

**Place-attachment in heritage theory and practice:
a personal and ethnographic study**

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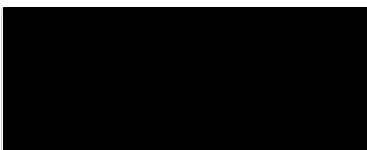


Old Currango homestead, Kosciuszko National Park.

(Photo credit: Allan McLean, 2012.)

Declaration

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution. To the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.



Stephen Hepburn Brown

25 July 2015



For David and June Brown

... attached for 60 years ...

(Kitale Catholic Church, 5 February 1955)

I have been burdened always with too much affection for people, places and things. Passionate love of relatives, of friends, of the ranges, the streams, the trees, horses, cats, of the beauty in the dawns and sunsets and starry nights – a multitude of experiences that other people take more mildly.

(Miles Franklin 1963. *Childhood at Brindabella*, page 140)

Thesis summary

Former pastoral station owner Pam Ponder's sense of belonging was entwined with her homestead garden. The garden was uprooted after the National Parks and Wildlife Service acquired the property. It was this act of wilful destruction and the consequences for Pam's wellbeing that sparked my interest in place-attachment.

The thesis is a critical study of the concept of place-attachment in Australian heritage practice and its application in this field.

Place-attachment is typically characterised as a form of intangible heritage arising from interactions between people and place. I trace how this meaning borrows from concepts in psychology and geography and argue that the idea of place-attachment is often applied uncritically in heritage conservation because the field lacks a body of discipline-specific theory. It is my thesis that place-attachment can be conceptualised in a way that is more amenable to effective heritage management practice than is currently the case.

I construct a concept of place-attachment that draws on a notion of intra-action and theories of attachment, agency and affect. I define place-attachment as a distributed phenomenon that emerges through the entanglements of individuals or groups, places and things. This meaning is interrogated via four case studies – each centred on a home and garden (including my own) and Anglo-Australians – by applying a methodology that is primarily self-referential and auto-ethnographic. Topics that emerge from the field data, including life stages (i.e., childhood/adulthood attachment), generational transfer and experiential understanding, are examined and shown to offer support for a concept of place-attachment as entanglement.

The thesis findings have implications for heritage practice. A framework of entanglement over interaction calls for recognition of intra-active assemblages in preference to intangible meanings; dynamism and multi-temporality over stasis and a distant past; the power of personal heritage alongside authorised, collective forms; and situated, relational ethics together with place-centred values. Thus by entwining matter with meaning, care with respect, Pam Ponder's garden becomes inseparable from Pam in the work of heritage management.

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Abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
ANT	Actor Network Theory
CAR	Comprehensive, Adequate and Representative (with reference to the acquisition of land for the Australian protected area system)
ICOMOS	International Committee on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
KHA	Kosciuszko Huts Association
NP	National Park
NPWS	National Parks and Wildlife Service (NSW)
NSW	New South Wales
TMAG	Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WW1	World War 1
4WD	Four-wheel drive (vehicle)



FIGURE 1.1 *Pêche des Sauvages du Cap de Diemen* (Copia 1817: Plate iv).

Engraving based on sketches of meetings between Aboriginal people and Bruny d'Entrecasteaux expedition members in southern Tasmania, February 1793.

(Source: National Library of Australia. Identifier: nla.pic-an8953914.)

Chapter 1

Belonging and baskets

The baskets are full of stories

The thesis is a critical study of the concept of place-attachment in Australian heritage practice and its application in this field. I begin with a metaphor.

My first encounter with Australian Aboriginal fibre baskets was through the historical record. French scientific expeditions – in particular those led by Bruny D’Entrecasteaux in 1792 and 1793 and Nicolas Baudin in 1802 through southeastern Tasmania – amassed a rich archive of material describing and illustrating people, places, events and things, including baskets (Plomley 1983; Rossel 1808).¹ My favourite motif amongst this ethnographic record is a depiction of a woman holding a basket. She is one of a group of Aboriginal people sketched by Jean Piron in February 1793 and the sketch was subsequently reproduced as an engraving in Jacques Louis Capiat’s 1817 *Atlas du Voyage a la Recherche de la Perouse* (Figure 1.1). The statuesque Aboriginal woman is depicted in Botticelli-like ‘The Birth of Venus’ pose,² her left hand lifting and accentuating the right breast, which excites the ordinary viewer’s gaze. A basket held by its ‘rush’ handle dangles from her right hand and invites the ethnographer’s material gaze.

An initial impression of the scene is that it depicts and renders people and their activities ‘frozen in time’ (Mulvaney 2007: 68-70). Yet there is a sense in which this is

¹ Commander Antoine Bruny D’Entrecasteaux’s expedition anchored in Recherche Bay on two occasions between 21 April and 28 May 1792 and in Recherche Bay and Adventure Bay from 21 January to 27 February 1793 (Plomley 1983; Johnson 2012). The expedition led by Captain Nicolas Baudin (1774) anchored in the D’Entrecasteaux Channel and then Oyster Bay near Maria Island in the period 13 January to 27 February 1802.

² *Nascita di Venere*, Sandro Botticelli, c. 1486, tempera on canvas. Location: Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

not the case. Contemporary Tasmanian Aboriginal women drew on this image, as well as museum collections, ethnographic materials and surviving community knowledge, to reawaken basket-making skills. Weaver Verna Nichols observed that the skill required for this endeavour was ‘not lost, just sleeping’ (Bolton 2011: 73). There is thus a ‘deep-time’ connection between the woman observed and sketched by Jean Piron in 1793 and contemporary Tasmanian Aboriginal women’s cultural practice (Reynolds 2006).

In the period 2006-2009, 35 Tasmanian Aboriginal women participated in a project to re-invigorate basket-making knowledge, techniques and practices. The project culminated in an exhibition titled *tayenebe* (TMAG 2009). I encountered *tayenebe* on two occasions. First, at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, in February 2009 and, second, at The National Museum, Canberra, in June 2010 – the year I commenced my doctorate. The baskets in the display were a mixture of rare examples from the 1800s and the work of contemporary weavers. They are beautiful things. I found them inspiring beyond the aesthetics of form and materials because of the ‘belongingness’ of the baskets, old and new. As Verna Nichols explains:

“The baskets are not empty. They are full of makers, their stories, their thoughts while making. The baskets are never empty. All of the thoughts jump out of the baskets onto all of us.” (TMAG 2009: iii; Bolton 2011: 7)

The baskets are objects, material things, intimately entwined with people, places and stories. Feelings described by *tayenebe* participants are powerful (TMAG 2009: 65-79). They tell of sharing knowledge of plants, experiencing places where grasses and sedges grow, learning weaving skills, practicing fibre-work and communicating histories.

I begin this thesis with a consideration of the *tayenebe* project because, at its core, my research is concerned with *belonging* and *attachment* – entanglements of past and present people, people and places, people and things, and things with things. ‘Fibre-weaving as practice’ and ‘baskets as meanings that cannot be contained’ are revealing metaphors for attachment and belonging and, furthermore, relevant to the

field of heritage studies. One might draw on a notion of weaving as a process of making in which a basket comes into existence through a whole system of relationships and practices amid people, places and things. However, social anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000) rejects this 'normal' order of priorities (i.e., weaving as making, which separates cultural imagination from the material world, subject from object) and argues cogently for the reverse – 'making as a modality of weaving'.

To emphasise making is to regard the object as the expression of an idea; to emphasise weaving is to regard it as the embodiment of rhythmic movement. Therefore to invert making and weaving is also to invert idea and movement, to see the movement as truly generative of the object rather than merely revelatory of an object that is already present, in an ideal, conceptual or virtual form, in advance of the process that discloses it ...the forms of objects are not imposed from above but grow from the mutual involvement of people and materials in an environment. (Ingold 2000: 64)

What I draw from Ingold's reversal of modalities is a notion that belonging is not an end point but rather a continual and dynamic coming-into-being in the world around us 'as we weave' (2000: 69). What I am resisting here is the standard heritage practice of characterising place-attachment as an intangible 'association' and 'connection' between people and place: for example, in *The Burra Charter* (Australia ICOMOS 2013 [1979]: Article 1.15). Likewise, much of the psychology literature frames place-attachment as 'bonding' of people to place (Low and Altman 1992: 2-3; Scannell and Gifford 2014). The terms association, connection and bonding have equivalence with 'making' in Ingold's commentary: they conceptually separate humans from place, even as they seek to articulate their interconnection, thus perpetuating binaries of mind and matter, human and non-human, subject and object. This is precisely what emphasising weaving transcends.

I am therefore drawn to the Tasmanian Aboriginal women's practices of weaving the world in Ingold's (2000) sense: ontologies of becoming and flow, movement and transformation. In contrast to conceptualising place-attachment as a phenomenon arising from *inter-actions* between the separate entities people and place, I propose

to draw on notions of *intra-action* and *entanglement*. Like weaving, these latter concepts offer a framework for conceptualising place-attachment as a phenomenon that ‘grows from the mutual involvement of people and materials in the environment’ (2000: 64); and ‘part of a broader synergy in which the various human and environmental dimensions of place reciprocally impel and sustain each other’ (Seamon 2014: 12). To emphasise this framing I adopt a convention of placing a hyphen between the words ‘place’ and ‘attachment’ to stress inseparability between the terms and thus resisting the way heritage practice typically constructs place as tangible and attachment as intangible. The phrase ‘place-attachment’ intentionally highlights the idea of intra-actions that mutually entangle people, places and things.

The research project

The central concern of this thesis is the way place-attachment is conceptualised in the field of heritage studies and applied in heritage practice. It aims to unpack and interrogate the idea of place-attachment and find ways heritage conservation might re-frame and employ the concept. The sustained argument of the thesis is that creating rich and sound understandings of place-attachment will inspire more effective heritage management practice than is currently the case.

The thesis aims to deepen understandings of place-attachment by examining scholarly and popular literature, reviewing current heritage practice and drawing on personal experience. I emphasise how place-attachment is deeply personal, thus demanding of levels of respect and sensitivity beyond what is captured by standard approaches to identifying, documenting and managing heritage places. Thus the thesis is a critical reflection on the concept of place-attachment and on the methods, applications and ethical dimensions of place-attachment in heritage practice. It does not provide a ‘recipe’ for recognising and managing place-attachment in the field of heritage conservation.

The thesis is intensely, and perhaps radically, self-referential. It applies *auto-ethnography*, a research method of analysis and interpretation using the researcher's autobiographic data to investigate the practice of others and reflection to develop analytical insights (Chang 2008; Anderson 2006). I apply autobiographic data in two ways. First, I use the lens of personal experience to critically examine scholarly literature and heritage practice. For example, I commence each chapter with a vignette, a narrative of personal experience and encounter – with Bandjima men in the Hamersley Ranges of Western Australia (Chapter 2); with Bruce and Pam Ponder, the former owners of Byerawering and Cawell pastoral stations in northern New South Wales (NSW) (Chapter 3); and performing a double aerial act at a dance party in Melbourne (Chapter 4). The vignettes serve as situated reference points enabling me to examine and evaluate concepts and applications of place-attachment. Second, I apply auto-ethnography as method, alongside other approaches, to case studies in order to compare and contrast other Anglo-Australian's experiences of place-attachment with my own.

