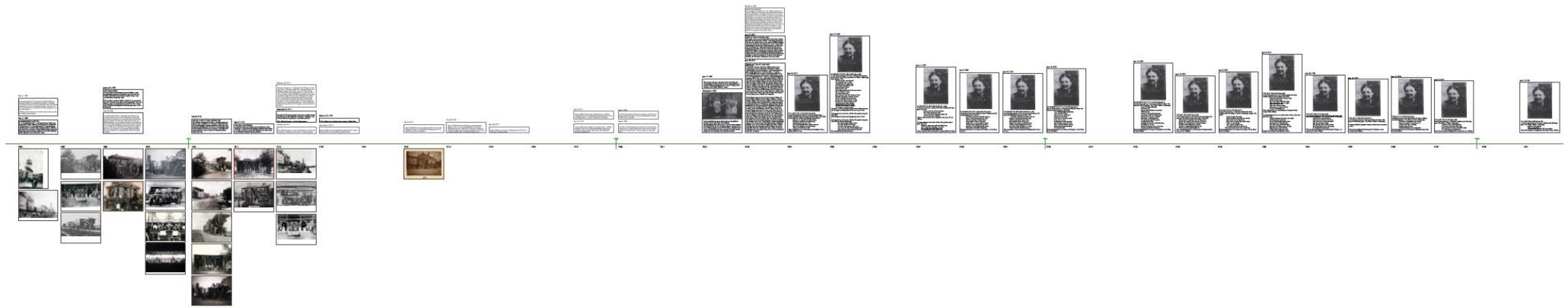


Fig.30 – Mapping Timeline: Annie



Fig.31 – Mapping Timeline: Elizabeth – [return to text](#)

Within The National Fairground & Circus Archive Holdings:

Archival Photographs (female isn't catalogued, working from my identification)

Fairground Female Fairground Business	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Lizzie	1			1		1																		
Sedgwick's Menagerie	1		1	2	2	1							In 1917 Sedgwick's was bought by Bostock & Wombwell's. Following WWI Lizzie worked for them.											
Martha Haslam	1	1	1	2		1																		
Anderton & Rowland's	2	2	1	4	6	1			1					2	7	13	4	1	2	7	1	1		1
Sophie Hancock	1							2																
W.C. & S. Hancock	4		3		5		1	6					1											
Annie Holland		2		1	2	1	1																	
A. Holland & Sons	2	3	2	4	5	2	3												Annie Holland died in 1923.					
Elizabeth Bostock															1									
B&W No. 1 Menagerie	6	4	0		4	1		10	5					1	7				4	1				

Fairground Female Fairground Business	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	Total	
Lizzie																									3	
Sedgwick's Menagerie	Lizzie died in 1926.																							7		
Martha Haslam																									6	
Anderton & Rowland's	2		5	3		2		1	3	2	1	1	2		1							13	1	7	13	113
Sophie Hancock																									3	
W.C. & S. Hancock	Sophie Hancock died in 1926.																							20		
Annie Holland																									7	
A. Holland & Sons	Annie Holland died in 1923.																							21		
Elizabeth Bostock																									0	
B&W No. 1 Menagerie	Elizabeth Bostock died in 1927.																							43		

Fig.32 – Frequency Table: Archival Photographs – [return to text](#)

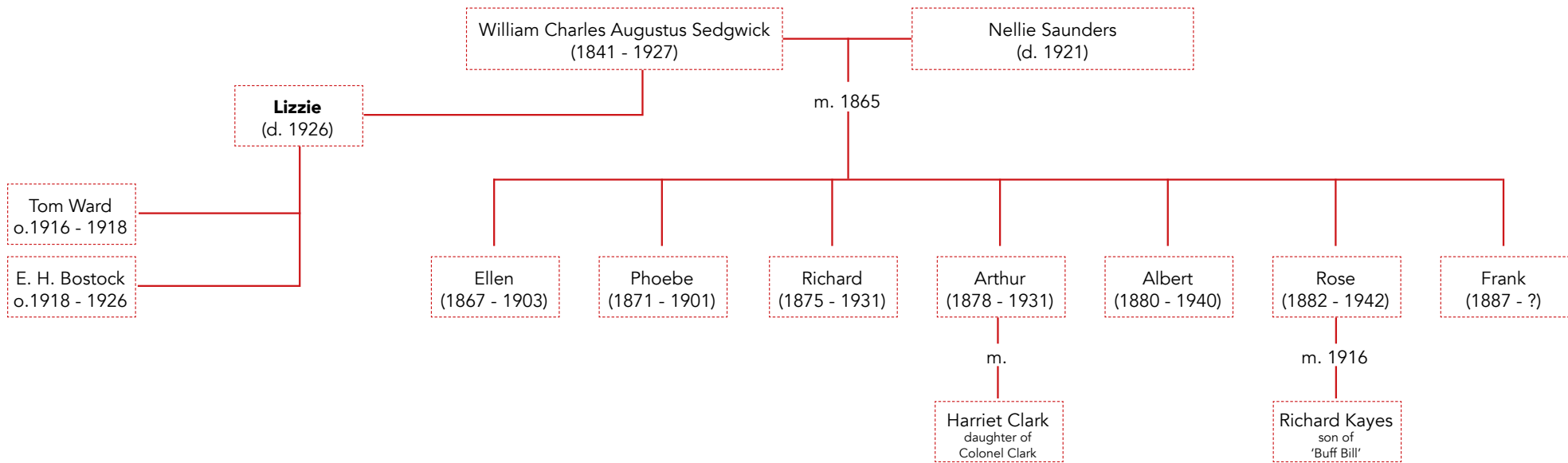


Fig.33 – Family Tree: Lizzie – [return to text](#)

