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**Using the Past:
Learning Histories,
Public Histories and Possibilities**

A Thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy in History
at
The University of Waikato
by
Mark Samuel Smith



THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Dedicated to Noel and Betsy

Abstract

This thesis explores the contemporary meaning of history and the relevance of history, historical knowledge and historical methodology for organisations. This research does so through a novel adaptation of a consulting methodology, the ‘Learning History Approach’, to understand what individuals and communities say and do about history.

Using the Past addresses two interconnected questions: how have the organisations selected for study utilised their pasts; and what can the learning history approach bring to the historical discipline? Through those questions this research explores historical consciousness at three New Zealand organisations and evaluates the potential of a new method of public history.

This thesis sits at the intersection of interdisciplinary research on historical consciousness, public history and ‘learning histories’ from organisational studies. This research shows how an adaptation of the original learning history methodology can both fit within and challenge the conceptual frameworks of public history.

Raising historical consciousness and engaging more people with the historical discipline is vital for the health of the historical discipline. Work by researchers such as Wineburg has shown that while ‘historical thinking’ is beneficial, it is also difficult, ‘unnatural’ and uncommon – therefore new ways to disseminate such thinking and expand participatory historical culture must be developed. This research shows the learning history approach to be an effective means of expanding participatory historical culture. This is because the approach draws participants into reflective and often transformational conversations about historiographical issues such as historical community and heritage.

This study finds organisational uses of history to be strongly associated with the performance and maintenance of identity. The research also reveals evidence that the past is still with us and that heritage and history are entangled. This research demonstrates the continuity of history and the utility of history for organisations, as well as the potential of the learning history approach. Ultimately, this work reflects the need to build a more participatory historical culture and the active role of academic, professional historians in realising that culture.

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Thank you to the more than sixty people who participated in this research; your willingness to engage with this research made it possible. Thank you for sharing your time with me. I hope that you find something for yourselves and your organisations in these pages.

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My thanks to the University of Waikato for granting me scholarships and the opportunity to work as Research Assistant for what was then the University's Public History Research Unit (now History Research Unit), as well as time away from the thesis to complete a book and to lecture for a semester.

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Chloé – Thank you for everything.

Author's note

What follows are brief clarifications of the use of the terms 'historiography' (and conjugations such as 'historiographical'), 'history' and 'the past' throughout this thesis. Historiography, where it appears in this thesis, generally refers to a broad sense of the term rather than a strict definition. That is to say, historiography as any consideration of the production of history and the historical discipline, rather than an examination of how historians look at the past.

Throughout this thesis the terms 'the past' and history are often used interchangeably. Yet at other times the words refer to very different definitions. Hopefully what is intended can be determined from context. To assist the reader, what follows is a description of my understanding of the terms. To me, the past is whatever has happened. However 'the past' is only knowable by a process of construction. Facts are constituted by the act of interpretation - and that interpretation is 'history'.

However I believe that the distinction is more complex than that. In conversation, 'the past' might mean 'what happened', but in practice 'the past' only exists in the present in terms of consequences, memory and representations. Setting aside consequences, for they can only be understood through representation, a key point here is that memories and representations are themselves interpretations - and that makes them 'history'. That is why this thesis sometimes uses the terms 'the past' and 'history' interchangeably - because in practice, the past is only accessible through representation, and that kind of production is history.

There is a further definition of the term history used in this thesis. At times I refer to disciplinary practices of history, what could be called credible or academic history - what is sometimes referred to as history with a capital 'H'. This concept of history is defined at length elsewhere in this thesis, but the essence of it is that I see the discipline of history as a socially constructed discourse, a number of practices (such as a commitment to accuracy, transparency in assumptions and methods, an appreciation of context and so on) that reflect and constitute what is called the historical discipline.

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Introduction

'A healthy, participatory, historical culture ... is worth the struggle':¹

Ken: And your thesis is what, it's about...

Prue: The use of history.

Mark: The uses of history.

Jill: The uses of history.

Prue: Yeah.

Ken: The *uses* of history. Oh yeah.

June: That's pretty wide isn't it?

Mark: It is. It's – yeah.

Ken: And what use you're – we're making of it.

Mark: Yes.

Ken: To try and...

Jill: And why it's important.

Prue: Why it's important and how, how people use it.

Ken: Yeah, why it's important, yeah. And how we're hanging on to it, here in this way. Yeah, I see, I see what you're about.²

Historical thinking matters. How history is used and what history means to individuals and communities beyond the academy has civic consequences. The excerpt above comes from the research undertaken for this thesis. It captures participants critically discussing the value of this research. Those talking are volunteers at Woodlands Historic Homestead and the author (Mark). This excerpt is included here to give an initial sense of the insightful and engaged nature of the conversations that came out of the innovative methodology that this research introduces to the historical discipline: the learning history approach.

¹ Roy Rosenzweig, "Not a Simple Task": Professional Historians Meet Popular Historymakers', *The Public Historian*, 22.1 (2000), 35–38 (p. 38) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3379330>>.

² Second Woodlands Dissemination meeting with Prue Bryant, June Haultain, Bob Dawson, Ken Holmes and Jill McGuire, 5 September 2011 at 6 p.m. pp. 59-60 of transcript. Facilitated by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

The excerpt also demonstrates the value of introducing this novel approach. It shows participants engaging intensely with this research. This level of engagement also worked to reveal the historical consciousness of participants throughout this research. For a fuller sense of the learning history process please read the learning history documents in the appendices. These documents highlight moments of reflection and insight.

This thesis argues that the learning history approach reveals *as well as* raises historical consciousness. This is important because ‘historical thinking’ is both rare and valuable.³ Increasing engagement with history via innovations such as the learning history approach is important for the health of the historical discipline. In turn historical thinking is vital for the health of democracy.⁴ These points will be expanded on throughout this thesis.

This thesis is concerned with communicating about history, specifically in settings beyond the academy. This is not to slight the many academics who do engage with the public, nor to say that universities and the public are absolutely at odds with each other. If anything, the divide might be more between academics who see the value in engaging with the public, and those who do not. This thesis presents evidence of the benefits of engaging with the public. With that in mind, this thesis is an exploration of the value of introducing the ‘learning history approach’ into the historical discipline. The learning history approach is an effective way to get people talking about history. It creates a time and space to

³ Samuel S. Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’, in *Recent Themes in Historical Thinking: Historians in Conversation*, ed. by Donald A. Yerxa, *Historians in Conversation* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), pp. 35–43 (pp. 35–36); Samuel S. Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*, *Critical Perspectives on the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), pp. 3–27, esp. 19–24, Margaret Conrad, ‘Towards a Participatory Historical Culture’ (presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, Vancouver, 2008), pp. 6–7 <http://www.chashcacommittees-comitesa.ca/public_history/Margaret%20Conrad%20CHA%202008.pdf> [accessed 27 June 2013]; Peter C. Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, in *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada*, ed. by R. W Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 11–22 (p. 21).

⁴ Harvey J. Kaye, *The Powers of the Past: Reflections on the Crisis and the Promise of History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 148–150, 162–169; Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 11–22, especially 20–22; John Tosh, *Why History Matters* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. iix, ix–x, 7, 121, 138, 142, 143, throughout. The point also has particular relevance in New Zealand in light of the following works that illustrate anti-democratic and anti-intellectual trends in New Zealand: Bill Pearson, *Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1974); *Speaking Truth to Power: Public Intellectuals Rethink New Zealand*, ed. by Laurence Simmons and others (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2007).

discuss history and historiographical issues in settings where that might not otherwise happen.

The learning history method is drawn from organisational theory. Learning histories emphasise participant involvement and make the research process explicit. The method's organisational focus makes it particularly relevant for exploring historical consciousness and reflexivity on an organisational scale. This thesis adapts the learning history methodology to study how history is used and perceived beyond the academy. A strength of the learning history approach is that it offers an opportunity to include the people whose histories are being told in the history-making process. In addition, the approach does so in a way that goes beyond simply offering their words and sources. Critically, the learning history method involves deliberately putting a document (a 'learning history') back to participants and then capturing the responses of that group, as a group. As demonstrated later in this thesis, this approach has potential as an innovative means of exploring imagined community and identity construction. This adaptation of the learning history process is designed to encourage organisations to see the potential benefit from reimagining their history as a resource and as a catalyst for future action rather than as a constraint. This thesis breaks new ground in applying this methodology to the historical discipline, and in a New Zealand context. This cross-disciplinary thesis is an original contribution to knowledge because it takes a particular technique and applies it in a new area. This research also involves carrying out empirical work that had not been done before – the three learning history case studies generated new primary material. Throughout the rest of this thesis, 'learning history method' refers to the original, 'traditional' version of the methodology, and 'learning history approach' refers to this research – the adaptation of the original methodology for the purposes of the historical discipline.

The learning history approach process as conducted for this research consisted of initial interviews and a study of organisational materials before the compilation of an initial 'jointly told tale' learning history document, where I as researcher laid out key themes on the topic in the words of the sources themselves. This document, distributed at least a week beforehand to interviewees, was then discussed by the organisation as a whole at a dissemination meeting (or meetings). The purpose of the document was to facilitate discussion at

the meeting as to what those involved thought was significant. The discussion and reflection upon past uses facilitated discussion of future uses, encouraged greater use of history and provided a catalyst for action. Of particular interest to the historical discipline was that the approach drew out how participants view history, and drew participants into discussing aspects of historiography. Following the dissemination meeting, the events, results and implications of the whole process were written up as a case study.

Driven by the challenge to test the learning history approach, promote historical thinking beyond the academy, add to what is known about historical consciousness and to understand more about how other people use and think about history, this thesis applies the learning history approach to three organisations. With these considerations in mind, the following questions guide this research:

1. 'How Have the Organisations Selected for Study Utilised Their Pasts?'
2. 'What Can the Learning History Approach Bring to the Historical Discipline?'

Specifically, the research engages with members of Southwell School, the Woodlands Trust and the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust about how their organisations use history. Through the learning history process, the thesis demonstrates what history meant (and means) to them. From that information specific findings are evident; not simply about the learning history approach, but also historiographically significant findings on historical consciousness, the contemporary relevance of history, the place of heritage, the interplay between history and heritage in practice, the social turn to 'history', problems of knowledge production, the role of historians and the phenomena of 'composure' and 'historical community'.⁵ Further, the findings of this thesis argue against the possibility of objective history. Finally, the findings of this thesis demonstrate that history has wide utility and application for organisations.

Underpinning this thesis is the understanding that learning from history and engaging in the practices of the historical discipline are positive things. A number of historians and philosophers have elaborated on why this is so.⁶ Some of

⁵ Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 5–11.

⁶ Including but by no means limited to: Robert Kelley, 'Public History: Its Origins, Nature, and Prospects', *The Public Historian*, 1.1 (1978), 16–28 (p. 17) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3377666>>;

their writings will be considered later in this thesis. To succinctly situate this research, this thesis takes inspiration from Robert Kelley, the founder of modern North American public history. In the first (1978) volume of *The Public Historian*, Kelley issues a call-to-arms for public historians and public history to work for the benefit of society by sharing the historical method of analysis.⁷ Essentially his position is that if more people thought historically, life would generally be better for all. ‘Historically-grounded policies’ and decisions could not ‘help but be sounder in conception... more effective...’ and ‘...more aligned with human reality’.⁸ Kelley holds out the idea of the study of history helping people become more humane and informed citizens, which would in turn contribute to a more civilised society.⁹

Historical thinking is therefore important. Yet despite its benefits, historical thinking is not widespread. Samuel Wineburg demonstrates that the considerations and thought processes that historians treat as normal disciplinary practice are unusual.¹⁰ Indeed, Wineburg argues that the historical approach is extremely unnatural:

... historical thinking, in its deepest forms, is neither a natural process nor something that springs automatically from psychological development. Its achievement, I argue, actually goes against the grain of how we ordinarily think, one of the reasons why it is much easier to learn names, dates, and stories than it is to change the basic mental structures we use to grasp the meaning of the past. The odds of achieving mature historical understanding are stacked against us in a world in which Disney and MTV call the shots. But it is precisely the uses to which the past is put that endow these other aims with even greater importance.¹¹

Tosh, *Why History Matters*; Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters: Life and Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 199–211; Inga Clendinnen, ‘Fellow Sufferers: History and Imagination’ <<http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-Sept-1996/clendinnen.html>> [accessed 4 July 2013]; Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 150–169; Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 20–21; Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, p. 5, throughout; Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (St. Leonards, N.S.W: Allen & Unwin, 2000), p. 275; Gerry Kearns, ‘The Virtuous Circle of Facts and Values in the New Western History’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 88.3 (1998), 377–409 (p. 380) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2564235>>; Roy Rosenzweig and David P. Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 202–205.

⁷ Kelley, ‘Public History’.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰ Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’, pp. 35–36; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 3–27, esp. 19–24.

¹¹ Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, p. 7.

Wineburg found that historians read critically, unlike almost all other people.¹² Wineburg encapsulated this idea in an anecdote. He presented material to a historian and watched their eyes move across the page. When asked what they were doing, the historian replied that they were considering the source of the piece and the context. Wineburg showed that historical thinking involves an unnatural kind of caution. Scepticism such as ‘...“I suspect that what I’m reading could mean something different from what I think it means.”’¹³ When Wineburg probed further, the historian replied to the effect that ‘But everybody does that.’¹⁴ Yet Wineburg’s work emphatically reveals that is not the case.¹⁵ Critically examining any text *is* unusual.

The above outlines the logic of the thesis. Historical thinking is both valuable and rare, so it follows that it is worthwhile to promote historical thinking and a more participatory historical culture. It follows too, that such thinking is beneficial for organisations as notable units of societal decision-making. I also argue that greater public engagement will benefit the historical discipline. This is not the first study to point out corollaries to the logic of greater public engagement: that ‘historical thinking’ and the practices of the historical discipline should be communicated beyond the Academy to the public.¹⁶ Nor is this the first study to say that the people whose stories are being told should be enabled to be more involved in telling their histories.¹⁷ Yet this is the first study to demonstrate, against a specific evidence base, that the learning history approach is an effective

¹² Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’, pp. 35–36.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Predecessors include: Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 2010), p. 15; Conrad, pp. 8–9; Margaret Conrad, Jocelyn Létourneau and David Northrup, ‘Canadians and Their Pasts: An Exploration in Historical Consciousness’, *The Public Historian*, 31.1 (2009), 15–34 (p. 34) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/tp.2009.31.1.15>>; Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 148–150, 162–169; Kelley, ‘Public History’, p. 21; Lerner, *Why History Matters*, p. 124; Ludmilla Jordanova, ‘Public History’, *History Today*, 50.5 (2000), 20–21 (p. 20); Rosenzweig, p. 38; Rosenzweig and Thelen, pp. pp.179–189, 202–207; Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 20–22; Tosh, *Why History Matters*, pp. iix, ix–x, 7, 121, 138, 142, 143; Hugh T. Trevor-Roper, ‘History: Professional and Lay’, in *Historians on History: An Anthology*, ed. by John Tosh (Harlow, Essex, England: Pearson Education, 2000), pp. 328–33 (p. 331); Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 23–24; Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’.

¹⁷ For example: Ashton and Hamilton, p. 24; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London : Dunedin: Zed Books ; University of Otago Press, 1999), pp. 2–3, 29–32, 67–69, 183–193, throughout; Tipene O’Regan, ‘Who Owns the Past? Change in Maori Perceptions of the Past’, in *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Maori*, ed. by John Wilson (Auckland, N.Z: Penguin in association with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1987), pp. 141–45.

way to bring about greater public engagement with the historical discipline. Accordingly, this thesis argues for the expansion of participatory historical culture and for the learning history approach as a means of contributing to that expansion.

“Why be interested in history? It’s in the past.” That question was put to me by a manager when I was working during university holidays. At the time the best response I could come up with was “Yes – it is.” Besides my shortcomings as a debater, this exchange reveals two fundamentally different views of the significance and relevance of the past, and of the historical discipline that takes it upon itself to interpret and (re)present the past.

This thesis is a better answer to my manager. My life has made me passionate about the past. My disciplinary training has made me aware of the value of outlining my motivations early in my research. I came to this research because it was an opportunity to explore the philosophy of history in a grounded way. Underlying this research is the fundamental question ‘Why do we do it?’ To find out, I have engaged in the deeply specific vehicle of case study research in order to connect the particular with the universal.

There is also value in outlining my subjectivity at this stage. Throughout this thesis I make more use of the ‘upright perpendicular pronoun’ than as traditionally the case in a history thesis.¹⁸ I do this for both methodological and stylistic reasons. Methodologically, the researcher is a participant-observer in the learning history process – and it is one of the conventions of participant-observer research to report in the first person.¹⁹ Moreover, the learning history process itself is driven by my selectivity and interpretation. Accordingly it makes sense to acknowledge my influence on the process. In addition, at Southwell School I am a member of the organisational in-group that I studied. I could only have an emic (insiders’) perspective in that context. I am obliged by my methodology and my emic status to write in the first person.

¹⁸ Clendinnen.

¹⁹ For examples: Clifford Geertz, ‘From the Native’s Point of View’, in *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow and William M. Sullivan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 225–41; *Contemporary Field Research: A Collection of Readings*, ed. by Robert M. Emerson (Prospect Heights, Ill: Waveland Press, 1988), pp. vii–viii, 13–16, throughout.

The first person mode also comes recommended for reasons of style. Inga Clendinnen and Theodore Zeldin among others have made strong arguments for historians to make greater use of this more direct and intimate mode.²⁰ Zeldin asks: “Why must historians wear masks when they sit at their typewriters? Is it that they worry about what the neighbours will say?”²¹ Clendinnen emphasises the ‘I’, the author, as an inevitable interposition between a reader and the sources. She holds that doing so is more honest than the alternative, and ideally more readable. Clendinnen argues that this direct style is a powerful way to make history more comprehensible, and therefore more relevant, to a wider audience.²²

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The next chapter outlines the issues and debates in the relevant literature. In it I argue that there is a historiographical need for, and space for, work such as the learning history approach. The second chapter of this thesis details the methodology applied. The third, fourth and fifth chapters describe and analyse the findings of the three case studies pursued for this research. These three chapters argue for the value of the learning history approach based on the evidence found during each application of the process. These chapters also consider the implications for the historical discipline of how history is used at each case organisation. The sixth chapter of this thesis examines the findings of this research as a whole and explores the significance for historiography. That chapter is followed by the conclusion of this thesis. The appendices include the learning history documents for all three case studies as well as interview protocols and other documentation relating to ethics and research practices.

²⁰ Theodore Zeldin, ‘Personal History and the History of the Emotions’, *Journal of Social History*, 15.3 (1982), 339–47 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3787151>>; Clendinnen.

²¹ Zeldin, p. 265.

²² Clendinnen.

Chapter One

Literature Review

History, heritage and historical consciousness

This research is located at the intersection of literature on organisational theory, public history and historical consciousness.¹ The remainder of this chapter considers these bodies of knowledge by examining: the context in which this thesis has been written, significant definitions for this thesis and literature that calls for work like this research. The last part of this chapter addresses the theoretical compatibility of the different bodies of literature involved in this research by answering the question – ‘Can learning histories even fit within public history?’

This thesis sits in the context of a social turn towards history and heritage. The concepts ‘heritage’, ‘history’, ‘accuracy’, ‘historical consciousness’, ‘participatory historical culture’, ‘composure’, ‘public history’ and other terms of particular significance for this thesis will be examined in this chapter. Those interpretations will be interwoven with a brief overview of the ‘history wars’ fought for the authority to define those terms, and discussion of the consequences of these cultural struggles.

Across the world, and particularly in the Anglophone world, historians have noted that an increasing number of people have been trying to gain a more intense sense of their past in recent years.² In 2001, Bronwyn Dalley and Jock

¹ *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. by Peter C. Seixas (Toronto ; London: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 8–16; Peter C. Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, in *Narration, Identity, and Historical Consciousness*, ed. by Jürgen Straub, Making Sense of History (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 141–59 (pp. 142–150); Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’, pp. 35–43; Jocelyn Létourneau, *History for the Future : Rewriting Memory and Identity in Quebec* (Montreal, QC, CAN: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), p. 124 <<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10132778>> [accessed 14 December 2014].

² For example, the following authors on the New Zealand, Australian, Canadian, British and American contexts respectively: Anne Else, ‘History Lessons: The Public History You Get When You’re Not Getting Any Public History’, in *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2001), pp. 123–40 (p. 124); Paula Hamilton and Paul Ashton, ‘At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey’, in *Australians and the Past*, ed. by Paula Hamilton and Paul Ashton, Australian Cultural History, no. 22 (St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2003), p. 6; Graeme Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’, in *Australians*

Phillips described New Zealand as a newly-demanding ‘history-hungry community.’³ John Lukacs speculates that the trend might be due in part to dissatisfaction with the sheer amount of falsehoods in the world.⁴ Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton ascribe the phenomenon to ‘challenges to cultural identities, social authority and institutional shifts within a context of globalisation and rapid technological change.’⁵ David Lowenthal and Marcus Binney prefigure Ashton and Hamilton about the significance of the accelerating pace of change, and also suggest that a loss of faith in progress contributes to public ‘...attachment to tangible relics’.⁶ Lowenthal’s work is of particular significance to this thesis because of his signal contribution to the historical discipline’s understanding of the relationship between history and heritage: *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*.⁷

In the light of this social turn, Lowenthal distinguished between history and heritage. In a 1997 article he demarcated the two in terms of historical distance among other things.⁸ This was in response to David Glassberg’s article arguing their proximity.⁹ A year later in *The Heritage Crusade*, Lowenthal described heritage (and implicitly history) thus:

...heritage is not history at all; while it borrows from and enlivens historical study, heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in our past tailored to present-day purposes... The heritage fashioner, however historically scrupulous, seeks to design a past that will fix the identity and enhance the well-being of some chosen individual or folk... Heritage is not a testable or even reasonably plausible account of some

and the Past, ed. by Paula Hamilton and Paul Ashton, Australian Cultural History, no. 22 (St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2003), pp. 78–81; Ruth Sandwell, ‘Introduction: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada’, in *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada*, ed. by R. W Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 3–10 (pp. 3–4); David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Pbk. ed (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 5–6.

³ *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2001), p. 12.

⁴ *Recent Themes in Historical Thinking: Historians in Conversation*, ed. by Donald A. Yerxa, *Historians in Conversation* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), p. 50.

⁵ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 18.

⁶ *Our Past before Us: Why Do We Save It?*, ed. by David Lowenthal and Marcus Binney (London: T. Smith, 1981), p. 11.

⁷ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*.

⁸ David Lowenthal, ‘History and Memory’, *The Public Historian*, 19.2 (1997), 30–39 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3379138>>.

⁹ David Glassberg, ‘Public History and the Study of Memory’, *The Public Historian*, 18.2 (1996), 7–23 (p. especially p.23) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3377910>>; Lowenthal, ‘History and Memory’.

past but a *declaration of faith* in that past... Heritage thereby attests our identity and affirms our worth.¹⁰

Elsewhere Lowenthal associated 'heritage' with the 'unhistorical' corruption of scholars who placed the practices of the discipline aside for continued access to sources.¹¹ Although there have been outstanding works on heritage since *The Heritage Crusade*,¹² and Lowenthal's distinctions have been critiqued from public history and feminist perspectives, Lowenthal's definition of 'heritage' has wide currency within the historical discipline, and as such is the definition to keep in mind when considering the meaning of the word 'heritage' in this thesis.¹³ Though such a definition of heritage is useful for the purposes of categorisation and interpreting motives, the findings of this thesis modify this understanding in practice.

From the above it is apparent that Lowenthal seeks to distinguish history from heritage. Throughout *The Heritage Crusade*, Lowenthal defines history in relation to heritage: 'Heritage diverges from history not in being biased but in its attitude toward bias. Neither enterprise is value-free. But while historians aim to reduce bias, heritage sanctions and strengthens it.'¹⁴ As he puts it: 'History as seen by scholars today means open inquiry into any and every past.'¹⁵ 'Testable truth is history's chief hallmark. Historians' credibility depends on their sources being open to general scrutiny.'¹⁶ Lowenthal also sees attempts to make history 'relevant' as attempts to turn history into heritage, and undermine objectivity.¹⁷ My research challenges this view. Ultimately, Lowenthal warns against bolstering

¹⁰ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, pp. x, xi, 121, 122.

¹¹ David Lowenthal, 'The Timeless Past: Some Anglo-American Historical Preconceptions', *The Journal of American History*, 75.4 (1989), 1263–80 (p. 1268,1277) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1908640>>.

¹² Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage*, Jane Linden and Tracy Ireland's *Object Lessons* and Rodney Harrison's *Heritage: Critical Approaches* for example. Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, (New York: Routledge, 2006); Jane Linden and Tracy Ireland, *Object Lessons: Archaeology & Heritage in Australia*, (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2005); and Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, (Routledge, 2012) <<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/lib/waikato/detail.action?docID=10603660>> [accessed 31 December 2015]

¹³ For example: Else, pp. 137–138; Alexander Trapeznik and Gavin McLean, 'Public History, Heritage, and Place', in *Common Ground: Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, ed. by Alexander Trapeznik (Dunedin, N.Z: University of Otago Press, 2000), pp. 13–23 (pp. 15–16); Michael Kammen, 'Carl Becker Redivivus: Or, Is Everyone Really a Historian?', *History and Theory*, 39.2 (2000), 230–42 (p. 235) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2677954>>.

¹⁴ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 122.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

heritage faith with historical scholarship.¹⁸ For Lowenthal, heritage is not history – and history is not heritage.¹⁹

Of course, Lowenthal is not the only thinker to define ‘history’. Entire books have been written on the subject.²⁰ The term ‘history’ is used in a variety of senses throughout this thesis. Accordingly, a few points from authors writing on public history and historical thinking are included below in order to indicate the breadth of meaning ascribed to the word ‘history’ in this thesis. Writing in defence of public history on the subject of the ‘surge of interest in ‘history’’, Ludmilla Jordanova notes that the term history can ‘simply mean the past’ or the academic discipline devoted to the study and interpretation of the past.²¹ In the latter sense (the discipline) history is a profession.²² More specifically, history in this sense is an activity and a way of thinking. For Jordanova, ‘...history can best be described in terms of what it is that historians do; a set of social practices subject to a wide range of imperatives.’²³ On this very point – that ‘the prevailing “official” definition is a social construct not a truth’ – writers such as Patricia Mooney-Melville have called for the redefinition of ‘historian’ in order to engage more people and making history more relevant to civil society.²⁴ Indeed, Marnie Hughes-Warrington goes as far as to write that ‘there is no history apart from historical practices’ – as the beginning of an argument for the equivalence of historical practices and the opportunity to change them.²⁵ In contrast, Wineburg prioritises the practices of the historical discipline and offers nuanced descriptions of exactly what it is that historians do: ‘the weaving of context’.²⁶ For Wineburg, historians ask questions that create new understanding. Historians ‘...engage in an

¹⁸ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 250.

¹⁹ Ibid. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 250.

²⁰ For example: R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, Oxford Paperbacks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961); Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954).

²¹ Jordanova, ‘Public History’, p. 20.

²² Julia Evetts, ‘Professionalism: Value and Ideology’, *Current Sociology*, 61 (2013), 778–96 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011392113479316>>. For a more extensive examination of the contested concept of ‘professional’, please refer to: *Managing Professional Identities: Knowledge, Performativity and the ‘New’ Professional*, ed. by Mike Dent and Stephen Whitehead, Routledge Studies in Business Organizations and Networks, 19 (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1–4, throughout.

²³ Jordanova, ‘Public History’, p. 20.

²⁴ Patricia Mooney-Melville, ‘Professional Historians’ in *Public History: Essays from the Field*, eds. James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia, (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1999), p.17.

²⁵ Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes to the Movies: Studying history on film*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 32.

²⁶ Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, p. 17.

active process of connecting things in a pattern. Alston [a historian participating in Wineburg's research] made something new here, something that did not exist before he engaged these documents and confronted his ignorance.'²⁷ While I concur with Mooney-Melville and Hughes-Warrington regarding the socially constructed nature of the definition of 'history'/'historian' and their wider points about the opportunity for change, it is the definitions suggested by Lowenthal and Wineburg that are closest to the professional, academic, sophisticated, 'capital H' practices of history that are most often meant when this thesis refers to 'the' practices of the historical discipline.

Throughout this thesis, the terms 'heritage' and 'history' can be understood in light of the definitions in literature described above. Discussion and definition of the term 'Public history' can be found on page 44. Public history is defined there in relation to learning history theory. In light of the distinctions made above between heritage and history, in this thesis the term 'historiographical' is a general reference to 'reflection upon the practice of history' and anything around the production of history.²⁸ Distinguishing between what is and is not history has obliged me to use the somewhat clumsy terms 'non-academic' and 'non-historian'. Throughout this thesis such terms are references to people who are not academically qualified as historians, or employed as history academics. I am following disciplinary examples in using such terms.²⁹ This thesis problematises the distinctions inherent in those negative prefixes, but acknowledges the utility of the terms.

The terms and distinctions described above indicate separation and division. The last few decades in historiography have been witness to more than just increasing public interest in history and heritage. Alongside the turn to the past there has been an intensification of the struggle to define the significance of the past – sometimes called the 'history wars' or 'culture wars'.³⁰ As noted earlier, this thesis sits in a context of 'history wars' throughout the Anglophone world and

²⁷ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁸ Jordanova, 'Public History', p. 20.

²⁹ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 112; Tosh, *Why History Matters*, pp. 91, 103; Herbert Gutman, 'Historical Consciousness in Contemporary America', in *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*, ed. by Ira Berlin, First (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), pp. 395–412 (p. 395).

³⁰ *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*, ed. by Edward Tabor Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, 1st ed (New York: Henry Holt, 1996); Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2003).

particularly in the ‘settler countries’ of Australia, Canada, the United States and New Zealand.

As recently as 19 November 2014, the Prime Minister of New Zealand declared that “New Zealand was ... settled peacefully.”³¹ This information might have come as a shock to level 3 NCEA history students who had written about the New Zealand Wars in their final exam the week before.³² Perhaps a shock too for anyone with a respect for historical accuracy. Key’s Australian counterpart Tony Abbott has made similarly astonishing remarks with regard to Australia.³³

These cultural struggles are not only about the specifics of colonisation, but include wider issues of interpretation and ‘truth’. Specific incidents include the reaction of some New Zealand historians such as Peter Munz to a Moriori exhibit at Te Papa (the National Museum of New Zealand).³⁴ Abroad there are the examples of public reaction to a ‘revisionist’ exhibition of the Enola Gay at the Smithsonian and the unedifying spectacle of the Canadian War Museum being dragged to court by veterans over the wording of an interpretation panel.³⁵ The challenges to partial and ‘received’ histories are driven by the culture of the historical discipline. ‘Revisionism’ is underpinned by the historical discipline’s fundamental commitment to the use of verifiable sources – what I am terming ‘accuracy’ for the remainder of this thesis.³⁶ Yet at least some audiences are clearly unhappy with revisionism and historical disagreement, especially around events such as the bombing of Hiroshima, the rape of Nanking, and genocide in

³¹ ‘NZ Settlement Peaceful Says Key’ <http://www.waateanews.com/Waatea+News.html?story_id=ODM3Nw%3D%3D&v=528> [accessed 22 November 2014]. The full quote is “In my view, New Zealand was one of the very few countries in the world that were settled peacefully.” Minute 3.36-3.40 on the recording. Prime Minister Key made the remark on Radio Waatea in response to the Waitangi Tribunal’s finding that rangatira had not ceded sovereignty on signing the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

³² ‘Prime Minister’s Warped View of History’, *Blog | Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand* <<https://blog.greens.org.nz/2014/11/20/prime-ministers-warped-view-of-history/>> [accessed 9 December 2014].

³³ Political reporter Anna Henderson, ‘Sydney “Nothing but Bush” before First Fleet Arrived, Abbott Says’, *ABC News*, 2014 <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-11-14/abbot-describes-1778-australia-as-nothing-but-bush/5892608>> [accessed 24 November 2014].

³⁴ Peter Munz, ‘Te Papa and the Problem of Historical Truth’, ed. by Ian Campbell, *History Now = Te Pae Tawhito O Te Wā*, 6.1 (2000), 13–16; Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*, English ed (Wellington, N.Z.: Te Papa Press, 2007), p. 192; Elizabeth Rata, *The Politics of Knowledge in Education* (Routledge, 2012), pp. 128–129.

³⁵ Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 190; Conrad, p. 5, throughout.

³⁶ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 4th ed (New York: Longman, 2006), p. xix; Marc Ferro, *The Use and Abuse of History, Or, How the Past Is Taught* (London ; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p. ix; Pieter Geyl, *Use and Abuse of History* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 1955), pp. 51, 70; Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 2.

Tasmania.³⁷ Such debates have at their heart questions of authority, ‘the ownership of culture’ and the nature of historical truth.³⁸

Revealingly, these *kulturkamps* have often focused on education. After the tide of social history that rose during the 1960s and 1970s, a number of conservative opinion-makers struck back at what they saw as an unfair bias in the teaching of history.³⁹ Witness the school history wars in the United States throughout the 1990s and the resurgence of these arguments in Australia after John Howard’s remarks following a visit to Gallipoli in 2000.⁴⁰ Such outcries often centre around the notion that young people do not know enough facts about their country and that history teaching should emphasise ‘facts’ rather than ‘issues’.⁴¹ As Australian historian Graeme Davison states: ‘The idea that history is simply ‘the facts’ and that ‘interpretation’ is something added to them would strike most practising historians as odd. ‘Facts’ they would say are constituted in the very act of interpretation.’⁴² Harvey Kaye argues that these history wars have their origin in New Right efforts to limit discourse – in essence, to turn ‘history’, as defined above, into Whiggish heritage.⁴³ The 1970s and 1980s saw Margaret Thatcher pronounce on Victorian values, and Ronald Reagan appropriate Thomas Paine, Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy (as well as Bruce Springsteen).⁴⁴ During his premiership, John Howard attacked what he referred to as a ‘black armband’ view of Australian history.⁴⁵ New Zealand too has seen large-scale New Right efforts to control history, adding up to ‘a widespread and

³⁷ Ann Curthoys and John Docker, *Is History Fiction?*, 2nd ed (Sydney, N.S.W: UNSW Press, 2010), pp. 220–237, particularly 221 <<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/waikato/Doc?id=10400687>> [accessed 9 December 2014].

³⁸ McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, p. 190.

³⁹ Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 21–32; Ashton and Hamilton, p. 54.

⁴⁰ Tony Taylor, ‘Disputed Territory: The Politics of Historical Consciousness in Australia’, in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. by Peter C. Seixas (Toronto ; London: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 217–39 (pp. 226, 218).

⁴¹ Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. vii–ix; Taylor, pp. 218, 221; Ashton and Hamilton, p. 53.

⁴² Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, p. 6.

⁴³ Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 47–48; Ashton and Hamilton, pp. 51–54.

⁴⁴ Harvey J. Kaye, *Thomas Paine and the Promise of America*, 1st pbk. ed (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), pp. 3–4; Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. pp. 95–105, especially 96–97 and 99; Marc Dolan, ‘How Ronald Reagan Changed Bruce Springsteen’s Politics’, *POLITICO Magazine* <<http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/06/bruce-springsteen-ronald-reagan-107448.html>> [accessed 24 November 2014].

⁴⁵ Ashton and Hamilton, pp. 51–54.

deliberate political attempt to reshape an important segment of ‘the presence of the past’ in this country in order to serve contemporary political ends.’⁴⁶

Significantly for this thesis, what all history ‘war efforts’ have in common is that they aim to shape historical consciousness. Historical consciousness plays a major role in this thesis. For this reason literature on historical consciousness will be discussed at some length here. The concept of historical consciousness has been part of English-speaking historiographical discourse for decades, but it is much more widely discussed in Europe.⁴⁷ An English-language authority on historical consciousness, the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness at the University of British Columbia, defines it thus:

...as individual and collective understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors which shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future.⁴⁸

Elsewhere in the same text the idea is presented more simply as: ‘When we study historical consciousness, we are studying how people look at the past.’⁴⁹ Within just a single journal, the concept has been employed to discuss political action, conflated with collective memory and defined with a brusque yet impressive succinctness over the past 30 years.⁵⁰ In a 1932 article Carl Becker essentialised history as memory and emphasised how ‘Everyman’ had access to it, and shaped each other’s’ thinking.⁵¹ In 1968, Lukacs presented historical consciousness as a form of thought in his *Historical Consciousness: or the Remembered Past*.⁵² Lukacs traced the evolution of sentiment toward the past – highlighting that contemporary thinking about the past differs from past thinking about the past.⁵³ For Lukacs, the significant difference between modern Western thought and all prior versions of it was ‘...a new way of historical thinking involving our

⁴⁶ Else, pp. 134–135; See also: Simmons and others, *Speaking Truth to Power*, p. 1, throughout.

⁴⁷ For example: Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. by Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

⁴⁸ ‘CSHC: About’ <<http://www.cshc.ubc.ca/about/>> [accessed 9 December 2014].

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Theodor Schieder, ‘The Role of Historical Consciousness in Political Action’, *History and Theory*, 17.4 (1978), 1–18 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2504707>>; Steven G. Smith, ‘Historical Meaningfulness in Shared Action’, *History and Theory*, 48.1 (2009), 1–19. The definition was ‘...an ideally cultivated historical awareness’, p. 10.

⁵¹ Carl Becker, ‘Everyman His Own Historian’, *The American Historical Review*, 37.2 (1932), 221–36 (p. 223, throughout) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1838208>>.

⁵² John Lukacs, *Historical Consciousness; Or, The Remembered Past*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 5.

⁵³ Lukacs, p. 2, throughout.

awareness of this kind of thinking.’ This introduced a strange new self-aware and self-reflexive approach to history.⁵⁴ Even so, while Lukacs placed the effective beginning of this new way of thinking in the 1680s, it is only since the 1960s that historical consciousness has been seriously discussed.⁵⁵

Gutman uses the term ‘historical consciousness’ to describe how (American) members of the public think about the past.⁵⁶ In contrast, Gadamer defines historical consciousness as ‘the full awareness of the historicity of everything present and the relativity of all opinions’, that ‘modern consciousness – precisely as historical consciousness – takes a reflexive position concerning all that is handed down by tradition’.⁵⁷ This definition means historical consciousness is a particular kind of memory informed by historical scholarship with its critical stance towards sources and the awareness of the ‘foreignness’ of the past.⁵⁸ As noted earlier, Wineburg argues that such an approach is extremely unnatural.⁵⁹

And yet it is crucial. Historical consciousness *is* important because it determines what it is possible to imagine. Taking the example of French-Canadians, Jocelyn Létourneau emphasises the importance of ‘*Remembering (from) where one is going*’ [italics added] as perhaps the only way for individuals and collectivities to acquire an active historical consciousness ‘...that is, to become by being freed of the servitudes of the past.’, i.e. distorted and limiting representations and explanations.⁶⁰ Létourneau presents historical consciousness as a kind of ‘becoming’ – a conception which underlines the self-awareness and reflexivity emphasised by other authors.⁶¹ Raising historical consciousness

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 12–14.

⁵⁵ Lowenthal dated the great boom in historical consciousness from 1750 – and then went on to note how the past and the future had shrunk for the lay public in the last half century or (in how they are understood rather than actual size). David Lowenthal, ‘The Past of the Future: From the Foreign to the Undiscovered Country’, in *Manifestos for History* (Abingdon, Oxon; N.Y: Routledge, 2007), pp. 205–19 (p. 205).

⁵⁶ Herbert Gutman, p. 395, throughout.

⁵⁷ Hans-Georg Gadamer, ‘The Problem of Historical Consciousness’, in *Interpretive Social Science: A Second Look*, ed. by Paul Rabinow and William M. Sullivan (University of California Press, 1987), pp. 82–140 (pp. 89, 90).

⁵⁸ Unfortunately this view of historical consciousness is eurocentric – much as Lukacs version is. However, in this instance the term is not pejorative, just an acknowledgment of where and when the construct is most appropriate. As always, we have to be careful not to implicitly elevate Western historical consciousness as an ideal of development. Even so, this treatment inevitably valorises it.

⁵⁹ Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’.

⁶⁰ Létourneau, p. 124.

⁶¹ Gerda Lerner, ‘The Necessity of History’, in *Why History Matters: Life and Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 113–28 (p. 126); Noel J. Stowe, ‘Public History Curriculum: Illustrating Reflective Practice’, *The Public Historian*, 28.1 (2006), 39–65 (p. 40)

broadens potential for individual and collective self-determination and increases the capacity of individuals and communities to contribute to a more participatory historical culture.

For this research, it is the definitions and understandings of historical consciousness offered by Seixas that are most significant. Seixas discusses the development of historical consciousness – in both a general sense and specifically for schoolchildren. He borrows from Rüsen and offers several different kinds of principles, issues and types.⁶² His ‘types’ are explained in detail below because they are used throughout this thesis for the interpretation and analysis of the data found in this work.

Seixas draws from Rüsen to present four ‘types’ of historical consciousness: the traditional, the exemplary or progressive, the critical and the genetic.⁶³ They are summaries of ‘how we know what we know’ at different points of historical consciousness. In the ‘traditional’-type, epistemology and historical significance are based on authority. Historical consciousness is primarily concerned with maintaining and preserving cultural patterns. Anachronism is rampant.⁶⁴ The ‘exemplary’ historical consciousness is positivist social science. The past is useful as the source from which to derive universal ‘laws’ that can be applied to the present. A strong faith in ‘progress’ is also associated with this type.⁶⁵ The ‘critical’ type of historical consciousness problematises knowledge about the past. This type challenges the two previous types. It is characterized by deconstruction and sceptically rejects any form of

<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/tph.2006.28.issue-1>>; Geyl, p. 70; Hayden V. White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 28.

⁶² Jörn Rüsen, *Studies in Metahistory*, ed. by Pieter Duvenage, HSRC Series in Methodology (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1993); Seixas, *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, pp. 8–16; Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 142–150.

⁶³ Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 145–150.

⁶⁴ Rüsen, p. 71; Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 145–146.

⁶⁵ Rüsen, pp. 72–73; Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 146–147.

historical empathy.⁶⁶ Much of the new social and cultural histories from 1985 – 2005 are examples of this type.⁶⁷

The ‘genetic’ type of historical consciousness is meant to be Rüsen’s resolution. It is to provide a ‘solid’ epistemological base after the onslaught of postmodernism. Genetic historical consciousness is to be neither objectivist nor relativist. Historical knowledge is understood to change over time – as it is structured by a community of inquiry that exercises checks and balances on itself. There is awareness of the problematic nature of historical empathy. Yet a historical thinker at this stage works to build a representation of the past that is both consistent with available choices and somehow brings us closer to people in the past.⁶⁸ Seixas goes out of his way to emphasise the importance of present purposes and contingency in this view of the past: ‘Understanding the changing nature of the past opens up the possibility for collective action to shape the future...’⁶⁹

Seixas’ typology is fundamentally significant for this thesis. I use it to gauge and categorise historical thinking in the case studies. What I am calling ‘sophisticated’ historical consciousnesses are associated with the latter two types – especially the genetic type. For these types are presented as stages (despite a desire to avoid stageism).⁷⁰ This last ‘genetic type’ is held to be highest – concerned as it is with plurality, the postmodern and emphasising the future in our presentation of the past.⁷¹

Seixas’s more recent work is of further use in this thesis’s categorisation and interpretation of data on historical consciousness. In 2006 Seixas defined ‘historical consciousness’ as ‘the intersection among public memory, citizenship and history education.’⁷² He then listed seven questions that linked past, present and future, and arose out of the present for everyone, not just historians – and

⁶⁶ Rüsen, pp. 73–74; Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 147–148.

⁶⁷ Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, p. 147.

⁶⁸ Rüsen, pp. 74–76; Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 149–150.

⁶⁹ Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, p. 149.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 157–158.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 145–158.

⁷² Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, p. 15.

were difficult to answer in the present context.⁷³ What follows are summary restatements of the seven kinds of questions Seixas offers as guides when looking for markers of historical consciousness:

- 1) ‘How did things get to be as we see them today?’⁷⁴ These sort of questions are concerned with continuity and change. They are ‘not morally neutral or disinterested... and their answers have implications for the future.’⁷⁵
- 2) Seixas’ second kind of questions are concerned with establishing origins and identity and determining affiliation.
- 3) ‘How should we judge each other’s past actions? By extension what debts does my group owe to others and/or others to mine? These questions encompass reparations, land claims, restitutions and apologies.’⁷⁶
- 4) ‘Are things basically getting better or are they getting worse? This is the question of progress and decline.’⁷⁷ These can be questions of metanarrative.
- 5) What stories about the past should I believe? On what grounds?⁷⁸ These are questions about the importance and the weight of sources, and the problems of evidence.
- 6) ‘Which stories shall we tell? What about the past is significant enough to pass onto others, and particularly to the next generation?’⁷⁹ What is historically significant?
- 7) ‘Is there anything we can do to make things better?’⁸⁰ Questions of historical agency.

Evidence gathered in the course of this thesis will be categorised in light of the above. Even more important for this thesis are the three criteria Seixas offers for determining the quality of responses to his seven questions. Seixas sets out the qualities of ‘good’ answers in the context of ‘Helping young people formulate good answers to those questions of historical consciousness’, and in light of his own work and the research of Peter Lee and Ros Ashby.⁸¹ Lee and Ashby contribute the notion of *second order historical concepts* that ‘are not what history

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 15–16.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

⁸¹ Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 16, 17; Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, ‘Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7-14’, in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. by Peter N. Stearns, Peter C. Seixas, and Samuel S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), pp. 199–222.

is “about,” but they shape the way we go about doing history.’⁸² In his own work, Seixas argues that the sophistication of a person’s historical consciousness can be determined in light of how they:

1. Comprehend ‘the interpretive choices and constraints involved in using traces from the past to construct historical accounts.’⁸³
2. Understand ‘the pastness of the past, the distance between the present and the past, and the difficulty in representing the past in the present. At the same time (paradoxically), understanding the presence of the past – that is, the consequences for us today of earlier actions and decisions.’⁸⁴
3. Acknowledge ‘complexity and uncertainty; dealing with multiple causes, conflicting belief systems, and historical actors’ differing perspectives.’⁸⁵

Bringing together all his comments on the history wars, history education in Canada and his own research with school children Seixas proposed that: ‘What is needed in history education can be glimpsed in part from the processes and habits of mind of historians.’⁸⁶ It is these processes and habits of mind (as defined in this chapter and especially by Wineburg) that define what constitutes a sophisticated historical consciousness in this thesis.

In this thesis, the term ‘sophisticated historical consciousness’ will be used as a shorthand for the kind of historical consciousness described immediately above. Here the word ‘sophisticated’ is meant to convey what Seixas and Wineburg found and argued as noted above, as well as the implications from historiographical works on relevance, reflexivity and contingency mentioned the paragraphs immediately below this one. The word ‘sophisticated’ has unavoidable, and in my use of the term unintended, connotations of superiority and elitism. Yet ‘sophisticated’ also denotes a willingness to address complexity, subtlety and reflection. Given that such historical thinking is both rare and beneficial, it is not unreasonable to describe it as such – especially as part of a project to promote such thinking more widely.

⁸² Lee and Ashby, p. 199; Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, p. 17.

⁸³ Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, p. 16.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Discussing what constitutes a ‘sophisticated historical consciousness’ is necessary for understanding the findings of the learning history approach so several perspectives are presented here. Wineburg’s findings on what makes ‘the processes and habits of mind of historians’ valuable – such as ‘the weaving of context’ and the creation of new understanding after confronting their own ignorance – have already been discussed.⁸⁷ A number of other historians whose work is of particular relevance to this thesis have stated what they believe makes for a sophisticated historical consciousness. Kelley presented the idea that history is no longer just about teaching students about the past but also solving problems in the here and now: ‘the value of history is in good part the help it gives us as we attempt to understand the present scene’.⁸⁸ Yet Kelley juxtaposed this with his opinion that history is not read only because it is relevant. Indeed one of the great benefits of thinking historically is to get past superficial present-mindedness; the provincialism of pure presentism.⁸⁹ This is about more than just George Santayana’s endlessly quoted aphorism: ‘Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.’⁹⁰

Reflexivity is one further issue in the historiographical literature that the learning history approach addresses. The likes of Nietzsche, Tosh, and especially Noel Stowe all call for a greater emphasis on reflexivity in historical production.⁹¹ The research questions of this thesis draw inspiration from the starkly reflexive questions of New Zealand historians Alexander Trapeznik and Gavin McLean: ‘Why do we need to preserve the past? For whose benefit – and at what cost?’⁹²

Reflexivity is something stridently demanded of public historians. Consider the clear and demanding standard placed upon public history by Noel Stowe as an acid test for any work of public history: that every work of public history requires reflective practice. ‘Every new project... requires a re-examination of basic principles and issues.’ Indeed, Stowe held that ‘...public

⁸⁷ See Chapter One, footnotes 26-27.

⁸⁸ Robert Kelley, *The Shaping of the American Past*, Third Edition, Special Teachers Edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1982), p. xviii.

⁸⁹ Kelley, *The Shaping of the American Past*, p. xviii.

⁹⁰ George Santayana, *Reason in Common Sense: Volume One of The Life of Reason*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), p. 284.

⁹¹ Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Untimely Meditations*, Texts in German Philosophy (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 66; *Historians on History: An Anthology*, ed. by John Tosh (Harlow, Essex, England: Pearson Education, 2000), p. 7; Stowe, pp. 39, 40.

⁹² Trapeznik and McLean, p. 17.

history requires *as its foundation* sound habits of thinking about and rethinking intellectual, practical and moral issues.’⁹³

Other philosophers and historians of many different epistemological backgrounds have called for greater reflexivity in historical thinking. As noted earlier, Létourneau called for ‘Remembering (from) where one is going’ – i.e. an active historical consciousness.⁹⁴ Kaye goes further than basic reflection in calling on historians as ‘citizen-scholars’ to invoke ‘the powers of the past: perspective, critique, consciousness, remembrance and imagination.’⁹⁵ Yet even before the great interrogation of ‘knowledge’ that surged in the 1960s and has continued to this day, thinkers questioned the discipline and called for those who wrote ‘history’ to do so self-consciously. Famous examples include Frederick Nietzsche and Pieter Geyl.⁹⁶ Hayden White also attacked the lack of critical self-analysis in the work of historians.⁹⁷ These, and many other expressions of opinion like these, have led to the now near-universal trend for academic historians to situate themselves within their research and reflect upon the practice of history. In light of these demands placed on the discipline, I looked for reflexivity in my learning history case studies. I have also endeavoured to be self-reflexive about my research throughout this thesis.

Many writers also prefigured the poststructuralists in demanding that history present the past as contingent rather than structural. Nietzsche hated the systematic approach of the history of his time, and derided such ‘cosmic process[es]’, emphasising instead the ‘individual peculiarity’ of events.⁹⁸ Kelley also emphasised the need to stress the contingent in history. ‘We take the whole of human life as our concern, we try to describe its multiplicity, its variety, its stubborn resistance to being shoved into any particular formula.’⁹⁹ Many others

⁹³ Stowe, pp. 39, 40. In the case of the Learning History Approach, this would refer to two kinds of reflexivity – that of participants over their own words within a particular learning history case, and that of a researcher over the whole of the research.

⁹⁴ Létourneau, p. 124.

⁹⁵ Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, p. 7 and throughout, especially Chapter 5.

⁹⁶ ‘Let us at least learn better how to employ history for the purpose of *life!*’ Nietzsche, p. 66; Geyl, pp. 61, 69, 70. While he held the past to be objective and external, he also regarded it as irretrievable. Geyl wrote of being obliged to get as near to the truth as possible ‘even though I know I shall never completely attain it.’ ‘... certainty in history is beyond the grasp of the human mind.’

⁹⁷ Hayden V. White, p. 28.

⁹⁸ Nietzsche, pp. 69–70.

⁹⁹ Kelley, *The Shaping of the American Past*, p. xx. The entire quote is particularly clear and is included here. It is also an excellent argument for the use of narrative in history, and helped

have also argued for such a view of the past – for example: Natalie Zemon Davis, Simon Schama, and Karl Popper.¹⁰⁰ These views mesh with White's. His 'The Burden of History' coherently explained the need for historians to self-consciously address the present by emphasising the contingent nature of history in order to fulfill the ethical purpose of highlighting the possibility for change.¹⁰¹ The essence of Geyl's *Use and Abuse of History* is that history cannot and should not be made to fit principles or patterns.¹⁰² For Geyl, to acknowledge the contingent nature of history was to acknowledge a truth about life and the potential of human understanding.

Participatory historical culture

A consciousness of contingency in history highlights the need for a more participatory historical culture. John Tosh is another historian who sees the value in publicly proclaiming the contingent nature of history. For him historical thinking '... protects us from the most constraining illusion of all – that there is only one way of managing our social arrangements.'¹⁰³ More specifically, Tosh defines the best of historical thinking as:

persuade the author that learning histories methodology might find a place within the public history discipline. 'Ultimately, however, most historians believe that their task is not to work out the laws of human behavior (the classical goal of social scientists), but to describe the behavior faithfully in it ... individually, its actual forms, "warts and all," as Oliver Cromwell told his portraitist to paint him. We take the whole of human life as our concern, we try to describe its multiplicity, its variety, its stubborn resistance to being shoved into any particular formula. We are essentially pluralists, and that most historians seem, with the philosopher William James, to believe that there is always something left over that does not fit whatever scheme of interpretation is being applied: that life stubbornly and persistently flows out of our ideological containers. Reality is "manyness," and it is best seen in particulars, and actual individuals doing actual things: that is, in narrative.'

¹⁰⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis's words are particularly clear: 'I let [the past] speak and I show that things don't have to be the way they are now... I want to show that it could be different, that it was different and that there are alternatives... I don't want the past to be a model for the present, but to suggest possibilities for the present...I want to be a historian of hope.' from an interview with Natalie Zemon Davis in *Visions of History*, ed. by Henry Abelove and E. P. Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 114–115; Simon Schama, *Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations*, 1st ed (New York: Knopf, 1991), pp. 320–321; Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 33; Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, 2nd ed (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), p. vii.

¹⁰¹ Hayden V. White, p. 49.

¹⁰² Geyl, pp. 36–37. In Geyl we find one of the strongest declarations for the contingent view of the past: 'It seems to me so obvious as hardly to require stating, but let me say it in unmistakable terms: these large systems in which history is made to go through courses of so many stages to some end either of salvation or perdition are not based on observation of the facts of history. They do not spring from history, they are imposed upon it... I can't help being struck by the gigantic presumption and by the gigantic egotism.'

¹⁰³ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 97.

Identifying what is distinctive about the present, enlarging our awareness of the possibilities inherent in the present, and situating the present in the processes which link it with the past and the future – each of these is consistent with the accepted norms of historical scholarship. They are what it might mean to ‘think with history’.¹⁰⁴

In the same vein, and significantly for this research, Tosh also calls for a more ‘participatory historical culture’ – one that *places greater emphasis on historical thinking and more widely disseminates this way of thinking*.¹⁰⁵ Tosh argues that the essence of ‘thinking with history’ is in providing people ‘with a distinctive mode of thinking the can be critically applied to the present’.¹⁰⁶ Tosh defines historical thinking and calls for its dissemination. Such calls situate and justify this thesis.

Seixas too, argues for participatory historical culture. He does so when he argues for teaching students (and by implication everyone), to think more like historians – specifically to engage with ‘second order historical concepts’ and critical thought – to equip them to ‘take part in the ongoing discussions of the meanings of the past that are essential to building community in a fractured, dynamic, and rapidly changing set of cultural circumstances.’¹⁰⁷ This is also the essence of the argument for expanding and promoting a more participatory historical culture: enabling engaged democratic citizenship.

Indeed, the potential benefits of historical thinking have led to many calls for the expansion of historical culture since the discipline first professionalised and especially since the 1960s.¹⁰⁸ History in light of the present, with a view to liberation, has been one of the motive forces guiding social and cultural history for the last fifty years.¹⁰⁹ There are distinct and specific emphases within social history and cultural history, but they also share a great deal – and for this thesis it is enough to say that expanding the historical conversation is in line with the wider liberation purposes that have marked much of social and cultural history

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ The term appears on Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁶ Tosh, pp. ix-x.

¹⁰⁷ Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 17–19, 21–22. ‘What is needed in history education can be glimpsed in part from the processes and habits of mind of historians.’ p. 21.

¹⁰⁸ Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. vii, viii, 230–325.

¹⁰⁹ Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 7, 150–169.

since the 1970s.¹¹⁰ More specifically in the field of historical consciousness there have been major projects to gauge the historical consciousness of entire countries. The most significant for this research are Magne Angvik and Bodo von Borries' survey of European historical consciousness, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen's work in the United States of America, Hamilton and Ashton's research in Australia and Margaret Conrad, Kadriye Ercikan, Gerald Friesen, Jocelyn Létourneau, Delphin Muise, David Northrup and Peter Seixas's exploration of historical consciousness in Canada.¹¹¹ There is also a 2008 doctoral thesis on the historical consciousness of Singaporeans as well as a 2013 New Zealand survey on interest in the First World War and its commemorations that touches on historical consciousness.¹¹² The happy overall finding from these is that there is a great deal of 'extramural history', which emphasises active creation as well as passive consumption – further evidence of the social turn to the past.¹¹³

Unfortunately these surveys also found that what I have given the shorthand of 'sophisticated' historical thinking is not widespread. Even Conrad, an author of one of those hopeful surveys remarks: 'Not to put too a fine point on it, the general public has less understanding of higher order historical thinking

¹¹⁰ Peter Burke, *What Is Cultural History?* (Cambridge, U.K. ; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004), pp. 2, 113–116; Giselle Byrnes, 'Introduction: Reframing New Zealand History', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (South Melbourne, Vic: Oxford University Press Australia & New Zealand, 2009), pp. 1–18 (pp. 1–18 (e.g. Social history has 'the power to disrupt existing interpretations' such as the central theme of nation in progressive narratives pp. 3–4)).

¹¹¹ Magne Angvik and Bodo von Borries, *Youth and History: A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes among Adolescents* (Körber-Stiftung, 1997); Rosenzweig and Thelen; *Australians and the Past*, ed. by Paula Hamilton and Paul Ashton, Australian Cultural History, no. 22 (St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2003); Hamilton and Ashton, 'At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey'; Ashton and Hamilton; Margaret Conrad, Kadriye Ercikan, Gerald Friesen, Jocelyn Létourneau, Delphin Muise, David Northrup and Peter Seixas, *Canadians and Their Pasts: The Pasts Collective*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), and; Margaret Conrad, Jocelyn Létourneau, and David Northrup, 'Canadians and Their Pasts: An Exploration in Historical Consciousness', *The Public Historian*, 31 (2009), pp. 15–34.

¹¹² Stephanie Lee-Ling Ho, 'Singaporeans and Their Past: The Dynamics of Historical Consciousness and Historymaking', 2008 <<https://opus.lib.uts.edu.au/handle/10453/33282>> [accessed 25 November 2015]; Stephanie Ho, 'Blogging as Popular History Making, Blogs as Public History: The Singapore Case Study', *Public History Review*, 14.0 (2007) <<http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/phrj/article/view/503>> [accessed 25 November 2015]; 'Benchmark Survey 4 March Report WEB.docx.DOC - Benchmark Survey 4 March Report WEB.pdf' <<http://ww100.govt.nz/sites/default/files/files/Benchmark%20survey%204%20March%20Report%20WEB.pdf>> [accessed 23 August 2013].

¹¹³ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 119; Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 19; Hamilton and Ashton, 'At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey', p. 6; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, pp. 27–33.

than most professional historians.’¹¹⁴ Such historical thinking is difficult – ‘Historical awareness, psychologists since Piaget have noted, may demand more maturity than many adults ever attain.’¹¹⁵ Indeed, historical thinking is disparaged – consider my manager’s question earlier. ‘History is bunk’ is the infamous exemplar of the attitude.¹¹⁶ Lowenthal states ‘Common modes of thought about the past on both sides of the Atlantic remain antipathetic to the perspectives of most professional historians.’¹¹⁷ Everyday uses of the word ‘history’ are often dismissive – the statement ‘He’s history’ implies ‘he’ is over and done with.¹¹⁸

The results of the ‘History Wars’

The recent decades of university cuts and history wars have harmed the historical discipline. In the view of Curthoys and Docker: ‘Historians’ wars have an intimidating effect on experimentation with literary form and there have been few formal innovations in the new millennium.’¹¹⁹ Despite the outreach efforts of individual historians and booming public interest in the past, overall the historical profession distanced itself from the public. Raphael Samuel lambasted the elitist behaviour, and the conceits, of the historical discipline with words such as ‘esoteric’, ‘inbred’, ‘sectarian’, ‘proprietary’ and ‘enclosed’.¹²⁰ His landmark *Theatres of Memory* elaborated at length on the far wider activities of all those involved in history as an activity rather than a profession, and critiqued the insularity of ‘real’ historians – though his own works stand as brilliant examples

¹¹⁴ Margaret Conrad, ‘Towards a Participatory Historical Culture’ (presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, Vancouver, 2008), pp. 6–7 <http://www.chashcaccommittees-comitesa.ca/public_history/Margaret%20Conrad%20CHA%202008.pdf>.

¹¹⁵ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 124.

¹¹⁶ Henry Ford’s ‘History is bunk’ is probably the best known of these. Yet history is nothing if not complex. The story of that ‘quote’ and its consequences demonstrates this beautifully. In an effort at promoting a fuller picture – an effort that only hammers home the value of history – Roger Butterfield wrote an article demonstrating that history’s most famous critic needs to be treated with slightly more justice on this particular count. According to the best attested records Ford came close to saying ‘History is bunk’ – but what he actually said was ‘History is more or less bunk’ and later ‘I did not say it was bunk. History was bunk to me, but...’ Roger Butterfield, ‘Henry Ford, the Wayside Inn, and the Problem of “History Is Bunk”’, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 77 (1965), 53–66 (pp. 53, 56) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/25080601>>. The article complicates Ford’s relationship with ‘history’, describing his contributions to the development of heritage in the years after he made his remarks. Even so, the article indicates that Ford still retained a narrow view of history and what was worthwhile about it (p. 57).

¹¹⁷ Lowenthal, ‘The Timeless Past’, p. 1276.

¹¹⁸ Lowenthal, ‘The Timeless Past’, p. 1276; Glassberg, p. 22.

¹¹⁹ Curthoys and Docker, p. 233.

¹²⁰ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London ; New York: Verso, 1994), pp. 430–444, 3–4.

of what an academic historian can offer.¹²¹ Writing of the crisis, Kaye noted the views of historians who felt that the ‘marginalisation the discipline has been due in good part to history’s own involutory tendencies.’¹²² He went on to note views of how the ‘professionalization’ and ‘academicization’ of historical study had also led to ‘self-enclosure’.¹²³ The notion of historians talking primarily to each other and nothing like enough to anyone else is current:

Professional historians are strangely reluctant to adopt the role of expert. If they reach out to the public, it is usually to popularise academic history of a conventional kind; and most historians do not even do that, preferring to address only their academic peers. The consequence is a significant democratic deficit.¹²⁴

It appears that the history wars only exacerbated many historians’ insular tendencies, because these alarming trends have been apparent for some time. Speaking in 1982, Gerda Lerner noted ‘...many thoughtful observers have noticed the gap between academic historical scholarship and the public’s seemingly insatiable appetite for popular history in its various forms.’¹²⁵

Many historians have called on the discipline to guard against insularity. Speaking in 1957, Hugh R. Trevor-Roper warned against ‘...the removal of humane studies into a specialisation so remote they cease to have that lay interest which is their sole ultimate justification.’¹²⁶ When looking at how to build a more participatory culture, Thelen echoed Trevor-Roper’s concern about the danger of professionalization separating the historical profession from the public.¹²⁷

What this thesis offers the Historical Discipline

There have been many calls in the historiographical literature for what the innovative learning history approach has the potential to provide. Specifically, there have been calls to refresh the discipline and expand participatory historical

¹²¹ Samuel, pp. 17, 4, throughout.

¹²² Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, p. 34.

¹²³ Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 34–35.

¹²⁴ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 4.

¹²⁵ Gerda Lerner, ‘The Necessity of History’, in *Historians on History: An Anthology*, ed. by John Tosh (Harlow, Essex, England: Pearson Education, 2000), pp. 334–39 (p. 335). A similar point was made by Michael King ‘Chapter Eight: Michael King’, in *Speaking Truth to Power: Public Intellectuals Rethink New Zealand*, ed. by Laurence Simmons and others (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2007), pp. 175–93 (p. 183).

¹²⁶ In full: ‘Time has shown that the real danger of a German professoriate [meaning academicalisation] is not ‘infidelity’: it is the removal of humane studies into a specialisation so remote they cease to have that lay interest which is their sole ultimate justification.’ Trevor-Roper, p. 331.

¹²⁷ Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 191.

culture. There have also been calls for greater reflexivity in the production of history. Each of these kinds of challenge will be addressed in turn below. This thesis is significant for the historical discipline because this research is a direct response to the calls described below.

The learning history approach is an example of the kind of lay reinvigoration of the discipline praised by Trevor-Roper.¹²⁸ In his 1957 lecture mentioned above, Trevor-Roper went on to add: ‘...that the greatest refreshment has always been brought in by the laity.’¹²⁹ By ‘laity’ Trevor-Roper here meant people from outside the discipline.¹³⁰ ‘The lay spirit not only forces the unwilling professional to jettison, at intervals, his past accumulations; it also poses new problems and suggests new methods and new purposes derived from other disciplines, other sciences.’¹³¹ Those statements describe both the author of this thesis (as a professional in some other branch of learning who came to the study of history) and the learning history approach as a potential addition to the historical discipline. The learning history approach is the kind of innovation that Curthoys and Docker state is rare in the wake of the history wars.¹³² Zeldin, Jordanova, and Clendinnen also call for innovations of form in historiography.¹³³ Introducing the learning history approach to public history fits well with Clendinnen’s view that ‘...we [historians] could learn from the best sociologists and anthropologists how to expand our range of what we consider sources...’¹³⁴

The kind of ‘lay’ innovation this thesis contributes to also fits within the wider project to challenge abuses of history and expand participatory historical culture. Many historians, such as Kaye, Geyl, Davison and Ferro have noted and critiqued abuses of history, and called on historians to make efforts against such abuses.¹³⁵ Moreover, some historians have called on their colleagues to make such

¹²⁸ Trevor-Roper, p. 332; Robert A. Rosenstone, ‘Introduction’, in *Revisioning History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 3–13 (pp. 4–6).

¹²⁹ Trevor-Roper, p. 332.

¹³⁰ ‘I do not mean the laity absolutely, but the laity in respect of purely historical studies: for a man is a layman in respect of those studies even if he is a professional in some other branch of learning...’ Trevor-Roper, p. 332.

¹³¹ Trevor-Roper, p. 332.

¹³² Curthoys and Docker, p. 233.

¹³³ Curthoys and Docker, p. 233; Zeldin, p. 343, throughout; Jordanova, ‘Public History’, p. 20; Clendinnen. Clendinnen states: ‘It is my own conviction that we could learn from the best sociologists and anthropologists how to expand our range of what we consider sources, and could refine techniques of ‘close reading’ from the example of the best literary critics.’

¹³⁴ Clendinnen.

¹³⁵ Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*; Geyl; Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*; Ferro.

redress not just a one-time effort but part of a permanent project to disseminate historical thinking far more widely. For example, Tosh holds that despite abuses of the past, ‘the responsible reaction is not to withdraw from the field, but to supply the public with accessible forms of history which are both scholarly and relevant.’¹³⁶ Linking the effort to challenge abuses with the mission to expand participatory historical culture, Jordanova says that ‘If we [historians] are to be not just advocates for the value of historical understanding but also the architects of public attitudes to the past, then researchers and university teachers must engage with public history as an integral part of history in practice.’¹³⁷ Such sentiments are reminiscent of Kelley’s vision for public history, but more explicitly advocate for historians to be more active in the interrogation and invigoration of public historiographical sensibilities. In such sentiments can be seen the struggle for the heart of history-making. There have been a great number of similar calls in the historiographical literature for historians to go ever further in this direction.

The learning history approach is justified by the same motives that justified the national surveys of historical consciousness. Rosenzweig and Thelen’s work (as well as Hamilton and Ashton’s, and Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup’s) was about first understanding the people to whom public history is addressed, as part of a wider project to better reach those people. As Rosenzweig put it: this is ‘not a simple task’, and:

We can create the most readily crafted, beautifully written, and deeply researched exhibits (or lectures or films or historic site plans [to which I would add any works of history]), but they will never have their intended effects unless we understand the people with whom we are talking – and unless we are willing to talk with rather than at those people.¹³⁸

Rosenzweig sought to neither celebrate nor condemn ‘popular history makers’, but wanted ‘to listen to and talk with our fellow citizens’.¹³⁹ Rosenzweig saw this ‘as one of the primary responsibilities of professional historians.’¹⁴⁰ For him, the goal was a truly participatory historical culture, and the negative view of popular

¹³⁶ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 22.

¹³⁷ Jordanova, ‘Public History’, p. 21.

¹³⁸ Rosenzweig, p. 36.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

history makers held by some historians was the greater obstacle.¹⁴¹ In his own words:

How do we move toward the healthy, participatory, historical culture that Zuckerman and I both want unless on grounds of mutual respect...? Building a healthy, participatory, historical culture is not a simple task, but it is one that I believe is worth the struggle that it requires.¹⁴²

So it is not that historians should give up on making efforts at accurate interpretation and telling truth to power. It is simply that we have to better understand the context we operate in. Public history is more than just a field within a professional discipline; it is also an activity and a form of social knowledge. The point is put succinctly by Hamilton and Ashton: ‘...how are professional historians, other presenters of history and history educators to communicate the past to their publics if we do not understand the historical sensibilities or history mindedness of our own culture?’¹⁴³

Historian John Tosh is as explicit in his call for the expansion of participatory historical culture: ‘Historians have two tasks: to disseminate ...their findings ... and to promote the widest possible grasp of the merits of ‘thinking with history’. Public history ...is a social obligation.’¹⁴⁴ Tosh makes it clear that history has a wider cultural struggle to win: ‘In the last resort, the readership of history and the extent of public support for its study will depend on the impact which historians make on the wider public.’¹⁴⁵ In a New Zealand example, historian David Hamer called for the application of ‘...historical analysis to historic preservation itself.’ He noted that:

William J. Murtagh, the First Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places in the United States, has written that many preservation leaders ‘have become preoccupied with *how* to preserve, either politically, economically, or technically, with little or no discrimination as to *what* they are preserving and *why*’. It is in answering the ‘why’ questions that historians have a contribution to make.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ ‘What is the basis for conversation, dialogue, and hopefully collaboration with people who are viewed as pathological in their historical views and interests?’ i.e. Historians are not helping if they regard ‘the public’ as impossible to work with. Rosenzweig, p. 38.

¹⁴² Rosenzweig, p. 38.

¹⁴³ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 142.

¹⁴⁵ Tosh, *Historians on History*, p. 14.

¹⁴⁶ David Hamer, ‘Historic Preservation in Urban New Zealand: An Historian’s Perspective’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 31.2 (1997), 251–69 (p. 253).

That is exactly what I am proposing to do with this research. Indeed, much of this research is about gaining a deeper understanding of the purpose of history and the value of history. In addition to calling for greater engagement, a number of academics discuss how to achieve such engagement.¹⁴⁷ Thelen makes recommendations for how expert historians can contribute towards building a more participatory historical culture.¹⁴⁸ Conrad discusses establishing ground rules and proposing arbitration as an alternative to the courts in light of the Canadian War Museum saga.¹⁴⁹ Tosh calls for a more participatory culture, citing examples of academic historians engaging with public history and advocates a programme for academic historians to engage with and promote public history more widely.¹⁵⁰ Ultimately, such engagement with the public is also a defence of the discipline – if we cannot convince the public of the value of history, then why should they continue to fund history? The answer is obvious – the insights this mode of thinking can give – but if the discipline is not actively defended by public engagement, then ultimately what it has to offer will be lost – sidelined by those who cannot or do not want to see its relevance. If what we do matters, then it is worth fighting for. This is why I want to apply the learning history approach. As Tosh puts it: ‘The prize is a critically armed and better informed public, providing the basis for a revitalised democratic culture.’¹⁵¹

Still, even noble dreams face practical concerns. Any project that seeks oral recordings as primary sources faces the difficulties inherent in oral history work. The learning history approach offers workarounds for some of the practical problems of dealing with oral history. Oral historians have been addressing questions related to historical consciousness for decades. While oral historians do not necessarily share the concerns of this thesis, they have developed many useful concepts for interpreting oral data. Rather than try to summarize the whole field, this section offers a chronology and some key ideas for interpreting the data gathered in the course of this research.

¹⁴⁷ For example: Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*; Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 23–24.

¹⁴⁸ Rosenzweig and Thelen, pp. 202–207.

¹⁴⁹ Conrad.

¹⁵⁰ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 143, throughout.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

Very briefly, oral history has had to fight for recognition as a field rather than just a methodology within the historical discipline. Until the 1970s, oral history was regarded merely as a means of gathering factual evidence and a poor one at that. Since then oral historians focusing on ‘interpretation’ rather than ‘reconstruction’ have changed the nature of oral history.¹⁵² The likes of Alessandro Portelli have demonstrated that factual inaccuracies can be ‘active creations’ – i.e. the very inaccuracy indicates what the narrator thinks is important and how they have incorporated their experience symbolically and psychologically.¹⁵³ If we agree with Portelli in seeing that ‘memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings’ (and I do), then it follows that a researcher needs to be sensitive to social constructivist issues such as composure, narrative construction and frameworks for remembering.¹⁵⁴ In this thesis ‘composure’ refers to how individuals construct a coherent account of their history in order to create a usable past. Alistair Thomson demonstrated how ANZAC veterans used silences, emphasised particular motifs and so on in adjusting their own stories to a society already well aware of a wider Anzac ‘story’.¹⁵⁵ Accordingly, any researcher collecting oral accounts needs to be mindful of particular structures in a narrative, and the performative aspects of any recollection.¹⁵⁶

Addressing these calls and issues in the literature is intended to capture why I want to introduce the learning history approach into public history. The research questions of this thesis are grounded in this historiographical literature (see page 12). As noted earlier, this thesis is situated at the intersection of three

¹⁵² Green and Troup, p. 234.