Resisting dualisms is a second thread that weaves through the thesis. Dualisms are a feature of Western cosmologies and philosophical traditions that serve to separate and make oppositional categories in and of the world (e.g., the 'nature-culture divide'; Byrne et al. 2013: 1-6; Meskell 2012: 4-35). Like historian Nicholas Thomas (1991: 211), I share James Clifford's (1986) sense that 'all dichotomizing concepts should probably be held in suspicion.' In heritage and place-attachment literature the binaries most at play are tangible/intangible, discourse/materiality, sociality/spatiality, human/non-human and Indigenous/non-indigenous. Auto-ethnography has a role to play in challenging conceptual binaries by showing how, at a personal level, they are experienced as 'beyond dualism' (Houghton 2013) or 'twofolds' that interpenetrate rather than operate in opposition.

A third theme is the *thinginess of belonging*. Things are typically absent from concepts of place-attachment: for example, in developmental, social and environmental psychology, cultural geography and heritage conservation. In the case of the latter field, the concept of 'association' is entirely immaterial. This construct

stems from a view that objects and artefacts are passive or at most symbols within social action (Hodder 1982). The consequence of excluding material things, such as stone artefacts, an oven, rose bushes and roof beams (discussed in Chapters 6-9), and denying their agency (Pickering 2010) and activeness (Ingold 2007b) is that place-attachment is confined to two dimensions: sociality and spatiality. The activeness of material things, I argue, requires that concepts of place-attachment be broadened beyond relations between people and place to embrace and incorporate objects.

A final theme, one that is effective for the expression of auto-ethnography as method, resisting dualisms and recognising active things, is the use of *narrative*. In this regard I am influenced by the writings of philosopher Peter Goldie (2000, 2012) who highlights the sensory and perspectivist qualities of narrative.

Our lives have a narrative structure – roughly speaking, they comprise an unfolding, structured sequence of actions, events, thoughts, and feelings, related from the individual’s point of view. (Goldie 2000: 4)

Narrative is a literary process able to represent experience. As archaeologist Giovanna Vitelli (2013: 86) observes: ‘Narrative at times has the power to transcend fragmentation across social settings and through individual time.’ My usage of narrative is as a qualitative research method. I use narrative as descriptive storytelling to counter the determinism of the ‘heritage expert’ (Schofield 2014); to produce multi-vocal and multi-scalar ethnographic-derived accounts of place-attachment (Chapters 7-9); to animate individual moments of encounter (e.g., with objects in my home, Chapter 6); and, beyond the transmission of stories, to reveal the consequences of entangled agencies across assemblages of people, places and things. Finally, I view narrative as complementary with heritage conservation systems based on, for example, values-based or living heritage approaches (Poulios 2010) because narrative can weave a story of place-attachment more than list and describe significant values.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is set out in three parts. The first part, 'Placing attachment' (Chapters 2-4), frames the thesis. Chapter 2 is an introduction to place-attachment. It focuses on historian Peter Read's writing on the diverse senses of belonging that non-Aboriginal Australians hold for their important places. Read's work backgrounds a consideration of the socio-spatial and material complexities of the idea of place-attachment. Chapter 3 establishes the problem orientation of the thesis. I trace the different disciplinary origins of the idea of place-attachment. I then show how heritage studies and conservation practice borrow from work in other disciplines: in particular psychology – Attachment Theory; and approaches characterised by quantitative approaches; and geography – 'sense of place', where qualitative, phenomenological approaches dominate (Lewicka 2011). A consequence of borrowing concepts and approaches is that the idea of place-attachment is applied uncritically, on occasion with damaging effect, and thus, I argue, the heritage field requires its own disciplinary-specific, theoretical framework: hybrid or otherwise.

In Chapter 4 I examine ways in which the idea of place-attachment is framed. I critique models from heritage practice that construct attachment as place-centred and a form of intangible heritage arising out of the interaction of pre-existing separate entities (i.e., people and place). In line with post-humanist work across the humanities, social sciences and sciences attentive to a view of agency as distributed across multiple actants (e.g., Pickering 2010), I offer a more complex conceptual construction of place-attachment in which the key categories of actants – people, place and things – are mixed and entangled and through which place-attachment is performed and woven into being. I draw on a hybrid framework of entanglement, derived from work in history (Thomas 1991), quantum physics (Barad 2007) and archaeology (Hodder 2012), to argue that place-attachment be conceptualised as a distributed phenomenon that emerges through the entanglements of individuals or groups, places and things.

In Part II, 'Practicing attachment', I investigate this meaning via a case study approach (Chapter 5) at four field sites. Each site is centred on a home and garden and the focus is Anglo-Australian attachment. The field sites comprise: my suburban property in the Sydney suburb of Arncliffe (Chapter 6); the homestead garden at Darcoola Station in western NSW (Chapter 7); Glen Eden, a former subsistence property near Bathurst, central NSW (Chapter 8); and Old Currango homestead located in the Australian Alps, southern NSW (Chapter 9). Interviews, participant observation and auto-ethnography are the primary data collection methods and analysis is largely inductive, reflective and qualitative. The case studies are presented as a series of self-referential, descriptive narratives that interweave an autobiographic account of field experience and object biographies with life-stories and place-feelings expressed by study participants. The narratives are 'blended dialogues': a form of storytelling that is collaborative, shared and multi-vocal.

In Part III of the thesis, 'Re-placing attachment', I draw on the findings of the case studies to reconsider the meaning of place-attachment posited in Chapter 4. I focus on three emergent themes: *life-stages* (i.e., attachments arising in childhood or adulthood), *generational transfer* and *experiential understanding* or empathy. I show how these themes illustrate the complexities, even irrationality and strangeness, of place-attachment and how they provide evidence supporting a concept of place-attachment as distributed phenomenon across assemblages of people-place-things. What are the consequences for heritage practice of defining place-attachment in this way? In Chapter 10, I argue that conceptualising place-attachment as energy flows and affective forces across dynamic assemblages of vibrant things, nested places and distributed minds – a hybrid framework of entanglement – establishes a conceptual position that is inclusive and offers benefits to people, places, things and heritage conservation. I conclude that a framework of entanglement over a notion of interaction demands recognition of intra-active assemblages in preference to intangible meanings; dynamism and multi-temporality over stasis and the past; the power of personal affective heritage alongside authorised, collective forms; and situated, relational ethics together with place-centred values.

Reflection

Soon after seeing the *tayenebe* exhibition for the second time in 2010, I wove my first ever fibre object. For this task I used leaves of *Lomandra longifolia* Labill., a native grass that grows in my backyard.³ In the species name, ‘Labill.’ refers to Jacques-Julien Houtou de Labillardière (1755-1834), a naturalist on the 1792-1793 Bruny d’Entrcasteaux expedition, who described this species from a specimen collected in Tasmania (Labillardière 1800, 1: 92). *Lomandra*, which has a common name of Basket Grass, forms dense tussocks one metre in height with long, flat, firm, near parallel-sided leaves up to 10mm wide. I collected and soaked some of the leaves and then, without guidance or teacher, wove a basket-like thing. The object has since dried out, but still retains its original form: the roughly woven, and widely spaced leaves hold each other together (Figure 1.2). Making this object enabled me to experience concepts I was engaging with – how a thing is a gathering of materials and meaning and, in Ingold’s (2007c: 35) sense, how a thing itself is an entanglement.



FIGURE 1.2 Fibre container woven-into-being by author.

(Photo credit: Steve Brown, 2014.)

³ The type specimen is held in the Harvard University Herbaria (Ref. No. 0029949).

PART I

PLACING ATTACHMENT



FIGURE 2.1 Herbert Parker, Wobby Parker and Brian Tucker at Dales Gorge, northwest Australia.

(Photo credit: Steve Brown, April 1983.)

Chapter 2

Backgrounding belonging

Talking punk on Bandjima Country

In January 1977 I undertook an archaeological survey of a 300km-long transect across the Pilbara region in northwest Australia (Brown 1977, 1980). For three months I travelled and camped with a group of Italian surveyors as they marked out a route for a proposed power transmission line. I walked in front of a bulldozer, making snap-decisions about where it should cut a track around things archaeological. I had no contact with Aboriginal people during the field project.⁴

Six years later, in April 1983, I revisited a part of the landscape crossed by the transmission line – the Hamersley Ranges. On this occasion I was in the company of three Aboriginal men: brothers Herbert and Wobby Parker and their younger relative Brian Tucker.⁵ All were Bandjima and the central Hamersley Ranges was their Country. The purpose of my visit was to document ‘ethnographic sites’ in order to ascertain impacts of a proposed highway (Brown 1983). For Herbert and Wobby it was an opportunity to revisit traditional Country and to share knowledge with Brian, who was at that time passing through a period of initiation. On our first day, joined by local park ranger Ian Solomon, we travelled within Dales Gorge (nyiribugana) and Munjina Gorge.

⁴ The impact assessment approach practiced at the time by the Western Australian Museum separated archaeological and anthropological studies. The view that Aboriginal people also had an interest in ‘archaeological sites’ was just emerging in Australia by 1977 (Murray 1986: 98; Sullivan 1983).

⁵ At the time of the field trip, Herbert Parker was 73 years old, Wobby 66 and Brian 20. Herbert and Wobby had grown up on pastoral properties in and around the Hamersley Ranges. They left the region in the early 1940s.

In Dales Gorge I was shown two 'thalu' or increase sites – places where ceremonies are carried out to produce a local abundance of a particular animal, plant or thing (Daniel 1990). We visited a thalu (mundalla) related to kanji gum (*Acacia* sp.) and a thalu (kurramandu tjippalpa) connected with two goanna and four snake species (Olive Python, Black-headed Python and two poisonous 'black snakes' - Mulga Snake and King Brown). The reptile thalu comprised a series of marks on a rock face some three metres above the ground surface.

For the use of this thalu, a person who was old or infirm and who couldn't move around quickly was chosen. That person, with the aid of a spear, had to reach up to the marks on the rock and, touching them, call out the names of the different parts of the country for each species. However, care had to be taken to avoid touching the black snake marks. The effect of this ceremony was to increase the numbers of the relevant animal species in the specified country and to make them easy to catch – they will be slow moving like the old or infirm person who touches the marks. Herbert mentioned that, for instance, if you see four day old goanna tracks you know he will be nearby because he can't move fast. Hence, it would be no good a young athletic person touching the thalu marks as youthful qualities would be transferred to the relevant species. (Steve Brown. Field Note Book No. 2 1982-83, p. 66)

Herbert had not visited mundalla and kurramandu tjippalpa for over forty years, and then it was on horseback rather than by 4WD. There was much discussion between Herbert and Wobby as to the exact whereabouts of each thalu. Herbert's grandfather had shown him many important places but rarely explained their cultural meaning or associated ceremony. Herbert was, however, told about the way mundalla and kurramandu tjippalpa were 'activated' through ritual performance and song. On our trip he also described useful plant foods (e.g., the edible seeds of the ground creeper walyaru; two species of native tobacco or 'Aboriginal marijuana'), sang a song about a permanent water pool (tjurruruna), pointed out the stony nests of a native mouse and told of some of Wobby's and his experiences of mustering cattle through the area.

