

## A Pocket History: Interpreting Wearer Biography in the Francis Golding Collection

Cyana Madsen

But what if, in a notebook filled with aphorisms, we find a reference, a reminder of an appointment, an address, or a laundry bill, should this be included in his works? Why not?

1

Slip your hand inside your nearest pocket. What do you find there: a grocery receipt, a note to yourself, your mobile phone (keeper of all information), perhaps...nothing? In that assemblage, did you tuck those objects inside for safekeeping, to remind you of something, or were they simply placed there until you could reach the nearest trashcan? If someone were to sort through your pockets in your absence, what could they divine about you from what they found?

This chapter looks inside one of the most workaday and intimate aspects of a garment, the pocket, for clues in interpreting the biography of the wearer. Arising from the discovery of objects in the pockets of garments in the Francis Golding (1944 - 2013) collection of worn twentieth and twenty first century menswear, this chapter proposes

that pocket contents are a meaningful and integral part of the garment and that their material analysis can provide a valuable tool toward understanding both the public and private dressed self.

The close examination of worn garments is a tool in dress-based research used to reveal information about the life lived in the stains, alterations and what material culture researcher Ellen Sampson calls signs of 'wornness'.<sup>2</sup> Whether tantalisingly specific mementoes or seemingly mundane ephemera, I suggest that the objects we keep in our pockets are a form of material memory on the dressed self, and therefore require a closer look.

This chapter examines objects from the Golding collection, acquired in 2016 by the Museum of London and the London College of Fashion Archives, approximately three years after his tragic death in a bicycling accident. In the absence of Golding's own testimony, analysis of his pocket contents seeks to understand how these retained mementos might have documented his public and private selves. To achieve this, a brief description of Golding's biography is provided and his status as an avid life-long collector is established. Theories on authorship and the dressed self frame analysis of his and other comparative collections of pocket contents, demonstrating that the seemingly-everyday practice of retaining pocket contents acts as a tangible form of materialised biography.

## The Francis Golding Collection

To frame the interpretation of pocket contents found in garments from the Golding collection, the following brief overview of his life is provided, establishing his biography through testimony of those who knew him, and in his own words.

Born in Cheshire in 1944, Golding grew up an only child in Macclesfield. After taking his examinations in English, Architecture and Fine Arts as an undergraduate at Clare College, Cambridge University he successfully completed the Civil Service exam and joined the Ministry of Public Building & Works in 1967. Golding was posted to Singapore, then to London where he continued to build a successful career, moving from the Civil Service to organisations including the Royal Commission on the Press and English Heritage. By 2013, the year of his death, Golding had become a respected independent architectural, planning and conservation consultant who contributed to notable London projects including the 'Gherkin' at 30 St Mary Axe and the Chelsea Barracks.

[Figure 1. Here]

[Handwritten letter from Francis Golding to a friend, dated September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1970.

Golding had an evolving sexual identity in his lifetime, referring to himself as a 'bi sexual libertine' in a letter to a friend in 1970 (**Figure 1**), and was described as gravitating 'to homosexuality' in an anonymous piece of writing from the same period, which he retained in his possession (**Figure 2**). He would later form a long-term relationship with art historian Satish Padiyar, and the two became civil partners in a 2006 ceremony in Islington, London. Based on testimony provided by Padiyar at the time of the Museum of London acquisition, Golding identified as gay for the majority of his adulthood.<sup>3</sup> As Golding lived through both pre- and post-Sexual Offences Act England<sup>1</sup>, he thus directly experienced the impact of changing government legislation and wider social acceptance on his personal life.

[Figure 2. Here]

[Typewritten description of Francis Golding by an anonymous writer, undated.]

Golding started collecting antique Chinese ceramics around 1970, while stationed in Singapore.<sup>4</sup> It was the beginning of a collection that would continue to

---

<sup>1</sup> The Sexual Offences Act 1967 legalised aspects of homosexuality between men in England and Wales.

grow for the rest of his life. After his death, a number of his collected pieces sold at auction through Christie's and a Jin to Yuan dynasty stoneware bottle from his collection was acquired by the British Museum. Insight into Golding's thoughts on the pleasure and meaning of his collections is revealed in two pieces he wrote shortly before his death. In a 2012 article for the Glass Circle News he contemplated that his motivations for accruing objects were 'reasons that are buried quite deep'<sup>5</sup>, an idea he explored further in a draft chapter titled 'On Collectors and Collecting'. He wrote:

When sitting next to a famous psychoanalyst at dinner and describing my interest and collecting I was handed the insight, obvious when you think about it, but still not realised by me for nearly forty years, that these objects represent to me freedom and life, not deadening possessions.<sup>6</sup>