¹⁵³ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, SUNY Series in Oral and Public History (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 1–26.

¹⁵⁴ *The Oral History Reader*, ed. by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London ; New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 69.

¹⁵⁵ For a detailed explanation of ‘composure’, see Thomson, pp. 5–11, especially from p. 8. Throughout this thesis the term ‘Anzac’ is used, rather than the acronym ANZAC, for references to things such as Anzac Day or Anzac sentiment. In this thesis the capitalized acronym is only used in specific reference to the military formation and veterans of it. These practices are in keeping with the usage recommended by the NZ Government at <http://www.mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/anzac-day/anzac-guidelines> and <http://www.anzac.govt.nz/significance/traditions.html> [accessed 12/03/2015].

¹⁵⁶ Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet, ‘Narrative Structures, Social Models and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story’, in *Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, ed. by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 77–92 (pp. 80–81); Katheryn Anderson and Dana Jack, ‘Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis’, in *Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, ed. by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 11–26 (pp. 12–25).

literatures: public history, historical consciousness and learning histories. This point, though not the relative size of each body of literature, is expressed below.

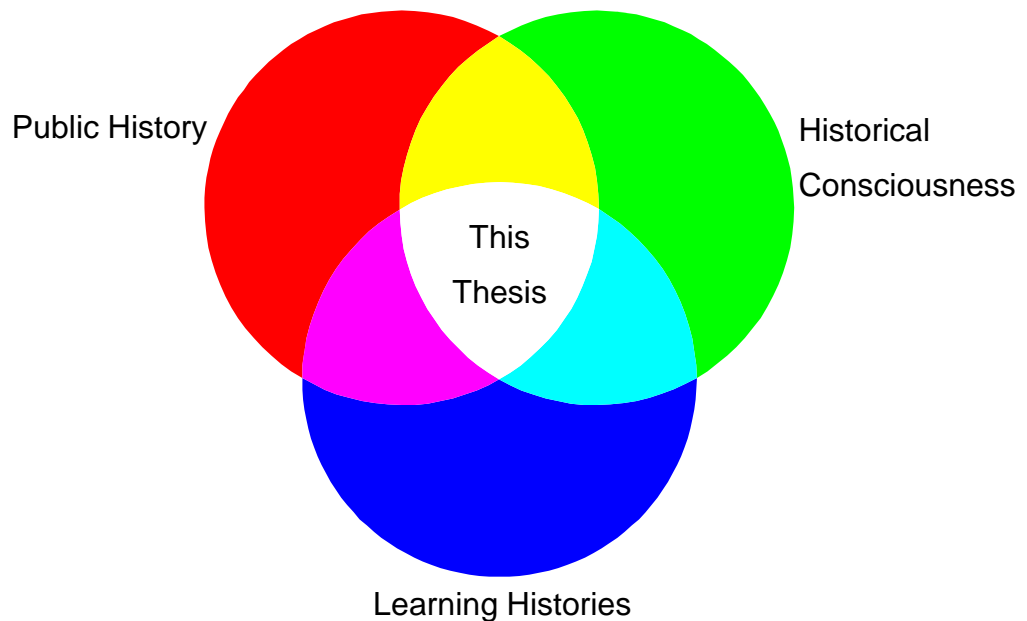


Figure 1: The Conceptual Situation of this Thesis

It is this thesis' contribution to historiographical literature that makes it a history thesis. This is a methodological history thesis rather than a 'traditional' history thesis. Its concerns and layout are theoretical, practical and thematic rather than being a study of change over time. Even without studying a specified time period, historical figure, movement, or event, this research remains a 'history' thesis because it addresses issues raised by literature on historical scholarship and it explores a new methodology that addresses those issues. This thesis is about broadening the discipline, and developing theory and practice. It also generates new primary data, creates a new archive and can be used as the springboard to further research.

Can the Learning History Approach fit within Public History Theory?

So is it even possible for the learning history approach to fit conceptually within the public history field? The justifications above have established why I want to include a method such as the learning history approach within the historical discipline. What follows are brief definitions and reviews of the literature on 'public history' and the 'learning history methodology'. The following often

segues between literature and methodology because this is a methodological thesis. Much of the relevant literature is about methodology and is better explained in context here than artificially distilled into the Methodology chapter. I also believe that such contextual explanation supports understanding.

There is some literature on the use of history by organisations such as businesses. There are also some calls for greater and wider uses of history by organisations from business academics. There are plenty of critical works available.¹⁵⁷ Many focus on the use of the records department.¹⁵⁸ Others note the potential for the promotion of worker identity.¹⁵⁹ Still others note the opportunity to encapsulate experience for executives.¹⁶⁰ Some have suggested the value in linking the history of an organisation to national history.¹⁶¹ One work from the 1950s involved asking firms how they had actually used the company histories published about them.¹⁶² These uses were categorised much as one might expect: 1. Institutional publicity; 2. Willingness to make information about the company available for scholarly and educational purposes; 3. For use in relations with employees; 4. To provide background data for supervisory employees; 5. For use in relations with customers.¹⁶³

This range of work can also be found in the New Zealand context. Indeed, examples of much of this range can be found in the work of just one author. In his career Ian Hunter has produced examples of histories of industry, the history of an extraordinarily successful business leader, and a centenary celebration in the form of a monograph on the history of a company.¹⁶⁴ Hunter has also contributed to

¹⁵⁷ For example: Charles C. Cole Jr., 'Public History: What Difference Has It Made?', *The Public Historian*, 16.4 (1994), 9–35 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3378008>>.

¹⁵⁸ For example: Elizabeth W. Adkins, 'In Business and Corporations: Serving As the Corporate Memory', in *Public History: Essays from the Field*, ed. by James B. Gardner and Peter S. Lapaglia (Malabar, Fla: Krieger Pub Co, 1999), pp. 371–84; Philip F. Mooney, 'The Practice of History in Corporate America: Business Archives in the United States', in *Public History: An Introduction*, ed. by Barbara J. Howe and Emory Leland Kemp, Original ed (Malabar, Fla: R.E. Krieger Pub. Co, 1986), pp. 427–39.

¹⁵⁹ For example: Marvin Ciporen, 'Labor's Use of History', *The Public Historian*, 2.2 (1980), 66–69 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3376971>>.

¹⁶⁰ W. David Lewis and Wesley Phillips Newton, 'The Writing of Corporate History', *The Public Historian*, 3.3 (1981), 63–74 (p. 67) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3377732>>.

¹⁶¹ Barbara Benson Kohn, 'Corporate History and the Corporate History Department: Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company', *The Public Historian*, 3.3 (1981), 31–39 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3377730>>.

¹⁶² James H. Soltow, 'The Business Use of Business History', *The Business History Review*, 29.3 (1955), 227–37 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3111586>>.

¹⁶³ Soltow, p. 229.

¹⁶⁴ Ian Hunter, *Robert Laidlaw: Man for Our Time*, Updated ed (Auckland [N.Z.]: Hunter Pub, 2011); Ian Hunter, *Farmers, Your Store for 100 Years* (Auckland, [N.Z.]: HarperCollins, 2009).

significant critical works on business history.¹⁶⁵ He has also written on management and leadership.¹⁶⁶ Yet these works can be seen as additions to knowledge within existing frames of knowledge, rather than means of creating new knowledge.

The key point to note from all this is that there is not a great deal of research that involved actually asking organisations how they use history in their general operations. Crucially, there does not appear to be any research that involved using the learning history methodology to ask that question, and none that attempted to bring the learning history methodology into public history.

What is Public History?

The idea of public history as history for the public might seem self-evident. However, all too often the term ‘public history’ is slapped on any remotely historical work done outside academia. This is different from work of a ‘professional’, if not always technically academic, standard produced for people outside the university system.

The field of public history came out of an awareness that *public history means history for a public audience*; i.e. ‘history’ of an ‘academic’ standard that is intended for, and can be used by, a non-academic audience.¹⁶⁷ I base this definition on the following reading of public history literature. As the literature has evolved in recent decades, definitions have moved from defining public history in terms of place (i.e. situation outside the Academy) and then in terms of audience. Now there is a trend toward emphasising the particular utility of a public history to its target audience. There have been other definitions: Peter N.

¹⁶⁵ *City of Enterprise: Perspectives on Auckland Business History*, ed. by Ian Hunter and Diana Morrow (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2006).

¹⁶⁶ Colin Prentice, *When People Matter Most: Vision-Driven Leadership* (Wellington, N.Z: Dunmore Pub, 2006); University of Auckland, *Managing in an International Context: New Zealand Case Series, a McGraw-Hill Custom Publication Prepared for the University of Auckland Business Case Centre*, ed. by Wendell Dunn and Ian Hunter, New Zealand Case Series (North Ryde, NSW: McGraw-Hill Australia, 2008).

¹⁶⁷ G. Wesley Johnson, ‘Editor’s Preface’, *The Public Historian*, 1.1 (1978), 4–10 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3377660>>; Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London: Arnold, 2000), pp. 9, 146; Barbara J. Howe and Emory Leland Kemp, ‘Introduction’, in *Public History: An Introduction*, Original ed (Malabar, Fla: R.E. Krieger Pub. Co, 1986), pp. 1–4 (pp. 2–3, throughout); Bronwyn Dalley, ‘Finding the Common Ground: New Zealand’s Public History’, in *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History* (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2001), pp. 16–29 (p. 24); John Alexander Williams, ‘Public History and Local History: An Introduction’, *The Public Historian*, 5.4 (1983), 7–16 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3376867>>.

Stearns promoted a limited version of applied history, largely concerned with the public sector and government policy.¹⁶⁸

Public history, as it is understood today, began as a largely North American phenomenon and advanced significantly during the 1970s.¹⁶⁹ It was warmly proposed and endorsed by the likes of Robert Kelley who offered the following definition: 'In its simplest meaning, public history refers to the employment of historians and the historical method outside academia: in government, private corporations, the media, historical societies and museums, even in private practice.'¹⁷⁰ At this point it is worth noting that what could be broadly called the American view is based on 'civics': a model of society and national unity maintained by liberal consensus. In the U.S.A. and Australia at the very least, it seems that 'citizenship' has some very specific meanings – often tied to a conservative nationalist view, 'national pride', illogically emphasising 'key events' as being of innate importance, rather than contingent on the idea that the Nation is important, and a 'good' citizen as being one who subscribes an agreed presentation of those events facts as about the nation.¹⁷¹ Such a view implicitly casts the historian as expert, 'keeper of the truth'.¹⁷² This view can be contrasted with a British tradition of public history that emphasises history from below and a more radical perspective. This British perspective prioritises all people, rather than historians, as the makers of their history. This school is perhaps best represented by Raphael Samuel and his *Theatres of Memory*.¹⁷³ Saying that there are contrasting 'American' and 'British' views of public history is of course an over-generalisation that is challenged by the works of many North American

¹⁶⁸ Peter N. Stearns, 'Applied History: Policy Roles and Standards for Historians', in *Applying the Humanities*, ed. by Sidney Callahan, Arthur L. Caplan, and Bruce Jennings, 1985 edition (New York: Springer, 1985), pp. 221–45 (p. 227).

¹⁶⁹ The first offering of Public History as a subject (at the University of California), the creation of the National Council for the Promotion of History and the initial publication of *The Public Historian* happened within a relatively short period.

¹⁷⁰ Kelley, 'Public History', p. 16.

¹⁷¹ Anna Clark, *History's Children: History Wars in the Classroom*, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2008), p. 25.

¹⁷² Paul Ashton, 'Introduction: Going Public', *Public History Review*, 17 (Sydney: UTS Press, 2010), pp.2-8, throughout; Graeme Davison, 'Public History' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, ed. by Graeme Davison, J. B. Hirst, and Stuart Macintyre, Rev. ed (South Melbourne ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 538–539 (p. 538).

¹⁷³ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London ; New York: Verso, 1994).

scholars such as Glassberg, Rosenzweig and Thelen, but the point is that there are distinct threads within the field of public history.¹⁷⁴

Returning from the field's conceptual underpinnings and moving to how 'public history' has been defined, Jordanova offered a definition of public history that included deliberate heritage sites like museums, works of history for a mass audience including television series, historically flavoured tourist sites, biographies, coffee-table books, state education, family history, historical societies, institutional histories, and histories of business. Some definitions even include historical fiction.¹⁷⁵

More recently, Tosh addressed how the idea of 'public history' has sprawled. He explicitly defined public history in terms of audience: 'The common factor is that history is the property of 'the public' rather than academia, in the sense that the laity are the principal audience.'¹⁷⁶ Tosh also emphasises the role of historians in sharing and spreading public history: '...I take 'public history' to mean also the work of dissemination that academic historians undertake to place their knowledge at the disposal of the public.'¹⁷⁷

The first volume of *The Public Historian* included a preface that defined public history in terms of the skills involved. The editor listed the following: the ability to participate in team research, being involved in commissioned research, the 'applied' nature of public history research, and the nature of the public historian as a professional consultant.¹⁷⁸ The journal itself was established to promote this more marketable professional history; to develop and maintain

¹⁷⁴ While these threads would appear to be in conflict, they need not be in practice. For one, I do not see 'good' citizenship as possessed solely by a liberal model of consensus. To me the engaged dissenting radical is an outstanding citizen – they care about justice and demand that a society live up to the high minded values it espouses. Moreover, for me at least, the conflict between these traditions, as well as the deeper issues of objectivity versus relativism, and the competing notions of historical practice as a hierarchy or a spectrum are resolved in practice, through ongoing contingent negotiation. Please refer to the Authors' note at the beginning of this thesis, Curthoys and Docker's view of positivism, relativism and what I have termed accuracy (pp. 225-226), and my position on the value of an academically informed approach to history (pp. 215-217).

¹⁷⁵ Jordanova, *History in Practice*, p. 146.

¹⁷⁶ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. x.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. x.

¹⁷⁸ Johnson, pp. 7–8.

standards outside academia.¹⁷⁹ This view of public history is also largely supported in Howe and Kemp's *Public History*.¹⁸⁰

The contrast with Bronwyn Dalley's definition of public history in New Zealand is illuminating. Like Tosh, Dalley did not want public history to be viewed as an 'Other' to academic history.¹⁸¹ After all as Dalley wrote, public history '...shares one important common feature: its members work to the agendas, research priorities or the funding capacity of another party rather than selecting their own research topic.'¹⁸² It is worth keeping in mind that Dalley produced this definition in response to resistance to 'public history' as a field in New Zealand. Dalley was attempting to carve out a legitimate intellectual and categorical space with this definition.

Critics might say the contrast implicit in Dalley's definition is now anachronistic because today academic historians also have to adjust themselves to strategic research priorities. Yet I believe Dalley's definition makes excellent sense in context, and it is a rare New Zealand example. What is more, while it emphasises principles and methodology, it is significant because like all of the definitions here it suggests that 'public history' is ultimately for the public.¹⁸³ Crucially, all of these definitions implicitly or explicitly present public history as 'history of an 'academic' standard intended for a public audience'.

Public history as a sub-discipline has significant imperatives. As noted earlier, these include an emphasis on emancipatory research, illumination of the present, and an insistence on reflective practice. Given that public history can be understood as self-reflectively produced history for the non-academic public i.e. history that the public can engage with, then it is worthwhile to pursue methods that both actively facilitate that engagement, and offer histories of particular and direct relevance. My research shows that learning histories are one such method.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁸⁰ Howe and Kemp, pp. 2–3.

¹⁸¹ Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips, 'Introduction', in *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History* (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2001), pp. 7–13 (p. 16).

¹⁸² Dalley, p. 24.

¹⁸³ Noel J. Stowe, major contributor to the field of public history, actually expressed the following: 'Public history practice fully engages the definition of history as inquiry in shaping responses to intellectual problems driven in large measure by meeting audience-based needs.' Stowe, pp. 46–47.

What is the Learning History Methodology?

Learning histories appeared in the late 1990s at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for Organisational Learning as a new form of action research.¹⁸⁴ The learning history methodology is an iterative learning research practice that records and assesses the impressions people have of events within an organisation so as to deliberately diffuse the learning gained. Learning histories have been described as ‘reflective conversations’.¹⁸⁵ The learning history methodology is also grounded in the notion that ‘conversation is ...the most appropriate mode for integrating action and reflection.’¹⁸⁶ On that basis ‘the goal of the learning history is to increase participation in a dialogic reflection on past action for creating ... future practices.’¹⁸⁷ To enable today’s reflection on the past to create the future, the methodology involves structuring representative voices into a text to focus conversation.¹⁸⁸

The learning history is an unusual kind of analytic research report because instead of presenting the universal voice of the researcher(s), it deliberately presents multiple and sometimes opposed voices in an organisation to present a ‘jointly-told-tale’.¹⁸⁹ This is the key feature of the learning history. First-hand interviews and researcher commentary are presented side-by-side on the same page. This text is deliberately designed to generate further conversations at a meeting of all participants. This use of the learning history text enables a group to examine their shared past *as a group*. The group itself is a very concentrated community of interest. Though others might benefit from reading the document, it will have definite relevance for those who participated. While initial overseas

¹⁸⁴ Stevens Amidon, ‘THE LEARNING HISTORY: Analyzing an Emerging Genre’, *The Journal of Business Communication*, 45.4 (2008), p. 454

<<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/business/docview/195675914/756AE9FC52684105PQ/1?accountid=17287>> [accessed 11 February 2015].

¹⁸⁵ Art Kleiner and George Roth, *Field Manual for a Learning Historian: Version 4.0, October 28, 1996* (Cambridge, MA: MIT-COL and Reflection Learning Associates, 1996), pp. section 1, pp. 4–5, 18.

¹⁸⁶ Hilary Bradbury and Charalampos Mainemelis, ‘Learning History and Organizational Praxis’, *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 10.4 (2001), 340–57 (p. 342).

¹⁸⁷ Bradbury and Mainemelis, p. 342.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹⁸⁹ Amidon, p. 454.

efforts have met with success, there is still much to be learned about this technique.¹⁹⁰

The academic value of learning histories lies in offering a contextualised jointly-told-tale that has been checked and reflected upon by the people whose words make up its story. This presents the words of individual interviewees *in context*. Given that, the latent potential of the learning history is for an examination of the status quo. The learning history methodology could be a great vehicle for bringing the questions that beset historians to the public in a personal and therefore meaningful way. It is apparent on reading the learning history literature just how directly the methodology can address the challenges posed to history by poststructuralists. The methodology is deliberately designed to address the needs of the present in light of changes that could be made for the future. The method is also designed to encourage reflection among participants, and it demands self-reflexive practice from researchers who apply it.

Is it possible for the Learning History Approach to be part of Public History?

At first glance, it would seem that learning histories are theoretically compatible with public history. That compatibility is not surprising because, despite their differences, they share many connections, and their overall goal is the same: the appreciation of the past by people who do not think of themselves as academic historians. Yet there are differences. The learning history methodology is more heavily theorised than public history and has its own techniques. Learning histories are defined by methodology and public histories by audience. Public history has been practised considerably longer than the learning history methodology. The learning history methodology is relatively new, and has had to be distinguished from other management techniques and theories. Accordingly, most learning history literature details the theoretical genealogy of learning histories. Public history has moved beyond this. It is also less coherent, simply because there is more of it and more people are involved.

¹⁹⁰ Robert Parent, Joanne M. Roch and Julie Béliveau, 'Learning Histories: Spanning the Great Divide', *Management Research News*, 30.4 (2007), 271–82 (p. 271) <<http://dx.doi.org/http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1108/01409170710736310>>.

Another key difference also stems from the fact that the learning history methodology is defined by particular techniques. The methodology is centred on the presentation of the jointly-told-tale and the deliberate effort to ensure that a group examines its past as a group. This creates the peculiar research situation where the learning history document itself is both a facilitator of the research process and an artefact. The result of presenting the jointly-told-tale is that the process is an explicit merging of primary data and secondary analysis. This means that the document has a ‘dual exigency’; it is both a text and a research process.¹⁹¹ As such, learning histories are powerful. They offer a means by which the history of a group can be understood, interacted with, and interrogated by the group itself. Shah expressed it clearly when he wrote ‘I was attracted to the method by the notion of collaboratively making sense of collaborative action.’¹⁹²

That aspect of the learning history process also distinguishes it from most of the oral history that appears within public history. The learning history document itself is a key difference. After all, most oral historians do not present transcripts for debate in a group setting. Whereas that is explicitly what is done with learning history documents.

The differences detailed above are what might be expected given that the learning history has been distinguished from other methodologies by technique, and public history has been distinguished by audience. Deliberately encouraging a group to reflect on its past as a group achieves an ideal of public history – it gets the public to examine the past. This actually leads to a connection with public history: as something of ‘the public’, to an extent by ‘the public’, and it is explicitly for ‘the public’ (in this case the people of the organisation it was written for). This ties in neatly with the definition of public history presented earlier.

If we accept this, then we can conceive of learning histories as a public history methodology (in addition to being a management methodology). That purpose, that effort to engage non-historians with the past, and show people

¹⁹¹ Hilary Bradbury, ‘Learning with The Natural Step: Action Research to Promote Conversations for Sustainable Development’, in *Handbook of Action Research*, ed. by Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, Concise pbk. ed (London: SAGE, 2006), pp. 238–42 (p. 238).

¹⁹² Rupesh Shah, ‘Relational Praxis in Transition Towards Sustainability: Business-NGO Collaboration and Participatory Action Research’ (University of Bath, 2001), p. 96 <http://people.bath.ac.uk/mnspwr/doc_theses_links/r_shah.html> [accessed 8 December 2014]. (Used with permission)

themselves and the things in their lives as the focus of a history, is a profound connection between learning histories and public history.

At a fundamental level the discipline of history is about encouraging reflection upon the past. Those who first developed the learning history methodology embraced history because they ‘... believe that reflection is inherently retrospective.’¹⁹³ Kleiner and Roth also believe that learning histories are the best means available for institutionalising reflection within a whole organisation.¹⁹⁴

Yet the two approaches must be understood as they are. I acknowledge that a learning history is explicitly presentist. However, that is not so very different from those histories, particularly public histories, which interrogate the past in terms of the present. As Bradbury expressed it ‘We suggest engagement with history... precisely for the sake of informing the present of the possibilities for creating the future.’¹⁹⁵ This is not the kind of flawed history that insists on applying today's morals and mores in judging the past. It is producing history that is of use in the present. I am not accusing historians in general of anachronism, for all history is written with the concerns of the present in mind because the questions that we put to the past come out of the present – rather, I am pointing out that what seems to be an apparent difference is in fact a striking similarity.¹⁹⁶

This can be explained in terms of utility. While it is obvious that a learning history is explicitly about making use of the past, the same is true of many public histories because, very often, part of making history relevant to public audiences means creating a usable past.¹⁹⁷ A lot of public histories are about identity. New Zealand examples generally emphasise a sense of nationhood.¹⁹⁸ Many amateur

¹⁹³ George Roth and Art Kleiner, ‘Developing Organizational Memory Through Learning Histories’, *Organizational Dynamics*, 27.2 (1998), 43–60 (p. 58).

¹⁹⁴ Roth and Kleiner, p. 44.

¹⁹⁵ Bradbury and Mainemelis, p. 341.

¹⁹⁶ Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy*, Women and History, v. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 15.

¹⁹⁷ Jordanova, *History in Practice*, p. 142.

¹⁹⁸ A sweep of my own bookshelf yielded the likes of *Looking Flash: Clothing in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. by Bronwyn Labrum, Fiona McKergow and Stephanie Gibson, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007), *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), *The Gendered Kiwi* ed. by Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999) and Chris Pugsley, Laurie Barber, Buddy Mikaere, Nigel Prikett and Rose Young, *Scars On The Heart: Two Centuries Of New Zealand At War*, (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd., 1996) These were published with the support of the following government affiliated agencies respectively: The

works, often written off as hagiographies, (in the case of business histories) or ‘phone books,’ (local histories that seem to name everyone in the area) can also be understood as community building – efforts to create, reference and/or strengthen a sense of shared identity.¹⁹⁹ Accordingly, both kinds of work are used to influence the world. They can both be used for activist purposes. In that light, it is worth noting that the bulk of a learning history is written in the words of the very participants whose histories it tells. This technique offers researcher analysis and yet simultaneously allows participants to speak in their own voices.

Another similarity is often balanced against that empowerment: the fact that learning histories and public history research are almost always generated with consideration for the research agendas of others. All too often, critics of public history see practitioners as captured and bought by their sponsors.²⁰⁰ These critics often attack the idea of allowing outsiders to set the direction of one's research, and imply that public historians compromise themselves – writing favourable pieces in exchange for funding and access to sources. Naturally, public history literature is written against that perspective.²⁰¹ Regardless of where one stands on these issues, both learning histories and public histories are usually written by people being paid to do so, with the research agendas of others in mind.²⁰² Both public history and learning history literature emphasise a professional standard of honesty without pretensions to scientific objectivity.²⁰³

History Group at the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs (the same/affiliated entity at different stages) and the Auckland Museum. Even the titles of these texts promote ‘Kiwi’ and ‘New Zealand’ identity.

¹⁹⁹ Miles Fairburn, ‘Local Community or Atomised Society? The Social Structure of 19th-Century New Zealand.’, in *The Shaping of History: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History, 1967-1999*, ed. by Judith Binney (Wellington [N.Z.]: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 228–44 (p. 231).

²⁰⁰ Jordanova, *History in Practice*, p. 161; For example, Jordanova stated baldly that commissioned histories result in organisations buying the services of historians ‘...who become dependent, losing a measure of intellectual freedom.’ She went on to restate the old proverb ‘He who pays the piper...’ See also: David Cantor, ‘Contracting Cancer? The Politics of Commissioned Histories’, *Social History of Medicine*, 5.1 (1992), 131–42 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/shm/5.1.131>>.

²⁰¹ Dalley, p. 25. Dalley also presented Louella McCarthy’s point that even those academic historians who are not directly paid to undertake a specific piece of work are unlikely to rise above their own preconceptions and political biases.

²⁰² Paul Ashton and Christopher Keating, ‘Commissioned History’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, ed. by Graeme Davison, J. B. Hirst, and Stuart Macintyre, Rev. ed (South Melbourne ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 139–41 (p. 141).

²⁰³ Roth and Kleiner, pp. 54–55; Peter Roth and Hilary Bradbury, ‘Learning History: An Action Research Practice in Support of Actionable Learning’, in *The Sage Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*, 2nd ed (Los Angeles ; London: SAGE, 2008), pp. 350–65 (p.

That nuanced understanding that combines an awareness of the impossibility of certainty with the ideal of accuracy touches on one final similarity: the shared treatment of ‘subjectivity’. Ultimately, while researchers can be true to data, the selection and emphasis of the data presented is a subjective choice made by the researcher. When the data itself is subjective, e.g. the opinions of others, this can only add to the complexity of the task. This shared subjectivity is one of the deeper connections between learning histories and public history. It also reflects contemporary historiographical sensitivities to the constructed and problematic nature of all sources, archives and data.

The connections between learning histories and public histories make it possible to see how the learning history methodology can be applied in the work of public history. The particular and peculiar aspects of learning histories benefit public history. The learning history facilitates and encourages more active group reflection. In examining the use of history while simultaneously encouraging the examination of the past, the learning history methodology achieves one of the great objects of public history – appreciation of the past by non-historians.

360); Albert L. Hurtado, ‘Historians and Their Employers: A Perspective on Professional Ethics’, *The Public Historian*, 8.1 (1986), 47–51 (p. 50) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3377074>>.

Chapter Two

*Historical methodology as 'a jointly-told-tale'*¹

This chapter outlines the learning history approach used in this research. It describes and justifies the methods of research and analysis utilised. The epistemology of the research and the rationale for applying the learning history approach were outlined in the previous chapter. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first addresses research design. The second outlines the specifics of the learning history approach process. The chapter also describes the methods I employed in terms of participant selection, data gathering and analysis, as well as describing the steps taken to ensure ethical research practice.

Research design

This thesis presents an exploration of the potential of the learning history approach in the context of public history. This investigation as a whole addresses the research question 'What Can the Learning History Approach Bring to the Historical Discipline?' Addressing that question can be thought of as the first and broadest level of the design of this research. The individual case studies form a second, more specific level within the research design. These case studies address the research question 'How Have the Organisations Selected for Study Utilised Their Pasts?' Each of the case studies in Chapters Three, Four and Five describe the phenomenon (i.e. the use of history within that organisation) within its context.²

I chose a multiple case study design because I believe the historical discipline requires exemplars before engaging significantly with a novel theory or methodology. After all, it took the example of E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working-Class* before much of the historical discipline was willing to problematise 'class'. A case study research design is also appropriate for both levels of this research. Robert K. Yin, frequent publisher on case study

¹ John Van Maanen, *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*, Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 136–138.

² Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Fifth edition (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2014), p. 9.

methodology, holds that the exploratory case study strategy can be profitably used to explore situations in which the interventions being evaluated have no clear, single set of outcomes.³ Therefore it is appropriate to use a multiple case study design to address the research question ‘What Can the Learning History Approach Bring to the Historical Discipline?’ The case study approach is also a suitable means of addressing this study’s research question about specific organisations’ uses of history because Yin also considered the descriptive case study to be appropriate for situations where a researcher wanted to:

- cover contextual conditions,
- address a ‘how’ or ‘why’ question,
 - about contemporary events (i.e. the perceptions encountered and the responses gathered by the learning history process),
 - over which the researcher has little control.⁴

A multiple case design also has a fundamental advantage over a single case design. Studying and comparing several cases yields sounder results than a single case. Results from a single case can be criticised as being due only to special circumstances arising from that particular case.

For reasons of validity and reliability a multiple case study is stronger than a single case study. Yet it is perhaps better to understand this work in terms of *credibility*.⁵ That is because of the intellectual origins of the learning history approach. The traditional learning history methodology is an action research methodology and draws from social constructivism. While I have worked to offer a replication logic – through consistently applying the methodology described in this chapter to each case – the nature of this research means that absolute replication is impossible. It is also worth noting that in this kind of research, concern with ‘control of error’ is more about being aware of and describing variables rather than actually controlling them. My results are not concerned with statistics so much as with emerging concepts and categories.

³ Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. 19.

⁴ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Applied Social Research Methods Series, v. 5, 3rd ed (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 13, 5–9.

⁵ Jill Grant, Geoffrey Nelson and Terry Mitchell, ‘Negotiating the Challenges of Participatory Action Research: Relationships, Power, Participation, Change and Credibility’, in *The Sage Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*, ed. by Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, 2nd ed (Los Angeles ; London: SAGE, 2008), pp. 589–601 (pp. 591, 598–599).

This research, unlike most prior learning history research efforts, studied several unrelated organisations. It is unusual to consider several distinct organisations in one overall study. The genre-defining research of Kleiner and Roth tended to emphasise learning opportunities primarily for other people within the same organisation. Yet there is precedent and there is a good reason to study several unrelated organisations.⁶ In research examining carbon reduction in local government, Margaret Gearty also examined several unconnected organisations. Gearty explicitly sought to promote the learning opportunity for external parties. As an action researcher Gearty aimed to amplify the effect of the accounts she presented by showing them together. So too in my research – for though the organisations studied are distinct, in each case the fundamental research question posed and the intended audience – members of the respective organisations – are the same. Therefore each case is comparable and this multiple-case learning history research design is appropriate.

It is worth highlighting a critical difference between the original learning history methodology and my adaptation, the learning history approach. The original methodology asked participants about a completed change process. That model sought ‘learning’ about a specific event. My approach drew out reflection about ongoing activities. I asked about the use of history because understanding the relevance, the role, the meaning of history in society is the deep guiding urge of this thesis. Asking about ‘the use of history’ altered the existing model of the learning history process. It has meant that my approach has sometimes sought different information from the original learning history method. It has also meant that I framed the learning history documents differently. Within the outline of the original learning history style, I have presented documents designed to address questions from historiographical literature rather than questions from the organisations themselves.

In this thesis I have followed the original learning historians, Kleiner and Roth, in choosing to define organisations broadly.⁷ Separations between legally distinct but operationally interlocking entities break down in practice. For example, at ‘Health Waikato’, The Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust (WHMT)

⁶ Margaret Gearty, ‘Achieving Carbon Reduction: Learning from Stories of Vision, Chance and Determination’, *The Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, 2008, 81–94.

⁷ Kleiner and Roth, p. Section 6, page 4.

is a distinct legal entity, yet as a WHMT member observed, it was people who identified strongly with the work of the formal entity that is the Waikato District Health Board who then decided the organisation needed a volunteer History Department/Museum (i.e. the WHMT) – so they made it.⁸ Southwell School is surrounded by volunteer organisations that support the working School – together they comprise ‘Southwell’.⁹ The Gordonton Woodlands Heritage Trust is a charity governed (and for much of this research, entirely run) by volunteers – and those people have decided to dedicate part of themselves to maintaining the larger memory of a significant settler enterprise also called ‘Woodlands’. So for the purposes of this research my definition of each ‘organisation’ was responsive to context. It included people who self-identified as members of the organisation, as well as the people they suggested, and support entities run by such people for the benefit of conceptions such as ‘Southwell’, ‘Woodlands’ and ‘Health Waikato’. I listened to participants and understood that their use of terms such as the name of their organisation was situational. However, the course of this research has borne out the value of understanding that the conception of an organisation is usually broader than its legally constructed limits.

This definition of organisation is why I was comfortable going and finding how an organisation responded to my research rather than attempting to make certain that I found the unmediated opinion of every individual involved.¹⁰ The data I found in this research has to be understood as mediated by various sets of organisational structures, dynamics and hegemonies. For the purposes of this research that was acceptable. That was because what I sought was how the particular ‘organisation’ responded – and that response was a function of each organisation’s existing structures. So if the organisation were dominated by a few of the senior management, an outspoken marketing department or a subtle *eminence grise* for example, then even such a hegemonic response was still representative of that organisation. Such a result could only serve to highlight the situation for all involved. Though I have emphasised it elsewhere, it is worth

⁸ See Chapter Five, footnote 39.

⁹ See Chapter Three, footnote 14.

¹⁰ That said, the initial interviews usually yielded individual opinions. Individuals also had the opportunity to read the learning history and form their own opinions prior to the dissemination meeting.

noting again that the learning history methodology does not hide the multiplicity of perspectives. Indeed, it is a method for making them far more discussable.¹¹

Regarding agency in this research – I have assumed people make choices, but not in circumstances of their own choosing.¹² Rather than performing Ph.D. size research into the structural dynamics of each organisation, for the purposes of this research I take it as an article of faith that all individuals are possessed of a certain amount of agency and that there is a certain amount of individuality in every individual response. In my interpretation of interview data I concur with Grant McCracken that, ‘The purpose of the qualitative interview is not to discover how many, and what kinds of, people share a certain characteristic. It is to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one culture construes the world.’¹³

McCracken’s words also point to something I wish to acknowledge and problematise about this research: my power as a researcher. I ‘gained access’. I also constructed an archive, a meta-archive from existing archives, selecting from selections. My interests, and my subjectivity have inevitably shaped this research.¹⁴ However much consideration I have given to the voices of participants in this research, their words are inevitably presented through the interpretations of this author.

To delimit the study I generated the research questions, and then selected organisations near where I lived to keep this research manageable. I chose the cases I did for two reasons. The first was that their differences could provide useful contrasts that illuminate the reasons for their particular use of, and response to, their reflections on their history. I was interested in whether the different motives of these organisations affected their use of history and their responses to the learning history process. I began with Southwell School because it is a combination of service organisation and private business run along for-profit lines. The second case was Woodlands Historic Homestead and Garden. At the

¹¹ Bradbury and Mainemelis, pp. 348–349.

¹² Karl Marx, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (London: Electric Book Co, 2001), p. 7 <<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/waikato/Doc?id=2001665>> [accessed 29 October 2013]. The full quote is: ‘Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under the circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.’

¹³ Grant David McCracken, *The Long Interview*, *Qualitative Research Methods*, v. 13 (Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1988), p. 17.

¹⁴ Portelli, p. 56.

time of the case, Woodlands was run by volunteers as a charitable trust, largely funded by the Waikato District Council, but also drawing income from business as a function centre. The third case was the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust. Legally the WHMT is a distinct entity run by volunteers alongside the vast operations of the Waikato District Health Board (Health Waikato or the DHB). As noted earlier, in practice the distinction between the two is much more fluid than the legal distinction would imply, enabling my study of the WHMT to be in some situations a proxy for the study of the use of history by Health Waikato.¹⁵ I initially intended to study a religious organisation – the Catholic Diocese of Hamilton – but chose not to proceed with the case when I realised that I had enough material for this research. As it was, the three cases selected have allowed me to explore the use of history in organisational settings large and small, public and private, paid and volunteer.

The second and related reason that drove my case selection was my desire to get deep and rich cases. I sought organisations that had significant material to draw on. In practice this meant I only approached organisations more than five years old. All kept records of a kind. Testing the learning history approach in archives is one more way of gauging the worth of the approach to the historical discipline – because archival work is so much a part of traditional historical practice. This study is not oral history nor is it ethnography. While a major part of my research was based on interviews, a significant part of my research was also based on the archives and artefacts available at the participant organisations. The participant organisations' archives informed my research and they were extensive. For example, at Southwell the organisation keeps an archive of school magazines, newsletters, prospectuses, photos and school history. They currently have an employee engaged in cataloguing this material. Much is made of the School's history, and at one point there was even a museum-like 'Southwell room' which students could freely enter.

It is appropriate to discuss how I addressed my alternate emic/etic perspectives throughout this research. My 'insider perspective' at Southwell was mentioned in the previous chapter – specifically in relation to how my personal

¹⁵ For example, the WHMT provides patient education through its exhibits. The operations of the WHMT are also facilitated by the personal and professional relationships between WHMT members and the DHB hierarchy.

connections with the School helped to illuminate information on the ‘invention of tradition’ and the construction of identity at Southwell. What appears here is a brief ‘outing’ of my assumptions and my relationships to the cases. This is necessary because of the research implications of insider perspectives.¹⁶ A researcher conducting a learning history inevitably becomes more of an insider at an organisation as their research goes on. Yet I believe such a researcher inevitably remains an outsider to a degree. That is because the researcher is never just participating but consciously observing with interpretation in mind. Moreover, this is something both researchers and participants are aware of.

At Southwell I was an insider because I had attended the School as a pupil, and had maintained occasional contact with the School. Yet before this research I was not an insider’s insider, nor an active part of the various entities that sustain the life of the School. That changed over the course of the research yet my status still shifted back and forth between insider and outsider. That was because while I was ‘inside’ in terms of my connection to the School, at times I was re-situated ‘outside’ by my age, experience, and always by my role as researcher. It is also worth noting that at Southwell, I faced something like the consequences indigenous researchers are confronted by when they conduct research with their families and communities.¹⁷ I will have to live with the consequences of my research and the Southwell community’s response to it. My emic status at Southwell has given me privileged access, but being an insider has no doubt influenced my research in ways I cannot perceive no matter how much I am aware of my status.

In a different sense, something similar is true at the WHMT because my mother is a clinical nurse leader (charge nurse) at Waikato Hospital and several of my academic friends and colleagues are associated with the WHMT. I even have tangential connections to Woodlands. While it was my then-chief supervisor who put me in touch with my contact person at Woodlands, my father was a Waikato District Councillor at the time of this study (as noted earlier the WDC funds Woodlands), and, in an example of interlocking directorates, it turned out that I knew a number of Woodlands people socially. Yet despite these connections, to all intents and purposes I was an insider only at Southwell, because Southwell was

¹⁶ Green and Troup, pp. 177–180.

¹⁷ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, p. 137.

a part of my own life prior to this research in a way that neither Woodlands nor Health Waikato had been.

The remainder of this section discusses the main forms of analysis used in this research design. I am ‘fronting’ these because I believe it is appropriate that historians make interpretive strategies transparent. To address the first research question I evaluated the combination of the three case studies in light of the literature on historical consciousness and historical thinking highlighted in the previous chapter. To address the second research question on determining how history has been used, I broadly followed the methods of case study analysis suggested by Yin, with particular reference to learning history literature.¹⁸

There are three significant levels of analysis in this thesis: the interpretation that goes into each case, the evaluation of the learning history approach based on an analysis of all the cases, and; comparison between the cases. In each case study I listened and wrote my interpretations in light of the theories described below. I have included interpretation frameworks beyond the basic learning history methodology for two related reasons: first, I want to connect the learning histories methodology with approaches more familiar to historians; and second, I believe that using frameworks already known to the discipline further demonstrates the potential for making the learning history approach part of the historical discipline. In each case I analysed responses to the following:

- How the learning history approach captured data on how the organisations studied have used their history.
- How the organisations studied responded to the learning history approach – Did they engage with their history? Did they imagine ways to benefit from their history in the future?
- Did the learning history process address the demands placed on the historical discipline noted in the first chapter of this thesis, particularly those around historical consciousness? Did the learning history process encourage reflective practice?

¹⁸ Yin, *Case Study Research*, pp. 1–56; Relevant works on Learning History include: Peter Roth and Hilary Bradbury, ‘Learning History: An Action Research Practice in Support of Actionable Learning’, in *The Sage handbook of action research: participative inquiry and practice*, 2nd ed (Los Angeles ; London: SAGE, 2008), pp. 350–65; George Roth and Art Kleiner, ‘Developing Organizational Memory Through Learning Histories’, *Organizational Dynamics*, 27 (1998), 43–60.

By contrasting analysis of the results of the first two points in relation to the latter, I determined the efficacy of the learning history approach and therefore its value for public history. For if the approach both captures the required data and encourages non-historians to engage with their history, then the approach will have satisfied demands placed on the discipline by historians such as Noel Stowe. The learning history approach could then become part of public history's 'toolkit'.

Within the individual case studies I began interpreting data when I wrote the relevant learning history document. This phase emphasised the interpretation and triangulation of data within each case. Essentially triangulation is converging upon an issue from multiple sources of evidence (e.g. different interviewees, texts, artefacts etc.) and 'triangulating' upon findings, for construct validity. The availability of many different sources of evidence is one of the strengths of case study data collection.¹⁹ Further, I applied interpretive triangulation – or 'theory triangulation' – where I applied several different interpretive frameworks to the same data.²⁰ I applied four main interpretive frameworks in this research: historical consciousness, oral history, the critical method and learning history methodology.

Firstly, as an interpretive framework, the traditional learning history methodology primarily relies on discerning themes. This requires an understanding of the organisation, specifically the tacit 'rules', power relations, and the implications of the language used in context.²¹ The learning history methodology emphasises the importance of understanding what is occurring in dialogues and conversations. The interpretation of material that goes into writing a learning history document is traditional qualitative data analysis. In practice this is similar to the development of grounded theory without the intention of testing theory.²² Textual materials were coded in light of the apparent themes which were then clustered by concept. I read the 'texts' available so as to code and then interpret them. I was ensuring the delivery of a learning history that was true, readable, and would be 'taken on board'. This pattern of interpretation corresponds to the three imperatives of learning histories: 'research', 'mythic' and 'pragmatic' respectively. The 'research' orientation demands that data collection

¹⁹ Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. 99.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

²¹ Roth and Bradbury, p. 351.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 355.

meet standards of ethics and academic integrity before sharing the research with the outside world.²³ However, this only facilitates the development of explicit knowledge. The imperative of ‘mythic interpretation’, storytelling, makes tacit knowledge explicit – i.e. it is highly engaging and therefore easier to assimilate because the results are presented in a compelling fashion.²⁴ The ‘pragmatic’ imperative delivers the sometimes difficult messages of the learning history to those who need to hear them. This is an acknowledgement of how most of us refuse to listen when being told of our moments of ignorance or incompetence. As a researcher I had to work closely with insiders to determine the appropriate way to deliver messages so that they would be understood and accepted rather than dismissed.²⁵ The literature suggests that all learning histories should be written in light of a cycle of these three imperatives.²⁶ The idea is that each supports the other but only one can be done effectively at a time.

The second interpretive framework to be discussed here is the critical method. Part of my adaptation – from the learning history methodology to the learning history approach – was to include the ‘traditional’ historical interpretive strategy of the ‘critical method’ within the learning history approach.²⁷ The critical method is often referred to but rarely explained in works on historiography.²⁸ Defining the critical method is a subject that merits whole books, so what appears here is only a brief outline of my assumptions to indicate for the reader what I mean by ‘critical method’. Descriptions of critical method generally emphasise points such as the comparison of sources, establishing evidentiary satisfaction and determining which ‘facts’ really matter.²⁹ A more detailed understanding of this can be drawn from the phrase ‘reading [a source] against the grain’. That in turn has been well expressed by the sociologist Loewen, a critic of how history has been taught.³⁰ The critical attitude of Loewen’s questions toward not just knowledge, but learning how to think,

²³ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 55.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 56–57.

²⁶ Roth and Bradbury, p. 356.

²⁷ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. p.xix.

²⁸ There are exceptions but these are few and far between, and I have only found them in works for undergraduates. For example: Martha C. Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2001).

²⁹ Howell and Prevenier, pp. 69–118.

³⁰ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: New Press: Distributed by Norton, 1995), p. 311. Loewen suggested five questions as standards of learning how to learn ‘history’ as a subject in school.

emphasise part of what I have referred to in this thesis as sophisticated historical consciousness.

Thirdly, I also listened for the silences and ‘composure’ that oral historians have shown to be significant in understanding oral testimony. I have already elaborated on aspects of oral history literature that are relevant to this thesis in the previous chapter. For here it is sufficient to note that I interpreted the evidence I found in light of oral history insights such as Thomson’s ‘composure’, and Portelli’s awareness that factual inaccuracies can be active creations.³¹ I interpreted what I found in light of the constructs described in the literature review.³²

The last interpretive framework to be discussed here can be essentialised as ‘historical consciousness’ and is drawn from my review of the literature. When looking for and interpreting historical consciousness in this investigation, I paid particular reference to the work of Seixas. My interpretation makes much of Seixas’s questions and criteria.³³ In interpreting historical consciousness and historical thinking, I also made use of the works of Stowe, Wineburg, and Rösen among others.³⁴

The Learning History Approach – process and considerations

Outline of the process

The learning history approach is a structured process that uses history as a frame for reflective conversation. The dissemination meetings in particular are deliberately structured so as to facilitate group reflection – ordinarily uncommon and potentially frustrating in a workplace setting. The organisational purpose of the process is to learn from one’s history so as to benefit in the future. Such benefit can take the form of ideas for action based upon a consideration of past successes, failures, priorities, principles and possibilities.

³¹ Thomson, pp. 5–9; Portelli, pp. 1–28.

³² See Chapter One, footnotes 152–156.

³³ Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 15–20; Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 142–150; Seixas, *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, pp. 10–11.

³⁴ See Chapter One, footnotes 88–102, and 104.

The learning history approach is both a process and a record of organisation-wide reflective conversations. To facilitate this, the learning history method has three phases.

1. Data collection.
2. Data distillation (the creation of a learning history document).
3. Dissemination meeting(s) (the learning history document is distributed at least a week before meetings) where participants hear each other react and reflect upon the document.

The initial phase involves usual forms of historical research, including: archival research, individual and group interviews and critical thought. What particularly distinguishes this approach from oral history is the learning history document itself and the dissemination meeting. The document is written in split-page jointly-told-tale style, with the conversation of the interviewees on one side, and the historian's comments highlighting key points on the other.³⁵ The learning history document is designed to promote discussion and engagement at the dissemination meeting. The learning history document itself is an innovative form that combines narrative, transcript, and report to make a kind of history that is deliberately intended for group discussion as part of its process. The dissemination meetings involved as many participants as possible to discuss the document. A dissemination meeting is something like gathering the most affected readers of a traditional history text and enabling them to hear each other respond to it, plus respond themselves. The discipline benefits because those conversations occur and because those conversations are recorded for analysis by researchers. I then took the results to make a final learning history case study and triangulated findings. Participants' reactions, conversations and insights at this stage are the culmination of the public-engagement aspect of the learning history process. The events, results, implications and issues of the whole process are written up as a case study after the dissemination meeting(s). Ultimately, I evaluated the cases in light of the literature on historical thinking and historical consciousness in order to determine the value, place and feasibility of the learning histories approach for public history.

³⁵ Van Maanen, pp. 136–138.

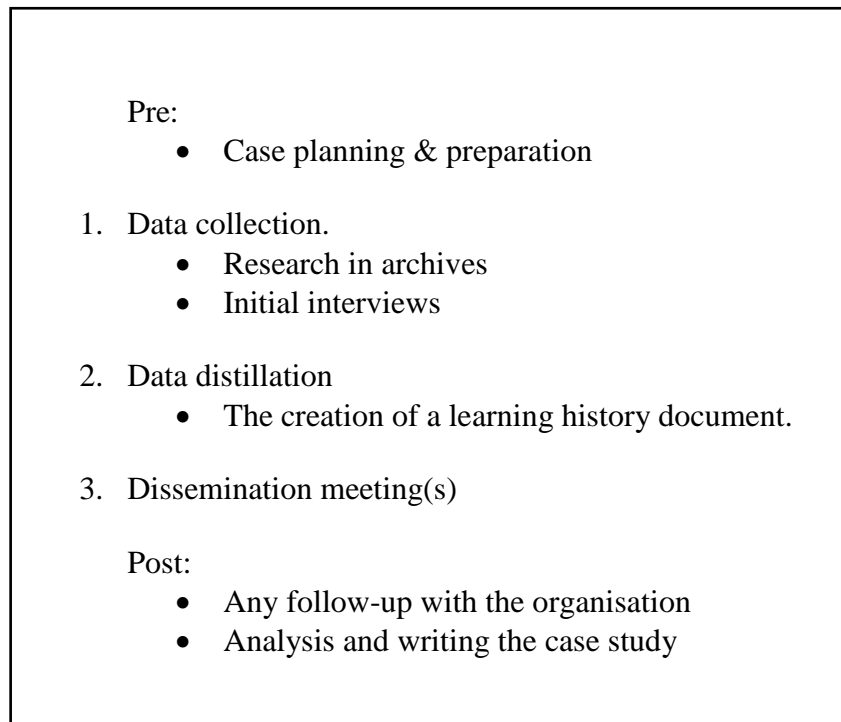


Figure 2: Outline of the Learning History Process

Details of the process

The next few paragraphs describe the learning history approach in greater detail by stepping sequentially through the process outlined above. The first step in each case was recruiting the organisation. I rejected several organisations on the basis that they are no longer operating.³⁶ As noted earlier, I sought organisations that were still operating, and had been operating for at least five years so as to ensure that I would have enough material to work with. I also looked for organisations with their own archives, and tried to include a selection of different types of organisation. At a practical level I had to pursue relationships that facilitated access to people and archives. I ensured that the organisation gave one of its members the responsibility of being my main contact person. I also spent the time required to develop a sense of the common frames of reference within each organisation. I did that at the same time as gathering the primary data.

Initially I spent time planning each case. Early interviews and readings of sources offered further leads for investigation, and so expanded my research. This

³⁶ Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. 10. Yin highlighted the need for selecting cases that are appropriate rather than simply accessible.

was a naturally iterative research stage. The objectives in my initial planning, interviews and examination of materials were:

- to identify key informants
- to identify concepts and categories of the organisational utilisation of history for presentation at the dissemination meetings – both in terms of what they did and how they understood those activities, so as to be able to talk in their terms, and
- to prepare the groundwork for dissemination meetings

This planning was in line with the six step learning history research procedure proposed by Kleiner and Roth, adapted by Shah and re-presented by Amidon.³⁷ While I took a consistent research design to each case, the particularity of each organisation necessitated a practical, emergent approach to case planning. This meant determining the scope and range of the learning history after discussion with key contact people (the ‘champions’ of Kleiner and Roth). The data sought at this stage was an understanding of the organisation, an awareness of the data available and a sense of how to proceed.

The initial interviews and a reading of organisational archival data and sources supported this emergent plan. I follow Bradbury in considering it an essential part of learning histories research to gather and analyse sources beyond interviews with participants.³⁸ Comparing sources is also a major practice within the historical discipline. A reading of archival material furnished useful background information when interviewing members of the case organisation. I did this because: 1) learning history scholars have included some contextualisation as part of the methodology itself, and 2) it is important to contextualise data because this is a history thesis. Contextualisation and gathering extra data also fit tidily with Yin’s conception of the value of triangulation in case study research.³⁹

I sought and found data on the same in the interviews preceding the learning history document. In line with the learning history literature, these ‘reflective interviews’ were about asking participants to discuss and reflect upon

³⁷ Roth and Kleiner, p. 47; Shah, p. 97; Amidon, p. 465.

³⁸ Bradbury and Mainemelis, p. 346.

³⁹ Yin, *Case Study Research*, pp. 97–100.

an aspect of their organisation – in this case, their organisation’s utilisation of its history.⁴⁰

Two kinds of data were elicited from these interviews. The first was a series of first-person oral narratives. The second was the way in which the participants viewed the history of their organisation (and their role/s in it). I developed an interview protocol – see Appendix I. The use of an interview protocol gives this thesis a ‘replication logic’. This facilitates cross-case comparison.⁴¹ That said the interviews necessarily required flexibility. That was because engaging participants and exploring their perceptions of the utility of history often required a more open-ended discussion than a predetermined set of closed questions could allow. Several learning history authors have commented on issues that arise when trying to develop an interview protocol in a participatory research situation. Most advocate developing a protocol with the participants.⁴² This highlights a fundamental difference between the learning history approach pursued in this research and the traditional learning history methodology: the research objective and questions were determined prior to interactions with participants. As the researcher, researching with the benefit of the historical discipline in mind, I chose the focus of the research. Therefore I developed the protocol.

Each interview followed the same basic pattern: initial introduction and explanation, description of organisational utilisation(s) of history and an open discussion. This last phase is where I departed from the questions listed in the protocol, used open-ended questions and followed up on lines of inquiry. I had a consistent purpose throughout the interviews – to draw out the historical thinking of participants.

The next stage was the production of the learning history document. All the primary research described above was drawn together to produce the document. At this stage I followed up on emergent hypotheses, distilled the raw material into a coherent set of themes, validated essential details and wrote the learning history document. My intention was to deliver an account of ‘the use of

⁴⁰ Roth and Kleiner, p. 51; Shah, p. 97.

⁴¹ Yin, *Case Study Research*, pp. 47–51.

⁴² Roth and Kleiner, p. 51; Bradbury and Mainemelis, p. 345.

history' in each particular organisation. This was the jointly-told-tale.⁴³ The learning history documents described key themes and episodes in the words of the interviewees/archives supported by the researcher's commentary. I chose what I thought to be the most representative or evocative examples: sometimes the best expressed, often those that cut across several categories. I then aimed to produce a learning history that conveyed the most striking points about the organisation's use of history in the smallest possible space. The mirror I would hold up to the organisation had to be large enough to show them the whole of themselves, but no larger.

The learning history document is an unusual research step because through it, the researcher attempts to present findings *through* the data. The narratives of the participants appeared in the right-hand column. The left-hand column contained the researcher's evaluative comments, interpretations, summary and catalytic questions designed to engage reflection. (See the example from the Southwell case below). This format allowed a reader to develop their own conclusions about the story presented in the right-hand column. They could then contemplate that in light of the insights presented in the left hand column.

History as the foundation of identity

Royce Helm (Headmaster): I think history plays an enormous role in this school - in terms of who we are, where we are going, what we're doing.

*The name of this identity:
'The Southwell Family'*

And it's always important to reference that back. When I welcome a student to the school, we've introduced a little ceremony which is the presentation of a badge - the blazer badge. And in the past what's happened is that it was sort of a handout at assembly. But we now do it in the Chapel, and we present the badge to the child, and I say to the child 'Welcome to the Southwell Family'.

Figure 3: Excerpt from the Jointly-Told-Tale

⁴³ The jointly-told-tale is an approach drawn from ethnography. Van Maanen, pp. 136–138.

To create such jointly-told-tales, I made a combination of the approaches advanced by Bradbury & Mainemelis and Roth & Kleiner.⁴⁴ Both sets of authors emphasised understanding the organisation so as to determine what engages people in that particular organisation.⁴⁵ That understanding was about categorising and describing the data in a form understandable to that organisation rather than developing a framework in which outside experts explain the how and why of what has happened.⁴⁶

I coded the data from the cases and categorised what I found according to common themes emerging from the research.⁴⁷ I then validated the higher order categories I found through this work with participants so as to 1) ensure the final work was accurate, 2) to show participants how they appear to others, 3) to give the participants confidence in the process. After this point I wrote the final learning history document for reflection by interviewees. As noted earlier, Roth & Kleiner offer three imperatives for this part of the process: 1) ‘research’ – grounding conclusions in the data, 2) ‘mythic’ – keep narratives interesting and 3) ‘pragmatic’ – present the learning history so that it can be effectively read, understood and discussed by the organisation in question.⁴⁸ Bradbury & Mainemelis make a point similar to Roth & Kleiner’s first when they emphasise the need to make the multiplicity of perspectives discussable. Bradbury & Mainemelis argue that the validity of rooting the learning history in the data should be emphasised to draw on extended forms of knowing so as to better engage participants.⁴⁹ I concur as I found this to be so in my own research. The idea is to not overemphasise conceptual knowledge, but to remember that this is a document whose primary purpose is to facilitate conversation for non-academic specialists. This makes sense in light of the key outcome sought here – i.e. a presentation of history that the intended audience can reflect on and engage with easily because it is largely in their own words (unlike most forms of history).

⁴⁴ Roth and Kleiner; Bradbury and Mainemelis.

⁴⁵ Bradbury and Mainemelis, p. 346; Roth and Kleiner, pp. 51–52.

⁴⁶ Roth and Kleiner, p. 52.

⁴⁷ Bradbury and Mainemelis, p. 346; Roth and Kleiner, pp. 51–52. An example of such a coding table can be found in the work of Bradbury & Mainemelis, p. 354.

⁴⁸ Roth and Kleiner, ‘Developing Organisational Memory Through Learning Histories.’, p. 52

⁴⁹ Bradbury and Mainemelis, p. 348.

What follows is intended to help explain the cycling process that goes into the production of a learning history document. At Southwell for example, I found thoughts about the nature of history in Southwell's archive and the words of Southwell people. I made a point of blending these into the learning history as a whole – and explicitly so in the opening quote and the final excerpt. Yet I would not have used those quotes if they were not also extremely apt expressions of how Southwell uses its history to maintain its identity. On the third page of the Southwell learning history document (Appendix IV) there appears a story that said so much about the whole of Southwell. I deliberately left it as a simple transcript rather than presenting it in the jointly-told-tale style. It was a story about Southwell bricks – and, perhaps because it resonated with me as an insider, one I considered communicated much of what the participants had told me Southwell was (and is) about.

It was a story with emotional power that discussed a deliberate use of School history – one where a motif (the bricks) was consciously associated with laying foundations – and was performed by every staff member and pupil there. The story foregrounded the bricks, and in itself met the ‘research’ criteria of Kleiner and Roth’s approach to producing learning histories. Having that story upfront facilitated an analytic discussion of Southwell bricks later in the learning history. The story itself is moving, and is about a consciously celebrated motif (the bricks). It was related by a dying man.⁵⁰ It would be hard to be more ‘mythic’ in this context. The story also implicitly represents the third ‘pragmatic’ aspect of Kleiner and Roth’s approach to producing learning histories – in that it was so evocative that it helped members of the Southwell Family take the learning history to heart. I know I did it deliberately. I also feel it would have been wrong to keep this story to myself.

Through the learning history process, I distilled and concentrated the thoughts and stories of the people of the organisation. This ‘concentrate’ was the learning history document itself. That in turn became the catalyst of conversation in the dissemination meetings.

⁵⁰ John had passed away by the time of the dissemination meetings. I was not trying to find this story. I did not know of it. I had thought John had better things to do before he died than be interviewed for my research. Yet when we caught up he smiled and said ‘So when are you going to interview me?’ – And that is how I came to hear the story that said so much about Southwell.

The meetings involved determining what participants focussed on, what participants agreed/disagreed with, my subjective attempt to gauge the intensity of their responses, and learning what they regarded as the most important points. One of my objectives at each dissemination meeting was to determine collective responses to the ideas and themes presented in the learning history document. Another purpose of each dissemination meeting was to start a conversation within the organisation, potentially leading to new uses of history within the organisation. The process is designed to encourage conscious reflection.

My objective in analysing each case was to determine the findings of the case that came out of close reading and the triangulation of data. The final part of the case was my interpretation of the results and the final write-up of the case study. For that I applied the interpretive theories and forms of analysis outlined earlier in this chapter.

The remainder of this chapter outlines various methodological choices made in the course of this research, such as those around: research instruments, recording equipment, interview locations, naming and recording policies and the steps taken to ensure ethical research practice.

Research instruments

This research made use of a number of instruments such as the aforementioned interview protocol (See Appendix I). This research also made use of interview recordings and transcripts, photographs and other materials made available by the organisations selected for study. All of the interviews were digitally recorded. Digital sound recordings were chosen in preference to video. This was to avoid the distracting effect of cameras during interviews. When it came to interview locations, for practical reasons I organised individual and group interviews differently. Individual participants chose the location of their interviews, and so became involved in the organisation of the interview. There was at least one group interview in each case held prior to the creation of each learning history document, and there were a total of five dissemination meetings across the three cases of this research. Each of these larger meetings were held at sites made available by the organisation selected for study.

Many of the interviewees in this thesis chose to undertake the interviews in their own homes, usually by themselves but sometimes family members were present. Interview locations included living rooms, kitchens, offices (both home and at worksites), cafes and in one instance a research laboratory. Sometimes these spaces influenced what was said. For example, the cataloguers of the WHMT met me in their cataloguing office/storeroom and from time to time they introduced an artefact into their conversations.

A note on naming and recording policies throughout this thesis

There is a further distinction between the practice of the learning history approach and oral history research practice. Throughout this thesis references to interviews are made to the page in the transcript of that interview rather than a time period on a recording. That is because these interviews were used to create a document – the learning history document – and for analysis for the purposes of case studies rather than the purposes of oral history. This referencing choice reflects the working reality of the learning history process. For practical reasons throughout this research I referred to transcripts far more often than the recordings when creating the learning history documents and the case study chapters of this thesis. Using the transcript page number as the reference is appropriate because, although I did check the transcripts against the recordings and my memory of the events, I have worked largely from the transcripts.

Throughout this research the names of participants are presented in full in the first instance, and thereafter given names are used. The same holds for a participant's titles – these are usually mentioned only when a participant first appears in this research. Where participants have the same given name, both their given name and their surname are presented to distinguish them from the other participant with the same given name. In line with the ethical protocols of this research, participants' names only appear in this research if they have given written consent.

The steps taken to ensure ethical research practice

This research was conducted within the regulations and codes of conduct prescribed by the University of Waikato and by the National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ). I received research approval from the University of Waikato's Human Research Ethics Committee for my research.

Participants were provided with information sheets, consent forms and given the opportunity to discuss them with the researcher and anyone else they wished to. Examples of those information sheets and consent forms can be found in Appendices II and III. The information sheet described the project, outlined the purposes of the research and how it would work, as well as describing how the information collected would be stored. Participants had the option of not being identified by name in this thesis, on the understanding that it was confidentiality rather than anonymity that was being offered. It is not easy to ensure anonymity in a country like New Zealand – and especially difficult to hide a participant's identity from the other people involved in this research and in the relevant organisation.⁵¹

At one point in this research, four minors (students of Southwell School) were interviewed. The University of Waikato's Human Research Ethics Committee was advised, and the relevant documents were revised with Committee approval to include the provision of consent from both the relevant minor and their parent and/or guardian.

⁵¹The extent of this issue in such contexts is also noted by Jane Moodie, 'The Moral World of the Waikite Valley', in *Remembering: Writing Oral History*, ed. by Anna Green and Megan Hutching (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2004), pp. 39–59 (p. 46).

Chapter Three

*“History is part of the story that makes us who we are”:*¹

Southwell School, Hamilton



Figure 4: All Hallows Chapel. Image courtesy of Southwell School.

Below is an excerpt from a conversation between the author and the late John Otley, former boarding housemaster at Southwell. Tens of thousands of bricks were made by Southwell students and staff for each expansion of the school chapel. I attended Southwell as a student from 1992 to 1994. Making school bricks was part of the experience. Yet my memory of making bricks is nothing like as strong as my memory of the *meaning* of making bricks. What follows might explain why; it is an account of events in the years leading up to the extensions of 1981.²

¹ Interview with Susan Radford (Granddaughter of H.G. Sergel and daughter of Reverend P.C.S. Sergel – former Headmasters and owners of Southwell), 18 March 2010, p.13 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

² Southwell School, *Southwell School, 1911-2011* (Hamilton, N.Z.: Southwell School, 2011), p. 114.

John Otley: "...I'd get the boys up at quarter past six they put on their old jerseys and they'd run over there with their gumboots on, a concrete mixer was going—Ivan was always there [Ivan Smith, School Chaplain].³ ...they'd stamp the bricks and they'd stamp the concrete into the moulds ...And there were some boys who always wanted to do it ...they used to hang around. But then they'd spray up after school, they'd set, they'd take them out and put them in there, and carry them out and put them in there. ...All the way through to Peachgrove Road, there were piles of bricks by the hundred.

...the time came when they'd selected the contract and it was all ready to start and we'd had chapel in the hall and then Ivan said, 'Today's a special day. I don't want anyone to say a word, but you're to pick up one brick and you'll find a chalk outline or a white string around where the new chapel will go. Place your bricks end on end'—around where the new chapel was. And the whole School walked in one line. They just picked up one brick and we just put it around where the new chapel was. You know, all those stories of laying, laying... laying foundations... it was actually very moving. And no-one said anything and we all put our brick down and went off to class . . .'⁴

This chapter makes two arguments in light of evidence such as the excerpt above. The first is that Southwell uses its history for identity. More specifically, Southwell uses invented traditions as part of a process of 'Southwellisation' and induction into a privileged community. The second argument is that the participants of this case engaged with the learning history approach. In addition to making those arguments this chapter also elaborates on the 'how and why' of that use and engagement, before then delving into what this case reveals about the learning history approach and the broader significance of those findings. The quote in the title of this chapter and the epigraph above are outstanding evidence of 'Southwellisation' and participant engagement with the learning history approach. They describe a passionately held idea of Southwell School, one that emphasises identity, inclusion and community; "history and mystery".⁵ John's account also highlights a particular invented tradition.⁶ Brickmaking is the

³ Ivan Smith was School Chaplain from 1976-1982.

⁴ Learning History Interview with John Otley, 23 February 2010. pp. 9-10 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

⁵ Interview with Susan, p.17.

⁶ "'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and the ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.' Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric J. Hobsbawm and

signature tradition at Southwell and as such receives a great deal of attention in this chapter.

This case specifically addresses how Southwell uses its history, especially through the reflections of those involved on how they saw the School's use of its past. Those reflections themselves are proof of participants' engagement with the learning history approach. Many reflections were captured by the process including: concepts of history, reflections on the utility of history (especially in building identity and 'educational community'), and participant reflections on the learning history approach itself.



Figure 5: Beribboned brick (not cake) for Southwell's 2011 Centenary. Note how Southwell bricks are also used as a feature in the internal wall behind.

What follows is information and analysis to assist the reader in interpreting the rest of this chapter. Southwell is a coeducational private primary school (and therefore both a service organisation and a business) with a hundred-year history.⁷ Southwell has more than 600 pupils on its roll, more than 50 full-time teachers and 50 more staff.⁸ More than 6000 students have attended Southwell School since it opened in 1911. The School is located in Hamilton City, New Zealand,

Terence O. Ranger, *Past and Present Publications* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–14 (p. 1).

⁷ Southwell's Centenary was November 1, 2011. For only 11 of those 100 years had girls been students.

⁸ For example gardeners, carpenters, chefs, specialists.

and has an influential role in the life of the City and the Waikato region.⁹ Even before I began this case, I knew that the organisation had extensive records, an obvious commitment to its history and a distinct identity.

I knew all that because at Southwell, I am an insider – with all the implications that has for issues of perspective.¹⁰ All that is written here about the activities of Southwell School needs to be understood in light of that fact. I was automatically made a member of the Old Boys Association (OBA) on leaving the School in 1994. I also accepted an invitation to join the committee of the Old Boys and Girls Association (OBGA – the OBA renamed) and assisted with the School’s 2011 Centenary during the course of this research. As an insider, I took for granted so many of the practices that are at once inclusive for insiders and exclusionary for outsiders.¹¹ There are identity-maintaining practices that might seem strange to an outsider. For example in the course of this research I observed adult volunteers from the School’s associate organisations defer to the principal of the school as ‘Headmaster’ and make a point of addressing him as such. This might seem surprising, even counter-intuitive unless you understand that this practice does not elevate the Headmaster so much as assert the volunteer’s membership of the School community.

Such practices are examples of ‘invented traditions’. A key point Hobsbawm makes about invented traditions is that they are a way of fostering the ‘corporate sense of *superiority* of élites – particularly when these had to be recruited from those who did not already possess it [‘superiority’] by birth or ascription—rather than by inculcating a sense of obedience in inferiors.’¹² Class and privilege stalk these pages and Southwell School. It seems obvious to suggest that a school like Southwell can afford to make much of its history. What might be less obvious is that Southwell believes it cannot afford not to. The analysis of perspective and privilege above needs to be borne in mind when reading the rest of this chapter.

⁹ Peter J. Gibbons, *Astride the River: A History of Hamilton* (Christchurch: Whitcoulls for the Hamilton City Council, 1977), p. 163.

¹⁰ Green and Troup, pp. 177–180.

¹¹ For example, Southwell is not pronounced ‘South-well’. The name is a shibboleth pronounced ‘Sou-thill’.

¹² Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, p. 10.

How Southwell uses its history

At Southwell ‘history’ is used as a fund of stories that build identity. The specific uses of history at Southwell underscore the importance of tradition, community and continuity to the School.¹³ At first glance, Southwell is as redolent with history as a New Zealand school can be. Founded in 1911 and based on the model of the English ‘public’ schools, Southwell has a tradition of school operas, daily chapel services and an extensive educational offering. There are six officially distinct and largely volunteer support-entities, each dedicated to sustaining the School in a particular way – together with the School itself they constitute the Southwell ‘organisation’.¹⁴ The School maintains a significant archive (the Southwell Room)¹⁵ and pays staff to curate it. In print and at frequent school occasions, those involved with Southwell are collectively referred to as the ‘Southwell Family’.¹⁶

All of this involvement is directed to the survival of the School – and ‘history’ is deployed to foster that involvement. The history of the School is a

¹³ Jo Backhouse – Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting with Jo Backhouse (The Old Boys and Girls Association’s (OBGA) Executive Officer) and Gerri Judkins (Southwell Librarian) 18 November 2010 p. 29 of transcript. Facilitated by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

¹⁴ These entities are legally distinct but in practice they coordinate and interlock in such a way that, together with the School, they are Southwell. These include the **Southwell School Association** (for current parents and staff – to arrange social occasions and fundraising such as the Foundation Ball, and various tournaments and rallies), the **Southwell School Foundation** (to create and manage a large fund to provide long-term financial support for the School. It also manages scholarships), The **Old Boys and Girls Association** (For Old Boys and Girls – ‘The Association has donated many gifts to the School and actively supports the School. It is responsible for collecting and collating the history of the School in the **Southwell Room** (Archives)’ – page 11 of Southwell School Parent Handbook 2012. In practice, much of that work falls to the paid full-time Secretary of the Committee, Jo Backhouse, and her assistant.), **The Friends of Southwell** (for all members of the Southwell family. Especially for parents to have the opportunity to become Friends of the School when their child leaves ‘and still be part of the Southwell Family’ – page 11 of Southwell School Parent Handbook 2012), The **Fellows of Southwell School** (Guardians of the Trust Deed – they approve the appointment of the Headmaster) and the **Southwell School Trust Board** (A self-electing body charged with the governance of the School. Several of the heads of the other organisations listed here are automatically members). The Parent Handbook itself includes a section explicitly on school history and makes many references to it throughout (pp.10, 13, 15-16 & 22).

¹⁵ The Southwell room was formerly an open-access display space with records where students could wander freely. It is noteworthy that the archive is now located deep within the administration building, accessible only through the OBGA executive officer’s office and only to authorised persons.

¹⁶ The term appears in the tagline of the Southwell Chronicle and is used unselfconsciously by so many of the people I met, for example: **Jo Backhouse**: “In the school. We’ve now introduced a ‘students in the spotlight’ page, so just what’s going on, but then that Chronicle is to go to the extended Southwell Family.” Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 10.

consideration in managerial decision-making.¹⁷ Historic School buildings are deliberately retained.¹⁸ The School's history is important enough to Southwell that the School employs an archivist.¹⁹ The Old Boys and Girls Association's (OBGA) Executive Officer also manages the archive in addition to coordinating the School's many heritage efforts and OBGA. Between them, these two paid permanent staff members are directly responsible for activities such as the maintenance and professionalization of Southwell's archive, the care of artefacts, supplying historical information, supporting historical displays and exhibitions in the School, and the production of the 206-page book commemorating Southwell's centenary *Southwell School 1911-2011*.²⁰

The School has done many things with its history, and many of those efforts are manifest in the physical substance of the School itself. A walk around the grounds gives a visitor a view of physical references to the past, such as recent architecture that is deliberately in keeping with the aesthetic of the School Chapel,²¹ numerous plaques and memorials,²² and pieces of the past on display. These objects range in size and the degree of accompanying interpretation, and include: the historic buildings already mentioned, trees, objects such as the Monckton Bell and rotating exhibitions in the School Library.²³ Those exhibits

¹⁷ Headmasters said as much. For example, Royce Helm (Current Headmaster) on decision making "...as the head of the school, this is really relevant because it's about developing systems and strategies to ensure that we both educate, remain relevant, but continue to keep our history." Moments earlier Royce had described retaining that history as "ensuring we don't lose who we are". First Southwell Dissemination Meeting with Royce Helm, Tim Taylor, Glenn Holmes, Murray Day, Bill Izard, Marcus Gower and Mike Dix – Prof. David McKie and Mark Smith facilitating, 16 November 2010. pp. 29 and 28 of transcript respectively. Recording and transcript held by Mark Smith. In another vivid example, Geoff Burgess (Former Headmaster of Southwell) described how his research into the history of Southwell led to his decision to revive brickmaking – see Chapter Three, footnote 48.