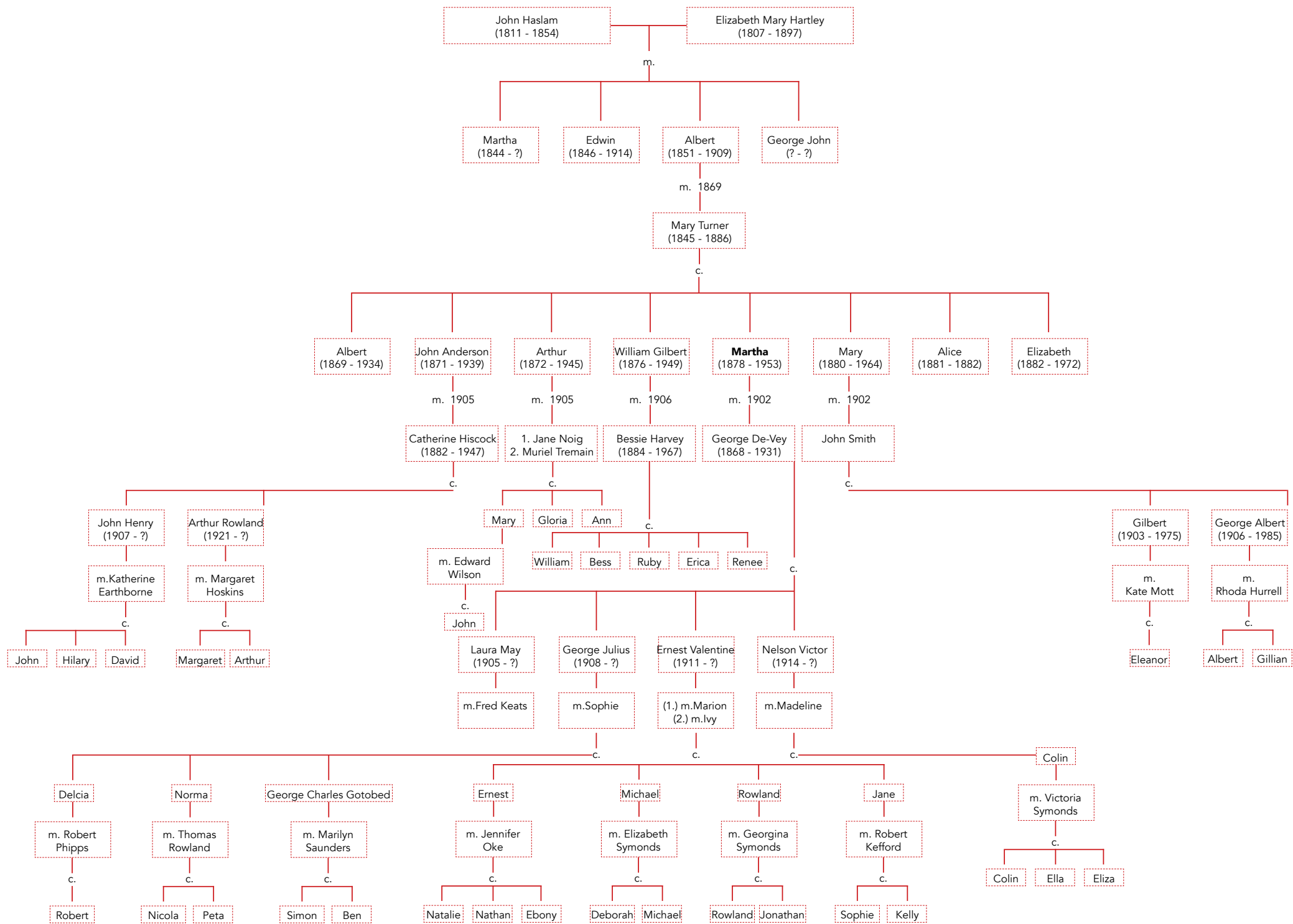


Fig.34 – Family Tree: Martha – [return to text](#)

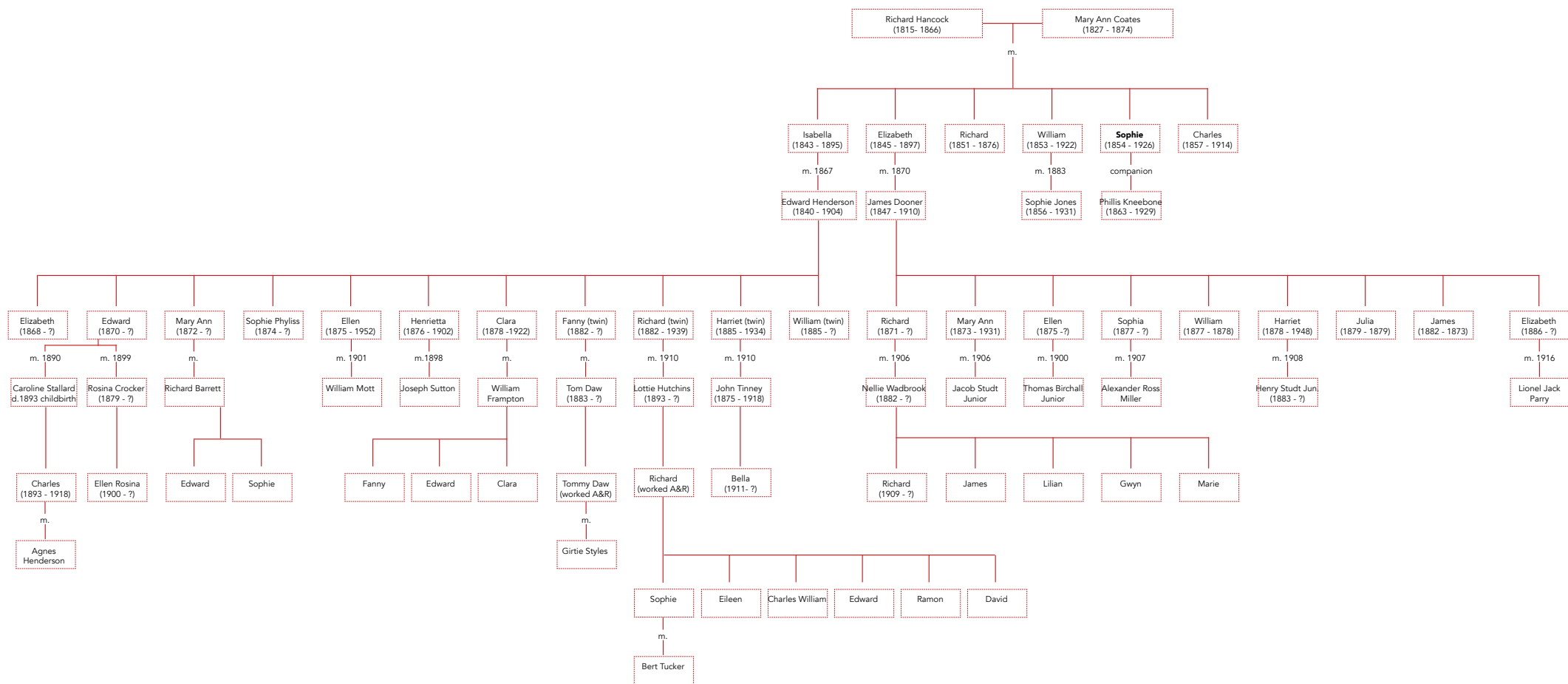


Fig.35 – Family Tree: Sophie – [return to text](#)