This impulse to collect extended to Golding's clothing. In the same letter from 1970 where he described himself as "bi sexual", he described how he "tracked down" a pair of black patent boots he desired and sketched into the margins the complete ensemble he hoped to wear them with (**see Figure 1**). In the 1981 *Over 21* magazine feature 'Men of Distinction: it shows in their homes', Golding posed for a photoshoot in an orange shirt, pink sweater and matching trousers while offering in the accompanying interview that never throwing anything away was his solution for always having the right

thing to wear.<sup>7</sup> Golding not only acquired clothing for wear, but retained pieces long after their functional use. Analysis of the garments acquired by the Museum of London and London College of Fashion evidence how Golding's body changed size over the course of his life and he outgrew his clothing, yet he preserved these garments fitting the slimmer physique of his youth. Additionally, he inherited and wore his father's clothing, including a tuxedo jacket from Liverpool tailor John Bell commissioned in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and an Aquascutum coat originally worn by the elder Golding during the First World War, suggesting his connection to departed loved ones through their worn clothing.

Reviewing this textual and material evidence demonstrates the lifelong enthusiasm and deep attachment Golding had to clothing. Holding onto garments that had required his time and effort to assemble and which had helped materialise his specific vision of himself, and garments which represented those dear to him, suggest that for Golding his collected garments became an important site of self-documentation and memory.

### **Francis Golding's Pockets**

In 2015, Padiyar offered the Museum of London and London College of Fashion Archives the possibility of acquiring pieces from the collection, much of which had

remained in situ just as Golding had left it at the time of his death. As a whole, the collection comprised hundreds of individual garments, ranging from high street to designer purchases, worn by Golding over the span of his lifetime. Containing bold patterns and colours, garments purchased during his travels, and distinctive tailored pieces, the Golding collection reflects his interest in global and British fashion, and is representative of a man who was known as an 'original' dresser to colleagues and friends.<sup>8</sup> Offered as part of the acquisition were photos of Golding wearing a selection of the garments, illustrating how he put together his ensembles, where he wore them, and his posture and gesture when dressed.

I became involved with the Golding collection in 2016, after its arrival at the Museum of London. Under the guidance of curator Timothy Long, I worked as a collection volunteer with a team that assisted in the object analysis, cataloguing and photography of Golding's garments. During the close examination of the garments it became evident that the pockets of many pieces of the collection, particularly jackets and coats, contained additional objects.

Rather than the expected pocket detritus of lint and illegible fragments of packaging, they included items such as train tickets, a seashell, ticket stubs from the opera, a photobooth portrait of Golding, an airplane boarding pass, and a used book

of matches from a hotel in New York. The seemingly specific and well-kept nature of the pocket contents indicate a purpose to their presence; that Golding used his pockets to retain meaningful things over detritus. This begs the question of why Golding might collect and retain these particular items. Subsequent analysis of both the pocket contents and his garments compared with testimony from Padiyar and textual evidence from Golding himself, indicate an intentional accumulation and retention of mementos. One of the distinctions made in this chapter is the word “memento” to describe those objects which seem to indicate specific, meaningful moments in the life of the wearer, whereas “ephemera” implies those objects of daily, disposable use, like a shopping receipt.

[Figure 3. Here]

[Browns jacket owned and worn by Francis Golding. © Museum of London]

A notable example is a brown check wool blazer-style jacket from London shop Browns (**Figure 3**) which contained a significant number of mementos in the pockets (**Figure 4**) and exhibited a marked difference in signs of stretching and wear to the pockets when compared against the rest of the garment.



Analysis of the jacket and of photographs of Golding suggest that he might have incurred this wear through use of the pocket as storage space rather than as a place to tuck his hands. The photographs in the Museum of London acquisition record cover a wide date range, from Golding's childhood until shortly before the end of his life, both candid and posed. In reviewing these photos, only in two instances (a photograph from his civil partnership ceremony in 2006 and the *Over 21* magazine photoshoot from 1981), does Golding have his hands in his pockets. Though etiquette could be considered as a possible explanation; Golding was raised in an era where keeping one's hands in their pockets could still be perceived as 'poor deportment, lack of restraint and degeneracy'<sup>9</sup>, based on the number and nature of contents found in garments from his collection it could also be argued that Golding did not consider the pocket a place of gesture, but a private area of storage.

[Figure 4. Here]

[Objects found in the pockets of Francis Golding's Browns jacket.]