¹⁸ For example, All Hallows Chapel is designated a (B) Heritage Building under the Hamilton City Proposed District Plan – see Hamilton City Council, Operative District Plan, May 2014 <http://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-council/council-publications/operativedistrictplan/Pages/default.aspx> [accessed 1 October 2014], section 2.3 pp. 6, 13. Gillet House was built in 1871 and occupied by Southwell Headmaster's since 1921.

¹⁹ The official title is 'Archives Assistant/Chronicle Editor'. The Chronicle is a magazine produced twice a year.

²⁰ Southwell School. The book narrates the progress of Southwell.

²¹ Buildings that architect and old boy Mark de Lisle has ensured are in keeping with the appearance of the rest of the school.

²² The various memorials around the school (Hawkins, Sergel) – especially the memorable plaque for H.G. Sergel that echoes Sir Christopher Wren's in St Paul's Cathedral in London: *Si monumentum requiris circumspice* – if you seek his monument, look around.

²³ In yet another example of Southwell using now obsolete aspects of its past for present-day identity building, the Monckton Bell, once *the* school bell, has been put to a new use: 'With new technology the bell became obsolete and was moved to outside the dining room. In 2008 the bell was again moved to the Cupola in the Centre of Performing Arts. Every Year 8 Leaver gets the chance ring the bell after Prize Giving.' Southwell School, p. 66.

address topics such as changes in buildings, previous school operas, the history of brickmaking at Southwell, and various other aspects of Southwell life. For many years the ‘Southwell Room’ functioned as a sort of on-site open museum that students visited at will during breaks. There are also School events that do not necessarily emphasise Southwell history, but evoke a sense of continuity and connection that deepens a sense of history. As a school, Southwell has regular occasions such as chapel services, school assemblies and teaching that offer the opportunity to educate by using the School's history. Every year junior students are taught about Southwell’s history in preparation for Founders Day (1 November). The Fellows and other older members of the Southwell Family visit to talk with students and share Southwell across generations.

These efforts gesture toward continuity even amidst change.²⁴ Southwell’s ‘history’ efforts continue beyond the student experience. Southwell uses its history when reaching out through numerous jubilees, reunions and regular communications such as newsletters and school magazines;²⁵ and in extra efforts such the 2001 special issue of the *Chronicle* that took Southwell history as its theme,²⁶ as well as several books, including *All Hallows: A History of the Chapel of Southwell School*, and *Southwell School 1911-2011*.²⁷ Former pupils can even deepen their connection by celebrating their wedding in the School Chapel.

²⁴ Gerri: “When we did *Oh Kay!* in the year that we didn’t have a theatre, there was a final scene in that which was meant to be the characters finding bits and pieces in the back of a church hall. And children wore costumes from other operas dating back to the 1960s. There was a jester costume from [The] Yeomen of the Guard I think, and when we did *Gondoliers*, they used costumes, some of those were from the 1960s, that the girls wore. *So we highlight that and emphasise that with the children... A gesture to continuity.* And one of my favourite incidents in telling the children too, was that when the old hall that doesn’t exist anymore, which was from the ‘60s, was first built, Simon Upton performed in the first show in it. And when the new performing arts centre opened, his daughter Laura performed in the first show in it. *So, you know, it’s those linking back – so those are the sorts of things, I think, that [pause] strike me and that are fun to pass on.*” [Italics added for emphasis]. Interview with Gerri, pp. 6-7.

²⁵ In addition to sharing information about school activities, events and news of old boys and girls, the *Chronicle* (and the school magazine before it) has frequently featured articles that highlight the history of the School.

²⁶ Southwell School, *Chronicle*, Special Issue 2001. The *Chronicle* is a kind of semi-annual super newsletter for the entire Southwell Family – it details a vast amount of the life of the School. Prior to the existence of the *Chronicle*, the School magazine performed many of the same functions. The issue of the *Chronicle* in question reflects specifically on the history of the school and the recent celebrations.’ It covered a watershed period – the 75th anniversary of All Hallows Chapel, the 50th anniversary of the Old Boys Association, and 2001 was the year that girls began attending Southwell.

²⁷ For example: Paul Clement Scott Sergel, *All Hallows: A History of the Chapel of Southwell School* (Hamilton: Southwell School Trust Board, 1976); and Southwell School.

Why the School uses its history

At Southwell history is the foundation of identity. Most of the activities mentioned above are not unique to Southwell, but what is noteworthy here is that there are so many and that they facilitate the performance of a Southwell identity. Here is a succinct statement of the direct relevance of Southwell's past to its identity:

Soumil Singh (Head Boy 2010): ... if School history was forgotten then... well I guess people not knowing is just... the School would lose its unique air.²⁸

Southwell's Headmaster Royce Helm also presented Southwell history as the foundation of Southwell identity, and named that identity: the 'Southwell Family'.²⁹ He described an induction ritual where he literally says 'Welcome to the Southwell Family'.³⁰ Royce also described – in a quote that began in history and ended in identity – what goes into this identity, how it supports the School, and how the use of School history supports that identity.

Royce: History is incredibly important. You can see it in the architecture. You can see it in the uniform. You can, hopefully, see it in the people. But it's an aspect of the school that is relevant to today's world, not stifling. That's how I'd describe it. It is not quaint. It doesn't have a 'realism' for the children, but it is something they consider really important. Because often the children leave here and go to all sorts of different schools. But they will come back to Southwell with a sense of familiarity. And it's that familiarity which is embodied, embedded in the heritage items. To come back to Southwell and see the kids are still walking silently, with their hands behind their backs, to Chapel. And that you're still not allowed to walk on the grass. That the buildings still have that motif, the terracotta motif. And that the kids are still making Southwell bricks. That we still

²⁸ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview with Thomas Bedford, Supipi Devadittiya, Soumil Singh and Nicole Xue (all of them Year 8 Students) 13 September 2010. p. 28 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

²⁹ 'named' meant here in the sense that he called it by name – i.e. this identity is significant enough to have a name – rather than suggesting Royce was the first to call this identity by this name, or that the term 'Southwell Family' was first spoken in our interview.

³⁰ In full – **Royce Helm (Headmaster):** "I think history plays an enormous role in this school – in terms of who we are, where we are going, what we're doing. And it's always important to reference that back. When I welcome a student to the school, we've introduced a little ceremony which is the presentation of a badge – the blazer badge. And in the past what's happened is that it was sort of a handout at assembly. But we now do it in the Chapel, and we present the badge to the child, and I say to the child 'Welcome to the Southwell Family'." Learning History Interview with Royce Helm, 2 September 2010. p. 2 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

believe it's important to come first in the cross-country and win a cup. That's what I think makes the School really what it is.³¹

This is an example of how history at Southwell is offered to allow individuals to include membership of the Southwell Family within their own sense of identity.

It is not surprising to find efforts to structure parts of social life in a world of constant change.³² Among the numerous examples, there is one that illustrates the dynamic between history and identity particularly well. Today's Southwell students all make a brick before they leave. It is now a defining part of the Southwell experience. Students look forward to it. Staff and parents who were never Southwell students also pitch in. Adult ex-pupils who never made a brick, still feel that they should—and are offered the opportunity to do so.³³ It should be noted that there were many periods when Southwell students did not make bricks. It is not that these former students were skivers. The point is that their comments during their interviews illuminate the present strength of brickmaking-as-bonding—given that grown men, who have already given so much to the School in other ways, still feel that they should 'make a brick'. Through the performance of such practices, Southwell people create a Southwell community.



Figure 6: Intergenerational Brickmaking – *Image courtesy of Southwell School.*³⁴

³¹ Interview with Royce, p. 8. It is worth noting that these characteristics (with a few exceptions such as brickmaking) are common to all schools modeled on the English 'Public' schools.

³² Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', p. 2.

³³ Learning History Interview with Murray Day, 17 December 2009. pp. 3, 17 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. Learning History Interview with Marcus Gower, 19 February 2010, p. 4 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

³⁴ This image appeared in the 2001 special issue of the *Chronicle*, along with an article 'Brickmaking Continues 75 Years Later'. The photograph, the article and the special edition of the

Brickmaking became part of Southwell in the third term of 1923.³⁵ The staff and students made bricks for the construction of the School Chapel, and did so again for the several expansions to the Chapel and later construction efforts. Headmasters, visiting bishops and the like have emphasised the contribution of the students in building and fundraising for their own school and house of worship ever since. By 1950, and no doubt long before, Southwell bricks had come to represent more than mere moulded material.³⁶

Brickmaking at Southwell has gone from the financially prudent mass production of thousands of bricks in the 1920s, 1940s and 1950s to the bonding ritual of today.³⁷ Southwell bricks are no longer allowed to be used for structural purposes. Yet they are still used for features – such as the internal use of bricks in the counter of the main office, and in garden settings – as symbols of Southwell. Brickmaking has come to represent continuity and connection with all of those who have contributed to Southwell's history. Statements such as ‘The tradition continues’ can be found throughout recent editions of the semi-annual Southwell School *Chronicle—Newsletter for the Southwell Family*.³⁸ An article in the *Chronicle* had that very statement as its title, and made a point of inviting ‘Old Boys and Girls or other members of the Southwell Family’ to make ‘a batch or two of bricks’, and stressed that no experience was needed.



Figure 7: Old Boys making bricks during the 2011 Centenary.

Chronicle were part of celebrating (the very word used) 90 years of the School and 75 years of the School Chapel. Southwell School, *Chronicle*, Special Issue 2001, p.11.

³⁵ Sergel, p. 12.

³⁶ *Southwell School Magazine*, 1950, 5, 5, p. 14.

³⁷ Southwell School, p. 23.

³⁸ Southwell School *Chronicle*, December 2009, p.14.

A quick internet search will reveal innumerable ‘buy-a-brick’ campaigns. This suggests a wider societal fetishisation of the ‘brick’. Bricks are no longer even a primary building material; they represent buildings, structure, foundations, and so on.³⁹ It is interesting to consider the idea of a fetish or a myth becoming stronger when it is no longer bound to fact. It is salutary for experts to recall how surprising it once was that Anzac sentiment became stronger as veterans passed away.⁴⁰ The same element can have different meanings at different times. It is possible to believe that an unchanging ritual might genuinely reflect stability. Yet in times of change, such a ritual, as David Cannadine has argued in another context, might be intended to give the ‘impression of continuity, community and comfort despite overwhelming contextual evidence to the contrary.’⁴¹ At Southwell, the Headmaster said as much.⁴² These rituals are examples of the preservation of anachronism as a unifying symbol of community.

The essence of Southwell’s use of history: sustaining the School through identity

This is a self-sustaining cycle. History at Southwell feeds into the School’s wider identity effort. The use of history emphasises continuity.⁴³ The frequent threading of history through the activities of the School reinforces its identity, sustains the sense of connection, and in a virtuous circle, provides the conceptual space for each effort by making it a contribution to an existing heritage.⁴⁴ This in turn adds to the School’s history and renews the sense of continuity for those involved. And all this can be seen literally with the addition of each new brick.

³⁹ Consider how ‘...objects or practices are liberated for full symbolic ritual use when no longer fettered by practical use...the wigs of lawyers could hardly acquire their modern significance until other people stopped wearing wigs.’ Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’, p. 81.

⁴¹ David Cannadine, ‘The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the “Invention of Tradition”, c.1820-1977’, in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 101–64 (p. 105).

⁴² See Chapter Three, footnotes 72 and 93.

⁴³ See Chapter Three, footnote 72.

⁴⁴ See Chapter Three, footnotes 119 and 120.



Figure 8: The Author's contribution.

This is about deliberate inclusion.⁴⁵ It is about deliberate, structured involvement. Taken together, the above can be seen as characteristic of a community—certainly of something more than a mere institution.⁴⁶ What it amounts to is a massive and pervasive effort to include as many people as possible instead of a mere ritual minority.⁴⁷ After all, brickmaking includes all students and as many others as possible. This was and is deliberate. Brickmaking at Southwell was revived explicitly for community building.

The passage below comes from a discussion with Geoff Burgess, the headmaster who revived brickmaking at Southwell in its current form. Geoff's words explain the origin and purpose of contemporary brickmaking at Southwell. The excerpt below is direct evidence of a conscious choice to mobilise Southwell's history.

Mark: What made you want to revive it?

Geoff Burgess (Former Headmaster): I think one of the big things I've learned in being a head is that you are entrusted with this amazing job of being the caretaker if you like of a community. And I remember from my lectures at university, a Thomas Sergiovanni, an American professor, talking about culture in schools being the most important – the head being the high priest of the culture. It soon became apparent to me that you're only going to be the high priest of a culture if you're in harmony and sympathy with your community, and so bringing forward or amplifying

⁴⁵ And of course, its inverse, exclusion – for all of this is predicated on the target first feeling allowed to be part of the School.

⁴⁶ See Chapter Three, footnote 65.

⁴⁷ Unsurprisingly, brickmaking has a great deal in common with Hobsbawm's 'a' type invented traditions: 'a) those establishing or symbolising social cohesion of membership of groups, real or artificial communities'. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', p. 9.

important stories and key icons of that school are important, to carry forward. And so in my reading, back through all of my magazines, as you do, you trawl the magazines as a head and you hear people talk, and you pretty soon hear the stories that resonate – and that the brick-making was one that did resonate. And resonated with me personally, because I like practical things. I like building and doing and I thought, hm, that, yeah, we've got to do this. We've got to bring back that nature, that aspect of Southwell's history, of the boys physically putting their labour into something which is going to contribute to, contribute to a physical part of the school.⁴⁸

This quote is significant because Geoff described the creation of a community ritual – as a *conscious* creation. With the words above Geoff described how his own study led him to deliberately draw on a resonant part of Southwell's past for the purpose of building community. Brickmaking at Southwell is an invented tradition in the sense that it is a deliberate re-enactment intended to 'establish continuity with a suitable historic past'.⁴⁹ The bricks service both the idea of 'history' and 'the past'.⁵⁰ Today's brickmaking does reference something that actually happened (i.e. the past) *and* it draws people into a history – in that this activity is a deliberate interpretation of what happened, and that it is used to relate the sense of contribution and school spirit inherent in mass brickmaking to those who did not directly experience it. The bricks and brickmaking ritual are so significant that several participants in this research made a point of expressing the idea of Southwell through brick metaphors.⁵¹ Brickmaking as part of a wider inclusion and identity effort that several participants said contributed to a strong sense of 'belonging'. For example: 'It's the old *turangawaewae*⁵² thing...there's a real sense of belonging.'⁵³ Including the Southwell identity within one's own

⁴⁸ Learning history interview with Geoff Burgess, 17 March 2010. p. 3 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. See also page 298, the Southwell Learning History Appendix IV.

⁴⁹ Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', p. 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵¹ Learning History Interview with Tony Sissons (Former Headmaster), 17 March 2010. pp. 9, 12 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. Interview with Susan, p. 10. See also pp. 296-297, Southwell Learning History Appendix IV. Gerri at the Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 42.

⁵² *Turangawaewae: domicile, home, home turf*. *Turangawaewae: n. NZ* (chiefly in Māori contexts) 1. A sense of identity and independence associated with having a particular home base. 2. The home base in question. These definitions respectively come from P. M. Ryan, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 2nd ed (Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1997), p. 320; New Zealand Dictionary Centre, *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*, ed. by Graeme Kennedy and Tony Deverson (South Melbourne, Vic.; Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 1211. 'Turangawaewae' can be translated as 'A place to stand'. *The term has connotations of connection, heritage and a clear sense of knowing who you are and where you come from.*

⁵³ Interview with Susan, p. 2. Gerri described the same sense of belonging. Gerri at the Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, pp. 43, 45. The students managed to say how they see the

identity allows one to feel included at Southwell. Belonging is an explicit process at Southwell. This belonging, this taking Southwell into one's own sense of identity was described by some participants as being 'Southwellised' "We all talk about being Southwellised."⁵⁴ The point of noting this is to make explicit that Southwell people have a sense of becoming part of the Southwell Family – enough to explicitly give the process a name.

Southwellisation is also sustained through preserving objects. The Southwell Family makes concerted efforts to not lose its history, nor let that loss continue – as Tim Taylor put it: "I think a lot of the memorabilia and those sorts of things, you know, were lost."⁵⁵ The Southwell Room was created to halt a perceived loss of memorabilia. Tim went on to describe the purpose of preservation and display as (1) To not forget – to share the past with the present and include new people in the legacy, for example: "...A lot of people would never have known that the pupils all had to wear caps..."⁵⁶ because even the act of preserving/maintaining heritage (and then promoting it) makes it apparent that it *is* special. Displaying it in a particular place is also a way of saying 'This is yours (too)' to new pupils/parents/staff; and (2) To make people with a past association feel welcome when they come back – for example: "I think it [the Southwell Room] was established so that – it gave an opportunity for Old Boys when they returned to the School, that they could see, you know, history."⁵⁷

Both points include as many people as possible – and thus sustain the Southwell Family. After all, the idea of making older (and often financially influential) Southwell Family members feel welcome back is extremely

concept of the 'Southwell Family' is used by the School, problematize that and then say how they still feel part of that community. "**Nicole:** But like if you think about it in your family, it's not always [laughs] peace, love and all of that. ... **Thomas Bedford:** You're still part of that community." Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview , p. 19.

⁵⁴ Gerri, referring to Jo Wilson's use of the term 'acculturated'. Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 16. See also p. 303, Southwell Learning History Appendix IV.

⁵⁵ Learning History Interview with Tim Taylor, 23 March 2010. pp. 18-19 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

⁵⁶ Learning History Interview with Tim, p. 19. Tim was invoking the literal definition of memorabilia – not mere things, but things deliberately kept for the memories they evoke. See OED Memorabilia, n, def. 2. Oxford English Dictionary, June 2001, <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/view/Entry/116337?redirectedFrom=memorabilia#eid>> [accessed 2 October 2014].

⁵⁷ Learning History Interview with Tim, p. 19.

practical.⁵⁸ This was also evident in the targeting of the memorabilia displayed at the Centenary.⁵⁹ These objects in this context positively aid memory, facilitating the remembrance of times that have otherwise slipped beyond easy recall. It is also worth emphasising that Royce Helm (current Headmaster) sees the need to deliberately promote brickmaking and all other such history and inclusion efforts “. . . for the pragmatic financial viability of the School.”⁶⁰ These are uses of the School’s past that demonstrate the relevance of Southwell’s history in the present. This is evidence of exactly *how* the past continues into the present at Southwell. The wider implications of the relevance of the past in the present for the historical discipline will be addressed both later in this chapter (as examples of participant engagement), and in the Discussion chapter.



Figure 9: An Example of the Centenary Exhibits. Note the various kinds of displays: Display walls showing images from different decades and themes such as Southwell Operas, the roped-off exhibit of an early student desk and uniform, and images on the projection screen overhead. Out of shot are various display cabinets containing Southwell artefacts.

⁵⁸ I explicitly put this notion to the Southwell Family in the Learning History Document: Is the influence, and potential influence, of older members of the Southwell Family one reason for the prominence of history at Southwell? See p. 295, Southwell Learning History Appendix IV.

⁵⁹ See figures 9 and 10 below. My insider knowledge means that I am aware that displays of images were sometimes consciously selected to include those showing Old Boys expected to attend.

⁶⁰ Interview with Royce, p.2.



Figure 10: Bows made in the colours of the School blazer adorned All Hallow’s Chapel for the Centenary.

The use of Southwell’s history to support the Southwell Family identity also supports the Southwell Family as an educational community. It is not just Southwell’s activities or its mute artefacts that suggested this, but the participants themselves. In the illuminating excerpt below Glenn Holmes explicitly identified key aspects of the ‘system’ of Southwell. Together, he and I saw the breadth of involvement offered to everyone with a connection to Southwell; how that has created ‘community’; and how that community supports the future of the School. Glenn’s sudden self-awareness over his choice of the word ‘institution’ is particularly telling.⁶¹

Glenn Holmes (Old Boy, Fellow, Chair of the Foundation and former Trustee of the Board): ‘... And it really is that complicated thing that Southwell has been and possibly still is [I took this to be a reference to the rapid recent growth in the school roll and staff numbers] – with trying to be an all-encompassing community for its staff and its pupils, not necessarily in whatever order, its parents, its ex-parents, its old students – so what have we got? We’ve got the Southwell School Association for [current] parents. We’ve got OBGGA [Old Boys and Girls Association] for the [past] students. We’ve got The Friends for everybody who, mainly [past] parents...⁶²

⁶¹See Chapter Three, footnote 65.

⁶² Interview with Glenn, second recording, p. 1.

Here (above) Glenn described the network of bodies that support the School, and specifically how this array of support invites contributions from as many people as possible, with a body catering for each kind of significant relationship with the School. For Glenn these efforts had sustained and created ‘community’.

[the links between the work of each and other groups such as the Foundation were discussed] ...

Glenn: So there's that community spirit that has built up over time, where those who are running and operating the School try and have all these different bodies working together. ...

I have a real feeling of confidence that these groups are being led by people and governed by people who are trying to do the best for Southwell, and trying to make it a wider, bigger, more encompassing community.

Mark: Yup

Glenn: So that ‘community’ word keeps coming up.⁶³

Here (immediately above) Glenn engaged in metacognition. This is significant in itself – because it is the point he was trying to make about Southwell’s nature – and as evidence of what can come out of the learning history process.

Glenn: And I think by that, it is not try to make it an exclusive community, it's trying to make it a friendly, well operated, smooth operating community. Not sure how to put it better.

Mark: ... the sheer number of groups around the School suggests trying to involve as many people as possible.

Glenn: That’s right. And that gives the, there's a real need for that – because it helps the School be as it is and portray itself as it is, and therefore exist into the future.⁶⁴

Glenn identified the point of Southwell’s identity building effort: it sustains the Southwell community and that community supports the future of the School. Glenn then immediately linked Southwell’s present and future to its history by situating Southwell’s use of its history within that identity building effort (see below).

Glenn: That the traditions, the historical aspect of it, hopefully helps it to last effectively well into the future, as a top-class educational institution – or educational community perhaps?

⁶³ Interview with Glenn, second recording, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Interview with Glenn, second recording, p. 2.

Mark: Oo, that's a cool phrase! Educational community, jeez, you've got to say that to Royce, that sounds well. ... I'd like to borrow that, i.e. pinch it for my research.

Glenn: [Laughter] Do that. I'm sure I'm not the first one who has said it. But it sounded good....

The other thing Mark, the reason I said it, what I said immediately before it was 'an educational institution', and I did not like the word 'institution'.

Mark: Yeah

Glenn: So I changed it immediately didn't I?

Mark: You did. It was that quick, yeah. It's the connotations.

Glenn: It's how I feel about the School, and how I would hope – I mean, I'm sure that little descriptor shows that, people who are involved at Southwell, how they think. I didn't like this 'institution' thing, I liked 'community' better.

Mark: That's very revealing, yeah.

Glenn: And if I can offer something, that's probably the best thing I can offer this whole dissertation actually, that's how that School is going to survive into the future.⁶⁵

Glenn's sudden self-awareness is yet another example of metacognition, and also indicates the effectiveness of Southwell's identity building effort in his own case. Most significantly for this research, the excerpts above are evidence of both Southwell's identity building effort and reflection on that effort. The excerpts of the last three pages come from a single continuous sequence of conversation. Gerri Judkins' (Southwell Librarian) reaction to Glenn's idea of Southwell as an 'Educational Community' was also telling in that it underscored how apt Glenn's conception is in terms of Southwell identity. At her dissemination meeting Gerri emphatically agreed "It's who we are".⁶⁶ Indeed, Gerri felt the idea of Southwell as an Educational Community was so obvious that she found it slightly funny that Glenn and I had treated it as a revelation.⁶⁷ As for reflection on that effort – in

⁶⁵ Interview with Glenn, second recording, p. 3. The preoccupation with the School's survival shown by many participants reinforces the point made earlier – that Southwell believes it cannot afford *not* to make much of its history.

⁶⁶ Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 44.

⁶⁷ Participant responses to the learning history document underscored the point. Here is an example of an explicit endorsement of Southwell's use of history for the Southwell Family from the first dissemination meeting – **Tim:** "...The fact that independently everyone has come up with a similar theme of the community and community as a group or as a whole,...the community or the belonging to Southwell." First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 2. At the second dissemination meeting Jo Backhouse said something similar: "To me, I mean just the words that came to me, the lessons are, are the importance of tradition, community and continuity." Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 29.

addition to explaining how Southwell has used its history, those excerpts are examples of the kind of participant reflection and insight that can come out of the learning history process.

Engagement with the learning history approach

Participants at Southwell engaged with the learning history approach, sometimes intensely and even self-reflexively. At Southwell the learning history process drew out many more reflections on Southwell's use of history than those already stated, as well as conceptions of the nature of history.

The remainder of this chapter is largely grouped around two key themes. The first is historical consciousness and includes discussion of conceptions of history articulated by participants and issues of historiography. This first theme touches on the implications of these findings for the historical discipline. The second theme emphasises specific successes of the learning history approach, covering such points as the opportunities created by the approach for original thinking and participant critique and validation of the process itself. Here instances of participant engagement will be discussed, what they reveal about the learning history approach will be highlighted, and what each point has to say for the discipline will be noted for further elaboration in the discussion chapter.

Understandings of history and historical consciousness

Many participants offered ideas about history, the practice and discipline, and its relationship to history – i.e. the past. Many of these were reflections on the purpose and relevance of history, and reflections on historiographical issues. This Southwell case offered a large amount of this kind of data. The first quote of this chapter explicitly linked history, story and identity.⁶⁸ Participants articulated other conceptions of 'history'. For example, Supipi espoused a classic view of the utility of history as learning from examples: 'If people didn't really think about our history, we wouldn't really change because we wouldn't think about what went wrong.'⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See Chapter Three, footnote 1. "History is part of the story that makes us who we are." Interview with Susan, p.13.

⁶⁹ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 26. Supipi was also describing a 'learn from history' conception of history in this excerpt.

Supipi nuanced her point in a way that emphasised reflection as an inherent part of history. Tim's words on the Southwell Room even presented objects themselves as 'history'.⁷⁰ Research in Southwell's archive turned up further perspectives on the role of history:

What is tradition? It literally means the handing down from one generation to another. Where do we look for it? We look at the history of the Community or the Association concerned. What is history? It is not a collection of dates and events which are only milestones marking the passage of time. *History is the inter-twining of lives, ideals and aspirations* of those individuals who, from whatever cause, are placed in position to influence the lives of those around them. [Italics added]⁷¹

This is a profound comment on the nature of history, its deep significance and its purpose. While it would be unreasonable to imagine members of the Southwell Family keep the words of Charles Hutchinson (whose speech is quoted above) at the forefront of their minds today, the following excerpt suggests that at least some of his sentiment sways practice. In yet another Southwell example linking history and identity, Headmaster Royce Helm made a point of sharing a reflection on the use of history – and he did it in terms that emphasised continuity and identity:

Royce: I think too it would be important to note that the history is not static. That the history evolves and moves forward and develops over time, that the Southwell of today is quite different than the Southwell of yesterday, and yet it is the same.⁷²

The learning history approach drew out many expressions of historical consciousness at Southwell. These expressions covered a broad range of historical consciousness, and occasionally at some depth. Indeed in this Southwell case there were expressions of many of the strands of historical consciousness described by Seixas and Rösen. The following are examples.

⁷⁰ See Chapter Three, footnote 57.

⁷¹ See p. 304, Southwell Learning History Appendix IV, and Moss Marshall 'The Headmaster's Report', *Southwell School Magazine*, (Hamilton, Southwell School, Times Commercial Printers, 1981) 8, 5, p. 13. The excerpt Moss Marshall felt moved to include in his Headmaster's report came from an address given by Mr Charles Hutchinson at the appeal launching dinner for the Chapel extensions in March 1981.

⁷² First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 3.

The School's frequent commemorations provide examples of Rüsen's 'traditional' type of historical consciousness.⁷³ Supipi's view of the utility of history as education by example,⁷⁴ along with Royce's views on what is 'unnatural',⁷⁵ straddle the progressive and critical types of historical consciousness because they implicitly critique how things were, and contain the potential to critique how things are.⁷⁶ Participants also offered thoughts and asked questions reflecting Seixas's three criteria for historical consciousness. For example, Nicole, Marcus and Tim among others gave thought to the production of knowledge in this case.⁷⁷ Royce and the students in particular discussed the pastness of the past and the presence of the past in the present.⁷⁸ Glenn's insightful thinking through of the nature of Southwell and his thoughts on the wider social context of Southwell's increasing use of history are examples of a historical consciousness that acknowledges complexity and multiple causes.⁷⁹

In fact the Southwell case demonstrates all seven of Seixas's series of questions on historical consciousness. For instance, Supipi and Nicole expressed insights into continuity, change and the contingent nature of history (the first of Seixas's seven questions): **Mark:** Do you think School history is important? Yes/no? **Supipi:** If it didn't have history, then we wouldn't be here.⁸⁰ Nicole took these ideas further when she realised how what appears to be natural must actually take effort – i.e. things do not have to be the way they are: **Nicole:** ... if you think

⁷³ Seixas, 'Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age', p. 145; Rüsen, p. 71.

⁷⁴ See Chapter Three, footnote 69.

⁷⁵ See Chapter Three, footnote 89.

⁷⁶ Seixas, 'Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age', pp. 146–148; Rüsen, pp. 72–74.

⁷⁷ Nicole reflecting on the wider significance of the development of the story of Cucus the School skeleton in light of the fact that the skeleton truly had been part of Southwell life – **Nicole:** "It's sort of like Chinese whispers. It's like told and then and then it changes and it changes and it changes. And then you're left with like a random story [laughs]." Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 18. See also the students on how it is unusual to think about history and how it is made: e.g. **Nicole:** "...it's just like you never actually *really* think about it." Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 22. See Marcus Gower, First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 22. Before the arrival of the last of the participant at the first Southwell Dissemination meeting Tim asked "One thing that intrigues me is... how did you select who you interviewed?" [Mark explains] "That's what I was coming to is that um you're talking to – or you interviewed a captive audience [from context I believe he meant an audience with a positive bias for Southwell], and I'd be interested to see if you interviewed someone who didn't have a good time at Southwell." First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, [9.13-9.50 of recording].

⁷⁸ See Chapter Three, footnotes 113, 115 and 116.

⁷⁹ See Chapter Three, footnotes 62-65.

⁸⁰ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 28. Supipi is also describing a 'learn from history' conception of history in this excerpt. This was immediately before Supipi made the statement that appeared earlier: 'If people didn't really think about our history, we, we wouldn't really change because we wouldn't think about what went wrong.'

[of] Mr Helm [Headmaster], he has to plan everything. But for us it sort of just happens. And so actually thinking about how it done [sic] is like really interesting.⁸¹

Nicole's last remark indicates that reflecting on Southwell's use of its history was a new experience for her. Supipi and Nicole also reflected further on Southwell's use of its history in comments that echoed those of Lorenzo Valla, 'Without history one remains always a child':⁸²

Supipi: We could like do without learning our history, but we wouldn't, we wouldn't really move forward, we'd just stay in the same place and...

Nicole: And sort of it would just go past you. Like all the changes would just go past you.⁸³

The above addresses Seixas's 'identity and origin' question, as does the next excerpt on the personal significance of Southwell's use of its history.⁸⁴ Nicole and Supipi said that Southwell history is important *because* it is part of *their* history:

Nicole: So like seeing how everything is and just thinking about it like... cos this is where you prepare for like high school and the high school prepares you for university and then you think about the start actually is here, and then like when you're like 80 something, you'll go back to your childhood and you go, "Oh I look like that," And then you'll come, you'll look at the School and it sort of brings back so many memories. But you if like, if I never did this, then it'd sort of be like oh, I actually wouldn't know so much about Cuscus [the School skeleton around whom stories have grown]⁸⁵ and stuff like that. [laughs] And so it's...

Mark: So is that is that more because it's related to your history...

Nicole: Yes.

Mark: ...rather than than the School's, Southwell.

Nicole: Yeah, cos I'm part of the School sort of, so it's related to my history and the School's history.

Supipi: Yeah.

Nicole: So it's

⁸¹ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 26.

⁸² M. J. Cohen, John S. Major and Simon Schama, *History in Quotations: Reflecting 5000 Years of World History*, 1st Ed. (London: Cassell, 2004), p. xx; Lorenzo Valla, *Opera Omnia*, 'Monumenta Politica et Philosophica Rariora' Ex Optimis Editionibus Phototypice Expressa, numerus 5-6 (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1962).

⁸³ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 28.

⁸⁴ Seixas, 'What Is Historical Consciousness?', p. 15.

⁸⁵ For more on Cuscus, see Chapter Three, footnotes 77, 109-112.

Supipi: I guess I wouldn't be as interested. It sounds a weird but...if I didn't go here, go to Southwell, yeah then I wouldn't be as interested.⁸⁶

Nicole: Yeah.⁸⁷

Here Nicole and Supipi touched on the extent to which history is important because we are part of it and we create it. In this excerpt participants touched on fundamental ideas of personal agency, identity and the conception of 'ourselves' as expressions and producers of history.

That second of Seixas's questions on identity is linked to the third – how we should judge each other's past actions and consider the debt that one's 'group' owes to others and vice versa.⁸⁸ An example from this case can be seen in Royce's writing "...that there was a time when Southwell did not have girls seems unnatural to me."⁸⁹ Royce's sentence carries connotations of judgement and progress – and so also manages to be an example of the fourth of Seixas's historical consciousness considerations.⁹⁰ The progressive narrative of the School, writ literally in such efforts as the book *Southwell School 1911-2011*, is another example.⁹¹

Royce also explicitly stated Southwell's need to ask and answer Seixas's sixth question(s) 'Which stories shall we tell? What about the past is significant enough to pass onto others, and particularly to the next generation?'⁹² In reflecting on the value of the learning history process, the Headmaster presented School history as relevant and useful for inculcating a special Southwell character. During a dissemination meeting, in response to Southwell's learning history document, Royce explicitly presented history as a reference point in a changing world. He also saw a need to deliberately choose the history/stories the School presents:

⁸⁶ Compare: 'Stressing traditions that are especially our own, heritage magnifies self-esteem and bolsters communal ardour.' Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 4.

⁸⁷ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 27.

⁸⁸ Seixas, 'What Is Historical Consciousness?', p. 15.

⁸⁹ This sentence will be elaborated on in the section on the presence of the past later in this chapter. See Chapter Three, footnotes 113-117. Royce Helm, '10 years of Girls', *Chronicle: Newsletter for the Southwell Family*, December 2009, p. 1.

⁹⁰ 'This is the question of progress and decline.' Seixas, 'What Is Historical Consciousness?', p. 15. See Chapter One, footnote 77.

⁹¹ Southwell School.

⁹² Seixas, 'What Is Historical Consciousness?', p. 15. The fifth question will be addressed later in this chapter for the sake of flow.

Royce: I think one of the things that strikes me about the document is an enormous amount of learning that needs to happen almost sort of as the School develops and evolves. It's really important that we understand our history and where we've come from, because that's our reference point for where we're heading in the future.

...

Royce: So there's a real shift and change in societal values and attitudes and I think as a School, there's a really complex task around ensuring that what we treasure and value as important remains relevant. Because there's some real importance to our survival that we do stay relevant, along with the complex nature of ensuring we don't lose who we are.

And retaining that so that we can move forward as this organisation that we are.⁹³

Royce's quote is significant for this research. It is proof that the learning history approach made space for participants to express thoughts about consciously using history at Southwell. That Royce presented School history as relevant and useful for inculcating membership of the Southwell Family as part of personal identity is confirmation of how Southwell sees its use of history. This quote also makes it clear how Southwell's focus on the past is more appropriately understood as being about the present and the future. This raises moral and political questions on the role of history and heritage that will be addressed later in the Discussion chapter. In the excerpt above Royce linked understanding Southwell's history with not losing 'who we are' – history (re-presenting as well as representing history) was held up as fundamental to identity. It is significant for this research that it was not just the Headmaster who saw the value in retaining a sense of one's history as one approaches the future. Compare the first paragraph of Royce's excerpt above with Supipi and Nicole's view of the value of learning from one's history; similar points are being made.⁹⁴ The same is true of a comparison of the last two sentences in the excerpt above with Soumil's thoughts on how losing School history would be to lose Southwell's 'unique air';⁹⁵ or Tim Taylor's words that highlight how preserving objects can be understood as an aid to memory, the recollection of days gone by and the means to reconnect with those.⁹⁶ Participants indicated that they valued a sense of history in the present.

⁹³ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 28.

⁹⁴ See Chapter Three, footnotes 69 and 83.

⁹⁵ See Chapter Three, footnote 28.

⁹⁶ See Chapter Three, footnote 56. The phenomenon has been noted in similar studies for example: Ashton and Hamilton, pp. 20, 65–66, 69, 70, 88, 90.

These ideas resonated in the first dissemination meeting. Participants began reflecting on the need to work to retain Southwell history for its benefits, and with a very blunt sense of urgency:

Tim: I've got down here, what lessons does this document offer? I think it offers the importance of writing things down, while people are alive.

Royce: Hm.

Tim: Because these types of discussions, once we're dead, they're gone.⁹⁷

The urge in Southwell Family members to preserve their history and sustain Southwell identity manifested itself many times throughout the case.⁹⁸ Many of the comments made about 'Belonging' were actually reflections on the point of the use of history at Southwell.⁹⁹ Participants reflected on how all these preservation and inculcation efforts had affected them personally. For example, below Councillor Marcus Gower mentioned how the various inclusion efforts of the School had affected him; that is to say he highlighted what the School uses its history for:

Marcus: I think the document is quite good. Like it shows – I don't know, what it was like at other schools, because I went to Te Awamutu College after this and that was just a complete downfall. Um, because I mean the strong ties and stuff that you form and and the friends you make and the attachment you make to the place and the people, I think it's – yeah it's to sort of, sort of capture that, whether it's the bricks or you know not walking on the Oval and things like that, so that kind of stuff that's sort of you know, a bit like Hogwarts or the magic – the Harry Potter [laughter] [Inaudible 1.16.10] is that, you know that, there's this, something about the place and I think the history's sort of you know...¹⁰⁰

That last line also implies that 'history' comprises all of those memory-making peculiarities Southwell practices. My interpretation is that Marcus felt that the inclusion efforts had 'worked' and that Southwell's use of history was part of that. Memory had been created, and history and identity had been emphasised. In this excerpt Marcus highlighted, and went some way to defining, the 'special character/identity' of the School. He also reflected on the role of history in the

⁹⁷ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 32. Note the articulation of the need to consciously record a particular kind of history; especially note the perceived value of the learning history approach in the explicit reference to the value of these 'types of discussions'.

⁹⁸ These included suggestions for new ideas, the act of reminiscing and recording the reminiscing during the learning history interviews themselves. Former Headmaster Tony Sissons imagined the bricks as a metaphor and a brand – See Appendix IV, pages 296-297.

⁹⁹ See Chapter Three, footnotes 53-54.

¹⁰⁰ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 22.

process of instilling that identity ('yeah, it is to sort of, sort of capture that', 'and I think the history's sort of'). The statement 'to sort of, sort of capture that' also implies the value of furthering such efforts. What is of fundamental significance for this research is that in a single spoken paragraph, it can be seen that the process engaged a participant to assess the process itself, the use of history by his organisation, the effect of that on himself, and the importance of the present purpose of continuing such uses.

The learning history approach drew out conscious reflection on the use of history at Southwell. The three examples above show participants consciously discussing the deliberate use of history, its effect and their motives. Southwell's efforts on Seixas's sixth question lead directly to those efforts that speak to Seixas's seventh: 'Is there anything we can do to make things better?' At Southwell that question was frequently addressed with suggestions for what more could be done with Southwell's history, implicitly for sustaining Southwell. Many, many times over I heard participants reflect on the value of what they were doing, could do and the value of the way they were thinking about their history. The learning history approach helped the organisation (as represented in interviews and at the dissemination meetings) to discuss, articulate and analyse itself and its use of history.¹⁰¹ Participants learned directly from the process: "I read it and ...I thought 'I can learn from this'. And ... I did."¹⁰² In an outstanding example of the seventh of Seixas's questions that indicate historical consciousness Gerri directly asked "What can Southwell do with the history?" and went on to address her own question with suggestions for how to further Southwellise staff and students.¹⁰³ Royce said he saw the need to deliberately choose the history/stories Southwell presents. He believes that currently happens on an ad hoc basis. "And so it's those little bits ['Real people's stories'] that they [Southwell Family members] grab hold of, and I guess it's finding out what they are and building on those that's going to become critical."¹⁰⁴ These points

¹⁰¹ See Chapter Three, footnotes 79, 93 and 97. The material in section 'New thinking facilitated by the learning history approach' is evidence for this too.

¹⁰² Jo, Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 31.

¹⁰³ For the purpose of 'Southwellising'. e.g. "**Gerri:** I just put at the end when you said what should they do with the history; the children should talk about it, think about and I think now, ... they should be exploring it, expressing it, sharing it, making it their own – the earlier times as well as the present, hm." Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 32.

¹⁰⁴ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 30.

underline in exactly what sense history is perceived as relevant and useful at Southwell.

Historiographical reflections and heritage

In addition to the deeper reflections already described participants occasionally branched out into reflection on wider historiographical concerns. For example, the men at the first dissemination meeting were musing on change, continuity and identity at Southwell when Glenn made a remark about the resurgence of Anzac Day. In doing so he was reflecting on how Southwell's greater use of its history might be part of a wider societal turn toward 'history'.¹⁰⁵

Glenn: ...perhaps if I can add in something a little obscure but it is related, we celebrate now, Anzac Day and have huge turnouts of people...

Mike Dix (Former Teacher at Southwell): Hm.

Glenn: ... right around the country, don't we, on Anzac Day...

Unidentified Male Participant: A-hm. Yep.

Glenn: celebrating the history of, unfortunately, war, but that's what it is. In the 1960s when I was a child and I went to one or two Anzac services and you know there were very very few people there. So back then, I would say, well I would ask the question, were New Zealanders so much interested in history? This school didn't have a Southwell Room when I was here. It does now. It gathers archival material – it didn't back in the 60s. That's the difference.

Mike: Is that all to do with people?

Glenn: It's all about people wanting to know more about their past now.¹⁰⁶

This represents profound reflection on why the School does what it does. Glenn was saying that the increasing significance and role of 'history' at Southwell might not just be specific to Southwell. 'History' is not something Glenn works with every day. His careers have been finance and dairy farming. Yet here he was observing something it took professional historians years to come to grips with.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Thomson, pp. 190–204; Davison, 'The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day', p. 81.

¹⁰⁶ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ Glenn's reflections call to mind H.R. (Hugh Redwald) Trevor-Roper's thoughts on the insight a lay perspective can bring to the historical discipline. Trevor-Roper, p. 332; Davison, 'The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day', pp. 78–81.

The learning history approach drew out further sophisticated expressions of historical consciousness. Alistair Thomson's work on the '(re)composure' of ANZAC memories set me thinking about Cuscus, Southwell's literal skeleton in the closet – and how history slips into myth, and myth endures.¹⁰⁸ During the group interview the children started talking about ghost stories. In a conversation that speaks directly to Seixas's fifth question of historical consciousness on the problem of evidence and which stories about the past to believe, each of the students in turn related what they knew of the story of Cuscus.¹⁰⁹ They laughed, and made it clear they did not believe the stories. They reflected at length on the dissemination of such stories – for example:

Supipi: It's sort of like Chinese whispers. It's like told and then it changes and it changes and it changes. And then you're left with like a random story [laughs].¹¹⁰

Yet Cuscus the skeleton really does exist. The School still has the skeleton – but I realised that current pupils are not made aware of that. Even so, the information is not actually suppressed – almost every ex-pupil from the 1990s and before knows about the skeleton. Cuscus was on display when the Southwell Room was open. Cuscus is literally 'obvious in the archive' – the skeleton is kept in the current Southwell Room/Archive.¹¹¹ Cuscus also appears the recently published Southwell history – *Southwell School: 1911-2011*. Yet the photo in that text makes it so clear how the skeleton itself is now obscured in the metaphoric archive – one can see some of the bones, but a student comes between the reader and a full view.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Thomson, pp. 5–11. See also Chapter One, footnote 155.

¹⁰⁹ They mentioned that he had been an unhappy boarder; he had tried to commit suicide in various gory ways, finally succeeded and now haunted the School. My own memory as a student at Southwell reminds me that at a point now lost in mythology, Cuscus came to glory in the first name of Obadiah. In small groups in our lunchtimes we would walk into the Southwell room, look around at the artefacts, and almost inevitably end up musing on the question of Cuscus's authenticity. The bones are real. Although I have seen no proof, I am led to believe that the skeleton originally came from India and was used for anatomy lessons.

¹¹⁰ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 18.

¹¹¹ Access to the current incarnation of the Southwell Room is much is now much harder to gain than in the days of open-entry.

¹¹² Southwell School, p. 122. I have chosen not to include the image because I find the display of human remains disrespectful unless they are explicitly gifted by the person themselves. The display of human remains in and of itself is not that unusual – there are no end of catacombs around the world. The 'auto-icon' corpse of utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham still occasionally attends meetings of the Council of University College London – duly noted as 'present but not voting'.

It is not only skeletons from the past that can lead to the distortion of memory and history. The present inevitably gets in the way of any view of the past. There were relatively few direct articulations of the contingent nature of history in this case. Perhaps most participants thought the notion was too obvious to mention. There could be another reason – the sheer difficulty of remembering the difference of the past. The students and the Headmaster thought aloud through their own perceptions of the seeming inevitability of the present. The students described the difficulty of imagining even the past they had experienced:

Supipi: I can't really imagine it. It's just always been there so it's....

Nicole: Yeah it's hard to imagine something that...

Soumil: Even now for us, even though we've seen it without...

Thomas: I can't, I can't imagine not having the Sergel Centre, even though I was here before it was made.

Supipi: Yeah it's such like a... it's such a [Inaudible 37.26]

Nicole: It's like your eyes have adjusted to looking at that and then you try to think of it differently and you like try making the square go down a bit.

Supipi: [slight laugh]

Nicole: It's just like, it just keeps coming up.¹¹³

The presence of the present effaces the past.¹¹⁴ As noted earlier Royce also commented on the apparent inevitability of the present in a *Chronicle* article promoting the upcoming celebration of 10 years of girls at Southwell: '...that there was a time when Southwell did not have girls seems unnatural to me.'¹¹⁵ To me Royce was conveying both how the course of events from past to the present seemed 'natural' – *and* an awareness of the opposite (implied in the statement itself). During his interview, Royce raised and unpacked that statement:

Royce: Now I put that there on purpose, because I knew that the Board was split. The first time it went to the Board, it was turned down. Then it came up again, and I'm pretty sure, I mean it's fairly common knowledge that it was a split decision. Now the Board would never go backwards.

¹¹³ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 24.

¹¹⁴ This applies to people as well as built environments. Wineburg notes how most people assume present ways of thinking applied in the past – and the sheer difficulty of avoiding such anachronistic thinking. Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 17–19.

¹¹⁵ Royce Helm, '10 years of Girls', *Chronicle: Newsletter for the Southwell Family*, December 2009, p. 1.

...I haven't come through that, so to me, Southwell is a coed school, always has been and always will be.¹¹⁶

This comment is startling. Even as he was managing the Southwell Family's perception of its history, and aware of how different things were and might have been – i.e. espousing a view of history as contingent – Royce still found the presence of the present so powerful as to be 'natural' – to make what happened seem inevitable. This only serves to emphasise Wineburg's point about the sheer difficulty of historical thinking – and therefore underlines the importance of the historical discipline for practising and disseminating this 'unnatural' yet necessary kind of thinking.¹¹⁷

That Southwell's past is forever disappearing highlights the importance of Southwell's history-using efforts – because those literally take effort. In that situation choices are made about which aspects of one's past to highlight – and this raises the issue of selection. During his interview (and at the dissemination meeting), Royce offered another insight on his thoughts for managing history.¹¹⁸ He distinguished between 'heritage' (useful) and 'tradition' (stifling). Royce viewed heritage in terms of continuity and wanted to understand it (presumably to better use it and maintain it) – for example:

Royce: ...but there's a heritage. There's a line that's, kind of connects it all. And that's the bit that I think's really important and that's the bit that we need to unpack and understand ... that heritage, and why has it lasted, and what's important and what are the key factors about that.¹¹⁹

Royce put the distinction and the depth of his reflection on the utility of 'heritage' even more clearly in his individual interview:

Royce: And I really want to share with you too that in my mind I delineate between tradition and heritage. Most of what I have talked with you about is heritage. Tradition I think is stifling. I think tradition is problematic for a school like ours. Heritage is incredibly important. So [the] uniform, the way we walk to Chapel, the Oval, I think they're elements of heritage. *Things that we choose to preserve because they encapsulate the historical references to the past.*

¹¹⁶ Interview with Royce, p. 6.

¹¹⁷ Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 17–24.

¹¹⁸ The School (or at least the Trust Board) has already deliberately reflected on tradition versus heritage for operational purposes. Royce said so: "...when I first came here, we spent a bit of time with the Trust Board doing some strategic planning, remember, up in the staff room. And one of the things that came through was that there were no traditions. There was actually a huge amount of heritage, which is a really important distinction." First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, pp. 38–39.

¹¹⁹ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 39.

...

Royce: yeah, I think it's a really important distinction, *because I think it means that the things that are important historically are important in a modern context.*¹²⁰ [italics added]

In these two excerpts, Royce dismissed 'tradition' as stifling and praises 'heritage' – especially Southwell's approach to it. He highlighted that the School deliberately maintains 'heritage'. In the first of these two excerpts Royce expressed heritage as a kind of a thread of continuity for the School and explicitly expressed a desire to engage with 'history' and the learning history process – to examine and understand Southwell's heritage for practical purposes. In the second quote, Royce described 'heritage' as deliberately chosen things that reference the past. I believe he was trying to emphasise continuity in identity (e.g. values) by also emphasising how 'heritage' means things that mattered 'then' and continue to matter now. It seems that the effort to maintain heritage items and practices is about what these things represent – and I would suggest that it is in constituting identity that these representations are most important at Southwell.

This is also 'heritage' as Lowenthal described it.¹²¹ This identity is asserted through these representations without much public analysis or interpretation. The uses of the past observed at Southwell indicated as much.¹²² Yet as Rosenzweig and Thelen made clear, it is not enough just to speculate – one should ask the people involved.¹²³ At Southwell, the participants made it clear in their own words that the use of the past at Southwell is about heritage purposes. Many participants said as much. Royce's words above made the point explicit – not just because he actually used the term 'heritage', but because of how (above) he described exactly what he meant by that term. Participant views on the purpose

¹²⁰ Interview with Royce, p. 4.

¹²¹ Lowenthal, pp. x, xv. It is interesting to note that Southwell itself came into being only a short while after the general proliferation of ceremonial 'heritage' throughout Europe and her various empires in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, the lively celebration of jubilees and anniversaries began in this period. 'Old boy dinners', alumni societies and old school ties appeared in profusion around the same time. Cannadine, p. 138; Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 263–307 (pp. 281, 295).

¹²² Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, pp. 21, 67, 128.

¹²³ Rosenzweig and Thelen, pp. 3–5.

of Southwell's use of its history confirm that what Southwell does is heritage, as described by Lowenthal and defined in the first chapter of this thesis.¹²⁴

New thinking facilitated by the learning history approach

Yet heritage is not the entire story at Southwell. While Lowenthal's comments are true of how Southwell has used its past, the learning history approach drew out reflections that came closer to the kind of historical thinking called for by Kelley and deemed rare by Wineburg among others.¹²⁵ Glenn's Anzac example and musing on what might be the wider context of a social turn toward history is a clear example.¹²⁶ This chapter has already discussed several sophisticated reflections from Nicole, Soumil, Supipi and Thomas.¹²⁷ The reflexively aware use of Southwell's history described by the headmasters themselves indicates a more complicated relationship between history and heritage at Southwell than a purely heritage reading would suggest.

The learning history approach engaged participants in thinking historically, sometimes for the first time. An outstanding example of this historiographically exciting kind of reflection came from the four youngest people interviewed. For all of Royce, Tony and Geoff's awareness, outside of the headmaster's office there seems to have been little reflection on the School's history and its use (prior to this research). While history is often invoked at Southwell, it is rarely reflected upon. During the group meeting, the students reflected thoughtfully on their *lack* of reflection on Southwell history:

Nicole: I think for me I've never actually sat down and talked about the history of Southwell... it's just like you never actually *really* think about it... Even on Founders' Day, you don't really think about it. You don't go that deep into it, so to be able to just sit down and talk about this like we are talking.

[Later in that interview:]

Nicole: . . . you've never actually, you've been here, you've spent like most, like right now you've spent most of your life here and it seems strange just to talk about it. 'Cos it's not like you go home and you go, 'Mum I'm going to talk about Southwell history. Let's sit down and talk.' It's not exactly like that. And so everything just

¹²⁴ See Chapter One, footnotes 8, 10-11.

¹²⁵ Kelley, 'Public History', p. 21; Wineburg, 'Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important', pp. 35-36; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 19-22.

¹²⁶ See Chapter Three, footnote 106.

¹²⁷ See Chapter Three, footnote 113.

develops into your head but you never actually really think about talking about it and just talking about it is just different.

Soumil: Cos if you talk about it it's right in your face. It's just...

Nicole: It's, it's like you you know everything but you just don't know it.

Supipi: You don't think about it.

Nicole: Yeah. It's just there.

Thomas: I've been here for what, nine years, and this is the first time that we've ever actually, that I've sat down and talked about it.

Nicole: Yeah.

Thomas: It's just, it's just something that's just gone completely over the top of me before.

Nicole: And like you hear the stories and stuff but you never sort of come together and talk about it as a whole.¹²⁸

This insightful dialogue on a lack of reflection highlights how the learning history process can engage people (especially people outside universities) in historical reflective practice. This awareness is a potential first step toward the engagement Robert Kelley called for, and the kind of self-awareness Noel Stowe demanded. These thoughts, along with Nicole's awareness of the active effort behind seeming normality,¹²⁹ also implicitly raise the question of (especially Nicole's) awareness of their agency as historical actors – their historical consciousness. Here the students articulated a Marxian realisation of their agency, as well as their awareness that they possessed that agency in circumstances not of their own choosing.¹³⁰

Participant reflections on the learning history approach

Some participants also expressed their agency by offering direct feedback on the learning history approach. Participants went beyond the implicit acknowledgement of the utility of the method to comment explicitly on the value of the learning history approach. Participants said this research was timely,¹³¹ and

¹²⁸ Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview with Southwell pupils Thomas Bedford, Supipi Devadittiya, Soumil Singh and Nicole Xue, 13 September 2010, pp. 22-23. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recordings held by interviewer and interviewees.

¹²⁹ See Chapter Three, footnote 81.

¹³⁰ 'Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.' Marx, p. 7.

¹³¹ Learning History Interview with Jo Wilson (Assistant Principal), 16 December 2009. p. 7 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. Jo Wilson thought

that engaging in reflective practice was ‘really interesting’.¹³² The method also facilitated the opportunity to challenge the process.¹³³ What follows are selections of dialogue that illustrate participant reflection on the value of the learning history approach. Jo Backhouse commented directly on how much she liked the appearance of the jointly-told-tale:

Jo: I like the way that you’ve got the narrative here and then the explanatory comments on the side or, yeah, summation... Good. I like it, hm. That caused a lot of head nodding.¹³⁴

In his comments on the special character of the School – ‘I think the document is quite good. Like it shows...’¹³⁵ – Marcus described the learning history document as ‘good’ because he apparently believed it presented and captured something of the essence of the School. Marcus’ comments are an example of a reflection on an earlier part of the learning history process captured by a later part of the process. Glenn even caught himself *in* the process – he reflected on his experience of the process in the midst of a reflection on the subject. “... And the whole Southwell Family thing – hello, we’re getting back to that statement again about community.”¹³⁶ In another striking reflection on the process while in the process, Royce described the learning history process as relevant:

Royce: ... And so I guess as the head of the school, this is really relevant because it’s about developing systems and strategies to ensure that we both educate, remain relevant, but continue to keep our history...¹³⁷

In addition to Royce’s direct point, Royce’s words can be taken as an indirect comment on the learning history process itself. That is because the ‘this’ he mentioned was reflection on the use of Southwell history – and it was the learning history process that created the opportunity for ‘this’. Participants also appreciated and understood the point of the process itself, for example: “**Royce:** ... I think a very very worthwhile project. And certainly one that’s started a lot of thinking and

this research was timely both in terms of the support it could give to the Centenary, and also for the ongoing ‘acculturating’ (Southwellisation) project.

¹³² Nicole, Southwell School Students Learning History Group Interview, p. 26.

¹³³ See Chapter Three, footnote 77. After stating that the aspect of the learning history document that stood out for him was how strongly the idea of community came through and how much everyone agreed, Tim Taylor then asked how I selected participants – checking for bias.

¹³⁴ Second Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 14.

¹³⁵ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 22. See also Chapter Three, footnote 100.

¹³⁶ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 40.

¹³⁷ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 29.

a lot of talking, so thank you.” **Glenn:** “Good to reflect.” Tim made a point of telling me he was pleased that the process itself had been captured.¹³⁸

The process was also robust enough to incorporate critique, of both institution and the approach itself. For example Susan felt able to express an atypical dissatisfaction with Southwell bricks, and Bill Izzard’s (Southwell Old Boy) criticism of his boarding experience included bringing an excerpt from Peter Calder’s *Travels with my Mother* along to a dissemination meeting.¹³⁹ When Tim checked if this research did include ‘negative’ perspectives, such as those above, he was also assessing the approach itself. Yet important as these moments were for demonstrating the potential of the approach, these were rare occasions in the otherwise resounding and passionate chorus of agreement at Southwell on the use and purpose of School history.¹⁴⁰

The significance of how Southwell uses its history

The use of the past at Southwell is about identity, community and continuity. History at Southwell is used to sustain an organisational identity; the Southwell Family. This in turn supports organisational sustainability. The use of history is itself part of the wider effort to build this identity through structured inclusion activities and the widest possible involvement. History at Southwell is used, and continuity emphasised, to allow individuals to include an idea – the Southwell Family – in their own sense of identity. Through a virtuous circle of Southwellisation, Southwell uses its past to ensure its future as an educational community.

The heritage activities described in this chapter answer the first research question on how this organisation selected for study has utilised its past. The sheer number of heritage activities pursued by Southwell, the resources committed to them, and the deliberate nature of many of them indicate the importance of the past to Southwell. Moreover, Southwell’s use of its past for identity, continuity

¹³⁸ **Tim:** “...and you recorded it.” First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 50.

¹³⁹ **Susan:** “The, you know, the bricks... I mean, I know the bricks and the boys and all that sort of ya-ya, I hate the bricks. I reckon if anybody makes another bloody building with bricks, I said, they’ll be tying horses up outside, you know. It looks like a medieval castle [laughs].” Interview with Susan, p. 10. Calder included pithy comments on his own painful Southwell experience in his book. Peter Calder, *Travels with My Mother* (Auckland, N.Z.: Tandem Press, 2003), pp. 64–67.

¹⁴⁰ **Prof. David Mckie (Supervisor):** So what’s the – now you’ve seen it all, what’s the first thing that comes up. What’s the strongest reaction? **Tim:** “...the fact that independently everyone has come up with a similar theme of the community.” First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 2.

and so on – i.e. for heritage – purposes was explicitly evident in the words of the participants themselves. Participants’ own reflections explained the heritage purpose of so much of Southwell’s use of its past.

The implications of the thinking that informs Southwell’s history and heritage activities have wider significance for the historical discipline. For all the heritage goals and comments at Southwell, there are some of the aspects of historical practice at Southwell: there is a well-run archive and it is apparent that a great deal of thought and time has been put into the School’s preservation efforts and its continued uses of its history. There is sophisticated self-aware thinking about history and heritage at Southwell. From this research it is apparent that people such as Royce and Gerri had thought about these subjects prior to this project. From the same, it is also apparent that participants such as Nicole, Supipi, Thomas, Soumil and Glenn had original thoughts about history during the course of this project.¹⁴¹ Yet even with such examples of historical thinking at Southwell, overall most of Southwell’s use of its history is directed towards what Lowenthal would call heritage, rather than historical, ends. Still, the closeness of the relationship between history and heritage at Southwell is evident in the example of the revival of brickmaking. The modern ritual of brickmaking references both events that happened (i.e. the past), and invites participants into the creation of more of Southwell’s history – and by participating, the participants identify themselves as part of that history. This evidence complicates the strict distinctions of history and heritage.

What this case reveals about the learning history approach

As a means of inducing reflection, the sheer volume of the response indicates that the learning history approach was a success at Southwell. The method gave the organisation the opportunity to examine itself, and much of that examination was given over to reflection.

This case reveals that the learning history approach is an effective qualitative means of engaging participants in historical thinking. The learning history approach facilitated discussion of the past and its use, history and heritage. More than that, engagement with the learning history process enabled some

¹⁴¹ Original in the sense that they either directly said that they were having a thought for the first time, or in the way they spoke of a thought as though it were new to them.

participants to express sophisticated thoughts on historiographical issues. Participants offered views on the relevance of the past to the present, thoughts on the meaning of heritage, and their views on the deliberate use of history in response to a changing world. The learning history approach successfully invited several participants to think about historiographical issues for the first time. This success is significant for assessing the potential of the learning history approach. The learning history approach drew out metacognition, with several participants commenting on their thinking and expressing how difficult and unusual it was to think on the use of history.

These were sophisticated expressions of historical consciousness. And while these deeper insights were relatively uncommon at Southwell, the learning history approach also revealed great breadth of historical consciousness at Southwell. This is the kind of material that was sought by the researchers who framed seminal surveys into national historical consciousness.¹⁴² The approach also facilitated comment on itself. While at Southwell critique was largely limited to positive feedback about the process, it is an inherent strength of the approach that such critique was possible.

It is significant for this research that the learning history process drew out those reflections, as well as inspiring participants to think about history in ways they said they had never thought about before. In addition to drawing out participants' reflections on historiography, the process also drew out reflections on the learning history approach itself. All of these reflections on history, the use of history and the learning history approach itself, are strong proof of the learning history approach rising to Robert Kelley's call for public history.¹⁴³ These participant responses are significant as examples of how a sample of New Zealanders relate to history, and as evidence of the potential of the learning history approach. These threads will be picked up again in the Discussion chapter.

¹⁴² Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup.

¹⁴³ See Introduction, footnotes 7-9.

Chapter Four

*“A sense of roots”:*¹

Woodlands in the Waikato



Figure 11: Woodlands – *Courtesy of the Gordonton Woodlands Trust.*²

Today Woodlands is an historic homestead, approximately 20 minutes out of Hamilton City by car. It survives as a Council reserve, open to the public and generates extra income as a function and events centre. As a restored example of a colonial manor-style homestead it has come to represent certain aspects of the ‘lost’ history of the Waikato region – “... there’s nothing else quite like

¹ Jacquie Haselden is a Riddell descendant and active Woodlands volunteer. Learning History Interview with Jacquie Haselden, 19 July 2011. p. 4 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

² The Gordonton Woodlands Trust, ‘31_WH-0230.jpg (JPEG Image, 900 × 600 Pixels) – Scaled (98%)’ <http://woodlands.co.nz/file/gallery/large/31_WH-0230.jpg?v=0281581001338928710> [accessed 16 February 2015].

Woodlands in the Waikato.”³ The Homestead is listed as a Category One Historic Place on the New Zealand Historic Places Trust Register, which means it is a place of ‘special or outstanding historical or cultural heritage significance or value.’⁴ The property is owned by the Waikato District Council (WDC) and administered by the Gordonton Woodlands Trust (‘the Trust’ or ‘Woodlands’ for the remainder of this chapter).⁵ Woodlands is referred to by the Trust as a ‘Waikato Icon’, and images of the property are used throughout WDC publications.⁶

Originally built in 1875, the Homestead has been lovingly restored since 1990 at great effort and expense. The home Irene Riddell gifted has become a kind of walk-in exhibit. The furnishings are meant to represent life in the homestead, circa 1900. Today a visitor can walk in to a representation of a farm manager’s home, with nothing between them and the stuff of a reconstructed domestic life.

Dozens of volunteers maintain the homestead and gardens, and many people donate items. For those involved, Woodlands represents something significant about the development of settler farming in the Waikato. Specifically, the transformation of 98,000 acres of land from acidic peat swamplands into the productive powerhouse of New Zealand’s dairy industry. The 98,000 acres were purchased from the Crown in 1872 by the Piako Swamp Company out of land the Crown had confiscated as part of the Raupatu in 1864. At that time the estate was

³ Prue Bryant is a Riddell descendant, former volunteer guide at Woodlands, the founder of Friends of Woodlands and currently a high school teacher. Learning History Interview with Prue Bryant, 22 July 2011. p. 3 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

That statement was echoed by many participants including John Bridgman, volunteer financial administrator at Woodlands and member of a local historical society: “Woodlands there, it’s, it’s really a major part of the history for the Waikato and there’s nothing there comparable with it.” Learning History Interview with John Bridgman, 2 July 2011. p. 2 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

⁴ The New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga, *Woodlands*, <http://www.historic.org.nz/TheRegister/RegisterSearch/RegisterResults.aspx?RID=155> and http://www.historic.org.nz/theregister/abouttheregister.aspx?sc_lang=en#Cat1orCat2 [accessed 28.2.2013].

⁵ ‘...dedicated as an historical reserve’ – Rules, <http://www.register.charities.govt.nz/CharitiesRegister/ViewCharity?accountId=10e3e39c-5342-dd11-84f2-0015c5f3da29&searchId=f91d027d-3f5a-4f83-b314-907f6cd7c00e> [accessed 24.7.2012]

⁶ Interview with Irene, pp. 8-9, and notably in the key Long Term Community Council Plan document that frames WDC policy from 2009 – 2019: p.11 as the coverpage for the Introduction, and then again on p. 56 as the first image in the ‘Reserves’ section – <http://www.waikatodistrict.govt.nz/CMSFiles/bf/bfb6b102-d126-45e7-b281-dd8805fd2d14.pdf> [accessed 18/4/2013].

stretched across a vast area between Taupiri, Morrinsville, Eureka, Tauwhare and what are now the northern reaches of Hamilton. Despite significant success, the sheer difficulty of attempting to drain and farm this vast region meant the estate was steadily broken up from the early 1900s. It is the relatively short period (1875-1902) from the building of the homestead to the breakup of the estate that is emphasised in today's presentation of the history of Woodlands.

What follows are two quotes that between them express the essence of how and why history is used at Woodlands. The first is an excerpt from a speech Lex Riddell had prepared for a genealogical society that he read out during our interview.⁷ The second is an excerpt from an interview with Irene Clarke.⁸

Lex Riddell: "...the more I go in to the origins of my family, the trials and the difficulty of those early settlers, the more it is developed within me a new perspective of life, an appreciation of what we now enjoy, and a new emotion wells within me; the emotion of fear in retrospect, for the dangers they faced and endured. Tears in retrospect, for their sad times and the losses – and the joy of the present which only the knowledge of the past can give."⁹

Irene Clarke: "I really – always want to see it kept, maintained as it is. And to the high standard that we've been able to do. Considering you've got very little funds, it's in magnificent order I think. But it's an ongoing thing. I would never like to see it closed off to the public. I think it's an asset to Waikato and I would hope that it'll always be taken on board. You get different people that come into the organisations and history, sometimes people don't see the history and they brush over it, don't see the importance of it. I'm not a historian but as you get older, you appreciate what's gone on before, and the hardships that some of these people must have gone through in the farming sector – it'd be a shame, a shame for some or all that story to go."¹⁰

⁷ Lex Riddell is the nominated spokesperson for the Riddell family. The Riddell family gifted the Woodlands Estate to Presbyterian Support Services in 1983, which then gifted it to the Waikato County Council, which became part of the Waikato District Council (WDC) in 1989.

⁸ Irene was Chairperson and Garden Convenor of the Gordonton Woodlands Trust during this research.

⁹ Learning History Interview, Mark Smith with Lex Riddell, 10 July 2011.

¹⁰ Learning History Interview with Irene Clarke, 13 July 2011. p. 13 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.



Figure 12: Woodlands' Northern Lawn – *Courtesy Gordonton Woodlands Trust*¹¹

The quotes from Lex and Irene in the pages above illustrate fundamental aspects of the use of history at Woodlands. This chapter advances several arguments touched on in the evidence above. The first argument is that the historical significance of Woodlands is used as the underlying justification for all activity at Woodlands, including simply ensuring that Woodlands remains open to the public and operating as a viable concern. The second argument is that the history presented at Woodlands depicts a particular vision of rural – especially Waikato – Pākehā identity. The third argument presented here is that the purpose of history at Woodlands is to preserve *and* promote that vision. The epigraphs above emphasise human suffering and a progressive view of history; that those hardships endured by ancestors should mean something and their story not be lost. The final point argued in this chapter is that participants in this case *did* engage with the learning history approach. That engagement was extensive and included debate, reflections (such as those above) on the use of history at Woodlands and on history more generally, co-facilitation, and critique, along with other

¹¹ The Gordonton Woodlands Trust, http://woodlands.co.nz/file/gallery/large/31_WH-0230.jpg?v=0281581001338928710[accessed 2/8/2012]

expressions of participant agency. This chapter addresses the research questions: ‘How have the organisations selected for study utilised their past?’ and ‘What can the learning history approach bring to the historical discipline?’ – first by examining the ‘what’ and the ‘why’ of Woodlands’ uses of history, before then delving into what this case revealed about the learning history approach and the broader significance of those findings for this study.

How Woodlands uses its history and why

As an organisation, Woodlands reaches out to the public in a number of ways: through its function-focused website (<http://woodlands.co.nz/>), hosting people for functions and events, Woodlands’ own DVD and self-published history booklet (and indirectly through mentions in other texts¹²), lectures, the occasional tour groups, school visits and numerous displays – open to the public seven days a week, almost all year. At Woodlands one is invited to step inside a recreation of an imagined past, circa 1900.¹³

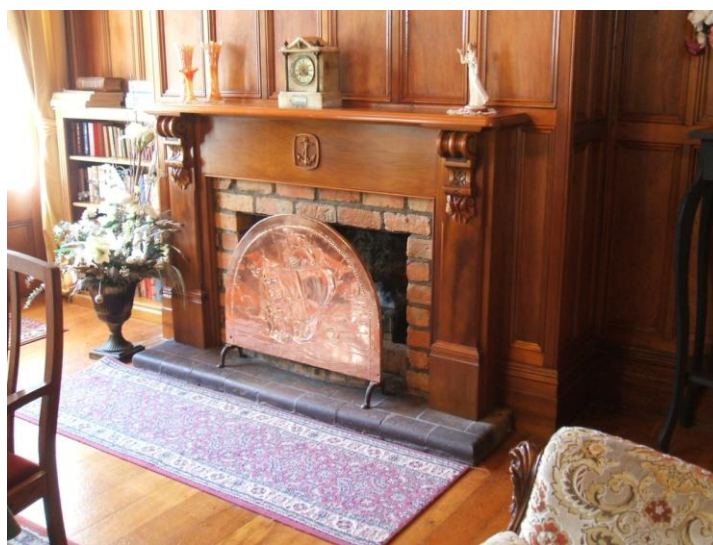


Figure 13: The Kauri Room.¹⁴

¹² For example: Russell Cyril James Stone, *Makers of Fortune; a Colonial Business Community and Its Fall* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1973); Linda Burgess, *Historic Houses: A Visitor's Guide to 65 Early New Zealand Houses* (Auckland, N.Z: Random House, 2007); Denys Oldham, ‘Thomas Russell, “The Piako Swamp”, and the Woodlands Homestead, Gordonton’, *NZ Legacy Magazine*, 24.1 (2012), 13–16.

¹³ Interview with Jacquie, pp.10-11. Jacquie Haselden is a Riddell descendant and active Woodlands volunteer and indicated that authenticity is not the objective: “There’s things in there that I know aren’t from 1870, you know, 1905/1870.” See also the decision to make the gardens in the Arts and Crafts style – see Chapter Four, footnote 15.

¹⁴ Note the Anchor symbol in the centre of the fire surround. It acknowledges the link between Woodlands and Henry Reynolds – a manager of Woodlands 1875-1885 and founder of the Anchor

The gardens, the furnishings and the homestead itself are displays where objects are offered as entry points into another time. The gardens are evocatively English, and were specifically redesigned in the 1990s in the ‘Arts and Crafts’ style, to represent gardening trends circa 1920s.¹⁵ The rooms of the house, including the beautiful Kauri Room, are adorned with period furnishings. There are also mannequins dressed in stylish period costumes. On the ground floor there is a dining area laid out with fine porcelain tableware, the aforementioned Kauri Room with its magnificent wood panels and Anchor-branded hearth, as well as the Riddell Room. That last room is specifically given over to memorials of the family who gifted the estate to the WDC. This room includes numerous photos of family members, a large family tree laid out in a circular design and a copy of the *Woodlands* booklet.¹⁶ Progressing up the wooden staircase, past photographs of the resident estate managers and their families, leads the visitor to the upper floor. Here can be found a children's bedroom, a master bedroom and an ‘archive’ room, where one might sit down in one of the several chairs provided and watch a DVD narrating the history of the estate. This room also contains several photographs connecting Woodlands estate to the surrounding settlements, and a second huge copy of the booklet. One can press buttons throughout the homestead to hear the audio commentary of ‘Alice’, an invented maid from Essex, as she works her way around the house and describes the life of the household. Taken together, all of these things tell a story. As Irene put it: “The other thing that’s so beautiful about this place,[is] that people can come into the rooms, they don’t have to look through a glass door or over ropes, they can actually come in and be part of the history.”¹⁷

brand. Oldham, p. 14; Paul Martin and Kerrie Martin, *Woodlands* (Hamilton: The Gordonton Woodlands Trust, 2004), pp. 2–3.

