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BEYOND NOSTALGIA

The role of affect in generating historical understanding at heritage sites

Kate Gregory and Andrea Witcomb

Affect is increasingly recognised as an important means to achieve audience participation in the process of making meaning. As Dipesh Chakrabarty (2002) argues, in a world which is increasingly defined by experiential and immersive technologies, traditional ways of producing and disseminating knowledge are no longer sufficient to equip contemporary citizens. Rather than analytical didactic approaches to representation, Chakrabarty argues that it is embodied forms of knowledge apprehended by the senses rather than through analytical processes that we need to understand. This shift in knowledge production privileges performative models of democratic engagement rather than pedagogical ones. In his schema it is the body rather than the mind which is the privileged site of knowledge production. For Chakrabarty, it is the subjective, felt response that is the most relevant for contemporary forms of political engagement.

This chapter aims to understand how embodied forms of knowledge production, such as affect, can be mobilised to produce new forms of historical understanding in contemporary audiences. It explores how emotional responses open up possibilities for interpretation that engage with the politics of representation and identity formation. In doing so, this chapter engages with recent work on affect which attempts to connect it to the cultural and political sphere. Chakrabarty's own work is part of this attempt. While at first glance Chakrabarty's arguments would appear to reinforce a Cartesian split between the mind and the body, he does suggest that embodied forms of knowledge, while working through the senses, also draw upon memory. He thus opens the door to developing an understanding of how affective forms of knowledge might connect with social and individual identity and therefore with the political. This approach relates to a number of writers who are exploring the importance of affect for the maintenance and production of memory as well as social and cultural understanding.

In the context of museological forms of display, for example, Marius Kwint (1999) has explored the importance of objects for their capacity to invoke memory and sensory engagement. In his analysis, objects are productive forces. They both trigger memory and carry meaning. They therefore open a space of evocation which, as he argues, implies an open dialogue between the object, the maker and the consumer in constructing meaning.

Likewise, Susan Stewart (1999) has long argued that objects have the power to touch, to move and summon something else. Brian Massumi (2002) similarly understands affect as
being about potentialities and a productive force. Concerned to understand how and why we are being shaped by media and architectural environments in contemporary society, he posits a 'physiology of perception' in which he analyses sensory forms of knowledge as being driven by affect. Masumi understands affect as a moment of confrontation in which there are many possibilities, a moment embedded with potential responses, reactions and directions which is characterised by a sense of openness.

Masumi's understanding of affect might be seen to be similar to Walter Benjamin's notion of the dialectical image. For Benjamin (1999: ref. N10a, 3475, 1970), the dialectical image was the product of a confrontation between the past, present and future, in which linear understandings of time, such as chronology, disappeared and were replaced with insights produced out of a sense of historical difference. A sense of shock or surprise was essential to the production of such insights. Benjamin was thus highlighting the affective and experiential aspect of historical understanding; an insight which is useful for exploring the use of affective modes of interpretation in both museums and heritage sites.

What is an affective experience?

There have been various attempts to describe affect in operation, usually by art historians in their analysis of art, but also by architectural writers and cognitive theorists. An early attempt to theorise affect was that of Silvan S. Tomkins and Carroll E. Izard (1964). Psychologists, Tomkins and Izard argued that there were nine innate affective states, most of which operate along a continuum: interest-excitement; enjoyment-joy; surprise-startle; distress-anguish; shame-humiliation; disgust (dis-taste); dissmell (dis-smell, or bad smell); anger-rage; fear-anxiety. What is clear from this classification is that affective states document emotional responses to experiences, which can range from the pleasurable to the intolerable.

Art and architectural critics have provided another perspective on affect, by showing how affective experience registers on the body. They have done this by addressing the affective dimensions of spatial interaction between art object, installation or space and the viewer. Such critics have recognised how viewers' bodies register this interaction through their sensory and physical responses — such as crouching, touching, listening, recoiling or the feeling of being enveloped by a space (Best 2001–2). They have pointed to the affective power of the art object by exploring how art induces interest and sensory engagement leading to a range of affective responses (Bennett 2001; Echie-Brown 1999; Brown 1960).

Cognitive theorists working on fiction have theorised affect in relation to narrative. Some types of fiction, they argue, work through simulation which enables the reader to respond empathetically with characters and their situations. Other cognitive theorists have argued for a wider understanding of our affective engagement with fiction by suggesting that fiction works through the creation of possible worlds rather than exclusively through character-based simulations (Meskin and Weinberg 2003). This understanding prioritises the notion of space as a productive entity full of new possibilities for affect which are not simply narrative driven.