The mementos in the pocket of the Browns jacket are varied, and their analysis indicates that Golding used his pockets as a cursory place of storage as he moved through public life: travelling, eating, attending events. On closer inspection of these objects, it is the details which pinpoint Golding's location in place and time, and

through the act of retaining them, allow a glimpse of his private self. An inventory and analysis of the Browns jacket pocket contents illustrate this:

1. Photo booth photograph of Golding wearing spectacles, suit and tie. Image analysis against other photographs of Golding indicate it to have been taken some time in the 1970s. (Exterior chest pocket)
2. Novelty press pass, issued for the "Daily Planet" newspaper, undated. (Exterior right pocket)
3. Single journey transit ticket, undated. (Exterior right pocket)
4. Two tickets to the Royal Opera House performance of Sleeping Beauty, seated next to each other. Based on performance date, dated to Saturday, November 11th, 1978. (Exterior right pocket)
5. Two tickets to the Royal Opera House performance of L'Elisir D'Amore, seated next to each other. Based on performance date, dated to Thursday, January 1st, 1981. (Exterior right pocket)
6. Matchbook from the International Hotel, Jamaica, New York, undated. This hotel is believed to be a part of the Knotts chain, purchased by British investors in 1977 and subsequently remodelled.<sup>10</sup> (Exterior right pocket)
7. Business card from The Bond Street Antique Centre, undated. (Interior right chest pocket)

8. Dried leaves and twig, undated. (Exterior left pocket)
9. London transport ticket for London bus route 30, undated. (Exterior left pocket)
10. Half of a ticket reading "THANK YOU! COME AGAIN", undated. (Exterior left pocket)
11. British Overseas Airways Corporation plane ticket stub, identified by British Airways Archivist Jim Davies as a Heathrow to New York flight in the early 1970s. (Exterior left pocket)
12. Slip of white paper, possibly from a fortune cookie, printed with the words "The way to get things done is by yourself.", undated. (Exterior left pocket)
13. Terry's Waifa chocolate wrapping, undated. (Exterior left pocket)
14. Paper packet of McDonald's salt, undated. (Exterior left pocket)

The pocket contents range in dates from the British Airways boarding pass in the early 1970s to the two separate sets of Royal Opera House tickets for performances in 1978 and 1981. This is in keeping with the measurements of the jacket, which correlate to the slim physique of Golding apparent in photographs from the 1970s and 1980s. The jacket reveals discolouration in the lining around the armpits, embedded evidence of the garment having been worn somewhere close and warm. When read together with the tickets, this analysis evokes the image of Golding wearing the jacket in a crowded theatre or on a long transcontinental flight. The corresponding dates

demonstrate that Golding retained mementos over time, adding to the contents as he wore his clothing. Logic dictates that Golding would pocket these tickets during the performance or flight, but after the curtain fell and the plane landed, what immaterial aspect of these temporal objects made them difficult to part with?

An answer might be found in the clearly articulated joy and meaning Golding associated with his actively collected ceramics and clothing, associations which could be extended to the retained objects from his everyday life. By preserving these contents for years after their functional use in the garments he attended these events in, what was once functional ephemera became elevated to the status of memento. In line with this status, the pocket contents from the Museum of London Golding collection have been retained and are now linked in the collections database to the garments detailing known information about the event and where on the garment Golding had stored it.

### **Pocket Context**

To frame how Golding might have understood and experienced the pockets on his garments, it is worth considering the time he lived in and the type of clothing he wore, as well as examining comparable documented cases where the pocket contents

of noted collectors have been documented and retained after their garments were acquired in absentia.

Western dress scholarship has identified the design, construction and evolution of the pocket, and the influence of gender and class upon its function and contents.<sup>11</sup> This research has established that the pocket was a design convention in twentieth and twenty first century menswear, and would have been taken for granted as a place of safekeeping for Golding's possessions. Although dress scholarship agrees that the pocket has traditionally been a functional space on clothing, extant examples of pocket contents in situ on garments acquired into public collections are rare, leaving little opportunity for analysis. This scarcity may be attributed to most donations and acquisitions of garments passing through several hands, including those of the wearer, prior to entering the public collection. However, where surviving pocket contents exist, there is great potential for analysis which enriches interpretation of wearer biography, particularly when used in conjunction with other methods of research.

Examples which illustrate this potential include the pocket contents studied by Benjamin Whyman in the clothing of historian and landscape designer Sir Roy Strong (1935-) and art collector Mark Reed (1971-), acquired by Fashion Museums, Bath and the V&A respectively. Both Strong and Reed are thoughtful about their everyday dress

and collected and donated their worn clothing with an eye to long-term interpretation of their lives.<sup>12</sup> Strong had contents such as business cards and gardening wire in his pockets, supplemented with handwritten notecards outlining biographical detail about wear (dates, events, preference) placed in his garments at the time of donation.<sup>13</sup>

Whyman found a piece of sheet music in one of Reed's pockets and was able to interview him about the object, which Reed testified was representative of his interest in performing and an active social life.<sup>14</sup> These two men, who could be considered contemporaries to Golding in dress and collecting habits, provided direct testimony which supports the argument that what they retained in their pockets could provide key evidence to interpret their private and public lives without their own accounts.