On that first night we camped in Munjina Gorge. After dinner, we lay on our swags around an open fire, gazing at the vast and brilliant, star-filled skies. We talked. Herbert told me that when caught in a lightening storm, I should light a fire or make noise so that the lightening would know where I am and 'go around' me. He said that I should listen out for the sound a death adder makes when a person is too close. Herbert imitated the adder's widely-spaced, clicking warning.

And we talked about punk. Herbert and Wobby asked me why young Aboriginal people in their home town of Onslow would choose to wear safety-pins through their ears, razor blades as earrings and forms of clothing that neither looked appealing nor suited the hot, dry climate. They were concerned that interest in such things was drawing young people away from Aboriginal cultural practices. I described the punk movement – the music, clothes and anti-establishment ethos. I felt knowledgeable on the topic because I was a fan of the *Sex Pistols*, had been to gigs by *The Victims* – one of Perth's few punk bands – and, in 1981, had visited a punk club in London. The conversation with the Aboriginal men felt strange. I was with Aboriginal people of this Country, camped on their custodial lands, talking about a social phenomenon with a particularly British character that had been translated into a remote Australian country town setting. I also felt pleased. This was the first time I had knowledge, beyond the route of the proposed highway, to share with the men. Before the punk conversation, information exchange had essentially been one-way.

I was never sure that Herbert or Wobby got punk.

On the last day of our trip, we stopped to collect native honey from a small Weeping Box (*Eucalyptus patellaris*) growing beside a gravel road. While Wobby gathered the honey, directing the flow of sticky liquid into a large, enamelled metal mug, Herbert and I talked. I documented our exchange in two short sentences.

Herbert said I should call him father or grandfather – I reluctantly chose the latter – ‘marli’. Makes me ‘milangan’ in the marriage class division (Herbert, Wobby and Brian are milangan).⁶ (Steve Brown. Field Note Book No. 2 1982-83, p. 85)

What Herbert did was incorporate me into the Bandjima kin system by allocating one of four ‘skin names’. My relationship to Herbert would define my relationship to every other Bandjima person and to all other Aboriginal people in the Pilbara region. I chose the skin name that made Herbert my grandfather because Herbert, with his white hair and full figure, reminded me of my similarly aged, much-loved maternal grandfather. I felt moved by what Herbert was doing. We had spent only a few days together. I recall, however, that I was reluctant to take on kinship with Bandjima people, even though there seemed no choice in the matter. I felt I would not be able to live up to a reciprocal or long-term relationship. My relationship to Herbert was defined by work, his relationship to me was a sharing of knowledge of custodial lands and family.

Being bestowed a classificatory kin name has haunted me to varying degrees, in both a good and bad way. I have felt a sense of guilt that I never embraced the kinship ties. On the other hand, I retain a fondness for the Hamersley Ranges, a region where I undertook much of my early archaeological fieldwork (Brown 1987). The places to which Herbert and Wobby introduced me and told stories as well as the material evidence of past Aboriginal life that I encountered and recorded, fascinated me and provided a wondrous sense of the landscape, its recent history and deep time human presence. And the kinship ties, no matter how inadequately enacted on my part, are interwoven with cherished memories of the Hamersleys.

I begin this chapter with my Hamersley-Bandjima vignette because the punk story speaks to the layered and tangled nature of my in-place experience.⁷ By contrast, much academic and public, including heritage conservation, discourse on belonging and attachment is preoccupied with an Aboriginal versus settler Australian binary. In

⁶ Spelt milangka by Olive (1997).

⁷ See Brown (2015) for a similar, but differently located, narrative of in-place experience with Aboriginal people.

this chapter I review and discuss the pervasiveness of this binary in Australian scholarship because it is important background to, and shapes understandings of, Anglo-Australian place-attachment. The latter is the central concern of this thesis.

‘Whitefellas can never belong’: Australian perspectives

Aboriginal academic Jackie Huggins argues that ‘whitefellas’ can never belong in Australia in the way that Aboriginal people do.⁸ Kungarakan-Gurinji woman Sue Stanton (2001) makes a similar point, emphasising the distinction between sense of belonging and right of possession. How have belonging and attachment to place been conceptualised and written about in an Australian context? How is belonging experienced by Anglo-Australians? To respond to these questions, I review the topic of place-attachment in relation to a range of culturally diverse settler Australian groups, though focus on the experience of Anglo-Australians.

Instructive here is historian Peter Read’s (1996, 2000, 2003) three-volume study exploring relationships between settler Australians and place. Read examines non-indigenous people’s feelings, deep affections and connections to place in relation to histories of Aboriginal dispossession. His scholarly and personal investigation of place-attachment, along with the critical conversations the study provoked, offers a constructive basis for discussion of place-attachment. In large part this is because Read’s work is grounded in real-world experience.

Before reviewing Read’s trilogy, it is important to say that Read’s writings were set against the 1990s Australian Reconciliation process. Peter Read was an active participant in, and advocate for, the Reconciliation process. Reconciliation sought to achieve an improvement in relationships between Indigenous and settler/migrant Australians, both at national and personal scales. Coming to a new relationship with the past was understood to be central to the process of changing the future. The

⁸ ABC Radio, 2 August 2000.

idea of 'sharing histories' became a major objective of Reconciliation (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation 1994). The Reconciliation process was deeply politicised. Historian Heather Goodall (2002) argues that complex personal and collective memories of Aboriginal people and settler Australians were often fashioned into polarised histories because of the adversarial nature of the political struggle between Indigenous and non-indigenous.

Read's participation in the reconciliation movement goes a long way toward explaining his approach to exploring non-indigenous attachment to place. While Read's writing has a general concern to document the breadth of settler Australian people's feelings for place, his particularly investigative focus is non-indigenous people's sense of belonging in the context of Aboriginal dispossession. He approaches this task by adopting an open-ended research method that, in Linn Miller's (2003: 408) assessment, is 'never theoretically explicit'. Read's approach is qualitative and inductive as is made evident in his introduction to *Belonging*.

What conceptions will they [the non-indigenous case study participants] bring to this divided land, how will they place themselves in relation to the Indigenous past and present. I do not know what people I will meet or what arguments they will advance. In truth, I have no idea how this book will end. I confess to being a little apprehensive. (Read 2000: 5)

Having described the context within which Read prepared his trilogy on settler Australian place-attachment, and noted his approach to the project, I now examine *Return to Nothing* (1996), *Belonging* (2000) and *Haunted Earth* (2003). I focus on each book in turn as a way of backgrounding scholarly debate and commentary concerning place-attachment in Australia.

the unsettled Australian: belonging and loss⁹

Read's first volume, *Returning to Nothing: The Meaning of Lost Places* (1996), is a study of the impact of loss: 'the significance of places that we loved, and lost, and kept on loving' (Read 2000: 1). He presents accounts where whole communities are affected by loss of landscape: the people of Darwin after Cyclone Tracy; conservationists and other Tasmanians after the inundation of Lake Pedder; townsfolk after the flooding of Adaminaby in NSW or after towns are destroyed such as Yallourn in Victoria and Cribb Island in Queensland; residents after the bushfire at Macedon in Victoria; and the effect on inhabitants of the construction of the M2 motorway through the Sydney suburb of Beecroft. Read also tells stories of loss at familial and individual scales, such as the loss of homes destroyed by bushfires in Macedon and Fern Tree Gully, Victoria (Read 1996: Chapter 5); and Margaret Johnson's exodus, a 'voluntary uprooting' (1996: 15), from Windermere Station, the NSW property she and her husband relinquished management of after four decades in residence.

Margaret Johnson had her own special places which she had created by having her body there... her earliest and most intimate attachments were associated with her children at sites near the house and garden. (Read 1996: 10)

The experience of Margaret Johnson resonates with that of pastoral property owners, Bruce and Pam Ponder, with whom I have worked (Brown 2011). From 1976, Bruce and Pam owned two properties in northern NSW, Byerawering and Cawell, which they sold to the NSW State government in 1995. The properties were incorporated into Culgoa National Park.¹⁰ When I proposed to visit the park in 2006, Bruce jumped at the opportunity to return. Pam did not. Pam was adamant in her refusal. She did not want to see what park management had done to her beloved garden at Byerawering. Park staff had deliberately uprooted plants in the late 1990s

⁹ The phrase 'the unsettled Australian' derives from commentary by Ken Gelder (2000): 'settler Australians – have often been cast as unsettled (because they have been here only a short time, because they themselves are fractured and disparate, because they are made increasingly aware of the claims to the country they live in...'

¹⁰ Culgoa National Park is located north of the town of Bourke in northwestern NSW and adjoins the NSW-Queensland border (Brown 2011: 35, 39).

out of a fear they would escape the fenced confines of the garden and 'invade' the park. What remains of Pam's Byerawering garden today are stones edging neglected garden beds; dilapidated wood-frame structures that once supported vines, climbing roses and gates; a concrete bird bath constructed by Ian, Bruce and Pam's son; a large limestone rock collected during a family holiday in Tasmania; and Aloe plants growing at a nearby rubbish dump.

Pam Ponder's sense of loss has parallels with Read's account concerning writer Prue McGoldrick (1984) whose garden in the town of Yallourn was levelled to make way for an open-cut coal mine expansion. Prue's return visit 'was unbearably sad and I cried. I could not look again at such devastation' (Read 1996: 100). Her experience of loss, one of many similar occurrences for people forced to abandon their homes in the town, was fictionalised into a play titled *The Yallourn Story* (Cranney 1989). In the last words of the play, a fictional character, Jean, is called on to depart an empty house. "Empty" she says. "Ha ha. Fifty years of memories. Empty!" (Read 1996: 99). The words echo those of Verna Nichols' (Chapter 1, this thesis) who said of the Tasmanian Aboriginal baskets that they are never empty, but full of stories.

In short, Read's accounts in *Return to Nothing*, whether at the scale of individuals or communities, illuminate the impact of exile and loss on peoples' feelings and senses of place-attachment. Some commentators were critical of Read's positioning of attachment in relation to loss. Ken Gelder (2000) sees in *Return to Nothing* 'a particularly disturbing strategy' whereby Read argues that place deprivation is the means by which non-Aboriginal Australians form a 'deep belonging' to landscape. Gelder highlights the mirroring of Read's accounts of settler experience of place deprivation with that of Aboriginal dispossession: 'Dispossession is in fact necessary in order for such belonging to occur' and indigenises the settler Australian experience.

Philosopher Linn Miller (2003: 408-410) presents a second critical response to *Return to Nothing*. Miller argues that Read invokes themes of rationalisation, generalisation and universalisation in order to formulate notions of non-indigenous belonging.