¹⁵ Dr Peter Sergel, the designer of the Woodlands Gardens and Director of Hamilton Gardens, on the gardening aspect of ‘restoration’ of Woodlands “...We were aiming to do a garden from the turn of the, end of the 19th Century, beginning of the 20th Century ... picking that particular period... an Arts and Crafts type garden with elements of that date.” Prior to the restoration effort in the 1990s Woodlands had never had a notable garden – “...but there wasn’t a huge garden there, it wasn’t a notable garden” – Woodlands was deliberately made into a lovely garden for the present. Learning History Interview with Dr Peter Sergel, 27 July 2011. p. 2 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. [This means that at Woodlands, a creation for the present was promoted above ‘re-creation’ of what had once been.]

¹⁶ Martin and Martin.

¹⁷ Interview with Irene, p. 8. A view remarkably in line with the finding of Roy Rosenzweig & David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia UP, 1998), pp.89-114, that found many Americans regarded museums as the most trustworthy of historical experiences, specifically because of the apparent lack of distance between visitors and artefacts. Irene’s words even echo those of a participant in Ashton and Hamilton’s

What Woodlands ‘was’ is the *raison d’être* for Woodlands ‘now’. All the efforts at presenting history described above aim to sustain and share Woodlands as a place of pride and joy – joy in a beautiful setting, a European rural idyll; and pride in what that setting represents: settler (even specifically family) origins and achievement, progress, and rural (particularly Waikato) Pākehā identity. Participants frequently explained the importance of Woodlands in light of its historical significance for farming, the Waikato and being Pākehā.¹⁸ For example, Jacquie Haselden:

[Laughs] I guess it’s the farming history, the pioneering men and women that came to New Zealand and drained the swamp and carved out a life for themselves here in the Waikato. So in that sense it gives a sense of roots for people who live in the Waikato.¹⁹

Jacquie went on to note the ways in which Woodlands history is a microcosm of New Zealand’s national history and emphasised the need to foster a sense of community. Later in her interview Jacquie identified an aspect of the specific meaning of Woodlands:

Yes, it’s good to support our history and ... the memories of our country rather than fight against it and yes, it’s European. It’s not Māori. It is part of our heritage, as the early colonial settlers, that is important.²⁰

Ken Holmes expressed the point succinctly when he described Woodlands as representing the “settlement and agricultural history” of the Waikato.²¹ As Prue made clear, Woodlands brings together many potent things:

research: ‘The evidence is there before you. What I mean is, whatever they’re displaying is there – its visual not hearsay. It’s right in front of you.’ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 77.

¹⁸ For example: “It’s the early farming days. It’s how they used to farm.” – Interview with Irene, p. 8. “So my interest is that history has to be preserved ... For the Waikato District, it is just so important... And Woodlands is a place that generates that sort of interest, because it was unique in the Waikato.” Rod Wise, Former Waikato District Councillor and Chairperson of the Woodlands Trust from 2011. Learning History Interview with Rod Wise, 12 July 2011. p. 8 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

Bob Dawson, Former Councillor of Waikato County Council, used the term ‘embryo’ to convey a sense of the historic significance of Woodlands to the farming history of the Waikato. Learning History Group Interview with Bob Dawson, Kath des Forges, Tom Hickmott and Ken Holmes, 19 July 2011. p. 18 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

¹⁹ Interview with Jacquie, p. 4. Cf. with Pākehā indigeneity presented in Michael King, *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native* (Auckland, N.Z: Penguin, 1999).

²⁰ Interview with Jacquie, p. 15. This statement of the significance of Woodlands came out when Jacquie was thinking about how hard it can be to get funding at times.

²¹ Ken Holmes is a Former Chair of Waikato County Council (a role analogous to the mayor of the current WDC) and Woodlands Trust member. Learning History Group Interview with Bob Dawson, Kath des Forges, Tom Hickmott and Ken Holmes, 19 July 2011. p. 18 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

...it is definitely a piece of Waikato history. I mean there's Henry Reynolds and the Anchor Brand and then there's John Gordon and the Gordonton thing and the real family who are still there.²²

These are the words of people who were and are involved in the transformation of Woodlands from private property into what it is today, and all spoken before the learning history document was distributed. Their work sustains Woodlands. It is worth realising that even those who are not necessarily interested in the history of Woodlands sustain Woodlands by interacting with it. Functions, gardens and a cafe could be located anywhere. At Woodlands those facilities are an invitation to engage with everything else that Woodlands is, including its history.²³ Perhaps as much as all these thoughts, opinions and implicit invitations, it is the transformation itself that illustrates so much of how history is used and presented at Woodlands.

Woodlands was deliberately restored to emphasise a particular phase in its history, the 'pioneering' period from the 1870s. In the 1990s, the choice was made to make the remnant of Woodlands estate resemble the Woodlands of approximately a century before.²⁴ The effort to deliberately 're-present' Woodlands as a "living history lesson"²⁵ was no small undertaking. The Homestead along with farmland was left to Presbyterian Support Services by Irene Riddell on her death in 1983. In 1988 the Homestead and 15 acres was passed onto the Waikato County Council.²⁶ That was the beginning of a Waikato-wide effort to save Woodlands. The vast

²² Interview with Prue, p. 12. Henry Reynolds and John Gordon were managers of the Woodlands estate from 1875-1885 and 1885-1902 respectively. Gordonton is named after John Gordon. The 'real family who are still there' are the Riddells. Martin and Martin, pp. 2-3, 17.

²³ Jacquie pointed out how these activities contribute to extending the appeal of Woodlands – through school visits and especially hosting significant events in the lives of families beyond the Riddell's: "It's wonderful how we use it as a wedding and function venue so people have really cool memories of the place, so it becomes a happy memory in a sense as well. And also, hopefully it will carry on from generation to generation. Brides we have today will say that, I got married and it will go on from the next generation." "And we find that the children will go home and they'll tell their family, I've been to Woodlands and seen this and so their parents go, oh, my child came here and so it opens up a lot of people in Hamilton especially." Interview with Jacquie, p. 2.

²⁴ David Hamer outlined this phased view of the history of a heritage building in: Hamer, pp. 253-255. What Lowenthal referred to as 'heritage' has much in common with what Hamer called 'preservationism'.

²⁵ Roger Jennings is an active Woodlands volunteer. Learning History Interview with Roger and Rosalie Jennings, 11 July 2011. p. 15 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

²⁶ Which became part of the WDC in the local body amalgamations of 1989. Ministry of Local Government, *Local Government in New Zealand*, http://www.localcouncils.govt.nz/lcip.nsf/wpg_URL/About-Local-Government-Local-Government-In-New-Zealand-Index?OpenDocument [accessed 29.5.2012].

outpouring of millions of dollars and hundreds of volunteer hours in the 1990s transformed Woodlands into an idealised image of itself at a chosen point in its history. As Denys Oldham politely put it: “The house itself offers a well presented and well-illustrated history that concerns itself almost exclusively with the farm managers and their families, and the work of converting swamp into productive farmland.”²⁷ The homestead itself is a one-stop ‘tardis’, a time capsule that transports a modern visitor back to when Woodlands was the heart of a working estate. That also happens to be a time of relatively uncomplicated history for Pākehā identity in the Waikato: after the Raupatu and brimming with settler endeavour, with hints of (untypically) starched shirts and crinolines.²⁸



Figure 14: The Kauri Room

Note the oil painting by Jacquie Haselden. The artist consciously juxtaposed a past practice (Horse-drawn rolling) with the present (Homestead as it is now).²⁹

²⁷ Oldham, p. 13.

²⁸ Untypical as wearing finery might have been in the period celebrated at Woodlands, people go to Woodlands for a sense of finer things – even and perhaps especially amid the apparent muck and sweat of farming and gardening. Prue told an illustrative story of what Woodlands volunteers feel and contribute for: years ago, when she first made tea for the volunteers when they’d come in from the garden, she put the tea in basic smoky glass mugs. “...everybody looked at me and looked at you know, and I said, “Oh what’s wrong?” And they said, “Oh we usually have the nice china tea cups and the...” [laughter] You know and I thought because they were all just working in the garden, they’re in their old clothes, and that they just have a ordinary old mug of coffee, but um yeah I made a big mistake there.” Interview with Prue, p. 8.

²⁹ “I deliberately did that play of past and present with it” Interview with Jacquie, pp. 9-10.



Figure 15: The Dining Room

What is displayed becomes what is known. This is not to say that the people who contributed to Woodlands were unusually biased – one would not expect to see a complete and generous history of other peoples, someone else's story, in any particular groups' sacred places. While examples can be offered to counter that generalisation, the significant point here is the link to sacred places.³⁰ The parallels with sacred places bring into focus what Woodlands is: a shrine for settlers – even a type of Pākehā 'marae',³¹ given its present use as a heritage site and function centre.³² Woodlands is a deliberate cultural (re)production. It

³⁰ For example, see Conal McCarthy's work describing the variety in the range of engagement of Māori with colonial museums and display, and the varied sensitivity of curatorial staff: McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*; Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Māori: Heritage Professionals, Indigenous Collections, Current Practice* (Wellington, N.Z: Te Papa Press, 2011); and efforts such as the Museum of World Religions in Taipei – founded by Buddhists. Museum of World Religions, 'Museum of World Religions' <http://www.mwr.org.tw/index_en.aspx> [accessed 3 April 2015].

³¹ 'Marae': 'meeting area of whānau or iwi, focal point of settlement, central area of village and its buildings, courtyard' and 'The courtyard of a Maori meeting house, or a central open space in a Polynesian village, esp. used as a forum or centre for ceremonies, social functions, debates, etc.' as respectively defined by Ryan, p. 148; 'Marae, N.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/view/Entry/113893>> [accessed 23 September 2013]. Marae are centres of community. That is also what Woodlands volunteers want for Woodlands. There is another profound parallel – because as well as being a focus of events, marae are places for passing on histories. Buildings, carvings and objects have specific meanings within these contexts, and a speaker can gesture to them to make a point or teach through them.

³² That was how the participants discussed Woodlands – Jacquie actually used the word 'shrine' during the first dissemination meeting: "And so the domestic women's work building has become the, the shrine to hold the history for the rural so I thought that was quite interesting." First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting with Irene Clarke, Jacquie Haselden, Arthur Riddell, Roger Jennings, Allan Morse, John Bridgman and Dr Rowland Weston observing, 5 September 2011 at

displays the colonial underpinning of the everyday present. Today, much of the rural Waikato calls to mind the ‘green and pleasant land’ of the quintessentially English poem and anthem *Jerusalem*.³³ The ecological imperialism of settler efforts – embodied by Woodlands – purposefully transformed the Waikato. Even the exotic trees and flowers of the splendid gardens reinforce this. The past has radically shaped the present. By emphasising a story of pioneers and ‘progress’, Woodlands presents a form of narrative often critiqued.³⁴ There are even other narratives already in the historical record – for example, Russell Stone’s history of nineteenth century Auckland commerce and the activities of ‘The Limited Circle’ *Makers of Fortune: A Colonial Business Community and Its Fall*, illuminates the financial shenanigans and dramatic disasters of Woodlands earliest backers.³⁵ Several participants indicated their awareness of this history and these events by referring to them.³⁶

Yet the story told at Woodlands is the story of an idealised manor-model of English farming writ large in the Waikato. It is a microcosm of the settling of colonial economies. While there were several Māori individuals involved with Woodlands, that involvement was generally labouring for the settler enterprise.³⁷ So it has become easy to tell the story a particular way. To a great extent, Woodlands displaced and effaced what was once there – peat swamp and Māori land use. Even trying to imagine the history of the area that became the Woodlands estate before it did is a problematic construction – the ‘estate’ is a European mental construct laid over the top of pre-existing Māori (particularly

10 a.m. p. 20 of transcript. Facilitated by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. Woodlands was additionally described as a site of education and the community social centre (for weddings and other great occasions). Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting with Prue Bryant, June Haultain, Bob Dawson, Ken Holmes and Jill McGuire, 5 September 2011 at 6 p.m. p. 25 of transcript. Facilitated by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. Jill McGuire is an active Woodlands volunteer and was my contact person for this case. Also cf Gavin McLean, ‘From Shrine to Shop: The Changing Uses of New Zealand’s Historic Places in the Twentieth Century’, in *Common Ground: Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, ed. by Alexander Trapeznik (Dunedin, N.Z: University of Otago Press, 2000), pp. 73–90 (p. 73).

³³ Not that the anthem version existed during the period emphasised at Woodlands. That what could be said of England (‘green and pleasant land’) is what the Waikato eventually became is the fact that drives home the nature of the transformation.

³⁴ For example: Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, pp. 30, 55–56, 97; Michael King, *Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance* (Auckland, N.Z: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), pp. 78–80, 98, throughout; Green and Troup, pp. 277, 278.

³⁵ Stone.

³⁶ For example Interview with John Bridgman, p.2, Interview with Rod, p. 3, and Allan among others in the First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 19 of transcript.

³⁷ Martin and Martin, pp. 23–24.

Ngati Wairere) constructs and the physical reality of acidic peat swamp and marshlands.

With acknowledgement that the estate came from confiscated land and mention of a few Māori families confined to a few less prominent sources, such as the *Woodlands* history booklet, the rest of Woodlands' heritage efforts are free to tell the story of progress and settler endeavour. It is even reasonable to say that from the founding of the estate (1872), the story is a largely Pākehā story. Yet in choosing to tell the story from that date, many of its complexities and discomforts have been swept away. That choice, which made sense in light of what was there to restore, also determined the story that was to be told.

These choices and silences matter.³⁸ That the past continues into the present, yet the present constantly re-inscribes itself on the past, and so carries on into the future, sounds like a poor paraphrasing of one of George Orwell's aphorisms.³⁹ Yet this is at the heart of the relevance of history, particularly at Woodlands. So much literature emphasises the significance of what history is told and what is left out.⁴⁰ Some of the participants highlighted this themselves. Jacquie for example:

I guess nostalgia's a pretty ick word. [Laughs] It can – it is a little bit nostalgic here cos you've got the house looking a bit doll's housey looking and there's probably a little bit of nostalgia I guess. People come for that when life was better, but then it wasn't in the Depression and stuff like that.⁴¹

John Bridgman also expressed an implicit awareness of the power of a prevailing narrative when he spoke of the need to produce a definitive version of history

³⁸ The likes of Alessandro Portelli have demonstrated that factual inaccuracies can be 'active creations' – i.e. the very inaccuracy indicates what the narrator thinks is important and how they have incorporated their experience symbolically and psychologically. Portelli, pp. 1-28, and; 'What Makes Oral History Different', in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 69.

³⁹ 'Who controls the past' ran the Party slogan, 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.' George Orwell, 1984, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1999), p. 30.

⁴⁰ Witness the mountains of scholarship that followed Foucault's work on discourse and Edward Said's *Orientalism* – Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); Durba Ghosh, 'National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History*, in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 27–44 (p. 29).

⁴¹ This could have been a reference to either the Long Depression of 1878 to the mid-1890s or the Great Depression 1929-1935. Interview with Jacquie, p. 4.

because of the contestability of history.⁴² This will be explored further later in this chapter and the Discussion chapter.⁴³

The story told at Woodlands is also a middle-class story. Māori are not the only group largely left out of the story told at Woodlands. The many men who worked the estate are only fleetingly acknowledged in a few mute pictures, and beyond ‘Alice’ it is hard to find traces of the women who once worked as domestics for the estate. Explicit depictions and interpretations of women more generally in the life of the Estate are hard to find. Perhaps this should not be surprising given the gendering of roles and the glamorisation of male tasks presented,⁴⁴ but the point is particularly glaring given that it is the Homestead and Gardens that are the main features of Woodlands today – that it is the domestic that has survived to become the symbol of the rural.⁴⁵ Through the restoration effort, the largely female space of the Homestead has come to represent the largely male activity of farming.⁴⁶ Jacquie even mentioned “an absence of the woman's voice” in Woodlands’ archives – which itself is a reflection of the nature of the archive.⁴⁷

It is not that issues of class, gender or ethnicity are simply ‘whitewashed’ (in both senses of the term) in a wave of nostalgia. There was occasional acknowledgement of each in learning history interviews – but overall these aspects of the Woodlands story are not emphasised.⁴⁸ This is not surprising – as

⁴² “...the people left behind, whether they have a licence to create their own history. It can happen I think eh?” – See Chapter Four, footnote 123 for a larger excerpt that explains this more fully. Interview with John Bridgman, p. 2.

⁴³ See Chapter Six, footnote 124.

⁴⁴ For an example of the text that deals with gender in a colonial New Zealand context, see Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 1999).

⁴⁵ Jacquie: But talking about – what struck me with reading all this history and the house and how the house was considered like an icon, it really struck me that the house is an icon for rural farming and pioneering, yet it’s a domestic building which basically houses all the archives. ... And so the domestic women’s work building has become the, the shrine to hold the history for the rural.” First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 20 of transcript.

⁴⁶ “I looked into the history of Woodlands in the sense that it was very strongly farming related as you look through the archives, there’s talking about the history of Anchor and breaking in the land and the, and the rural farming aspect. And I noticed um there was kind of an absence of the woman’s voice in there. ... So it was sort of giving a women’s voice in the place and, and sort of honouring women, colonial women. That’s part of my heritage.” Interview with Jacquie pp. 5-6.

⁴⁷ As in the footnote above: “an absence of the woman’s voice” Interview with Jacquie pp. 5-6.

⁴⁸ For example, John Bridgman and Rod made comments reflecting their desire to include more Māori perspectives (e.g. Interview with Rod, pp. 4-5). John Bridgman even made a point of emphasising the need to tell more of the story at the dissemination meeting – John: Well that’s I think what we’re to achieve there if we carry on with this, you know, the history and depth there to

Trapeznik and McLean put it: ‘...servants, farmworkers and women have fallen most commonly into the interpretative black hole’ in settings such as Woodlands.⁴⁹ It is not so much a case of ‘white lies’ as ‘white space’, gaps left in the representation – when there were few enough traces of these poorly acknowledged people in the record already.⁵⁰

Even so, there is a clear practical logic to focusing on one period when trying to decorate a building rather than disseminate a history.⁵¹ And several of the efforts to tell the history of the estate cover many more of the decades of events associated with Woodlands. There is a strong and credible history at Woodlands: the story of settler farming in a large part of the Waikato – the poverty, the peat, the genuine triumph of drainage and fertiliser, dairying and sweat. All else aside, those pioneering forces shaped the land into what it is today. That is a significant story in itself. Yet it is not what is emphasised.

Today there is an almost myopic focus on the nicest and the best aspects of Woodlands. Even the mud of farming is allowed in the house only so far as it explains the point of Woodlands, and connects the homestead to the wider achievements of peat farming and dairying in the region – threads that strongly link the estate to at least the image of the present-day Waikato. Indeed, as mentioned above, just by surviving, the homestead and the domestic goods inside it have come to represent the very outdoor activities of the estate as a whole. Visitors are invited into a world of Sunday-best clothes, fine china and Victorian/Edwardian furnishings. The heritage presented at Woodlands is in line with how Trapeznik and McLean described the state of heritage in New Zealand in general: largely about ‘pride and community cohesion’, ‘... heritage as a commodity, producing a past that did not exist in order to promote the interests of the tourist industry, property developers, the keepers of public culture and the

pre-European times, going right through, to get such and um, cos you know, we’ve only just sort of touched on it really”. First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 3 of transcript.

⁴⁹ Trapeznik and McLean, p. 21.

⁵⁰ Examples of historians on the purpose of social and cultural history: Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States* (London ; New York: Longman, 1980), pp. 10–11; Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 7, 150–169.

⁵¹ It can be done differently. There are static ways to emphasize the diachronic – e.g. a different decade in each different room. The Janet Frame House in Oamaru uses windows into the wallpaper to give visitors a sense of the previous appearance of each room. The presentation of Woodlands clarifies the message of Woodlands – that the synchronous idealization of a particular period, with all the connotations outlined above, is the focus of Woodlands, illuminates the point of Woodlands.

promoters of national identity.’⁵² ‘... This perpetuates a view of the past that is comforting and non-confrontational, promoting a history without context and without people.’⁵³ This inherently conservative treatment of history has a great deal in common with ‘heritage’ as described by Lowenthal – leaving out complex issues and the worst of the visceral experience, such as the body odour, the poverty and the backbreaking labour (except in the most laudatory way) suits the purpose of celebration rather than analysis.⁵⁴ This treatment also leaves out the diachronous. It promotes a narrative of progress/adversity overcome, but the adversity and its overcoming, that is, change, is not explored, detailed or analysed, it is just assumed.

Visitors to Woodlands are offered a romantic perception of life in a specifically constructed ‘past’. However, my purpose here is not to critique what Woodlands is doing, or to judge its authenticity. Indeed, the point of discussing what Woodlands is *not* doing is to better understand exactly what it is doing. So what *is* done with Woodlands’ history? All the objects in the homestead, the beautiful and historic gardens, and the entire homestead itself, are offered as glamorous, tasteful, comfortable points of entry into a simpler past. As Irene put it, visitors are invited to experience this quaint and pleasant world largely unmediated by velvet ropes or much interpretation.⁵⁵ There is something viscerally satisfying about objects situated within ‘their’ social and cultural setting.⁵⁶

While there are thousands of individual objects in the Homestead, many of questionable authenticity, taken together the overall effect of all this restoration in *this* place is one of ‘ideal presence’.⁵⁷ As Irene's comments make clear, it is

⁵² Trapeznik and McLean, p. 15.

⁵³ Trapeznik and McLean, p. 16.

⁵⁴ ‘Heritage is not testable or even reasonably plausible account of some past but a *declaration of faith* in that past.’ ‘Heritage thereby attests our identity and affirms our worth’ ‘Heritage diverges from history not in being biased but its attitude toward bias. Neither enterprise is value-free. But while historians aim to reduce bias, heritage sanctions and strengthens it.’ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, pp. 121, 122 and 122 again respectively. See Chapter One, footnotes 10, 14.

⁵⁵ See Chapter Four, footnote 17 – see also Interview with Irene, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Jannelle Warren-Findley, ‘History in the New Worlds: Surveys and Results in the United States and Australia’, *ACH Australian Cultural History, Special Issue Australians and the Past: A National Survey*, 22, (2003), p. 47.

⁵⁷ Jacquie: “There’s things in there that I know aren’t from , you know, 1905/1870, so there, there’s a bit of the slippage of people trying to be authentic.” Interview with Jacquie, pp. 10-11, and “The force of language consists in raising complete images; which have the effect to transport the reader as by magic into the very place and time of the important action, and to convert him as it

deliberately about enabling imaginative connection. All the objects have been laid out, the rooms refurbished and arranged to provide the sense that ‘this is how it was’. Presentation has been designed to effect response. In the words of Councillor Allan Morse, Woodlands as a whole is ‘a touchstone with history’.⁵⁸ In rooms where a visitor is free to wander and touch what they like, it is implied that people in the past touched these objects. The objects are deliberately presented for people to interact with – for present day people to feel a connection with people in the past. Objects-in-place gain power. Objects are used to tell stories, and the effect of such stories is heightened by being able to gesture to the very place where the event happened.⁵⁹ The significance of that depends on the identity of the visitor. Objects such as portraits and family trees are connections, and they help some people situate themselves in a continuing narrative.⁶⁰ Household goods and settings have resonance for those who grew up with them, and perhaps hold appeal for those who did not. That people in the present can experience the wonder of connection is surely one reason why these objects are kept. That a place such as Woodlands should be restored and decorated in a way that promotes the somatic experience of a historical presence is in keeping with the findings of major studies of popular uses of history.⁶¹ Those studies found museums are the most trusted of historical experiences because of how closely they bring artefacts to observers, both physically and in terms of interpretation. In a recent article Rowland Weston suggested that where “... our affective historiographical responses are at their most acute it is as we empathise with the fears, the longings

were into a spectator, beholding every thing that passes.” (Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, Edited and with an Introduction by Peter Jones (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005), 2: p.329. cited in Rowland Weston, ‘Being There and Being Then: Ideal Presence and Historical Tourism’, *New Zealand Journal of Public History*, 1, (2011) 84-96 (p. 92).

⁵⁸ Cr. Allan Morse, current Waikato District Councillor and Council representative on the Gordonton Woodlands Trust Board. Learning History Interview with Allan Morse, 19 July 2011. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording held by same.

⁵⁹ A notion advanced by Godwin in his 1809 *Essay on Sepulchres* (and no doubt long before by others), held by many ‘lay’ people, e.g. see Roy Rosenzweig & David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 89-114, and challenged by Rowland Weston, ‘Being There and Being Then: Ideal Presence and Historical Tourism’, *New Zealand Journal of Public History*, 1, (2011) 84-96 (p. 92).

⁶⁰ See Chapter Four, footnotes 12-14, 51-53.

⁶¹ For example: Rosenzweig & Thelen, pp.89-114 – especially p. 91. The researchers found many Americans regarded museums as the most trustworthy of historical experiences, specifically because of the apparent lack of distance between visitors and artefacts. The *Australians and the Past* survey found the same: ‘People trusted museums. And they did so because of the materiality of their collections and institutional context which gave the objects and stories authority.’ Ashton and Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads*, p. 77.

and the sufferings of our fellow human beings.”⁶² At Woodlands everything invites the visitor to do that.

Restoring and preserving Woodlands – making it an oasis of stability – has made it something of a site of pilgrimage. School children are brought to it in buses by their schools. People whose ancestors worked on the estate visit and make a point of mentioning their connection.⁶³ Presumably the children are meant to learn something and adult relatives come for something. The volunteers themselves are passionate about the place. These reveal Woodlands to be more than just a nice place to visit. For some people at least, Woodlands is a focus point, a ‘community social centre’ that is also trying to educate.⁶⁴ In the words of Turner, Woodlands is a ‘center out there’ – ‘a site productive of social or cultural cohesion and authentication *spatially* removed from that society’s or culture’s geographic centre.’⁶⁵ As Weston put it: ‘Certainly travel to specific places can function so as to confirm our membership in particular communities: “It is through the recognition of the authenticity of objects, places or experiences that the subject is interpellated as citizen, national, or member of the faithful.”’⁶⁶ Nor is the process just osmosis via immersive experience, or reading facts from a wall. When describing why she felt it was essential to “let the next generation and the one after that know how things used to be”, Prue said “I think it’s a really good way to get them [young people] thinking.”⁶⁷ Here ‘becoming’ is part of ‘belonging’.

The purpose of Woodlands’ historical narrative

The above is ‘what’ Woodlands does with its history. Reaching out to a kind of middle-class rural Waikato Pākehā identity is the beginning of ‘why’. With only

⁶² Weston, *NZJPH* 1,1, p. 92.

⁶³ For example, as reported by John Bridgman, Irene and Jacque – First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 9 of transcript.

⁶⁴ “Jill: ...which is try to get educat-, educate...Ken: Community social centre. Jill: ...children on what it was like to live in a, a house or an estate in those...” Ken and Jill’s entwined ideas of Woodlands. Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 25 of transcript. ‘Community’ ‘social centre’, ‘education’ and ‘history’ are tangled together at Woodlands.

⁶⁵ Victor Turner, “The Center Out There: Pilgrim’s Goal”, *History of Religions* 12 (1973): pp.191-230. Cited in Weston, *NZJPH* 1,1, p. 89.

⁶⁶ Weston, *NZJPH* 1,1, p. 89. In the excerpt Weston was quoting John B. Allcock, “Tourism as a Sacred Journey”, *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure* 11, 1 (1988): p. 39. Obviously it is entirely possible to visit such site and feel an outsider too – Lowenthal, *Heritage Crusade*, p. 24.

⁶⁷ The young people in this case were high school students, and the thinking referred to in the quote was to be on about how things worked “before electricity or before cell phones ... and so on”. Interview with Prue, pp. 9-10.

one exception, all the participants were keen and active in sharing and promoting Woodlands (the exception had already given eight years of her working life doing that). Throughout the case they expressed several more personal reasons why they each wanted to do that.

One obvious reason is family connection. In contrast with Southwell whose ‘first family’ has stepped back from the running of the School, there is still a significant family presence at the estate today. The Riddell Room displays portraits of people who actually lived in the homestead. It is a room, just inside the front door, given over to embodying ancestors. These were real people, and some of their descendants draw a passionate sense of identity from their settler forebears – some of these descendants have volunteered and/or continue to volunteer at Woodlands. Five of the participants described their blood connection and often in ways that highlighted a pride in their history in as much as they are an outcome of it. Other family members who I did not interview also volunteer. At Woodlands, Arthur, Jacquie, June, Lex and Prue are family.⁶⁸ During the dissemination meeting June actually read aloud the words of her brother Lex that opened this chapter, then – “...that statement there is, is, to me says so much. It’s just how we are and feel”.⁶⁹ Jacquie had gone further and explicitly emphasised the hope of giving her children, and her children's children, ‘roots’ and identity:

Why is it [telling the history of Woodlands] important to me? Um, I guess it keeps it alive and hopefully pass onto my children as well, that they’ll have a connection. Well they have a connection to here. Ah, I think that connection to your roots is really important and it gives a sense of identity to them, the history and identity for them and for their children and their children onward.⁷⁰

This is a clear-eyed statement about the role of ‘history’ in identity, specifically family identity. What is more, Jacquie highlighted how the present becomes the

⁶⁸ Arthur Riddell is an active Woodlands volunteer. He was instrumental in the work of restoration and ongoing maintenance. He is brother to Lex and June, and father of Prue.

⁶⁹ June Haultain, sister of Lex and Arthur Riddell and former Woodlands volunteer. Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 18 of transcript.

⁷⁰ Jacquie went further in explaining why sharing Woodlands is important to her. She went on to emphasise identity, family, a wider idea of community and survival. “It’s important to um keep the place um going, yeah, like I don’t – I’m not sure the future. That’s one thing I question about as in keeping in a voluntary basis, because of the um lack of interest of the following generations that we have. I – and the um, the way society is lacking that community thing. I, I, I don’t know what’s going to happen in the future. [Laughs] It’s a hard question, but keeping it significant, I guess it’s like keeping it out there so people keep experiencing it. Yeah, as I said before, so people would get their own personal connection and narrative to the place and I um, I hope that more and more people um will get interested. I, I just recently did the members list the other day for here and a lot of them were that um older generation, yeah. It’s a hard one.” Interview with Jacquie, p. 7.

past and the future – how one's present choices become one's future memories⁷¹ – when she described how she saw the hosting of weddings and functions – enabling other families to “form their own family narratives and connection to here.”⁷² This connection in turn renews Woodlands’ chances for survival – “Brides we have today will say that, I got married and, you know, it will go on from the next generation.”⁷³ Then there are those whose ancestors worked the estate.⁷⁴ Moreover, members of the public sometimes simply present Woodlands with colonial objects they want preserved at the Estate for their own family.⁷⁵

This is one of the other reasons why people contribute to Woodlands – they feel a further personal connection. They feel that their own history connects with Woodlands even if not directly. Perhaps their own family history was something like the Riddell’s or they have a farming or a Waikato connection. For example, Roger used to be a farm labourer, and Rod Wise explicitly stated that his peat farming background underpinned his interest in Woodlands even before any interview questions had been asked.⁷⁶

The other great attraction for those who give of themselves for Woodlands is a conflation of ‘an interest in history’ with age. The vast majority of participants (and Woodlands volunteers) are retired, and several participants spoke of how reaching a stage in their own lives made them more interested in history. In his initial interview John Bridgman said outright “As you get older, you always get more and more interested in the history.”⁷⁷ He reversed the

⁷¹ “And um, and it’s wonderful how we use it as a wedding and function venue so people have a um, a really cool memories of the place, so it becomes a um happy memory in a sense as well. And also, hopefully it will carry on from generation to generation. Brides we have today will say that, I got married and, you know, it will go on from the next generation.” Interview with Jacquie, p. 2.

⁷² Interview with Jacquie, p. 5

⁷³ Interview with Jacquie, p. 2

⁷⁴ First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, pp. 8-9 of transcript.

⁷⁵ “And we do have people turn up with objects... they wanted to preserve... they said they wanted it to be part of here because there was this history connection (with family).” Interview with Jacquie, p. 11.

⁷⁶ “I’ve been involved with developing up to 1000 acres of peat, um since 1967, all of which is now high-producing dairy farm land. So I’ve got that interest. I have the interest of, for 18 years, being on Council.” Interview with Rod, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Interview with John Bridgman, p. 2. In addition to Irene's comments, other references to age and similar comments include Arthur on the age of volunteers “But we were all of a similar age group. We were – most of these people, you know, they’re all now 80 or less... A bad year last year. A lot of these people died last year.” – Interview with Arthur, pp. 11-12. Here is Jacquie on the interest of retirees and the inverse – “Most people my age [late 30’s 40’s-I was not going to ask] are busy doing other things and they haven’t the time to be involved with the voluntary work.” Interview with Jacquie, p. 3, 8, and 1 respectively. Compare with this excerpt from the morning dissemination meeting: “Roger: ... in a manner that’s sort of attractive and interesting to the, to the bulk of the people of today, and I know my next door neighbour, she’s 88. She thinks the place is

statement to make a related point at the first dissemination meeting.⁷⁸ At the same event Allan Morse's statement "As the years pass by, with age, you get more interest in the past. I'm sure of that" met with widespread agreement.⁷⁹ The discussion categorised these insights as a response on the part of older generations to the ever-increasing rate of technological change and took the response of the young to the same forces (uptake of that technology and an apparent disinterest in the past) as cause for concern.⁸⁰ This eventually turned the discussion toward dissatisfaction with the present, disgust at the lack of respect shown to teachers by the young, and distress at a lack of kindness to animals and at the growing distance between town and country.⁸¹ Of note here were concerns about young people not knowing enough history these days, and how history is not given enough weight in the school curriculum. For example "...with school kids though there that, that's much more a part of the curriculum, that they've gotta have some history lessons." and "History does not come into the curriculum at all."⁸² These opinions have much in common with some outlined by Wineburg who described

lovely. My son who's 40 wouldn't even bother coming out here. John: Yes. Arthur: Yeah. Roger: ... and that's the difference." First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 6 of transcript.

⁷⁸ "John: You sort of find though there that the younger you are, the less interest there is in history eh?" First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 5 of transcript.

⁷⁹ After Allan's words: "Roger: Yes. Irene: Because you don't want to go forward, you want to go back, – that's why Allan. Allan: Possibly. If that's it, I don't know. Male Participant 1: When you've got more past and less future. [laughter] Allan: Well yeah, yeah. Irene: That's what I was trying to say. Allan: Your past dominates your thinking." First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, pp. 41-42 of transcript.

⁸⁰ In her own interview, Prue had explicitly connected the present rate of technological change, concern for the young and history: "Well because they, you know, you don't fix your toaster now when it breaks down – you just chuck it away and go and buy another one. And um you know if something goes wrong and you ring, you ring someone who knows how to fix it and you know what I mean, you don't fi-... I still think, oh I could fix that. But I don't know that they do, think that that's – I think some, I know that it's kind of a bit vague, but I do think it's got a connection to um, to, to history and um you know [Inaudible 32.58] make the connection. [laughs]". Interview with Prue, p. 10. Cf. with views of the social turn to history in the face of increasing change expressed in the Chapter Six section on *The Social Turn: implications for the Historical Discipline*.

⁸¹ First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 39 of transcript. For a flavour of this aspect of the conversation: "(1) Roger: .. I think we've gotta do: bridge that gap between those...Jacquie: Yes. Roger: ... who do have some sort of interest and the younger ones who really don't. And we have to make it more interesting probably. (2) Irene: How do we get the community, the greater community to connect with Woodlands and to understand? (3) Irene: "...the gap between the rural people and the urban...So somewhere along the line the clock has to be turned back, values – the children today have got no values." John: No. Irene: Can, can we help them by trying to instil some history? (4) Roger but I think they're [the young] going to less and less look back because they're always being told to look forward and, you know, embrace the new technology. Well, not look back and embrace the history. (5) Allan: I think the change of – the pace of change has accelerated so much now though. It's unbelievable but you throw everything away." First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting.

⁸² First Woodlands Dissemination, John Bridgman p.5 and Irene p. 36 respectively.

both the perennial nature of that general complaint, and the questionable basis of that opinion.⁸³

The essence of Woodlands' use of history: passing on a particular past

While this view of history's appeal as we age might seem common sense,⁸⁴ the way many participants talked about their involvement with Woodlands made Woodlands sound like an oasis of stability from which they drew personal refreshment.⁸⁵ And that 'buzz' was linked to *sharing* Woodlands.⁸⁶ The learning history process drew out so many ideas for sharing Woodlands' heritage (and implicit conceptions of what 'history' is); for example, festivals (more Glyndebourne than Glastonbury),⁸⁷ annual demonstrations of old skills and equipment, a lecture series, a greater emphasis on recording personal oral histories and presenting them. Another suggestion was the production of a large definitive book specifically on Woodlands and its 'impact on the Waikato' – or rather Woodlands' significance in the development of the Waikato, even emphasising the community events centre aspect or becoming more of a museum of farming in the Waikato.⁸⁸ Of such a book Jacquie remarked: "You can pick it up and take it home and pass it round and, you know, so that becomes in your hands, part of um, part of the community – which in a sense it would be like leaving the place and going out."⁸⁹

Whatever the specific suggestion, time and again participants spoke of their desire to reach out and share Woodlands; and especially to educate the young – Jill: "... hm, so to, to encourage people to come back, to show children..."⁹⁰ The

⁸³ Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. vii-xiv.

⁸⁴ Yet 1). This was being said to a 'young' historian – who naturally knows plenty of other young people interested in history and 2). That point might only be 'commonsense' because I did not interview any of the perhaps millions of people who do not care even when they are older. 'Common sense' can be an excuse to get one's way without evidence.

⁸⁵ For example: "Jill: ... a lot of us, we love to be down here cos it's a bit of a place that you can come and relax and forget about everything else and..." Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 4 of transcript.

"I was *very* busy, but I got a lot of pleasure out of it [working at Woodlands]." "And it probably helped me ... when I came to town [after retiring], I probably would have been a little bit lost without Woodlands." Interview with Arthur, pp. 4 and 11. Also "And it's just, it just feels really great to be, to be part, a living part of, of um some history of a cool old building in the Waikato." Interview with Prue, p. 5.

⁸⁶ For example: "...and when you get people that come to visit the place and they enjoy the history, it's I really, I feel it's quite a buzz." Interview with Irene, p 8.

⁸⁷ Roger during the First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 30 of transcript.

⁸⁸ Roger, First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 30 of transcript.

⁸⁹ Interview with Jacquie, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁰ Jill, Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 31 of transcript.

point of Woodlands for participants came back to *educating* – sharing the idea of Woodlands with the wider community. This would often be for points of wider social significance such as: addressing a distance between rural and urban people that was perceived to be widening and promoting the apparently threatened values ascribed to earlier times. These efforts to foster community were often underlined by fear at the prospect of the loss of that history, those apparently ancestral values, and identity.⁹¹ Cultural survival is the point of so much of the history and heritage effort at Woodlands. Expressions of this fundamental urge to share Woodlands often took the form of reflections on history in general, and historiographical issues – or led to them, or were justified by them. These expressions are also evidence that participants engaged with the *learning history approach*.

Engagement with the Learning History Approach

This section argues that participants engaged robustly with the learning history approach. The learning history approach facilitated the discussion of historiographical issues, including problematisation of their own organisation's productions. The approach drew out a great deal about historical consciousness: how those involved viewed history, what they thought history is and thoughts on significant concepts such as authenticity, narrative, and nostalgia.

Participants made dozens of statements reflecting on Woodlands' use of its history, and history more generally. There was discussion about the future of history. The dissemination meetings successfully created conversations and facilitated both agreement and disagreement. Participant responses are significant as both evidence of how a small sample of New Zealanders relate to history, and as proof of the potential of the learning history approach.

The examples of engagement with the learning history approach that follow are grouped into two broad categories: statements and debates. The 'statements' include articulations and implied understandings about history, with a few of these covered at length. The 'debates' include views on the future appeal of history, the purpose of Woodlands and the learning history approach itself. Each of these sections includes a presentation and discussion of the engagement of participants, emphasising what each of these reveal about the learning history

⁹¹ See Chapter Four, footnotes 70 and 73.

approach and what each point has to say for public history and the historical discipline.

Understandings of history

This section outlines what the learning history approach revealed about participants' understandings of history. The approach drew out a great deal on how participants thought about history. What also came through unintentionally, and the clearer for it, was what participants considered 'historic'. European castles came up several times, and participants generally emphasised things 'old'.⁹² In statements that reinforced the emphasis on time past, participants offered many ideas that were essentially about furthering the restoration and preservation work of Woodlands.

Yet several participants also seemed well aware of the problems inherent in their efforts – Jacquie problematized the authenticity of objects (in terms of period, actual association with Woodlands etc.)⁹³ Jacquie also went on to confront the first dissemination meeting with the nostalgic nature of some of the attitudes expressed by Woodlanders.⁹⁴ Regardless of this awareness, there is a fundamental conception of history-as-experience at Woodlands. When Irene said “... *it's just history looking at you*” and that she wanted Woodlands to “to bring back some of the history”, she was, even if only rhetorically, presenting a vision of history we can sense directly in the present rather than only imagine.⁹⁵ This statement is about more than just educating others and sharing Woodlands – it reveals what Seixas drew from Rüsen as an implicitly 'traditional' view of the purpose of history.⁹⁶ That Irene expressed a 'traditional' aspect of her historical consciousness is not hugely significant by itself to the historical discipline as a whole. Yet it *is* significant that the learning history approach drew many

⁹² For example: “because when we go to England and we travel through Europe, what do we do?...We go and look at, we go and look at the historic sites, the castles...” on Interview with John Dobson, p. 8. Or “historical camellias... They are historical because they were probably planted back in the late 1870s... There are some very old camellias.” Interview with Irene, p. 12.

⁹³ See Chapter Four, footnotes 41 and 57.

⁹⁴ “Jacquie: It's almost nostalgic though. Allan: It is nostalgic yeah. Roger: [laughs] Jacquie: Because remembering the good bits but not the bad bits. First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 37 of transcript.

⁹⁵ Irene on why Woodlands is special – Interview with Irene, p. 8, and then in reference to Woodlands people dressing in period costume – First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 12 of transcript.

⁹⁶ Rüsen, p. 71.

articulations of the nature of history from participants – and captured those reflections for analysis.

There was another pertinent excerpt on perceiving history-as-experience – specifically how smell evokes the historic. Smell is often overlooked (our very language emphasizes sight) in considerations of the historic. Yet participants highlighted the smell of Woodlands in comparison with similar sites:

Prue: Hm, and I'll tell you what. I know it's only a silly little thing, but this place, a lot of those places they kind of smell musty and [laughter]

Mark: Oh you're so right!

Jill: I know [Inaudible 1.02.54]

Prue: But it doesn't here. It smells real.

Jill: That's what I said to people.⁹⁷

The participants went on to say the smell of Woodlands lent support to their practice of keeping the building open seven days a week. The fact that participants commented on smell, and how it made the Homestead more real, is noteworthy in itself. And while I do not doubt they are right about keeping the Homestead open, a further conversation on smell came up during this research. By chance I met a person from Ecomist in the course of their work while at Woodlands.⁹⁸ This person mentioned *deliberately* selecting Rosemary scent for 'historic' places.⁹⁹ This selection complicates the agency expressed by the participants in their comments on their response to the smell of Woodlands.¹⁰⁰

Many more perceptions of history were articulated and a selection are described here as evidence of engagement with the learning history approach. Some of these expressions of historical consciousness were straightforward and

⁹⁷ Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 51 of transcript.

⁹⁸ Ecomist is a fragrance/hygiene company that has the contract for Woodlands. Details on this individual are deliberately vague here because while this person freely chatted with me, I did not realise the potential significance of their statements at the time – so they did not get the opportunity to sign consent forms to participate in this research.

⁹⁹ Apt, given Rosemary's storied role – Ophelia: 'There's rosemary, that's for remembrance; pray, love, remember.' Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, Act IV, Scene V. *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, (Mumbai: Wilco McLaren, 2007), p. 589. See also: Dr Dee: "Rosemary... that's for remembering" Sandman 5, page 12, panel 2 Page 149 *The Annotated Sandman* Volume One edited, with an introduction and notes by Leslie S. Klinger. (New York: Vertigo, 2011)

¹⁰⁰ The phenomenon of experiential marketing is outlined on Ecomist's own site. Ecomist <http://www.ecomist.co.nz/content/Fragrancing---Odour-Control/32.aspx> [Accessed 30 April 2013]. Disney uses smell to heighten sensation in its parks – see: Mark David Jones and J. Jeff Kober, *Lead with Your Customer: Transform Culture and Brand Into World-Class Excellence* (American Society for Training and Development, 2010), p. 144.

others were sophisticated. In wanting people to appreciate ‘the past’ several participants articulated an awareness of just how different things used to be. They also implied how different things could have been, demonstrating a contingent view of history.¹⁰¹ Jacquie laconically expressed this insight: “Yeah, it’s just different for their time” in reference to the sheer distance and foreignness of the past from the present.¹⁰² Allan expressed much the same idea.¹⁰³ Yet most participants (including Jacquie) emphasised history as connection.¹⁰⁴ The learning history approach also drew out visions of history not just as connection with the daily experience of past lives (e.g. personal, family, social), but also with the public dramas of the past. For example, in the first dissemination meeting participants discussed a work of history by an academic, *Makers of Fortune*.¹⁰⁵ In this book, and participants’ discussion, Woodlands featured as the catalyst for banking collapses and ministerial resignations (i.e. colonial, economic, political history) – subjects the participants said had seemingly perennial currency.¹⁰⁶

Yet even accounting for the articulation of different aspects of what constitutes history – such as that presented by *Makers of Fortune* – participants largely emphasised connections to the personal and social as history. Jacquie used the word “narrative” when discussing both Woodlands’ own history and for encouraging visitors to build their own narrative of connection with Woodlands.¹⁰⁷ Jacquie was also one of several participants to conceive of history

¹⁰¹ “Roger: They just don’t, haven’t a clue a lot of people – especially out of farming circles. They just um, they always think it was grass and you know farms, but [laughs] John B: Hm, and all the drains were there sort of thing, don’t they? [laughter].” First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 3 of transcript.

¹⁰² Interview with Jacquie, p. 7.

¹⁰³ ‘...this era [the period Woodlands commemorates is] gone ... we’ve sort of – unfortunately time has distanced us from, from anybody that’s familiar with it. And so somehow and another we have to make it interesting and, and um we’ll never make it relative cos it’s, it’s a bygone, it’s a different era totally’ First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 31 of transcript.

¹⁰⁴ For example “Jacquie:...after reading your document I noticed that there was a real importance [Inaudible 57.24] people to preserve the European colonial history, and of course that gave people a sense of place and connection to the land.” First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 27 of transcript. “There’s a lot of family that turn up and say, ‘I have a connection to this place.’” “Why is it important to me? Um, I guess it keeps it alive and hopefully pass onto my children as well, that they’ll have a connection.” Interview with Jacquie, pp. 2, 7.

¹⁰⁵ Stone.

¹⁰⁶ First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, pp. 14-19 of transcript. John Bridgman had also discussed the events covered in Stone’s book in his own interview and made the very point: “...scandals there, but there was financial strife back in those days like there is these days” – John Bridgman, p 2. See also: Stone, *Makers of Fortune*.

¹⁰⁷ For example “...so people would get their own personal connection and narrative to the place” and “what we’re talking about is like the narrative of this place isn’t it?” Interview with Jacquie, pp. 8 and 13. I never said the word during her interview. See also Interview with Jacquie, pp. 4 and 6.

as the means by which to reach, retain and represent memories – that is to say, oral history.¹⁰⁸ Prue described how she had found history boring at school but as she has grown older she has come to love history. History has become about connecting with her origins and the stories of her ancestors.¹⁰⁹ She relished relating a tale of her aunt banging away at possums with a shot gun and stated that it was stories like this that visitors to the homestead related to: “People love to hear a story like that.”¹¹⁰ It was this personal, family and social kind of history that participants wanted to save when they emphasised the need to record history by preserving the memories of elder generations.¹¹¹ “Irene: That’s the important part is the old stories.”¹¹² That the participants saw these stories as conveying values and mores, entwined with Woodlands’ use of history, has been addressed at length above. What is significant for assessing the learning history approach is that participants talked explicitly about their understanding of ‘story’ as a tool. Participants emphasised history as stories; because stories are remembered.

Irene: “...you’ve gotta tell the story.”

Jacquie: “Hm. Because everyone remembers a story don’t they? You go somewhere, you can have someone talk to you, all this information, but if they tell you one story, what do you remember?”

Allan: “That’s right.”

Jacquie: “They remember the story.”¹¹³

These words do more than show history-as-story imagined as a tool. Here these participants were saying exactly what kind of tool story is and why to use it. History as story has immediacy and relevance. Anecdotes, such as that of Prue’s Aunt’s possum skirmish, humanise the past and make it more accessible.¹¹⁴ Further calls to strengthen Woodlands’ appeal also revealed a sophisticated view of history: John Dobson called for contextualising Woodlands in the wider world

¹⁰⁸ “...narrative recordings by older generations with their memories and events – I’d like to see that.” First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 27 of transcript.

¹⁰⁹ “When I went to school I didn’t study history because I thought it was boring... now I just, I just love history.” Interview with Prue, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Prue, p. 5.

¹¹¹ See Chapter Four, footnote 104.

¹¹² First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 28 of transcript.

¹¹³ First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 2 of transcript.

¹¹⁴ ‘And the story is more effective at conveying intangibles than any other form of communication.’ Kleiner and Roth, p. section 1, page 15.

by bringing in other exhibits and showcasing “...what else was happening in the world at that period of time?”¹¹⁵

The significance of these statements in light of the research questions

The statements above are significant in light of the research questions. Each of the above reveals that the learning history approach did draw out and capture such thoughts. That finding is significant for several reasons. First, because it is proof that the learning history approach did that much. Second, the various ‘agreeing discussions’ described above and especially the debates below demonstrate that the learning history approach facilitated the capture and re-presentation of the thoughts of participants for analysis and discussion *by the participants* – proof that the learning history approach can facilitate the discussion of the nuts and bolts of historiography outside the Academy. In addition, the point above reveals the learning history approach enables participants to discuss historiographical issues for their own purposes. It also offers greater agency to participants than many existing approaches to history. Finally these quotes are significant in themselves as indicators of historical consciousness and proof of how participants relate to history and the past.

The thoughts of ‘the public’ on history and their historical consciousness have been sought and discussed by Rosenzweig, Thelen, Ashton, Hamilton, Lowenthal and Wineburg among others.¹¹⁶ The findings of this case will be discussed in light of that literature in the discussion chapter. Here it is enough to note the apparent range of historical consciousness observed at Woodlands. The ‘traditional’ level was well represented as in Irene’s comments above.¹¹⁷ The progressive narrative of Woodlands from swamp to productive dairyland is an example of ‘exemplary’ historical consciousness.¹¹⁸ Some comments such as John Bridgman’s on lack of knowledge have aspects of the ‘critical’.¹¹⁹ Jackie’s

¹¹⁵ John Dobson is a Financial Advisor and consultant who was called in by the WDC to prepare a report on the value and viability of Woodlands. He now volunteers his expertise for Woodlands. Learning History Interview with John Dobson, 19 July 2011. p. 5 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

¹¹⁶ Including but not limited to: Angvik and Borries; Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, pp. 15–34; Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’, pp. 35–43.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter Four, footnote 95.

¹¹⁸ For example ‘Through hard work and determination, approximately 27,000 acres of swamp at Woodlands had been drained and reclaimed as farmland by 1902’ from Martin and Martin, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ See John Bridgman’s comments: “...that until you start putting more things on, you think you know it all eh, [mild laugh] but there’s only a fraction that you actually know.” First Woodlands

problematism of authenticity and nostalgia while simultaneously emphasising connection and the future touches the ‘genetic’ historical consciousness.¹²⁰

There are further consciousness-revealing quotes that bear examination as sophisticated views of history and expressions of historical consciousness. John Dobson went further than his call to put Woodlands in context. He spoke passionately against the paucity of built-up, interpreted, supported heritage efforts at historically significant sites in the Waikato – and called for the Waikato to do more with its history:

What is Hamilton known for? What is the Waikato known for? I don’t hear the word ‘culture’ mentioned much. I don’t see the word ‘art’. I don’t see the word ‘heritage’ ... [of the Hamilton Gardens, as one of the regions’ best features] The theme gardens there are world-leading... [But] They’re not historic. It’s not our heritage... Where’s our history? ...So look I may have got it wrong and I’ve lived in the Waikato for 55 years, but I just think that we’ve got to celebrate that sort of thing and do more of it.¹²¹

In doing so, John articulated an identity (Waikato), notions of history and heritage (sites like Woodlands but even better), and the purpose of history and heritage in relation to that identity. John Dobson and others described the situation in the Waikato as a *lack* – not of a past, but of major efforts to show that past in the present and to do so in a way that speaks to identity, and occupies a mental space akin to ‘culture’ and ‘art’.¹²²

Caution also appears in the words of John Bridgman. John Bridgman made a profound comment about what can happen with history, and what is so important about ‘getting all the history down in writing’.

So there’s something there [i.e. the Homestead building] ...you can go and really preserve and we’re hoping to do a lot more work on, on the history itself – we’ve done a small history about five or six years ago. They said, oh, we’ve done the history now, and I said, no you’ve only just started. ... So ah yeah, getting all the history down in writing is is the main thing really, otherwise as each each generation goes, more information goes too.

Dissemination Meeting, pp. 2-3 of transcript, and see Chapter Four, footnote 124. See also Seixas, ‘The Progress of Knowledge of the Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 145-158.

¹²⁰ See Chapter Four, footnotes 41 and 57.

¹²¹ Interview with John Dobson, p. 8. From context, it was not that John thought nothing significant had ever happened here – but that not enough has been retained/preserved, nor to a high enough standard. And for all that there are people making impressive efforts at this throughout the Waikato, I agree with John’s main point. E.g. The State Highway runs through Rangariri (although there is a project afoot to make more of this site), redoubts are ploughed under, Paterangi is farmland, Pootatau Te Wherowhero’s mausoleum was lost, and these are only a few examples.

¹²² “Roger:...how little we make of our history here” – he contrasted Waikato with Dunedin and England. First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. of transcript.

And yeah the people left behind, whether they have a licence to create their own history. It can happen I think eh? ... Yeah. And ah there's nobody to verify it there or if it is verified and the person thinks of it, oh no, that was right, I got it wrong eh?¹²³

Here John Bridgman distinguished between the work of preservation and the work of 'history' itself. He emphasised the notions of historical accuracy and validity through verification. Another significant thing here is John stated his awareness of the difference between 'history' (the representation of the past) and 'the past' (the objective irretrievable actuality). John's sophisticated historical consciousness is right there in his 'eh?' These words indicate John's awareness of the possibility of different representations, as well as highlight his desire to control the discourse, or at least create a sound starting point, by publishing a definitive history that respects and makes use of living memory while it lasts. In doing so, he also implied what he thinks goes into making good history – verifiable historical accuracy. In a self-deprecating and self-aware comment to the dissemination meeting on the need to do more history (his example was interpretation panels), John underscored his perception of history-as-knowing: "...that until you start putting more things on, you think you know it all eh, [mild laugh] but there's only a fraction that you actually know."¹²⁴

It is significant for the discipline that the learning history approach facilitates the expression, capture and analysis of such thought. John's thoughts indicate both a perception of history as a discipline trying to make verifiable and definitive records as well as a view of the point of history to definitively record, and thereby frame discourse. John's views on historical accuracy will be considered further in the Discussion chapter.

The Debates

All of the statements and shared understandings above demonstrate the efficacy of the learning history approach, yet it was in disagreement that the learning history approach revealed more of its potential. The first of the disagreements discussed here was an indirect debate on the future of the appeal of Woodlands' history. It centred on very different opinions on the same subject expressed in individual interviews. The link between age and one's feelings towards 'history' was

¹²³ Interview with John Bridgman, p. 2.

¹²⁴ First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, pp. 2-3 of transcript.

contested and/or complicated by several participants. I presented George Dingle's version of this view in the learning history document. I chose to do that because the idea needed to be presented – and I also knew that George would not be there, whereas all the other people who had spoken to the point and disagreed would be there to debate for themselves. George advanced the argument that as ways of life pass, they become more interesting because they become totally strange. Essentially he suggested that places like Woodlands would become more interesting to young people.¹²⁵

The same page of the learning history presented statements from Prue that supported George's opinion. As far as Prue was concerned:

We've got to let the next generation and the one after that know how things used to be. ... You can always get a kid's attention by talking about that kind of stuff... because it's so far different from the world that they know... So yeah. That's a really *good use of history* [Italics added].¹²⁶

Other participants thought differently.¹²⁷ Essentially, while Woodlands insiders felt that Woodlands represented something significant about settler farming and the life of the Waikato, some also felt that the vast majority of people were not interested in history, and that the situation would only get worse. Allan Morse said the following during his initial individual interview in response to my question “What is the significance of Woodlands today?”:

It's a touchstone with history... it's becoming more and more irrelevant as newer and newer generations come through because they have no, very little concept of the past – they have very little contact with the past, so they have very little interest in the past, and I think that's the major challenge that the Trust faces.¹²⁸

Allan linked this view with his opinion that modern personal consumer technologies and lifestyles, the increased rate of change and so on were factors

¹²⁵ George Dingle was suggested by Jill McGuire (contact person for this case) as an expert in Waikato rural history with a knowledge of Woodlands. “I think they [historical efforts] are going to get more and more interesting as time goes on. People my age are fairly familiar with horses and carts and horse-drawn farm implements, and the slower pace of life. So that's all familiar to my generation but, give it another couple of generations and it's all going to be totally strange. And it will get more interesting as time goes on. In that respect it's certainly worth preserving.” Learning History Interview with George Dingle, 21 July 2011. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording by same.

¹²⁶ Interview with Prue, pp 9-10. From context the goodness of this use was probably meant more as a means of ‘switching children on to history’ than as a mode of engaging with an Other, but it could have been both.

¹²⁷ For example, John Bridgman's comments on age, interest and the need for history lessons for the young. See Chapter Four, footnotes 77, 78 and 82.

¹²⁸ See page 311, the Woodlands learning history document, Appendix V.

that ensure that new generations had little concept of the past. As far as Allan was concerned the very same reason – distance from the past – that George and Prue saw as increasing interest in the past would be the reason for an ever-increasing *lack* of interest.

Participants had in fact gently argued this very point earlier in the meeting: when John Bridgman expressed his view of how one’s interest in history increased with age, how school kids were bored by history and needed history lessons. Jacquie immediately raised how excited and engaged the pupils of Gordonton School were when visiting Woodlands “...because it was like, they were seeing things that they don’t normally see”...[further polite disagreement]... “So the house was pretty alive.”¹²⁹ What is of significance here is that the learning history approach drew out reflection, focused discussion and allowed discussion of disagreement – each in themselves of interest to the historical discipline.¹³⁰ What is more, being able to discuss these issues in this way was of benefit to the organisation.¹³¹

This debate also speaks to issues in public history and the wider historical discipline. These different views still led to the same desire to educate and share Woodlands, and what it represents, with the wider community – the use of history for present purposes. How and why Woodlands uses its history has been covered at length above, but what matters here is that the ‘appeal of history’ was discussed as a present problem. The ‘negative’ views above contrast with the observations on Anzac commemorations and a wider social turn toward ‘history’ noted by both Glenn Holmes in the Southwell case and Graeme Davison among others.¹³²

Further studies on the exact nature of this social turn would be of interest: What are its nuances and nature? How different is it in different places? How might the historical discipline respond? For instance, why might ‘the public’ in general be fascinated by the Anzac legend but turned off by farming histories? Is it because Anzac explicitly links with foundational national myth-making? Larger studies would make it possible to explore such questions. There have been several

¹²⁹ First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 5 of transcript.

¹³⁰ Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, pp. 15–34; Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’, pp. 35–43.

¹³¹ Roth and Kleiner, p. 44.

¹³² See Chapter Three, footnote 106, and Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’, p. 81.

studies that examine how ‘the public’, particularly adolescents, relate to the past in recent decades, and no end of work on History Wars in developed nations.¹³³ Longitudinal works asking similar questions of the same populations so as to track the intensity of interest over time might prove worthwhile further research directions. Studies of public engagement with ‘history’ itself as a historical phenomenon could also prove fruitful. How does it ebb and flow? What affects it? Scholarship would be enriched by studies that describe and analyse when and how a peak of interest occurs: is it in response to events such as the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb, or when living memory is about to disappear? Two or three generations after the events?¹³⁴ When it is sufficiently remote, exotic or Other, or when connections with the present are especially palpable and explicit? How the phenomenon interacts with nationalism or is affected by rapidly advancing technology and contemporary connectedness might also be worthwhile future research directions.¹³⁵

The learning history approach can be of use in addressing another issue raised by Thomson – composure.¹³⁶ This was seen in the debate above. From his longitudinal interview work with ANZAC veterans, Thomson described how individuals come to compose their own narratives in relation to wider social ones. Thomson's participants adjusted their histories according to what they have come to expect others to expect – participants performed so as to essentially hide their original thinking and fit their thought to what was expected of them.¹³⁷ In the debate described above, the learning history approach worked around the issue of composure by being indirect – discussing the ‘what’ of history uses in order to also hear the implicit ‘why’. By focusing conversation (and efforts at composure) on the use of history, the approach drew out implicit views about history itself – what constitutes history, the purpose of history and the nature of peoples’ interaction with it. Focusing conversation on the more concrete made it possible

¹³³ Angvik and Borries; Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 190; *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup; Curthoys and Docker, pp. 220–237; McCarthy, p. 190; Munz, pp. 13–16; Conrad, p. 5, throughout.

¹³⁴ Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’; Thomson, pp. 188–204.

¹³⁵ See for example: Roberto Rabel, ‘War History as Public History’, in *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2001), pp. 55–73 (pp. 68–71).

¹³⁶ For a detailed explanation of ‘composure’, see Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 5–11.

¹³⁷ Thomson, pp. 18, 22, 207–215, especially 214–215.

to reveal how participants thought without always having to ask them directly. This often avoided the problem of people either composing their answers, or just being uncomfortable with thinking about their thinking. At the same time, the learning history approach also did not prevent participants from metacognition.¹³⁸

The discomfort that can be caused by disagreements or asking people to think in ways they might not have before, means that there is a need for sensitive interviewing – both at the tactical level of an individual facilitator’s actions, and the more strategic level of methodology. More importantly for the discipline, discomfort and disagreement in the interviews underscores the value of finding new and better means to help draw out such disagreement and discomfort in ways that allow people to discuss them effectively – practices that enable people to become comfortable talking about uncomfortable things. From this case it is clear that the learning history approach is an effective process for reaching people in such ways. Historians, especially public historians, need to be ever mindful of their audience and how to reach them. One of Roger's comments highlighted the straightforward sense of this. Immediately after John Bridgman and Jacquie’s gentle disagreement above, Roger turned the conversation with the following comments: “I think what it comes down to is we have to market the product that we have here in a manner that’s sort of attractive and interesting to ... the bulk of the people of today.”¹³⁹ Applying the same thought to the work of the historical discipline suggests not that historians should stop doing history and start doing heritage, but to add to the discipline ways of doing history that work with the ‘bulk of the people of today’ in ways that speak to historiography – the learning history approach, for example.¹⁴⁰

The Debates of the Second Dissemination Meeting

The learning history document can be imagined as a researcher holding up a mirror made of the participants’ own words. At the second Woodlands dissemination meeting Ken Holmes took exception to what was presented and out of this came critiques and validations of the process. In a passionate start to the meeting, Ken critiqued the document, the process itself and the notion of

¹³⁸ For examples, see Chapter Four, footnotes 85, 91 and especially 107.

¹³⁹ First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 6 of transcript.

¹⁴⁰ The critiques leveled against the historical discipline suggest that the idealism of such approaches is worthwhile – see Chapter One, section *The results of the ‘History Wars’*.

Woodlands emphasising itself as a kind of museum of Waikato Pākehā rural identity as raised by the document. Ken's insightful critiques, and the responses to them, further revealed what the learning history approach could bring to public history.

Ken was unhappy that quotes had been presented verbatim.¹⁴¹ He felt that he had been portrayed as rambling and inarticulate.¹⁴² In the transcript excerpt below I explained some of the reasons why I had used verbatim quotes. But of far more interest for determining the potential of the learning history process was how the *other participants* began explaining and defending the presentation of the learning history document:

Ken: ..whatwhatwhatwhat are you gonna do with this Mark?¹⁴³

Mark: ...This for me, the academic side of it, was about how other people think about history, people who are not historians. They're people who actually care about history but aren't academically or professionally involved, what does it mean to you, what do you do with it, what is – and that's also why I recorded the quotes as real quotes, because it's meant to be showing how you're thinking, and and one of the ways to do that is... Oh no no, I know, you're, yeah...

Ken: I don't want anybody to know how my mind works. [laughter]

Mark: But that's the really interesting thing.

Ken: Or bad grammar and all that.

Mark: That's the thing. It was real.

Jill: It was real.

Mark: When I read it, I thought wow, Ken's having an insight or he's saying something intelligent, even if you're thinking it doesn't sound good.

Ken: No I even said it there, I was rambling.

Jill: Yeah, but you were thinking aloud,

¹⁴¹ In contrast, the morning group had laughed about it: "Roger: as to your report, you've covered all sides, you know, from management of volunteers, past relatives of the family and so on. I thought it was good. Mark: Thank you. I'm really glad you thought so Ro-, I mean that that was the idea. Roger: Hm, well it was good, good sending it out via email, because I could browse through it beforehand and see all my ums and ahs. [laughs] Mark: Everybody ums. Roger: Don't they just? Yes you...Mark: Yeah we do. Arthur: If you listen carefully, you find that comes out with pretty well anybody." First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 3 of transcript.

¹⁴² "Ken: Now I know for some reason, and you'll have to explain to me... Mark: Happy to. Ken: ...that all our ums and ahs and everything are in there... Mark: Sure. Ken: ...and I don't understand that..." Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 1 of transcript.

¹⁴³ The "whatwhatwhatwhat" has been retained here to give a sense of the intensity of Ken's expression.

Mark: And I said – yeah, that’s it.

Prue: When I, when I read it, I could hear each person talking.

Ken: Yeah?

Jill: Yeah.

Prue: You know, and the way Christine...

June: That’s definitely Christine.

Prue: But I didn’t actually realise it was Christine Newman to start with, because I didn’t know her married name, but yeah I was like, oh yeah of course that’s her, that’s how she talks.¹⁴⁴

...

Jill: She’s blunt to the point...

...

Prue: Absolutely. Absolutely.

Mark: That’s why I did it that way.

Ken: Oh well, yeah I see what you mean Prue.

Prue: Yeah and um that’s right, I could hear each person saying that and thinking oh, and and Dad – and I was like, God Dad, couldn’t you have said something more interesting than that [laughter] but he didn’t, you know, and so on. So there you go you know. ...

Mark: Well that’s it. Sometimes when you read it again, you realise, you think about the depth of it. It’s yeah, interesting-, great.

Bob: When you see Irene’s boat, you look at some of her comments, you don’t seem so bad at all! [laughter]

Mark: Quite. We all do...

Ken: I read Irene’s and I thought, well by jove, you know we’ve got someone there who really knows what, you know...this show is all about.

Jill: Well I enjoy listening to you Ken. I know you um and ah, but so do I. But I... what you say is interesting, so don’t denigrate what you’ve said as not being.. that’s how you are. [laughs]

Ken: I’m just embarrassed at when, you know I use bad grammar and I ramble off.

Jill: But you’re thinking aloud, you’re not rambling. Look at it differently.

Prue: Yeah.

June: No, and you’re telling him...

¹⁴⁴ Christine Walton formerly worked as manager of Woodlands for eight years.

Prue: Yeah don't, don't take it personally.

June: No.

Ken: No, okay.¹⁴⁵

In this excerpt the *participants* took over addressing a challenge to the process. The participants themselves moderated the criticism and managed it without being overly defensive of the process – they ‘got’ it. The excerpt also highlights how they related to the representations of other peoples’ ‘real’ speech. This excerpt illustrates how the method both accommodated and addressed disagreement, and it validates this small aspect of how I executed the learning history process. The critical feedback was useful and expected. In the traditional learning history process, the validation stage comes after the dissemination meetings; in part to first confront and then work through the objections of prominent people - who often do not like how they come across in a learning history.¹⁴⁶ As it was, the meetings successfully disseminated the learning history document, drew out vigorous discussion and thought, and resulted in the validation of the process and much of the content of the document.

Ken had gone on to express confusion at the fact that the learning history document was... “not a history of Woodlands. It can't be because you couldn't write a history of Woodlands in that.”¹⁴⁷ Prue soon moved to clarify the situation – **Prue:** “...But I, my understanding wasn't that you were trying to write a history...” **Mark:** “No.” **Prue:** “...of Woodlands.” **Ken:** “No, no.” **Prue:** “What you were trying to do is, is find out the value of history sort of.”¹⁴⁸ Group discussion led Ken to state later in the meeting that “I think this is useful as a springboard... You can sort of develop around that Mark.”¹⁴⁹ In response to Ken's challenge to the learning history document and concept, several other participants spelt out their understandings:

¹⁴⁵ Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, pp. 54-56 of transcript.

¹⁴⁶ For example Roth and Kleiner, p. 57. For the learning history, verbatim quotes made sense – as outlined by Prue above. For the purposes of this thesis, I have usually edited quotes for brevity and readability.

¹⁴⁷ He went further “It doesn't seem to me – it's not a history of even of the homestead., there's big gaps as to why, thing is here as it is today, why we've got it here as a historic garden and a homestead.” Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 1 of transcript.

¹⁴⁸ Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 2 of transcript.

¹⁴⁹ Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 8 of transcript.

Ken: And your thesis is what, it's about...

Prue: The use of history.

Mark: The uses of history.

Jill: The uses of history.

Prue: Yeah.

Ken: The *uses* of history. Oh yeah.

June: That's pretty wide isn't it?

Mark: It is. It's – yeah.

Ken: And what use you're – we're making of it.

Mark: Yes.

Ken: To try and...

Jill: And why it's important.

Prue: Why it's important and how, how people use it.

Ken: Yeah, why it's important, yeah. And how we're hanging on to it, here in this way. Yeah, I see, I see what you're about.¹⁵⁰

Prue also critiqued the research process: as Tim did at Southwell, Prue queried how many 'negative' opinions I had heard.¹⁵¹ I was able to reply that I found one such person – but as the focus of this research was on 'the organisation' i.e. those people who self-identified as part of the case organisation, finding only one 'anti' opinion from someone who no longer self-identifies as such was merely of interest for this research, rather than necessary for any kind of balance. The excerpts and Prue's critique above serve as examples of how participants could challenge the researcher and each other in a constructive way through the learning history process.

¹⁵⁰ Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, pp. 59-60 of transcript.

¹⁵¹ "Prue: I also wondered about whether you should, should talk to somebody who thinks the place should, should have burnt to the ground or... Jill: Yeah." Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 3 of transcript. For how this issue was addressed in this research, please see Chapter Two, section on *Research design*, specifically footnote 10, and Kleiner and Roth, p. section 1, page 4, and especially section 6, page 4.

The process enabled the explanation and intercession that drew the tension out of the situation. Yet while the other participants brought Ken around to the learning history process, it is also significant for evaluating the learning history approach that Ken was neither ignored nor forced to change his mind.

Ken's third critique was of the portrayal in the learning history document of Woodlands as a place to tell to stories of the 'farming history of the Waikato':¹⁵²

...this thing is here as a garden and recreation centre for ah functions and stuff like that and that's the only way it can survive. It's struggling to do that. So it's not a museum. It's not a – it can't really do a lot about the history of the, of farming can it?¹⁵³

What is key here for assessing the learning history approach is that Ken articulated his view. The method drew that out. In his opposition, Ken indirectly expressed his view of the use of history at Woodlands. In further assessing the learning history, it is also significant than other participants had a completely different reaction. All others received the tone of the learning history document warmly – notably Jill McGuire. Beginning with an apparent realisation that some visitors did not “see us as being historical...”¹⁵⁴ Jill had an epiphany during the meeting. Jill went on to argue on several occasions for a greater and better use of history at Woodlands:

If we want to get people to appreciate the history, we've got to change the way we're doing things.” “We're too worried about making money to keep the place going. We've lost something in the historic side which is what interests most of us anyway.” “We're being so driven trying to keep ourselves afloat... That we've lost sight of why we're here...” “I like the bit about there's nowhere better to tell that story, and that brings me back to we're not doing that well at the moment.” “It's been good for me to listen to the start. It's clarified a few things in my mind that I knew were

¹⁵² The Learning History contained several statements that illuminated the following sentiment about the significance of Woodlands: “Ken: Because it represents the, the, the settlement and agricultural history. It encapsulates the really the farming history of the Waikato... Bob: The embryo of, of farming in the Waikato, yeah. And digging drains and that sort of thing.” See also pages 309, 310 and 311, Woodlands learning history document, Appendix V. Interview with Bob, Kath, Ken, and Tom, p. 18.

¹⁵³ Ken had prefaced his comment with: “...a homestead which, in my book, is not telling the story of farming in the Waikato because the Waikato is so vast. It's telling a bit of a story about peat land maybe. But that's a side issue because... And slightly later: “as far as I'm concerned it's still a wonderful place and ah and it is tremendous that it's here. But I think we're trying to make it out in – list – if you just read that, it seemed to me because we're all so wrapped up in it, the history of, of, of farming and stuff around here, we're trying to make this place into something it's not.” Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 1 of transcript.

¹⁵⁴ Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 34 of transcript.

important and had forgotten about. I don't know where to go from here, but [laughs] ...I think it's important we've got to relook at how we see things and...¹⁵⁵

In evaluating the learning history approach, Jill's reaction is significant as an indication of the validity of the document's tone. That the conception of Woodlands as an identity disseminator rang true for Jill makes that much clear. That Jill awoke to a different emphasis for Woodlands and a reconnection with her own interest highlights the emotional potential of the learning history approach – another point of note for considering the inclusion of the learning history approach in the historian's toolkit.