The Library of Congress in Washington DC holds two excellent examples of pocket contents acquired without accompanying testimony from the wearer, which reveal intimate aspects of their biography. First, are the pocket contents of President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) from the night of his assassination.<sup>15</sup> In the assemblage, alongside everyday items such as his spectacles and watch, are eight flattering newspaper clippings about the President, and oddly perhaps, a Confederate five-dollar bill. These mementos survive as material evidence of how Lincoln might have privately perceived events which he was publicly, and centrally, involved in.

A second example are the mementos once held in the exceptionally roomy pockets of designer Ray Eames (1912-1988), which she had specifically constructed in her signature a-line skirts to accommodate her pocket contents.<sup>16</sup> Over 300 of what Senior Archivists Tracey Barton and Margaret McAleer dubbed 'packets' of objects were discovered during the archival curation of the personal and professional effects she donated to the Library of Congress.<sup>17</sup> A natural collector throughout her adult life,<sup>18</sup> Eames would accrue mementos such as greeting cards, design sketches, and notes to self jotted onto cigarette wrappers in her pockets, subsequently moving the assemblages into vessels ranging from silk scarves to envelopes for long-term storage. Though she did not provide accompanying testimony about the mementos, the care with which she retained them demonstrate what Barton and McAleer term 'a conscious selection, a careful bundling of items, on Ray's part'.<sup>19</sup> As with signs of stretch and wear to Golding's pockets, Eames's bespoke garments indicate her use of the pocket as a site for storing memory on her dressed body and her pocket contents as those memories materialised.

Inventories of pocket contents can also illustrate less documented lives. Historian Hallie Rubenhold used pocket contents to highlight the precarity of life for working women in Victorian London, through police inventories of objects found on the bodies of four of the women murdered by 'Jack the Ripper': Mary Ann 'Polly' Nichols (1845-1888), Annie

Chapman (1840-1888), Elizabeth Stride (1843-1888) and Catherine Eddowes (1842-1888). The lists revealed objects these women kept close both for personal care and for pawning or selling, illuminating aspects of their biography through what they deemed necessary to keep close for survival.<sup>20</sup> With the women and their objects now absent, these inventories detailing items such as combs, spoons and tea are now the lasting testament to their daily lives.

When the original wearer is no longer able to articulate the experience of their day-to-day life, as in the case of Golding, it is evident from these above examples that material analysis of what they choose to keep on their dressed self can act as a powerful interpretative tool. Even if, as in the case of Strong and Reed, they can elaborate in their own words, close examination of pocket contents might further flesh out this testimony.

## **Object Biography**

The concept of object biography provides a useful lens through which to frame analysis of Golding's pocket contents. As anthropologist Igor Kopytoff observed, studying what things people choose to surround themselves with (particularly with objects which have reached the end of their 'functional' life as with the mementos retained by Golding) can do much to illuminate the user's own story. When the wearer



of a garment is unavailable to provide direct testimony themselves the 'biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure'<sup>21</sup>, with their clothing revealing intimate aspects of their biography in their place. Particularly with contents found in arguably the most private space on a dressed person, the pocket.

The concealing nature of the pocket is inextricable from its functional purpose of carrying everyday essentials and this dual capacity can serve all of the iterations of the dressed self in the world: what Joanne Eicher has termed the public, private and secret selves.<sup>22</sup> Eicher's theory that the conscious self is materialised through dressing the body is key in understanding how pocket contents, when considered as extension of the garment, can appear as both everyday detritus to the outsider yet be profoundly meaningful mementos to the wearer. Applying this theory to Golding's pocket contents allows a deeper reading of the objects: an old ticket stub is not just trash to the attendee, but a tangible reminder of a specific moment in his life, held close to his body.

Regarding pocket contents as integral to the whole of the garment, and therefore equally as representative of us, engages with the concept in dress studies that our clothing can act as an extension or totality of our bodily self.<sup>23</sup> We are, as Peter Stallybrass continues, '...there in the wrinkles of the elbows...in the stains of the

jacket...in the smell of the armpits'<sup>24</sup>. Collecting and keeping objects close to our bodies through storing them in our pockets reinforces this materialisation of self. As the edge of the pocket shows wear or sags with the weight of its meaningful contents, the fabric becomes shaped in a sense to our memories. Our clothing, and pocket contents, can endure long after our lives have ended, and leave meaningful messages about our identities in our wake. Extending this concept of embodied memory in the materiality of clothing to pocket contents helps when speculating on the volume of mementos within the Golding collection. Did the weight, the sight, the ability to reach into his pocket and feel those objects make his own memories more tangible?

The motivation for Golding to keep mementos close to his body is only hypothesis without his explicit testimony. However, when considering his possible motivations for collecting and retaining pocket contents, it is worth considering his thoughts on his clothing, framed within the life writing tradition of the 'egodocument' (also ego document). Coined by Dutch historian Jacob (Jacques) Presser in the 1950s, the term encompasses autobiographical writing which specifically centres the author's feelings and experiences.<sup>25</sup> What has typically been included within this term are diaries, journals, letters; with the focus of the document being the lived experience of the author, rather than wider contemporaneous events. The intimate, autobiographical

nature of the egodocument is reflected in Golding's written association of self through his clothing, and I posit that it could also include the contents of his pockets.