In comparison to the stereotype of Aborigines as 'eco-persons' in harmony with all of nature or at one with wilderness, non-indigenous attachments pale. The Aboriginal mode remains the exemplar of belonging toward which non-indigenous Australians ought aspire, but the actuality of which they can never achieve. Read must therefore invoke universal features of belonging that do not simply conform to the quintessential romantic view. As far as I can determine, he identifies the following: belonging is universally enabled by displacement, constituted by narratives and actualised by sharing. (Miller 2003: 410)

I am drawn to the idea that attachment is 'constituted by narratives' because, drawing on Peter Goldie's (2012) argument, people reflect on their lives in narrative terms. Therefore when people relate stories (e.g., through oral testimony or written materials, both sources for Read's study) they do so in narrative form. Narrative forms that tell a story and represent events, according to Goldie (2012: 2-13), have two important features. First, a narrative told from an individual perspective is both personal and evaluative: that is, it captures the way things matter to the storyteller (2012: 23). Second, when individuals communicate via narrative they necessarily give emotional weight to their story. Individual perspective and emotional import are evident in Read's accounts of 'loved and lost' places and, I suggest, emerge as important features of the ways adults (being the exclusive information source for Read) narrate their experiences of place-attachment.

It is notable in *Return to Nothing* that the narratives of loss focus on spatially large landscapes – cities and towns, 'wilderness' areas and whole pastoral properties. Small spaces are less often considered, though Read recognises 'Lost and dead places can be as small as a suburban garden' (Read 1996: 18) and the loss of home is central to many of the people interviewed (especially chapters 4 and 5). Things, whether plant species or objects (e.g., heirlooms or keepsakes), are not a focus of Read's study, but are not entirely absent. 'Treasured things' (1996: 111) and 'objects touched by associations' (1996: 112) are recovered and removed, such as a ring, half-melted, following a bushfire (1996: 123) and a street sign from Yallourn before its demolition (1996: 124). I empathise with Read's narratives that speak of small and ordinary material things. They cause me to recollect a cache of objects

recovered in 2007 from behind a sealed bedroom fireplace, an assemblage significant in activating a relationship with my home in Arncliffe (Chapter 6).

Plant species are a particular form of material thing to which feelings of belonging become attached. Prue McGoldrick, for example, took 'a liquidambar, a portwine magnolia, pot plants and the grapevine' (Read 1996: 124; McGoldrick 1984), as well as the Hills hoist, when she and her husband were forced to leave Yallourn. Domestic and memorial gardens are ideal locations for studying place-attachment, including topics such as personal histories of loss and grief, bodily and spiritual encounters, and engagements with local environments. In contrast to the landscape-scale of many of Read's accounts, it is the intimate scale of gardens that make them useful case study sites for examining place-making and place-attachment.

Many Australian authors have examined attachment, including in relation to loss, within domestic garden settings. For example, anthropologist Jane Mulcock has written on the intersections of sensory perception, emotional response and personal connection.¹¹

Australian gardens are the subject of highly practical and deeply reflective discourses about human interactions with local environments. For many people they are simultaneously places of embodied action and personal and/or spiritual fulfilment. Domestic gardens, native or non-native, often provide the most intimate encounters with biophysical nature available to urban Australians. (Mulcock 2008: 183)

Pam Ponder's sense of place while living at Byerawering was deeply entwined with the domestic garden she had created and tended. Its destruction had a powerful impact on her personal biography: the thing that most marked her life at Byerawering was irreparably broken. Place destruction can have profound psychological effects (Read 1996: 196-199) because personality is enmeshed in feelings for place. I explore this issue in the following chapter, drawing in particular

¹¹ Other scholars on gardens and place-attachment that I have found influential include anthropologist David Trigger (2008); environmental scientists Lesley Head and Pat Muir (2007); geographer/ecologist Jamie Kirkpatrick (2006); sociologist Ruth McManus (2008); archaeologist Christopher Tilley (2006); historians Katie Holmes (2011; Holmes et al. 2008), Andrea Gaynor (2006) and Maggie MacKellar (2004); and writers Madeleine Bunting (2009), Sharon Butala (2000) and Peter Timms (2006).

on literature in the fields of social and environmental psychology. But for the moment, I stick with gardens.

Some authors observe that gardens, besides being places of loss and grief, can counter loss. For example, Read describes how plants such as roses, camellias, azaleas, peony and macrozamia are dug from a 'lost' garden and transplanted to a new residence (1996: 86, 91, 113, 188, 195). Mulcock (2008: 186) writes of a couple from New Zealand who grow native species from their country of origin alongside local native species in their Perth garden: 'The plants in their garden thus constituted expressions of connection to both locations.' Sociologist Ruth McManus has written on ways in which suburban gardens are used to reconcile grief.

One strategy for reincorporating the deceased into the biography of the living was to associate specific plants with the departed. For one...respondent: "Ivy always has special memories now – Ivy was my grandma's name. She died recently and I know that I will always remember her when I see 'ivy'". (McManus 2008: 177)

In our garden in suburban Arncliffe (Chapter 6), my partner grows a plant associated with a departed and loved family member. Allan inherited from Doris, his maternal grandmother, seeds of her favourite red, peony poppies. These are a spectacular annual flowering plant with vibrant, pom-pom like flowers and are reminders of Doris and her vibrant character (Brown 2010a: 75-76). They are a celebratory connection rather than, as Ruth McManus (2008: 175) has described, 'tending memories to the departed'. Gardens can also be maintained as forms of memorials to the dead, of which the commemorative garden at Port Arthur Historic Site, Tasmania, is an exemplar (Frew 2012; Lennon 2002).

Return to Nothing is, for me, an instructive study because Peter Read presents such a large number and diverse range of stories of settler Australian connections to places and, on occasion, things. The narratives represent a diversity of spatial scales, from suburban gardens to whole towns and expansive landscapes; a diversity of social scales, from individuals to whole communities; and a diversity of material forms, from single objects to large assemblages. My focus in this thesis is on small scales –

individuals and families, home gardens and single material things. This is because it is the deeply personal, the ordinary or mundane places and things in heritage terms, but extra-ordinary in people's lives that interest me in regard to place-attachment.

sharing country: belonging and Aboriginal dispossession

... two deep human emotions, a desire to assuage guilt and a desire for spiritual belonging, should be read as...cultural markers of Anglo-Celtic Australians in the last decades of the twentieth century. (Read 2004a: 19)

It is time that non-Aborigines got past their highly privileged and immobilising guilt. Belonging, should become for them an opportunity to forge respectful social, political and economic relationships with Aborigines instead of being concerned about who belongs, what constitutes real belonging, and trying to invent some kind of primal coherence in regard to this belonging. The true measure of belonging will only come when non-Aboriginal Australians have confidence in their own identity, and celebrate it. (Stanton 2001)

I read *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership* (Read 2000), the second volume in Peter Read's trilogy, soon after it was published. At the time I was fascinated by people's diverse stories. I related to the sense of 'placeless' belonging expressed by Calcutta-born migrant Manik Datar (2000: 138-158). Read surmises that 'Manik's heart map in the end is of people' (2000: 158) – a belonging felt more for people than place. For Manik,

One can belong by intellectual engagement, through affinity, through one's acceptance by a place, by the local people; and one can belong through contribution to the place.¹² (Read 2000: 152)

My personal biography, until 2007, had been defined by diaspora, transience and a sense of being placeless. I was born in the British colony of Kenya, migrated to Australia at age seven and have since moved about the continent and globe. Read's

¹² Read (2000: 204) notes: 'Aboriginal belonging neither diminishes nor enlarges Manik's sense of belonging in Australia.'

book made me realise that mobility had aroused feelings for places (such as the Hamersley Ranges and Culgoa National Park), but my sense of place in the world was grounded in relations with people – extended family, friends, work colleagues and, on occasion, strangers. Manik’s heart map struck a chord.

Belonging is an exploration of the feelings of attachment that non-indigenous Australians hold for the land and nation. It is concerned with the ‘relationship between non-Aboriginal Australians and sites of attachment of which Aboriginal people had been dispossessed’ (Read 2003: 10). The book is as much concerned with uncovering peoples’ sense of belonging to Australia the nation as it is with belonging to specific landscapes and sites. At its core, *Belonging* is a personal journey, a quest. Read is keenly aware of the ‘painful intellectual and emotional impasse’ (Read 2000: 3) established for many ‘university-educated, urban, middle class and Anglo-Celtic’ (2000: 5) Australians, like himself, in light of the treatment of Aboriginal people since white settlement. Read asks: Do Anglo-Celtic Australians deserve equal footing with Aboriginal people? Have Anglo-Celtic Australians the right to claim that they belong here?

Through poetry, country music and oral testimony, Read reveals his own sense of belonging in a way that does not concede ground gained by previous work in Aboriginal history (e.g., by Lyndall Ryan, Heather Goodall, Tom Griffiths, Henry Reynolds, Bain Atwood, Cassandra Pybus, Ann Curthoys and Read himself). Thus Read consistently frames the study of non-indigenous Australian belonging with reference to Aboriginal ownership, drawing on themes of displacement and re-emplacement. For Read, belonging is qualified – Aboriginal attachments to land must act as a counterpoint (Miller 2003: 412-413). Like Mark McKenna in *Looking for Blackfellas Point* (2002), Read is unable to ‘understand the place in which I live without first understanding something of the history and culture of Aboriginal people, and their interaction with settler Australia’ (2002: 8). Ultimately in the final chapter of *Belonging*, where Read relates a journey with Aboriginal colleague Dennis Foley through northern Sydney’s sandstone country, Read finds a sense of ‘shared

belonging' established in large part through the entwining of Aboriginal and Anglo-Celtic narratives. He concludes:

Belonging is ultimately personal. There are as many routes to belonging as there are non-Aboriginal Australians to find them. My sense of the native-born has come – is coming. It comes through listening but with discernment; through thinking but not asserting; through good times with my Aboriginal friends but not through wanting to be the same as them; through understanding our history but being enriched by the sites of past evil as well as good. It comes from believing that belonging means sharing and that sharing means equal partnership. (Read 2000: 223)

Read's framing of his feelings of belonging, in a way that couples 'sharing' and 'equal partnership' between Aboriginal and non-indigenous Australians, has drawn strong criticism. Although Read is never theoretically explicit about belonging (though he does reject monolithic explanations of the phenomena; 2000: 219), Linn Miller suggests that Read tacitly identifies three different means by which belonging is revealed.

First, belonging can be known in a rational sense; second, in an emotional or intuitive sense; third, in an Aboriginal sense – in a way that is innate and spiritual. (Miller 2003: 308)

Ken Gelder (2000), in *The imaginary eco-(pre)-historian*, views Read's concept of sharing the country as utopian, a symptom of a postcolonial Australia vision Gelder sees as dominant in the 1990s and early 2000s. Miller (2003: 411-413), in *Longing for belonging: a critical essay on Peter Read's Belonging*, like Gelder, is sceptical about the notion of shared belonging. Miller criticises the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation's (1994) notion of 'shared history' (she equates it with Read's) which, she suggests, means the way that settler Australians articulate their belonging to Australia is through closer identification with Aboriginal culture and history. Miller finds this position untenable because it 'would not only seem to endorse, but to naturalise the practice of cultural appropriation' (Miller 2003: 412; Rolls 1998). Thus Miller views the kind of shared belonging proposed by Read as underpinned by appropriation and exploitation of Aboriginal culture rather than a process of

mutually enriching cultural exchange. I feel this reading of Read is too strong as Read clearly articulates how his own personal practice of belonging is derived from enriching dialogue and respect (reciprocated or not) rather than cultural appropriation (however defined).