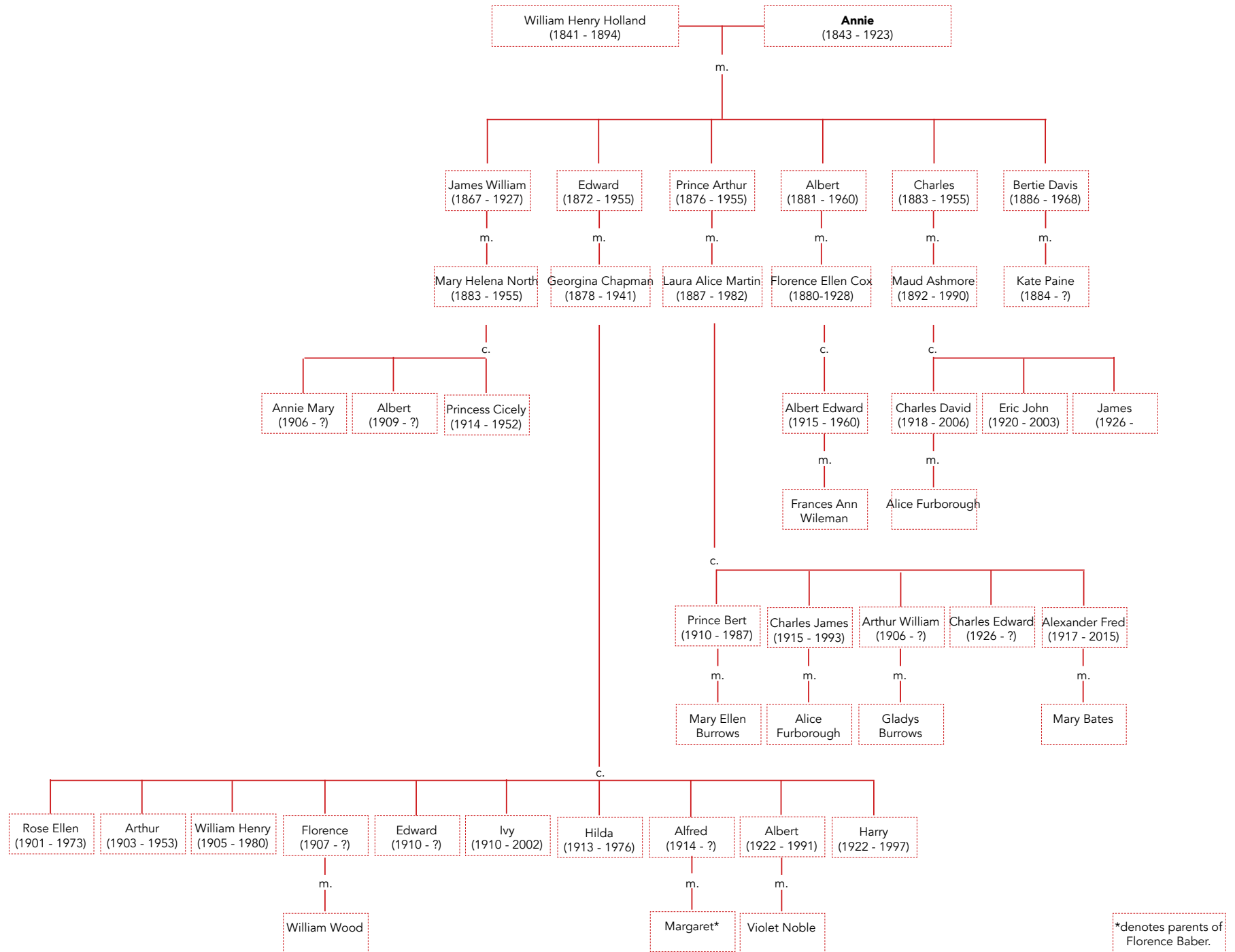


Fig.36 – Family Tree: Annie – [return to text](#)