A comparable example of life-writing through documentation of clothing can be found in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Klaidungsbüchlein ('book of fashion') compiled by Matthäus Schwarz (1497-c.1574). A bookkeeper in the employ of the powerful Fugger merchant dynasty in Renaissance-era Augsburg, Schwarz created one of the earliest surviving documents of the dressed masculine self. Throughout his lifetime Schwarz commissioned detailed full colour renderings of his ensembles, marking the drawings with handwritten notes on contemporaneous affairs both public and private, and bound them into a single unpublished volume. It is clear that he took an interest in making his dressed body a public site of discourse: his style of dress was as flamboyant as sumptuary laws at the time would allow, and his 'book of fashion' documents his wearing of elaborate ensembles to participate in public life. More than four centuries later, Golding used his own sartorial choices as a means of self-expression in relatively conservative environments such as the civil service and commercial architecture.

Schwarz's book has been situated in the wider study of masculinities, his processing of historical events located in his documentation of his ensembles. His book demonstrates what historian Gabriele Mentges identifies as a 'process of coming to grips with himself

and the world"" and she argues that his book is a form of egodocument.<sup>27</sup> Consider the letter Golding wrote (**see Figure 1**) about his own identity in relation to examples of Schwarz's writing, which demonstrate how Schwarz used his garments as material embodiment of his temporal experience:

October 11, 1515, when Francesco, king of France, rode into Milan after the battle, master Ambrosio clad me in this way, not from silk...<sup>28</sup>

On 2 December, 1521, during the plague in Augsburg. The gown with a velvet trimming, the bonnet embroidered with velvet, the lining of the best marten fur...<sup>29</sup>

Schwarz marked time through documenting the specific items of clothing he was wearing, making his experience of life inextricable from his dressed self. In view of the similarities between the two men born centuries apart; both successful, urbane men with a documented interest in dressing to affect, could the framework of the egodocument also be applied to Golding's dressed body?

Historian Rudolf Dekker asks 'to what extent ego documents were of a private nature, and whether the authors had a certain audience in mind.'<sup>30</sup> As with Schwarz and his

unpublished yet meticulously kept 'book of fashion', this question could equally be asked of Golding's pocket contents. During one of curator Timothy Long's research visits to their home, Padiyar shared with him a hand-written addendum Golding had made to his will, which indicated specific objects he wished to give to his friends and the donation of the stoneware bottle to the British Museum. This evidences an awareness and possible additional motivation for Golding to retaining his accumulations: that his objects would hold meaning to those closest to him in his corporeal absence.<sup>31</sup>

If Golding did use his garments, and his pocket contents, as a form of life writing, were they retained only for reading by others? Golding was a prolific letter writer and left thousands of pieces of correspondence behind after his death<sup>32</sup> in addition to publishing professional articles during the course of his career.<sup>33</sup> He did not seem to have issues articulating himself publicly and he was a self-identified collector who assigned objects with personal meanings of 'freedom and life'. Yet Golding was living at times and in places (pre-Sexual Offences Act England; Singapore) where being gay was illegal and it could be argued that this may have impacted the presentation and performance of his public self. He writes in the letter from 1970 that '...any deviation at all from the bourgeois sexual norms...' was '...a very bad sign indeed.'**(see Figure 1)**

Framed in this way, Golding's dressed body can be viewed as an extension of his private self in the public world. By selecting tailored masculine dress to wear in his professional life, Golding reinforced his perceived 'maleness' and it could be argued, was able to move through that sphere with relative ease. Yet the garments he selected were distinctive and deviated from standard office suiting, differentiating himself from his peers and establishing Golding as a type of creatively-minded 'dandy'.

In *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel* Shaun Cole examined this type of performance and the construction of the 'gay space in the midst of, yet invisible to, the dominant culture' through the dressed body.<sup>35</sup> He writes of signifiers in twentieth century dress which allowed gay men to identify and interact with members of their community while minimising or avoiding detection by the 'outside' world. These signifiers tend to specific elements of dress: a grey suede shoe or perfectly broken in pair of Levi's jeans. Although sexuality is not simply a pair of shoes one can remove at the end of the day, Cole points out that gay men who knowingly engage with semiotics through their clothing may do so not only to engage with other men, but also to disengage, having 'no desire to announce this either to other gay men or to straight society through their dress.'<sup>36</sup> Golding came of age in the mid-twentieth century, when these sartorial codes were still firmly in use and textual evidence (as in Figure 1, the letter from 1970) indicates that he understood and could effectively control his

presentation of sexuality through his dress. The mementos Golding collected and retained in his pockets are material evidence of how adroitly he used his clothing to navigate his daily, public life.