Historian Heather Goodall (2002) has a take on the idea of shared history that differs from Miller's. She views sharing histories as collaborative practice that creates opportunities to formulate and mobilise narratives concerning 'entangled, interacting pasts'. Goodall 'references the Myall Creek Massacre memorial project involving Indigenous and non-indigenous residents as an example of a local project that fundamentally allowed a degree of interpretive flexibility' (2002: 21-23).¹³ I suggest Peter Read and Dennis Foley enact Goodall's notion of sharing histories in their journeys through northern Sydney, which for Read enrich his sense of belonging and create a 'belonging-in-parallel' (Read 2000: 210).

In the Annual History Council lecture in 2004, Read (2004a, 2004b) responded to criticism of notions of shared belonging. Read suggested that conversations with Aboriginal people, particularly from the 1960s onward, led non-indigenous, and in particular Anglo-Celtic Australians, to conceive of attachment in terms of a spiritual concept of place colonised from Aboriginal belief systems. Here he is in agreement with Ken Gelder (2000). For Read, attachment comprised three aspects:

...the genius loci specific to a certain site; a sense of personal relationship with the spirit; and the relationship implied a reciprocal relationship of care and responsibility. (Read 2004b: 4-5)

However as non-indigenous Australians began appropriating Indigenous cultural concepts, they, as well as Aboriginal people, recognised that this act was not only a continuation of the colonial project, all be it well intended, but also a threat to the power of Aboriginal land-connectedness. Imitating diminished the power and cultural specificity of original owner practice. Read argued that appropriating and

¹³ Myall Creek in northwestern NSW was the location of an infamous massacre in which 28 Wirrayaraay clan members died in 1838. The perpetrators were subsequently prosecuted (Batten 2008; Goodall 2002: 21-23; Millis 1994).

imitating Aboriginal practices diminished over the last decade or so as Anglo-Celtic Australians began to find their own ways to articulate belonging and place-attachment in terms that respected Aboriginal land ownership but did not appropriate Aboriginal concepts. Land could be loved and respected without being inspired by a European Dreamtime.

Commentators have extolled aspects of Read's *Belonging*. For example, Miller (2003: 415) concludes that Read's quest for belonging challenges us 'to think more critically about the notions of emplacement, displacement, belonging and the relationship between them.' Miller also offers an alternative philosophy of place to that underpinning Read's work. She draws on work by the philosopher Jeff Malpas (2001: 233) who describes place as an overarching structure providing 'the conditions of possibility, not only for the appearing of human lives, but for any appearing whatsoever'. For Miller, this is to say:

...place and places in particular provide the medium for being and for the particular experiences of being. Identification with place is therefore...a fundamental characteristic of what it is to be who and what we are... (Miller 2003: 413-414)

Read (2000: 223) comes close to Malpas' and Miller's meaning of place when he observes that we can find belonging 'in thinking and acting and being.' Tim Ingold's (2011) ideas of not just being in the world but of being alive to what is going on in it (i.e., 'making as a modality of weaving') articulate more substantially what Read intimates in the notion of thinking and acting and being. Ingold's (2011) writings on 'being alive' are also relevant in considering ways that material things are active (discussed in Chapter 4) and how they become entangled in constructions of place-attachment.

A work that speaks to Read's *Belonging* is anthropologist Michele Dominy's *Calling the Station Home* (2001), a study of place and identity in the high country of New Zealand's South Island. Dominy documents how non-Maori pastoralists have a sense of place that displays a confidence in their own identity. She points to practices of

farm life that enable high country families to claim, sustain and re-imagine connections to place.

These include the semiotic qualities of narrative; the social cartography of the homestead and station layout; gendered patterns of property transfer and land tenure; discursive practices of naming and systems of land classification, and vernacular topographic idioms and ways of talking about country; farming practices, philosophies of stock, and knowledge of land; Maori land claims; and the emergence of discourses of sustainability. (Dominy 2001: 20)¹⁴

Dominy (2001: 207-232) describes how *pakeha* (White) settler-descendant families express their identity and belonging in terms of being indigenous and by asserting 'native' status. These families argue their sense of indigeneity differs from that of *Ngai Tahu*, a local Maori group. There is a conscious differentiation by high-country families 'not only from *Ngai Tahu* but from other settler descendants, including their own forebears' (2001: 227). Thus the concept of settler indigeneity used in relation to place-attachment in Dominy's study becomes understandable, if a little confusing. I suggest that Read's (2000: 222-223) sense of belonging, as 'native-born', is pointedly non-ambiguous – attachment to country can be respectfully independent of Aboriginal custodians or, as for Read, can be enriched by Aboriginal and other people's stories, but never have equivalence with that of first nations.

In summary, commentators on *Return to Nothing* and *Belonging* recognise the importance of these books as some of the first scholarly attempts to explore settler Australian experiences and meanings of belonging. The narratives highlight the diversity of ways to belong and the individual nature of attachment. For Read, belonging must be in relation to Aboriginal dispossession, 'belonging out of trauma' (2000: 213), though for other Australians attachment to land and place can be independent of an Aboriginal past and presence (e.g., see Byrne et al. 2012). Criticisms of Read's work are strongest on two counts: first, the lack of a sufficiently rigorous explanatory, theoretical or conceptual framework for understanding

¹⁴ For an examination of the role of a similar range of traditional practices in relation to non-indigenous community attachments to the northern part of the Tasmanian central plateau, see Knowles (1997).

attachment; and, second, necessarily positioning belonging in relation to 'nativeness' (Trigger 2008) and continuing Aboriginal connection to Country.

Belonging is a great book and, for me, these criticisms are legitimate but do not diminish the book's appeal. When I re-read *Belonging* in 2012, I was aware that my sense of belonging had changed. My early-2000s placeless, people-centred belonging had now been augmented with an attachment to a specific place – my home in Arncliffe. The formation of this connection is the first case study in this thesis (Chapter 6).

New Age manure? belonging and spirit forces

In the final volume of the trilogy, *Haunted Earth* (2003), Read is concerned with the existence and meaning of spirit forces in Australia and with locating inspirited sites. To pursue this quest, he asks: Is Australia haunted, and by what and where?¹⁵ Read's response to the first part of the question is an unequivocal 'yes' – Australia is a vast and inspirited landscape.

Haunted Earth draws from Read's discussions with Tasmanian Aboriginal people (Ricky and Anita Maynard), anthropologists (Debbie Rose, Ian Green and Minoru Hokari), musicians (Ross Edwards, Ros Bandt, Alan Lamb), Buddhist practitioners (Jenny Taylor, Patrick Kearney), migrants of Hindi background (Dipesh Chakrabarti, Ramachandra Athreya, Suraj and Nadia Dam), practicing Christians (Reverend Colleen O'Reilly, Benedictine Abbot Placid Spearritt), Australian Chinese (the Kee family), bereaved parents who have lost children and Anglo-Celtic Australians who experience 'presences' in places and landscapes in which they dwell (Keziah Livingstone, Ray Raymond, Claire Milner).¹⁶ Often the encounters are inconclusive,

¹⁵ 'Haunting... has nothing to do with the sacred or profane. It is an imprinting, a layering of experience and meaning that produces "special country"... and can be accessed by those who intuit this quality. To encounter and (once again) to *feel* an inspirited site – affect rather than sensory perception is the key – is to experience being here as a historical and an immediate force, a confluence of times and actions that give depth to place.' (Potter 2005: 126)

¹⁶ As Elvey (2005) notes, 'the book is an exercise in oral history, narrating Australian relationships to place with particular emphasis on remembrance of the dead.'

with Read favouring evocation over analysis (Elvey 2005), though recognising that inspired place receives and imparts imprints as part of a process by which spiritual forces 'grow from the association between people and place' (Read 2003: 255). Read concludes:

Almost everyone throughout the book has pointed me to the indivisible continuum, which starts at superstitious, flows to supernatural, spiritual, unexplainable, intuitive, weird, poetic, strange, odd, coincidental, probably coincidental, fairly explainable, testable, rational, repeatable, verifiable, scientifically exact. I preferred the poetic cast, the metaphors... I inserted a cultural ruler at some point along the continuum and found safety in the secular, the measurable and the empirical. Three years later, I'm attracted to Mino's third dimension, occupying neither space in our heads nor an objective reality. We evolved from the earth. We share its electro-chemical structure. Why should we continue to imagine ourselves wholly distinct from it? (Read 2003: 252)¹⁷

In addition:

We are drawn back to what has been – for me – the unexpected subtext of this study, which is the power and presence of the local place. (Read 2003: 253)

Reviewer Adi Wimmer (2005), openly sceptical of 'New Age manure' (not unlike the scepticism of 'mid-century Anglican' Peter Read at the start of *Haunted Earth*), concedes that 'as the writing of the book changed the writer, its reading has changed, though ever so slightly, this reader.' However, most reviewers (e.g., Elvey 2005; Potter 2005; Rockel 2004) including Wimmer (2005) recognise in *Haunted Earth* and Read's trilogy generally, that Read is at his best when he shows 'an Australian landscape that is alive with the traces of past and present...[an] inspiring modality of being in the world' (Potter 2005: 128).

Read's focus on the particular and the local in his stories, the conjunction of 'this place and that time' that goes to the singularity of things in an environment (83), conveys a rich relational view of place that calls for attention to difference and a sense of responsibility through connectivity to the lives of others. (Potter 2005: 128)

¹⁷ In the quote, Read is referencing conversations with Minoru (Mino) Hokari concerning Mino's work with Gurindji Aboriginal people (Read 2003: 247-251).

Nevertheless, for reviewers of *Haunted Earth* there continued to be a critique of Read's persistent theme of juxtaposing Indigenous dispossession and non-Indigenous unsettlement. Potter (2005: 127-128) and Wimmer (2005) express particular concern in the way Read interprets the story of Claire Milner, a NSW farmer who encounters ghosts of an Aboriginal tribe on her property (Read 2003: 197-198), spectres that reassure Claire of healthy coexistence and a sense of legitimate ownership, of belonging-in-parallel. "It's all right", the spirit group tells her, people of the past and present can live together. Claire's story is one of 'shared space' between past Aboriginal and present-day settlers rather than colonised land (2003: 206). For Potter:

It is this re-emphasis on attaining legitimacy via resolute attachments that undoes the generative work of this book. ...Rather than pursue the possibilities of a postcolonial nation through a view of unordered and shifting ecological relations amongst humans and non-humans, Read comes to rest on the unproductive comparison between Indigenous and non-Indigenous presence in place – a comparison that, in the end, requires *parallel* equivalence rather than *networked* specificity to be the tool of settler belonging. ...It is perhaps looking beyond depth as the site of affective meaning and towards the tremors and vibrations of the earth's surface that fear can be replaced by hope. For here, in the irreducible tactile, aural, and visual encounters that occur between self and other, the future opens up. (Potter 2005: 128)

I find Potter's notion of networked specificity appealing for the study of place-attachment. The phrase references Bruno Latour's (2005) theory of actor-networks, a theory that enables connections to be traced across assemblages of people, places and things ('actants')¹⁸ in the performance, weaving and construction of attachment. To frame the idea of place-attachment in the field of heritage studies, I propose to draw on notions of networked specificity and actor-networks by applying an umbrella concept of 'entanglement' (Chapter 4). For now, there is a final point to be made in relation to *Haunted Earth*.