Jill embraced a greater emphasis on the history of Woodlands at the same time as Ken rejected it. There was actually a moment where they simultaneously answered the same question in a different way: [the group was discussing the viability of the idea, in light of the perceived failure of a farming history display at Field Days, New Zealand's showcase for all things agricultural]

Jill: So nobody's doing it successfully...

Bob: No.

Ken: Yeah, you're right.

Jill: ...so do you think we should, we should concentrate on what we do best...

Ken: Yeah.

June: [inaudible 32.02]

Jill: ...which is try to get educat-, educate...

Ken: Community social centre.

Jill: ...children on what it was like to live in a, a house or an estate in those...¹⁵⁶

They were both right. It is their organisation, and in discussing it like this, they indirectly said what their use of history means to them. At Woodlands the learning history approach enabled the articulation of thoughts, fostered discussion, changed a few perceptions and let others be. Yet the learning history approach is not about defending methodology or even directly changing minds. This research

¹⁵⁵ Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, pp. 34, 35, 37, 39, 50, 57 of transcript.

¹⁵⁶ Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 25 of transcript.

is about appraising what the learning history approach brings to the historical discipline. In these debates, participants had been able to reveal their minds in a way that could be discussed frankly. Here were people engaging with history, its use, worth and purpose. In discussing a subject close to their hearts, these participants revealed their own historical consciousness. In this, the learning history approach has something to offer public history and the discipline as a whole.

The significance of how Woodlands uses its history

History at Woodlands is about identity, community and belonging. I have argued that at Woodlands history is used as the *raison d'être* for preserving and sustaining Woodlands itself (and as an argument used to bolster the continued public funding of a community space). Yet history at Woodlands is about much more. Woodlands tells of a particular heritage in a particular way. This case highlights *how people make* 'history' for themselves.

The history celebrated at Woodlands largely silences some voices (Women's, Māori, Working-Class) and makes others (Rural, Middle-Class, Waikato, Pākehā) comfortable. Woodlands has become a kind of living memorial – because Woodlands as an organisation has moved from its 'living' stage into what Hamer referred to as the preservation stage – where the entity whose story is being told is 'dead', and its history 'fixed'.¹⁵⁷ That allows us to pretend that 'the past' is 'past/passed', is somehow separate from us; and this in turn facilitates the ghettoisation and ignoring of history and historical mechanisms of oppression such as displacement. The efforts at Woodlands today resemble less the cultural conciliation Justice Sir Edward (Eddie) Taihakurei Durie called for and more what Peter Gibbons described as an ongoing cultural colonization.¹⁵⁸ Yet the apparent discontinuity belies an attempt to touch on a greater continuity – that the present came out of this past.

¹⁵⁷ Hamer, pp. 253–255.

¹⁵⁸ Peter J. Gibbons, 'Non-Fiction', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, ed. by Terry Sturm (Auckland, N.Z: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 25–104 (pp. 28–29); Peter J. Gibbons, 'A Note on Writing, Identity, and Colonisation in Aotearoa', ed. by New Zealand Cultural Studies Working Group, Dept. of Social Anthropology and Maori Studies, Massey University, *Sites*, 13 (1986), pp. 34–35; E. T. Durie, 'Will the Settlers Settle – Cultural Conciliation Law', *Otago Law Review*, 8 (1993), 449–65 (pp. 454, 462).

History at Woodlands is used to help make Woodlands an oasis of stability, a place to put down ‘roots’, to appreciate and (re)connect with rural Waikato Pākehā identity, and to bolster community by passing on that identity and associated values from an elder to a younger generation. The desire to share that history and spread that message into the collective consciousness is strong, and is lent a keen edge by fear for its loss. Perhaps the vast array of material culture in the Homestead is kept to situate people in a progressive narrative, to overcome a sense of human impermanence. Objects certainly heighten the affective ‘ideal presence’ of Woodlands, which in turn helps people share in, and so sustain, Woodlands all the more.¹⁵⁹

The significance of this for the historical discipline is that *history is used*. That history is used, or even abused, proves that it matters. Saying that is not new.¹⁶⁰ Yet here in this case study are the workings of an institution laid out in detail, along with the words of the people enacting that remembrance of history, on exactly what they think they are doing and why. This case has demonstrated that Woodlands volunteers are using Woodlands’ history to sustain themselves much as Zane Miller described (local elites using local histories to make ‘viable communities’).¹⁶¹ Woodlands’ use of historical interpretations, works, artefacts and all that Woodlands does to foster an affective sense of ‘*this is how it was*’ and then ‘*we are here because of them*’ to give people in the present a sense of roots and identity, is significant. That these efforts are used to situate people in a continuing narrative in the face of perceived threats to ‘community’ is evidence of the contemporary utility of history.¹⁶² That is because these uses are appeals to history, and arguments for its relevance today (even when the history presented is

¹⁵⁹ See Irene’s comments “they don’t have to look through a glass door or over ropes” See Chapter Four, footnote 17.

¹⁶⁰ For example: Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, pp. 259–260, 264–275; Ferro; Geyl.

¹⁶¹ In 1983 Miller warned against the capture of local history efforts by ‘liberated individuals’, i.e. the kind of people doing well out of the status quo who want to use their local community history as a source of artifacts, stories and lifestyles with which to embellish their quest for individual self-fulfillment and ‘viable communities’. Miller held that regardless of opinions on the desirability of promoting viable communities, a duty to truth means we must not allow such propaganda to obscure efforts to define or achieve a different kind of community in the same locality. Zane L. Miller, ‘History and the Politics of Community Change in Cincinnati’, *The Public Historian*, 5 (1983), 17–35 (p. 34) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3376868>>.

¹⁶² Perhaps this concern for history and community is part of a wider dissatisfaction and disconnection with contemporary society. It could be age or social position. It could be part of the social turn Glenn Holmes (and scholars) noted, as ostensibly evidenced by increased interest in ANZAC. Whatever the reason, it drives an interest in values, identity and history – which is why history (the past) matters, and why good (quality) history (the discipline and its products) matters.

of questionable quality). This means that ‘the past’ is not ‘past’/passed, that the past continues into the present. That in turn reinforces the argument that the historical discipline and any work of history cannot truly be detached or apolitical. These points and how they relate to works by the likes of Lowenthal will receive further consideration in the Discussion chapter.

This case also revealed something else. There is the other side of the coin from Miller’s description of making ‘viable communities’. In some ways Woodlands represents the worst of New Zealand settlers: the displacement of Māori, sometimes unsustainable land use, and the worst of settler historiography: the elision of ineradicable subaltern voices Women’s, Māori, Working-Class.

At the same time, much of what is going on at Woodlands is the Pākehā identity-making described by Michael King. At their most positive, King even counted such efforts among the most fundamental aspects of being human.¹⁶³ This case shows that many of the participants have taken Woodlands – and the history that gives it its significance – into themselves. In the course of this case, people said that Woodlands matters to them because it gives them ‘roots’, connection and identity. That they volunteer and give so much of themselves profoundly demonstrates it. That Woodlands means roots (regardless of for how many) means history at Woodlands matters.

What this case reveals about the learning history approach

This case demonstrates that the learning history approach works for Public History. It reveals the learning history approach to be a useful qualitative means of drawing out participants’ thoughts on history in statements and debates. At Woodlands, the learning history approach has also proved to be a means of enabling the discussion of heritage, history, and historiography outside the Academy.

At a basic level, it can be said that the learning history approach is worthwhile because it was through the approach that the material for addressing

¹⁶³ King’s combination of autobiography and meditation on Pākehā identity was full of comments such as: ‘We must persist in building our own culture with our own ingredients to hand’, and concluded with what was for this author, profoundly moving reflections on living – among them: ‘...experiencing an allegiance to one’s origins.’ As he put it: “This is neither a novel discovery nor a mantra... But it is insufficient to *hear* such a message; one has to *experience* it to know that things are so.” King, *Being Pakeha Now*, pp. 180, 241.

the first research question was found. That the learning history drew out the reflections, insights and discussion described in this case is useful to the discipline. That all this came out of discussion of a single entity grounds and organises the material. That much of this was captured for analysis *by the participants* as well as the researcher was beneficial to the organisation, and appropriate for action research. In this, the approach facilitated the agency of participants as they used these conversations for their own benefit by articulating their thought and generating ideas for the organisation – for example, on what more to do with history, how to attract more visitors, and in being able to discuss these and other topics.

Yet the application of the learning history was the catalyst to much more at Woodlands. It drew many people into thinking about history ‘like historians’.¹⁶⁴ People who were busy with surviving and were in a more ‘heritage mode’ began instead to talk about issues of history and historiography. The learning history process created a constructive situation for these discussions and debates. People engaged with the method. Out of that came much of the kind of material sought and used by scholars such as Rosenzweig and Lowenthal.¹⁶⁵ This is information of interest to practitioners of public history, and proof of the potential of the learning history approach.

In this case, evidence of that potential took many forms. Participants offered numerous articulations of historical consciousness. Participants conceived of ‘history’ as experience (e.g. a sense of age, smell), as story, as connection, and as a representation of the past. They gave insights into historiographical considerations such as authenticity, veracity, a contingent view of history, and the irretrievability of the past. These qualitative findings suggest the existence of rich material for a quantitative study of how New Zealanders relate to the past, along the lines of the seminal surveys in the United States, Australia and Canada.¹⁶⁶ The debate around the future appeal of history at Woodlands also suggested the opportunity for further research into the ‘appeal of history’ as a historical phenomenon. Understanding what drives such mass historical consciousness

¹⁶⁴ Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’.

¹⁶⁵ Angvik and Borries; Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, pp. 15–34; Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’, pp. 35–43; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

¹⁶⁶ Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, pp. 15–34.

would also be of use to the historical discipline. That all this came out of one learning history indicates that the approach merits further uptake and exploration by the historical discipline more generally.

This case brought further strengths of the learning history process to light. The process engaged people in elements of the practice of history and revealed key points about the thoughts of the public to the historical discipline. It is a benefit to the discipline that the learning history approach drew out thoughts for analysis and discussion by both the researcher and the participants. This study's deliberately indirect execution of the learning history approach (discussing the 'what' of history use to also hear the implicit 'why') also offers a way around the problem of 'composure'.¹⁶⁷ Another strength of the approach is that it drew out discussion and critique of itself – as internal checks, correctives and validation, these occasions highlight the rigour of the learning history approach. It is a tremendous strength of the approach that it engaged participants to the point where they took over the process, even explaining and defending the process to each other. Such occasions also highlight the value in finding new ways to 'do history' in order to engage participants. These occasions also showed that the learning history process was capable of arousing a strong emotional response in *disagreement*, and not just the passionate agreement witnessed at Southwell.

At Woodlands, the learning history approach facilitated and captured extensive reflection and discussion of historiographical ideas. For the discipline this means that the learning history approach can be a method for promoting historiographical issues in public discourse even as people discuss the 'nuts and bolts' of heritage work. And this is fundamental for the historical discipline – the more people thinking and talking this way, then the more is being done for Robert Kelly's original vision for public history.¹⁶⁸

This application of the learning history approach found that participants thought that history at Woodlands is about identity. Woodlands is, however, specifically about stabilising identity through celebrating a fixed moment. The history of

¹⁶⁷ For a detailed explanation of 'composure', see Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 5-9.

¹⁶⁸ See Introduction, footnotes 7-9, and Kelley, 'Public History'.

Woodlands has been strategically deployed in order to keep the estate of Woodlands alive. That seemingly circular logic becomes clear when one considers who is currently contributing to the upkeep of the estate: the Waikato District Council through financial contributions and largely retired rural Pākehā people through volunteer labour and administration. Ultimately, Woodlands is about cherishing and memorialising Pākehā colonial, particularly agricultural, achievement – along with celebrating and enjoying the highlights of that late nineteenth-century rural Pākehā way of life. This is not necessarily a bad thing. The conversion of vast peat swamps into incredibly productive dairy land is an epic achievement of human endeavour. The story of an effort that required decades of scientific endeavour and backbreaking toil deserves to be told, especially when the result is greatly increased food production. It may be historically problematic and ultimately unsustainable, but it is an important part of the Waikato's history.

Yet the story-telling at Woodlands needs to be seen for what it is: the honouring of ancestors, the creation of roots for the descendants of settlers, an implicit justification for Pākehā colonisation, and something of an escape into nostalgia. For even though there is acknowledgement that the 'opportunity' of Woodlands came out of the Raupatu confiscations, and although there are points where one can find out about the significance of the farming history of Woodlands, these are not the main focus of Woodlands. Woodlands is largely about nostalgic escape into a past that never was. The implications of this and other points raised in this chapter will be further addressed in the Discussion chapter.

Chapter Five

"It's a sense of identity for people working here":¹

The Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust

Helen Fahey (Former Nurse and long serving volunteer with the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust): I'm proud of Waikato Hospital. I want to see it continue to be the best it can be. I will do anything that I can at my end of my life to do that and that's I guess why I'm involved, and also huge loyalty to Peter [Rothwell] who gives up so much of his time. You would not know how many hours that man – and where he gets his energy from – he's an inspiration and he could get blood out of a stone. He [laughs] is amazing.

Mark: Yeah. And I, I get the feeling here the stone would be glad to give it.

Helen: Oh they do. They're all happy, all happy to do it and as an expert presenter, I mean he's a great teacher and it's given him the opportunity to use those wonderful skills, whereas if he'd just retired and stopped that would have been the end of it, but no. And the people that have come along, it's given them an opportunity I think to *contribute*, ah to *validate what has happened* and to ah *inform* the new, the new um... – what's the word I'm looking for?

Mark: Generation?

Helen: Generation's the word, yep. So that's why I think people feel it's worthwhile. Yeah, I think that'd be it. [Italics added]²

Helen's views in the excerpt above exemplify profound features of the use of history by the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust (the WHMT or the Trust in this chapter). The efforts of those who contribute to the WHMT are in no small part concerned with identity and emotion in the construction of histories of their profession. Helen's words illustrate this chapter's argument that the learning history approach engaged participants in reflexive consideration of their activities. This chapter also argues that Health History in the Waikato District Health Board

¹ Learning History Interview with Ross Lawrenson, 11 October 2011. p. 6 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. I had asked him why the Trust does what it does – (specifically why John Armstrong's book *Under One Roof* was commissioned).

² Learning History Interview with Helen Fahey, 5 October 2011. pp. 8-9 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

(DHB)³ area (i.e. via the WHMT and supported by the DHB) constitutes a many-faceted identity effort, and, most strikingly, the creation of a ‘historical community’. The WHMT’s identity effort speaks to the public and staff – especially retired staff who wish to retain a sense of connection with their vocation and their working lives.

The two key findings of this case study are that the learning history approach engaged people, and that the people of the WHMT were already actively involved in a ‘historical community’, a term used by participants to frame their activity. Importantly, it was through this research that they articulated the concept of historical community, and embraced it as a group. I will expand on this concept later in this chapter. Participants came to important realisations *through* the learning history process. The learning history approach provided the time and space for this to be articulated by participants. Significantly, the participants saw themselves preserving, cherishing, presenting and interpreting Waikato health history – that is to say, they saw themselves as making history. They said they saw relevance and purpose in their uses of their history. This evidence shows the potential of the learning history approach to raise historical consciousness.

This chapter addresses the central research questions with which this thesis is concerned: ‘How have the organisations selected for study utilised their past?’ and ‘What can the learning history approach bring to the historical discipline?’ It does so first by addressing how the WHMT works with Waikato health history, and how those involved reflected on that work. The section ‘How the WHMT uses Waikato health history’ delivers a range of evidence supporting the quotes presented later. Triangulating these different sources grounds the discussion of this chapter in the evidence.

In common with the previous case study chapters, this chapter presents evidence of participants’ engagement with the learning history approach. These include a number of concepts of history, reflections on the utility of history and other indicators of historical consciousness, along with participants’ reflections on the learning history approach itself.

³ Throughout this chapter the whole of what the DHB oversees will be referred to variously as the DHB, ‘Health Waikato’ – the name of the DHB’s provider arm, or, less accurately but perhaps more naturally, ‘the Hospital’.

How the WHMT uses Waikato health history

The Waikato has an eventful history, and some of that is evident on the campus of Waikato Hospital.⁴ Although the WHMT reaches throughout the Waikato – it is involved in the redevelopment of Thames Hospital for example – most of the focus is on the vast base hospital. The publicly accessible efforts of the WHMT include: plaques for the named buildings around the Hospital; numerous dispersed displays of objects-in-place (rather than a single museum);⁵ the WHMT's webpages (which include organised and accessible lists of their displays and activities);⁶ two public lectures from (usually medical) experts on medical history per year (the Rex Wright-St Clair Memorial Lecture in March and a second annual lecture in September); part of the Waikato Museum's 'Never a Dull Moment' Hamilton City history exhibition; and a book the WHMT published – *Under One Roof: a History of Waikato Hospital*,⁷ along with WHMT members' contributions to the publication of other books on Waikato health history.⁸ There is also the WHMT's work behind-the-scenes in collecting health memorabilia, the storage and cataloguing of their collection and the creation/planning of displays. These activities can be essentialised as the preservation and dissemination of Waikato health history. A key point is that the WHMT has developed the infrastructure required to achieve this. The people of the Trust have put together a cohesive set of practices and resources to sustain their efforts. There is The Shed which functions as a kind of office, workshop and organised storage facility. It is essentially the back-of-house of a museum. Museum interns have helped establish

⁴ There is also a notable quantity of material and architectural history as well as bibliographical.

⁵ 'Displays and Objects – Waikato District Health Board' <<http://www.waikatodhb.govt.nz/page/pageid/2145871712.html>> [accessed 13 November 2013].

⁶ 'Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust – Waikato District Health Board' <<http://www.waikatodhb.govt.nz/page/pageid/2145861847.html>> [accessed 13 November 2013]. The very way this webpage (and several other linked WHMT webpages) is nested within the DHB website subtly indicates the representative relationship between the WHMT and the wider organisation.

⁷ John Armstrong and Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust, *Under One Roof: A History of Waikato Hospital* (Hamilton, N.Z: Half Court Press, 2009). Armstrong's book was originally conceived of as an update of the work of Dr. Rex Wright-St Clair (p.14). It became a 521 page social history describing the growth of the Hospital from its beginnings through to the health reform period.

⁸ Waikato District Health Board, *The Village on the Hill: Celebrating 125 Years of Waikato Hospital* (Hamilton, N.Z: Waikato District Health Board, 2011); Waikato Mental Health History Group, *Changing Times, Changing Places: From Tokanui Hospital to Mental Health Services in the Waikato, 1910-2012* (Hamilton, N.Z: Half Court Press, 2012). In the former, Peter Rothwell was archival advisor and Clyde Wade was profiled. While it includes historic photos, it is largely concerned with presenting 31 short profiles of current (2011) staff and 'It makes no claim as a history book' (p.12). More than 6000 copies were distributed free to staff (and only just in time for the end of this case). The latter included chapters by WHMT members such as John Graham and Cathy Coleborne.

accessioning and cataloguing processes, and groups of volunteers meet regularly to process the collection. The work involved is itself a notable use of history – because the volunteers, in addition to having a hugely enjoyable time, end up thinking and talking about their history.⁹



Figure 16: Ceremonial silver trowel for laying the foundation stone of Waikato Hospital in 1905. This item was loaned to the Waikato Museum for their 2009-2011 ‘Never a Dull Moment’ exhibition on the history of Hamilton City. *Image courtesy of the WHMT.*¹⁰

A deeper examination of some of the WHMT’s activities highlights exactly how the WHMT uses its history. For example, the public lectures are intended to make the audience think about history.¹¹ It is also evident that the

⁹ An example that neatly encapsulates both enjoyment and reflection: Pat Oettli, Former Nurse and Volunteer Cataloguer: “And a lot of this is to do with nostalgia.” WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview with Laura Sommerville, Participant One, Anne Green, Pat Oettli and Maire McMullen 5 October 2011. p. 8 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. A longer example – Participant One: *...it’s given me a feeling of community*. So it’s a privilege to be with all these wonderful people as well as the... probably one of the most exciting things for me I was telling Ruth on the way in, was when we went to look for the ophthalmic instruments that we couldn’t identify in books and we went to theatre and met-- I think it was a small thing but it was very exciting for me *because it gave me a context*. And people there, the surgeons and staff, got really excited about these old instruments and *I thought, yes, that’s really why we’re doing it*. [italics added]” WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 2. See also pp. 9-10, 12 of same for further examples.

¹⁰ The image is included here as evidence of outreach on the part of the WHMT.

¹¹ In his ‘Justice for James’ presentation at the WHMT event on 25 March 2010 Dr Wyn Beasley asked his audience to examine the available evidence and reconsider the behaviour and life of James VI of Scotland – I of England – in light of what may have been a medical condition. Dr

biannual lectures play a role in sustaining the social side of the WHMT. The WHMT's website succinctly states: 'You can enjoy attending two social functions per year, usually in March and September.'¹² An additional purpose of the lectures is recognition; not just of the speakers, but most especially honouring the memory of Rex Wright-St Clair, a general practitioner, medical superintendent and medical historian known to many members of the Trust.¹³ Pragmatically, the lectures strengthen the existing Waikato health community, and foster community outreach and public education as well as staking a claim for the existence and relevance of the Trust.

Displays of WHMT objects, along with accompanying interpretive panels are a vital part of their outreach. This outreach is a considerable part of what the WHMT uses history for. The WHMT also supported the effort to name many hospital buildings after people in order to recognise their contributions to Waikato health history.¹⁴ The WHMT has numerous displays throughout Waikato Hospital and plans many more. The WHMT provides a list online.¹⁵ The WHMT did not have to be given the space they have for displays throughout the Hospital – so they have manifestly managed to convince the wider organisation of the value of displays of health history. Displays are mnemonic devices – memory triggers – as well as treasure boxes and the dispersal of these displays is significant and deliberate.¹⁶ Displaying objects-in-place influences the meaning of them.¹⁷

Dr. Peter Rothwell (Chairman of the WHMT): ...right from the very beginning we've made the point that we will have dispersed displays and

Beasley encouraged the audience to challenge a received view of history – and in a way that adroitly invited them to apply their particular expertise (medicine) to the evidence presented.

¹² WHMT, http://www.waikatodhb.govt.nz/page/pageid/2145861847/Health_Memorabilia_Trust [accessed 19/1/2012]

¹³ Dr Rex Wright-St Clair wrote numerous articles and texts on health history, including *From Cottage to Regional Base Hospital: Waikato Hospital 1887-1987*. R. E. Wright-St Clair and Waikato Hospital Board, *From Cottage to Regional Base Hospital: Waikato Hospital, 1887-1987* (Hamilton, N.Z.: W. Inkster for the Waikato Hospital Board, 1987).

¹⁴ Many of the main buildings at Waikato hospital are named after people who made a significant contribution to the development of health provision in the Waikato. You will find WHMT building plaques on the Campbell-Johnstone, Elizabeth Rothwell, Hilda Ross, Hockin, Lomas, Menzies, Ryburn, Smith and Wilson buildings. In these buildings and several others you will find Perspex shielded displays that show a photo of the person named and explain why the building was named after them. To Peter Rothwell's eternal embarrassment, the main building of the Clinical School is named after him, and his photo and story can be found behind the perspex shield in the foyer there. Waikato District Health Board, 'Campus_map_October2013.pdf' <http://waikatodhb.govt.nz/Campus_map_October2013.pdf> [accessed 13 November 2013].

¹⁵ WHMT, 21 August 2014, <<http://www.waikatodhb.health.nz/about-us/historical-interest/waikato-health-memorabilia-trust/>> [accessed 27 September 2014]

¹⁶ Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 192–194.

¹⁷ Cubitt, p. 192.

not a central museum. The reason for that is I've been to quite a number of museums in or around hospitals, for which I'd give my eye teeth, but which are not accessible. They're problems in all sorts of ways. So, we're planning to have displays dispersed in areas relevant to them where they belong, *accessible to the public* and with a theme and a story and a learning thing. [italics added]¹⁸

This is a clear statement of what the WHMT wants from its uses of history. When Peter Rothwell explained that he wanted the displays read where they belong, so that they mean more and their message can be taken on board by patients and their families as well as staff, he was clearly showing that he regarded this use of history as useful *now*. He deliberately wanted people in the present to interact with these items – for these pieces of the past to be part of social memory in the present.¹⁹ Peter also made it clear that the work of the WHMT is about addressing how people in the present think:

Because the, this hospital has lost virtually all its visual reminders of the past – structural. There's virtually nothing here of the past... So to some extent we've lost things that look old, or or anything – you know, we we just sort of think, people can sort of think, 'it was always like this' ...²⁰

With these words, Peter made it clear that he wants the past to have presence in the present, and he wants that past to mean something to people now. A number of other members of the WHMT explicitly shared Peter Rothwell's views on the specific relevance of situating objects-in-place.²¹ In the words of Peter Oettli, these displays were about "...preserving the past, honouring the past and also interpreting the past...to people who are outside the in-group ... [the displays] give people who are not medics, an access to the history of what they're involved

¹⁸ WHMT Dissemination Meeting with Ian Sommerville, Laura Sommerville, John Armstrong, Jan Cohen, Peter Oettli, Catherine Coleborne, Anne Green, Ruth Berry, Participant One, Helen Fahey Maire McMullen, Peter Rothwell, John Graham and Clyde Wade. 14 December 2011 pp. 13-14 of transcript. Facilitated by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. As he said in during an earlier interview: "We're developing what you'd call snapshots of ah displays um that should be in the area that's appropriate to them and related to present day treatments see – not, not, not tucked away in a museum somewhere." Learning History Interview with Peter Rothwell, 14 September 2011. p. 8 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

¹⁹ Cubitt, p. 197.

²⁰ Interview with Peter Rothwell, p. 15. Also *cf.* 'Present-day preservation stems from a threefold awareness of the past: that it was unlike the present, that it is crucial to our sense of identity, and that its tangible remnants are rapidly disappearing.' Lowenthal and Binney, p. 17. Care for the difference of the past and a keen awareness of its loss are bound up in identity.

²¹ For example, from the dissemination meeting: Anne: ...And in areas where they can relate to. Cathy: That, that's right, and make that leap for people. Clyde: And so have you got the orthopaedic display, if you had it in the orthopaedic clinic, it's actually got some meaning to the people who visit there.

Unidentified Female Participant: Of course. Cathy: Mm. Much more meaningful. WHMT Dissemination Meeting, 14 December 2011 p. 16 of transcript.

in.”²² The implications of the relevance of these uses of history, along with the narratives they present (such as the progressive narrative subtly evident in the image below) will be addressed in the Discussion chapter.



Figure 17: The Pacemaker Exhibit in Cardiology. *Image courtesy of the WHMT.*²³

The WHMT has had to justify its work within the Hospital. This pressure, and the professional approach of the people of the WHMT are perhaps what have driven the organisation to both seek professional assistance from academics and academically trained historians and museum professionals, and produce documents explaining exactly what they do and why they do it.

An example document is the Concept and Display Development Document produced by Renee Corlett (a museum studies intern from Massey University) and Peter Rothwell.²⁴ This document highlights much of what the

²² In full from the dissemination meeting: Peter Oettli: ...preserving the past, honouring the past and also interpreting the past... Female Participants x 2: Mm. Participant One: Yes. Peter Oettli: ... to people who are outside the in group if you like, and, for me the privilege is to, be able to be part of that. You know, you've got the preservation aspect but you're also talking, Peter, about the public displays... John Armstrong: Mm. Peter Oettli: ... which give people who are not medics, an access to the history of what they're involved in.
Female Participant: That's true. Cathy: That's right, yeah. These exchanges highlight how many participants concurred with Peter's points. WHMT Dissemination Meeting, 14 December 2011 p. 6 of transcript.

²³ In front of the display are Peter Rothwell (readers' left) and Geoff Allen, the thoracic surgeon who performed the first pacemaker implant at Waikato Hospital in 1967. Note also the progressive narrative implicitly presented by the placement of a large early model pacemaker adjacent to a much smaller (and newer) one atop the cabinet – above Geoff Allen's left shoulder (readers' right) in the image.

²⁴ Renee Corlett and Peter Rothwell, *Concept and Display Development Document Prepared for the Service and Campus Redevelopment (Updated February 2010)* (Hamilton: WHMT, 2010).

Trust presents as its beliefs about the relevance of its uses of history. The document made a business case to the DHB. In a succinct six pages, the Trust outlined the objectives of the planned displays, three kinds of exhibit concept, and described their target audiences and interpretive strategy – and used those very terms.²⁵ Those objectives were:

1. To create an environment that offers a different perspective of understanding of the history of medical practice, with particular reference to the Waikato region;
2. To stimulate interest in the advances in medical practice in specific areas of interest;
3. To create interesting and engaging displays and ‘stories’ pitched at different levels depending on the target audience;
4. To encourage patients and their family to become interested in their own healthcare.²⁶

These objectives stake claims for a therapeutic role for history within the medical context.²⁷ These could be explored in a multidisciplinary project involving historians and psychologists. They emphasise the practical purposes of reaching patients. These objectives are about creating a context, and orienting the subject/reader (patient, staff member, etc.) within a narrative. The concepts for the proposed displays included ‘Then and Now’, ‘Celebration of the History of Health Services in the Waikato Region’ and a huge 60 metre-long timeline – emphasising narratives of progress and celebration (just as many of the existing exhibits do).²⁸ The document also presents one more benefit the WHMT sees in its displays: ‘Work enhancement for staff’.²⁹ That point is significant because it highlights that the narratives are intended and that these efforts are explicitly about benefitting the people who work in the Hospital – a point illustrated in the image of the display below.

²⁵ Corlett and Rothwell, p. 2, 4, 6 and 6 again respectively.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁷ WMHT Dissemination Meeting, 14 December 2011, p. 17.

²⁸ Waikato District Health Board, 21 August 2014, <<http://www.waikatodhb.health.nz/about-us/historical-interest/timeline-mural/>> [accessed 27 September 2014]

²⁹ Corlett and Rothwell, p. 3.



Figure 18: Doris Emily Menzies – her Nursing medals (including O.B.E.) and an interpretation panel. *Image courtesy of the WHMT.*

What the document did not emphasise was the value of the Trust's work to the members of the Trust themselves. That came through very strongly in my conversations with the volunteers of the Trust, especially around the meaning of their back-of-house work. Before discussing that emotional value at length below, one more document deserves consideration. Peter Rothwell sent me an email summarising his thoughts after an early interview.³⁰ The email succinctly shows the connections between the ‘what and how’ of the WHMT’s use of history, and the ‘why’ of those uses. Its headings are even more specific than those of the website, pamphlets and the Trust Deed, and the body text explains exactly what those headings mean – along the way even managing to implicitly unpack the term ‘historical interest’ and indicate that historical knowledge has a medical benefit.

In addition to explicitly being a ‘reflection’ on his organisation’s use of history (and therefore evidence of what the learning history can bring to the historical discipline – the second research question), Peter's evidence raised the idea of another use of history by the WHMT, one not explained on their website, pamphlets and the Trust Deed: ‘This process by our volunteers and supporters is a useful educational and research experience...’

³⁰ That email appears in Appendix VII. In the email Peter clearly states the ‘what’ and ‘why’ of the WHMT’s uses of history. Dr. Peter Rothwell, ‘The uses of history’, 16/9/2011, personal email, (16/9/2011). This reached me soon after his interview and before the creation or dissemination of the learning history document.

This case presents the stated purposes of the Trust and describes the various use-of-history activities of the Trust above. Examination of this evidence indicates that the Trust has used history to reach an audience of patients (to inform/educate), current staff (to inform and engage) and WMHT members (to volunteer, and to socialise over history).

Why the Trust Uses Waikato health history

I believe Peter's reflections have further implications. As with so much of what the WHMT does, the efforts that go on behind the scenes are also opportunities to experience and engage with history. The evidence as stated in the previous section also indicates that the work of preservation, cataloguing, storing and displaying is done for deep, emotionally satisfying reasons. The WHMT deploys Waikato health history for a range of interconnected reasons. The Trust makes use of this history to educate, engage and recognise; to reassure, recruit and retain; to build and sustain brand, soul and belonging; and in doing so creates powerful emotional satisfaction for volunteers. Specifically what is signified by 'brand' and 'soul' at the WHMT will be discussed in the next few pages.

The paragraphs above show how the Trust has used its history. Evidence of what the WHMT actually does, as detailed above, is combined with what the volunteers *themselves* say they do and why. At a fundamental level, the work of the WHMT is about identity, and WHMT members recognise that. Prof. Ross Lawrenson (head of Auckland University's Clinical School at Waikato Hospital) stated: "It's a sense of identity for people working here."³¹

The WHMT also works to educate, engage and recognise. The first purpose of the Trust is to inform anyone (who sees its works) about Waikato health history.³² Patients, their families and members of the public encounter the displays, and – ideally – are intrigued, enlightened and educated.³³ Staff who

³¹ Learning History Interview with Ross Lawrenson, 11 October 2011. p. 6 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. I had asked him why the Trust does what it does – (specifically why John Armstrong's book *Under One Roof* was commissioned).

³² Clyde Wade: "I think it's about both recording ah our history and, um, and informing the people of our history... To indicate the journey that we've been on..." Learning History Interview with Clyde Wade, 13 October 2011. pp. 4-5 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

³³ Especially on self-managed care, but also on a wide range of information about personalities, the particular development of health in the Waikato and medical progress more widely. See Corlett and Rothwell, Concept and Display Development document. Consider the dispersed nature of the

encounter these works are meant to get a sense that the place has a history. These displays, lectures etc. are meant to help foster a sense of belonging, of ‘the Hospital’ as something worth feeling part of.³⁴ This goes for retired staff and WHMT members as well. Many of these forms of information are also forms of recognition for those who have made significant contributions to medicine in general and the Waikato region in particular e.g. the naming of the buildings and lectures.

That kind of recognition contributes to wider Health Waikato efforts to reassure, recruit and retain. Dr Clyde Wade, WHMT Trustee, said that putting impressive aspects of Waikato health history ‘in lights’ is about actively boosting the reputation of ‘the Hospital’. Clyde also stated his belief that a strong reputation offers very concrete benefits to the District Health Board (DHB) in the following ways: patient reassurance, as well as engagement, through humanising the hospital experience;³⁵ recruitment and retention (Brand);³⁶ and staff culture, morale (Soul).³⁷ Clyde sees the efforts of the Trust as part of the ‘soul’ of the organisation:

WHMT’s displays, and Peter Rothwell’s comments – see Chapter Five, footnotes 19, 20, 21, 29 and 30.

³⁴ Clyde: “But I’m hopeful if we have some displays and things about the history of the hospital, then that will be something that, ah, that will trigger people’s minds, you know.” Interview with Clyde, p. 1. See also Ross: “Oh I think it’s for our staff, to give them a sense of history of the place. I think it’s for our patients to understand you know the place of the hospital in their community. Um and I think you know it’s for those in training and those you know coming after. So I think it’s um, you know for all of those – probably yeah in equal part really, particularly you know, staff and patients.” Interview with Ross, p. 9.

³⁵ Clyde: “Well, I think lots of people find it fascinating to to ah read and, and ah – but why tell patients, I don’t know. I guess it gives them a sense of, as I talked before, you know, it’s about sense of reputation and the history of, of permanence, you know, of, of something that’s happening. I think ah, I think also people are, that come here are anxious, frightened or whatever it is – seeing a thing that’s got a bit of a history is reassuring, but also you – people can also see, while they may not see the technological side, they can be interested and fascinated in the technological side of it, but anything in the human history is stuff that they will immediately relate to... So that’s telling a story not about – well, it’s telling a story about the culture in the hospital ..., ah but it’s also telling a story about the times that they lived in, you know, you got horses and carts, you know, delivering stuff in some of those photographs.” Interview with Clyde, pp.12-13.

³⁶ See Clyde: “...it’s about ah using the reputation of the place in terms of the patients and that sort of thing. But it’s also very important in terms of recruitment and retention of, of staff ...

But so it’s having a good history that you can tell people about, is a key thing in I think, in taking an organisation forward. So I suppose it’s a brand if you like.” WHMT Dissemination Meeting, pp.49-50.

³⁷ The utility of ‘soul’ – i.e. The activities of the Trust are very definitely seen as a way of including as many people as possible in the mission of the hospital. See Clyde: “I think the history is I’ve talked about being part of the soul of the place, it’s also important for the non-clinical people to be able to see what’s actually going on in the different areas and that sort of thing, so that the history that you can see by your displays and so on actually is also helping to inform and support the people who are supporting us, the frontline troops, the nurses and doctors and the therapists and various other people.” WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 18. Throughout the case

...preserving the history of the place I think, for the reasons I outlined in the beginning, is worth its weight in gold really. I mean, the advertising we do for nurses and various other things would be enhanced by those sorts of things... Not just this collection of buildings, it's got a *soul* you see... So the history can be the soul of the place you see.

Later in the interview:

...the Trust is just one of a number of voluntary organisations ... There's a research Trust, there's the people who run the review, [laughs] you know, so there's a number of little groupings around the place which are, when I talk about the 'soul', these are the people who are actually helping to run some of the people side of the organisation which is not part of our core business... things happen because somebody had a passion for doing it."³⁸

Ross also said as much, but here Clyde used the term 'soul' as an organising metaphor, as something greater than quotidian hospital buildings – constantly being made, unmade and remade – and distinct from the everyday impermanence of the process of medical practice.³⁹ As Clyde put it, the efforts to reassure, recruit and retain were given effect through brand, soul and belonging.

Clyde made two more points about organisational culture worth raising here. The first is an encapsulation of the points on educating, engaging and recognition above that demonstrate how they are linked for him. At the dissemination meeting Clyde articulated a very clear 'community building' vision of the use of history:

The history of any organisation is valuable for its reputation, for giving people a sense of belonging to something... permanence, stability, all sorts of things... so it's having a good history that you can tell people about, is a key thing in I think, in taking an organisation forward. So I suppose it's a brand if you like.⁴⁰

Clyde's conception of 'a good history' and 'brand' within Health Waikato calls to mind Lowenthal's conception of heritage.⁴¹ The second cultural point here is linked to Clyde's depiction of the WHMT as a group of people doing something

study Clyde used several terms: camaraderie (Interview with Clyde, p.2.) character, 'sense of purpose, a sense of your place in the world' (Interview with Clyde, p.7), soul (Interview with Clyde, pp.7,14,15,19).

³⁸ Interview with Clyde, pp. 14-15.

³⁹ Ross said much the same when he described what he thinks the WHMT does for the DHB: "I think that's how organisations sometimes deal with those things that they think are important to the organisation but they're not essential to it, and um you know they facilitate enthusiasts rather than um saying 'this is something we're going to have within the organisation'." Interview with Ross, p. 8.

⁴⁰ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, pp.49-50.

⁴¹ See Chapter One, footnotes 8, 10 and 11.

they very much *want* to do – and choose to do long before the formal creation of the Trust. Earlier in his interview Clyde highlighted just how hospital staff had saved objects (as did several other interviewees)⁴²:

...but that's what's happened, people have – you might say oh that's stolen – well I suppose they have, but in reality they've done it with absolutely the best intention to say, “Well look, this is gonna end up in the dump,” you know, or in somebody's second hand shop and gonna get five bucks for it, you know. Whereas in fact, as, as *a talisman for this organisation*, well they're worth a hell of a lot more than five dollars.⁴³
[italics added]

Clyde's words bring home the deep significance of the memorabilia of the Trust collects. His choice of the words 'soul' and especially 'talisman' call to mind Rzepka's use of 'relic'.⁴⁴ This determination of Trust members to not lose their history and the satisfaction they draw from their work will be discussed below.

For Clyde, and the whole WHMT, given their response to the learning history document, a large part of what they do is about bringing people together.⁴⁵ Several members of the Trust suggested that the Trust used history to foster a sense of 'belonging'.⁴⁶ John Armstrong, academically-trained historian and author of *Under One Roof* stated the point outright when retelling the reaction of a support staff member to his book: “I recognised in that book the place that I work.” John went further: “...That's the ultimate outcome for history – for me, the term I'll use now – I didn't use it but it's kind of like 'narrativising' your role, you know – *you find yourself as part of a story.*”⁴⁷

Many of the volunteers expressed that they drew a deep emotional satisfaction from their efforts for the WHMT.⁴⁸ Appreciating the emotional satisfaction volunteers derive from their work for the WHMT is crucial for understanding why

⁴² See Chapter Five, footnotes 50-51.

⁴³ Interview with Clyde, p. 16. See also Appendix VI, WHMT Learning History document, p. 321

⁴⁴ Charles J. Rzepka, 'From Relics to Remains: Wordsworth's "The Thorn" and the Emergence of Secular History', *Romanticism on the Net.*, 2003 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/008696ar>>.

⁴⁵ For example: Clyde “...things like that that, that actually help to pull people together. Now, I mean you can use historical events to do exactly the same sort of thing” Interview with Clyde, p. 7.

⁴⁶ WHMT Dissemination Meeting 49, 55. See also the frequent use of the term 'family' during the dissemination meeting – WHMT Dissemination Meeting, pp.7, 16, 18, 19, 46, and especially 52 and 57.

⁴⁷ Learning History Interview with John Armstrong, 7 October 2011. p. 4 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

⁴⁸ For example Helen Fahey as quoted in the opening excerpt of this chapter. Interview with Helen, pp. 8-9. See Chapter Five, footnote 1.

the WHMT does what it does. What most of the participants had in common was a passion for their vocation. One way this case was different from the others was that most of the people interviewed were talking about the history of something that they were not merely interested in, or supportive of, but had also given their working lives to. Constructing a history adds value, meaning and authenticity to one's activities. This work gives the participants emotional satisfaction. In order to understand the WHMT, one must explore personal, emotional and somatic experiences – experiences of loss and connection, of tactility, as well as reflections on identity and cultural sustainability. Participants conveyed that being appreciated for one's experiences was particularly satisfying. Pat Oettli, retired Nurse and volunteer cataloguer, emphasised she felt *valued* for her age and experience in the WHMT context and what the work of the WHMT and why its uses of history are important for her:

... so that my grandchildren would know the life that their grandmother had.

And so with that, I because of the age group, and we've now got a bit of time on our hands, t – this whole memorabilia thing fits in very much with my values and what I want to do now with my life. You know, grey hair – there's a lot of people who rubbish you out there, because, you're old and, they talk down to you and they think you're deaf and blind and everything else, but *here* we can be pretty um – you know, it's fulfilling, inspiring, it's what we know, and it's valuing what we know.⁴⁹

In the same vein, several participants expressed their desire to not lose their history. The strength of that desire comes through in these (extremely modest) comments from Carolyn Gibbs (Registered Nurse, former Wardrobe Mistress of the Centennial Revue, Duty Manager of the Hospital, and Trustee of the WHMT. From 1986 she gathered a vast number of objects. Her efforts provided the nucleus of the current collection):

Well like I said, I just – I don't know why I did it. I just didn't want it to be lost I guess. But it was a bit presumptuous of me really wasn't it cos I

⁴⁹ WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview with Laura Sommerville, Participant One, Anne Green, Pat Oettli and Maire McMullen 5 October 2011. p. 50 of transcript. Pat's comments met with general agreement and were added to: Anne Green, Former Nurse and Volunteer Cataloguer: It's part of our natural journey... Pat: Well, it's valuing us. Anne: ... the age that we're at. Pat: Valuing us. So I feel just valued here because we're actually – somewhere along the future, someone will say, wasn't that great, that those people did that. WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview 5 October 2011. pp. 50-51.

wasn't anybody to be doing it. I was in a role that allowed, that afforded me the opportunities to notice where things were and what was happening and I just took stuff and it seemed to be acceptable that I did that.⁵⁰

The people of the Trust have made a point of using their history so as not to lose their history. The deeply personal nature of this point was made clear in a comment from Peter Rothwell during the dissemination meeting:

It's [the relevance of the Trust's work] particularly so now because virtually every visible remnant of what *we* knew – where *we* lived and worked – are gone. [Italics added]⁵¹

Perhaps the material artefacts cared for by the people of the WHMT are so significant precisely because these people are and were in the business of creating, maintaining and validating something totally immaterial. The objects collected by the Trust are treasured by the people of the Trust.⁵² Treasuring these things is a way of overcoming the impermanence of all human activity – but especially efforts that are primarily about affecting people, such as health or education. This hypothesis is elaborated on below.

Certainly, several WHMT volunteers expressed a great satisfaction in feeling history, and being able to see and touch history. When asked about the point of the work of the Trust, retired midwife and volunteer cataloguer Participant One described how she valued being able to interact physically with the objects, of being able to treat an object as a point-of-entry into the past. Participant One's comments speak strongly to the emotional power of her physical engagement with these objects as fundamental to her understanding and interpretation of such artefacts.

Participant One: ... I think it's just as a record for actually what happened, like a snapshot for posterity, to pick up on, the themes that we were all talking about. Um, I've been sitting here thinking you know, with all the talk we've had about technology ... Will we still have, will it just be pictures or handsets or things when we're looking at history? Will it be actually tactile things that, you can hold? I mean some people say well it would be very cost effective if we didn't have display cabinets around the hospital, we just have, someone wants to know it, they have a handset or...

⁵⁰ Learning History Interview with Carolyn Gibbs, 6 October 2011. p. 6 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

⁵¹ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 19.

⁵² On fetishisation: objects were actually referred to as 'treasure' – WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 5. The words 'treasure', and 'precious' as well as 'talisman' were used by participants several times throughout the case. For examples, see Interview with Clyde, pp. 4-6, 16.

Laura Sommerville, Former Nurse, Wintec Lecturer and Volunteer Cataloguer: A video.

Participant One: ... a video or you plug it into the thing and you go. But for me, it's the *tactile* thing as well as the written. You know, you can't have one without the other.

Laura: So it's a bit like people not really wanting a Kindle because they like holding a book.

Several Interviewees: Yeah. / Hm.

Participant One: Yeah, that's a good analogy.⁵³

The work of the WHMT has generated new historical knowledge and interaction⁵⁴ as well as made a body of material far more available for research. This work has provided the opportunity for many volunteers to engage with medical objects in a way that is deeply emotionally satisfying for those involved. The history work of the WHMT is powerfully underpinned by a great depth of feeling. The volunteers feel very strongly about the collection:

Anne Green, Retired Nurse and Volunteer Cataloguer: But just a collection gives me a nurturing feeling towards it all, you know, you really want to, mm...

John Armstrong: It's your baby.

Anne: Love it, mm, yeah.⁵⁵

The work of the WHMT speaks to identity. I argue that part of the joy in interacting with the objects of the past, and the personal satisfaction volunteers find in working for the Trust, arises because the work speaks to the identity of the volunteers. While the Trust delivers a great deal to many stakeholders, at a fundamental level much of the work of the Trust is for the volunteers. I put the following to the participants in the learning history document:

This desire to 'hold history', to connect through an object you can look at – and cataloguers actually get to hold these objects – says a great deal about the true worth of these objects, and the activities of the Trust. These comments suggest that the Trust is not just for the future, but also for people in the present, and the sheer joy those involved have in connecting

⁵³ WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview , p. 39.

⁵⁴ Such as the cataloguing, lectures, the interpretation panels, the books, and the formal and informal discussions arising out of each.

⁵⁵ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 6.

with the past. After all, the Trust collects objects it is unlikely to be able to display or swap (e.g. large objects. Even with a rigorous accessioning policy, the WHMT has more objects than it is likely to display in even the medium term) and yet they are kept.

The Trust creates opportunities (e.g. the lectures, the cataloguing, and the displays) for people to socialise around exploring and sharing the past.⁵⁶

In Helen Fahey's words, the work of the volunteers, the long (and in her case often lonely) hours cataloguing 'validates what has happened'.⁵⁷ And is that surprising? Almost all of the volunteers gave their working lives to a medical vocation. Aside from a number of helpful spouses and actively recruited academics, all the people intensely involved with the Trust are long serving health professionals, most of whom are retired. They enjoyed being part of the Hospital, and they care about what happened and what was achieved. Here is Helen on the experience of cataloguing, and on the donation of items and time by volunteers:

...yeah. So that was a very generous thing. People have been extremely generous and I think also involving the specialists to come and give us a hand to identify stuff, it's given them a chance to just reflect and just enjoy talking about the hospital.⁵⁸

This emotional connection is one of the things that keep the WHMT's members volunteering for the Trust. This strengthens the 'cultural sustainability' that underpins the Trust. Pat explicitly said she drew sustenance from the activities of the Trust in a way that helps her to further the work of the Trust: "... sometimes the jobs here [e.g. cataloguing in The Shed], are a bit tedious, [but] because you've got that inspiration of those lectures, you think, 'oh yes' you know..."⁵⁹ Helen Fahey encapsulated much of the point of the Trust and the essentials of how it functions with these thoughts:

Mark: ...what does the Trust do for the Hospital that it can't do for itself, or isn't doing – what is the Trust to the Hospital?

Helen: Well I think it's a window, when we have these meetings [the public lectures]. It's just an opportunity for people who've had a bond with the people they worked with, who are proud of what had happened in the past, and anything to try and preserve it so we didn't forget.

⁵⁶ WHMT Learning History Document pp. 8-9.

⁵⁷ For example Helen Fahey as quoted in the opening excerpt of this chapter. Interview with Helen, pp. 8-9. See Chapter Five, footnote 1.

⁵⁸ Interview with Helen, p. 7.

⁵⁹ WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview , p. 35.

I think that was one of the reasons why people come. And I think too that it's commonplace I think for organisations to remember with either displays or in written word, um, what has happened in the past. And those that don't bother, they've got no roots really.

I mean I think it's this reliving it for a lot of people; they obviously enjoyed working there and they're prepared to put time in. And I think it goes both ways really because what they do is of value to the Trust, which is of value to the people that see the displays with all the information and um so it's sort of on-going really.⁶⁰

With those words Helen summarised why the Trust exists, why people volunteer for it, the value the WHMT offers the wider DHB organisation, and the culturally sustainable nature of the Trust. Their work contributes to the displays, which are of interest to patients, and of benefit to the Hospital e.g. patient education on self-management. In addition, the Hospital also becomes an enriched environment for patients and staff – more than a just a figuratively (though hopefully still a literally) sterile place. In the last paragraph, Helen made it clear that the people who contribute to the Trust benefit personally.

Historical community is the essence of how and why the WHMT has used its history. It is an aspect of the WHMT's use of history which deserves specific consideration. That is because the WHMT did more than just use the learning history process as a heritage exercise to foster community and identity building. The WHMT went beyond those activities to also use the learning history process as an opportunity to reflect on epistemological and historiographical issues. The extent of that reflection at the WHMT is a significant part of what makes the WHMT a historical community.

Historical community is an outcome of the WHMT's use of their history. It is also a distinct further use of their history. From the discussions below I take 'historical community' to mean: a group of people focused on a common goal of preserving their history and (re)presenting it (which is a kind of creation), and who also reflect on that effort and the (often historiographical) implications of that effort. So it is a process as well as an outcome. The journey and the making of 'history' are as important as the end product itself. In the course of their efforts the WHMT have created a space deliberately for discussing their history

⁶⁰ Interview with Helen, p. 14.

(significant in itself), but also for engaging with questions of history. The example of the WHMT is an opportunity for future research, and for the historical discipline to seek out and support such historical communities. This point will be taken up in the Conclusion chapter of this thesis.

Peter Oettli offered the following insights at the dissemination meeting:

One of the things that, strikes me when I look around the table and talk about [historical]⁶¹ community of course is that [historical] community is not a static thing, it's a dynamic thing. And at the moment most of us are of one generation except for notable exceptions but nevertheless I think the [historical] community that is entrusted, or we see ourselves as guardians of, stories, of knowledge, of artefacts, and because there will be a need for renewal, a need for the [historical] community to perpetuate itself if you like, and the issues that we find important at the moment may not be the issues that a future generation will find.⁶²

That is a rich statement about the nature of the WHMT. This is what WHMT has achieved. This is what the emotion and professionalism have made together: a *historical community* where a deep passion for the past and a duty to the future sit with knowledge that the work of history is never done. Indeed, Peter Oettli's vision of such an ever-unfinished community points to the possibility for perpetual renewal through an ever-shifting engagement with its past.

Together the many and various efforts of the WHMT have created 'historical community'. This term has a specific meaning in this research because it came out of, and was validated by, the learning history process. In her initial interview Associate Professor Catherine Coleborne of the University of Waikato and Trustee of the WHMT said:

So I think that the Trust in doing things like providing those spaces for people to come together [*Cathy had just spoken about the WHMT's two annual lectures*] and having a reflection on medical practice over time, inviting retired or practising doctors to speak about their research in a historical context – *I think the history thing is, you know, partly it's bonding those people together who are part of a bigger community and allowing them to keep exploring that relationship*. If it wasn't there they might well be dining at each other's houses on weekends or involving each other in other community groups – I know the nurses have their own sort

⁶¹ The '[historical]' insertions are a reflection of the fact that the people at the dissemination meeting had just been speaking about the concept of historical community before Peter Oettli offered his insight. While I cannot be utterly certain that Peter had not decided to begin talking about 'community' in some entirely different sense, that is unlikely – so I have inserted the clarification.

⁶² WHMT Dissemination Meeting, pp. 24-25.

of communities – but *I suspect that the Trust has actually done something new and opened up a community of people to reflect on their history.* I don't think that would have happened so obviously otherwise. So I think that it does really perform that function. As a sort of relative outsider I see it and I think people are very grateful, they turn out, they give gold coin donations now um, they think of ideas for speakers, they come to support their mates who might be the speaker of the time,. *I think it's definitely made a space for history, for historical community yeah, absolutely, in all... senses of the word.* So people who have a history together, a personal history, people who have a history as an institution and also a space to discuss history, you know, the history of a medical person or an event. [Italics added]⁶³

The learning history document presented the following definition back to the people of the WHMT: '*Historical Community: A place/opportunity to discuss history and reflect on it*' in the comments column adjacent to the text above and in the fourth question of the WHMT learning history document.⁶⁴ Cathy further defined 'historical community' during the dissemination meeting:

Cathy: I think I was gonna help interpret that phrase 'cause it's one I used so – ...what I meant when I said that was a group of people focused on that common goal of preserving the history.

Female Participants: Mm hm.

Cathy: So that's, that's what I was sort of teasing out there. I don't know if that's helpful but historical community, in more than one sense actually 'cause, you've spent time together over history, over time, but you've also been grouped to create a new kind of version of that history in a way. So that's what I was getting at.⁶⁵

In the last line of each of the two excerpts immediately above (also in the last paragraph of the large quote included in the learning history⁶⁶), Cathy suggested historical community as people discussing the past then proceeding to, at least occasionally, discuss historiographical issues. The best evidence for the existence of historical community at the Trust comes from the reaction of the members of the Trust at the dissemination meeting. Most of this evidence takes the form of reflections and insights and so appears in more detail where this chapter addresses

⁶³ Interview with Cathy interview, p. 9. It is also worth noting that Cathy was the last person I interviewed before writing the learning history document—i.e. I did not have her idea of historical community in mind when I conducted the previous interviews. Cathy's notion of historical community seemed so significant because it rang true with my experience of those other interviews – and that is why I made a point of highlighting it in the learning history document.

⁶⁴ See Appendix VI, the WHMT Learning History document, p. 327.

⁶⁵ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 20.

⁶⁶ See Appendix VI, the WHMT Learning History document, p. 326.

reflections on historical community.⁶⁷ The simplest form of evidence comes from Clyde's copy of the learning history document.⁶⁸ In response to question 4 from the learning history document: 'The WHMT as having created a 'historical community' – *A place/opportunity to discuss history and reflect on it*' – asked 'How do you feel about this? What are your thoughts?' – Clyde simply wrote: True.

Under One Roof is a clear example of how one of the activities of the Trust fostered this historical community. Prior to the learning history intervention, the people of the Trust had engaged in *reflection on their history* through being involved in the production of, and in reading, a book on their history – *Under One Roof*. For example, in his initial interview Ross said: “– in a funny way, I mean John [author of *Under One Roof*] took us completely out of our comfort zone in that he didn't, he did a social history rather than a, you know, history of heroes...”⁶⁹ John himself said that readers of his book had told them they now felt conscious of themselves as historical actors.⁷⁰

For the purposes of this research, the significant point is that the learning history approach revealed the phenomenon of historical community. However, for the historical discipline overall there is scope for further research into this phenomenon.

Engagement with the Learning History Approach

In this section I argue that WHMT participants engaged powerfully and consciously with the learning history approach, and that the benefits (for the participants and the historical discipline) that came out of that engagement demonstrate the potential of the learning history approach. In all the case studies, the learning history approach gave participants the opportunity to talk about why they do what they do and what it means to them. At the WHMT, a concept for that total effort came out of the learning history process itself: historical community.

⁶⁷ See Chapter Five, footnotes 104-107, and 108.

⁶⁸ I made sure every participant had a copy. Many came to the meeting with their own. Several people wrote on their copy during and presumably before the meeting. At the end of the meeting I made a point of collecting these annotated learning history documents in order to learn what had been written. I had not previously indicated that I would collect these documents, but my experiences had taught me it was worth asking people if they would give me the document at the end of a meeting. Everyone I asked was kind enough to give me theirs.

⁶⁹ Interview with Ross, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Interview with John, p. 4. See Chapter Five, footnote 47.

The concept was realised, articulated and discussed by the community itself in the course of the learning history process.

At the WHMT, the learning history approach drew out a great deal of comment on what history is and means. Participants engaged with the approach by offering many reflections on subjects such as the purpose of history and how they thought about their organisation's own use of history.⁷¹ These reflections were indicative of the great breadth and sophistication of their individual and combined historical consciousnesses, as well as of the potential of the learning history approach for drawing these reflections out.

These reflections included a number of conceptualisations of history: the pastness and difference of the past; history as story and as resource; along with thoughts on history's (the practices and discipline) utility and purpose especially in terms of identity.⁷² Participants also engaged with issues pertinent to the practice of history such as bias, problems of evidence and how the present will be tomorrow's past.⁷³

At the WHMT the learning history approach facilitated the group discussion of participants' reflections. Participants highlighted the value and the potential of the learning history process (and further demonstrated the depth of their engagement) when they used the process to discuss their reflections together, put their thoughts to each other, generated new ideas for the benefit of their organisation, and when they offered specific meta-reflections on their engagement with the learning history process itself.⁷⁴ The remainder of this section demonstrates and discusses the findings of this case study on what participants said they thought about their historical consciousness and the benefits of the learning history approach.

⁷¹ For examples, see Chapter Five, footnotes 77, 78, 79 and 82.

⁷² For examples, see Chapter Five, footnotes 90-92.

⁷³ For examples, see Chapter Five, footnotes 98 and 104.

⁷⁴ For examples, see Chapter Five, footnotes 106-108, 110 and 113.

Benefits to the discipline

The benefits to the discipline of the learning history approach are shown in how the approach revealed understandings of history, and particularly in how the approach found evidence of sophisticated historical consciousness at the WHMT. Reflections on historical consciousness ranged across all of Seixas's seven questions,⁷⁵ with particular emphases on identity (Seixas's second question) and the passing on of the past (Seixas's sixth question).⁷⁶ Examples of WHMT reflections on identity – and its role in driving the Trust – appear throughout this chapter. They include Ross's direct assessment of the purpose of WHMT efforts – “It's a sense of identity for people working here.”⁷⁷ – as well as Clyde's comments on reputation, brand, soul and talismans.⁷⁸ When defining aloud what was significant about volunteering for the WHMT Participant One said “...this is *our* history... not England's or Spain's or Europe's... And I think that's crucial really [*italics added*].”⁷⁹ These reflections highlight the intimate significance of the WHMT's work, and how the learning history approach was a catalyst for this awareness and reflection thereon. Given the intimate significance of the work done by the WHMT for participants, it is no surprise that many of them spoke about the importance of ‘passing on’ their history (Seixas's sixth question).⁸⁰ People involved with the WHMT are interested in sustaining a culture, and comments about learning from mistakes and giving to the next generation – before the opportunity is lost (a reference to the age of many of those involved) – were typical of the discussion.⁸¹ Sometimes reflections on these questions touched issues of particular significance to the historical discipline:

Jan Cohen, (retired midwife and WHMT volunteer): ...for me, history is about stories, it's about people sharing what it was like for them in those, that time, and... ‘cause I think there's a huge danger that we have these days on I suppose it's called retroactive history where people today are finding out what happened in the past, bringing their own interpretations of that, but it doesn't necessarily mean to say that that's exactly how it was for those people. So, I'm thinking, linking with what

⁷⁵ See Chapter One, footnotes 73-80.

⁷⁶ Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, p. 15.

⁷⁷ Interview with Ross, p. 6.

⁷⁸ Interview with Clyde, p. 16. See also Appendix VI, the WHMT Learning History document, p. 321. See also Chapter Five, footnote 43.

⁷⁹ WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview p. 42.

⁸⁰ Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, p. 15.

⁸¹ For example, see several of Pat's comments noted elsewhere in this chapter. WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview, pp. 50. See Chapter Five, footnote 49.

you're saying it's true – when we, as a bunch of nurses or midwives, 'cause that's my specialty – but together we are talking about our lives because that was *so* much our lives, you know. It's like what are... when people say, "What do you..." "What are you?" or, "Who are you?" it's almost like I said, "Well, I'm a midwife," before I checked myself to say, "No, no, no, I'm not. I'm actually a retired Jan, you know." So I think that it's important to remember the story aspect of history and that brings community.⁸²

More than just a reflection on problematising identity and which stories to pass on, in the excerpt above Jan raised the problem of evidence (Seixas's fifth question).⁸³ Jan's is an insightful and challenging reflection on the practice of history, truth, and identity. Her thought particularly addresses revisionism and the inevitably etic nature of so much of the production of history – given the separation in time even otherwise emic producers face. Jan's apparent desire for those whose past is the subject of a history to determine the frame of any discourse about that history is striking – but not without precedent.⁸⁴

Jan's comments are also indicative of the deeper and rarer historical thinking Seixas thought characterised good answers to his seven questions on historical consciousness i.e. more sophisticated historical consciousness. Jan's comments on the use of narrative and her awareness of the importance of source demonstrate a clear comprehension of interpretive choices in the construction of historical accounts (the first of Seixas's three criteria).⁸⁵ Jan's words also touch on the difficulty of representing the past in the present and the complexity of conflicting perspectives (the second and third of Seixas's three criteria).⁸⁶

This emphasis on identity and its continuance might seem associated with Rüsen's 'traditional' type of historical consciousness.⁸⁷ Yet further reflections, often from the same people, also demonstrated understanding in terms of the criteria Seixas suggested for gauging the depth of historical consciousness; specifically with regard to interpretive choices and understanding the pastness of the past while simultaneously understanding the presence of the past and acknowledging complexity (Seixas's second criterion).⁸⁸

⁸² WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 22.

⁸³ Seixas, 'What Is Historical Consciousness?', p. 15.

⁸⁴ See indigenous scholarship such as: Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

⁸⁵ Seixas, 'What Is Historical Consciousness?', p. 16.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸⁷ Rüsen, p. 71; Seixas, *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, pp. 145–146.

⁸⁸ Seixas, 'What Is Historical Consciousness?', p. 17.

The learning history approach drew out a great number and variety of such sophisticated reflections. These demonstrate the depth of historical consciousness at the WHMT. Perhaps the outstanding example is Peter Otelli's previously noted view of the WHMT as guardians of stories, knowledge and artefacts – dealing as it does with all of Seixas's indicators of a sophisticated historical consciousness: awareness of complexity, uncertainty, historical distance, consequences and interpretation. Yet there were many other instances where reflective conversations met Seixas's nuanced criteria for 'second order' historical consciousness. For example, just prior to her comments about tactility, Participant One deliberately posited a cyclical view of the nature of history in contrast with Pat's instrumental view – “So you don't repeat the same mistakes” – while simultaneously agreeing that part of the value of history is in its use to the future.⁸⁹ Other comments on the nature of history further illuminate the sophisticated historical consciousness of WHMT participants: Ross's comment about John Armstrong's choice to write a social history rather than a history of heroes demonstrates comprehension of interpretive choice for example.⁹⁰ Above, Jan described history as story.⁹¹ From Peter Otteli and Clyde came conceptions of history as a resource – a source of brand, soul and renewal.⁹² Contingent views on the nature of history – variations on 'how things have been/would have been very different' came through in discussions of the subject of vaccinations⁹³ and the survival of the WHMT itself.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Mark: ...Participant One you just mentioned something about um if we haven't recorded it... and then you just left it there. Like what's the point of recording this...? Participant One, Former Midwife and Volunteer Cataloguer: For fut-... Mark: I know it's a huge question, but... Participant One: posterity really, so that... I mean the writ-, the written... Pat: So you don't repeat the same mistakes, you know. For instance, vaccination I think is a clear one where people don't vaccinate their children... Participant One: Um, just to come back to Pat, I'm not quite sure that it's to avoid the mistakes that have been...Mark: Hm, that's one reason. What was your thought? Participant One: Well I don't think necessarily – I'm not saying that's wrong, but I think that we do repeat – you see things going in cycles all the time. Pat: Yes you do. Participant One: Um, and um I think it's just as a record for actually what happened, like a snapshot for posterity, to pick up on, on the themes that we were all talking about.

WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview, pp. 38-39.

⁹⁰ See Chapter Five, footnote 69.

⁹¹ See Chapter Five, footnote 82.

⁹² See Chapter Five, footnotes 36-38, and 62.

⁹³ Anne: “It's because of that loss of memory that there are whole communities of people now that are not vaccinating for measles and so on, you know, those childhood illnesses.” WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 24.

⁹⁴ Carolyn is acknowledged as having gathered so much of the Trust's collection since at least 1986. We were discussing the origin of the Trust and then Peter Rothwell's work for the Trust – Carolyn: Yep, he's done it all. *We wouldn't be where we are without him at all. I'd be still gathering the stuff and they'd still be in a room – well I'd probably, they probably would have got rid of it by now, somehow.* [Italics added]. Interview with Carolyn, p. 7.

In line with Seixas's second criterion participants made a number of reflections on the pastness and difference of the past, from direct statements such as Peter Rothwell's: "...people are very quick to judge the past by today's standards and the things were... it was a different environment"⁹⁵ to Clyde's simultaneous view of today as tomorrow's past and the present presence of the past: "I think history is something that's happening every day".⁹⁶ The many reflections on loss expressed by participants can also be counted in this category.⁹⁷

Several of the reflections already mentioned also express Seixas's third criteria of acknowledging complexity, uncertainty and differing perspective – such as Jan's excerpt above. John Graham offered a nuanced example. He made a statement that expressed faith in the objective reality of the past yet then went on to demonstrate a critical awareness of bias in history: "I mean history is history, whether you're the top class neurosurgeon or the carpenter. ... So but some histories are slanted I would suggest. [laughs]."⁹⁸

In another example of the reflections that span Seixas' indicators of a deep historical consciousness, at the dissemination meeting Peter Rothwell explained his relationship to history through his tokotoko – his walking stick. For Peter Rothwell, his tokotoko tells him: "You walk forward into the future looking backward into the past... You remember this while you're going forward."⁹⁹ There is a saying in Māori: 'ngā wā ō mua'. Translated variously as 'the past', 'past times' or 'the days before us', ngā wā ō mua refers to a view of history that sees the past behind, around and ahead of us. Peter Rothwell's tokotoko vividly expresses 'ngā wā ō mua'.

⁹⁵ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 7.

⁹⁶ Interview with Clyde, p. 1. The quote in full was: "So I guess that's [laughs] but, you know, I recognise the importance to an organisation of valuing its history. I think history is something that's happening every day and it's very easy to look back and suddenly realise that you don't have any recording of what happened and I'm a bit distressed that we are constantly throwing out things which may be of historical interest."

⁹⁷ For example – Anne: we are heading to the word 'cut off' where yesterday will be lost completely – another 20 years after that. But this here will be, will live on forever. WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview, p. 40. See also Peter Rothwell's comments on loss: "It's [the relevance of the Trust's work] particularly so now because virtually every visible remnant of what *we* knew – where *we* lived and worked – are gone." WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 19.

⁹⁸ Learning History Interview with John Graham, 6 October 2011. p. 11 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

⁹⁹ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, 14 December 2011 p.4 of transcript. Recording and transcript held by Mark Smith.

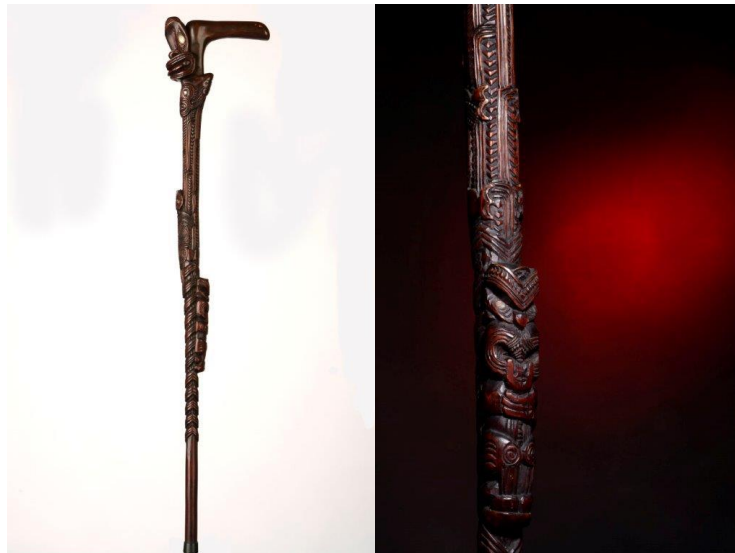


Figure 19. Ngā wā ō mua. Peter Rothwell's tokotoko. Note the several directions of the eyes represented. *Images courtesy of Dr Peter Rothwell.*

Each of the sophisticated statements of historical consciousness noted above proves the value of the learning history approach to the historical discipline. The approach drew out and made space for these kinds of reflections. These examples also reflect the view of historical consciousness adopted by the framers of the European survey¹⁰⁰ – who also gauged the depth of historical consciousness in understandings of the complex interactions between past, present and future.¹⁰¹ At the WHMT, Rösen's 'traditional' type of historical consciousness was abundantly evident in participants' great passion for the past, for WHMT objects and in their desire to pass on their sense of community – witness Clyde's comments about 'talismans'.¹⁰² The complexity, breadth and sophistication of historical consciousness at the WHMT is also evident in the number of reflections that ranged across Rösen's progressive, critical and genetic types – further benefits the approach offers the discipline.

Examples of 'exemplary/progressive' statements of historical consciousness include views on the advance of medical science, faith in an objective reality and Pat's points about the educational value of history.¹⁰³ Further

¹⁰⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly given they too based their views on the likes of Rösen.

¹⁰¹ Angvik and Borries, pp. 401–402.

¹⁰² See Chapter Five, footnotes 43, 53 and 55.

¹⁰³ For example: Peter Rothwell: "...all those infectious diseases have been conquered or largely conquered either by a combination of treatment or prevention." "I'd like to wake people up to just

proof of the depth of historical consciousness at the WHMT is that each of these ‘progressive’ examples was critiqued and complicated by critical statements soon after they were first stated – sometimes by the participant themselves. As noted earlier in this chapter: John Graham indicated his own awareness of bias in historical production, Participant One contrasted a cyclical view of history with Pat’s instrumental one, and both Anne and Pat noted how the loss of social memory around vaccination complicates narratives of medical progress (on different specifics, Peter Rothwell noted the same complexity).¹⁰⁴ Jan’s comments about retroactive history above are probably the clearest expression of the critical type of historical consciousness at the WHMT.¹⁰⁵

It is in the expression of the genetic type of historical consciousness that the WHMT is outstanding as a case organisation for this research. The very activities of the WHMT are indicative of a broad genetic historical consciousness.¹⁰⁶ Aspects of the genetic type of historical consciousness are evident in the historical community of the WHMT,¹⁰⁷ yet the clearest example is in Peter Otteli’s statement on the work of the WHMT as guardians.¹⁰⁸ With those words, Peter Otteli conveyed so much that fits with Seixas and Rösen’s categorisation of genetic historical consciousness. Those words demonstrate an understanding that:

how far they’ve come in only 50 years.” Interview with Peter Rothwell, pp. 4, 9. Another example is the progressive narrative mutely evident in the pacemaker display – see Figure 17.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter Five, footnotes 98 and 89 respectively. Vaccination was the example Pat deployed to reinforce her ‘history as something to learn from’ argument: “So you don’t repeat the same mistakes, you know. For instance, vaccination I think is a clear one where people don’t vaccinate their children, but they never saw...” WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview, p. 38. See Anne on the same subject, WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview, p. 5. See also Interview with Peter Rothwell, pp. 4-6 on the rejection of vaccination, and p. 6 on inappropriate antibiotic use and the rise of bacterial resistance.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter Five, footnote 82.

¹⁰⁶ For examples, see Chapter Five, footnotes 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Knowledge constructed by a community of inquiry that exercises checks and balances within itself.’ I suspect then when Seixas wrote that he meant professional academic communities but the point applies to the historical community of WHMT too – consider their many professional practices such as cataloguing, lectures, debate and knowledge production. Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, p. 149.

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter Five, footnote 62. The quote in full for ease is: “One of the things that, strikes me when I look around the table and talk about [historical] community of course is that [historical] community is not a static thing, it’s a dynamic thing. And at the moment most of us are of one generation except for notable exceptions but nevertheless I think the [historical] community that is entrusted, or we see ourselves as guardians of, stories, of knowledge, of artefacts, and because there will be a need for renewal, a need for the [historical] community to perpetuate itself if you like, and the issues that we find important at the moment may not be the issues that a future generation will find.” WHMT Dissemination Meeting, pp. 24-25.