## Conclusion

Having established pocket contents as an integral part of the garment, and a valuable research tool when analysing worn clothing, one might question the focus on reading those objects which could be understood as meaningful mementos, versus ephemera. I return to the question posed by Michel Foucault at the beginning of this chapter. He asks, 'Assuming that we are dealing with an author, is everything he wrote and said, everything he left behind, to be included in his work?'<sup>37</sup> For researchers examining biography, the form can be as important as the content when considering pocket contents, by virtue of the fact that it was retained at all. For example, Dekker's research of the life of nineteenth century apothecary Hendrik Keettell led him to '...little more than a collection of scraps of paper',<sup>38</sup> requiring him to sift through over 2000 sheets of tissue paper on which Keettell wrote his diary. For Dekker, the tissue paper became as integral to materialising the life of the writer as the content written therein, as it became emblematic of Keettell's daily occupation. Even the chocolate wrapper that didn't quite make it to the trash might illustrate Golding's everyday and locate

important moments in his life. While research to this point has focused on the items (plane and theatre tickets) which are clearly identifiable as notable experiences in his life, further study of the seemingly more ephemeral pocket contents could reveal fascinating new insights into his experience of life in twentieth and twenty first century London.

The discovery of pocket contents in the collection of Francis Golding has raised questions about how he might have documented his experience of everyday life. The absence of explicit testimony from Golding has created a space for curatorial interpretation and to make connections between his biography, and to those of other collectors through history. Ultimately without Golding's own testimony, speculating at how he regarded his pockets and their contents is just that: speculation. In order to attempt an understanding at wearer motivations, the researcher must draw on as many available sources of information as possible to construct the wearer's biography: oral testimony, photographs, letters and other texts, and material memory. Close analysis of Golding's garments has demonstrated that the memory of a life lived can be found in the creases and stains of the garments, but also in what is held in the pockets of these garments.



Golding found the act of collecting objects meaningful in his life, a sentiment he publicly articulated and one that he demonstrated through those intimate possessions he left in his wake. Through study of this textual and material evidence, I have proposed that Golding's accrual and retention of pocket contents was an act of self-documentation in the tradition of life-writing. Considering his pocket contents as this type of document has enriched my engagement with and interpretation of Golding's wider collection of clothing and his biography. As examples in this chapter have demonstrated, pocket contents can be used to reveal events in a wearer's life that would not be explicit from analysing the garment in isolation.

Pocket contents materialise moments of lived, everyday lives and therefore must be included in wider discussions of the design history and social meaning of the pocket. It is evident that where surviving pocket contents exist, it is vitally important that collections not only retain the contents but that they are documented as an integral part of the whole garment. Ensuring this connection exists and preserving the pocket contents for future research may enhance understanding of how our garments represent our secret and private selves in the public realm.

## Bibliography

Arnold, Rebecca. "On Pockets". COS (blog). No date.

[https://www.cosstores.com/en\\_gbp/explore/projects/design/on-pockets.html](https://www.cosstores.com/en_gbp/explore/projects/design/on-pockets.html).

*Bags: Inside Out*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, November 21, 2020-September 12, 2021. Exhibition.

Barton, Tracey and McAleer, Margaret. Email correspondence to Cyana Madsen. September 27, 2018.

Burman Baines, Barbara. *Fashion Revivals: From the Elizabethan Age to the Present Day*. London: Batsford. 1981.

Burman, Barbara. "Pocketing the Difference: Gender and Pockets in Nineteenth-Century Britain". In *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, edited by Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin, 77 - 99. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003.

Burman, Barbara and Fennetaux, Ariane. *The Pocket: A Hidden History of Women's Lives, 1660-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2019.

Carlson, Hannah. 'Stella Blum Grant Report: Idle Hands and Empty Pockets: Postures of Leisure', *Dress*, 35(1), 7-27. DOI: 10.1179/036121108805252844. 2008.

Cole, Shaun. *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel*. Oxford: Berg. 2000.

Dekker, Rudolf M. "Egodocuments in the Netherlands from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century". In *Envisioning Self and Status: Self-Representation in the Low*

*Countries 1400-1700*, edited by Erin Griffey, 255-285. Hull: Association for Low Countries Studies in Great Britain and Ireland (ALCS), 1999.

Dekker, Rudolf M. *Egdocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context Since the Middle Ages*. Uitgeverij Verloren: Hilversum. 2002.

Edwards, Lydia. *How to Read a Suit: A Guide to Changing Men's Fashion from the 17th to the 20th Century*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2020.

Eicher, Joanne B. "Influence of changing resources on clothing -- textiles and quality of life". *Association of College Professors of Textiles and Clothing, St. Louis, MO*. 1981: 36-41. <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/162458>.