¹⁸ For Latour, an actant is a source of action that can be human or non-human – it can do things and produce effects (Bennett 2010: viii).

In the last chapter of the book, Read reflects on the heritage management of the spiritual, with specific reference to 'spiritual value' as articulated in *The Burra Charter* (Australia ICOMOS 2013 [1979]), a guiding document in Australian heritage practice.¹⁹ Read expresses concern that spiritual values are seldom given formal recognition in Australian heritage management systems including, for example, the spiritual dimensions of a temple or church, a place of apparition, a haunted house, an Aboriginal shell midden or a stretch of road where people have died (Read 2003: 244-246). His concern highlights a problem in the way spiritual value is conceptualised and constructed in the field of Australian heritage practice and thus in relation to place-attachment.

summarising Read

From *Returning to Nothing, Belonging and Haunted Earth*, I recognise several big-picture ideas, though not necessarily universal ideas, concerning place-attachment. First, the Australian landscape is alive with material and spiritual traces of past and present. Second, all parts of the landscape are layered with interpenetrating histories of Aboriginal and non-indigenous presence.²⁰ Third, all parts of the Australian landscape have diverse, culturally specific meanings, values and stories connecting people with places (i.e., place at a variety of spatial scales) as a consequence of multiple, layered and overlapping histories. Read expresses optimism such diverse realities (some separate, some shared), experiences and connections can co-exist, feelings can transcend difference and ethnically diverse associations can be positioned side by side (Potter 2005: 125). I am not convinced. My experience of the management of public lands is that these spaces are typically enmeshed within discourses of power, 'tournaments of values' in Arjun Appadurai's (1986) words, whereby different cultural groups and management regimes compete

¹⁹ Read visited the historic copper-mining town of Burra, South Australia, to develop material for the last chapter of *Haunted Earth*. In this chapter, he contemplates and contrasts a locally inspirited landscape with the way in which heritage practitioners operationalise *The Burra Charter* by 'burying' spiritual significance (Read 2003: 244). For an account of the town of Burra from a family history perspective, see Walker (2011).

²⁰ These two ideas are also recognisable in work I have undertaken on the topic of cultural landscapes (Brown 2010b: 5).

to legitimise their own construction of the world. However, the legitimacy or privileging of attachments to place is not a focus of this thesis. Nevertheless I do agree with Read, and this is a fourth big picture idea, that belonging necessarily requires an ethical dimension ('mature belonging'; Read 2000: 208), one that respects and cares for other people, non-humans and the environment. That is, belonging carries responsibilities for present and future. Read concludes, for example, that attachments to place can be respectfully independent of Aboriginal custodians or, as for Read himself, can be enriched by Aboriginal and other non-indigenous people's narratives. Finally, Read shows how belonging is ultimately personal and intimate. These five ideas, perhaps they are traits, establish a sufficient basis from which to develop and investigate the concept and application of place-attachment in the field of heritage studies.

The overview and discussion presented in this chapter has been necessary to emphasise the pervasiveness of an Indigenous versus settler Australian binary in local discourse on belonging and attachment. This binary is evident in Australia's heritage management system – a consequence of separate regimes (i.e., legislation, policy and practices) operating for Aboriginal and non-indigenous heritage management. My intention is to resist such dualisms. In accord with the views of Peter Read, Jackie Huggins, Sue Stanton, Linn Miller, Emily Potter and Michele Dominy, this thesis is underpinned by a view that Anglo-Australian constructions of place-attachment can be enriched by interaction with Aboriginal owners, yet also exist independent of Aboriginal belonging.

Finally, there is increasing recognition amongst heritage practitioners that concepts of place-attachment are integral to understanding and managing indigenous heritage places and landscapes.²¹ It is not my intention to review this literature here, since my concern is with Anglo-Australian heritage management, though I reference pertinent aspects in the thesis.

²¹ For example, see writing by Thomas Andrews and Susan Bugey (2008), Sonya Atalay (2006,2008), John Bradley (2008; Kearney and Bradley 2006), Elizabeth Chilton (2012), Luke Godwin (2005; Godwin and Weiner 2006), Jo McDonald and Peter Veth (2013), Deborah McGregor (2009), Anne Ross (2008; Prangnell, Ross and Coghill 2010; Ross, Prangnell and Coghill 2010; Ross and Thomas 2013), Lynette Russell (2008, 2012) and Claire Smith (Smith and Burke 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005). I thank Annie Ross for drawing my attention to this literature.

Reflection: belonging, the Hamersley Ranges and me

I have never thought of my feelings for the Hamersley Plateau as something to be contrasted with those of Bandjima people or positioned in relation to theirs. How would my experiences have read if incorporated into Peter Read's books? My experiences of the Hamersley Ranges were profoundly deepened by my contact with Herbert and Wobby Parker and enlarged by the knowledge they entrusted to me. I like to think that camping together in Munjina Gorge, sharing stories of lightning, death adders and punk, were ways in which our feelings for the landscape were mutually enriched by cross-cultural, in-place experience. Herbert and Wobby were traditional owners while my trajectory was out of Africa, into the discipline of archaeology and onto the Hamersley landscape in the service of a capitalist infrastructure enterprise. Such pasts seem incomparable in terms of belonging, but cross-cultural interactions on Bandjima Country and entanglements with punk enabled a dialogue that, to me, remain memorable in connecting place, lived experience and meanings.

I hope the Bandjima rituals continue to be undertaken at kurramandu tjippalpa and that goannas and pythons remain plentiful and easy to catch for Aboriginal people visiting Munjina Gorge. I fear carnage brought about by the now-constructed highway butchers and injures more slow-moving reptiles than are taken by Aboriginal custodians.



FIGURE 3.1 Byerawering homestead and surrounds.

(Photo credit: Stirling Smith, 2006.)

Chapter 3

A problem of detachment

Feelings for Byerawering

...we create discourses and narratives that are themselves entangled with the materiality and sensoriality of the moment and of memories and imaginaries. (Pink 2009: 41)

Pam Ponder's feelings for the pastoral property of Byerawering were irreparably harmed when park management uprooted her garden (Chapter 2). When Pam asked after her garden and I told her of its destruction, on the occasion of our meeting to discuss a visit to Byerawering, she was pained and angry. A significant part of her life story, co-produced with the landscape, had been wiped out with neither awareness nor acknowledgement on the part of park managers. For Pam, a future visit to Byerawering was inconceivable.

Bruce Ponder, Pam's husband, told me during our travels around Byerawering and Cawwell in October 2006 that the visit was an emotional experience. He had not returned to the properties since Pam and he sold them to the NSW Government in 1995. He thought he was unwelcome, that Culgoa National Park (Culgoa NP) was for plants and animals, not people like him whose pastoral practice was now considered to have wounded the land and its natural ecosystems: though not in Bruce's eyes. He told me that he would have loved to return to Byerawering and Cawwell after selling the properties. His memories of living there were happy ones, the best times of his life. Bruce said to local park ranger, Thomas Schmid, he would like to occasionally

stay at the Byerawering homestead, even though it was barely habitable. Bruce just wanted to be there. The place held so many memories and stories.

Like the time in the early 1990s when the Culgoa River was in flood and Bruce and Pam decided to travel to the tiny town of Goodooga.²² They had been confined to the Byerawering homestead for weeks and the two of them were going a bit 'stir crazy'. The floods had inundated the property and water was receding at a slow pace. So they set off and walked for several hours through shallow, muddy waters to a location where they had previously parked a vehicle on high ground. Then they drove the slippery gravel road to Goodooga. After arriving, they headed straight for the local shop. Bruce brought a Mars Bar and Pam a Picnic. "Oh well", they decided, a craving satisfied, "might as well go back now." And they did. They laughed a great deal when they told me the story.

Stories like this one, which convey pleasurable feelings and memories of Bruce's and Pam's lives, shaped my subsequent engagements with the landscape of Byerawering and Cawwell. Their relationships to, and emotions for, the properties were 'transferred': my embodied experience of these pastoral landscapes became shaped by their recollections. By transference, I am referring here to what in scholarly writing is termed *empathy*: that is, being emotionally affected by someone else's emotions and experiences and creatively imagining oneself in another person's situation (Copland and Goldie 2011).

Thus I experienced the material traces of the Byerawering homestead garden as uncomfortable and deeply saddening and the derelict homestead itself as vacant and uncared for yet still haunted by memories of being lived in. The dry bed of the Culgoa River and surrounding parched pastoral grasslands, for me, became infused with stories of drought, hard times and long road trips moving sheep in search of pasture. Sadness, pain, happiness and humour, emotions of the Ponders' lived

²² Goodooga is approximately 35 kilometres east of Byerawering.

experience, emotions woven and sedimented into their landscape, were, in small part, made accessible to me.

How is it that whilst I had been so powerfully moved by the Ponder's experience and feelings, park managers ignored Pam Ponder's intimate connections and affection for her garden and destroyed it? Why is it that Bruce Ponder's love of the Byerawering landscape and his desire to continue an in-place relationship was invisible to, or ignored by, park managers? If the landscape of Culgoa NP was not afforded a civility that respected the connections of previous owners, how did such a management regime become established?

The more general issue sitting behind these questions is, I suggest, a failure on the part of park management to recognise that people develop powerful emotional bonds with places: that is, people develop attachments to place. To frame the 'problem of attachment', I investigate two separate but related topics: first, the meaning and origins of the idea of place-attachment; and, second, how place-attachment is applied in Australian heritage practice. My approach to problem definition is pragmatic, drawing on narratives of field practice to a greater degree than on theory (the latter is a concern of the next chapter).

blindness to attachment

Culgoa NP is a protected area located north of the town of Bourke in northwestern NSW.²³ The local environment is semi-arid and the landscape has deep-time Aboriginal connection (at least 30,000 years; Wroe and Field 2006) and a continuous pastoral history from the 1840s to 1996 (Brown 2011; Veale 1997). Culgoa NP was established in 1996 to protect a section of the Culgoa River and its associated riverine woodland and open grassland vegetation (NPWS 2003), vegetation

²³ Culgoa NP is classified in the IUCN system as a Category II National Park: a large natural or near-natural area set aside to protect large-scale ecological processes, along with the compliment of species and ecosystems characteristic of the area.

communities that are rare and under-represented in the NSW park system.²⁴ The park initially comprised three former pastoral properties – Byerawaring, Cawwell and Burban Grange – and was extended in 2006 with the addition of three further properties.