Historical knowledge is understood to change over time – as it is structured by a community of inquiry that exercises checks and balances on itself. There is awareness of the problematic nature of historical empathy. Yet a historical thinker at this stage works to build a representation of the past that is both consistent with available choices and somehow brings us closer to people in the past.¹⁰⁹

The relevance of that last sentence for describing the WHMT is evident in another quote from Peter Oettli and others at the WHMT dissemination meeting. Peter emphasised how the activities of the WHMT were about ‘preserving the past, honouring the past and also interpreting the past...’ while simultaneously making the past more accessible:

...to people who are outside the, the ‘in-group’ if you like, and, and for me the privilege is to, to be able to be part of that. You know, you’ve got the preservation aspect but you’re also talking, Peter [Rothwell], about the public displays...which give people who are not medic, medics, an access to, to the history of, of what they’re involved in.¹¹⁰

Furthermore, Peter Otteli’s words connect with more of Rösen’s points about genetic consciousness:

It is change itself which gives history its meaning. Temporal change sheds its threatening aspect, instead becoming the path upon which options are opened up for human activity to create a new world. The future surpasses, indeed “outbids,” the past in its claim on the present – a present conceptualized as an intersection, an intensely temporized mode, a dynamic transition.¹¹¹

Ngā wā ō mua, indeed. In the view of history displayed by Peter Otteli and the activities of the WHMT, the past is part of the present for the future. This point also comes through in the words of Clyde:

...we need people to talk about our history, to have some knowledge of it, to understand it and to help inform the present and guide us for the future. There you are, how the history can inform the present and guide the future.¹¹²

And Peter Rothwell: “Yes, and this, the difference between dwelling in the past and valuing the past, we’re looking forward.”¹¹³ This ‘genetic’ vision of the presence of the past in the present for the future can also be seen in many of the

¹⁰⁹ Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 149–150; Rösen, pp. 74–76.

¹¹⁰ WHMT Dissemination Meeting. p. 6. Peter offered this insight before the discussion of historical community at the dissemination meeting.

¹¹¹ Rösen, p. 75.

¹¹² Interview with Clyde, p. 3.

¹¹³ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 4.

reflections already discussed in this chapter – such as in Peter Rothwell’s discussion of his tokotoko. Statements about the difference of the past and Jan’s thoughts on the dangers of a group being interpreted by outsiders demonstrate awareness of the problematic nature of historical empathy. One more piece of evidence demonstrates the depth and the sophistication of the people at the WHMT’s historical consciousness: their response to John Armstrong’s book *Under One Roof*. Seixas linked narrative to the future-focus of the genetic type of historical consciousness. In the genetic type:

...significant events from the past are those that can be constructed into a narrative to help contextualise the present in what has gone before. The narratives into which we arrange events tell us something important about our lives in the present and our choices for the future.¹¹⁴

As noted earlier in this chapter, John found participants contextualising themselves in the present with what had gone before: “I recognised in that book the place that I work” – as John himself described it, it was “...narrativising your role, you know – *you find yourself as part of a story*.”¹¹⁵ These examples of genetic-type historical consciousness are evidence of the depth, variety and sophistication of the historical consciousness of WHMT members. They are also evidence that points towards a greater emphasis on history rather than heritage at the WHMT, at the same time as being proof of the entanglement of the two at the WHMT.

Rather than being as distinct as definitions imply, at the WHMT heritage and history (practices, impulses, feelings and thoughts) are closely connected. The literature’s tendency to polarize the terms (to set them as diametrically opposed) is fruitfully problematized by the WHMT’s engagement with the learning history process. The activities WHMT are clearly rooted in powerful emotions and reasons of identity. Yet the WHMT does perform history – and not just in form (such as books and lectures and so on) but also profoundly in substance, in what they say and think about what they do. At the WHMT heritage and history support each other. Both heritage and history activities of the WHMT touch the emotions of the people of the WHMT and supports the continuance of the WHMT’s work. Recall how Anne described her love of the objects and Pat’s assertion that the

¹¹⁴ Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, p. 149.

¹¹⁵ Interview with John Armstrong, p. 4.

biannual lectures sustained her efforts.¹¹⁶ Recall the depth of passion described by Helen Fahey.¹¹⁷ That depth of feeling gets the cataloguing done and the displays made. It keeps the people of the WHMT going. In the work of the WHMT, heritage and history are entangled. The consequences of this entanglement will be addressed in the Discussion chapter. For here it is sufficient to note that this finding is historiographically significant.

Benefits to the case organisations and participants

The WHMT as an organisation benefited from the learning history approach as suggestions and fresh thinking came out of the process. The evidence of this chapter shows that the learning history approach is an effective means of drawing out participants' thoughts on history in individual and shared reflections. Throughout the case, participants articulated the role of the Trust in ways that went beyond the purposes laid down in the Trust deed. A significant proportion of the dissemination meeting was spent discussing new ways to use Waikato health history. This can be understood as implicit proof of an understanding of the contingent nature of history: the value of knowing that the past could have been different consists in also knowing that the future can be different too, and that we can act to make it so.¹¹⁸

Participants came up with many new ideas. For example: a kind of tour guide booklet of their displays, push-button displays, and recreations of past events, such as the first operation at what would become Waikato Hospital, an intervention that saved James J. Daley the use of most of his hand.¹¹⁹ Further ideas stimulated by the process included new ways of attracting members, thoughts on cabinets for display, and an audiovisual project displaying the physical developments of the Hospital, as well as using a temporarily empty ward to display some of their collection. Participants thought to use the anniversary of the hospital to raise the profile of the history of the hospital and the work of the WHMT.¹²⁰ In these ways traditions and cultures are made, revived or remade, and sustained. Consider how the WHMT even preserves and presents the history of

¹¹⁶ See Chapter Five, footnotes 55 and 59.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter Five, footnote 1.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter One, footnotes 98-102.

¹¹⁹ Wright-St Clair, pp.10-11.

¹²⁰ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, pp. 28-29. It is worth noting that the majority of these ideas came up in the relatively short two-hour period of the dissemination meeting.

previous commemoration efforts. Below is the teapot presented to James J. Daley by the Waikato Hospital Board for their Golden Jubilee in 1937. This object is evidence of a history of commemoration – of marking and caring about the significance of a place, a project (health in the Waikato) and its people. That is also precisely what the WHMT achieves today through its heritage and history work.



Figure 20: Teapot presented to James J. Daley by the Waikato Hospital Board for their Golden Jubilee in 1937. *Image courtesy of the WHMT.*¹²¹

Moreover, many participants explicitly identified benefits in the learning history process. Connecting with the passions of participants is what makes the learning history approach engaging – and that engagement is one of the key things the learning history approach has to offer the historical discipline. How participants felt about the process and what they feel their organisation gained by the process is significant as further evidence of what the learning history approach brings to the historical discipline. This also shows the benefit of the process for the organisations studied, including views on the efficacy of the process,¹²² and the value of the process.¹²³ This involved the opportunity that the learning history process had created to generate more ideas for the work of the WHMT and for a

¹²¹ Perhaps the teapot was a reference to the relative continuance of Daley's manual dexterity.

¹²² For example, Laura on the learning history document: "I thought that you'd captured the essence of what we'd said ... I thought you captured it well." WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 13.

¹²³ **Ross:** "It's great that you're doing this, because I think it does question organisations." Interview with Ross, p.13.

different kind of discussion – because the dissemination meeting involved a different combination of WHMT people than usual and also had a positive, contributory dynamic.¹²⁴

What the WHMT gained from the learning history approach, and what the people of the WHMT get from their participation, is summed up in the following quote from John Armstrong at the very end of the WHMT dissemination meeting:

...for me one of the themes of this meeting has been about what [we] can be doing more, how can we improve things and how we can expand the messages and I think that's incredibly valuable. But for me the document highlighted what we're doing and you know I mean you can just savour that, you know, because a lot of people, not just in this room, but who come to the meetings and things as well get a *lot* out of this. And so I think it's useful to be thinking about what we can do more.¹²⁵

More than enabling the people of the WHMT to pause for thought, the learning history approach enabled participants to express how they feel. Participants made statements on how they felt about their participation throughout the learning history process. Below are examples of how participants were moved by their engagement with the learning history approach. Here Participant One says that the historical preservation effort validates what has gone before, that it is enjoyable – and that the learning history process was an opportunity to further all of that:

I just wanted to say they've done research around schools and things to do with career paths and nursing for the last three has come right at the bottom of the pile, with car sales people. And um the work we do here, I feel – I know it's not just nurses with the instruments – but it validates what's gone before.¹²⁶ And us doing all this together and all having that common bond kind of just validates it for me. And I think it makes it, apart from being really nice people, ah the people here, it just is a worthwhile project. And I've really enjoyed hearing people's stories and little snippets of information. So thank you for giving us that opportunity.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ **John Armstrong:** "... in a really constructive way. So in a way this, document's kind of been the starting point... It opens up opportunities ... Because I think our Trust meetings that we have, with the trustees that, you know, four or five of us so were all really well run constructive meetings[John is honorary archivist for the WHMT Trust Board], but this slightly wider meeting... **Female Participant:** Hm. **John Armstrong:** ...itself is a whole different dynamic." WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 38.

¹²⁵ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 55.

¹²⁶ I take 'What's gone before' to refer to the work of their lifetimes and of those who'd worked in those vocations before – not what had been said before in this group interview. *cf.* that line with the initial quote from Helen Fahey – Chapter Five, footnote 1. Note that the group meeting happened only hours before I met Helen.

¹²⁷ WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview, p. 54.

The same message of utility for the case organisation and emotional connection for the participants comes through in the following statements from the dissemination meeting:

Participant One: I think it's been a wonderful couple of hours of discussion, and um it's wonderful to see the valuing from the document of everybody's participation, and for me the discussion this morning's opened up possibilities that I hadn't thought about for this kind of, for the Trust...

Maire McMullen (Retired Nurse and Volunteer WHMT Cataloguer): And I'd like to reiterate the same. I think this, this has been a very – very valuable exercise for us to ah realise that we've, that this whole thing is valued ... And I think that the whole feeling of, that came from this document, is about family and caring about each other. Thank you.¹²⁸

There was one more notable reflection on the value of the learning history process from the participants. This case is a little unusual in that there were practising academic historians within the WHMT. One of them made it clear how interesting the process was for her – because it had reminded her that people *are* interested in history, and that people really do think about history in many different ways.

Cathy: it seems to me.... everyone carries ideas of history with them, you know, different interpretations of what history itself is.

Female Participant: Hm.

Cathy: How do you do history? what does it mean? is it facts, is it stories, is it memories, the emotional aspect? So I learnt a lot about people's own investment in this Trust. Which I've had a professional and personal relationship with, you know. So I found that really interesting. And I suppose one other way of putting that would be I'm always surprised how much people *do* think about history [*italics added*].¹²⁹

In their own words, participants found the learning history approach to be valuable. The process enabled participants to connect with their efforts in a new way. The learning history process also provided participants with a forum for sharing and discussing their reflections. The power of that engagement – and reaffirming that engagement – are significant benefits the learning history process offers the historical discipline.

¹²⁸ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, pp. 56-57

¹²⁹ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 43.

The significance of how the WHMT uses its history

To recapitulate essential points from earlier in this chapter: this case reveals how the WHMT uses its history – to sustain identity and historical community. The WHMT use their history to fulfil the purposes laid out in their Trust deed. Much of what they do is ultimately focussed on education. The WHMT has delivered high-quality historical productions such as scholarly books, dispersed displays with interpretation panels and regular lectures. The WHMT has also created a back-of-house organisation that uses professional museum practices to support its more visible efforts and make material available for research. This is significant for the historical discipline because it means that the WHMT ‘does’ history.

Yet implicit in all of their efforts is one important reason why the people of the Trust have used their history how they have: it is about the volunteers themselves. Their work is about creating a sense of community and a sense of belonging. These people value history in part because they understand their role in a larger narrative; the Trust personalises history for them but also allows them to connect, and stay connected past retirement, to a very special community. The people of the Trust have not just used their history to educate, but also as a chance to protect, re-experience and celebrate something precious to them – the work of their lives. They have done that by voluntarily creating an infrastructure of preservation and dissemination.

It is in making their work both passionate and professional, heritage and history, that they have created the historiographically significant phenomenon of historical community. Writing on relics and remains, Rzepka distinguished between them by indicating that ‘relics’ simply confirm or illustrate a given historical truth, whereas ‘remains’ provide a focus for critical enquiry.¹³⁰ Clyde’s use of the word ‘talismans’, and the depth of feeling expressed by the volunteers in their care for their collections evokes the ‘relic’, and can be associated with Lowenthal’s views on heritage.¹³¹ Yet it is that same care that has enabled the WHMT to build up a thoroughly systematic apparatus that explicitly makes their objects available to students and researchers.¹³² Participant One’s view on how

¹³⁰ Rzepka.

¹³¹ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*.

¹³² See section *How the WHMT uses Waikato health history* and especially page 329 for Peter Rothwell’s email. See also the WHMT’s downloadable Trust Deed, listed under ‘Charity Rules’

objects must be felt and experienced in order to be fully understood stands as an example of where that care and historical/professional practices and interpretation run together. This is another example of how the WHMT's engagement with the learning history approach fruitfully problematises the polarisation of definitions of history and heritage. Literature that emphasises the distinction between history and heritage is complicated by this thesis's evidence of their entanglement in practice.¹³³ The very nature of the WHMT's work allows the objects in question to be treated as relics *and* understood as remains.

The WHMT's work demonstrates the relevance and utility of the past in the present. Their work is significant for the historical discipline because the use to which the WHMT has put history demonstrates that relevance and utility. Such present relevance places a burden on works of history: to be most relevant, history must be accessible: physically, intellectually and emotionally. Peter Oettli's references to renewal and interpretation, and Jan's on identity and history, speak to today's responsibility to pass on yesterday to tomorrow.¹³⁴ The work of the WHMT makes Waikato health history accessible. When Peter Rothwell explained the worth of objects-in-place, displays dispersed throughout the Hospital, he explicitly used the words 'relevant' and 'accessible'.¹³⁵

This case study has also demonstrated the deep significance of objects – talismans – and constituting identity. Comments about 'tactility', 'talismans' and the importance of 'not losing one's past' by losing the objects associated with it underscored the significance of objects – as points-of-entry fostering a sense of connection with the past. Participants reiterated how it seems we could lose yesterday unless we keep a piece of it. History matters – those involved do all this because they care. A moment of near-tears at the opening of the dissemination meeting brought home how much this 'stuff' matters to people personally. If it did not matter, 'we' would not do it.

Department of Internal Affairs, Charity Services,
<<https://diaregister.charities.govt.nz/CharitiesRegister/ViewCharity?accountId=a220addb-da89-dc11-98a0-0015c5f3da29&searchId=48e5618f-d915-4713-8ba3-d3875fe39141>> [accessed 28 September 2014].

¹³³ For example, Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*.

¹³⁴ See Chapter Five, footnotes 62 and 82.

¹³⁵ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 14

The people of the WHMT also used their history to narrativise. In doing so, they demonstrated sophisticated historical consciousness. People from the WHMT sometimes presented progressive narratives. Yet they also problematized their views. As previously noted, the different conceptions of history and the many reflections on history encountered during the case illustrate how the WHMT embodies historical community. This reflects a sophisticated historical consciousness. Some of the views of history encountered will be addressed in the Discussion chapter.¹³⁶

When I asked the people of the Trust why they did what they did, they told me it was about not losing their history. They also said it was about being able to connect with it.¹³⁷ They spoke of how the Trust provided the opportunity to engage with their history. They explained how their work promoted the idea of their organisation. And they told me how all of this had created a space to discuss history and the work of history – a historical community.

The above covers what the WHMT has done with its history. Those points are significant for the historical discipline because they complicate and blur the boundaries between history and heritage, as well as academic and non-academic history. They indicate how porous public history can be. Perhaps the terms ‘history’ ‘heritage’ ‘academic’ and ‘non-academic’, while useful labels, might instead be better understood as relational markers on continua. It is a problem apparent in public history’s very name. The essential point for this thesis is that this case study provides evidence of complex interconnections between heritage and the historical discipline, and the potent strength of both within the WHMT.

What this case reveals about the learning history approach

This case demonstrates that the learning history approach works for Public History. The approach successfully engaged participants in reflection on their activities. In this chapter, it has been shown that the learning history approach is an effective means of drawing out participants’ thoughts on history in individual and shared reflections. As at Southwell and Woodlands, the learning history

¹³⁶ See Chapter Six, section *How have the organisations selected for study utilised their pasts?*

¹³⁷ Largely through objects, but also through the collection of oral histories and the production of books and so on. See Chapter Five, footnotes 43 and 47. See also Participant One and Anne’s words, Chapter Five, footnotes 53 and 55.

approach enabled the discussion of heritage, history, and historiography outside the Academy.

The remainder of this chapter furthers the argument that the WHMT engaged with the learning history approach. There is much in that engagement of significance for the historical discipline. To summarise, that engagement was demonstrated in a number of ways: WHMT people offered descriptions of history (the work, the practices, the discipline) and often reflected on the nature of history through reflections on their own use of history. All are indicative of sophisticated historical consciousness. Participants engaged with the learning history approach by offering many reflections on how they think about their organisation's own use of history, the purpose of history in general, what else they might do with health history, as well as reflections on their engagement with the learning history approach process itself.

The approach drew out further articulations of historical consciousness. Those reflections included a number of briefly stated conceptualisations pertinent to the historical discipline, such as statements on its contingent nature, the 'pastness' and difference of the past, history as story, as resource, problematisations of historical knowledge production, along with an understanding that the present will be tomorrow's past. This case presented further reflections: on conceptions of history, the utility of history, the constitutive relationship between history and identity, and on the idea of historical community itself. Participants themselves expressed how they found the learning history approach valuable – as an opportunity to reflect and a source of new thoughts for example. I am not saying that the learning history approach made people think these thoughts. What is significant for the historical discipline is that the learning history approach provided the space to discuss such ideas, and captured that discussion in a way that can be presented for scholarship (i.e. this very thesis). As with the Southwell and Woodlands' case studies, the WHMT findings suggest there would be rich material for a quantitative study of how New Zealanders relate to the past, along the lines of the seminal surveys in the United States, Australia and Canada.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup.

As at Southwell and Woodlands, the evidence from this case study indicates that the learning history approach is worthwhile. Again, the material for addressing the first research question was found through the approach. As before, that the learning history drew out the reflections, insights and discussion described in this case is useful to the historical discipline. That much of this material was captured for analysis *by the participants* as well as the researcher benefitted the organisation. The method facilitates participants driving the process. Participants used the process for their own benefit by articulating their thoughts and generating ideas for their organisation – for example, on what more to do with history, how to reach more people, and in being able to discuss these topics. For example, during the dissemination meeting Clyde took over the meeting to ask everyone attending about their thoughts on his conceptions of ‘brand’ and ‘soul’.¹³⁹ What is noteworthy is not that he gave his own thoughts, and elaborated his quotes in the learning history document, but that he actively directed the meeting for a time. This case study also demonstrates exactly how the learning history approach is a whole process. The dissemination meeting is extremely important. That Clyde both elaborated on his points from the learning history document and turned that into a group discussion of the ideas raised by the document is an example of how the dissemination meeting works with the learning history document. Two further examples are the discussion of, and reflections on, the historical community concept. The implications of these points for the historical discipline and the learning history approach will be addressed in the Discussion chapter.

At the WHMT, the application of the learning history approach revealed the reality of historical community within the organisation, and disseminated that concept for discussion by the WHMT. While at Southwell and Woodlands the application of the learning history was a catalyst for thinking about history ‘like historians’, the evidence of this WHMT chapter is that many participants were already thinking historically.¹⁴⁰ The significant point for this research is that not only did the learning history process reveal the phenomenon of historical community at the WHMT, the learning history process facilitated examination and illumination of the phenomenon by the people of the WHMT. This is more of the kind of evidence sought and used by scholars such as Rosenzweig and Thelen

¹³⁹ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 49.

¹⁴⁰ Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’.

to understand historical consciousness.¹⁴¹ It is further proof of the potential of the learning history approach.

It is of benefit to the discipline that the learning history approach drew out thoughts for analysis and discussion by both the researcher and the participants. Those thoughts included enabling participants to look with new eyes upon their activities and gain fresh insights into them, as well as judging the learning history process itself while engaged in it. The value of the learning history approach was highlighted by the example of an actively engaged public historian being surprised by public engagement in the course of the process. Additionally, the learning history approach proved its value in highlighting the challenging aspect of passionate public engagement: a mistrust of interpretation as reflected in Jan's comments.

At the WHMT, the learning history approach facilitated and captured extensive reflection and discussion of historiographical ideas. For the discipline this means that the learning history approach is a method for promoting historiographical issues in public discourse. The phenomenon of historical community and the success of the learning history approach are significant for the historical discipline because they are realisations of Robert Kelly's original vision for public history.¹⁴²

This application of the learning history approach found a historical community at the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust. This case study found that the WHMT uses history to: educate, engage and recognise, reassure, recruit and retain people who interact with Waikato Hospital. In doing this they have satisfied a very strong desire among former staff to maintain aspects of Waikato health history. The ongoing efforts of volunteers have enabled them to continue to identify themselves with a community and ethos that means a great deal to them. That emotional connection and the structured activities of the Trust itself enable a virtuous circle of cultural sustainability. In doing all of this, the people of the Trust have created an uncommon space to deliberately discuss their history. That

¹⁴¹ Angvik and Borries; Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, pp. 15–34; Wineburg, 'Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important', pp. 35–43; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

¹⁴² See Introduction, footnotes 6-9. See also Kelley, 'Public History'.

in turn has facilitated a relatively ready discussion of issues around the use of their history. This is significant because it means that participants were relatively comfortable conceptualising their history as something they were ‘using’.

At a deep level, the work of the Trust is more about *maintaining* identity rather than disseminating it/inculcating it. The most notable feature of the WHMT’s use of Waikato health history is in its embodiment of ‘historical community.’ The learning history process brought historical community to light and fostered examination of the phenomenon by the community itself. That was part of the extremely sophisticated and complex historical consciousness exhibited by the people of the WHMT. The infrastructure of professional historical knowledge production clearly exists at the WHMT. At the WHMT, a visitor finds interpretation panels rather than mere labels. In this historical community, the work of history is actually done and historiography as well as history is discussed. Yet these efforts are also about belonging. At the WHMT, history sustains vocational identities built on lifetimes of contribution, cooperation and altruism. For the professional historical community (and other academic communities) this underlines what is often forgotten: that the basic values of scholarly enquiry and of civilised society are inextricably intertwined elements of the same civic enterprise.¹⁴³

At the WHMT heritage and history are linked. The sophistication of historical consciousness (history) at the WHMT is underpinned by a deep (heritage) passion. That is because the use of history at the WHMT is about identity as well as historical production. For many of the volunteers the work of the WHMT is about reconnecting with vocation and community. Yet the efforts of these retired health professionals are so powerful they have attracted several outsiders, family members and people with a professional interest in history. Together they have made something of potential significance to the historical discipline – historical community. At the WHMT the past has relevance in the present. Heritage and history flow together and sustain one another. The historiographical significance of historical community will be discussed in depth in the following chapter.

¹⁴³ Parker J. Palmer, *The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a Teacher’s Life*, 10th anniversary ed (San Francisco, Calif: Jossey-Bass, 2007), pp. 94–95.

Chapter Six

Answering the Call: Discussion and findings

This chapter argues for the relevance of history, the importance of expanding participatory historical culture, and for the inclusion of the learning history approach within the historical discipline. These points are a major part of what this thesis contributes to the historical discipline. They originate from how Southwell, Woodlands and the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust have used their histories. This chapter also addresses what the learning history approach brings to the discipline as a whole and public history in particular. It brings together evidence from the case chapters, discussion of the significance of the findings of those chapters, and an evaluation of the learning history approach. This discussion considers some of the philosophical, historiographical and epistemological issues raised by this research.

More specifically, this chapter summarises and discusses the findings of the case studies considered in this thesis, such as how the organisations studied (and therefore the people within them) have deliberately invented traditions and constructed systems of heritage to foster community and sustain identity. The key finding is the entanglement of history and heritage in practice. This finding and its implications for the relevance of history are discussed in light of the work of historians who have published on the relationship between history and heritage. Between the critical literature and the findings of this research I argue for both the expansion of a civic participatory historical culture and – through answering the second research question – the learning history approach as a means of contributing to that expansion. This chapter discusses the other contributions made by this research and considers the wider implications of these findings for the historical discipline as a whole. These include consideration of historical consciousness, some of the problems of knowledge production, and the challenges and opportunities inherent in building a more participatory historical culture.

How have the organisations selected for study utilised their pasts?

A succinct answer to the first research question ‘How Have the Organisations Selected for Study Utilised Their Past?’ is that Southwell, Woodlands, and the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust utilise their pasts for identity building. In addressing that question, this research has also found ‘history’ and ‘heritage’ at the organisations studied to be intimately connected, sometimes symbiotically sustaining one another, and sometimes running in parallel. These findings are first summarised, and then their implications for the historical discipline are discussed below.

Southwell, the first of the case organisations, emphatically utilises its past. Southwell creates the identity of its past to build and sustain its identity in the present. Indeed, Southwell’s use of its past is part of a complex and coherent organisational identity building effort. Through a ‘virtuous circle’, Southwell draws from its past to sustain its present and future. Southwell utilises its past to inculcate an identity – inclusion in the Southwell Family. The revival and ritual practice of the invented tradition of brickmaking exemplifies how Southwell uses its past.¹ Brickmaking references both something that actually happened (i.e. the past) and draws people into the creation of history; and by participating, the participants identify themselves as part of that history. Southwell’s past is used as a fund of stories that build identity. The self-sustaining cycle of Southwellisation emphasises involvement and continuity, which in turn supports and sustains the educational community that is the Southwell Family. Many members of the organisation demonstrated a sophisticated awareness of their organisation’s use of history.

Woodlands also preserves its identity. For many of the volunteers who participated in this research, Woodlands offers a connection with emotional roots and community. In turn, the volunteers want to offer Woodlands to a much wider group of people, especially the young. At Woodlands, the past is used to offer an experiential sense of the British colonial settler experience – or rather, a sense of connection with an idealised presence. What is offered is largely a romanticised perception of how people in the past lived. The presentation of Woodlands has

¹ See Hobsbawm’s ‘a’ type invented traditions: ‘a) those establishing or symbolising social cohesion of membership of groups, real or artificial communities’. Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, p. 9.

been designed to affect response. ‘Woodlands’, or rather the people who make up the organisation today, use historical interpretations, texts, artefacts and everything else they do for Woodlands to suggest an affective sense of roots and identity.² Woodlands puts forward a progressive narrative of settler endeavour at the same time as being a synchronous creation, a fixed ideal – all to support a ‘viable community’.³ This is ‘heritage’ as described by commentators such as Lowenthal, Trapeznik and McLean among others.⁴ Such heritage was present in all three cases, but was particularly noticeable at Woodlands. There are several other outstanding features of the Woodlands case for this chapter: several participants demonstrated high degrees of historical consciousness: for example when they offered reflections about the nature of history, insights into Woodlands’ use of its history, as well as critiques and defences of the learning history approach itself. These will be discussed further throughout this chapter.

The Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust (WHMT) retains and sustains identity through heritage and historical community. The past is used at the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust to retain, and to a lesser extent foster, a sense of identity *within* a living organisation – the Hospital/Health Waikato. The WHMT pursues the retention of vocational identity for its largely retired volunteers. Yet the activities of the WHMT are also a systematic engagement in professional and historical practice. In the WHMT’s historical community efforts have coalesced around sometimes considering their past as Wineburg said historians (should) do. The WHMT’s historical community is significant in itself as an example of how to broaden participatory historical culture. The opportunity to pursue that example has implications for the historical discipline – and that came out of addressing the first research question. For this reason the historical community of the WHMT receives particular attention in the paragraphs below.

The WHMT has made use of its history to educate patients, engage current staff, recognise significant contributions to medicine in the Waikato, to build the ‘brand’ of medicine in the Waikato and to be part of the soul of the Hospital. In doing this, they have satisfied a very strong desire among former staff to maintain

² For example, it came through in the words of participants when they indicated that the past suffering of settlers has to mean something – see Chapter Four, footnotes 9 and 10.

³ Miller, p. 34.

⁴ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, pp. x–xi, 119–121, throughout; Trapeznik and McLean, pp. 15–16.

aspects of Waikato health history. The ongoing efforts of volunteers have enabled them to maintain an identity that means a great deal to them. That emotional connection and the structured activities of the Trust itself enable a virtuous circle of cultural sustainability. In doing this, the Trust membership has created something exceptional: a space to deliberately discuss their history. They socialise over medical history and sometimes historiographical issues and debates – that is to say, they engage in practices that are part of academic/professional historical culture. They have fun and at the same time they ‘do’ history.

It is significant for this thesis that the WHMT often moves from heritage into history – and does so without diminishing the emotional power of these endeavours. Their endeavours often combine the strengths of history and heritage. All the case organisations made something of their material culture, but the WHMT takes its heritage and explicitly interprets it. The WHMT emphasises professional practices, and seeks professional academic assistance to work on its archiving, object storage, displays, interpretation, and general history production. That is moving from heritage into history. Yet these objects are also the focus of intensely personal meaning. These talismanic objects are constitutive of identity. The embedded and dispersed displays are both sites of education for patients and current staff, and memory boxes for former staff. These material artefacts are enormously significant to the volunteers precisely because they are creating, maintaining and validating something immaterial – the almost entirely vanished physical reality of the(ir) past.

These efforts directly address the first research question. They reveal the depth behind the uses of history at the WHMT as a whole. The efforts of the people of the WHMT constitute a project to *create a context* or environment for wider public participation: all their efforts show the present relevance of the past. Through contributing to an organisation ‘soul’, and belonging to a community, the Trust has given emotional satisfaction and a historical community to those involved with its activities. This is especially true of vocational identity and community for retired staff. Contributing to a narrative and being able to situate themselves in it fosters a sense of community and belonging. These people value history in part because they understand their role in a larger narrative. Yet even then, even when describing the progressive narrative of the tremendous successes of the last fifty years of medical history, people of the WHMT sometimes

problematized ‘progress’. This demonstrates their views on historiographical complexity and their historical consciousness. History exists alongside heritage at the WHMT.⁵

Explaining the differences between the organisations

The finding of different emphases in each organisation’s use of their past could be attributed in part to the different nature of each organisation. These differences highlight why each is building a different kind of community. Moreover, each organisation has a slightly different mode for its use of the past. Whereas the past is used at Southwell largely to inculcate a corporate spirit, the use of the past at the WHMT seems largely due to the fact that the volunteers already have taken a shared sense of belonging to something greater into themselves. Woodlands emphasises celebration of a stable past. The WHMT looks outward to wider medical trends, and Southwell has a somewhat more inward looking perspective on history. This will be further unpacked below.

While both ‘history’ and ‘heritage’ appear in all three organisations, a major difference between them is how much more the WHMT leans toward history.⁶ That emphasis is significant for this research, and it is worth considering probable causes. For one, use of the past is not essential for the operations of Health Waikato. At Southwell and to a lesser extent Woodlands, ‘the past’ is of much more use for daily operations, and therefore more likely to be dragooned into service. Educating people about the past is important for all three organisations, but at Southwell it is part of the key Southwell Family identity project, and at Woodlands it is both the underlying justification for maintaining the site, and the distinctive flavour it offers, even for those who only want to use it as a function centre. The difference between the WHMT and the other cases was that the relevant aspect of identity was already secure for the hundreds of former Health professionals who attend the WHMT’s public lectures, and the dozens of volunteers actively involved in the WHMT’s activities. With their identity already

⁵ For example, the public lectures mix elements of each, as do the displays. Consider the professionalism in interpretation panels and cataloguing objects – objects that are treasured as talismans. Consider the awareness implicit in the distinction made between types of history: “I mean John took us completely out of our comfort zone in that he didn’t, he did a social history rather than a, you know, history of heroes...[laughs]. Learning history interview with Prof. Ross Lawrenson, 11 October 2011. p. 6 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

⁶ See Chapter One, footnotes 8, 10, 11, 14-16, 19-27.

secure, the WHMT does not need to engage so much in the heritage activities/tendencies of the likes of Southwell and Woodlands. They can afford to be more 'historical'. Perhaps too, the less obvious, less immediately 'useful' nature of 'the past' for Health as an operational activity has meant that Health Waikato's past was also *available* in a way that it was not elsewhere. As a scholarly territory it was for the most part unclaimed and thus available to be used, engaged with and cherished by people such as those who became the WHMT's volunteers.

Another key point is the contrast between work and leisure. Al Gini presents 'leisure' as more than simply an absence of 'work'. Genuine leisure is conducive to a reflective state of mind. 'To be leisurely is to be... open, observant and receptive to ideas outside of self and one's immediate needs. Leisure is time given to contemplation, wonder, awe and the development of ideas.'⁷ Even though Woodlands' participants in this research are volunteers (and many of them retirees, at a stage in life perhaps more given to reflection than any other), much of their volunteering time is taken up with the work of running a function centre and maintaining the site. Most of those involved with Southwell work on running a school. Of the three organisations, it is perhaps only at the WHMT that most of the work of the organisation (i.e. that most of what the volunteers would do for their involvement with the organisation), is work that is conducive to historical reflection. For example: engaging with the public lectures, cataloguing (alone and also in groups discussing what is being catalogued), creating interpretation panels, participating in historical research, acting as an oral source for the writing of historical texts, persuading the Health Waikato hierarchy of (and therefore having to think on) the benefits of including displays within the Hospital and so on.

Moreover, medicine is both a professional and an academic culture of practice. Medicine is also a culture of practice that routinely consults specialists. Perhaps it should not be surprising that the WHMT invited historians and museum professionals into their historical activities. Medicine as it is practised in this time and place directs patients with particular problems to consultants with specialist expertise. People with broken bones are dealt with by orthopaedic specialists; ill children are entrusted into the care of paediatric specialists, and so on. And while

⁷ Al Gini, *The Importance of Being Lazy: In Praise of Play, Leisure, and Vacation*, 1 edition (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 24.

participants at each of the organisations studied invoked their tertiary education and professional practice, several of the participants at the WHMT are/were tertiary teachers themselves.⁸ The heightened engagement with academic practice in this community was vividly demonstrated during the WHMT group interview by Pat Oettli's exclamation "...and that would make a great publication!"⁹

Things shared: the past in the present

Despite their differences, each case study had much in common. One shared aspect in particular argues for the relevance of history – demonstrating another implication for the discipline that falls out of answering the first research question. One of the significant findings of this research is that the past really does continue into the present. The three cases present evidence of exactly *how* the past continues into the present. The point was particularly salient at Southwell where determining exactly how to interact with the past in the present is a conscious component of executive decision making.¹⁰ From those activities alone, it is apparent that history is not just 'past' even in the practical context of running

⁸ A subtle thread throughout all the cases was a correlation between deep reflection, sophisticated historical consciousness and tertiary education – for example, Geoff Burgess explicitly mentioned his own tertiary studies (specifically the work of Thomas Sergiovanni) as an influence when he was explaining why he had reinvented brickmaking at Southwell. Learning history interview with Geoffrey Burgess, 17 March 2010. p. 3 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. Another example is Jacqui Haselden's Masters thesis on the lives and work of several of the women of Woodlands. Jacqui Haselden, 'Temporal Anchor' (Whitecliffe College of Arts and Design, 2007). Cataloguing volunteers Laura Sommerville, Maire McMullen and Participant One taught Nursing subjects at Wintec for decades. Professor Ross Lawrenson has been head of the University of Auckland's Clinical School at Waikato Hospital since 2006. In addition to his medical work he has published articles on medical history. Cataloguing volunteer Peter Oettli once lectured in late classical medieval language and literature, German Philology, and was also Pro Vice-Chancellor (International) and Dean of Humanities at the University of Waikato for many years. WHMT trustees Associate Professor Catherine Coleborne and Dr. James Beattie lecture in history at the University of Waikato.

⁹ WHMT Cataloguers Learning History Group Interview with Laura Sommerville, Participant One, Anne Green, Pat Oettli and Maire McMullen. p. 35 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

¹⁰ Headmasters said as much. For example, Royce Helm on decision making "...as the head of the school, this is really relevant because it's about developing systems and strategies to ensure that we both educate, remain relevant, but continue to keep our history." Moments earlier Royce had described retaining that history as "ensuring we don't lose who we are". First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, 16 November 2010. pp. 29 and 28 of transcript respectively. Recording and transcript held by Mark Smith.

In another vivid example, Geoff Burgess' described how his research into the history of Southwell led to his decision to revive brickmaking: "And so in my reading, back through all of my magazines, as you do, you trawl the magazines as a head and you hear people talk, and you pretty soon hear the stories that resonate – and that the brick-making was one that that did resonate... I thought, hm, that, yeah, we've got to do this. We've got to bring back that that nature, that aspect of Southwell's history." Learning history interview with Geoff Burgess, 17 March 2010. p. 3 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same. For more see page 298, Southwell Learning History Appendix IV.

a business, but instead more of a continual weaving, constantly being worked on. At Woodlands it was most apparent in the silences of the past (regarding women, Māori and working people) being re-inscribed on the present. The WHMT deliberately embeds the past in the present. For example, the dispersed displays throughout the Hospital deliberately *present* the present with traces of the past.¹¹ Peter Rothwell commented as much when describing the displays and the work of the WHMT – making it clear how he wanted the past to have presence in the present, and for that past to mean something to people now.¹² Even Peter’s tokotoko silently conveys ‘ngā wā ō mua’.¹³ These are further rebuttals of the modernist notion of the irrelevance of history and the past.¹⁴ That people believe history is not merely ‘in the past’, behind them and to be ignored, means the past is with us now and needs to be addressed. If we understand that what we do today is shaped by what has come before us, then that affects the way that we look at the present. That people choose to proactively use the past reinforces this point even further. Essentially, these cases provide evidence of people deliberately placing the past in the present. Reinforcing Faulkner’s aphorism (‘The past is never dead. It’s not even past’) with evidence constitutes a contribution to knowledge in and of itself, and is a strong argument for the relevance of history.¹⁵

The identity process

A further notable finding of this research is how the organisations each had a similar process for the use of their history. In each case, the past was used. In each case, the people of the present were making use of the past for the sake of identity

¹¹ Ashton and Hamilton addressed this point for objects and why they are kept ‘Like other historical pursuits or activities, objects are crucial as anchoring or structuring devices across space and time, because they draw the past into the present.’ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 64.

¹² See Chapter Five, footnotes 18 and 20. “We’re developing what you’d call snapshots of ah displays um that should be in the area that’s appropriate to them and related to present day treatments see – not, not, not tucked away in a museum somewhere.” And why that work matters: “Because the, this hospital has lost virtually all its visual reminders of the past – structural. There’s virtually nothing here of the past. ... So to some extent we’ve lost things that look old, or or anything – you know, we we just sort of think, people can sort of think, it was always like this,...” Learning history interview with Dr. Peter Rothwell, 14 September 2011. pp. 8, 15 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

¹³ See Chapter Five, footnote 99. WMHT Dissemination Meeting, p.4 of transcript.

¹⁴ Henry Ford’s ‘History is bunk’ is probably the best known of these. See Chapter One, footnote 116, for a discussion of what Ford actually said. In a debate between the views of say, Ashton and Hamilton, versus those represented by my former manager in the introductory chapter, my evidence comes down firmly on the side of Ashton and Hamilton – ‘...the past is putatively dead and gone, but it intrudes in the present, never completely past nor obliterated.’ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 78.

¹⁵ William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1953), p. 85. Act One, Scene Three.

and the future. Similar forces were acting on each organisation, and many of the activities of the three case organisations resembled each other. In each case organisation selected for study, there occurred a process much as follows. The utilisation of the past in these organisations emanated from a desire to preserve their past – more intensely described by several participants as a fear of loss.¹⁶ This desire frequently found expression in the rescue and conservation of objects.¹⁷ Tied in with the desire to avoid loss, are motives such as organisational survival and an appreciation of particular ways of living – not necessarily practiced or even desired by those contemplating the past, but held to be represented by the past. This view of an idealised past – as an ‘Elsewhere’ held in one’s heart and mind, much like the poet Philip Larkin’s nuanced view of Ireland – enables a person holding such a view to actualise themselves as they wish.¹⁸ Such a view ‘underwrites [a person’s] existence’, without necessarily needing a basis in research or lived reality.¹⁹ Tangible objects come to represent intangible community. For these efforts to have met any degree of success required at least a modicum of power; be it merely the ability to save an object from the scrapheap, or having the influence to see a space made for the past within the present (in the form of archives, displays, events, texts and so on).²⁰ In each case, to secure the past meant it had to be shared. As a consequence outreach and educating others was fundamental to each organisation’s utilisation of the past. This outreach worked through modes such as the evocation of place, the deployment of objects, activities and practices such as tours and the conservation of objects, and the construction of accessible (and often progressive) narratives. All interacted with and reinforced each other. All three organisations wanted to produce or have produced works of history to ground their narratives. They wanted to draw on the accuracy and veracity of the discipline, and the authority that comes with the physicality and permanence of books.²¹ Narrative knitted the modes together, and

¹⁶ cf. ‘We value our heritage most when it seems at risk’ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 24.

¹⁷ Consider the development of the Southwell Room, the preservation and restoration of Woodlands itself along with the name, stated purposes and activities of the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust.

¹⁸ Philip Larkin, ‘The Importance Of Elsewhere by Philip Larkin’, *All Poetry* <<http://allpoetry.com/The-Importance-Of-Elsewhere>> [accessed 6 May 2015].

¹⁹ Larkin.

²⁰ Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’, p. 78.

²¹ My qualitative finding on the importance of ‘having a book’ calls to mind the Canadian finding of “books second only to museums as sources that people trust”. Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 31.

their reinforcement of each other strengthened memory, became social, and that in turn created and now sustains identity and community.²² All of these projects are organisational efforts at shaping a broader emotional and intellectual landscape. Within this landscape the particular story of the organisation can be located, and made explicable for an audience wider than that of those individuals practically concerned in its construction.

The identity process outlined above is a general answer to the first research question: ‘How have the organisations selected for study utilised their pasts?’ The evidence amassed to support this thesis demonstrates how these organisations presented organisational narratives that encouraged people to understand themselves and (themselves in relation to) a community: Southwell’s use of history fosters the Southwell Family’s sense of itself – an imagined unity across thousands of people – many of whom will never meet. Woodlands’ volunteers find roots in volunteering at Woodlands. And at the WHMT I heard how a written history helped more than one person understand themselves within the story of their organisation.²³ I heard directly how many participants and volunteers felt themselves to be part of their wider organisation.

Each organisation’s ‘history effort’ was also about staking a claim for the organisation’s own relevance and survival within a wider culture. Southwell was offering its narrative as a reason for people to become involved with Southwell. Woodlands was staking its claim for relevance in the Waikato and for continued Waikato District Council support. The situation is especially clear with the WHMT which is legally distinct from the Hospital though of the Waikato Health culture.

It is worth noting that all of these efforts communicate a social memory. History and heritage are used to create a shared past. The people these efforts speak to feel a sense of sharing in past events even when they are not always

²² Especially progressive narratives, such as Southwell’s growth from strength to strength, Woodlands’ participants common urge to insist that suffering (in this case settler suffering) *mean* something; medical progress at the WHMT, and Health Waikato’s contributions to that wider narrative of the advance of modern medicine.

²³ See WMHT Learning History, p. 328, Appendix VI. See also Learning history interview with John Armstrong, author of *Under One Roof*, 7 October 2011. pp. 3-4, 10-11 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

actual participants.²⁴ Taken together, these efforts are a way to create an ‘imagined community’.²⁵ The learning history approach makes this blurring explicit and facilitates reflection on it and also begins to explicate how historical consciousness operates. It highlights that there is conscious creation of ‘the memory’ from ‘authorities’ – people such as officials, managers and historians. Yet these efforts can only succeed if they resonate with the public they address.²⁶ Both the authority and the resonance are required.

My findings on this first research question both support, and problematise, the findings of others.²⁷ This research speaks most directly to works on historical consciousness, especially the national surveys of Rosenzweig and Thelen, Ashton and Hamilton and Conrad, Ercikan, Létourneau, Northrup and Seixas. My findings from the qualitative learning history approach deepen such knowledge and complicate Lowenthal’s assertions on the nature of heritage and history. I will address those assertions again later in this chapter because they speak to the relevance of history.

Also in common with the national surveys, this research found identity to be deeply significant to participants. Several of my participants echoed the views of a number of commentators on the occurrence and nature of a social turn toward history. Even differences illuminate the similarities: while this research was significantly different because it looked at the use of history through the lens of organisations, the participants themselves spoke of those organisations as

²⁴ Regardless of personal inheritance, those who identify with a group are allowed to share in a heritage. Lowenthal, pp. 67–68. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, pp. 67–68.

²⁵ Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed (London ; New York: Verso, 1991); Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980*, Australian Experience, no. 3 (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. viii.

²⁶ Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’, p. 78.

²⁷ For example, those range from minor specifics (such as the common participant experience of high school history as ‘boring’, in contrast the intensity of engagement with more personal pasts in later life – see Interview with Prue Bryant, pp. 5, 10, *cf.* Roy Rosenzweig, ‘How Americans use and think about the past: implications from a national survey for the teaching of history’, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 273.) all the way up to major epistemological points, such as the proximity of history and heritage in practice addressed later in this discussion. Some of the issues not dealt with in this discussion (but ideally in future publications) include memory, the effect of historical production on memory, and narrative. Just like the surveyors of states, I also found the significance of objects and places as media for historical narratives found by the likes of Hamilton and Ashton. Hamilton and Ashton, ‘At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey’, pp. 13–14; Nora; Charlotte Linde, *Working the Past: Narrative and Institutional Memory* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Ashton and Hamilton, pp. 63, 64, 67.

communities. This in turn re-emphasises the significance of identity in the use of history already found in the national surveys – for example: ‘Such endeavours [public engagements with the past] were at least in part concerned with establishing continuity in time and place, resisting change, and avoiding oblivion.’²⁸

That the learning history approach found similar results to the major authors cited above further demonstrates how the findings for this first research question also address the second – ‘What Can the Learning History Approach Bring to the Historical Discipline?’ The approach is grounded in the same reality as the work of those leading commentators. It indicates that the learning history approach fits within the discipline of history. That said, different specifics were found. These are the benefits of the approach. They stem from its particular features, and they will be addressed in the discussion of the second research question.

The Social Turn: implications for the Historical Discipline

My findings from addressing the first research question have further implications for the historical discipline. This section looks at the implications that fall out of this research for the literature on the social turn to history. That my participants saw themselves using history to sustain their identity in response to various social and existential dislocations advances, as well as affirms, the writings of others. Many authors on heritage and public perceptions of history have elaborated on the pertinence of global trends of ever-increasing societal change, technological complexity, globalisation, urbanisation, anomie and so on, as drivers for this phenomenon of widespread interest in history and heritage.²⁹ Those arguments are reasonable, yet as Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup pointed out, “surveys offer little evidence” as to why people have turned to the past, and turned so strongly.³⁰

²⁸ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 18.

²⁹ For example: Nora, pp. 1–2; Ashton and Hamilton, p. 18; Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’, p. 81; Hamilton and Ashton, ‘At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey’, p. 6; Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 6; Thomson, pp. 5–11; ‘Introduction’, in *Historians on History: An Anthology* (Harlow, Essex, England: Pearson Education, 2000), pp. 1–15 (p. 13); D. R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500-1730* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 19, 394. The last reference notes that while the pace of change has been ever more rapid in recent decades, the trend was present throughout the entire twentieth century, and remarked upon even in earlier centuries.

³⁰ Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 24.

My research reveals participants explicitly *saying* that their uses of the past were responses to a changing world.³¹ All else aside, they saw their own actions as such. Accordingly, this work is further evidence of a historical turn and perceptions of it. My findings, especially that my participants believed that their actions were responses to a changing world, lend further support to the arguments of Hamilton and Ashton among others.³²

This recurring theme of a ‘social turn’ means that the research presented in these case studies is further evidence underscoring Croce’s dictum ‘All history is contemporary history’.³³ The uses of the past at the organisations studied were

³¹ Headmaster Royce Helm explicitly discussed Southwell’s history, heritage and associated identity efforts in light of changing societal values: “It’s really important that we understand our history and where we’ve come from, because that’s our reference point for where we’re heading in the future. I think today and [?1.26.26 could be “in”]... perhaps and I stand [to be] corrected, but perhaps in more than any other time, we’re seeing a real, a real shift in society, in terms of a shift in society in terms of the values and attitudes and beliefs which are manifesting themselves around New Zealand society, ...So there’s a real shift and change in societal values and attitudes and I think as a school, there’s a really complex task around ensuring that what we treasure and value as important remains relevant. Because there’s some real importance to our survival that we do stay relevant, along with the complex nature of ensuring we don’t lose who we are...*And retaining that so that we can move forward as this organisation that we are.* [Italics added for emphasis] ... as the head of the school, this is really relevant because it’s about developing systems and strategies to ensure that we ... continue to keep our history.” First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, 16 November 2010, pp. 28-29 of transcript. Facilitated by Prof. David McKie and Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by Mark Smith. Glenn Holmes suggested the notion of uses of history as responses to change when he raised the possibility of a link between Southwell’s turn to history and New Zealand society’s increasing commemoration of Anzac – see Chapter Three, footnote 106. Participants at Woodlands frequently raised the subject of change and loss and presented their own history and heritage efforts as a means of counteracting the loss of what was good in the past – for example see Chapter Four, footnotes 71 and 72. The point came through repeatedly, for example: in Jacquie’s comments about the need to encourage community “especially in today’s society. [Laughs] It’s um not as community-minded as in the past.” (See Woodlands learning history document p. 310, Appendix V, and Learning history interview with Jacquie Haselden, p.4); in Prue teaching students about how life was different: “I think it’s a really good way to get, get them thinking about how things worked... before electricity or before cell phones and so on ... So yeah. That’s a really good use of history.” (See Woodlands learning history document p. 313, Appendix V, and Learning history interview with Prue Bryant, pp. 9-10). Here is an example of the kind of comments Irene made when presenting the work of Woodlands as a response to current social ills: “Irene: So somewhere along the line the clock has to be turned back, values – the children today have got no values.” John: No. Irene: Can, can we help them by trying to instil some history?” First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 39. Reaction against the loss of the past (and knowledge of the experiences and practices of the past) and responding to the pace of change, were also reasons for the use of history at the WHMT. See Clyde and Carolyn’s comments Chapter Five, footnotes 43 and 50; and, WMHT learning history, p. 6. Appendix V; as well as Peter Rothwell’s views on the need for the past to have a presence in the present, Chapter Five, footnote 20.

³² Hamilton and Ashton, ‘At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey’, p. 6. See the footnote immediately above for more.

³³ Benedetto Croce, ‘History and Chronicle’, in *History: Its Theory and Practice*, trans. by Douglas Ainslie (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960), pp. 12–13; Often rendered as ‘All history is contemporary history’ and an argument for the relevance of each history in its moment, this translation comes closest with ‘...past fact does not answer to a past interest, but to a present interest...’, ‘every true history is contemporary history’ and ‘...contemporaneity is not the

indeed produced in dialogue with contemporary concerns. Older volunteers labouring to share a presentation of the past with the young they hope will be their successors exemplify how all these efforts that are ostensibly about the past are profoundly for the present and future. The point, and its implications were stated by Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup:

Like other peoples faced with rapid globalization, cultural pluralism, and equity issues, Canadians generally seem to be turning to history as a way of rooting themselves in time and place. They know, consciously or unconsciously, that *history matters* and are eager to access accurate sources that help them put their personal and family experiences in a broader historical context [italics added].³⁴

This historical turn highlights one reason for the importance of history, as well as aspects of how and why it is used by the public: for historical accuracy and contextualising themselves as historical beings and expressions of history.³⁵ The contemporary focus of these uses has implications for the relevance and purpose of the historical discipline.

Historical consciousness: implications for the Discipline

There are more implications for the discipline that fall out of the findings from the first research question. These include implications for the literature on historical consciousness. That participants saw themselves acting in response to a changing world demonstrates an awareness of themselves as historical actors. The uses to which participants put their pasts were both a demonstration of historical consciousness generally conceived as well as a reflection of their particular historical consciousness. Moreover, each of the ‘national surveys’, including a 2013 New Zealand survey on interest in the First World War and its commemorations, found widespread interest in history among their participants.³⁶

characteristic of a class of histories..., but an intrinsic characteristic of every history...’. More recent expressions of this view can be found in: Samuel, p. 430; Byrnes, p. 18.

³⁴ Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 33.

³⁵ For example: John Bridgman on the need to get things written down while those who were there are alive so as to verify histories produced: “So ah yeah, getting all the history down in writing is the main thing really, otherwise as each each generation goes, more information goes too. And yeah the people left behind, whether they have a licence to create their own history. It can happen I think eh? ...” Learning history interview with John Bridgman, p. 2. The following are examples of participants contextualising themselves: Marcus and the students at Southwell, e.g. Nicole: “Yeah, cos I’m part of the School sort of, so it’s related to my history and the School’s history.” See Chapter Three, footnote 87.

³⁶ ‘A large majority (88%) of New Zealanders show a reasonable interest (rating of 3, 4, or 5 out of 5) in history. Just over half (58%) show a stronger level of interest (4 or 5 out of 5).’ From ‘Benchmark Survey 4 March Report WEB.docx.DOC – Benchmark Survey 4 March Report

That suggests ‘historical consciousness is alive and well’.³⁷ Certainly, my own research found an abundance of expressions of historical consciousness. Contingent, critical, and sophisticated views were found alongside instrumental perspectives of history.³⁸ Susan Radford’s statement “History is part of the story that makes us who we are” encapsulates much of what participants in this research generally expressed: their view of the significance of the past in the present, along with an emphasis on identity and locating themselves within a context.³⁹ This investigation found expressions of the different types of historical consciousness outlined by Rüsen and Seixas.⁴⁰

WEB.pdf’, p. 11; Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 19; Hamilton and Ashton, ‘At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey’, p. 26; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 27.

³⁷ Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 33.

³⁸ For example, there was a point in the WHMT group interview with cataloguers where discussion of conceptions of history and heritage as something to learn from – Pat Oettli’s comment: “So you don’t repeat the same mistakes” became a discussion of the nature of history, and the power of actual objects, and then discussion of the specifics of planning collection policy. WHMT learning history, pp. 7-8, and WHMT Group Interview, pp. 38-39. Supipi offered a similar view on the importance of School history: “If it didn’t have history, then we wouldn’t be here. If people didn’t really think about our history, we, we wouldn’t really change because we wouldn’t think about what went wrong.” See Chapter Three, footnote 69. Examples of contingent views can be found in words from Carolyn Gibbs and the Southwell students – see Chapter Three, footnotes 80-81, and Chapter Five, footnote 94.

³⁹ See Southwell Learning History p. 291, Appendix IV; and Learning history interview with Susan Radford, 18 March 2010. p. 13 of transcript. Interviewed by Mark Smith. Recording and transcript held by same.

⁴⁰ Seixas, ‘Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age’, pp. 145–149; Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, p. 15. The latter poses seven questions that appear to be distilled from seven issues Seixas raised on pp. 142-145 of the former. In the former, Seixas was drawing on the schema of Jörn Rüsen, *Studies in Metahistory* ed. by Pieter Duvenage, (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1993), p. 75, in Seixas, ‘The Progress of Knowledge of the Post-Progressive Age’, p. 149. Examples of the ‘traditional’ include: Irene’s comments “it’s just history looking at you” and “to bring back some of the history”, see Chapter Four, footnote 95. Examples of the ‘progressive’ include Pat’s articulation of the past as something to learn from “So you don’t repeat the same mistakes” (see Chapter Five, footnote 89.) and the progressive narrative of Woodlands (see Chapter Four, footnote 118 – ‘from swamp to productive dairyland’). Examples of the ‘critical’ include John Bridgman’s views on knowledge (see Chapter Four, footnote 119. Jacquie’s critique of the lack of women’s voices at Woodlands was critical (see Chapter Four, footnotes 45-46), and distinct from the more genetic views noted below. Example ‘genetic’ expressions include Peter Oettli’s “guardians” reflection – see Chapter Five, footnote 62. Jacquie’s problematisation of authenticity and nostalgia while simultaneously emphasising connection and the future was another ‘genetic’ set of reflections (See Chapter Four, footnotes 41 and 57). In ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, Seixas offered a list of questions (see Chapter One, footnotes 73-80.) that were often echoed by the questions participants asked. For example: Irene addressed how things came to be as they are at Woodlands (which involves identity, decline, and stories to tell covering at least Seixas’s questions 1, 2, 4, 6 – see Woodlands Learning History, pp. 307, 310 and Interview with Irene Clarke, pp. 7-8, 13.) and directly posed a version of Seixas’s seventh question: ‘Is there anything we can do to make things better?’ when she asked “Can, can we help them by trying to instil some history?” First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 39. Soumil, Supipi, Thomas and Nicole also addressed identity, historical significance, continuity and change, historical agency. Their discussion of Cuscus is an example of participants addressing Seixas’s fifth question: ‘What stories about the past should I believe?’ (see Chapter Three, footnotes 109-111). Also at Southwell, Gerri directly asked (and answered) “What can Southwell do with the

The records of such remarks are a contribution to knowledge in themselves, as expressions of historical consciousness in a New Zealand setting, and as qualitative research findings that offer further support to the findings of the national surveys.⁴¹ Moreover, the many different conceptions of history expressed by participants in this research also revealed how differently participants theorised and experienced reality.⁴² My participants voiced views that ran the gamut of historical consciousness: from the less sophisticated forms of historical consciousness which can be associated with Lowenthal's view of heritage, to the more complex forms associated with definitions of history.⁴³ Sometimes a participant appeared to be learning, or thinking a thought for the first time.⁴⁴ Sometimes an individual participant expressed several different views, some of which were at odds if one adhered rigidly to categorisations such as Rüsen's developmental schema.⁴⁵ While we need not follow such a schema strictly, what is clear from the range and variety of historical consciousnesses revealed by this investigation is how tightly bound together heritage and history are in public settings.⁴⁶ Together with the several different kinds of use of the past found at each organisation already discussed above, these instances of several-different-consciousnesses-in-one (organisation and even person) highlight the complexity of the relationship between heritage and history, and their entanglement in practice. This finding has implications for the relevance of history and the importance of expanding participatory historical culture.

history?" (see Chapter Three, footnote 103), and Royce said he saw the need to deliberately choose the history Southwell presents (see Chapter Three, footnote 93).

⁴¹ Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup.

⁴² As illustrated by the variety of views found – see Chapter Six, footnotes 36 and 38.

⁴³ Kammen, p. 235; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 10, 22, 24; Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 124.

⁴⁴ As in the experience of the Southwell students (see Chapter Three, footnote 128), and Ken's new understanding "I see what you're about" – see Chapter One, footnote 2, and Chapter Four, footnote 149.

⁴⁵ For example Jackie's critique of the lack of women's voices at Woodlands was critical, and distinct from the more genetic views she expressed, problematising authenticity and nostalgia while simultaneously emphasising connection and the future. Another example was Irene articulating both a 'traditional' historical consciousness but also asking and engaging with Seixas's sophisticated historical consciousness questions which have more in common with Rüsen's critical and genetic categories. See Chapter Six, footnote 40.

⁴⁶ Though Seixas was proposing a synthesis of the developmental model of Rüsen and a catalogue of issues faced when thinking historically, and generally treating the types as stages, Seixas noted limitations: that it would be difficult to pin down how, or if people progress through these types, and to an extent, whether the types might be better understood as 'different' from each other rather than necessarily more 'advanced' than each other. Seixas, 'Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Post-Progressive Age', p. 157.

History and heritage entangled: implications for the Discipline

The entanglement outlined above speaks to the relevance of history. To evaluate my research and show how it sits within the literature, what follows is a contextualisation of my findings within threads of the relevance ‘debate’ that emphasises the relationship between history and heritage – especially those texts that refer to historical consciousness and the national surveys from the United States, Australia and Canada.

Throughout my research I never explicitly defined ‘history’ for the people I interviewed. I asked them for their sense of history, and what they told me often sounded more like David Lowenthal's notion of heritage.⁴⁷ For Lowenthal heritage is not just ‘bad history’, it is ‘...not history at all...heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in our past tailored to present-day purposes.’⁴⁸ As noted in the introductory chapter, these definitions are useful, yet the evidence of this thesis indicates that the relationship between ‘history’ and ‘heritage’ is more nuanced and complex than Lowenthal’s definitions suggest. In this research the same cases and sometimes the same people that emphasised ‘heritage’ also offered ‘history’ – reflection and expressions of complex historical consciousnesses as well as the more concrete: the WHMT’s books *Under One Roof* and *Changing Times, Changing Places*, biannual lectures, and interpretation panels, for example.⁴⁹

Heritage and history are entangled. That conclusion was found by all three national surveys as well as by this research. However, in a review of *The Presence of the Past*, Michael Kammen aggressively critiqued the work of the Rosenzweig and Thelen in light of Lowenthal’s distinctions between heritage and history.⁵⁰ Kammen argued that Rosenzweig and Thelen had conflated history and heritage and ignored their own evidence on this point.⁵¹ Kammen went too far when he stated that Rosenzweig and Thelen’s work verged upon the Whig interpretation of

⁴⁷ Mark S. Smith, “Every Brick a Boy”. The Invention of Tradition and the Use of History: Preliminary Observations from a “Learning History” at Southwell School’, *New Zealand Journal of Public History*, 1 (2011), 43–59 (pp. 55–56).

⁴⁸ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. x; Mark S. Smith, “Every Brick a Boy”. The Invention of Tradition and the Use of History: Preliminary Observations from a “Learning History” at Southwell School’, p. 56. The quotes come from Lowenthal.

⁴⁹ Armstrong and Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust; Waikato Mental Health History Group.

⁵⁰ Kammen, p. 233.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

history.⁵² To make his critique, Kammen has to have deliberately set aside Rosenzweig and Thelen's object of understanding the public – which required engaging the public in light of 'the public's' own understanding. On the very page Kammen cited, Rosenzweig and Thelen had addressed the pertinent issue: the difference between focusing on distinct definitions or porous practice. Their pilot study found that the connotations the term 'history' had for respondents – as opposed to historians – meant that using that word would be distracting in the U.S.A.⁵³ In order to actually 'learn what people were thinking and doing', Rosenzweig and Thelen had to frame their research more generally; so they used the more general term 'the past'.⁵⁴ They were trying to find out what was in a wide sea that they had only a few hunches about – so they cast a wide net.⁵⁵ Rosenzweig's justification is especially pertinent to this discussion: he wanted to 'listen to and talk with our fellow citizens'.⁵⁶ The most well-made works of history 'will never have their intended effects unless we understand the people with whom we are talking – and unless we are willing to talk with rather than at those people.'⁵⁷ The same willingness to encourage participants to define and describe what they saw as history and/or uses of their pasts is also a feature of the other two national surveys and this thesis.⁵⁸ To an extent, it had to be – why ask people what they think unless you are willing to let them tell you?

I argue that this entangled and porous position does not diminish history. Indeed, this very research demonstrates just some of what can be achieved by the intervention of an academically trained historian.⁵⁹ This thesis adds to existing literature that demonstrates the value of an academically informed approach to history. For example, even with their willingness to frame the terms of their research widely, and their own findings on the closeness of popular history making and disciplinary practice, Rosenzweig and Thelen still emphasised what

⁵² Ibid., p. 235.

⁵³ Rosenzweig and Thelen, pp. 191, 210.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 210.

⁵⁵ Kammen, p. 236.

⁵⁶ Rosenzweig, p. 38.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 36.

⁵⁸ We are not the only ones. Woolf also felt the need to make use of a similarly 'open-ended' conception of 'the past' when discussing bygone historical consciousness. Woolf, pp. 6–7.

⁵⁹ The numerous reflections cited throughout this thesis are examples. A specific example is addressed in Chapter Six, footnote 94. The value of such an intervention can also be seen in the potential for addressing silences; such as those represented by the partially obscured skeleton of Cucus in the book published for Southwell's Centenary, and most obviously in the silences at Woodlands regarding women, Māori, and working people.

expert historians have to offer the public practice of history, rather than leave it 'unmediated'.⁶⁰ Thelen in particular emphasised how expert historians (and everyone) can contribute towards building a better society and a more participatory historical culture while avoiding 'an essentialised dichotomy between "historians" and "people."' ⁶¹ Graeme Davison similarly stressed the role of the expert in his book *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*.⁶² Such views both emphasise the relevance of history outside the academy and highlight the potential role of the academically trained historian in fostering participatory historical culture. Davison's compatriots Hamilton and Ashton went even further. Their work described a very tight and complex relationship between heritage and history in Australia.⁶³ And while Ashton and Hamilton held that the expert authority of the historical profession has never been in any real doubt, they placed a great deal of weight on the relative importance of popular history makers.⁶⁴ They strongly emphasised 'the legitimacy of people as makers of history who have been the subjects of history.'⁶⁵ In placing such emphasis on the public's claim on history – that academic history is not the only real history – Ashton and Hamilton were reinforcing the case already powerfully put by Raphael Samuel in his *Theatres of Memory*.⁶⁶ The work of Ashton, Hamilton and Samuel emphasise the practical interconnection between what have been referred to as history and heritage throughout this thesis. My own sympathies and findings, especially at the WHMT, lend support to Samuel's call for a more generous definition of the historical profession.⁶⁷ Yet my research also highlighted subjects and issues in public settings that a more academic engagement could well address. These are perhaps represented most obviously in the female, working and Māori silences at

⁶⁰ Rosenzweig and Thelen, pp. 23–27, 198, 188; Rosenzweig, p. 36. Rosenzweig invoked Michael Frisch's notion of 'shared authority' – specifically one through which professional historians and other experts working in public history could 'share authority for interpretation with their audiences without also ceding that authority.'

⁶¹ Rosenzweig and Thelen, pp. 202–207, especially 203.

⁶² Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, pp. 10, 263–275, and the 'watching brief' of p. 18.

⁶³ Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 2010), pp. 15–25, especially 16–17 and 24–25; *Australians and the Past*, Australian Cultural History, no. 22 (St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2003), pp. 7, 12, 24, and especially 28–29.

⁶⁴ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 24.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶⁶ Samuel, p. 8. '... History is not the prerogative of the historian,... It is, rather, a social form of knowledge; the work, in any given instance, of a thousand different hands.'

⁶⁷ Samuel, p. 19.

Woodlands, and most symbolically by the partially obscured skeleton of Cuscus in the book published for Southwell's Centenary.⁶⁸

In practice I do not see this as far removed from the views emphasised by the likes of Ashton and Hamilton or even Samuel. My own research and the literature above suggest to me that even those who can be called academy-centric in seeking to 'guide the laity' (Ashton and Hamilton writing of Davison),⁶⁹ appear to be doing a great deal to engage with people in contexts beyond the academy.⁷⁰ Such engagement goes a long way toward reconciling those views – something also suggested by the fundamental entanglement of history and heritage, and in Samuel's call for 'a more generous definition of the historical profession'.⁷¹

Their findings also led the likes of Ashton, Hamilton and Samuel to critique views of the supposed objectivity and detachment of the historical discipline – views defended by the likes of Windschuttle.⁷² These critiques resonate with this research, because in producing the learning history documents, I should have remembered that every historical production *is* a production. While I am committed to historical accuracy, I am aware that I will inevitably and naturally fall short of objectivity.⁷³ Still, such was my insistence upon accuracy that I initially struggled even with editing quotes for reading clarity by removing features such as repeated 'ums'. Yet the very practice of this research brings home the epistemological complexity of knowledge production. The preparation of each learning history gave scope to my subjectivity: in my selection of evidence, my expectations of my audience, my need for historical accuracy itself.⁷⁴ Objectivity was also undermined by the inherently purposeful role of the document as a shared starting point for discussion at the dissemination meeting.

⁶⁸ Southwell School, p. 122.

⁶⁹ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 130.

⁷⁰ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 130; Trevor-Roper, p. 331. For example, Rosenzweig and Thelen and Davison as above. See in Hugh Trevor-Roper's use of 'lay' – how even when distinguishing between academic and lay, he *emphasised the lay*: 'Time has shown that the real danger of a German professoriate is not 'infidelity': it is the removal of humane studies into a specialisation so remote they cease to have that lay interest which is their sole ultimate justification.'

⁷¹ Samuel, p. 19.

⁷² Ashton and Hamilton, pp. 17, 24, 78, 80 and especially 61; Samuel, pp. 430–444; Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists Are Murdering Our Past*, 1st Free Press ed (New York: Free Press, 1997).

⁷³ Mark S. Smith, 'Reflections on Imagining Ngaruawahia: Public History and the Production of Knowledge', *Journal of New Zealand Literature: JNZL*, 2011, 125–47 (pp. 131–132) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/41410928>>.

⁷⁴ Mark S. Smith, 'Reflections on Imagining Ngaruawahia', p. 132.

The point is highlighted by an epiphany I experienced during the course of this research. When I was preparing the draft of the WHMT chapter I found myself arranging quotes in a way that made them coherent without much description from me. I felt that I was becoming genuinely good at writing learning history documents. I began to think I was good at making a ‘story’ out of other’s words with very few of my own leavening the text. I felt the sources speaking to me – and then I remembered Hayden White and *Tropics of Discourse*.⁷⁵ I caught myself out – there I was, *feeling the sources speak to me*, forgetting that another author could have generated a different result. That said, I also felt how ‘right’ the version I produced was. I began to appreciate the indignation that White’s work had aroused.⁷⁶ I did not feel that I had made the sources fit a narrative. Rather, after working with the sources for a considerable time, I had seen the evidence as a woodcarver might see an untouched block of wood – not as something to carve but as a carving waiting to be revealed. I also had felt something similar in preparing the other learning histories and a local history book while simultaneously being aware of the complexities of knowledge production, but this time the feeling was especially powerful, and especially shocking *because* I had already felt the experience before.⁷⁷ Somehow I had forgotten again. It was an amusing and humbling moment. It is not that I would change how I wrote the WHMT learning history document, but that I should have remembered that *I* was writing it. I should have remained mindful of this aspect of the production of knowledge.⁷⁸

To return to the relationship between history and heritage and the implications for the discipline that fall out of addressing the first research question, it is worth considering an incident that links the two. After writing the first draft of this discussion chapter, it was humbling to open my new copy of *Tread Softly for You Tread on My Life* for the first time and see Michael King had expressed this finding almost exactly as I had first drafted it: ‘Speaking for myself, then, I can say that historical and heritage issues have always been

⁷⁵ Hayden V. White. Particularly his essay ‘The Burden of History’.

⁷⁶ Arthur Marwick, ‘Two Approaches to Historical Study: The Metaphysical (Including “Postmodernism”) and the Historical’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 30 (1995), 5–35 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/260920>>. Throughout, but especially pp. 18-23.

⁷⁷ Mark S. Smith, *Ngāruawāhia, 1980-2010: A Brief History* (Ngāruawāhia: Lions Club of Ngāruawāhia Incorporated Charitable Trust, 2012).

⁷⁸ Mark S. Smith, ‘Reflections on Imagining Ngaruawahia’, pp. 130, 139–142.

inextricably linked'.⁷⁹ Hamilton and Ashton's survey work also revealed a world of practice that did not share Lowenthal's views on the separation of history and heritage. Recent works in museum and heritage studies have moved beyond the narrow strictures of such definitions and also complicate the oft-supposed artifice of heritage.⁸⁰ And even Lowenthal described his conceptions of heritage and history as 'mutually dependant', 'fructify[ing] one another', '...less dissenting ventures than disparate viewpoints'.⁸¹ Indeed, 'Its many faults are inseparable from heritage's central role in husbanding ... history itself.'⁸²

Those involved with the Canadian survey also did not reify the separation of heritage and history – neither at the level of public definitions, nor practice.⁸³ They argued that framing the issue as a fundamental epistemological problem is the problem – '... thinking that people turn away from "history" to develop a deeply felt connection to "the past" may ultimately be counter-productive.'⁸⁴ Instead they saw both the need to get a clearer understanding of how 'people actually do think about history' and the possibilities for the public to embrace the 'disciplinary qualities of history' – 'evidence, context and interpretation'.⁸⁵ Like Rosenzweig and Thelen, the Canadian researchers also came to a position that

⁷⁹ Michael King, *Tread Softly for You Tread on My Life: New & Collected Writings* (Auckland, N.Z: Cape Catley, 2001), p. 120. While I had never claimed the idea was original, my research has taken me from 'knowing' the point to a far deeper experience and understanding of it.

⁸⁰ Robert Lumley, 'The Debate on Heritage Reviewed', in *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, ed. by Gerard Corsane (London ; New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 15–25 (pp. 19–25); Sharon Macdonald, 'A People's Story: Heritage, Identity and Authenticity', in *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, ed. by Gerard Corsane (London ; New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 272–90; McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori*, pp. 173–177, 199–201.

⁸¹ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, pp. 167–172. Lowenthal also specifically mentioned 'public history' as an example enterprise that combined the two. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 168

⁸² Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. xv.

⁸³ Indeed, demonstrating the value of pursuing separate studies in separate societies rather than assuming similarity, the Canadians found their public made no noteworthy distinctions between the terms 'history', 'the past' or history and the past. Seixas, Ercikan and Northrup 'AERA 2008 History and the Past – History_and_the_past.pdf' <http://www.canadiansandtheirpasts.ca/publ_download/history_and_the_past.pdf> [accessed 20 June 2013]. p. 3. Public perceptions of definition did not get in the way of their attempt to discover public practices. The different findings between the surveys (such as the far greater importance of religion in American understandings of the past than in Australian – Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*, p. 8.) also highlight the value of pursuing similar studies in comparable but different societies. Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 26.

⁸⁴ Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 26; 'AERA 2008 History and the Past – History_and_the_past.pdf', p. 13.