Entwistle, J. *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity. 2015.

Flugel, J.C. *The psychology of clothes*. New York: AMS Press. 1976.

Foucault, Michel, Donald F. Bouchard, and Sherry Simon. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Foucault, Michel. "What is an Author?". In *The Book History Reader*, edited by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 225-230. New York: Routledge. 2002.

Giovannini, Joseph. "The Office of Charles Eames and Ray Kaiser: The Material Trail". In *The Work of Charles and Ray Eames: A Legacy of Invention*, edited by Donald Albrecht, 44-71. London: Harry N. Abrams in association with the Library of Congress and the Vitra Design Museum. 1997.

Golding, Francis. "Building in context: New development in historic areas". Online Guide, Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), 2002.

<https://www.designcouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/asset/document/building-in-context-new-development-in-historic-areas.pdf>.

Golding, Francis. "State Intervention/or Conservation in a Mixed Economy: Policy and Practice in the United Kingdom". Paper presented at International Scientific Symposium Economics of Conservation, Sri Lanka. November 15, 2011.

Golding, Francis. "The collecting compulsion". *Glass Circle News* 129, 35, 2, (2012): 6-8.

Golding, Francis. "On Collectors and Collecting". In *Francis Golding*, edited by Satish Padiyar, 50-57. Self-published, 2015.

Honcoop, Nelleke. "Plenty Of Pockets: Pockets As A 1940s Wartime Phenomenon". *Documenting Fashion* (blog). October 24, 2017.

<http://blog.courtauld.ac.uk/documentingfashion/2017/10/24/plenty-pockets/>.

Kopytoff, Igor. "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process". In *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64-91. University of Pennsylvania: Cambridge University Press. I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1986

Library of Congress. "Detail of the coat Abraham Lincoln wore the night he was assassinated at Ford's Theatre. Artifact in the museum collection, National Park Service,

Ford's Theatre National Historic Site, Washington, D.C.". Accessed March 29, 2021.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/2010630355/>.

Library of Congress. "The contents of Abraham Lincoln's pockets on the evening of his assassination". Accessed March 29, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/scsm001049/>.

Library of Congress. "Eames Collection" (unprocessed portion). Accessed March 29, 2021. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2010649597/>.

Long, Timothy. Interviewed by Cyana Madsen. November 3, 2018.

Mentges, Gabriele. "Fashion, Time and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496-1564". In *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, edited by Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin, 12-32. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003.

Moloney, Alison. "The Dress of Charles and Ray Eames". In *The World of Charles and Ray Eames*, edited by Catherine Ince and Lotte Johnson, 148-152. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2015.

Oser, Alan S. 1977. 'About Real Estate'. *The New York Times*. March 9.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1977/03/09/archives/about-real-estate-british-buyer-of-the-knott-hotels-gains-madison.html>.

Over 21. 'Men of Distinction: it shows in their homes'. Issue 111, August 1981. 47.

Padiyar, S. Email correspondence to Cyana Madsen. April 25, 2021.

*Pockets to Purses: Fashion + Function*. The Museum at FIT, New York City, March 6–31, 2018. Online Exhibition. <https://www.fitnyc.edu/museum/exhibitions/pockets-to-purses.php>.

Rubenhold, Hallie. *The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper*. London: Doubleday. 2020.

Rublack, Ulinka and Hayward, Maria. *The First Book of Fashion: The Book and Clothes of Matthäus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2015.

Rudofsky, Bernard. *Are Clothes Modern?: An Essay on Contemporary Apparel*. (Chicago): P. Theobald, 1947.

Sampson, Ellen. *Worn : footwear, attachment and affects of wear*. London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts. 2020.

Schwarz, Matthäus. "The First Book of Fashion: Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg". In *The First Book of Fashion: The Book and Clothes of Matthäus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg*", edited by Ulinka Rublack and Maria Hayward, 49-182. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2015.

Stallybrass, Peter. "Worn Worlds: Clothes, Mourning and the Life of Things". In *The Textile Reader*, edited by Jessica Hemmings, 68-77. Oxford: Berg, 2012.

Unsworth, Rebecca. "Hands deep in history: Pockets in men and women's dress in Western Europe, c. 1480–1630". *Costume* 51, 2 (2017): 148-70.

VADS: The Online Resource for Visual Art. "Pockets of History". Accessed March 29, 2021. <https://vads.ac.uk/collections/POCKETS.html>.

Victoria and Albert Museum. "A history of pockets". No date.

<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/a/history-of-pockets/>.

Whyman, Benjamin. "To collect - or not: Sir Roy Strong CH and his wardrobe", *Critical Studies in Men's Fashion*, 4, 1 (2017): 43-62.