In 2003, the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) issued a *Plan of Management for Culgoa National Park*. The plan establishes a scheme of operations for the park. Typical of NPWS plans of management, the Culgoa NP plan outlines a management context, important values,²⁵ a management framework, management policies and implementation actions. The plan describes important values across three separate, though inter-related (NPWS 2003: 3), categories: nature conservation (encompassing geodiversity, hydrology and biodiversity), cultural heritage (Aboriginal and non-indigenous) and ‘use of the area’ (education and interpretation, recreation, research and management operations). In the case of Aboriginal heritage, the plan recognises Muruwari people’s ongoing connections with the Culgoa landscape as cultural heritage; and allows for access to the park for cultural purposes and participation in park management, which are categorised as ‘use of the area’ (2003: 21-24). Historic, or non-indigenous, heritage is defined exclusively in terms of ‘historic sites’ – that is, physical traces of past settler history such as built structures and moveable artefacts (2003: 24-26). There is no recognition that non-indigenous people who built the structures, lived and worked on the former pastoral properties, or otherwise have connections with Culgoa NP’s landscape, will be considered or included in the park’s management (Brown 2011: 51). Thus engagement with previous non-indigenous owners, such as the Ponders, is excluded from the management framework.

²⁴ The NSW protected area system is underpinned by a mandate to conserve comprehensive, adequate and representative (CAR) examples of different bioregions.

²⁵ In the field of heritage practice a value is ‘a set of positive characteristics or qualities’ (Mason 2002: 27; Poullos 2010; Waterton et al. 2006: 349-350) and a culturally ascribed meaning or quality attributed by individuals and cultural groups to a heritage object, place or landscape. In the field of protected area management, a range of value classifications are applied (Kettunen and ten Brink 2013; Lockwood 2006) that make distinctions between the ‘intrinsic value’ of biodiversity and geodiversity (Commonwealth of Australia 2002 [1996]) and socio-economic values.

While their exclusion is typical of NPWS plans of management, it is surprising in the case of Culgoa NP. Historian Sharon Veale (1997) had undertaken a social history study specifically to inform park planners and managers. Veale documented the connections between past owners and workers with the pastoral properties of Byerawering and Cawwell. She concluded:

...the country embodies intangible social values... These values constitute the very fabric of the place and are inextricably linked to the identity of the local community. The Service must respect these values and meanings and continue to work with the local community to reinforce their sense of identity for it has 'a power well beyond normal heritage considerations.' (Veale 1997: 7)

Veale's study highlighted ways in which Culgoa's landscape and historic structures acquired meanings and attachments through their co-evolution and co-construction with Aboriginal and non-indigenous people. For Veale, settler Australians, such as the Ponders, are indelibly connected to things, including artefacts, structures and gardens, and the things themselves are entwined with places through stories, meanings and practice (i.e., working and living in-place). However, park managers were evidently not persuaded by Veale's findings or were unwilling to incorporate them into the park's management regime. In the Culgoa NP plan the materiality of place, the historic sites, are conceptualised as separate from those settler-migrant individuals and groups whose histories, values and associations constituted 'the very fabric of place'.

Despite Veale's evidence, non-indigenous place-attachment was not recognised in the Culgoa NP management plan. Hence non-indigenous people with historical associations were able to visit parts of the park like any other visitors, but were unable to access areas closed to public visitation (e.g., previous residences and gardens) or participate in park management. This exclusion, I suggest, is a consequence of the way the management objective – to 'conserve places, objects, features and landscapes of cultural value' – in the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* is interpreted. This purpose is presented in NPWS plans of management in terms of preserving the materiality of non-indigenous people's histories – that is,

culturally significant structures and archaeological remains – rather than meaning the conservation management of, or even respect for, people’s connections with place (i.e., social connectivity). Thus for the purpose of management, non-indigenous people’s connection to places and landscape are separated from material traces and, consequently, their attachments situated as external to park management.²⁶

I suggest that park management’s disregard for non-indigenous connectivity is a consequence of long-term global and national histories of protected area management and heritage conservation. The concepts of national park and heritage have roots in Western epistemology and colonialism (Banivanua Mar 2010; Byrne et al. 2013; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Meskell 2012). It is not my intention to review these histories here, but it is necessary backgrounding for the purpose of this thesis, first, to provide a background to the concept of attachment to place; and, second, outline and consider the way in which the heritage system in Australia has developed and currently operates with respect to place-attachment. I will then be in a position to reflect further on the situation whereby the Ponders’ feelings for Byerawering were disregarded and seemingly uncared for by park management.

A short biography of attachment

The etymology of the word ‘attach’ is complex.²⁷ It has fourteenth century European legal origins – to take or seize (property or goods) by law, a now obsolete meaning. Attach as meaning ‘to fasten, affix, connect’ derives from the Old French *atachier*

²⁶ Furthermore, as I have argued in my work on cultural landscapes (Brown 2010b), a material focussed, site-based approach in cultural heritage management reinforces a notion of culture and nature as spatially separate and thus able to be managed independently. A cultural landscape approach recognises the natural environment as part of cultural places and, equally, the natural environment as imbued with cultural meaning (2010b: 4-5). See also Meskell 2012.

²⁷ The Latin word for attach is *subiungo*, meaning: to yoke beneath, join, attach, subdue, subjugate. Available at: Latin Word List, ‘Latin Word for Attach - Subiungo’, <www.latinwordlist.com/latin-word-for/latin-word-for-attach-79982991.htm> (accessed February 2014).

(modern French *attacher*, Italian *attaccare*).²⁸ Thus the verb attach can mean to make fast, fix, join, bind, or connect in a tangible way (e.g., one thing to another – to attach your safety line to the bridge). It also has a range of less physical meanings (e.g., to join in action or function; make part of – to attach oneself to a group; to assign or attribute – to attach significance to a gesture or event; to bind by ties of affection or regard – to attach oneself in profound friendship to another). Attach as a verb used without an object can also mean to belong (adhere or pertain, usually followed by to or upon), such as to attach to place so as to belong.

Attachment (noun) means affection, fondness or sympathy for someone or something.²⁹ Place-attachment embodies these meanings and thus the idea of ‘attachment’. Furthermore, attachment can refer to the act of attaching (i.e., an action), the means of attaching (i.e., method) and the state of being attached (i.e., condition), whether between humans, between things or between humans and things or places.³⁰ Attachment is thus a term that encompasses a range of meanings (i.e., action, method, condition) relevant to the idea of place-attachment. Furthermore, attachment is a concept with material and immaterial applications and thus pertinent to the ways it can be applied in heritage practice.

Attachment has considerable overlap with ‘belonging’.³¹ Belonging is a noun able to be used in two senses: first, belongings as in possessions, goods, personal effects; and, second, something that belongs – for example, to be the property or possession of or to be bound to a person, group, thing or place by ties of affection, dependence, allegiance or membership. In this thesis, belonging is used in the latter sense (i.e.,

²⁸ *Atachier* is itself an alteration of *estachier*, a word with Germanic origins (*estach*, stake), meaning to fasten with or to a post or stake. Available at: Online Etymology Dictionary, ‘attach (v.)’, <www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=attach> (accessed June 2012).

²⁹ ‘**attachment**, mid-fifteenth century, “arrest of a person on judicial warrant”, from (French) *attachement*, from *attacher*... Application to property (including, later, wages) dates from 1590s; meaning “sympathy, devotion” is recorded from 1704; that of “something that is attached to something else” dates from 1797 and has become perhaps the most common use since the rise of e-mail.’ Available at: Online Etymology Dictionary, <www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=attachment> (accessed February 2014).

³⁰ ‘Thing’ used in the context of the dictionary meanings of attach and attachment refers to material objects or structures though, as I discuss in Chapter 4, can also have broader meaning.

³¹ ‘Middle English: from be- (as an intensifier) + the archaic verb *long* “belong”, based on Old English *gelang* “at hand, together with”’. Available at: Oxford Dictionaries Online, ‘belong’, <<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/belong?q=belong>> (accessed February 2014).

bound by ties or feelings of affection – e.g., a secure sense of belonging). The ‘longing’ part of the word is relevant to place-attachment since it communicates a sense of vitality, bindedness and yearning (Bell 1999b: 1) and references feelings of desire, craving, pining, even lust. The meanings of place-attachment and belonging sufficiently overlap for them to be used interchangeably in the context of Anglo-Australian attachment.³²

attachment and psychology

Psychologist Maria Lewicka (2011) recognises place-attachment research as split historically between two theoretical and methodological traditions: first, qualitative research that has its roots in phenomenological approaches represented by work in human geography on ‘sense of place’;³³ and, second, psychometric (quantitative) research to be found in environmental psychology and rooted in early community studies (2011: 208, 219; Patterson and Williams 2005).³⁴ Heritage studies and heritage practice borrow from both traditions. In this chapter my focus is on the psychometric because it is the tradition most relevant to my discussion on protected area management. However, I return to the idea of, and literature on, sense of place at various points in the thesis.

‘Attachment’ has a particular trajectory within the discipline of psychology. Its usage is enmeshed in human feeling and emotion (Altman and Low 1992; Lewicka 2011;

³² In broader contexts there are tensions in the usage of ‘place-attachment’ and ‘belonging’, such as in discussions of Aboriginal and settler Australian connection (e.g., who can belong). Also, the terms have disciplinary-specific uses: e.g., ‘belonging’ is commonly used in history (e.g., Read 2000) while ‘attachment’ is the norm in psychology and heritage conservation. However, for the purpose of this thesis, and my focus on Anglo-Australians, place-attachment and belonging are effectively interchangeable.

³³ Sense of place is linked to the work of geographers Yi-Fu Tuan (1974, 1977), Edward Relph (1976) and Fritz Steele (1981); and in Australia to George Seddon’s (1972) book of that name. Philosopher Jeff Malpas (2008: 199-200) suggests, sense of place is ‘bound up intimately with a sense of heritage.’

³⁴ Judi Inglis, Margaret Deery and Paul Whitelaw (2008: 3, 7), drawing on unpublished work by Bow and Buys (2003: 4), observe that different disciplines vary in their use of sense of place and place-attachment: human geographers preference sense of place over place-attachment, viewing the latter as a sub-set of the former (e.g., Hay 1988); environmental psychologists predominantly use place-attachment and consider sense of place to be a form of place-attachment (e.g., Bricker and Kerstetter 2000); and recreational/tourism researchers view the two concepts as having similar meanings and use them interchangeably (e.g., Williams et al. 1992). The latter researchers view place-attachment as comprising two components: ‘place dependence’ (a goal directed/functional attachment used to explain the dependence on a place for a specific activity such as recreation or employment) and ‘place identity’ (emotional/symbolic attachment to place) (Inglis et al. 2008: 8-16; Ramkissoon et al. 2012). Some researchers assert that sense of place is a combination of two concepts: place-attachment and place meaning (Brehm et al. 2013: 523; Hernández et al. 2014).