The emphasis on the productive possibilities of space in the creation of meaning is relevant to exhibition contexts. As Suzanne MacLeod (2005) argues in the introduction to her edited collection Reshaping Museum Space, exhibition narratives are the product of both spatial and content-driven considerations. Museum spaces are 'active in the making of meaning' offering transformative possibilities (MacLeod 2005: 1). Importantly, she argues
that there is a history to the spatial characteristics of museums and therefore that these characteristics are open to change. Her recognition of the role of space in creating meaning is one that we wish to explore by linking it to the notion that narratives both create and are the result of 'possible worlds'. It may be possible to take this further by arguing that exhibitions are potential gateways to other possible worlds, that is, they offer moments of dialectical possibility in the way that Benjamin argued the photographic image did. This is because the narratives produced through affect are the result of the tensions and interplays between form and content or space and objects and the viewer.

Heritage sites also offer this potential because of the way they mediate between past and present, space and objects, absence and presence. The idea of the past as another world is evident in historical re-enactments and reconstructions, and in the ubiquitous idea of time-travel. This chapter explores how heritage sites might be thought of as possible worlds which work through affective corporeal and imaginative engagement to develop historical understanding. It does this by analysing the production of affect in two different types of heritage sites in Western Australia belonging to the National Trust of Australia (W.A.). The first are the historic house museums interpreted during the 1970s. The second are early twenty-first century interpretations of a remote historical settlement. The chapter traces how differences in these exhibition sites produce different modes of historical understanding. The Trust’s interpretation of historic house museums during the 1970s facilitated the affective responses of pleasure and empathy producing nostalgia that was not based on historical veracity. In one of the twenty-first century interpretations, pleasure and nostalgia have been replaced by an altogether different manifestation of affect which is based in corporeal sensation, intellectual shock and disorientation which ultimately opens up a critical awareness of the past. In another recent interpretation which uses pleasure and nostalgia, these are supplemented with archival evidence generating a more balanced celebration of past community life. In the 1970s nostalgia worked through simulation or reconstruction; in the later interpretation, nostalgia works through evocation or suggestion. All these interpretations use different forms of affect to produce historical understanding that speaks to different audiences.

Nostalgia one: the still life

Historic house museums potentially enable an affective engagement with the past. The perception of intangible traces of past life incites a range of emotional and cognitive experiences from interest or curiosity to pleasure, delight and wonder. When we perceive the imprints of past lives that are somehow embodied within the house, despite their actual presence being long gone, we experience a collapse of the present with the past, and momentarily enter another world. Such an affected response is heightened by the silence of the house, the absence of real life living within it. For in silence, in gaps, there is presence. Just as a sculpture gives shape to emptiness, so space, as much as to material form, the historic house plays with a delicate balance between presence and absence. As Monica Rivascoff de Gorgas (2001: 10) has observed, historic houses invoke 'a particular type of mental and emotional reaction' which is 'produced by the presence and absence of the people who once lived in the house'. Absence is in fact integral to its ability to invoke the presence of the past. Potentially, historic houses open up a space in which the intangible past can be sensed. This might commonly be described as a house having 'atmosphere'. However, this delicate balance can frequently collapse into mute, static pictures of the past, which do not affectively speak in the present.
In the 1970s, the Trust aimed to use its historic house museums to represent 'living homes', wanting to avoid 'museum-like' display methodologies. They were furnished to denote the lives of past inhabitants. Because the original furnishings were rarely intact in the Trust's historic houses, furnishings were used which were not provenanced to the house but lent an authentic air and gave the impression of the house being lived-in. The houses illustrate what Barbara Kinchenblatt-Gimblett (1998) has termed 'in-situ' displays that recreate settings and present them as a pre-existing and authentic 'slice of life'. The Trust ideally wanted visitors to feel as though they were stepping into the past, or as if the owners 'had just stepped out for a moment'. As Mrs Viva Johnstone commented in a letter to Mr Dunnett, 'in furnishing the cottage we aim to avoid a museum look, but to make it as true to history as possible but also as though the occupants had just stepped out into the garden for a moment'.