Whyman, Benjamin. "How can material culture analysis of fashionable menswear augment biographical and museological interpretations? A critical analysis of three wardrobes of menswear at the Victoria and Albert Museum and Fashion Museum, Bath". PhD thesis, University of the Arts London, 2019.

Wilson, E. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*. London: I.B. Tauris. 2003.

---

<sup>1</sup> Foucault, Bouchard, and Simon, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> Sampson, *Worn: footwear, attachment and affects of wear*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Long, Interviewed by Cyana Madsen, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Golding, "On Collectors and Collecting", 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Golding, "The collecting compulsion", 2012

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 56.

<sup>7</sup> 'Men of Distinction: it shows in their homes', *Over 21*, Issue 111, August, 1981, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Satish Padiyar, email to Cyana Madsen, 2021.

<sup>9</sup> Burman, 'Pocketing the Difference: Gender and Pockets in Nineteenth-Century Britain', 93.

<sup>10</sup> Oser, 'About Real Estate', *New York Times*, March 9, 1977, 86.

<sup>11</sup> *Bags: Inside Out*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, November 21, 2020-September 12, 2021. Exhibition;

Burman, "Pocketing the Difference: Gender and Pockets in Nineteenth-Century Britain". In *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, edited by Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin, 77 - 99. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003; Burman and Fennetaux, *The Pocket: A Hidden History of Women's Lives, 1660-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2019; Carlson, 'Stella Blum Grant Report: Idle Hands and Empty Pockets: Postures of Leisure', *Dress*, 35(1), 7-27. DOI: 10.1179/036121108805252844. 2008; ; *Pockets to Purses: Fashion + Function*. The Museum at FIT, New York City, March 6–31, 2018. Online Exhibition. <https://www.fitnyc.edu/museum/exhibitions/pockets-to-purses.php>; Rudofsky, *Are Clothes Modern?: An Essay on Contemporary Apparel*. (Chicago): P. Theobald, 1947; Unsworth, "Hands deep in history: Pockets in men and women's dress in Western Europe, c. 1480–1630". *Costume* 51, 2 (2017): 148-70; Victoria and Albert Museum. "A history of pockets". No date. <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/a/history-of-pockets/>.

<sup>12</sup> Whyman, "To collect - or not: Sir Roy Strong CH and his wardrobe", 2017; Whyman, "How can material culture analysis of fashionable menswear augment biographical and museological interpretations? A critical analysis of three wardrobes of menswear at the Victoria and Albert Museum and Fashion Museum, Bath," (PhD thesis, University of the Arts London, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> Whyman, "To collect - or not: Sir Roy Strong CH and his wardrobe", 51

<sup>14</sup> Whyman, "How can material culture analysis of fashionable menswear augment biographical and museological interpretations? A critical analysis of three wardrobes of menswear at the Victoria and Albert Museum and Fashion Museum, Bath", 241-242.

<sup>15</sup> "The contents of Abraham Lincoln's pockets on the evening of his assassination", Library of Congress, accessed March 29, 2021.

<sup>16</sup> Alison Moloney, "The Dress of Charles and Ray Eames", 150.

<sup>17</sup> Tracey Barton and Margaret McAleer, email to Cyana Madsen, 2018.

<sup>18</sup> Giovannini, "The Office of Charles Eames and Ray Kaiser: The Material Trail", 1997; Moloney, "The Dress of Charles and Ray Eames", 2015.

<sup>19</sup> Tracey Barton and Margaret McAleer, email to Cyana Madsen, 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Rubenhold, *The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper*, 349.

<sup>21</sup> Kopytoff, "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process", 68.

<sup>22</sup> Eicher, "Influence of changing resources on clothing -- textiles and quality of life", 1981.

<sup>23</sup> Entwistle, J. *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity. 2015;

Flugel, J.C. *The psychology of clothes*. New York: AMS Press. 1976; Wilson, E. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*. London: I.B. Tauris. 2003.

<sup>24</sup> Stallybrass, "Worn Worlds: Clothes, Mourning and the Life of Things", 69.

<sup>25</sup> Dekker, *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context Since the Middle Ages*, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Mentges, "Fashion, Time and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496-1564", 29.

<sup>28</sup> Schwarz, "The First Book of Fashion: Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg", 77.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 101.

<sup>30</sup> Dekker, Rudolf M. *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context Since the Middle Ages*. Uitgeverij Verloren: Hilversum. 2002, 15.

<sup>31</sup> Long, interviewed by Cyana Madsen, 2018; Padiyar, email to Cyana Madsen, 2021

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>33</sup> Golding, "Building in context: New development in historic areas", 2002; Golding, "State Intervention/or Conservation in a Mixed Economy: Policy and Practice in the United Kingdom", 2011.



---

<sup>35</sup> Cole, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel*, 61.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>37</sup> Foucault, Bouchard, and Simon, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, 118.

<sup>38</sup> Dekker, "Egodocuments in the Netherlands from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century", 4.