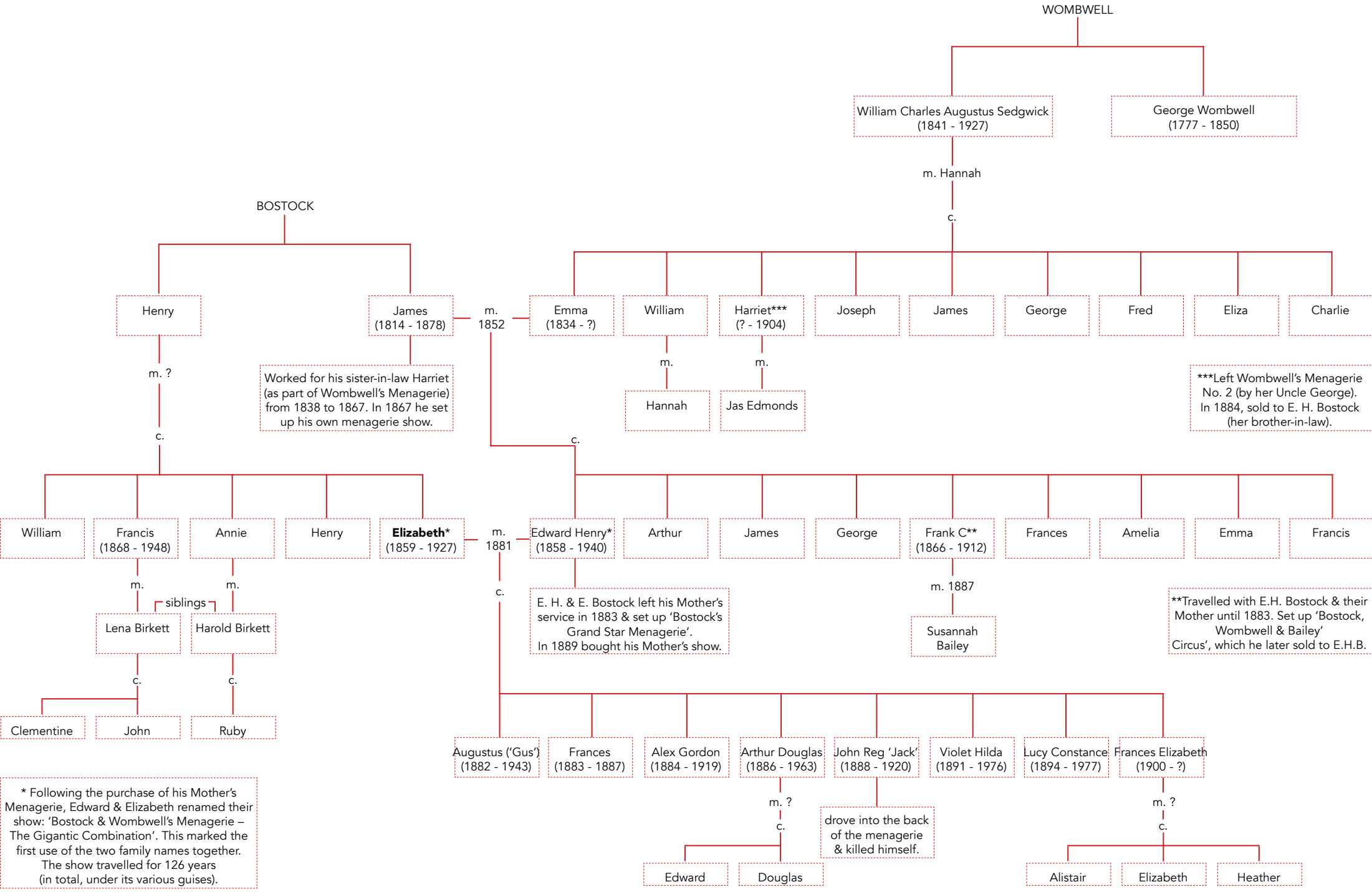
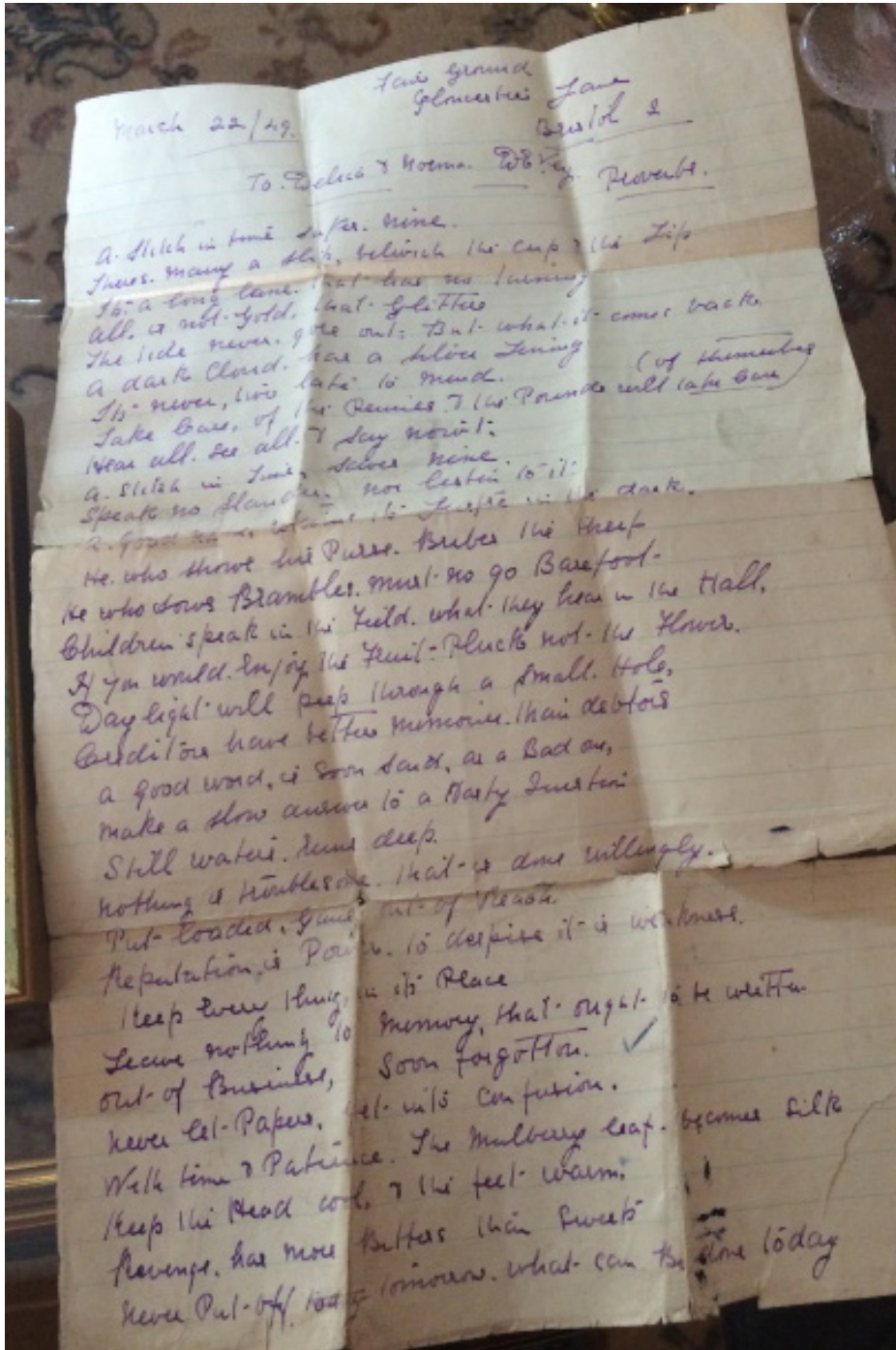


Fig.37 – Family Tree: Elizabeth – [return to text](#)



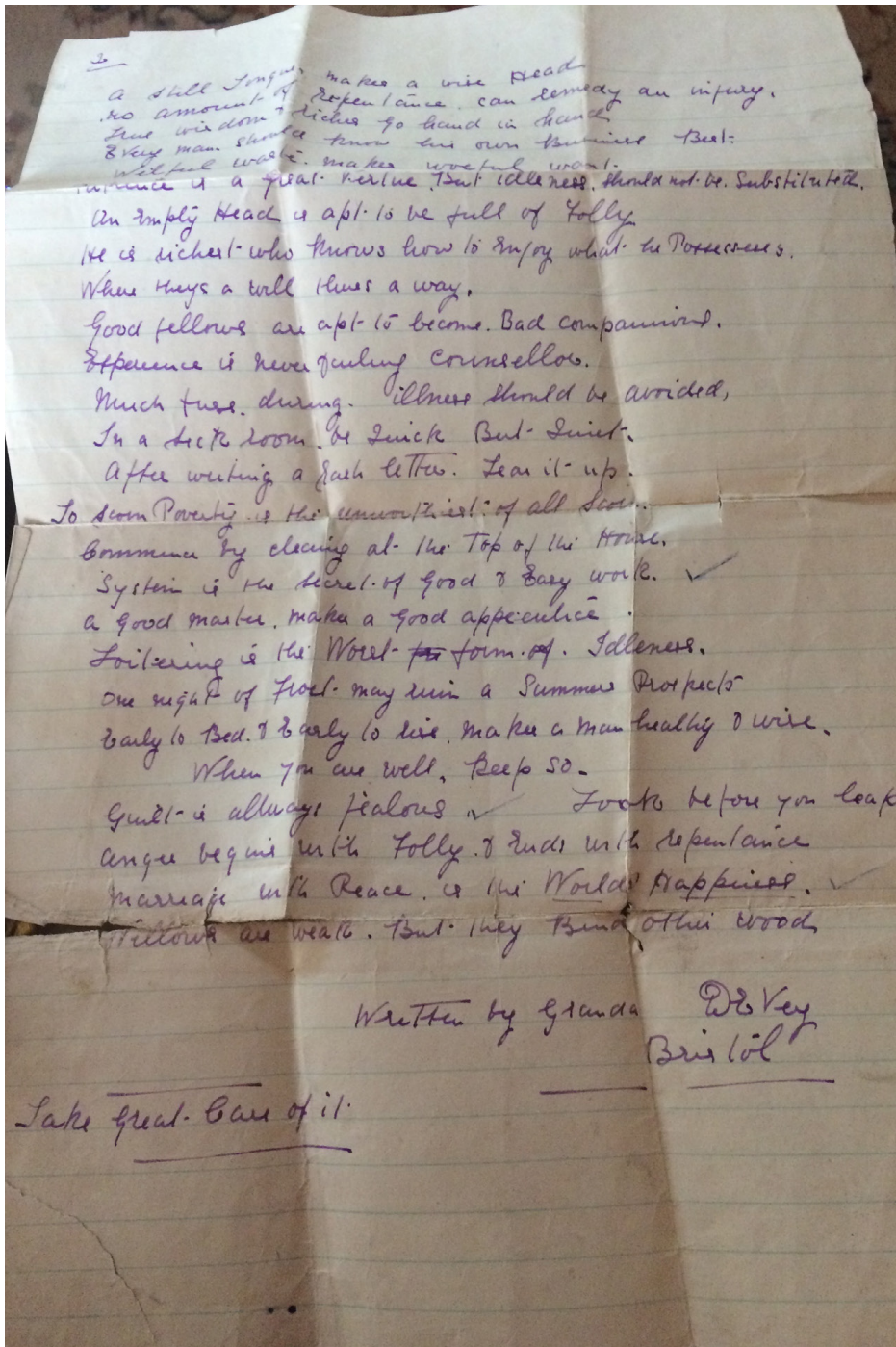
Fig.38 – Residency: De-Vey nee Haslam – [return to text](#)