This was important if the Trust was to 'touch' the public, engage visitors emotionally and kinesthetically, and create an affective experience of the past which would in turn both educate and inspire the public to participate in heritage preservation. The Trust's policy of representing 'living' history thus aimed to facilitate an 'embodied knowledge' of the past. It had an implicitly pedagogical objective.

A visitor to the house museum Woodbridge was so affected by the site that she was inspired to put pen to paper (Figure 20.1). She submitted her poem for publication in the Trust's newsletter.

Woodbridge by Betty Lloyd-Mostyn (1978)
The house is full of ghosts today!  
Do you see, on the box verandahs,
Puff-sleeved ladies taking the air  
Flower-scented, whispering from the garden?

There is a child – one in the nursery  
Racking a surprise-eyed doll  
In a miniature chair.

And look there, the parasol waits  
To shade her walk across  
The lush green curving to din  
Water's rim.

Downstairs the table gleams,  
Immaculate with linen, starch-stiff,  
Appliqued intricately;  
Polished crystal rainbow-shafted,  
Silver, sheened, unmarked by finger-prints –  
'They' leave none, you see.

A posy and a fan lay here,  
A fur wrap casually draped around a chair  
By one lately returned  
From some elegant festivity.

The geranium hedges hide the lives  
Of flesh and blood inhabitants  
While we, intruders too,
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Walk whispering through the corridors
Of this still world.

Time
Holds its breath.

For audiences of the 1970s, the Trust's historic houses operated as a type of theatre set filled with furnishings which acted as props designed to trigger individual and cultural memory. Objects, as Marius Kwint, has observed, 'stimulate remembering' and arouse dormant memories. Furthermore, Kwint argues, objects are record-like in their capacity to hold cultural memory that speaks beyond individual experience. This collective memory is transmitted to us through the senses (Kwint 1999). Thus, filling the houses with historical objects was vital for the audience's mnemonic engagement. Ironically, however, as the Trust's collection grew through the 1970s and 1980s, many houses were filled with far too many objects, which actually prevented an affective response because there was no room for the important ingredient of absence. Unlike Sir John Soane's Museum in London where the density of objects operates to reveal the interior space and its meanings, the density of objects in the reconstructed historic houses owned by the Trust in Western Australia resulted in closed meaning and flatness — in a picture rather than a space unfolded and expanded into carefully conceived possibilities for viewing.

The objects furnishing Trust houses, and their arrangement, denoted nineteenth-century middle-class gentility. The house interiors were largely created by troops of volunteer

Figure 20.1 Woodbridge dining room, property of the National Trust of Australia (W.A.), 2005. Photo: Kate Gregory.
women in the Furniture and Furnishings Committee and in Property Management Committees and there is evidence to suggest that many of these women were 'playing house'; enacting their own style and taste, as informed by their own memories and experiences of middle-class gentility, through the furnishing. As Linda Young (2003) has found, middle-class gentility was an extremely broad category of experience, one which would have resonated with the vast majority of historic house visitors. Many visitors immediately empathised with the houses because they recognised objects and arrangements which were akin to their own middle-class family histories or, if not, the picture of gentility was one that they aspired to. Visitors' books of the 1970s provide evidence for this. Visitors were charmed by what they saw, noting that they'd 'like a house like it' and that they'd had a 'very pleasant experience' or a 'good excursion to nostalgia' which prompted their remembrance of 'the golden days'. Other visitors were flooded with specific memories of their own 'mothers and grandmothers'. Many visitors commented on the 'lovely old furnishings' which reminded them of 'days gone by'. The houses therefore 'spoke' to an audience who shared a cultural memory and recognised a rosy version of their own heritage. A consequence of this is that historic houses today have much less relevance because younger audiences do not share the same cultural memories nor the value of gentility. The houses therefore do not speak affectively to today's audience who are not subject to the same sense of pleasure or nostalgia and do not have memories of the objects held within the house.

Although each house was a picture of middle-upper class gentility, the lives of some of the original pioneering inhabitants were far from genteel. Hardship was glossed over, evidence of the role of servants or Aboriginal labour was wiped away, even bathrooms as sites of bodily ablation and therefore distasteful, were largely absent from the Trust historic houses. Indeed, in one house, a bathroom dating from the 1940s was transformed into a sewing room because this was thought to be more palatable and pleasure-inducing. Affect therefore worked to erase history but promoted social cohesion among a particular audience which saw its own values and aspirations reflected in the house.