⁸⁵ 'AERA 2008 History and the Past – History_and_the_past.pdf', p. 13.

emphasised the role of academic historians in building a more participatory historical culture.⁸⁶

More recently, and of particular significance for this learning history research, John Tosh also distinguished between history and heritage yet emphasised their practical proximity. His identification of an intermediate category, ‘identity history’ (under which he included work such as E.P. Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working-Class*), both further complicates the designations, and highlights the complex and blended relationship of heritage and history. He went as far as to actually write that the two were indeed far closer in practice than their distinct definitions would imply.⁸⁷

Of the authors discussed here it is Tosh who made the most emphatic argument for the relevance of history, with all its attendant implications for this research, the discipline and the arguments for expanding participatory historical culture. As Tosh puts it, sharing ‘historical thinking’ strengthens democracy.⁸⁸ Tosh was another scholar who saw the entanglement of history and heritage, and still felt able to combine that with promoting the role of expert historians in public discourse.⁸⁹ Tosh challenged historians to share their specific research and disseminate ‘historical thinking’ and approaches.⁹⁰ This is necessary work, because doing so contributes to a more participatory historical culture, and that supports more informed and participatory democracy.⁹¹

The significance of findings in response to Research Question One

What does this research mean for the historical discipline? What are the implications of how the organisations selected for study have used their histories? My own findings on my participants’ historical consciousness and uses of the past

⁸⁶ ‘Instead, we should see our findings as an incentive to engage the public, whose passion for the past is as intense as our own, in a dialogue about best practices in historical interpretation and in efforts to develop dispute mechanisms’ Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, pp. 33–34; Conrad.

⁸⁷ ‘In practice this distinction is far from clear cut, since there is much trading across the boundary.’ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. ix.

⁸⁸ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, pp. iix, ix–x, 121, 138, 142, 143.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 97, 142, 143.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 107, 109, 128, 129–136, 142.

⁹¹ Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 142, throughout. This view is shared by the authors of *Youth and History*. For example: ‘All in all, we can state that European students have a remarkably positive concept of democracy with a special emphasis on the theoretical and explanatory statements, which have an affirmative ingredient... Furthermore, they acknowledge the possibility of improving democracy. The critical and antidemocratic statements are (with only very few exceptions) clearly rejected. *This is a reassuring finding of the study.*’ [Italics added]. Angvik and Borries, p. 148.

lead away from the strong separation advocated by Lowenthal and by Kammen. Though the distinctions aid in understanding, my findings on the proximity of the two in practice support the arguments of Rosenzweig, Thelen, Ashton, Hamilton, Samuel and Tosh cited in the coverage of the debate above. My findings also point to the WHMT – or more specifically the engagement with both that the people of the WHMT demonstrate – as at least one kind of resolution in the debate on the relevance of history and the role of academics in public settings.

Overall, my findings emphasise the relevance of history. The closeness of heritage and history, along with the uses the past is put to (including the non-identity uses such as patient education) highlight that the past does indeed have utility for organisations. I found the past was very much part of the present – yet another reason why history matters.⁹²

My findings also reinforce a theme found in the writings on national surveys and the relevance of history above; the past matters to people outside the Academy. That point brings home the need for historians to engage with ‘non-academic’ efforts. It indicates the need for efforts to understand the historical consciousness of people outside the Academy – as exemplified by the national surveys and research such as the present study – and that despite the implications of the connectedness of history and heritage, there is still very definitely space for professional academic historians to contribute to public engagement with the past. The relative lack of ‘understanding of higher order historical thinking’ overall revealed in my applications of the learning history approach (despite the salient examples of sophisticated historical consciousness highlighted in each case, and the WHMT’s historical community) supports Rosenzweig, Thelen, Davison, Conrad, Ercikan, Létourneau, Northrup, Seixas, and Tosh’s arguments that there is both the need and the opportunity for professional academic historians to share their particular way of thinking.⁹³ The role of the historian in illuminating the truth of the historically constructed, contingent nature of social experience – and therefore the possibility for change – is a powerful argument for the relevance of

⁹² The appropriateness of patient education requires moral decisions – a further blow to ‘detachment’. Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 18. Especially uses around ‘relationships, identity, mortality, and agency’.

⁹³ Conrad, pp. 6–7; Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 188.

history.⁹⁴ The relative lack of ‘contingent’ comments from my participants highlights that there is space (and the opportunity) for more ‘historical thinking’.⁹⁵ While that finding is perhaps not surprising from someone who identifies as a professional, academically-trained historian, the evidence of this research does indicate it is so: contrast the historical consciousness and historical activities of the WHMT in light of their academic engagement, with the relative lack of such academic involvement at Woodlands and its correspondingly loud historical silences. The point was explicitly demonstrated during the interview with the Southwell students. When I asked them an open general question to round out our interview, they told me how they were struck by how different things had been, even in their own time at the School, how hard it was to remember even the appearance of the past for example – and said how *they had never really thought like that before*.⁹⁶ They were struck by thinking like that. This indicates that the

⁹⁴ ‘...it is not surprising that historians are wary about admitting to any practical wisdom. When they do so, it is on carefully defined terms. To be convincing, advocates of the relevance of history must start from the truth that all social experience is historically constructed and therefore subject to change.’ Also ‘The living need a history disturbing enough to change the present.’ – respectively Tosh, *Historians on history: an anthology* ‘Introduction’, p. 7; Greg Denning, ‘The History in Things and Places’, in *Prehistory to Politics: John Mulvaney, the Humanities and the Public Intellectual*, ed. by Tim Bonyhady and Tom Griffiths (Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1997), pp. 85–97 (p. 96).

⁹⁵ Carolyn Gibbs offered a particularly definite example of an awareness of how very different the present could have been when she described the likely fate of the history and heritage efforts around Waikato Hospital without the intervention of Peter Rothwell: “We wouldn’t be where we are without him at all. I’d be still gathering the stuff and they’d still be in a room – well I’d probably, they probably would have got rid of it by now, somehow.” See WHMT learning history, p. 323, and Learning history interview with Carolyn Gibbs, p. 7. However, this instance (and a few others with the Southwell students and Christine Newman) aside, such articulations of this awareness were uncommon. That said, there were many examples of participants indicating a willingness to change the future; participants offered many suggestions for specific, small-scale changes. Examples include Andrew Mortimore’s suggestion for reopening access to the Southwell room, Learning history interview with Andrew Mortimore, p. 12; Roger and Allan’s idea for running working farm equipment days at Woodlands, First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 22; and John Bridgman’s & Jacquie’s call for a Woodlands book, Learning history interview with John Bridgman, p. 2 and First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 27.

⁹⁶ Mark: What do you think? Of all the stuff we’ve talked about today, what do you think’s significant? Supipi: I can’t really imagine it. It’s just always been there so it’s... Nicole: Yeah it’s hard to imagine something that...Soumil: Even now for us, even though we’ve seen it without...Thomas: I can’t, I can’t imagine not having the Sergel Centre, even though I was here before it was made. Supipi: Yeah it’s such like a... it’s such a [Inaudible 37.26] Nicole: It’s like your eyes have adjusted to looking at that and then you try to think of it differently and you like try making the square go down a bit. Supipi: [slight laugh] Nicole: It’s just like, it just keeps coming up. Soumil: How how since we came here and where we are now, how [Inaudible 34.04] changed. How everything’s changed. It’s right in your face, if you talk about it. It’s... that’s the main thing that’s significant to me. Nicole: I think for me I’ve never actually sat down and talked about the history of Southwell. Like you walk around and then you think about it and you think you know so much about it. And then you actually sit down and talk about it in like [?34.30] in a way like this, and it’s just like it takes a long time for everything to come back. And like otherwise if you’re walking around, it’s just like you never actually *really* think about it. Supipi: And you kind of... Nicole: Even on Founders’ Day, you don’t really think about it. You don’t go that deep into it, so to be able to just sit down and talk about this like we are talking. ... Thomas: I’ve been here for

historical thinking they engaged in that day was indeed prompted by the academic intervention (the learning history approach). Here were participants thinking historically, and indicating that it took the intervention of a historian to make that happen.

My findings in response to the first research question, and the implications of those in particular, demonstrate how history matters outside the Academy. At one level it is already used – so heritage/history matter. At another level it could be understood better – academic history is needed for that, and therefore it matters. This thesis is one more contribution to the arguments for the relevance of history, and another challenge to the conception of history as detached and objective.

To be most relevant, history must be accessible. The benefits of this are apparent in the work of organisations such as the WHMT and in their ongoing efforts to make as much of their history as accessible as possible.⁹⁷ As the efforts of the WHMT make more of the history of Health in the Waikato ever more easily available (along with the humanising, accessibility-increasing function of the anecdotes and stories that flow through socialising, lectures and texts), those tangible aspects (e.g. storage, catalogues, archives, displays, lectures, history books) of guardianship described by Peter Oettli enable the intangible; *that a community might renew itself, through continuously re-examining its history*.⁹⁸ In this specific way the past, and history (through historical production), might be understood *as a resource* – rather than an irrelevance, or even a set of determinants and structures that utterly end our agency.⁹⁹ That opportunity for renewal and cultural survival underscores again the utility of history for organisations. That history – through acts of historical interpretation – is not

what, nine years, and this is the first time that we've ever actually, that I've sat down and talked about it. ... Nicole: And then when you start talking about it, you go deeper into it and you realise like, oh that's why..." Learning history interview with Nicole, Soumil, Supipi and Thomas, pp. 22-24.

⁹⁷ As noted in the WHMT chapter, during the WHMT dissemination meeting Dr Rothwell actually used the words 'relevant' and 'accessible' in describing the dispersed displays. WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 14.

⁹⁸ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 25.

⁹⁹ Royce Helm at Southwell and Clyde Wade at the WHMT also made strong arguments for the operational value of the use of history e.g. "So the history can be the soul of the place you see." – see Chapter Five, footnote 38, and WHMT learning history, p. 324, Appendix VI, and learning history interview with Clyde Wade, pp. 14, 15 of transcript.

determined by, nor as discussed earlier, confined solely to the past, highlights the utility of history for society.¹⁰⁰

Historical consciousness and accuracy: implications for the Discipline

The argument for the relevance of history made above is very definitely not an argument for deliberately *mis*interpreting the past in order to conform to present 'needs'.¹⁰¹ Instead, it is rooted in the academic concept of historical accuracy. How historical accuracy bears on the expansion of participatory historical culture will become apparent over the next few pages. It deepens my response to the first research question and further elaborates on the implications of how the case organisations have made use of their history.

Offering further evidence of the close relationship between history and heritage in practice found by this investigation, participants in my research frequently demonstrated that a strong concern with accuracy was an aspect of their own historical consciousness. Participants made comments that indicated that they saw veracity, reliability and so on as a hallmark of good history, and something that they valued in their own organisations' activities.¹⁰² That is also a common finding from the national surveys.¹⁰³ For most historians accuracy is

¹⁰⁰ "We judge the past because we think it helps us to make the case that things might be different in the present. There would be no point judging the past were the course of history inevitable, fully determined, or located only in the past. Thus there is a connection between a belief in plausible worlds for the future and the exploration of counterfactuals in history. This is the form that historical lessons often take. Furthermore, our belief in possible alternative presents and futures informs our political commitments and attendant strategies. Yet such strategic thinking rests upon the feasibility of the alternatives we propose. Historical work is one way of exploring questions of feasibility. Because we think we understand why various options were closed down in the past, we achieve some sense of the difficulties that might attend their pursuit in the present. These are not the only ways that political thought can be advanced, but they remain useful ones." Kearns, p. 380.

¹⁰¹ King, *Being Pakeha Now*, p. 206; Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, pp. x, xv; Trapeznik and McLean, p. 21; Nietzsche, p. 66; Ferro, pp. 100–101. in specific reference to Nietzsche, *Mein Kampf* and the twisted abuse of Nietzsche's exultant demands on behalf of 'life' against the search for truth (and the historical discipline).

¹⁰² For example see Chapter Four, footnote 123, where John Bridgman emphasised the notions of historical accuracy and validity through verification) and Jan's views on accuracy – see Chapter Five, footnote 82. Consider the vast amount of time and effort WHMT volunteers put into cataloguing health memorabilia usefully and correctly e.g. trawling through old catalogues and consulting experts. Criticism of the accuracy of efforts only reinforces the point being made here, because those concerns indicate that accuracy is valued by the critic. Consider this example of the desire to make WHMT display efforts accurate before they are executed – Cathy: "I had a guy come and see me recently about the notion of the living history... Beale Cottage ... he said that a lot of what's said about Beale Cottage is actually inaccurate you know." Learning history interview with Cathy Coleborne, p. 17. Yet there are different notions of what constitutes 'accuracy'. Some of these are addressed in the discussion below.

¹⁰³ Rosenzweig and Thelen, pp. 21–22, 179; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 33; Ashton and Hamilton, pp. 33, 34, 75–79, throughout.

fundamental to the practice of history.¹⁰⁴ My own application of the learning history approach stressed accuracy with its iterative triangulation and validation of sources, and points drawn from diverse archives, artefacts, participant interviews and dissemination meetings. Yet it is apparent from both the national surveys and my own research just how different perceptions of historical ‘accuracy’ can be.

This thesis argues that historical accuracy matters, even in the wake of postmodernism. The arguments of Derrida, Foucault, Lacan, Habermas et al. regarding the impossibility of escaping the magic circle of language, text, multiplicity, discourse, signifiers and signified and so on have irrevocably altered scholarship. White directly addressed the historical discipline in his essay ‘The Burden of History’.¹⁰⁵ Yet the result for the historical discipline has been for most historians to embrace only a mild form of poststructuralism.¹⁰⁶ While many (particularly oral) historians have engaged with poststructuralist ideas, for better or worse, most historians are still empiricists in practice.¹⁰⁷ A few utterly reject poststructuralist ideas, and an even smaller group actually write poststructuralist histories.¹⁰⁸ In practice, most historians apply empiricism as a research method even though empiricism has been impressively attacked as a theory of knowledge.¹⁰⁹ In their book *Is History Fiction?* Ann Curthoys and John Docker made a powerful case against naïve positivism.¹¹⁰ Curthoys and Docker made it abundantly apparent that historians who foregrounded ‘interpretive difference’ and rejected the possibility of a single knowable historical absolute truth were not

¹⁰⁴ For example, ‘Testable truth is history’s chief hallmark’ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 120. More examples appear in the pages of this discussion immediately below.

¹⁰⁵ White’s key point was that linguistic protocols, rather than facts alone, shape the work of historians. White demanded that historians interrogate their sources for useful purposes in light of present concerns: ‘The contemporary historian has to establish the value of the study of the past, not as an end in itself but as a way of providing perspectives on the present that contribute to the solution of problems peculiar to our own time.’ Hayden V. White, p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ The term ‘poststructuralism’ refers here to theories and intellectual practices rather than a period. I am following Green and Troup in using ‘poststructuralism’ rather than ‘postmodern’ in this specific sense. Green and Troup, p. 297.

¹⁰⁷ Green and Troup, p. 301.

¹⁰⁸ For example Marwick, pp. 5-35. Objectivity aside, Marwick wrote a resonant description of the formative role of writing in historical production, p. 22. On that, see also Lynn Hunt, ‘The Art of History: How Writing Leads to Thinking’, *Perspectives on History* <<http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2010/1002/1002art1.cfm>> [accessed 4 July 2013]. Very few works of history can be described as poststructuralist. Judith Walkowitz’s *City of Dreadful Delight* is the only one that springs immediately to mind. Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London*. (London: Virago, 1992).

¹⁰⁹ Green and Troup, pp. viii, 1.

¹¹⁰ Curthoys and Docker, pp. 232–233.

mere relativists who made up whatever they wanted and called it history.¹¹¹ Yet even as they dismissed ‘historical positivism’ and ‘monologic narration’, Curthoys and Docker emphasised accuracy – making it very clear that historians can and should combine ‘a commitment to truth, extensive research, rigorous use of sources, and careful interpretation’ (i.e. ‘accuracy’ here) with honesty about the interpretive nature of their own, and all, historical production.¹¹² Historical accuracy does not disappear just because positivism is flawed. For want of a better word, what I have been referring to as ‘accuracy’ still matters in the historical discipline. The history of history (the discipline) is abundantly furnished with examples of historians emphasising accuracy. Historians from Thucydides, on through to Bede and including John Lukacs, Gerda Lerner, Richard J. Evans and Harvey J. Kaye have all stressed, and sometimes famously defended accurate history based on honest practices.¹¹³ More recently and closer to home, Trapeznik and McLean (with specific reference to historic sites, but the point holds for all public history) stated that ‘...the responsibilities of historians... lie in presenting the past as accurately as possible, with as much detail as possible, and in ways that will engage an audience.’¹¹⁴ Consider this example of the notion’s recent expression from John Tosh:

[Of the Irving Holocaust denial case] ...the most accurate history possible is a social necessity.¹¹⁵

...getting the story right matters. History as a disciplined enquiry aims to ... make the process of recall as accurate as possible...¹¹⁶

...that all historical inquiry, ...must be conducted in accordance with the rigorous critical method that is the hallmark of modern academic history.¹¹⁷

This accuracy underpins the relevance of the historical discipline, and links to the expansion of participatory historical culture. This empiricist-flavoured concern with accuracy and veracity should be understood as nuanced and sophisticated.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 232–233.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 233.

¹¹³ Richard J. Evans defined the historians’ essential task as to understand and to explain the past. ‘Doing so requires certain other things; it implies, for instance that you also have to establish accurate knowledge about the past.’; and John Lukacs ‘What we must recognize is that the purpose of history is the reduction of untruth’ in Yerxa, pp. 27, 50; Tosh, *Historians on History*, p. 336; Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, p. 154.

¹¹⁴ Trapeznik and McLean, p. 17.

¹¹⁵ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. xv.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. xix.

Tosh went on to explain the need for historical veracity in terms of a responsibility to society for interpretation of the past. Tosh held that interpretation has to be relevant to the present, for it must form a basis for decisions about the future.¹¹⁸ This is the traditional emphasis on the use of verifiable sources and ‘actual’ events – turned to face the present.¹¹⁹ In light of this the steps – from making the effort for historical accuracy, to telling truth to power, and on into the history wars – seem clearer, and not so very far apart.

History matters. One of empiricism’s exponents was the self-described historian Pieter Geyl. Writing before the explosion of the linguistic turn, Geyl presented a kind of empiricism that respected its limits and the problematic nature of ‘knowledge’. While Geyl acknowledged that his belief in historicism was a belief, he emphasised historical truth.¹²⁰ Indeed the status of ‘truth’ is part of what gives the historical discipline its significance. Inga Clendinnen has written powerfully about how ‘truth’ gives history its significance. Essentially, Clendinnen argued that such history can help people develop the imaginative capacity for caring for the suffering of distant and unknown others. Clendinnen wrote that history cannot be ignored in the way fiction can be, because it actually happened.¹²¹ History bears witness to the lives of people who really lived (and often suffered appallingly). For Clendinnen, it is conscience that forces us not to look away. History has power – for it draws its interpretations from what is known of what actually happened. Yet demonstrating my point about the nuanced view of truth in much recent historiography, in the same article Clendinnen critiqued the pretensions of objective style. For example, as noted earlier in this thesis, Clendinnen argued for emphasizing the ‘I’, the author, as an inevitable interposition between a reader and the sources because doing so is more intellectually honest.

History is important, in part because it promotes nuanced understanding. As Geyl says: historical hypotheses are tentative, and ‘history is an argument without end.’¹²² This is a careful statement of what history does: it avoids making absolute claims, while still working within some kind of framework. The essential

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

¹¹⁹ Ferro highlighted the need for factual truth in historical representation. Ferro, pp. ix, *passim*.

¹²⁰ Geyl, p. 51.

¹²¹ Clendinnen.

¹²² Geyl, p. 70.

point is that this concern for basing one's research on 'verifiable' traces – even when we are aware of the potential pitfalls, and the problematic nature of determining, let alone creating, knowledge – is still one of the key features of the historical discipline.¹²³

History is significant, so historical thinking should be disseminated as widely as possible. But that presents challenges of communication. What is significant for this research is how (even a 'historist') historians' views of scholarly accuracy and the ongoing nature of historical interpretation differ from public perceptions. I raise two examples from this research because they illustrate several of the key issues that come out of this research and speak to the wider purpose of history. In the Woodlands case John Bridgman spoke about the need to get a definitive history based on the memories of those who experienced the events in question 'down in writing' as a hedge against revision.¹²⁴ At the WHMT, Jan spoke of the 'danger' of 'retroactive history' when she was explaining the emic importance of Health Waikato history.¹²⁵ Public mistrust of interpretation is an issue worldwide.¹²⁶ The history wars have furnished too many unfortunate examples.¹²⁷ Ashton and Hamilton found a distrust of 'academic 'fashions'' (social history was mentioned as an example) among some of their participants, and significantly, a 'tendency... to conflate ideology with interpretation'.¹²⁸ Thelen stated the problem: the history wars had 'subverted the development of a healthy, participatory, fundamentally historical culture'.¹²⁹ He illustrated his point with the example of how a conflict of perceptions about a planned 1995 Enola Gay exhibit at the National Air and Space Museum became a struggle between claims for authority: 'In a fundamentally historical culture, both

¹²³ Mark S. Smith, 'Reflections on Imagining Ngaruawahia', pp. 126, 138–142.

¹²⁴ See Chapter Four, footnote 123, and interview with John Bridgman, p. 2.

¹²⁵ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 22. Jan's comment might seem counter to the historical community of the WHMT; this is not the case. Instead it demonstrates the potential of studying what is being done at the WHMT. Both Jan's comment and the WHMT itself come out of identity. That they sprung from the same soil means the people of the WHMT have had to work with this in themselves from the WHMT's inception, and yet they have still managed to 'do history' – which reinforces how significant the WHMT is as an exemplar because it indicates that there are ways to negotiate and address such issues. The apparent contradictions only make the case for further study of the WHMT more compelling.

¹²⁶ For example Ashton and Hamilton found a general irritation with history efforts that were *perceived* to involve interpretation. Ashton and Hamilton, p. 79; Curthoys and Docker, p. 232.

¹²⁷ For example the Canadian Bomber Command controversy that went through the courts and Senate Committees. Conrad, p. 2.

¹²⁸ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 80.

¹²⁹ Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 190.

[pilots' memories of the experience and historians' interpretation of sources] would be respected...'¹³⁰

Jan and John's comments suggest that New Zealand is probably not a 'fundamentally historical culture' either. Yet as their own insights demonstrate, participants engaged with this research. More than sixty people voluntarily gave up their time to talk with me and each other about uses of history. These were not people uninterested in history. Jan and John's words reinforce the complex relationship between history and heritage in public settings described above. Such expressions highlight the difficulties of history outside the academy – the accuracy of the historical discipline is desired, but the reality of historical production as always unfinished is not. Such expressions highlight again what historians have to offer, but also some of the challenges in creating a truly participatory historical culture.

Their comments illuminate both an underlying cause of the history wars, and what might seem a counter-intuitive challenge to developing a 'healthy, participatory, fundamentally historical culture' – that history matters to people.¹³¹ It constitutes a major component of identity.¹³² Jan's words in particular also highlight how it is not just obviously hegemonic interests that motivate reaction against historical interpretation, but also intensely personal conceptions of self. Here too, the personal is political. This is what anyone wanting to contribute to a more historical culture has to understand and negotiate. After all, it was not apathetic, disinterested citizens who dragged the Canadian Historical Association before a Senate Committee over 87 words on a Canadian War Museum interpretation panel in 2007, but veterans – people invested in their perspective.¹³³

¹³⁰ Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 190.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 190.

¹³² This consideration echoes Michael King's views on respect for the living. Yet, significant for the subject of revision, in the same chapter King went on to outline how it is the ongoing process of revision itself that enables 'compassionate truth' to eventually be '...compatible with and complemented by the dispassionate and disinterested variety.' King, 'Biography and Compassionate Truth', in *Tread Softly for You Tread on My Life: New & Collected Writings*, pp. 13, 17.

¹³³ Conrad, p. 5, passim.

This challenge is not news to anyone working in fields such as oral or postcolonial history. There have been many strong calls for, and strong critiques of, emic history.¹³⁴ Yet there is something refreshingly wry about the situation revealed in this research – where it is not just oppressed groups, but also relative elites that feel chary of historians. But despite the difficulties, it is precisely those people who have an interest in history that are the historical discipline’s hope for public engagement. Disagreement can become an opportunity for dialogue. And to avoid the tragedy of talking past each other, and seeing the insights of the profession disparaged, the onus is on historians to find ways to continue to engage the public and expand the historical conversation.¹³⁵

The effort needs to be made, despite the difficulties. The hope of a more participatory historical culture makes the effort worthwhile.¹³⁶ The social turn to the past, with its threats and opportunities for the historical discipline,¹³⁷ make the situation urgent. Earlier in this thesis I recounted some of the many loud and clear calls for¹³⁸ – and several specific suggestions as to how to foster and support¹³⁹ – the expansion of participatory historical culture. Here is the relevance of history. Rosenzweig, Thelen, Davison, Conrad, Ercikan, Létourneau, Northrup, Seixas, Tosh, Wineburg, and Kelley have called for – and shown ways to – greater public

¹³⁴ For example: Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, pp. 2–3, 29–32, 67–69, 183–193, throughout; O’Regan, pp. 141–45.; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, ed. by Donna Landry and Gerald M. MacLean (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 15, 294; Edward Said, ‘Orientalism Reconsidered’, in *Literature, Politics, and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference, 1976–84*, ed. by Francis Barker, New Accents (London; New York: Methuen, 1986), pp. 210–29 (p. 229); Eric J. Hobsbawm, ‘History: A New Age of Reason – Le Monde Diplomatique – English Edition’, 2004 <<http://mondediplo.com/2004/12/02why>> [accessed 23 July 2013].

¹³⁵ Conrad, p. 8; Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, p. 154.

¹³⁶ Rosenzweig, p. 38.

¹³⁷ For example, Kaye’s writings contrast the dangers to democracy posed by deliberate reductions and abuses of the past, with the potential for critical and engaged historical practice to strengthen democracy. Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. throughout, 18–21, 63, 65–119, and especially 150–151.

¹³⁸ See Chapter One, section *What this thesis offers the Historical Discipline*. Examples include: Rosenzweig, p. 38; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 34; Kelley, ‘Public History’, pp. 20, 21, throughout; Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 20–21; Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, pp. 260, 275; Jordanova, ‘Public History’, p. 20; Trevor-Roper, p. 331; Ashton and Hamilton, p. 15; Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 148–150, 162–169; Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 23–24; Lerner, ‘The Necessity of History’, p. 336; Samuel, p. 19; Tosh, *Why History Matters*, pp. iix, ix–x, 7, 121, 138, 142, 143.

¹³⁹ Examples include: Rosenzweig and Thelen, pp. 179–189, 202–207; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, pp. 33–34; Conrad, pp. 8–9; Tosh, *Why History Matters*, pp. 22, 103, 107, 109, 119, 128, 129–136, 142, 143; Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, pp. 263–275; Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 20–22; Jordanova, ‘Public History’, p. 20; Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 7, 154–169.; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 12–22.

engagement with history. The discipline demands it and this thesis shows people engaging with it. Clearly the historical discipline, or at least public history and some major historians want a more participatory historical culture – and argue convincingly that wider society would benefit from it. The findings of this research indicate that there are opportunities for nourishing a more participatory historical culture. History and heritage have utility for organisations, and that beyond definitions and academia (at least in the three settings studied in this research) history and heritage have an intimate and complex relationship. The roles of academically trained historians in this effort – as instigators, facilitators, and interpreters, for example – are discussed throughout this chapter and specifically addressed in Chapter Seven.

The historical discipline has a need, and this research illuminates opportunities to address that need. This research offers two specific opportunities to expand public engagement. The first is the WHMT case study as an example of historical community (and as a starting point for such work with more organisations). The second is the learning history approach itself as a means of engaging members of the public in reflecting and discussing – part of ‘thinking like historians’. What the learning history approach specifically brings to history, and public history in particular, is addressed in the next part of this discussion.

What can the Learning History Approach bring to the Historical Discipline?

The learning history approach offers the historical discipline a number of benefits. Each of the points below is important for at least one, and often several of the following: facilitating the expansion of participatory historical culture, training practitioners, illuminating issues of knowledge production and demonstrating the practical relevance of historical work. The benefits the learning history approach brings include a new way to expand participatory historical culture, and to meet calls in the literature for greater reflexivity and historiographical innovation. The learning history approach is also an effective way to help develop researchers and it facilitates participant engagement with research. By engaging participants, the approach enabled the learning from the dissemination meeting interactions described above, made it possible to discuss some uncomfortable things (such as painful subjects, disagreement, and even discomfort with new or difficult concepts), and addressed Alistair Thomson's notion of 'composure'. Another benefit the learning history approach is that it offers the discipline a new way around the problem of inferring private sentiment from public practices. In addition, this research has delivered findings that speak to historical practice and historiography on each of the following: historical consciousness, the contemporary relevance of history, the impossibility of dispassionate, monologic, totalizing, positivist history, the interplay between heritage and history in practice, the social turn to history, the role of historians, the phenomena of 'composure' and 'historical community'. Reinforcing 'the past is still with us' with evidence constitutes a contribution to knowledge in and of itself, and is a strong argument for the relevance of history.

The learning history approach's most significant contribution to the historical discipline is that the qualities of the learning history approach enable it to expand participatory historical culture. The qualities of the learning history approach foster powerful engagement on the part of participants. Also significant for the discipline is that the learning history approach is an *innovation for historiography*, such as has been called for by historians such as Curthoys and Docker, Zeldin, Jordanova, and Clendinnen, as noted in the literature review.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Curthoys and Docker, p. 233; Zeldin, pp. 343, *passim*; Jordanova, 'Public History', p. 20; Clendinnen. Specifically 'It is my own conviction that we could learn from the best sociologists and anthropologists how to expand our range of what we consider sources, and could refine techniques of 'close reading' from the example of the best literary critics.'

On this count, the learning history approach offers an original contribution to the historical discipline.

Adapting the learning history approach for history is also an example of the kind of introduction by the 'laity' Trevor-Roper saw as refreshing the discipline.¹⁴¹ Recall how filmmakers engaged with postcolonialism long before many academic historians did so.¹⁴² The learning history approach offers the discipline the benefits Loewenberg saw emanating from a new approach as well as addressing larger epistemological and historiographical issues for the discipline.¹⁴³ For example, this research into the applicability of the learning history approach adds to the weight of arguments against the possibility of dispassionate, monologic, totalizing, positivist history.¹⁴⁴

The learning history approach also shoulders the responsibility that historians and philosophers such as Kelley, Stowe, Létourneau, Nietzsche, Geyl, Tosh, Trapeznik and McLean have placed upon history for encouraging reflection and reflexive practice.¹⁴⁵ During the cases many participants engaged in reflexive practice. They reflected upon their organisation's use of history, and history more generally.¹⁴⁶ This is a vital element of expanding participatory historical culture. This kind of mindfulness is part of what constitutes a sophisticated historical consciousness, and is part of the benefit of historical thinking. What is more, the

¹⁴¹ Trevor-Roper, p. 332.

¹⁴² Robert A. Rosenstone, *Revisioning History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 5.

¹⁴³ 'The value of any conceptual framework is what new combinations of data or inferences from the data it may contribute to the historian's ability to interpret documents and the other raw material of history.' Peter Loewenberg, *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 1996), p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ For example: 'Introduction: The Interpretive Turn', in *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow and William M. Sullivan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 1–21 (pp. 8–13); Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, p. 261; James R. Green, *Taking History to Heart: The Power of the Past in Building Social Movements* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Stowe, p. 40; 'Introduction', p. 7; Nietzsche, p. 66.

¹⁴⁶ Examples include: Peter Oettli's, reflection on the role of WHMT as guardians: "One of the things that, strikes me when I look around the table and talk about [historical] community of course is that [historical] community is not a static thing, it's a dynamic thing. And at the moment most of us are of one generation except for notable exceptions but nevertheless I think the [historical] community that is entrusted, or we see ourselves as guardians of, stories, of knowledge, of artefacts, and because there will be a need for renewal, a need for the [historical] community to perpetuate itself if you like, and the issues that we find important at the moment may not be the issues that a future generation will find." WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 25, and Chapter Five, footnote 62; Jacquie's reflections on nostalgia at Woodlands, see Chapter Four, footnote 41; Royce's reflections on history and identity and the need to make use of history "ensuring we don't lose who we are", see Chapter Three, footnote 93; John Bridgman, "eh?" of insight on revision, See Chapter Four, footnote 123.

learning history approach expands that reflection and historical thinking beyond the audience Stowe referred to (students and history practitioners) to potentially anyone.

The learning history approach advances the project of a more participatory historical culture, facilitating the opportunity for participants to reflect on history and issues of historiography beyond the Academy. ‘Historiography’ is used here in the sense of creating/producing history and issues around the production of history. Examples of this reflection included discussions of issues such as historical accuracy and the social turn in relation to their organisation’s own activities. More examples of the approach engaging reflection included instances of participants examining the details of their use of history – how they found their information, how they presented their organisation’s history, and consideration of their audience.¹⁴⁷ My research has shown that the approach facilitated discussion of history and historiography outside the Academy. It got people thinking and talking about history. My application of the learning history approach has also raised historical consciousness; as well as participation in, and discussion of, historical thinking. This furthers the project of a more participatory historical culture.

The learning history approach also offers a number of benefits in terms of reflexivity and approaching historical consciousness. Firstly, the learning history process fostered reflection in general. Secondly, the learning history approach created a space to talk about history, and provided room for individual responses even within an organisational context. Thirdly, the process was a catalyst for conversations outside the academy that addressed history, historical consciousness and historiographical issues around the production of knowledge. In addition the learning history approach drew out reflections on how participants saw ‘history’ –

¹⁴⁷ For example, see Chapter Five, footnotes 112 and 113. Another specific example from Woodlands: “Irene: ...how do we connect to the outside community more? ... Jacquie: ...how I could see that go further is probably bringing more technology into the homestead and having people, have recorded stories, and so you can come into this place and listen to the stories. ... Irene: I agree. That was what I felt too John, that we’ve done it and spent a bit of money on archives, but people that come in here, very few actually stop and read that big book. They’ll flick through the pages...John: A-hm. Irene: As Jacquie said, you’ve gotta tell the story. Jacquie: Hm. Because everyone remembers a story don’t they? You go somewhere, you can have someone talk to you, all this information, but if they tell you one story, what do you remember? Allan: That’s right. Jacquie: They remember the story.” First Woodlands dissemination meeting, pp. 1-2.

revealing historical consciousnesses.¹⁴⁸ The learning history approach also drew out participants' reflections on historiography, further illuminating historical consciousnesses.¹⁴⁹ Finally, the learning history process recorded all of these expressive statements, creating an archive of value in itself.

This research offers concrete evidence of the learning history approach's ability to contribute to the expansion of participatory historical culture. The approach is shared history in terms of process and outcome. This research shows participants articulating reflections, then discussing those reflections together at dissemination meetings, and going on to have further insights and making further reflections on those meetings. These are concrete instances of participatory historical culture, and proof that the learning history approach does benefit the historical discipline. This is important because in these moments, the learning history approach answers the challenge of broadening engagement with history.¹⁵⁰

This expansion also means an increase in the opportunity to think historically.¹⁵¹ As noted throughout this thesis, this kind of thinking has been shown to be rare by Wineburg and Seixas, and yet, as argued by Kaye, Seixas and Tosh in particular, it is profoundly necessary for an engaged democratic culture.¹⁵² In both increasing the opportunities for thinking historically and creating occasions for such participatory historical culture – i.e. making history available to everyone – the learning history approach is an exemplary new method that rises to Robert Kelley's call to arms for public history.

¹⁴⁸ For example – John Graham: I mean history is history, whether you're the top class neurosurgeon or the carpenter. ... So but some histories are slanted I would suggest. [laughs]. See Chapter Five, footnote 98, and Learning history interview with John Graham, p. 11.

¹⁴⁹ Such as discussion of historical accuracy, see Chapter Six, footnote 35. Glenn's comparison between what Southwell was doing with what the wider society was doing (with the specific example of the increase in Anzac commemoration) is another example – See Chapter Three, footnote 106.

¹⁵⁰ Issued by the likes of Trevor-Roper, Lerner, Tosh, Rosenzweig, Thelen, Hamilton, Ashton, Conrad, Létourneau, Northrup, and Samuel. See Chapter One, section *What this thesis offers the Historical Discipline*.

¹⁵¹ Examples include those found in Chapter Six, sections *Historical consciousness: implications for the Discipline*, and *History and heritage entangled: implications for the Discipline*, as well as: Soumil, Supipi, Thomas and Nicole's insightful reflection into their lack of prior reflection. See Chapter Three, footnote 128. Glenn's contemplation of Southwell's turn to history in light of a wider societal turn to history (exemplified by increased Anzac commemoration) is another example. See Chapter Three, footnote 106.

¹⁵² Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 148–150, 162–169; Seixas, 'What Is Historical Consciousness?', pp. 11–22, especially 20–21; Tosh, *Why History Matters*, pp. 7, 142, throughout; Wineburg, 'Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important', pp. 35–43, notably pp. 35–36; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 3–27, especially pp. 19–22.

Benefitting Participants and the Discipline

I have explained above and throughout this thesis how the learning history approach and its application in this research address some of the challenges posed to the historical discipline, and public history in particular. It is to the benefit of the historical discipline that the learning history approach addresses demands made by many notable historians and philosophers. It is in addressing those demands that the learning history approach demonstrates its value to the discipline.

The learning history approach offers the historical discipline a new means of expanding participatory historical culture. That participants found the learning history process engaging ensures that the learning history approach promises to be an *effective* means of expanding participatory historical culture as well. Ensuring that participants are engaged and benefiting from the process benefits the discipline, and ensures a virtuous circle of engagement, benefit and sustainability. Moreover, expanding participatory historical culture in this research did notably benefit participants. The learning history approach captured insights for analysis and discussion *by participants* as well as researchers. The process, especially dissemination meetings, gave scope to participant agency. The dissemination meetings were full of discussion. Discussion not just of participant conceptions of history and the use of history, but of the purposes of their organisations, as well as ideas for future uses of history within their organisations. Such discussion in turn prompted reflections on the nature of history and the production of knowledge more generally.¹⁵³ The learning history process enabled key aspects of the organisation's use of history (such as the WHMT's historical community) to be put to the organisation itself through the learning history document, and for understandings of the organisation to be discussed, challenged, rethought and/or embraced.

The space created by the learning history process was a thoughtful and at times intensely emotional one. The dissemination meetings in particular were sometimes euphoric for participants. On several occasions after dissemination meetings full of reflection, brainstorming, debate and fresh thought, participants

¹⁵³ Examples include the most of the reflections noted in footnotes 148 and 150 above (see Chapter Six, footnotes 147-149, 151), as well as the debates at Woodlands, and Ken's challenges to the learning history process and the resolution of those.

made a point of thanking me and the other participants warmly for an unusual opportunity.¹⁵⁴ Participants expressed how they found the learning history approach a valuable opportunity to reflect and a source of new thoughts.¹⁵⁵ I engaged with more than sixty people explicitly about history, and what is more, those people took the chance to talk to *each* other about history. Not one of those people had to be involved. And they so often gave deep thought and passion to that time together. Profound insights and newly-shared understandings came out of the intensely emotional interaction of those meetings. The strength of engagement fostered by the learning history process was also demonstrated in the critique of the process and the defences of the process at Woodlands for example.¹⁵⁶

The ‘learning history’ process fosters not just learning from history, but also indirectly ‘learning-how-to-do-history’ – to ‘think like a historian’. For example, Glenn Holmes’s comparison between what Southwell was doing with what the wider society was doing (with the specific example of the increase in Anzac commemoration) was insightful, and as mentioned earlier in this thesis, something that even people with a professional interest took a while to appreciate.¹⁵⁷ Glenn’s insight is an example of the kind of critical thinking that can come out of the learning history process if people are given the space to really think about history. In expanding participatory historical culture in this particular way, this ‘learning-how-to-do-history’ aspect of the learning history approach is

¹⁵⁴ Sometimes with disarming directness: “Participant One: Thank you so much – thank you Mark.” WHMT dissemination meeting, p. 63. Another example: “Jan: And I would say thank you Mark for the work you’re doing. The document for me was all about the passion that we all felt... that feeling coming through of um people wanting to do what they’re doing because they not only believe in it, but enjoy it.” WHMT dissemination meeting, p. 56. See also the examples in footnote 155 immediately below.

¹⁵⁵ Examples include: 1) “Participant One: I think it’s been a wonderful couple of hours of discussion, and um it’s wonderful to see the valuing from the document of everybody’s participation, and for me the discussion this morning’s opened up possibilities that I hadn’t thought about for this kind of, for the Trust, ... thank you, ...it’s very valuable. Thank you – and thank you everyone.” WHMT dissemination meeting, p.57.

2) “David: And is there anything anyone else wants to add before we finish up tonight? Glenn: No, I think we’ve covered...Royce: Just my thanks, my thanks Mark...Tim: Hey Mark look thanks very much. Royce: ... in terms of I think a very very worthwhile project. And certainly one that’s started a lot of thinking... Marcus Hm. Mike: Hm. Royce: ...and a lot of talking, so thank you. Mark: Thank you. Royce: I appreciate it. Mike Dix: Hm. ... Glenn: Hm, great. Good to reflect.” First Southwell dissemination meeting, pp. 45-46. Further examples include Jill’s epiphany and the students blooming awareness of their previous lack of reflection – See Chapter Four, footnotes 154-156, and Chapter Three, footnote 128.

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter Four, footnotes 150-153.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter Three, footnote 106. See also Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’, p. 78.

an effect that is of benefit to participants. By nourishing historical thinking, it is also of benefit to the discipline.

It might seem possible to critique the above by pointing to external factors, such as the intelligence of participants and/or the influences that had affected participants prior to this research. Indeed, some likely influences were apparent. Some of the people involved in this research were accustomed to thinking historically, or at least critically by dint of their academic training and/or pursuits.¹⁵⁸ Occasionally participants mentioned reading they found relevant, such as the works of Thomas Sergiovanni for Geoff Burgess, Stone's book for Woodlands, and the WHMT's own books.¹⁵⁹ I have no way of knowing all of the potential other influences that have affected participants.

Ultimately, none of those possible influences detract from the potential of the learning history approach, because the essential point here is not where the reflections and insights of the process came from, but that they came out. This adaptation of the *learning history process gave people a social situation in which to actually sit back and reflect, and then converse together about subjects often regarded as esoteric* – history and historiography. This historical thinking and these conversations are of benefit to participants and the historical discipline. The learning history approach made that easier by grounding discussion in two ways: conceptually and process-wise. The approach grounded conversations conceptually by focusing initial discussions on concrete uses of history at an organisation that participants were familiar with. The approach grounded its own

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter Two, footnotes 7 and 8. There were historians at the WHMT: John Armstrong, Cathy and James. Many of the people involved in the cases had been/were professionals (e.g. teachers, administrators, consultants, medical professionals, managers). John Bridgman mentioned he was involved in a historical society – Interview with John Bridgman, p. 3. Jacquie wrote a Masters thesis on the lives and work of several of the women of Woodlands. Jacquie Haselden, 'Temporal Anchor' (Unpublished MA thesis: Auckland, N.Z: Whitecliffe College of Arts and Design, 2007). Ross is head of the Waikato Clinical School branch of the University of Auckland and has published articles on medical history in addition to his medical and educational work. Ross Lawrenson, 'Medical Practice in New Zealand 1769-1860', *Vesalius: Acta Internationales Historiae Medicinae*, 10 (2004), 4–9; Ross Lawrenson, 'Sir James Mouat, VC KCB FRCS (1815-1899): Winner of the First Medical Victoria Cross', *Journal of Medical Biography*, 12 (2004), 196–201; Ross Lawrenson, 'Frederic John Mouat (1816–97), MD FRCS LLD of the Indian Medical Service', *Journal of Medical Biography*, 15 (2007), 201–5 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1258/j.jmb.2007.06-45>>. Peter Oettli once lectured in late classical medieval language and literature (German Philology) at the University of Waikato. He was also Pro Vice-Chancellor (International) and Dean of Humanities at the University of Waikato for many years.

¹⁵⁹ Learning history interview with Geoff Burgess, p. 3; Stone; Armstrong and Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust; Waikato Mental Health History Group.

process by making the learning history document the common starting point for the dissemination meetings.

To reiterate: I do not claim that the learning history approach seeded these thoughts – I have no way of knowing what was already in the minds of the people I met. However, the method can be credited with drawing these thoughts out. Participants did engage with the approach and express these thoughts – so the learning history approach achieved the creation of a space for that engagement, as well as recording those reflections for further analysis and reflection by researchers and the participants themselves.

Benefiting Practitioners: internal aspects of the learning history approach

The benefits of the learning history approach described above are supported by the approaches' own rigour and vigour. The internal aspects of the process support and strengthen what the approach has to offer. These features include those of particular benefit to participants, and others of greater interest to researchers. These features of the learning history approach add to what it brings to the discipline, and they also illuminate the approach for anyone else who wishes to practice it. It is for these reasons that benefits to practitioners, both participants and researchers, are discussed in turn below.¹⁶⁰

Benefiting participants as practitioners

The features of the learning history approach that particularly benefit participants discussed below reflect how the structure of the learning history approach contributes to the engagement of participants. This engagement in turn contributes to the expansion of participatory historical culture. Therefore those features that particularly benefit participants underpin what the learning history approach offers to the discipline – greater opportunity for participatory historical culture.

The learning history approach engages participants in the practice of history. That more people are engaging in historical practice is of benefit to themselves and the discipline. As well as being a catalyst for insights and reflections of benefit to those involved and the historical discipline, the learning

¹⁶⁰ While they are presented separately here, as two sub-sections within a section, all of these features sustain the process, so all of these actually (at the very least indirectly) benefit everyone involved.

history process drew out reflection *on itself*. Participants exercised their agency for the benefit of themselves and their organisation. Participants also challenged, defended, took over and understood the learning history approach. The method supports participants driving points of discussion within the dissemination meetings.

The *qualities* of the learning history process are important because *they enabled the contribution that the approach makes* to expanding participatory historical culture. It is a strength of the process that it did attract critique from participants: from interest in the perspective of sources – such as Tim and Prue (at Southwell and Woodlands respectively) each checking if I had spoken with anyone who had negative views of the relevant organisation – to Ken’s wider critiques of the process as a whole. That participants felt able to raise critiques within the learning history process demonstrates this strength of the process.¹⁶¹ An even greater demonstration of that strength is that other participants felt able to respond to such criticisms – that it was *their* discussion, their process as much as the facilitator’s. That the ‘defending’ participants understood the process is proof of the quality of my explanation of the project and their own perspicacity. That they were willing to respond and explain speaks to their own inclinations. But that they had the *opportunity* to moderate such criticisms was due to the space created by the learning history process – and that was of benefit to all involved.¹⁶²

Compared to many other historical methodologies, the learning history approach provides significant scope for co-creation. The potential to be a catalyst for participant-driven-discussion is another of the key strengths of the learning history approach. The dissemination meetings fostered real discussion: open, frank, yet respectful – for while the other participants brought Ken around to the learning history process, Ken was neither ignored nor forced into changing his mind. The process enabled explanation and intercession from participants. That Ken did eventually come to hold the views he expressed in the epigraph of this thesis is testament to how effectively and easily participants such as Prue and Jill took on the facilitation of particular points of discussion within the dissemination

¹⁶¹ See Chapter Three, footnote 77, Chapter Four, footnotes 150-153, and Chapter Four, section *The Debates of the Second Dissemination Meeting*.

¹⁶² For example: “Prue: Yeah don’t, don’t take it personally. June: No. Ken: No, okay.” Second Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, pp. 54-56.

meetings.¹⁶³ This is proof of the learning history approach's potential for shared facilitation and open discussion. Here, in this aspect that emphasises participant agency, the internal design of the learning history approach contributed directly to participatory historical culture.

The opportunity for co-creation in the learning history process highlights another strength that underpins the benefits this approach offers - the learning history approach is a whole process. While the learning history process was robust enough to accommodate people in the dissemination meetings who had not been able to participate in the initial interviews, there was real benefit in being involved in the whole process.¹⁶⁴ This key point is illustrated by another example of participant-driven-discussion. During the WHMT dissemination meeting Clyde took the opportunity to ask the group about their thoughts on his conceptions of 'brand' and 'soul'.¹⁶⁵ That he actively directed the meeting for a time is further evidence of the learning history approach's potential for shared facilitation and open discussion – as discussed in the paragraph above. More significantly for the point being made here, that example also shows how the learning history is a whole process. The dissemination meeting is extremely important. That Clyde both elaborated on his points from the learning history document and turned that into a group discussion of the ideas raised by the document is an example of how the dissemination meeting works with the learning history document. The discussion of the historical community concept is another example. Although this is not a quantitative study it is worth noting that, numerically, the majority of the reflections I noted came out of the dissemination meetings.¹⁶⁶ I actually saw how the learning history approach benefited those involved; the process as a whole offered the chance to deepen the meaning and information of the document through discussion. The significant point for this discussion is that, because of the way the learning history process builds on itself toward the dissemination

¹⁶³ To such a degree that their combined understandings form the epigraph that opened this thesis. See Chapter One, footnote 2, and Chapter Four, footnote 150.

¹⁶⁴ Such as Jan and Jill who contributed so much to, and were engaged by the WHMT and Woodlands dissemination meetings respectively.

¹⁶⁵ WHMT dissemination meeting, pp. 49-50.

¹⁶⁶ At the WHMT for example approximately 12 reflections came from the meeting relative to 10 from the initial interviews. Set aside the problematic nature of this particular analysis (e.g. What if there are several ideas within a particular quote? Should ideas be weighted? How?) for a moment, and consider the basic significance of the point: that a mere two hours of dissemination meeting at the end of the process produced at least as many, even slightly more, notable reflections than the many more (approximately five times as many – and the WHMT was the shortest of the cases in this regard) hours of individual and group interviews that had gone before.

meeting, it is as a *structured, sequenced whole* that the learning history approach has the most to offer.

The dissemination meetings made two more contributions to expanding participatory historical culture: accountability and further opportunity to participate. Having the learning historian, and other participants, in the room made them directly available for open discussion of the document and the process. And it was this opportunity for direct discussion that meant the dissemination meetings took on some of the same functions as the interactions of scholarly discourse. Participant responses in the dissemination meeting are for the learning history document and process akin to what the feedback, critique, and reviews in scholarly journals are for academic works. By *inviting participants to engage in interaction like the kind that experts have* with texts, the learning history approach further expanded participatory historical culture and practice.

Benefiting researchers as practitioners

There are features of the learning history approach that more directly benefit the historian undertaking the research. Like the above, these also support and enable the learning history approach's contribution to the discipline. These features of benefit to the researcher(s) include: learning from the dissemination meeting interactions described above; how the learning history approach made it possible to discuss some uncomfortable things (such as painful subjects, disagreement, and even discomfort with new or difficult concepts), and how the method addressed Alistair Thomson's notion of 'composure'.

The learning history approach is an effective way to help develop a researcher. The discipline benefits from including the learning history approach in its toolkit because developing the researcher is a distinctive and deliberate feature of the learning history approach. The learning history approach needs to be included in the discipline because interaction with interviewees after the production of a text based on their testimony is an explicit part of the learning history process. This goes beyond accountability to participants and the benefits they derive from discussion. The dissemination meetings offered the historian an opportunity to take direct feedback. The dissemination meetings were an opportunity to watch how others talked about the learning history document and process with each other, and to learn about the consequences of one's knowledge

production from listening to those interactions. I was able to sit down with the people who had read what I had written and hear their thoughts on my research, the document itself and what their organisation should do in the future in light of the document I had prepared. Participants were able to discuss matters of knowledge production with the author. Now, something like that can and does happen in any other historical effort: critiques and reviews appear in scholarly journals, readers occasionally get to talk to authors, oral historians often sit down with the communities their works arise from. But with the learning history approach it is a planned part of the process from the very outset.

Effectiveness at stimulating real discussion is another great strength of the learning history approach. This is in contrast with more traditional historical approaches. The learning history approach makes the sometimes uncomfortable, discussable. That is important for gaining a more complete understanding as well as hearing from more than just the dominant voices. While it would be silly to suggest the learning history approach as a panacea for the world's warzones (and likewise unreasonable to attack it for not being so), the method accommodated participant discomfort in several distinct ways.¹⁶⁷ For example, it drew out and engaged with disagreement. This thesis has already noted how the learning history approach invited debate on the nature of history, critique of the method itself – such as the examples from the Woodlands case – and engaged people in thinking in new ways: the students at Southwell were notable examples.¹⁶⁸ This effectiveness was further demonstrated by how the learning history managed to engage even people with critical views of the relevant organisation, as well its uses of history – enough to participate in the research and offer their perspectives. While this was rare (only two instances in this research), the significant point here is that the learning history approach managed to give scope even to views that a majority of participants did not share.¹⁶⁹ This benefits the discipline because it allows for a more complete understanding of the phenomena being researched – and supports participant engagement with the research.

¹⁶⁷ I have chosen to discuss these features as benefiting researchers more than participants only because the benefit for a researcher is more obvious in this case – people continuing to engage with the process throughout, and indeed increasing their engagement during the dissemination meeting because of these features of the learning history approach.

¹⁶⁸ For examples, see Chapter Three, footnotes 81, 113 and 128; Chapter Four, footnotes 150-155.

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter Three, footnote 139, and Chapter Four, footnote 145.

Another benefit the learning history approach offers the discipline is a way around the problem of inferring private sentiment from public practices. The ‘Australians and the Past’ research indicates that it is problematic to assume one can make such inferences, and yet it is all too easy to assume that what holds in public holds for all in private.¹⁷⁰ It is one of the problems faced when working with imagined communities and invented traditions. Learning history research gets around this problem because it deliberately seeks individual personal comment on public rituals and practices as part of its process. That it was even possible for participants to express dissatisfaction with their organisation during the learning history process is a clear example. Other examples of the learning history approach drawing out, and making space for, individual and sometimes dissenting voices include: Jacquie Haselden’s problematisation of authenticity and nostalgia, and critique of the relative lack of the voices of women in the uses of history at Woodlands; and John Bridgman and Rod Wise’s calls for history going into the Māori past of Woodlands.¹⁷¹

The learning history approach also addresses issues of composure.¹⁷² Composure is a problem because it hides real motives, views, explanations and so on. Addressing composure is particularly pertinent for oral and public history. As covered in the Woodlands chapter, the learning history approach worked around the issue of composure by focusing on ‘concrete’ uses of history. Talking with participants about how their organisation has used the past often became a process of talking about how those participants saw history and/or the past. Examples of expressions of historical consciousness arising out of the discussion of uses of history include: John Dobson’s call to contextualise the history presented at Woodlands within the history of the rest of the world at that time; the conception of history as education articulated by several people in all three cases; the Southwell students’ awareness of their lack of reflection; and Royce’s views on the use of history while maintaining/remaining “...this organisation that we are”.¹⁷³ Grounding conversation (and efforts at composure) in the *use* of history often led participants to indirectly express their historical consciousness. In this way the learning history approach avoided both the problems of people

¹⁷⁰ Davison, ‘The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of ANZAC Day’, p. 75.

¹⁷¹ See Chapter Four, footnote 48, and First Woodlands Dissemination Meeting, p. 3.

¹⁷² Thomson, pp. 5–11.

¹⁷³ See Chapter Four, footnote 115, Chapter Three, footnotes 128 and 93 respectively.

composing their responses, or becoming uncomfortable in having to think about their thinking – at the same time as not impeding any metacognition. In facilitating these workarounds, this feature of the learning history approach delivers a significant benefit for practitioners and public history.

The learning history approach contains another contribution that counters composure: the process as a whole supports the contrast of words with deeds. The learning history approach provided the opportunity to contrast the historical consciousness – i.e. how history was understood – that came to light in the course of the learning history process, with how history was actually being used at a particular organisation. The opportunity for comparison exists because this adaptation of the learning history approach is designed to find both ‘uses of history’ (deeds, actions) and ‘historical consciousness’ (in words and articulated thoughts). The learning history process *as a whole* facilitates this kind of contrast and implicit confrontation: the initial research enabled these phenomena to be found, then the learning history document allowed any dissonant pieces of evidence to be set alongside each other, while the dissemination meetings allowed for such evidence to be discussed. The contrast and confrontation was most pronounced in the Woodlands learning history document – but opportunity to compare words with deeds (historical consciousness with actions undertaken) was there for participants in all three cases.¹⁷⁴

This feature of the learning history approach is part of what enabled it to make the uncomfortable discussable and make space for individual voices. Much of the open discussion fostered by the approach (which is also a benefit to the historical discipline) came out of the cognitive dissonance (and more commonly, the congruity) highlighted by this feature. Contrasting either the ideals and intentions latent within any given historical consciousness with what had actually been done, or different expressions of historical consciousness from within the same organisation (i.e. the different views of other people) drew out many of the thoughts offered by participants at dissemination meetings. Many took the opportunity to suggest what more the organisation could do.¹⁷⁵ Sometimes

¹⁷⁴ The first two learning history documents each included an appendix listing the uses of history at their organisation. The learning history document for the WHMT simply included links to lists the WHMT had already made.

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter Three, footnote 98, Chapter Five, footnotes 74 and 119-120. I compiled summaries of these and sent them to participants.

participants argued against the point being highlighted, and at other times they embraced it.¹⁷⁶ Jill of Woodlands' epiphany is a vivid example of a participant responding to how the learning history approach contrasted expressed intentions with actions.¹⁷⁷ This feature is another way in which the sequenced process of the learning history affords insight into the historical consciousness of people beyond the academy, and invites people to engage with complex historical concerns within the context of their own organisation. The research opportunities presented by benefits such as this, as well as a summary of the significance of this thesis, will be addressed in the next chapter.

¹⁷⁶ For example Ken when he raised his concerns – See Chapter Four, footnotes 146-150 and 153.

¹⁷⁷ See Chapter Four, footnotes 154-156.

Conclusion

"The story that makes us who we are":¹

This thesis argues for the contemporary relevance of history. It demonstrates the utility and potential of the learning history approach. This research shows three organisations using history for identity purposes and brings three applied case studies into the literature. These case studies demonstrate how heritage and history are entangled in practice. This research shows the learning history approach rising to historiographical challenges such as:

- Calls for the expansion of public history and more explorations of historical consciousness
- Calls for innovations of form in historiography
- Calls for greater reflexivity and critical thinking

The learning history approach has shown its potential as a way past academic insularity. The historical discipline benefits from embracing the approach because learning histories foster 'historical thinking'. Accordingly, this chapter summarises the significance of this interdisciplinary research and the findings, implications, and the arguments presented in this study. It synthesises an overall view of the strengths and limitations of this fusion of learning histories and public history. Finally this chapter suggests pathways for future research.

This is the first history doctoral thesis to explicitly engage with, prioritise and problematise public history concepts and their implementation in New Zealand. Introducing the learning history approach into the historical discipline is an original contribution to historical scholarship.² Moreover, this work is original because it involved gathering, testing, analysing and reviewing new primary source materials. This research offers an indepth qualitative study of how history is used at three New Zealand organisations and involves more than sixty people. The historical discipline's knowledge of historical consciousness in relation to the 'social and cultural turn' in history has been advanced. This research speaks to the national surveys conducted by Rosenzweig and Thelen, Ashton and Hamilton

¹ Interview with Susan, p.13. of transcript.

² Examples of calls for historiographic innovations can be found in: Curthoys and Docker, p. 233; Zeldin, p. 343, throughout; Jordanova, 'Public History', p. 20; Clendinnen.

and Conrad, Ercikan, Létourneau, Northrup and Seixas. By approaching the issues studied in the large national surveys and coming to similar findings along with some additions, my research demonstrates that the learning history approach can fit within the public history field. This research found instances of all of Rösen's and Seixas's types of historical consciousness. This finding is significant because – as analysed in the Discussion chapter – this breadth of consciousness reveals the entanglement of history and heritage in practice. On the basis of the evidence provided through the three case studies, this study argues against reifying and entrenching the separation of heritage and history. This challenges the work of Lowenthal and Kammen by presenting a more nuanced view of the relationship between history and heritage.³

Accordingly, this research supports those works that emphasise the relevance of history and the need for the historical discipline to increase engagement with people beyond the Academy – as mutually beneficial for the discipline and the public. As covered in the Chapter Six, the findings from the case studies highlight the need for historians to engage ever more people in the practice of history.⁴ In addition, this research addresses problems of knowledge production, historical accuracy and objectivity.

There are a number of specific benefits that come from applying the learning history approach. First, the design of the learning history approach supports its ability to meet challenges in the literature noted at the beginning of this chapter. Engaging the public in reflecting on history is a deliberate part of the learning history process. The learning history approach contributes to participatory historical culture specifically by fostering participant engagement. This emotional and intellectual engagement is fostered through creating space for participant analysis, criticism and fluid, informal co-facilitation – consider the words of Glenn Holmes on the rise of Anzac commemorations and the social turn to history in the Southwell case study for example:

³ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. x, throughout; Kammen, p. 233.

⁴ A specific example is 'thinking like a historian' with regard to reflection on issues such as context, source and purpose. See: Wineburg, 'Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important'; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

Glenn: ... we celebrate now, Anzac Day and have huge turnouts of people...

In the 1960s when I was a child and I went to one or two Anzac services and you know there were very very few people there. So back then, I would say, well I would ask the question, were New Zealanders so much interested in history? This school didn't have a Southwell Room when I was here. It does now. It gathers archival material – it didn't back in the 60s. That's the difference.

Mike: Is that all to do with people?

Glenn: It's all about people wanting to know more about their past now.⁵

As noted in the Southwell and Discussion chapters, Glenn's words are evidence that the learning history process creates the space in which to think historically.

The learning history approach is a holistic process. The sequenced structure of the learning history approach contributes to the engagement of participants – for example, see Clyde's facilitation of group reflection on his words in the WHMT Learning History Document at the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust's (WHMT) dissemination meeting.⁶ The sequence of the process creates the opportunity for robust and open discussions of history, especially at the dissemination meetings – Ken Holmes' challenge to the learning history process at the second Woodlands dissemination meeting and the other participants' responses stand as a clear example of this.⁷ The learning history process is a catalyst for conversations outside the academy that address history, historical consciousness and historiographical issues around the production of knowledge. The thesis shows that inviting participants to engage in the kind of interaction experts have with academic texts is another way in which the learning history approach expands participatory historical culture and practice.

A further benefit of the learning history approach is that it is an effective means to disseminate historical thinking. The evidence of this thesis shows that the learning history approach is a structured way into thinking deeply about history without having to be a full-time academic or employed as a historian. The learning history approach also has specific benefits for researchers including: how the learning history approach makes the uncomfortable (such as disagreement, new concepts, criticism) discussable; and how the approach

⁵ First Southwell Dissemination Meeting, p. 8. See also Chapter Three, footnote 106.

⁶ WHMT Dissemination Meeting, p. 49. See also Chapter Five, footnote 164.

⁷ See Chapter One, footnote 2, and Chapter Four, footnote 150.

provides several ways around the issues of composure and the problem of inferring private sentiment from public practices. This was especially useful in light of the dissenting views at Woodlands for example.⁸ Researchers benefit from the learning history approach because of participant engagement with, and feedback to, the researcher is explicitly part of the learning history process. The learning history process explicitly builds towards the learning opportunities of the dissemination meeting. This learning opportunity for researchers and other participants alike is a distinctive and deliberate feature of the learning history process. By broadening participation from non-historians and making history more accessible, this opportunity is still another way in which the learning history approach contributes to a more participatory and civic historical culture.

Additional findings elaborated on in the Discussion chapter further demonstrate the value of the learning history approach. The most basic finding of this thesis is that the organisations studied deliberately used history for creating and sustaining identity. The differences between the organisations studied point to the different kinds of community they are trying to create. The similarities include common practices in those identity-creating efforts. Another similarity is proof of how the past continues into the present; which underscores the contemporary relevance of both history and the past. Participants – such as Royce Helm at Southwell – saw their uses of history as responses to a changing world, offered evidence of how the past continues into the present through proactive use, and illuminated how history can be understood as a resource: specifically for the ongoing renewal of an organisation/community through continuous re-examination and interpretation of its past.⁹

The findings of this research also go beyond the specific benefits of the learning history approach and speak to major historiographical concerns – especially the relevance of history. For example, the various uses of history found underscore Croce's celebrated dictum.¹⁰ The many and varied expressions of historical consciousness stated by participants are noteworthy findings in themselves, and the variety within each organisation, and sometimes individual,

⁸ Consider Jacquie Haselden's problematisation of authenticity and nostalgia, and critique of the relative lack of the voices of women in the uses of history at Woodlands; John Bridgman and Rod Wise's calls for history going into the Māori past of Woodlands; and Ken Holmes criticism of the learning history approach. For examples see Chapter Four, footnotes 48, 150-153.

⁹ See Chapter Five, footnote 62.

¹⁰ See Chapter Six, footnote 33.

indicate that heritage and history are fundamentally entangled in practice.¹¹ While Lowenthal's work on heritage is profound, the evidence of this thesis reveals its limitations. Specifically my research complicates and modifies Lowenthal's arguments on the distinctions between history and heritage. This is clearest in how the people of the WHMT simultaneously engaged with both heritage *and* history as Lowenthal defined the terms. This research found participants creating contexts and narratives in relation to the past which located them in the present, and positioned themselves with regard to the future, in relation to the past. Examples include Nicole at Southwell, and Helen and Pat at the WHMT describing their relationship to the past, present and future.¹² Out of these findings comes a significant contribution to historiography: reinforcement of the aphorism that if we understand that what we do today is shaped by what has come before us, this affects the way that we look at the present. The epistemological consequences of this were elaborated in the Discussion chapter – efforts at historical accuracy are supported at the expense of pretensions to objectivity, and underline the impossibility of an ideal historical distance and of apolitical historical production. The evidence of this research shows that the past has not 'passed'. This is a significant moral and political point because it means the evidence of this thesis argues against the 'politics of time.'¹³ The 'politics of time' is the Western 'commonsense' tradition that allows us to believe that the past is 'past/passed' and somehow separate from us in the present, which then facilitates the ghettoisation of history and convenient ignorance of historical mechanisms of oppression. The implications of these findings – particularly that the past has not passed – set the evidence of this thesis against the simplistic views of the likes of Windschuttle.

Further, this research confronts overly dismissive casual perceptions often made of history, implied in statements such as 'It's in the past'. People beyond the Academy do make use of their history. All three of the case studies presented here add to the body of evidence that supports this point. History is not irrelevant, as is so often meant when those operating from a Western paradigm say of

¹¹ See Chapter Six, section *History and heritage entangled: implications for the Discipline*

¹² See Chapter Three, footnote 87, Chapter Five, footnotes 2 and 49.

¹³ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 85. Consider: 'Despite the apology to Aboriginal people, many [politicians, Australians] nevertheless want unpleasant events relating to indigenous peoples to have happened 'long ago' so that the moral concerns raised by events of the past need not be addressed.' *cf.* Chapter Six, section *Things Shared: the past in the present*.

something that it is ‘in the past’, ‘behind us’ or ‘bunk’.¹⁴ Uses of history can be active, thoughtful and moral. As Peter Otteli of the WHMT suggested, a community might renew itself, through continuously and consciously re-examining its history.¹⁵ In this specific way the past – and history, through historical production – might be understood as a resource, a wellspring of perpetual renewal – rather than an irrelevance, or even a set of determinants and structures that utterly end agency. That opportunity for refreshment and cultural survival highlights again the utility of history for organisations.

The findings of this thesis have significant implications for the role of the historian. Regarding the role of the historian as active and engaged with society at large, my findings support the work of the likes of Rosenzweig, Thelen, Davison, Conrad, Ercikan, Létourneau, Northrup, Seixas, and Tosh.¹⁶ The Discussion chapter describes the following in detail: 1) the need and the opportunity for professional academic historians to share their particular way of thinking and make their methods explicit;¹⁷ 2) the role of the historian in illuminating the truth of the historically constructed, contingent nature of social experience and therefore signalling the possibility of change;¹⁸ and 3) participants indicating that it took the intervention of a historian for them to ‘think historically’.¹⁹ The participants might have done that anyway, but the learning history approach gave them space and a framework to do so. The relative lack of historical thinking beyond the Academy underpins the need for expert historians to inform and learn from engagement with the public so as to expand historical thinking. Historians are catalysts and actors as well as observers. For history to become more participatory, historians need to get history into communities everywhere. This can also mean using our research as an opportunity to teach as well as gather data, and thereby reveal our work as interpolators, translators, interrogators, and interpreters to the public. More than just *being* important, history needs to be *seen* by a majority of people as important. This is not about privileging experts so

¹⁴ Butterfield, pp. 53, 56. See also Chapter One, footnote 116.

¹⁵ See Chapter Five, footnote 62.

¹⁶ For example Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 188.

¹⁷ For example *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹⁸ ‘...it is not surprising that historians are wary about admitting to any practical wisdom. When they do so, it is on carefully defined terms. To be convincing, advocates of the relevance of history must start from the truth that all social experience is historically constructed and therefore subject to change.’ Also ‘The living need a history disturbing enough to change the present.’ – respectively Tosh, *Historians on history: an anthology* ‘Introduction’, p. 7; Denning, p. 96.

¹⁹ For an example see Chapter Three, footnote 128.

much as helping everyone become more expert. Extending the public as ‘laity’ analogy, the historical discipline needs historians to be more friar than monk. However, in line with strengthening participatory democracy, historians need to regard the public less as ‘laity’ and ‘non-historians’, and more as fellow citizens. The learning history approach contributes to this democratising effort by making history and historical methodology more transparent and accessible.

Historical research and fieldwork need, I argue, to be understood as forms of communication with our audiences, just as much and maybe more so than our textual outputs. Public history is more than professional study and a field within a discipline – it is also an activity and a form of social knowledge. And if we come to see all our work – including our research – as communication, then communication itself deserves serious study by historians. This point will be addressed further in the section on future research directions that appears later in this chapter.

To critically evaluate and situate this research it is important to point out the limitations of this material before moving on to discuss further directions for research highlighted by this study. This work is not geographically representative of all of the Waikato let alone New Zealand – and so cannot speak directly to larger-scale surveys such as the European survey of historical consciousness.²⁰ An increase in sample size would address this. While this thesis was not intended to be quantitative nor nationally representative, further studies that are would be useful for comparison and in themselves. Historians could then use these findings to better engage with other citizens. For example, historians could better deliver the kinds of history New Zealanders want to know more about while educating the public as to the kinds of qualities academic history possesses.

It is also worth noting that this thesis has touched on but not focused on gender, ethnicity, nor hierarchy, class and privilege in particular. Further research could explore connections between the development of heritage and privilege. It is worth noting that the evidence of Southwellisation activities accords with Hobsbawm and Ranger’s view of the purpose of ‘invented traditions’ and the role of such traditions in maintaining class and privilege.²¹ More could be learned

²⁰ Angvik and Borries. See also Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, ‘At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey’; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup.

²¹ Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, p. 10.

about the learning history approach and the phenomenon of engagement with heritage and history through further applications of the learning history approach that are particularly sensitive to issues of privilege in the invention of traditions as described by Hobsbawm and Ranger.

The next logical steps for further research are to deepen the historical discipline's understanding of popular uses of the past and to then conduct works that respond to, expand and challenge those popular uses.²² Each of these will be discussed in more detail in the paragraphs below. There are opportunities for ongoing efforts to engage the public to foster a more participatory historical society.

My research indicates that there is scope for several quantitative studies of the historical consciousness of New Zealanders – such as undertaking surveys similar to those overseas for the sake of comparison. It would be worth exploring the ways in which New Zealanders ‘learn about and value the past.’²³ Such a study would be of value both for its specific national findings and for comparison with the quantitative studies conducted in other countries.²⁴ For while the national surveys appear to agree on major findings such as levels of interest in history and the extent to which museums are trusted,²⁵ in other ways their findings differed.²⁶ Such surveys would expand on this thesis because the findings from the work would be on a national scale. How ‘New Zealanders’ as a category relate to history could be known. Information about how groups within the category of ‘New Zealanders’, such as Māori or new arrivals, view these issues could be found. New Zealanders’ specific relationship with history could be revealed. Such surveys will also challenge or confirm the findings of this research – do New Zealanders express many different kinds of historical consciousness? Are history and heritage entangled for New Zealanders as a group? At the

²² Rosenzweig, p. 35.

²³ Ashton and Hamilton, p. 54.

²⁴ See also Kammen, p. 231. The NZ one was largely about reactions to the First World War and therefore not directly comparable.

²⁵ ‘A large majority (88%) of New Zealanders show a reasonable interest (rating of 3, 4, or 5 out of 5) in history. Just over half (58%) show a stronger level of interest (4 or 5 out of 5).’ From ‘Benchmark Survey 4 March Report WEB.docx.DOC – Benchmark Survey 4 March Report WEB.pdf’, p. 11; Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 19; Hamilton and Ashton, ‘At Home with the Past: Initial Findings from the Survey’, p. 26; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 27.

²⁶ For example, Canadians rate the trustworthiness of history books far higher than Americans do – the Canadian finding was “books [are] second only to museums as sources that people trust”. Rosenzweig and Thelen, p. 91; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup, p. 31.

international level, the findings of such a survey could engage with and further illuminate the findings of the existing national surveys undertaken in other countries.²⁷

A study that took New Zealand as its unit of analysis could also include research into public reception of historical writing in New Zealand. With the exception of the very specific WW100 project survey in 2013, there is no such work.²⁸ And, significant as that research was, its particular focus meant only a very small part of its findings were material to this issue. Such a study could fit within a much larger undertaking: a longitudinal survey of New Zealand historical consciousness, for the purpose of being able to perceive change over time.

There is another similar large-scale research direction suggested by this thesis. As discussed at the end of the Woodlands chapter, the debate around the future appeal of history also suggested the opportunity for further research into the ‘appeal of history’ as a historical phenomenon.²⁹

Given the benefits of expanding participatory historical culture elaborated earlier in this thesis – including the strengthening of the historical discipline and participatory democracy – I recommend a wider study of organisations similar to the WHMT. A study of groups outside of universities that emphasise history more than heritage could offer the historical discipline useful information about the specific organisations themselves, and – of broader use for academics – how to find, support and work with such organisations. Established communities of academically engaged professionals, retired or otherwise, might engage with the historical discipline in the ways that the WHMT has. These are people who already value academic and/or professional approaches and attitudes. Such organisations would be ‘low hanging fruit’ in comparison with organisations and cultures that do not currently value history of any kind.

²⁷ Rosenzweig and Thelen; Hamilton and Ashton, *Australians and the Past*; Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup.