Fairground, Gloucester Lane, Bristol
 To Delcia and Norma,
 Proverbs:

- A stitch in time saves nine
- There's many a slip between the cup & lip
- It's a long lane that has no turning
- All is not gold that glitters
- The tide never goes out, but what it comes back
- A dark cloud has a silver lining
- It's never too late to mend
- Take care of the pennies and the pounds will take care of themselves
- Hear all, see all & say nought
- A stitch in time saves nine
- Speak no slander nor listen to it
- A good ___ ___ its ___ in the dark
- He who throws his purse, bribes the thief
- He who sows brambles, must not go barefoot
- Children speak in the field, what they hear in the hall
- If you would enjoy the fruit, pluck not the flower
- Daylight will peep through a small hole
- Creditors have better memories than debtors
- A good word is soon said as a bad one
- Make a slow answer, to a hasty question
- Still waters runs deep
- Nothing is troublesome, that is done willingly
- Put loaded guns out of reach
- Reputation is power, to despise it is weakness
- I keep everything in its place
- Leave nothing to memory that ought to be written
- Out of business, soon forgotten
- Never let papers get into confusion
- With time & patience, the mulberry coat becomes silk
- Keep thi head cool, and thi feet warm
- Revenge has more bitters than sweets
- Never put off today tomorrow what can be done today

Fig.39 – Residency: De-Vey nee Haslam



- A still tongue makes a wise head
- No amount of repentance can remedy an injury
- ____ wisdom & ____ go hand in hand
- Every man should know his own business but wilful waste makes woeful ____
- Influence is a great virtue but idleness should not be substituted
- An empty head is apt to be full of folly
- He is richest who knows how to enjoy what he possesses
- Where there's a will, there's a way
- Good fellows are apt to become bad companions
- Experience is a never failing counsellor
- Much fuss during illness should be avoided
- In a sick room, be quick but quiet
- After writing a rash letter, tear it up
- To scorn poverty is the ____ of all scorn
- Commence by cleaning at the top of thi house
- System is the secret of good & easy work
- A good master makes a good apprentice
- Loitering is the worst form of idleness
- One night of frost may ruin a summer's prospects
- Early to bed & early to rise, makes a man healthy & wise
- When you are well, keep so
- Guilt is always jealous - Look before you leap
- Anger begins with folly and ends with repentance
- Marriage with peace is thi world's happiness
- Willows are weak but they bind other wood

Written by Grandma De-Vey
Bristol

Take great care of it

Fig.40 – Residency: De-Vey nee Haslam – [return to text](#)