The houses enabled pleasure and nostalgia because they represented the past in romantic terms. The knowledge which each house reinforced and created was mythical, generalized and essentialized. It was story-like rather than being based in historical accuracy. The aim was to enter the house and step into another realm which unfolded like a story book beginning with 'Once upon a time'. The visitor moves past the entrance hall and proceeds to marvel at the lovingly kept objects, the strange contraption in the kitchen, the gleaming silver, the perfect arrangements and the permanently set dining table. But frustratingly, we are kept at bay, prevented from fully inhabiting the rooms, turning our fingers over the velvet-covered chairs, holding that delicate teacup or admiring the view from the window. Red rope barricades at the entrance of each room keep us in a state of longing and curiosity. Our imagination is pricked, but not fully permitted to wander. Corporeal engagement is kept to a minimum. Instead of being inhabited, each room is viewed from a designated vantage point and becomes a 'picture' (Trust News 1978: 8). The red rope barricade transforms the fiction of a living house into a static picture. The house becomes a still-life and its capacity for affect is reduced.

Disrupting the past

If the limitations of the historic house trope are the inability to actually inhabit the space, touch the objects and the simplicity of the historical information being conveyed, these
limitations are explicitly addressed in more recent interpretations of historic sites. This is because, rather than inviting the visitor to inhabit a ready-made narrative and to make it their own through the trope of nostalgia, these sites are invitations to inhabit a space, not a picture. And one of the markers of this difference is the emptiness of the sites. While the initial affective responses are a sense of alienation and disorientation, the result is to demand a more inquisitive approach from the visitor, requiring them to produce their own interpretative narratives as a means to breach the gap left open. In contrast to the 1970s historic house, which achieves affective responses through its saturation of the site with objects in the effort to reconstruct the past, more recent interpretations of a different kind of historical site are marked by their emptiness. The consequences of this emptiness are an initial sense of alienation and disorientation which is then transformed in the act of interpretation by the visitor into an active critical reading of the past. The particular range of affective responses produced by this style of interpretation is also different, working particularly through the production of shock and surprise, enabling what Walter Benjamin called the production of a dialectical image in which a new awareness of the past is produced in the clash between received ideas about the past and the sense of radical difference from the present moment. For Benjamin this moment of recognition of difference was the moment in which critique was enabled. This chapter suggests that new forms of site interpretation also work in much the same way.

By way of example, we want to discuss the interpretation of Greenough by the National Trust of Australia (W.A.) which was done by Mulkaway studio architects in consultation with Paul Kloezen from Exhibition Services, both of which are based in Adelaide, South Australia. Contel Greenough is a historical site, abandoned after a flood in the 1950s. It lies just outside Geraldton, a regional centre and major port 420 kilometres north of Perth, capital of Western Australia (Figure 20.2).

The site's emptiness and relative isolation are part of its emotional attraction. It speaks of the past, it appears to be redolent with meaning, and yet that meaning is not nostalgic – if anything there is a sense of desolation and foreboding in walking and exploring what is left – an experience which is physically, visually and emotionally heightened by the effect of the wind – seen not only in the bent trees but viscerally felt on your face as you walk around. That sense of emptiness is reflected in the style of interpretation chosen for the entry to the site itself via the original settlement store. There is no attempt to recreate the store. Nor is there any attempt to flood you with contextual information through a more traditional social history type of display. Rather, there is a sense of emptiness with a few clues here and there. To get anything out of it you have to take your time and explore the space. In the process you begin to immerse yourself in the space itself as part of the effort to generate a narrative about this particular building and more generally about the site as a whole.

Entering the settlement through the shop door is most definitely not an invitation to enter a recreation of the past – unlike the remaining gate to the main street of the settlement, a leftover from a 1970s interpretation scheme. To begin with the door is made of heavy glass, is hard to push open and very clearly announces itself as a new element in the fabric of the building. On entering, you are faced not only with a sense of emptiness but also of whiteness (Figure 20.3). The building clearly announces that it has been cleaned up, renovated. The act of reconstruction can only be done by the visitor using the bare clues provided by the interpretation on offer – a kind of minimalist 'graffiti' on the walls with dates of major events in the life of the building, a few paint scrapes left bare to expose traces of the building's previous lives. The dominant aesthetic is clearly a modernist one – clean
Figure 20.2  Greenough settlement, property of the National Trust of Australia (W.A.), 2005.
Photo: Kate Gregory.