²⁸ ‘Benchmark Survey 4 March Report WEB.docx.DOC – Benchmark Survey 4 March Report WEB.pdf’.

²⁹ See Chapter Four, section *What this case reveals about the learning history approach*.

This research is about reaching beyond the Academy. To expand participatory historical culture historians need to conduct more research into how best to communicate in the public sphere. Beyond the practical engagements laid out in this thesis and the likes of Rosenzweig, Thelen, Conrad, and Tosh among others, is a potential line of enquiry that emphasises communications strategy. It will be worthwhile for public history to pursue more research along the lines of the Arts Ripple Report that determined how best to (and not to) talk about cultural projects (in their case, art in Cincinnati) in order to gather active support for such endeavours from people beyond their existing in-groups.³⁰ The Arts Ripple Report also illustrates the opportunity historians have to work with people from allied disciplines such as gallery, library, archive and museum (GLAM) professionals. For example, a notion from the report that has relevance for the historical discipline is the ‘ripple effect’ approach, especially in emphasising ‘A more connected population: Diverse groups share common experiences, hear new perspectives, understand each other better.’³¹ Such a ripple effect shifts conversation from understanding the cultural object/project (art or history) broadly as private and passive consumption, toward public and participatory citizenship instead. The work described here could be part of an Australian and New Zealand History Workshop Movement.³²

³⁰ ‘The Arts Ripple Effect: A Research-Based Strategy to Build Shared Responsibility for the Arts’ <<http://www.theartswave.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/The%20Arts%20Ripple%20Report%2C%20January%202010.pdf>> [accessed 13 July 2013].

³¹ ‘The Arts Ripple Effect: A Research-Based Strategy to Build Shared Responsibility for the Arts’, p. 10.

³² ‘History Workshop Journal’ <<http://hwj.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz>> [accessed 1 September 2014]; ‘History Workshop’, *History Workshop* <<http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/>> [accessed 1 September 2014].

This thesis reflects the need to build, and the value of building, a more participatory civic historical culture. It details the role of academic, professional history in achieving that culture. History matters. It matters to people outside the Academy, and thinking historically matters for democracy.³³ History and historical thinking need to be as accessible as possible. That history matters to people means that it will be contested – and that is a good thing. The discipline needs to engage with popular passion to ensure the benefits of a truly participatory historical culture are more widely realised. I believe the greatest contribution the learning history approach offers is its support for this hopeful project. The evidence presented in this thesis demonstrates beyond doubt that the learning history approach has the potential to do this extremely well. Here the learning history approach has demonstrated its value to the historical discipline – as a way for the public to communicate about history to historians, and for historians to communicate about history to the public.

³³ Kaye, *The Powers of the Past*, pp. 148–150, 162–169; Seixas, ‘What Is Historical Consciousness?’, pp. 11–22, especially 20–21; Tosh, *Why History Matters*, pp. 7, 142, throughout; Wineburg, ‘Historical Thinking Is Unnatural-and Immensely Important’, pp. 35–43, notably pp. 35–36; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 3–27, especially pp. 19–22.

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This list of sources is set out under the following headings:

Primary Sources

- I. Recorded Interviews
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Secondary Sources

- I. Conference Papers
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Primary Sources

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Recordings are held by the History Programme at the University of Waikato. On completion of the examination of this thesis each recording will be treated according to the participant's wishes as laid out in the relevant consent documentation.

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Marcus Gower, 19 February 2010

Royce Helm, 2 September 2010

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Moss Marshall 15 March 2010

Andrew Mortimore, 1 April 2010

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Susan Radford, 18 March 2010

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Appendix I: Interview Protocol

“Uses of History”
Interview Protocol

Department of History

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Te Tari Tumu Korero

The University of Waikato

Phone +64 7 838 2889

www.waikato.ac.nz



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Name:

Date:

Question 1

1. Please tell me about your connection to [organisation name]

Question 2

I want to ask you about the *use of* history at [organisation name].

You don't need to tell me 'the history' (because there are already books et cetera) so much as:

2. What is the significance, place of history here?
(What does it mean today?)

Further explanation if required: Given that this operation could still exist without acknowledging its heritage or historical significance, why do it? Why make a point of commemorating and sharing the history of [organisation name]?

Question 3

3. Why is telling/sharing the history of [organisation name] important to you (if it is)?

Question 4

4. And how does [organisation name] do that, exactly?

How is the history [organisation name] commemorated/presented? Here?

Please think of a few examples of [organisation name]'s use of its history i.e. when someone highlighted the history of the [organisation name] for a purpose.

When is the [organisation name]'s history invoked? Why?

Question 5

5. Please think about a detailed example of when you used (or were involved with using) [organisation name]'s history for a purpose. Recall a time that particularly stands out for you. Describe it – tell a story about it and bring it to life. Think about:
- Who was involved?
 - Who was the intended audience?
 - Why was it done?
 - What happened?/How was your organisational history 'used'?
 - When?
 - Where? (In which building or social setting?)
 - What was the outcome?
 - What stood out for you?

Question 6

6. What else do you think [organisation name] could do with its history?
What more do you think could be done?

Question 7

7. Is there anything else you'd like to tell?

Question 8

8. Is there anyone else you think I should talk to?

Thank the participant(s) and discuss what happens next.

Learn what times/days suit/don't suit for dissemination meetings.

Appendix II: Example Information Sheet (WHMT)

History Programme

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Phone +64 7 838 2889
www.waikato.ac.nz

Te Tari Tumu Korero

The University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105

Hamilton, New Zealand



THE UNIVERSITY OF

WAIKATO

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

21 January 2016

Dear Participant,

I am a doctoral student at the University of Waikato. I am working on a thesis called "Uses of History". This letter is to provide you with information about my research interest and to seek your involvement in this research project. I would be grateful if you would share your time with me.

My research interest is the history of businesses and organisations in the Waikato. I am particularly interested in how organisations have used their history. I would like to know what you think is significant, hear your stories, and borrow any documents or photographs you have. I will have to deliver a presentation and a dissertation based on my research. Our interview(s) would be part of that research. If the opportunity arises, I would also like to be able to publish my research as a book and refer to it throughout my career.

Please read the attached Information sheet and Consent form and ask me any questions about them. I will contact you within a week to explain this project in detail and ensure that you are informed about the details of this research. If you are willing to take part in this project then we can discuss how this will be done. If you have any queries please feel free to contact either myself or my supervisors by the contact details listed below.

The University of Waikato has given ethical approval for this research. If you have any questions about this research project please do not hesitate to call me on 02X XXX XXXX or e-mail me at xxxxx@waikato.ac.nz. Alternately you can contact my supervisors Dr. Rowland Weston, Prof. David McKie and Prof. Giselle Byrnes at the University of Waikato on email at xxxxx@waikato.ac.nz, xxxxx@mngt.waikato.ac.nz and xxxxx@waikato.ac.nz.

Thank you for your time and interest in participating in this research.

Yours faithfully,

Mark Smith



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

**Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
History Programme**

“Uses of History”

The Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust

INFORMATION SHEET

Project description

The purpose of the project is to deliver a thesis that examines how organisations use their history. This research will address how organisations can benefit from knowing, understanding and reflecting on their historical memory.

Requirements of the Participant

You have been approached as someone within your organisation with something to offer this research. If you agree to be a participant, I (Mark Smith) will ask you to be involved in the process outlined below.

How it will work

The process will include an interview, a document prepared by the researcher and a meeting.

After interviewing you in an initial round of interviews, I will write a ‘history’ that will then be discussed by as many of the initial interviewees as possible at a meeting (the second interview). The point is for your organisation to deliberately reflect on what use it has made of, and could get from, its history.

The first interview will usually be a group interview where you have a conversation about organisational uses of history with a colleague, followed by a facilitated discussion. There will be a prompt sheet to help you focus your conversation. This ‘interview’ will be more like telling a story than answering a list of questions. This first interview may be as short as 20 minutes or as long as an hour. The interview(s) will be recorded. The recordings, and any materials you lend me, will be collected and synthesized into a jointly-told-tale to create a ‘Learning History’ – a document that presents key points about the organisation in the words of the people interviewed.

The ‘learning history’ will then be distributed to all interviewees to think about prior to the second interview/meeting. This will be a large event that involves as many interviewees as possible so that you can respond to the document as a whole organisation/department. It will take place on 14 December. This meeting is the crucial point in the work. The point of the meeting is to:

- 1) disseminate and discuss the key points raised by the learning history document, and;
- 2) reflect upon the points and ideas that fall out of the process
– all so you can benefit from your history.

Prior to all this, you and your colleagues will be asked to sign documents to indicate informed consent. This part of the process is particularly important as it is not possible to guarantee anonymity – for while it will be relatively simple to ensure your anonymity to those unfamiliar with your organisation simply by using job titles, it is likely that anyone familiar with you or your organisation will be able to identify you. As part of this process you will also be able to request a copy of material that will be utilised in publications and the PhD (after its completion) by contacting me via email: xxxxx@waikato.ac.nz or phone: 02X XXX XXXX.

Major Outcomes of the Research

The findings will be presented in a thesis submitted in fulfilment of a Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Waikato. These findings could also appear in academic publications such as conference papers and journal articles.

Collection and Storage of Information

It is important to note that this is an academic research project that will be submitted as part of a PhD. As such, the intellectual property rights will reside with the author (Mark Smith). During the life of the project, the researcher and his supervision panel will have access to field notes and reports that may be subsequently used in the production of academic publications. Unless the participants specifically state that they wish their input to be removed and/or destroyed, electronic copies and printed transcripts will be kept secure with other data upon completion of the project. In accordance with the University of Waikato Human Research Ethical Guidelines, the researcher will retain the records for at least five years after the completion of the PhD.

The Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences has approved this research project. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz. Postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Researcher's contact details:

PhD Candidate

Mark Smith, BMS Hons (1st Class),
PGDip. History (with Distinction)
Ph: 07 XXXXXXXX,
xxxxx@waikato.ac.nz

Supervisors

Dr. Rowland Weston
07 XXXXXXXX
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Prof. David McKie
07 XXXXXXXX
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Prof. Giselle Byrnes
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Appendix III: Consent Form



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

History Programme

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Te Tari Tumu Korero

The University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105

PhD Project: “Uses of History” Consent Form

- | | | Please circle
your response | |
|----|--|--------------------------------|----|
| | | Yes | No |
| 1. | I agree to participate as specified in the Information Sheet attached to this form. | Yes | No |
| 2. | I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which explains the aims of the interviews, and the nature of the research. | Yes | No |
| 3. | I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions relating to my participation in the interview process. | Yes | No |
| 4. | I agree to the interviews being recorded. | Yes | No |
| 5. | I understand that I can withdraw from this research process for up to two weeks after the first interview has taken place. If I choose to withdraw, then data provided by me will not be published. | Yes | No |
| 6. | I agree to the publication of data gathered from this research. | Yes | No |
| 7. | I am happy to be identified by name (if not, see Q8) in any publication based on this research project. I understand that anonymity can not be guaranteed for the reasons outlined in the Information Sheet. | Yes | No |
| 8. | I am happy to be identified by job title in any publication based on this research project. I understand that anonymity can not be guaranteed for the reasons outlined in the Information Sheet. | Yes | No |
| 9. | I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this Consent Form and the Information Sheet attached. | Yes | No |

Participant Signature

Date

Please PRINT your name

*Please tick this box if you wish to receive
a copy of the recording of your interview*

Researcher Signature

Date

Learning History Document

Southwell School

'History is part of the story that makes us who we are'

Susan Radford¹

Compiled and arranged by

Mark Smith

History Programme

University of Waikato

02XXXXXXX

xxxxx@waikato.ac.nz

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank everyone who participated in this research and gave so freely of their time and advice. I am only sorry I do not have space to include everything you offered.

¹ Interview with Susan Radford (Granddaughter of H.G. and E.R. Sergel).

You have begun to read a 'learning history'. You might continue to read it in the way you would read an ordinary report. If you do, it might not provide the intended value. A learning history documents hard facts and events, but it emphasises what people thought and felt. It can highlight differences in perceptions. It is designed to produce better conversations - ones that would not likely occur otherwise. A learning history describes a process, an event or an idea in the voice of participants. This one was created to provide a shared basis for conversations about the use of history at Southwell School.

Reflecting and learning are not always easy processes. They involve taking on the mindset of a beginner and letting go of what you have worked hard to know. When people do things differently they often make mistakes. The learning history dissemination meeting is an opportunity to talk openly about what has been learned and to extend this discussion into its implications for current and future issues. When you read this document as a learning history, in preparation for a meeting in which you can discuss its contents, I ask you to do two things:

First, consider it as a vehicle to better conversations.

As you read the learning history, notice what triggers your emotions - surprise, joy, anger, sadness, fear and so on - and mark those areas in the text so you can go back to them later. Prepare yourself how you might talk to other members of the Southwell Family about your reactions and thoughts on reading this document.

Second, as you read, take on the mindset of a beginner.

Listen to what people say, and wonder why they said what they did. Try to suspend judgement, and not just on opinions - everybody says 'um' at some point. Come with questions that might help you understand and empathise with points of view that are different from your own.

Most of this document is framed as a split-page jointly-told-tale. On the right hand side of the page you will read the words of the participants. In the left-hand column are points highlighted by the researcher.

This learning history is based on a reading of archives and interviews with more than 25 current students, staff, Fellows, former staff and old boys. In each interview participants were invited to say what they thought was significant about Southwell's history - and what 'uses' that they could think of it having. What was interesting is how many people linked Southwell's history to the same things: the Chapel, the annual Opera, certain values, the uniform, occasions and symbols. For a more detailed list of uses of history at Southwell feel free to peruse Appendix A.

Some participants talked about Southwell as part of Hamilton and the Waikato. Others brought up the notion of 'place' and some discussed the significance of the Bush. Most went on to describe a passionately held idea of what Southwell is. Many people emphasised belonging, inclusion and community - 'social capital', 'roots and wings', 'history and mystery'. A lot of this was expressed in stories such as this one:

What follows is an excerpt from a conversation between the researcher and John Otley, former boarding housemaster at Southwell. Ivan Smith was school chaplain from 1976-1982.

John Otley: One story that is missing ... was one of the very moving times. The chapel was being rebuilt. The first week I'd arrived um they had this big chapel launch for the appeal... and I just heard Ivan Smith talking... he had spent years building this, the bricks for the chapel. Hours and hours and I'd get the boys up at – well quarter past six they put on their old jerseys and they'd run over there with their gumboots on, a concrete mixer was going – Ivan was always there. The concrete mixer and they'd stamp the bricks and they'd stamp the concrete into the moulds and they did this for the week. That was the squad. Ivan organised all the squads. And there were some boys who always wanted to do it and they were - they used to hang around. But then they'd spray up after school, they'd set, they'd take them out and put them in there, and carry them out and put them in there. And all from... you know where the Old Boys' garden is?

Mark Smith: Yes.

John: All the way through to Peachgrove Road, there were piles of bricks by the hundred. There were just lots and lots and lots of them. But then - oh we used the chapel for Sunday communion but [then] the roof [came] off [sweeping hand gesture].

We, yeah we used it as much as we could, and then we had to have chapel in the hall. But the time came when they'd selected the contract and it was all ready to start and we'd had chapel in the hall and then Ivan said,

"Today's a special day. I don't want anyone to say a word, but you're to pick up one brick and you'll find a chalk outline or a white string around where the new chapel will go. Place your bricks end on end"

- around where the new chapel was. And the whole School walked in one line. They just picked up one brick and we just put it around where the new chapel was. You know, all those stories of laying, laying

Mark: What a spectacular...

John: ...laying foundations...

Mark: Oh literally.

John: .. yeah it was. Yeah it was actually very moving. And no-one said anything and we all put our brick down and went off to class. ...

INCLUSION

The Southwell Family Identity

Moments like that give Southwell a 'unique air'.² There is something about the place, the people, the School. Simply put, Southwell is something special. Since its foundation in 1911, Southwell has survived and thrived through a 'closure, World Wars, depression, recession, re-building' and tremendous change.³ In that time, Southwell has grown from a roll of one pupil to more than 600. Along the way significant stories have become part of the School; from the real and noble, such as the Sergel gift of the School, to the entertaining and unusual: the battle of the Thogs, CusCus and the ghost of Spargo. This legacy of history and symbols are frequently and deliberately shared:

History as the foundation of identity

Royce Helm (Headmaster): I think history plays an enormous role in this school - in terms of who we are, where we are going, what we're doing.

*The name of this identity:
'The Southwell Family'*

And it's always important to reference that back. When I welcome a student to the school, we've introduced a little ceremony which is the presentation of a badge - the blazer badge. And in the past what's happened is that it was sort of a handout at assembly. But we now do it in the Chapel, and we present the badge to the child, and I say to the child 'Welcome to the Southwell Family'.

Later in that interview

Starts with history

Royce: History is incredibly important. You can see it in the architecture. You can see it in the uniform. You can, hopefully, see it in the people. But it's an aspect of the school that is relevant to today's world, not stifling. That's how I'd describe it. It is not quaint. It doesn't have a 'realism' for the children, but it is something they consider really important. Because often the children leave here and go to all sorts of different schools. But they will come back to Southwell with a sense of familiarity. And it's that familiarity which is embodied, embedded in the heritage items. To come back to Southwell and see the kids are still walking silently, with their hands behind their backs, to Chapel. And that you're still not allowed to walk on the grass. That the buildings still have that motif, the terracotta motif. And that the kids are still making Southwell bricks. That we still believe it's important to come first in the cross-country and win a cup. That's what I think makes the school really what it is.

What goes into this identity, how it supports the school, and how the use of school history supports that identity

History at Southwell is offered to allow individuals to include an idea in their own sense of identity - membership of the Southwell Family

And ends in identity

² Interview with Soumil Singh (Head Boy 2010)

³ From personal communications between the Executive Officer and Mark Smith.

HISTORY AND IDENTITY

How History at Southwell supports Identity

History at Southwell supports the wider identity of the Southwell Family. Alongside the day to day operations of the School are a vast array of efforts that involve a very large number of people. Many of these activities and occasions are mentioned in the quotes above and below, but a detailed list can be found in Appendix A.

An example of exactly how history is used to sustain the Southwell Family can be seen in the following conversation about the reasons for the creation of the Southwell Room (a sort of on-site museum that was open in the School for many years)

Some of the reasons for preserving and displaying Southwell heritage items:

- *To not forget – to share the past with the present and include new people in the legacy*
- *To make people with a past association feel **welcome** when they come back*

Is the influence, and potential influence, of older members of the Southwell Family one reason for the prominence of history at Southwell?

Both bullet points include as many people as possible - and thus sustain the Southwell family

Mark: Um, okay. Can you think of an occasion, I mean I know you've got a lot of background to draw on here, but where somebody or a group within the School invoked School history for a purpose? So they used the history for something significant...

Yeah. What about the Southwell Room?
...why did that come about?

Tim Taylor (old boy, Fellow, former Board Chair): It came about I think predominant... again, it needed a driving force and Jo Backhouse was the driving force sort of behind it as it were, because I think a lot of the memorabilia and those sorts of things, you know, were lost in regards that there wouldn't be a lot of people... I don't know what happened to ours. But, you know, *a lot of people would never have known* that the pupils all had to wear caps, and that the cricket team had the reverse cap, so it was white with the black dot and the black S, as opposed to black with a white dot – the sparrow **** on the top [laughter] as you used to get bullied about. Ah, but that was alright. Um, yeah, *and I think it was established so that um it gave an opportunity for old boys when they returned to the School, that they could see um, you know, history.* [Italics added]

COMMUNITY

How history and identity combine

It is not that most of the efforts to share the history of Southwell (such as the Southwell Room, or those in Appendix A) are unique to Southwell - but that there are so many. There are numerous other examples, yet there is one that illustrates the dynamic between history and identity particularly well. Today's Southwell students all make a brick before they leave. It is now a defining part of the Southwell experience. Students look forward to it. Staff and parents who were never Southwell students also pitch in. Adult past pupils who never made a brick, still feel that they should - and are offered the opportunity to do so.⁴

Brickmaking became part of Southwell in the third term of 1923.⁵ The staff and students made bricks for the construction of the Chapel, and did so again for the several expansions to the Chapel and later construction efforts. Headmasters, visiting bishops and the like have emphasised the contribution of the students in building and fundraising for their own School and house of worship ever since. There have been many fine variations on the theme of 'every boy a brick'.

Mark: If you could 'put' that brand, what what is it?

Tony Sissons (Former Headmaster): What's the brand?

Mark: Yeah just...well to you. When it was, when you were there rather, is probably a way to be more specific.

Tony: Yeah, let me give you something, some sort of wisdom perhaps. I'd love to try and link it somehow with the brick. The brand is the brick and all the bricks are different, so every individual student and teacher has the uniqueness, but within it have a mould, and the moulds are still the original moulds.

Mark: Nice.

Tony: So there's that tradition there; the analogy of, we would, you would never want the school to be churning out identical bricks. We're not a factory. But to, to have a body

A recent indication of the appeal of the Southwell Brick as a symbol

⁴ Interview with Murray Day and Interview with Marcus Gower. There were many periods when Southwell students did not make bricks. The point is to illuminate the strength of brickmaking-as-bonding – given that grown men, who have who have since given much to the School in other ways, still feel that they should 'make a brick'.

⁵ *All Hallows: A History of the Chapel of Southwell School*, by Canon Paul Sergel (Unknown: Times Commercial Printers, 1976), p. 12.

The bricks linked to the best features of Southwell

and a shape with yeah, a little bit of difference, ...because they're handmade, they're not production made, they're handmade, that creates the, the uniqueness of every individual. So the next question is, so what is it that is common to this sort of [Inaudible] that's produced out of Southwell? What are the common, common factors? And I think ah, the link to the chapel life, the belief in tone of caring for each other, value structure, that are, that are, that um permeate from the brick work in the, in the environment. So it's how you, over the years, how people have been treated and how staff treat boys and how boys and now girls treat each other and what is that, ah that pride and that um belief in something is pretty powerful. And that's, ah can be seen in every child that is fortunate to go through that.

A different and reasonable point about grey brickwork

Susan: The chapel's very important to me. I'm not a deeply religious person, but I am quite spiritual, and I think the chapel, the various stages of the ch-... you know, the chapel was part of the place. The, you know, the bricks... I mean, I know the bricks and the boys and all that sort of ya-ya, I hate the bricks. I reckon if anybody makes another bloody building with bricks, I said, they'll be tying horses up outside, you know. It looks like a medieval castle [laughs] Um, but anyway...

Mark: Yeah, yeah. Now you mention it... anyway [laughs]

The emphasis on the historic thread of how it was made - and the idea of Southwell being made 'of Southwell' (i.e. even from its very trees) and 'by Southwell' (i.e. the people of Southwell)

Susan: It's just a bit of a cliché for me, but that's okay. Um, the, but the fact that the bricks and the timber and everything came from the school, you know. It, it was...

Mark: The timber too? I didn't know that.

Susan: The timber. The timber was milled at the school too, yeah, I think. Yeah. The whole place came from the school, was built by the boys, and I, I see that as being really significant. I see that the heart of the school, you know, it's a special parish. It's, it's all of those things. It's something that can never go, and, and look at all that prime real estate. Heavens! It, it could easily disappear. It is prime real estate.

The point is that by 1950, and no doubt long before, Southwell bricks had come to represent more than mere material.⁶

Brickmaking at Southwell has gone from the financially prudent mass production of thousands of bricks in the 40s and 50s to the bonding ritual of today. The bricks can no longer even be used for structural purposes - instead

⁶ *Southwell School Magazine*, 1950, 5, 5, p. 14.

they are used for features - such as the internal use of bricks in the counter of the main office and garden settings - as symbols of Southwell. Brickmaking has come to represent continuity and connection with all of those who have contributed to Southwell's history. Statements like 'The tradition continues' can be found throughout recent editions of the biannual *Southwell School Chronicle – Newsletter for the Southwell Family*.⁷ That very article made a point of inviting 'Old Boys and Girls or other members of the Southwell family' to make 'a batch or two of bricks' and stressed that no experience was needed.

Yet this did not just happen. Brickmaking at Southwell was deliberately revived explicitly for community building.

Mark: What made you want to revive it?

Geoff Burgess (Former Headmaster): Um, I think one of the big things I've learned in being a head is that you are entrusted with this amazing job of being the caretaker if you like of a community. And ah I remember from my lectures ah at university, a Thomas Sergiovanni, an American professor, talking about culture in schools being the most important – the head being the high priest of the culture. It soon became apparent to me that you're only going to be the high priest of a culture if you're in harmony and sympathy with your community, and so bringing forward or amplifying important stories and key icons of that school are important, to carry forward. And so in my reading, back through all of my magazines, as you do, you trawl the magazines as a head and you hear people talk, and you pretty soon hear the stories that resonate - and that the brick-making was one that that did resonate. And resonated with me personally, because I like practical things. I like building and doing and I thought, hm, that, yeah, we've got to do this. We've got to bring back that that nature, that aspect of Southwell's history, of the boys physically putting their labour into something which is going to contribute to, contribute to a physical part of the school.

The conscious creation of a community ritual

Deliberately drawing on a resonant part of Southwell's past for community building

THE ROLE OF THE SOUTHWELL FAMILY

The purpose of Southwell's use of history

The use of history to support 'identity' in turn supports the Southwell family as a community. And that community supports more...

⁷*Southwell School Chronicle*, December 2009, p. 14.

The breadth of involvement offered to everyone with a connection

Glenn Holmes (old boy, Fellow, Chair of the Foundation and former Trustee of the Board): '... And it really is that complicated thing that Southwell has been and possibly still is - with trying to be an all-encompassing community for its staff and its pupils, not necessarily in whatever order, its parents, its ex-parents, its old students - so what have we got? We've got the Southwell School Association for [current] parents. We've got OBGA [Old Boys and Girls Association] for the [past] students. We've got The Friends for everybody who, mainly [past] parents...

[the links between the work of each and other groups such as the Foundation was discussed] ...

So there's that community spirit that has built up over time, where those who are running and operating the school try and have all these different bodies working together. ...

I have a real feeling of confidence that these groups are being led by people and governed by people who are trying to do the best for Southwell, and trying to make it a wider, bigger, more encompassing community.

Mark: Yup

That all this involvement has led to a community

Glenn: So that 'community' word keeps coming up. And I think by that, it is not try to make it an exclusive community, it's trying to make it a friendly, well operated, smooth operating community. Not sure how to put it better.

Mark: Aw look, the sheer number of groups around the School suggests trying to involve as many people as possible.

That community supports the future of the School

Glenn: That's right. And that gives the, there's a real need for that - because it helps the school be as it is and portray itself as it is, and therefore exist into the future. So getting people who were previously involved in the School, and that won't be everybody,

Mark: No

Glenn: That will just be a portion of people -

Mark: Naturally

Glenn: That the traditions, the historical aspect of it, hopefully helps it to last effectively well into the future, as a top-class educational institution - or educational community perhaps?

An 'educational community'

Mark: Oo, that's a cool phrase! Educational community, jeez, you've got to say that to Royce, that sounds well. ... I'd like to borrow that, i.e. pinch it for my research.

Glenn: [Laughter] Do that. I'm sure I'm not the first one who has said it. But it sounded good....

Rather than an institution

The other thing Mark, the reason I said it, what I said immediately before it was 'an educational institution', and I did not like the word 'institution'.

Mark: Yeah

Glenn: So I changed it immediately didn't I?

Mark: You did. It was that quick, yeah. It's the connotations.

A community feels better than an institution

Glenn: It's how I feel about the school, and how I would hope - I mean, I'm sure that little descriptor shows that, people who are involved at Southwell, how they think. I didn't like this 'institution' thing, I liked 'community' better.

Mark: That's very revealing, yeah.

Reinforcing the idea of the community of the School being key to its future

Glenn: And if I can offer something, that's probably the best thing I can offer this whole dissertation actually, that's how that School is going to survive into the future.

THE BENEFITS OF HISTORY

The virtuous circle of Southwell's use of its history

At Southwell there is a flow:

History -> Identity -> Community -> Survival/Success

- which contributes to history and so the flow continues.

History at Southwell feeds into the wider identity effort. The uses of history described, perhaps better described as 'heritage', help make Southwell more than just a school. Here, history supports identity and builds community - and that sense of community helps sustain the School. This use of history offers a kind of 'cultural sustainability' that supports Southwell's pragmatic financial viability - the community of the Southwell Family supports the School, and the School gives the Family a purpose and a focus.

Southwell's use of history emphasises continuity. The frequent threading of history through the structured involvement activities of the School reinforces its identity, sustains the sense of connection, and in a virtuous circle, provides the conceptual space for each effort by making it a contribution to an existing heritage. That in turn adds to the School's history and renews the sense of continuity for those involved. And all this can be seen literally with the addition of each new brick.

Yet the Southwell Family is more than just a support for the School...

Turangawaewae: (noun) domicile, place where one has rights of residence and **belonging** through kinship and whakapapa. Sometimes referred to as 'A place to stand'. Has connotations of connection, heritage and a clear sense of knowing who you are and where you come from.

Susan: Um, it always interests me that people, on Christmas Day, if you go to chapel at Southwell, the chapel is full of people, and there's a wide spectrum of people who have been associated with the school for, for, you know, long, long, long periods of time, and then there's new families. It's a, it's a church. It's a spiritual place, and it is a spiritual place which extends beyond the chapel, but people, people... it's a very ecumenical place. It was never intended to be a high church. There were never any politics associated with this. It's a non-political place, and it continues to be that. You know, the politics, whether they're of church or state, are not obvious. It's just a, a very clear, defined um spiritual presence that the school has, both in and out of the chapel. And I think it gives kids a sense of meaning and belonging. And it certainly, I mean, you know. It's the old Turangawaewae thing. It is, um, and it... perhaps that's a, a good way to explain it. I don't know. But there's a real sense of, of belonging.

From an interview with several current Year 8 Students

*The Southwell Family
- it is not always uncomplicated*

Mark: Well what about um, like you must have heard the term, "Southwell family".

Supipi Devadittiya: Yep.

Nicole Xue: Yes. We heard it this morning.

Mark: Right. What what does that mean to you?

Supipi: Um we're all in...

Another use

Soumil Singh: I think it's a way they're trying to make peace in the school. It's like a way that they, they try and unite everyone and make everything bad stop. And it is quite effective I guess.

The benefits are not just practical – they are emotional

Nicole: But like if you think about it in your family, it's not always [laughs] peace, love and all of that. And there's lots of fights and all that. But the Southwell family, I think it just makes you feel like for ...some people it might be like, you, you don't belong anywhere or something. Like you're part of something. And like you're part of the community and then if you leave it's still like oh...

Thomas Bedford: You're still part of that community.

The desire to share Southwell

Trevor Stembridge (Deputy Headmaster): Like when we interview new students, we get the kids to show them around. We don't do it ourselves. The kids love it. They, they, they queue up. They love it. You know, they're really proud to show people their school. So that, you know... you kinda think, well you must be doing something right. I mean, okay, it's a lovely environment. I mean, you know, but the kids just, you know, they'll show you every little broom cupboard if you give them the opportunity. It's amazing [laughter].

THINKING ABOUT HISTORY AT SOUTHWELL

The Southwell Family is emotionally fulfilling in addition to being practical. And sometimes the best reason Southwell history is shared is just because it is 'fun to pass on'.⁸ However, it is not often that most of us think about how history 'works'.

An awareness of change – how much has changed and how the evidence of it is usually unnoticed, but all around... take a moment to ask yourself how different things can be – after all, Southwell once had literally 'old-school' caps and Saturday morning school - and boys no longer play the female roles in Operas

How unusual it is to think about Southwell's history in this way

Mark: Of all the stuff we've talked about today, what do you think's significant?

...

Soumil: How how since we came here and where we are now, how the history has changed. How everything's changed. It's right in your face, if you talk about it. It's... that's the main thing that's significant to me.

Nicole: I think for me I've never actually sat down and talked about the history of Southwell. Like you walk around and then you think about it and you think you know so much about it. And then you actually sit down and talk about it in like, in a way like this, and it's just like it takes a long time for everything to come back. And like otherwise if you're walking around, it's just like you never actually *really* think about it.

Supipi: And you kind of...

Nicole: Even on Founders' Day, you don't really think about it. You don't go that deep into it, so to be able to just sit down and talk about this like we are talking.

⁸ Gerri Judkins talking about the Southwell Family, stories, continuity and the sheer fun of it.

Thinking aloud in response to the idea of this research

Jo Wilson (then Deputy Headmaster and Dean of Girl's Welfare): Well I think it, you know, it's got huge benefits for us as an organisation. You know, we're steeped in history.

...

But... and it's probably very timely for us, because from the time that we went co-ed, we've virtually tripled in size. We've gone from a school that was around about 200 to a school that's now six – just under 650. Our teaching staff has tripled in size. So where before we might bring in one teacher, and we'd bring in one new teacher to a solid group of 20 teachers, so that new teacher got acculturated – by sheer default they were acculturated because they were immersed in it, everybody was on the same planet – now that's not necessarily the case, because we've got 50 [teaching] staff, and a lot of those staff um have been here less than five or six years. You know. Um so what does the history mean for them? Ah we've done quite a bit of work on it in terms of looking at our framework of learning for the school and what does that look like across the school. Um, what's worth keeping and what's not? So this is probably a good, a good time for them to reflect on that.

Yet there is a need.

These points and the Centenary mean that it is now timely to think about the use of Southwell's history

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

1. What has Southwell done well in its use of its history?
2. Did anything in the learning history document surprise you? Why?
3. What stands out for you?
e.g. did you learn anything new, or find confirmation of what you already knew, or identify any general understandings or patterns?
4. Can you think of any important Southwell events, stories, or symbols that have not been mentioned?
5. Are there any things you would like to see added to, or changed, in this document? Why?
6. What lessons does this document offer?
7. What do you want to see Southwell do with its history?

I would like to close this learning history with a selection from Moss Marshall's 1981 Headmaster's report. Moss apparently felt that the following words were significant enough to borrow, and I agree.

From the address given by Mr Charles Hutchinson at the appeal launch in dinner for the Chapel extensions in March 1981:

“What is tradition? It literally means the handing down from one generation to another. Where do we look for it? We look at the history of the Community or the Association concerned. What is history? It is not a collection of dates and events which are only milestones marking the passage of time. *History is the inter-twining of lives, ideals and aspirations* of those individuals who, from whatever cause, are placed in position to influence the lives of those around them.” [Italics added]

Learning History Document

Woodlands Estate

*'...there's nothing else quite like Woodlands in the Waikato.'*¹

This is an excerpt from a speech Lex Riddell had prepared for a genealogical society. He read it to me to explain the significance of Woodlands.

Lex: ...the more I go in to the origins of my family, the trials and the difficulty of those early settlers, the more it is developed within me a new perspective of life, an appreciation of what we now enjoy, and a new emotion wells within me; the emotion of fear in retrospect, for the dangers they faced and endured. Tears in retrospect, for their sad times and the losses - and the joy of the present which only the knowledge of the past can give.

Compiled and arranged by

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¹ Interview with Prue Bryant (Riddell descendant and founder of Friends of Woodlands)

You have begun to read a 'learning history'. You might continue to read it in the way you would read an ordinary report. If you do, it might not provide the intended value. A learning history documents hard facts and events, but it emphasises what people thought and felt. It can highlight differences in perceptions. It is designed to produce better conversations - ones that would not likely occur otherwise. A learning history describes a process, an event or an idea in the voice of participants. This one was created to provide a shared basis for conversations about the use of history at Woodlands Estate (referred to hereafter simply as 'Woodlands').

Reflecting and learning is not always an easy process. It involves taking on the mindset of a beginner and letting go of what you have worked hard to know. When people do things differently they often make mistakes. The learning history dissemination meeting is an opportunity to talk openly about what has been learned and to extend this discussion into its implications for current and future issues. When you read this document as a learning history, in preparation for a meeting in which you can discuss its contents, I ask you to do two things:

First, consider it as a vehicle to better conversations.

As you read the learning history, notice what triggers your emotions - surprise, joy, anger, sadness, fear and so on - and mark those areas in the text so you can go back to them later. Prepare yourself how you might talk to other people involved with Woodlands about your reactions and thoughts on reading this document.

Second, as you read, take on the mindset of a beginner.

Listen to what people say, and wonder why they said what they did. Try to suspend judgement, and not just on opinions - everybody says 'um' at some point. Come with questions that might help you understand and empathise with points of view that are different from your own.

Most of this document is framed as a split-page jointly-told-tale. On the right hand side of the page you will read the words of the participants. In the left-hand column are points highlighted by the researcher.

This learning history is based on a reading of archives and interviews with 19 people suggested by Irene Clarke and Jill McGuire. Time constraints meant that there were several more people I would like to have met but could not. In each interview participants were invited to say what they thought was significant about Woodlands. Time and again, those interviewed emphasised the historic place of Woodlands in the Waikato, how it represents settler farming and the sweeping transformation of much of the Waikato from peat swamp to verdant dairyland. Many people warmly described the beauty of the gardens, and the opportunity to contribute to their community. Most participants described the great efforts made to preserve and present Woodlands. Many also described what Woodlands gives back and did so with words like these:

Somewhere to come back to

- *people with a past association
feel welcome when they come
back*

Somewhere to enjoy history

No separation from feeling history

- *a living monument that
breathes with people moving
in and out of it.*

*Woodlands has been deliberately
preserved at great effort and expense
with tremendous community
contributions*

Waikato Icon

What Woodlands represents

A place to tell these stories

Irene Clarke (Chairperson and Garden Convenor of The Woodlands Trust): One day I was in the office and a gentleman from Taranaki came up with his family and he was very elderly and he used to be a sharemilker here, on the farm. And he'd come back. So I, I get quite a thrill when I'm here and people come in and they tell me they were here in such and such a time or it might only be five or six years ago, but it's, it's just so full of history. I mean look all round the room, it's just, it's just history looking at you and when you get people that come to visit the place and they enjoy the history, it's I really, I feel it's quite a buzz. I get a buzz out of all sorts of positive comments and of course naturally the opposite if we get negative. But you know, it's been maintained pretty well and... The other thing that's so beautiful about this place, that people can come into the rooms, they don't have to look through a glass door or over ropes, they can actually come in and be part of the history. They can come in and feel this, feel that they, yes they can remember this in their grandma's house and especially in the kitchen when they see some of the things in the kitchen, they get quite a buzz you know. 'Oh I can remember grandma had this,' and things like... So to me, that's, I think that's wonderful. And I think it would be absolutely dreadful if this wasn't maintained, if it wasn't kept. And I think the forebears that had the foresight in those early days of the Hamilton and Waikato County Council, which is the Ken Holmes' and the Brooke des Forges and Arthur Riddell – if they didn't have the vision they did, um, you know, this wouldn't be here. And I think we owe it to those people to keep... I I'll fight all the way while I'm alive to maintain, to see if we can keep this place as it is, because if this goes, what else have we got at Waikato that's an icon? The early days they used to call it the Waikato Flagship. We call it the Waikato Icon.

Mark: Right, well what does it represent? What's it an icon of?

Irene: It's the early farming days. It's how they used to farm. They had all, they had all their own um labour here. They had their own um – well they even had [Inaudible 10.08], I believe they made candles here but um... They had-had-had – it was such a huge estate that they – it was like self contained, almost like – ah, I don't know quite what you call those people in the villages over in the States, but they were a bit similar like that. They had all, they had some of that – they had their own butchers' shop here, they had their own bakers' – baked their own bread. I mean everything was done on site. And it's all in our archives and I just think it'd be so sad if people don't know these stories.

PRESERVATION OF A COMMUNITY ASSET

'...it's a survivor'²

It is a great achievement that Woodlands is still standing. Thanks to a flood of generosity in the 1990s, large-scale support from the local Council, and the efforts of volunteers to this day, the gardens of Woodlands are flourishing and the homestead still displays something of what it was like to live there circa 1900. Today Woodlands is the focus of many kinds of community contribution. Some people like to work in the gardens. Others prefer to donate time to administration. Many people like to give old objects.

Hundreds of objects have been gifted to Woodlands by the wider community

*Preservation
Connection*

Jacquie is even making a new object for Woodlands – a piece of art that pulls the past into the present '...that's going to live on longer than me'. Woodlands is the kind of place that people want to go to, and give to

Jacquie Haselden (Riddell descendant and active Woodlands volunteer): ...And we do have people turn up with objects and things and say, oh, this is my, this is my great aunt's, you know, thing and I want to put it in Woodlands, so when they did this place up they had then sort of said yes to things and no to things. So, you know, there's a sort of - they had to draw the line else the house would be full of clutter. [Laughs]

Mark: Yes, but it's interesting that people wanted to do that.

Jacquie: Yes, they wanted to preserve it, like there's an old organ in the Riddell Room that I know was gifted from this young lady's grandmother and they said they wanted it to be part of here because there was this history connection. So I guess the objects of um history, they've brought them here and wanted them to be here which is good. They could float around families disconnected, but being here it brings them back home again. Hm, I quite like that.

Roger Jennings (Active Volunteer): ... we did a lot of general maintenance and we were sort of, a team of us were odd job men around the place who contributed considerably. I, I think at one time our first full-time manager, and these figures are probably completely hairy now, but our first full-time manager totalled up the hours worked by volunteers for the year and put a price per hour on that and it was only a reasonable amount of about \$12 or something, and I think it was we were worth about \$50,000 to \$60,000 a year to Woodlands that they didn't have to find for labour.

At Woodlands I found a real sense of people contributing something beautiful and significant from the past to the future. There is a strong desire to share the fruit of all this labour with the rest of the community.

² Prue Bryant

*An important reason to share
Woodlands with youth*

*The Waikato, as a whole, has not
been a green and pleasant land for
very long*

*Woodlands is significant to the whole
Waikato*

Woodlands is 'unique in the Waikato'

Estates were rare in the Waikato

The point of Woodlands

Lex Riddell: I like the young people to know what went on before, especially on those peatlands. The suffering that occurred, the fires, the number of people that developed asthma and lung troubles because of this terrible acrid smoke in the summer times when the land got on fire - and whole groups of people used to go out to fight the fires, dig channels. And the worst of it is that peat can burn underground, and you don't know, and you'd be walking and all of a sudden you go right through. And stock would do that and get badly burnt and sometimes had to be destroyed. The water in the peatlands was dreadful. It smelt...

Rod Wise (Former Waikato District Councillor): ...So my interest is, is that um, that history has to be preserved at... For the Waikato District, it is just so important.

Rod: And Woodlands is a place that generates that sort of interest, because it was unique in the Waikato.

Rod: And you know that um, you can't help but ah get interested when you know - and that history has to be preserved. The Woodlands Homestead's one of the only ones in the Waikato District. I mean ah those sort of homesteads were built in the ah Hawke's Bay and the Wairarapa, but they weren't built up here. So it's fairly unique.

Mark: Right, okay, and to you that's, that's the importance of it? It's...

Rod: Is to maintain that history. And get people to um, um experience it.

EXPLAINING AN ERA?

It is clear that sharing the history of Woodlands is important to some of the people involved with Woodlands. Yet what is it that Woodlands represents? Beyond being a pleasant place to spend time, what exactly is significant about Woodlands?

What Woodlands represents

The Waikato was once a hard place to farm. Estates were rare in the Waikato for a reason. That underlines the relative poverty of settler farming in the Waikato - and in turn emphasises the significance of 'pioneering the peat' - the history of early settler farming in the Waikato, peat treatment, fertilisers and the dairy farming that have transformed the economy, the landscape and the life of the Waikato.

Woodlands represents roots for (rural pakeha?) Waikato people

Encouraging community

Mark: Well, that's the thing I'm trying to pin on down there - wanted to preserve, you know, what does it represent?

Ken Holmes (Former Chairman of Waikato County Council and Woodlands Trust member): Because it represents the, the, the settlement and agricultural history. It encapsulates the really the farming history of the Waikato.

Bob Dawson (Former Councillor of Waikato County Council): The embryo of, of farming in the Waikato, yeah. And digging drains and that sort of thing.

Earlier in the interview

Ken: ...persist-, yeah, well they, yes. My interest was that I believed that the history of the Waikato County is very, was very raw. We're not a Canterbury or a Hawke's Bay or... We've got no gold mining history like they've got down in Otago with great big lovely old places like Olveston and all sorts of places,

Mark: Larnach and that sort of thing are kept.

Ken: ... locked in the history of the area. And the Waikato was raw and was regarded as a pretty rumpy place to farm. In the early 1900s, my father was a shepherd in Gisborne, and I'm not rambling on because...

Mark: No no.

Ken: ... everybody - he wanted to move from there, and everybody told him, "Don't go to the Waikato, it's as poor as a church crow," because it was, it was, nobody had discovered the uses of super-phosphate, peat land - they hadn't really learned how to ah, to use it.

Jacquie Haselden (Riddell descendant and active Woodlands volunteer): [Laughs] I guess it's um, has the farming history, the pioneering men and women that came to New Zealand and um drained the swamp and um carved out a life for themselves here in the Waikato. So in that sense it gives a sense of roots for um people who live in the Waikato. Its significance I think is um a, a preserved historic home - native kauri so it's not exactly a English or, you know, type home. It's a solid kauri home so it's a New Zealand home, which is a um - I think is significant. It's like, it's like our roots ... it ah, was also a community, so I think community's been important for this place in its history and now, so that community I think is something that needs to always be encouraged here, especially in today's society. [Laughs] It's um not as community-minded as in the past.

Mark: Ooh, with all, with all things around, you know I mean there's all these, they host weddings, they have conferences, they have the café, they have all these... To keep it all going, a lot of effort's made, so what, why do we keep it going? What what's, you know, what's the point of having Woodlands?

...

Arthur Riddell: [laughs] Yeah well it's, it's, it's unique in itself isn't it? There's no other um family homestead in the Waikato...

Mark: No.

Arthur: ... that's been preserved, and it's a lovely place.

Woodlands' key features summarised:

- *Unique-representative of settler farming in the Waikato*
- *It has been lovingly preserved*
- *Woodlands Homestead and Gardens is a beautiful place*

'A TOUCHSTONE WITH HISTORY'³

Representing a region

Woodlands is a place that can tell a great deal about the history of the Waikato. Woodlands has several outstanding features: it represents an important aspect of Waikato history (farming) better than anywhere else. Thanks to an outpouring of community generosity, Woodlands has been beautifully restored. That, and the outstanding gardens mean that Woodlands is a lovely place.

That combination is unique in the Waikato! Woodlands' position as a surviving, restored, and maintained estate-style homestead make it *the* place to tell a chapter of the region's history - the story of settler farming in the Waikato. If you wanted to tell the wider story of farming in the Waikato – the poverty, the peat, the genuine triumph of drainage and fertiliser, dairying and sweat – that helped make the land as it is today - there is nowhere better to tell that story.

To put this in perspective, imagine what it would be like without the Homestead.

³ Cr. Allan Morse, current Waikato District Councilor and Council representative on the Gordonton Woodlands Trust Board.

Please bear in mind that this comes across much more harshly than it did in person. Chris and I were trying to get to the root of what is uniquely significant about Woodlands.

Christine Walton (Former Woodlands Office Manager): I mean let's face it. You know, God forbid, touch wood that it never happens, but if the house burnt down, what's there? Nothing.

...

Mark: There's the gardens.

Chris: A garden. A garden. But you know, I mean you've got 100, 200% better gardens in Hamilton City. And I know that's pretty rough.

...

Chris: Yeah. That's, that's all that's there really. I mean the gardens are lovely, you know, and the lawn and with the um, flag pole and all that sort of thing is lovely, but if the house wasn't there, it wouldn't be anything.

...

Chris: No. So I mean I know that sounds pretty cut-throat but that's, but that's the fact of the matter.

Mark: No but it, it does actually point out what's unique about the place. For all that we've said, you know...

...

Chris: Without *that* house, there isn't a Woodlands.

A LIVING MONUMENT?

The uniqueness of Woodlands is in the Homestead. Therefore the significance of Woodlands is in what the Homestead represents – “The settlement and agricultural history. It encapsulates the really the farming history of the Waikato. The embryo of, of farming in the Waikato”

Given that is Woodlands' unique offering to the Waikato, could Woodlands do more? Do the people of the Waikato really know what they owe to farming, and how much of that does Woodlands currently offer them?

Could Woodlands do more to connect people with the story of settler farming in the Waikato?

Consider the following:

*As time goes on -
finding new ways to emphasise the
wider story of farming in the Waikato
at Woodlands might become more
worthwhile.*

Mark: ...[Woodlands] make an effort at presenting something of the history of the place - what do you think of those efforts?

George Dingle: I think they are going to get more and more interesting as time goes on. People my age are fairly familiar with horses and carts and horse-drawn farm implements, and the slower pace of life...

So that's all familiar to my generation but, give it another couple of generations and it's all going to be totally strange. And it will get more interesting as time goes on. In that respect it's certainly worth preserving.

After all

Prue: Well I think it's you know, we've gotta let the next generation and the one after that know how things used to be. Um and I mean I'm, I'm a high school teacher now and um and I get you know, and I teach kids how to cook and sew, and they, you know I'm 53 and they think I'm so old and they like, "You know when you were a kid, did they..." – you know, they think that um we had a, I had to light a fire and um and I mean I didn't, but you know I can remember having a coal range and/or my grandmother did or - and then like – and I tell them about the stove they used to have at Woodlands as well which was an AGA which was always hot. Um and you know I mean when you – you can always get a kid's attention by talking about that kind of stuff. You'll, you could hear a pin drop, when you're, when you're telling them that stuff, but they – because it's so far different from the world that they know, they're fascinated and they, it's like "Really" and "Wow" and they'll ask... You know, I think it's a really good way to get, get them thinking about how things worked, you know, before, before electricity or before cell phones and and so on and so on. So yeah. That's a really good use of history.

Kids fascinated

'That's a really good use of history'.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

1. What has Woodlands done well in its use of its history?
2. Did anything in this learning history document surprise you? Why?
3. What stands out for you?
e.g. did you learn anything new, or find confirmation of what you already knew, or identify any general understandings or patterns?
4. What more could Woodlands do to connect people with the story of settler farming in the Waikato?
5. Are there any things you would like to see added to, or changed, in this document? Why?
6. What lessons does this document offer?
7. What do you want to see Woodlands do with its history?

I would like to close this learning history with a few thoughts on Woodlands.

Irene: Well I really – always want to see it kept, maintained as it is. And to the high standard that we've been able to do. Considering you've got very little funds, it's in magnificent order I think. But it's an ongoing thing. Um, I would never like to see it closed off to the public. I think it's an asset to Waikato and I would hope that it'll always be um taken on board. You get different people that come into the organisations and history, sometimes people don't see the history and they um brush over it, don't see the importance of it. I'm not a historian but as you get older, you appreciate what's gone on before, and the hardships that some of these people must have gone through in the farming sector – it'd be a shame, a shame for some or all that story to go.

Thank you to everyone who participated in this research and gave so freely of their time and advice. I am only sorry I did not have space to include everything you offered.

Learning History Document

Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust

This is an excerpt from an interview with Helen Fahey (Former Nurse and long serving volunteer with the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust)

Helen: I'm proud of Waikato Hospital. I want to see it continue to be the best it can be. I will do anything that I can at my end of my life to do that and that's I guess why I'm involved, and also huge loyalty to Peter [Rothwell] who gives up so much of his time. You would not know how many hours that man - and where he gets his energy from - he's an inspiration and he could get blood out of a stone. He [laughs] is amazing.

Mark: Yeah. And I, I get the feeling here the stone would be glad to give it.

Helen: Oh they do. They're all happy, all happy to do it and as an expert presenter, I mean he's a great teacher and it's given him the opportunity to use those wonderful skills, whereas if he'd just retired and stopped that would have been the end of it, but no. And the people that have come along, it's given them an opportunity I think to *contribute*, ah to *validate what has happened* and to ah *inform* the new, the new um... - what's the word I'm looking for?

Mark: Generation?

Helen: Generation's the word, yep. So that's why I think people feel it's worthwhile. Yeah, I think that'd be it.

[Italics added]

Compiled and arranged by Mark Smith

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank everyone who participated in this research. You gave so freely of your time, thoughts and advice. I am only sorry I do not have space to include everything you offered.

You have begun to read a 'learning history'. You might continue to read it in the way you would read an ordinary report. If you do, it might not provide the intended value. A learning history documents hard facts and events, but it emphasises what people thought and felt. It can highlight differences in perceptions. It is designed to produce better conversations - ones that would not likely occur otherwise. A learning history describes a process, an event or an idea in the voice of participants. This one was created to provide a shared basis for conversations about the use (e.g. presentation, discussion) of (Waikato Hospital and DHB) history by the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust (WHMT or 'the Trust'). Reflecting and learning is not always an easy process. It involves taking on the mindset of a beginner and letting go of what you have worked hard to know. When people do things differently they often make mistakes. The learning history dissemination meeting is an opportunity to talk openly about what has been learned and to extend this discussion into its implications for current and future issues. When you read this document as a learning history, in preparation for a meeting in which you can discuss its contents, I ask you to do two things:

First, consider it as a vehicle to better conversations. As you read the learning history, notice what triggers your emotions - surprise, joy, anger, sadness, fear and so on - and mark those areas in the text so you can go back to them later. Prepare yourself how you might talk to other people involved with the WHMT about your reactions and thoughts on reading this document.

Second, as you read, take on the mindset of a beginner. Listen to what people say, and wonder why they said what they did. At the request of interviewees, most quotes have been edited for clarity to remove a few 'ums' and some repetition - yet I have left in a few to convey a sense of the 'thinking aloud' that was going on. Such things often indicate emphasis or deep thought. I also do not want to stop you sounding like yourself. Try to suspend judgement, and not just on opinions - everybody says 'um' at some point. Come with questions that might help you understand and empathise with points of view that are different from your own.

Much of this document is framed as a split-page jointly-told-tale. On the right hand side of the page you will read the words of the participants. In the left-hand column are points highlighted by the researcher.

This learning history is based on a reading of archives and interviews with people suggested by Dr. Peter Rothwell (Chair of the WHMT). Time constraints meant that there were several more people I would like to have met but could not. In each interview participants were invited to say what they thought was significant about the activities of the WHMT. Time and again, those interviewed emphasised the educational value of the Trust's displays, lectures and book(s) for patients and health professionals and the emotional satisfaction they found in the Trust's efforts. Those who took part mentioned ideas such as 'visual reminders', 'learning the journey' - the evolution of healthcare, and how many of the activities of the Trust are both informative and social. In that vein, many interviewees described 'telling our story', morale, connection, identity, belonging, and the opportunity to contribute to their community. What came through strongly was a group of people not dwelling in the past, but benefiting from a look backwards - and thinking others could too. Anxiety over an apparent lack of interest from the next generation was a common refrain. And I feel it is worth noting that, as a group, you often took the time to mention the contribution of others. The people I spoke with had good things to say about the efforts of everyone else involved in the activities of the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust.

HOW THE WHMT HAS USED WAIKATO HEALTH HISTORY: TO DISPLAY AND SHARE¹

Your Trust is professional in its approach and well organised. One of the minor benefits I had hoped to offer you all was a list of your 'uses of history' – yet your organisation already publicly lists specifically what it does and what it has done on your webpages [http://www.waikatodhb.govt.nz/page/pageid/2145861847/Health Memorabilia Trust](http://www.waikatodhb.govt.nz/page/pageid/2145861847/Health_Memorabilia_Trust), <http://www.waikatodhb.govt.nz/page/pageid/2145871713>, and <http://www.waikatodhb.govt.nz/page/pageid/2145871712>.

To summarise and add to those pages:

The Trust collects, catalogues and displays medical objects. Some of those displays serve to educate the public about the development of treatments and self-managed care. Other exhibits and even the names of buildings serve to honour significant contributions to the development of Waikato Hospital. The Trust also hosts two lectures on medical history each year.

The Trust has been particularly effective at drawing in expertise: 2009 saw the publication of John Armstrong's excellent *Under One Roof: A History of Waikato Hospital*. The influence of the Trust is also evident in the Waikato District Health Board's extremely recent publication *The Village on The Hill – Celebrating 125 Years of Waikato Hospital*. The Trust has arranged several university internships. Museum Intern Renee Corlett's work on establishing professional museum practices and exhibit planning has been particularly influential.² Dozens of people associated with health care in the Waikato have helped in collecting, contributing, identifying and cataloguing objects, as well as helping in displaying those objects, fundraising and in the administration of the Trust.

After one long interview spent passionately describing the work of the Trust, Dr. Peter Rothwell sent the following thoughts to me:

¹ 'Display and Share' comes from an interview with John Graham, Secretary/Treasurer of the WHMT Board of Trustees

² On the third page of the Concept and Display Development document prepared for the Service and Campus Redevelopment (Updated February 2010), Renee Corlett noted one benefit of displaying 'objects in place' - i.e. in the relevant area, e.g. the pacemaker display in Cardiology - was *enhancing the work environment for staff* [italics added].

THE USES OF HISTORY

Mark,

On reflection, regarding the essence of our work -

Our stated "PURPOSES" are as follows –

- (a) COLLECTION, IDENTIFICATION, PRESERVATION AND DISPLAY OF DOCUMENTS, PHOTOGRAPHS AND OBJECTS OF HISTORICAL INTEREST.

This process by our volunteers and supporters is a useful educational and research experience requiring the use of personal knowledge and experience, consultation with others, and searching of the internet, medical literature, and surgical catalogues.

In due course, these displays, which are to be placed in areas of relevant interest, available to the public and have a theme, are to serve the purpose of interesting, informing and educating patients to take an active interest in participation in the management of their own condition.

- (b) MAKE AVAILABLE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION.

All the orally recorded and written historical records, objects and displays will be available to future students and researchers.

That is the most succinct yet comprehensive written description of the purpose of the WHMT I have seen - its headings are even more specific than those of the website, pamphlets and the Trust Deed, and the body text explains exactly what those headings mean.

So that is 'how', and some of 'why', you use your history. The remainder of this document considers more of the 'why' you use your history as you do, and 'what' that means.

What stands out to me as an external researcher is that you, the people of the WHMT, already use your history a great deal and have already given some thought to what you are doing with it. What I would like to offer you in the rest of this document is more of the 'why' you do what you do, and 'what' you have created together.

I ask you to consider one more 'use' of your history, one not explained on your websites, pamphlets and the Trust Deed, but touched on in Peter's e-mail above. "This process by our volunteers and supporters is a useful educational and research experience...". I think these experiences go even further - as with so much of what the Trust does, the efforts that go on behind the scenes to support the visible work of the Trust (e.g. the displays) are also opportunities to experience and engage with history – 'uses' of history.

Here and on the cover page, Helen described what volunteering for the Trust gives the people involved: an opportunity to contribute, to validate what has happened and to inform the new generation, as well as: "a chance to just reflect and, and just enjoy talking about the hospital."

It is personal

It is about future generations

And 'us', how you feel, here and now

Helen Fahey on the experience of cataloguing, and on the donation of items and time by volunteers

Helen: ...yeah. So that was a very generous thing. People have been extremely generous and I think, and also involving the specialists to come and give us a hand to identify stuff, it's given them a chance to just reflect and, and just enjoy talking about the hospital.

Why volunteer for the Trust?

Pat Otteli, Former Nurse and Volunteer Cataloguer: ... so that my grandchildren would know the life that their grandmother had.

And so with that, I think as – because of the age group, and we've now got a bit of time on our hands, that it it - this whole memorabilia thing fits in very much with my values and what I want to do now with my life. You know, grey hair – there's a lot of people who rubbish you out there, because you know, you're old and you know, they talk down to you and they think you're deaf and blind and everything else, but *here* we can be pretty um – you know, it's fulfilling, inspiring, it's what we know, and it's and - it's valuing what we know.

Anne Green, Former Nurse and Volunteer Cataloguer: It's part of our natural journey...

Pat: Well, it's valuing us.

Anne: ... the age that we're at.

Pat: Valuing us. So I feel just valued here because yeah, because we're actually – somewhere along the future, someone will say, wasn't that great, that those people did that.

WHY THE WHMT HAS USED WAIKATO HEALTH HISTORY

This history matters. Pat, Anne, Helen and Peter's comments above point to one more reason why people are involved with the Trust: time and again the people I interviewed said it was important to them to *not lose* their history:

*At a fundamental level - why the Trust exists
Carolyn has been making this effort since at least 1986*

Carolyn Gibbs, Registered Nurse, former Wardrobe Mistress of the Centennial Revue, Duty Manager and Trustee of the WHMT - also acknowledged as having gathered so much of the Trust's collection over many years:

Well like I said, I just - I don't know why I did it. I just didn't want it to be lost I guess. But it was a bit presumptuous of me really wasn't it cos I wasn't anybody to be doing it. I was in a role that allowed, that afforded me the opportunities to notice where things were and what was happening and I just took stuff and it seemed to be acceptable that I did that.

Later that same interview

Carolyn: No, because I don't - no, because I actually haven't done very much. I just started for whatever rea-, cos I don't even know why I did it except I didn't want it to be lost.

And so many people felt that way - they rescued things because they did not want to see them thrown away.

*The preservation effort was happening before the Trust formally existed. It was something people **wanted** to do.*

Dr. Clyde Wade, Trustee of the WHMT: ...some key pieces of equipment that we had in our department that got chucked out.

Mark: Oh, that's a damn shame.

Clyde: You know, because - but if I'd been asked about it I would have said, "Hey, we need to preserve that." I would have even taken it - and, and a lot of staff members have done this over the years - Peter Rothwell's wriggled stuff out of all people, and so this - although we formally had a - this is something - although we formally had the Trust only for a few years, some of the activities that the - or the concept the Trust is based on have actually been things that people around here have been doing for years, is that people, when they've seen stuff being chucked out have said,

People took the time to rescue objects

“Hang on a minute,” and they’ve taken it home and stuck it in their shed and thought: somebody will want this one day. [laughs]

And so Peter Rothwell has been round and found a whole lot of these things. [laughs] So people have started coming out of the woodwork and say, “I, I knew, I always knew there’d be a role for this, this thing,” whatever it is, you know.

Mark: Interesting that, yeah.

Clyde: But that’s right, but that’s what’s happened, people have - you might say oh that’s stolen - well I suppose they have, but in reality they’ve done it with absolutely the best intention to say, “Well look, this is gonna end up in the dump,” you know, or in somebody’s second hand shop and gonna get five bucks for it, you know. Whereas in fact, as, as a talisman for this organisation, well they’re worth a hell of a lot more than five dollars.

Talismans for this organisation

TACTILE TALISMANS, HISTORIC RECORDS AND THE POINT OF PRESERVING THEM: THOUGHTS ABOUT THE USES OF HISTORY

Excerpt from a group interview with some of the people who meet to catalogue the Trust’s objects in the shed on Wednesdays:

Mark: ...Emma you just mentioned something about um if we haven’t recorded it... and then you just left it there. Like what’s the point of recording this...?

Emma Wolfe, Former Midwife and Volunteer Cataloguer: For fut-...

For the future

Mark: I know it’s a huge question, but...

Emma: posterity really, so that... I mean the writ-, the written...,

To learn from the past

Pat: So you don’t repeat the same mistakes, you know. For instance, vaccination I think is a clear one where people don’t vaccinate their children, but they never saw...

...

Emma: Um, just to come back to Pat, I'm not quite sure that it's to avoid the mistakes that have been...

Mark: Hm, that's one reason. What was your thought?

Emma: Well I don't think necessarily – I'm not saying that's wrong, but I think that we do repeat – you see things going in cycles all the time.

Pat: Yes you do.

Emma: Um, and um I think it's just as a record for actually what happened, like a snapshot for posterity, to pick up on, on the themes that we were all talking about. Um, I've been sitting here thinking you know, with all the talk we've had about technology, about whether in the future with all the technology – there'll always be instruments, but for example, with the eye instruments, now they are disposable most of them. Will we still have, will it just be pictures or um handsets or things when we're looking at history? Will it be actually tactile things that you can, you can hold? I mean some people say well it would be very cost effective if we um didn't have display cabinets around the hospital, we just have, someone wants to know it, they have a handset or they have a...

Laura Somerville, Former Nurse and Volunteer Cataloguer:
A video.

A real 'object' to experience – for a person to actually see/hold a piece of the past.

Emma: ... a video or you plug it into the thing and you go, go. But for me, it's the *tactile* thing as well as the written. You know, you can't have one without the other.

Laura: So it's a bit like people not really wanting a Kindle because they like holding a book.

Several Interviewees: Yeah. / Hm.

Emma: Yeah, that's a good analogy.

This desire to 'hold history', to connect through an object you can look at - and cataloguers actually get to hold these objects - says a great deal about the true worth of these objects, and the activities of the Trust. These comments suggest that the Trust is not just for the future, but also for people in the present, and the sheer joy those involved have in connecting with the past. After all, the Trust collects objects it is unlikely to be able to display or swap (e.g. large objects. Even with a rigorous accessioning policy, the WHMT has more objects than it is likely to display in even the medium term) and yet they are kept.

The Trust creates opportunities (e.g. the lectures, the cataloguing, and the displays) for people to socialise around exploring and sharing the past. And as Carolyn Gibbs pointed out below, things could have been very different:

Carolyn Gibbs and Mark Smith were discussing the origin of the Trust and then Peter Rothwell's work for the Trust:

Carolyn: I don't know how he became, or why he became interested. It can't be that he was at a loose end.

Mark: No, no, that's one thing he seems not to be. The things he's involved in...

Carolyn: Yeah.

Mark: And what's interesting, cos I mean yakking with him he managed to tell the story of the Trust without - he almost - like, it's like he lives...

Carolyn: He lives and breathes it.

Mark: But he took himself out. He managed to tell the whole story without himself as though somehow, oh, everyone else had done all this amazing work and brilliant effort and...

Carolyn: No. Yeah?

Mark: ...yeah, it's quite interesting. Well he - I don't - I think he was - he wasn't hiding or anything. I think he's just genuinely that - he came across ridiculously modest.

Carolyn: Gosh.

Mark: Yeah, like he would have, you know, point blank if there was something he had done, yes, he would mention it. But he managed...

Carolyn: Well he's done it all. He's done it all.

Mark: That's it, the way everyone talks about it is like he's done much more than he ever said he did when he was talking to me.

Carolyn: Yep, he's done it all. *We wouldn't be where we are without him at all. I'd be still gathering the stuff and they'd still be in a room - well I'd probably, they probably would have got rid of it by now, somehow.*

[Italics added]

WHAT THESE USES OF HISTORY HAVE SUSTAINED:

WHAT HAS THE TRUST BECOME?

Those reasons included: reputation, camaraderie, character, 'sense of purpose, a sense of your place in the world'

"...the history can be the soul of the place..."

What the Trust does and is

Clyde: Peter has to go round with a begging bowl and I do think that we, you know, here's a billion dollar organisation - is what we spend, you know, to, to, to spend ah, you know, a small number of thousands of dollars every year preserving the history of the place I think, for the reasons I outlined in the beginning, is worth its weight in gold really. I mean, you, would advertise, you know, the advertising we do for Nurses and various other things would be, it would be enhanced by those sorts of things and people come here and see, hello, this is place, you know.

Mark: Yeah. It's not just a - yeah, right.

Clyde: Not just this collection of buildings, it's got a *soul* you see.

Mark: I like that. That's, yeah, it's quite...

Clyde: So the history can be the soul of the place you see.

Later in the interview

Clyde: ...the Trust is just one of a number of voluntary organisations ...There's a research trust, there's the people who run the um ah, the ah um review, [laughs] you know, so there's a number of little groupings around the place which are, when I talk about the 'soul', these are the people who are actually helping to run some of the people side of the organisation which is not part of our core business.

And that's, I guess that's true in lots of places. You - things happen because somebody had a passion for doing it. I mean, there's no money in it, it's not, [laughs] you know, you can't get a tangible benefit today - although I think you could argue that I've - at the beginning that I think there are definite benefits by doing this right. You got, you've got very strong potential benefits for the organisation.

*A bond
Why people do it*

Organisations that bother have roots

What you put in - What you get out

Sustaining it – an on-going process

- *the people who contribute to the Trust benefit personally*
- *what then happens is that the work they put on display is of interest to patients, and of benefit to the Hospital (i.e. patient education on self-management)*
- *an enriched environment for patients and staff (not just a literally sterile place)*

Mark: Um, you've got the Trust, separate legal entity but it's, it's - what I get the feeling is all, it's it's - cos the Hospital could continue functioning without it.

Helen: Oh of course.

Mark: Yeah and I'm sure there'd be some who think that they should, but I also get the feeling, very definitely, there's hundreds of people who think that it should not, who think the Trust is a - what, what, what does the, the Trust do for the Hospital that it can't do for itself, or isn't doing - what is the Trust to the Hospital?

Helen: Well I think it's a window, when we have these meetings. It's, it's just an opportunity for people who've had a bond with the people they worked with ah who are proud of what had happened in the past, and anything to try and preserve it so we didn't forget.

I think that was one of the reasons why people come. And I think too that it's commonplace I think for organisations to ah remember with either displays or in written word, um, what has happened in the past. And those that don't bother, they've got no roots really.

I mean I think it's this reliving it for a lot of people; they, they obviously enjoyed working there and they're prepared to put time in.

And I think it goes both ways really because what they do is of value to the Trust, which is of value to the people that see the end, the displays with all the information and um so it's sort of on-going really I think, yeah.

A HISTORICAL COMMUNITY

Associate Professor Catherine Coleborne, Trustee of the WHMT: So I think that the Trust in doing things like providing those spaces for people to come together [*Cathy had just spoken about two annual lectures*] and, and having a reflection on medical practice over time, inviting retired or practising doctors to speak about their research in a historical context - *I think the history thing is, is, you know, partly it's bonding those people together who are part of a bigger community and allowing them to keep exploring that relationship.* If it wasn't there they might well be dining at each other's houses on weekends or, or involving each other in other community groups - I know the Nurses have their own sort of communities - but *I suspect that the Trust has actually done something new and opened up a community of people to reflect on their history.* I don't think that would have happened so obviously otherwise. So I think that it does really perform that function. As a, as a sort of relative outsider I see it and I think people are very grateful, they, they turn out, they give gold coin donation now um, they think of ideas for speakers, they come to support their mates who, who might be the speaker of the time, you know. I think, *I think it's definitely made a space for history, for historical community yeah, absolutely, in all that senses of the word.* So people who have a history together, a personal history, people who have a history as ah an institution and also a space to discuss history, you know, the history of a medical person or an event.
[Italics added]

Historical Community:

A place/opportunity to discuss history and reflect on it

How do you feel about this?

What are your thoughts?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

1. What has the WHMT done well in its use of its history?

2. Did anything in this learning history document surprise you? Why?

3. What stands out for you?
e.g. did you learn anything new, or find confirmation of what you already knew, or identify any general understandings or patterns?

4. The WHMT as having created a 'historical community' - *A place/opportunity to discuss history and reflect on it* - How do you feel about this? What are your thoughts?

5. Are there any things you would like to see added to, or changed, in this document? Why?

6. What lessons does this document offer?

7. What do you want to see the WHMT do with Waikato Health history?

I would like to leave the last words of this learning history to John Armstrong. This is an excerpt from an interview with the author of *Under One Roof: A History of Waikato Hospital*. I added the italicisation.

John had been telling me about how so many of the people involved with Health Care in the Waikato (members of the Trust and those formally outside it) make, and continue to make, the sometimes difficult effort to support the Waikato Health Memorabilia Trust.

“But they do it and they make it happen and I think the reason they do it and the reason why I really enjoy my, enjoyed my involvement was because it’s kind of an extension of that first point I made about community, you know?”

...This just came to me after I’d finished the project. I wrote the book and published it and I gave a series of talks afterwards to various community groups about the process of the book ... and I gave one up here. There was a community adult learning seminar, two hours, and it really struck me then because two people in the audience – they’re both, they’re probably my age, you know, late 30s or 40s - and they both worked in some part of the Hospital. It was like the funding, administration part, it wasn’t clinical care, and they’d both read the book and they came to the thing, and they both said *‘I recognised in that book the place that I work.’*

And we had a talk afterwards, cos as it happened there actually – there was a woman at the... presentation who collapsed, so there was a big break; an ambulance came and took her away and things - so it kind of all fell to bits, but out of that chaos there emerged this kind of much more informal conversation than I had planned.

And they, and they, they made the point that really um, what’s the word I’m after – it just it kind of invigorated me in terms of what I’m doing with that group and with history in general. They said ‘That book helped me to feel like I was part of something’. They, they’d been going to work and coming home and - as we all do - we have people we like and people we grumble about, and, you know, it’s a workplace. But they said the book helped them to find a place to fit in that organisation. They could see that actually there had been people that did things in very different ways 10, 20, 40, 50 years ago and they could see themselves as part of that sequence. And they said it gave them, gave them a little bit of a sense of purpose about their work, which I thought was fantastic. That’s the ultimate outcome for history - for me, the term I’ll use now - I didn’t use it but it’s kind of like ‘narrativising’ your role, you know - *you find yourself as part of a story.*”

Appendix VII: Dr Peter Rothwell's Reflection

Sent as an email attachment 16/9/2011. Included with Dr Rothwell's permission.

THE USES OF HISTORY

Mark,

On reflection, regarding the essence of our work –

Our stated "PURPOSES" are as follows –

- (a) COLLECTION, IDENTIFICATION, PRESERVATION AND DISPLAY OF DOCUMENTS, PHOTOGRAPHS AND OBJECTS OF HISTORICAL INTEREST.

This process by our volunteers and supporters is a useful educational and research experience requiring the use of personal knowledge and experience, consultation with others, and searching of the internet, medical literature, and surgical catalogues.

In due course, these displays, which are to be placed in areas of relevant interest, available to the public and have a theme, are to serve the purpose of interesting, informing and educating patients to take an active interest in participation in the management of their own condition.

- (b) MAKE AVAILABLE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION.

All the orally recorded and written historical records, objects and displays will be available to future students and researchers.

The supporters who you will be interviewing will no doubt have had varying experiences and contributions along similar lines.

Regards,

Peter