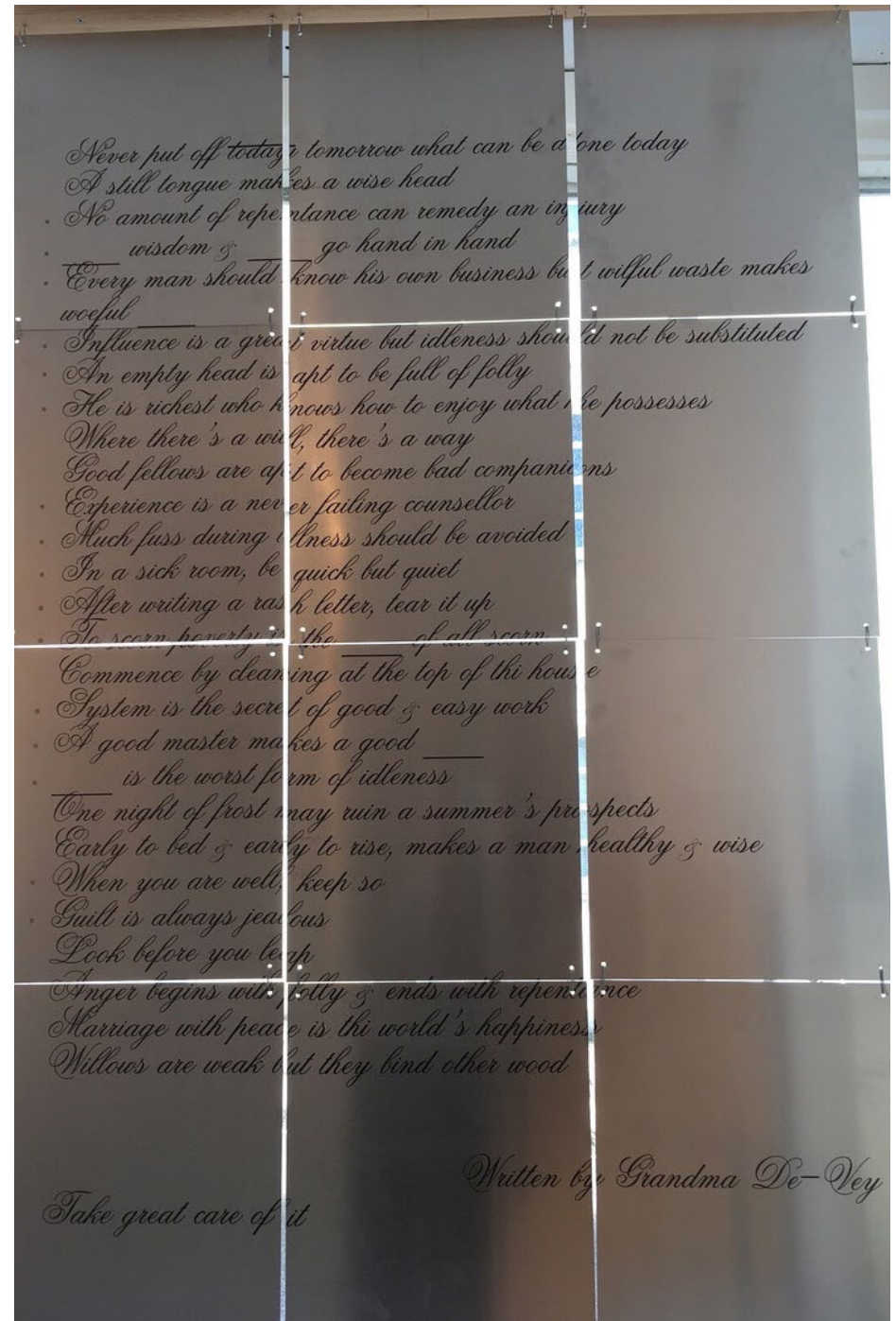
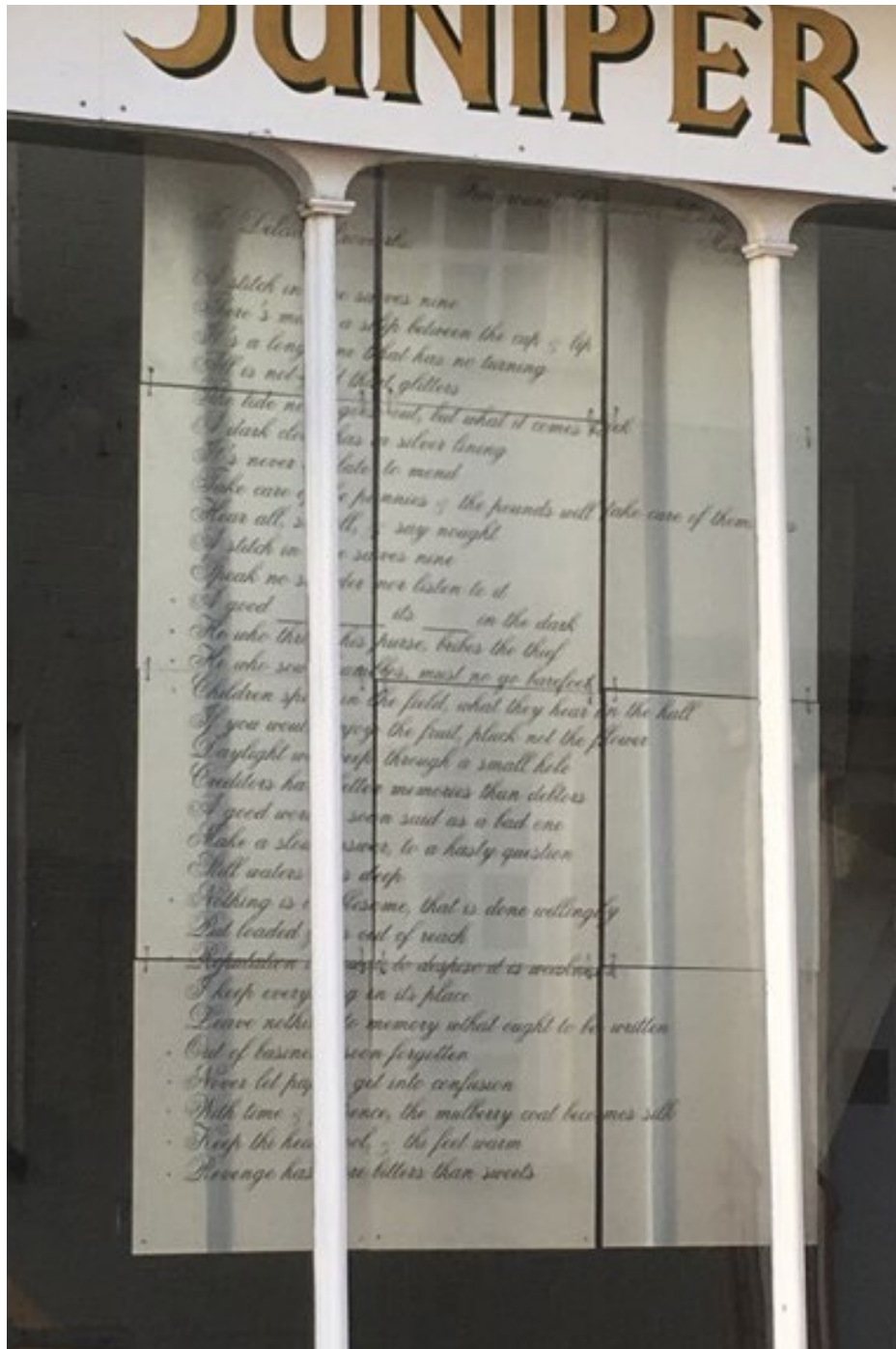


Fig.41 – Residency: De-Vey nee Haslam – [return to text](#)



Fig.42 – Residency: *Haslam v. Hancock* – [return to text](#)