Figure 20.3  Greenough general store, property of the National Trust of Australia (W.A.), 2005.
Photo: Kate Gregory.
lines, no fussiness. The emptiness produced by this aesthetic treatment leaves open the necessary space to then react to the small amounts of introduced interpretative material which are provided. All of it clearly announces itself as introduced fabric – the map on the wall, the text on the wall, reproductions of historical photographs in light boxes and a few replica objects displayed as if they were art objects. The interesting thing is that almost all of these introduced fragments deal with a dark past – the moment of colonisation and what it meant. The imaginary landscape that is produced through these fragments of interpretation could not be a stronger contrast to the whiteness of the building the visitors are in.

The first clue that we are being asked to use our imaginations, comes with the large map that connects the store to the landscape it sits in, and beyond that to the history of settlement/invasion (Figure 20.4). For the map is an orientation both to geography and to the

Figure 20.4 View of map in Greenough general store, property of the National Trust of Australia (W.A.), 2005.

Photo: Kate Gregory.
presence of two cultures – coloniser and colonised. As the label for the map printed directly onto the wall proclaims:

A map is nothing more than a series of clues, clues as to where we are, where we have come from, and where we are going. Contour lines provide clues as to the natural landscape. Yamagiri words provide clues as to the natural landscape. Yamagiri words provide clues to the indigenous occupation of the land, their meeting places and yam grounds. Survey lines, roads, fences and building markings provide clues as to how it was settled by Europeans. But these are only clues. The reality lies beyond the map, all around us.

In approaching the map to read it more carefully, the viewer inevitably stands on it, replicating the position of the mapmaker/explorer. Unlike the earlier explorers, however, we cannot hide under the pretext of Terra Nullius for the map signals the presence of the indigenous people loud and clear. The viewer is thus implicated within this history.

The theme is continued in a simple but disturbing display consisting of four plinths supporting four props which are treated as if they were art objects and lit individually from above. The first one of these appears to be a dress pattern for an old-style dress but on closer inspection the pattern turns out to be by 'Backaroo Bobbins' @ 2003 with a 'Bonus Pattern for making your own sandbags ideal for protecting your home against rising floodwaters' with a little diagram of water lapping against sandbags. A sense of humour is clearly at play with a reference to the flood that led to the settlement's abandonment. The second prop offers a joke at the expense of the Trust itself and its past approaches to the interpretation of heritage. The prop consists of two bars of soap (Figure 20.5). Their labels, which form their wrapping, read: 'This soap is Sarah's Conservation Soap' with the words 'Sanities before public display', 'Try it on your site', 'Extraordinary Cleansing Powers', 'Removes All Unseemly Buildings and Stories', 'Produces Absolute Cleanliness on Heritage Sites'. Two Union Jack flags make up the brand emblem. This clearly alerts the visitor to the constructed nature of all heritage sites. It warns the visitor not to take everything at face value, to read beyond the immediately obvious.

Almost as if by way of example, we are immediately presented with the value of reading beyond the obvious. For the next prop is some coiled barbed wire fencing, appearing to all intents as if still wrapped up in its original wrapper. Closer inspection, however, reveals its dark side for the wrapper reads: 'Settler's Own ideal for disrupting nomadic lifestyles and keeping people out'. In a Benjaminian moment, we recoil, almost in horror at the matter-of-fact way in which this simple object is made to stand for the process of colonisation. The shock is really to realise how simple it was to prevent people from entering their traditional lands. Given that many of the pioneering families still live in the district and indeed facilitated the Trust's acquisition of this landscape, the comment could be considered brave or, alternatively, as alienating to the local community. The last prop, a tin with a wrapper around it reads: 'Extract of Rust – For debility and impoverishment. Free for all wheat farmers after 1865'. Despite being 'the granary of the colony' for a time, rust was a disease that affected the Greenough crops of wheat and sent many farmers into ruin.

Confronted by the messages contained in such innocuous looking objects we are now in a heightened state of shock. We are ready, however, to undertake a reading of the site which is open to its hidden messages and which refuses to understand the site through the rubric of a romanticised nostalgia for a bygone past. For the past is now full of ghosts and traces of
traumatic experiences. Almost as if recognising our need to take a break and to verbalise this new information, we walk out past an inviting seat in front of an extract from a diary printed onto the wall. The extract, taken from explorer George Grey's 1839 diary, represents perhaps one of the earliest Aboriginal accounts of European exploration in Western Australia. Grey recorded Noongar man Warrup's description of the journey he took looking for the men that Grey had left behind, only to find them dead.