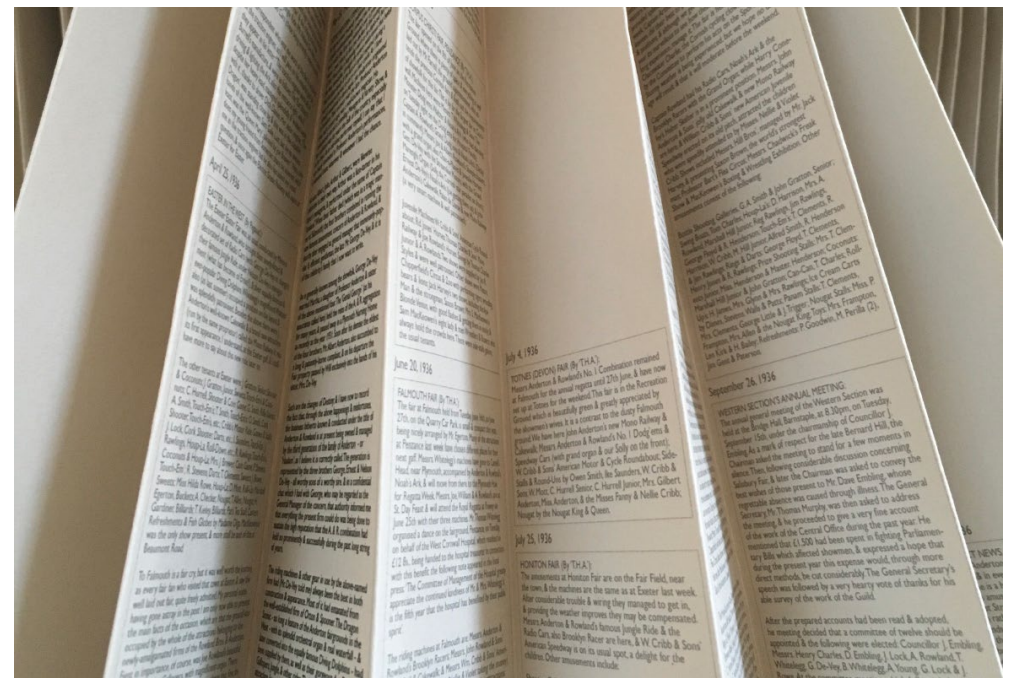
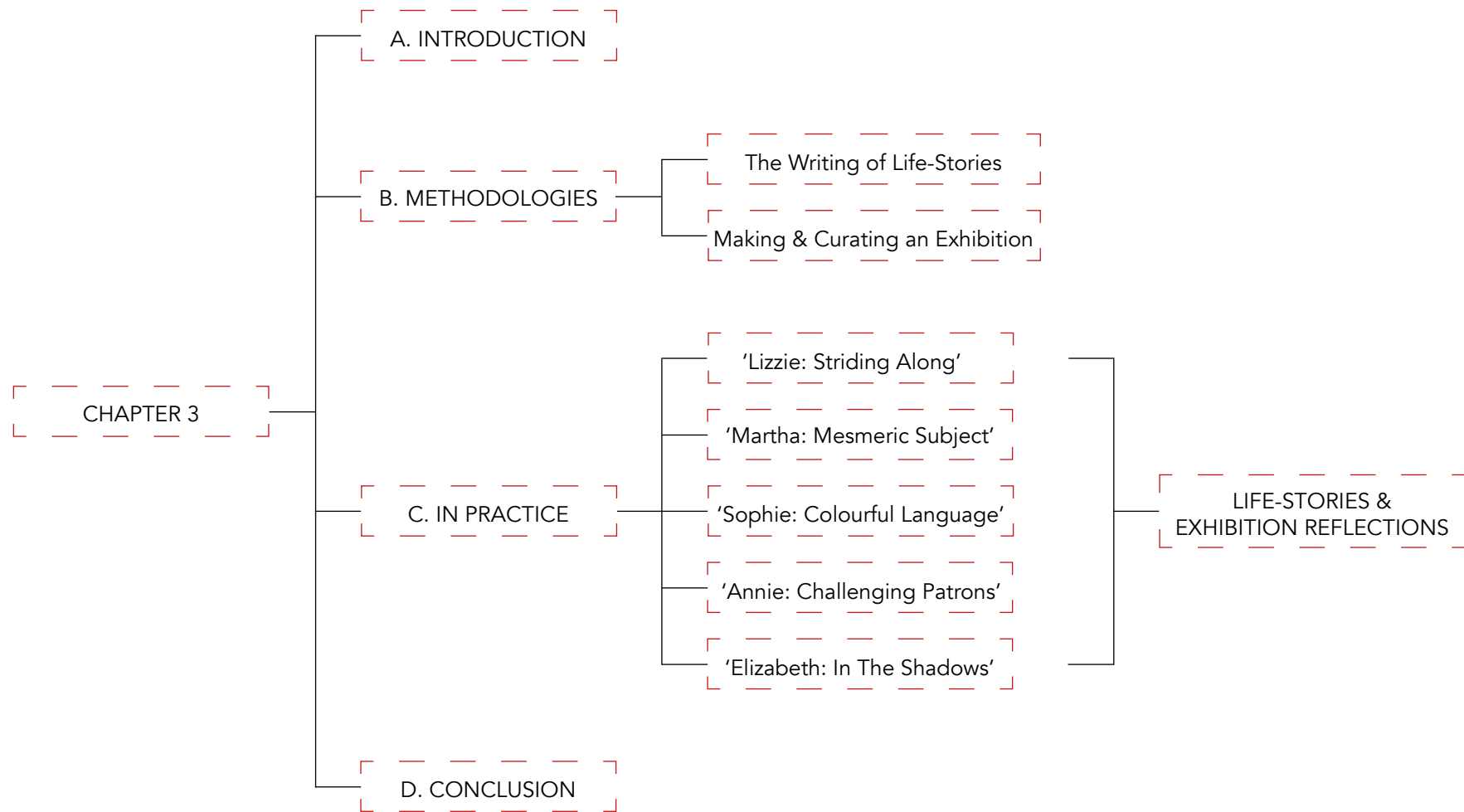


Fig.43 – Exhibition: *Subjects: ••M.A.L.E.S. – [return to text](#)*



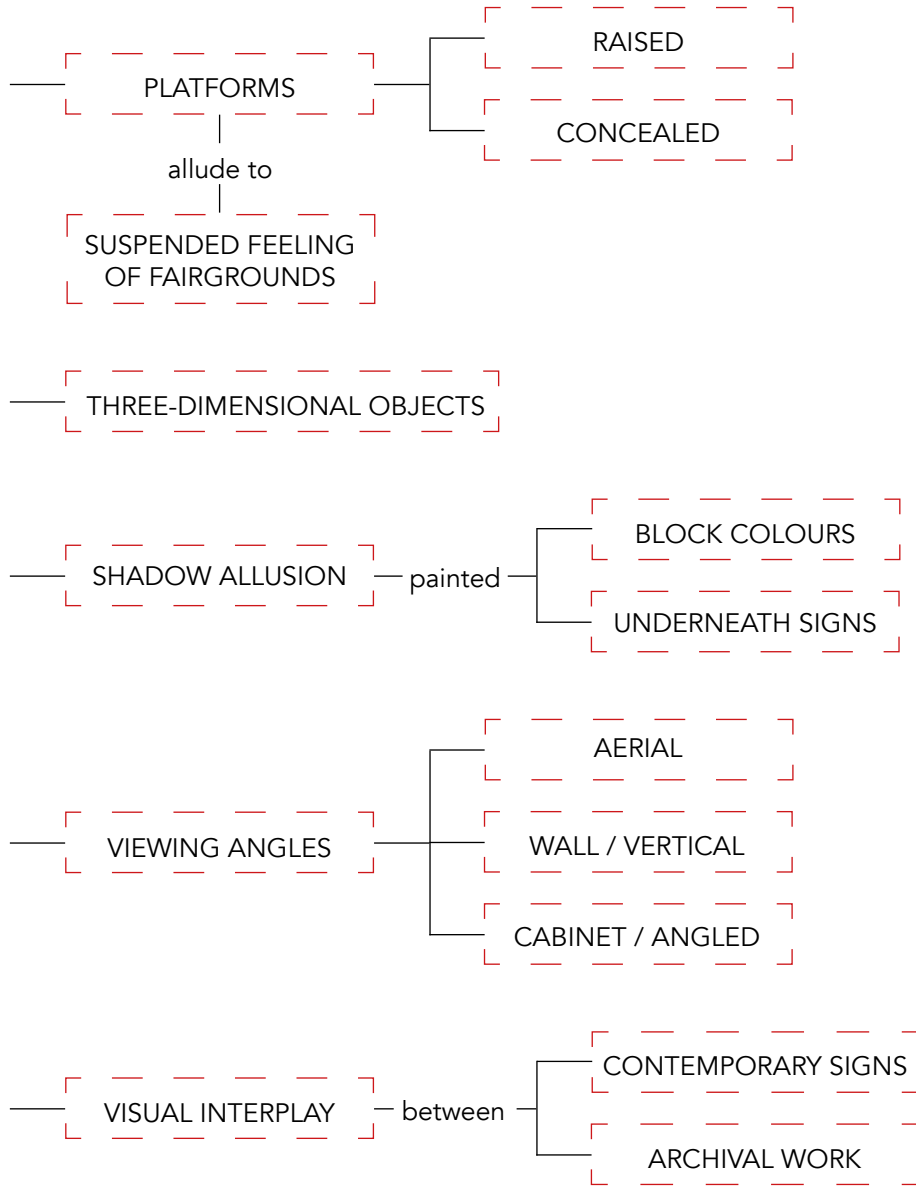
Fig.44 – *Illustration Research as Practice: Archival Boxes* – [return to text](#)



CHAPTER 3.

IN PRACTICE: RE-ESTABLISHING IDENTITIES

1. ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS:



PHYSICAL ARTWORKS (CONTENT):

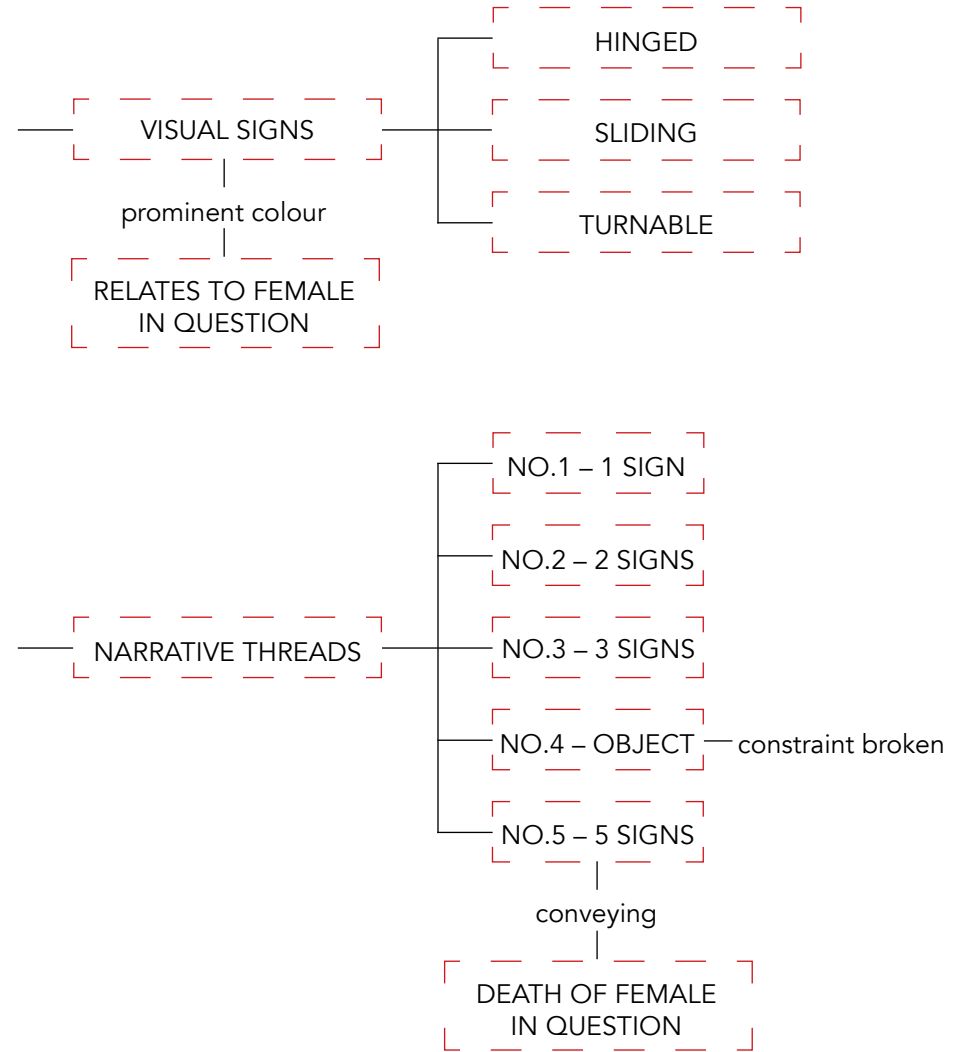




Fig.47 – The (complete) Archive as Illustrated Space – [return to text](#)

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Keating, William, *766 photographs, large-size negatives and glass plate negatives*, NFA00066, NFCA, Western Bank Library, University of Sheffield.

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Swindlehurst, Phillip, *310 original cabinet cards and postcards*, NFA00040, NFCA, Western Bank Library, University of Sheffield.

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Oral History Interviews:

De-Vey, George, 10.04.2017, 7pm-8pm. Phone Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Gibbard, Marion, 09.06.2017, 4pm-5.30pm, Royal Cornwall Show Fairground. Personal Interview (with Clive Gibbard): no audio recording permitted.

Baber, Florence, 20.10.2017, 11pm-2pm, Ilkeston Fair, Derby. Personal Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Baber, Florence, 12.12.2017, 5pm-6pm. Phone Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Baber, Florence, 17.01.2018, 2pm-3.30pm, Market Harborough Cemetery. Personal Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Phillipps, Peter, 09.06.2017, 8am-11am, The Grand Organ Yard, Lanivet, Cornwall. Personal Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Phillipps, Peter, 24.02.2018, 4pm-6pm, The Grand Organ Yard, Lanivet, Cornwall. Personal Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Phipps, Delcia, 15.04.2017, 10am-4pm, Winter Quarters, Cullompton Yard, Devon. Personal Interview (with David Goodwin): no audio recording permitted.

Phipps, Delcia, 05.08.2017, 1pm-4pm, Anderton & Rowland's Fairground, Torbay, Devon. Personal Interview (with David Goodwin): no audio recording permitted.

Toulmin Vanessa, 18.10.2017, 10.30am-11.15am, National Fairground & Circus Archive, Sheffield. Personal Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Toulmin Vanessa, 22.02.2018. Email Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Wood, Dick, 04.04.2017, 10am-12.30pm, Tremayne Farm, Cornwall. Personal Interview (with Rosemary Wood): no audio recording permitted.

Wood, Dick, 15.08.2017, 10am-11am, Tremayne Farm, Cornwall. Personal Interview: no audio recording permitted.

Wood, Dick, 29.12.2017, 9am-11am, Tremayne Farm, Cornwall. Personal Interview (with David Goodwin): no audio recording permitted.