The words in front of our eyes crystallise our thoughts and confirm, through their documentary status, that which we have always found difficult to face — that pioneering was in fact the process of invasion. Nostalgia is turned on its head. And all of this takes place before we even buy our ticket and enter the settlement itself.

Nostalgia twor layering the past

This does not mean, however, that nostalgia is not used as a productive force in contemporary practices of interpretation. In St Catherine's Hall, which was the local church and community hall, nostalgia is used to evoke a lost community. This is done through a combination of video footage, sound installation, photographs and archival documents set up in the darkened hall as if a performance is about to begin. In contrast to the whiteness of the settlement store which engages with dark and unsettling stories of colonisation, the darkened hall gives form to the lighter side of community life. A video of interviews with former local residents who lived in Greenough up until the 1950s is projected onto a large screen positioned in the centre of the stage at the front of the hall. Empty deck chairs nearly fill the
hall, invoking the absent community members and past performances while also inviting the visitor to sit and take a walk down memory lane with key protagonists. What they encounter is a layered historical account of Greenough told through the eyes of a number of perspectives. A local historian provides the wider historical context of the Greenough settlement, while former residents recall family and community life. Their stories are highly subjective, enlivened by laughter, tears, song and family photographs. A complex picture is created which illustrates the hall’s significance in the building and reinforcement of community identity. Its loss of function as a community hall is poignantly drawn through these layered stories, resulting in an emotional landscape tinged with nostalgia.

Another major interpretative move in the hall—a sound installation built into an old hall piano—further mobilises the sense of nostalgia. The visitor is prompted to sit down and play the piano by two red keys standing out amongst the ivory thereby triggering the sound installation. The space echoes with the sound of old dance-hall music and the visitor is filled with a desire to dance, at once inhabiting the emotional state of community dance-goers as they laugh and dance their way around the hall with family and friends. Former community celebrations at the hall are not just invoked but for a moment felt corporeally, viscerally and emotionally. As the music plays on, however, it down on the visitor that this is a lost activity; the site is imbued with the loss of its former life and role as a hub of community activity. Nostalgia is used to generate historical understanding and appreciation for the social dimensions of community history. A more traditional exhibition form, a free-standing interpretative panel which is read from both sides, presents the archival evidence for what we have already felt about the history of the hall—noises for dances, performances, reports about community hall activities and photographs. The imaginary and historical are brought together, each indispensable to the other in generating historical understanding. In St Catherine’s Hall nostalgia is balanced with archival evidence. The result is to layer the past with different meanings. This gives the interpretation greater potency and impact than the use of nostalgia in the 1970s interpretations of historic houses which were limited in their rosy, idealised vision of the past.

Conclusion

While these interpretative styles produce affective forms of embodied knowledge they do so for different generations and thus have different outcomes. In the 1970s historic house, the ambition was to recreate the past so that temporal distance was minimised. However, the living windows they created, although enabling audiences to glimpse aspects of the past, did not permit the visitor to fully enter this other world. The resulting distance produced a romantic vision of the past, creating nostalgia. Nevertheless, the picture presented created recognition, working to build consensus and a sense of a shared past. In contrast, more recent forms of interpretation have sought to create a disjuncture between past and present in order to open up a space of understanding or empathy. While the former is comforting, the latter is troubling and complex, revealing traces of the past in the present. That it does this through an intervention that critiques former attempts to recreate the past by using design tools that disrupt a closed text and allow for the creation of intentional gaps, should not come as a surprise. The visual elements of this form of interpretation are familiar to younger audiences who inhabit a consumerist space in which contemporary style is both message and medium. It is the contemporary equivalent of ‘living history’ as the 1970s attempt to engage with popular culture. At the same time, it reflects our contemporary understanding of
BEYOND NOSTALGIA

history as fragmentary, partial and impossible to recover. What we now need to understand is how such interpretations of historical sites are received by the audiences who visit them.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1 Letter from Mrs Viva Johnston to Mr Dunnett, 25 January 1966, in Mrs Johnston's file, Furnishing and Historic Objects Committee, Box 69, National Trust of Australia (W.A.) Archive, Woodbridge.


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