Manzo and Devine-Wright 2014; Siegel 2012: 91-145) and ideas concerning the formation of the self (Milligan 1998: 6). Interpersonal attachment in psychology means an emotional bond between two people, a special relationship that involves an exchange of comfort, care and pleasure.³⁵ Research on attachment began at the turn of the twentieth century with Freud's psychoanalytic theory of development,³⁶ an approach gradually replaced from the mid-twentieth century by 'attachment theory'. Attachment theory is considered the joint work of British psychiatrist and psychoanalyst John Bowlby (1907-1990) who formulated the basic tenets of the theory – a theory of motivation and behaviour control built on science (Bowlby 1969, 1974, 1980)³⁷ – and Canadian developmental psychologist Mary Ainsworth (1913-1999). Ainsworth is known for her innovative methodological application and expansion of the theory (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bretherton 1992: 759).³⁸ Bowlby (1969: 194) described attachment as a 'lasting psychological connectedness between human beings', a meaning that incorporated both psychoanalytic and evolutionary components. Attachment theory was developed to conceptualise the universal human need for infants to form close affectional bonds.

The theory argued that the ties formed between child and parents (particularly the mother), from the child's first months and throughout the early years, crucially affect personality development, particularly traits relating to self-confidence. (Richard Bowlby 2004: vii)³⁹

In 1987, psychologists Cynthia Hazen and Phillip Shaver suggested that attachment theory, although postulated with infants in mind, offered a valuable perspective on

³⁵ Available at: About.com Psychology. 'Attachment styles' (author Kendra Cherry), <<http://psychology.about.com/od/loveandattraction/ss/attachmentstyle.htm>> (accessed February 2014).

³⁶ Available at: 'Attachment – History of Attachment Theory', <<http://social.jrank.org/pages/45/Attachment-History-Attachment-Theory.html>> (accessed February 2014).

³⁷ Bretherton (1992: 759) states that attachment theory drew on ethology, cybernetics, information processing, developmental psychology and psychoanalysis.

³⁸ Ainsworth is associated with a procedure titled 'the strange situation' whereby a child is observed playing for 20 minutes while caregivers and strangers enter and leave an experimental room (Siegel 2012: 97-104). The strange situation was devised to observe attachment relationships between a caregiver and child. Based on the procedure, a child's behaviour is categorised into one of three styles (secure, ambivalent/resistant and avoidant), with a fourth added later (disorganised/disoriented; Main and Solomon 1986). See Siegel (2012: 99) for a summary of the four infant categories and associated adult attachment patterns. Critique of the strange situation protocol has generally focussed on the use of a categorical classification scheme versus continuous measures of attachment security (e.g., Fraley and Spieker 2003).

³⁹ Richard Bowlby (2004: 12), John Bowlby's son, preferred to call attachment theory 'research into bonding'.

romantic love. They applied a three-category measure of adult attachment as an analogue of Mary Ainsworth's classification/styles (i.e., secure, ambivalent/resistant and avoidant; Ainsworth et al. 1978). Psychology gradually expanded its interest in attachment from measuring the complexity and continuity of the attachment process across the human life span (i.e., attachment in the interpersonal realm) to material possession attachment (i.e., the environmental realm of objects; see Belk 1992; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981).

Attachment involving material possession is addressed in Werner Muensterberger's (1994) *Collecting, an Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives*.⁴⁰ The book defines collecting, as 'the selecting, gathering, and keeping of objects of subjective value' (1994: 4). For Muensterberger, collected objects contribute to a sense of identity and function as a source of self-definition. Each item in a collection has a distinct meaning for its owner, a meaning determined by external and experiential factors. From a psychological perspective, the significance of objects also connects to early life events. Thus, a baby creates 'transitional objects' (Litt 1986), such as a doll or blanket, which is experienced as transitional or temporary 'because it is meant to undo the trauma of aloneness when the infant discovers mother's absence' (Muensterberger 1994: xi). The significance of childhood for collecting lies in collectors favouring things instead of people as one of several solutions for dealing with emotions that echo old traumata and uncertainties: affection becomes attached to things and repeated acquisitions serve as coping strategies for inner uncertainty.

Psychology has extended its interest beyond material possession attachment to place-attachment (e.g., Altman and Low 1992; Lewicka 2011; Manzo and Devine-Wright 2014; Morgan 2010). Susan Kleine and Stacey Baker (2004), in a review of literature on place-attachment and possession attachment, conclude writing on these topics overlap and 'each reflect remarkably similar descriptions of the two attachment phenomena' (2004: 20). More recently, psychologist Kerry Anne McBain

⁴⁰ Muensterberger is a psychiatrist who also worked in anthropology.

(2010) reports on research that suggests empirical support for the proposition that our relationships with place are attachment bonds with characteristics similar to those identified for interpersonal relationships.

Like McBain, Paul Morgan (2010: 21) finds that 'the process by which place-attachment develops has strong similarities to that by which human attachment develops.' He draws on attachment theory (i.e., the work of John Bowlby, Mary Ainsworth and others concerning emotional bonds between infant and caregiver) to propose a developmental model of place-attachment. Morgan argues that a child's sense of place-attachment only emerges after the strong emotional attachment to the attachment figure. While the first three years are the most important in the infant/caregiver relationship (when brain development is greatest; Siegel 1999), Morgan (2010: 20) argues place-attachment emerges at a later age: between the ages of eight (possibly earlier) and thirteen.

A pattern of positively affected experiences of place in childhood are generalised into an unconscious internal working model of place which manifests subjectively as a long-term positively affected bond to place known as place attachment. (Morgan 2010: 11)

Furthermore, according to Morgan (2010: 19) only people who have positively affected experiences of place in childhood are able to develop 'secure' emotional bonds with new places encountered in adulthood.⁴¹

Two points relevant to this thesis arise out of the discussion of attachment in psychology. First, and perhaps most obvious, is the idea that all human action has a psychological basis. Thus, in creating and maintaining connections between people and possessions or places, psychological underpinnings are at work. Second, there is a behavioural drive in humans to be attached to things and places, as well as to other people, and, furthermore, there are comparable characteristics in the attachment formation processes across these domains. This latter point may explain

⁴¹ The corollary is that adults who do not experience secure and positive attachment styles as children may not develop secure and affectionate connections to place in adulthood, though this matter is not explored in this thesis.

the need to repeatedly return to places of attachment, evidenced, for example, in Bruce Ponder's desire to revisit Byerawaring.

place-attachment and park management

Why are psychometric approaches to place-attachment relevant to park management? I begin with an anecdote.

Aldo Leopold (1887-1948), a founding father of wildlife ecology, died whilst fighting a grass fire and defending a copse of pine trees. In 1935, he had purchased an eighty-acre Wisconsin property with a view to restoring sand country laid barren by logging, fires and overgrazing. At the time of his death, Leopold was defending pines that he had nurtured and toward which he had protective feelings.⁴² In one sense Leopold died from attachment: 'He died protecting his pines' (Stromaier 2005: 103).

Leopold's sense of attachment is evident from his idea of 'land ethic', a notion of land health in which humans are part of a natural community: 'The land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land' (Leopold 1970 [1949]: 243). For Leopold, both aesthetic and ethical values arise from a deep understanding of the complex interrelationships and the evolutionary history of ecosystem components (Simberloff 2012). In this imagining of attachment as a co-mingling of aesthetic judgements and ecological concerns, Leopold's connections to his Wisconsin property and the copse of regenerating pine trees frame place-attachment as a relationship between people and the natural environment. Conceptualising place-attachment in this particular way is common. For example, a sociological study of the relationships between four residence-based communities in southern Utah and nearby public lands defines

⁴² David Stromaier (2005: 104) in *Drift Smoke* writes: 'Leopold's last act of life – fighting a fire endangering something he valued – testifies to the tension between mountain time and human time. It's doubtful that the landscape...would have suffered permanent damage even if the fire overran his pines. Some trees would have burned and died, but eventually the land would regenerate and more pines could be planted. But as humans...we may never see our pines or any other part of the landscape fully healed, assuming it ever can be. One tree, or grove of trees, is not necessarily interchangeable with another. Places can be lost and never replaced.'

place-attachment as ‘a unique relationship between people and the natural world’ (Eisenhauer et al. 2000: 439).

Place-attachment defined in relation to the ‘natural world’ has a long history in the fields of environmental psychology and landscape planning.⁴³ ‘Natural environment’ can be defined in different ways and may include the ‘everyday nature’ of trees, roadside views and backyard settings (Kaplan R. 1992; Kaplan S. 1977), ‘near-by-nature’ such as open green spaces (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989) and ‘wild-nature’ or ‘wildness’ (e.g., Dudley 2012). Defining the natural environment as wilderness is deeply entrenched in the discourse on protected areas (Marris 2011; Miles 2009; Oelschlaeger 1991; Spence 1999), where pristine wilderness, remote nature and near-natural areas are formulated as devoid of human presence or as landscapes evidencing minimal human impact. Place-attachment research concerned with the natural environment, however defined, primarily investigates links between environmental stewardship motivations and existing or developing senses of belonging.⁴⁴ This considerable body of research, notable for its basis in empirical science and positivist methods, is underpinned by a drive to support and build pro-environment behaviours (Relph 1976: 37; Walker and Chapman 2003: 74; Williams and Vaske 2003).

When the idea of place-attachment in protected area management thinking is defined in relation to the natural environment, then the NPWS attitude to Pam and Bruce Ponder’s feelings for Byerawering becomes comprehensible. In Leopold-style, nature-driven ways of thinking, gardens, homes and pastoral landscapes do not exist as places to which people form ongoing connections. And where the emphasis of management of parks is restricted to biodiversity protection and amenity values

⁴³ For example, research papers on this topic can be found in journals such as *Environment and Behavior*, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *Journal of Community Psychology* and *Landscape and Urban Planning*.

⁴⁴ For examples, see: Bramston et al. 2010; Brehm et al. 2013; Carr 2001; Carrus et al. 2014; Kyle et al. 2004; Manzo and Perkins 2006; Mayer and Frantz 2004; Raymond et al. 2011; Ryan 2005; Scannell and Gifford 2010a; Silvek and Hungerford 1990; and Vorkinn and Riese 2001. For work more specifically on stewardship motivation in relation to protected areas see: Eisenhauer et al. 2000; Hwang et al. 2005; Inglis et al. 2008; Kaltenborn and Williams 2002; Lee 2011; Ramkissoon et al. 2012; Ramkissoon et al. 2013; Smaldone et al. 2005; Snider et al. 2011; and Walker and Chapman 2003; and in relation to rural landscapes, including farms, see: Gosling and Williams 2010; Lokocz et al. 2011; Pretty et al. 2003; Seabrook et al. 2008; and Smith 2008.

(e.g., MacCleery 2000), then the artefacts (i.e., objects bearing witness to the past, Olivier 2011: 48) of human presence associated with affection become disassociated from all forms of natural environment.

However, not all place-attachment studies concerning conservation landscapes are limited to people-nature relationships. Veale's (1997) work at Culgoa NP, mentioned previously, is part of a body of cultural heritage research undertaken within the NSW government since the late 1990s (Byrne 2001, 2004, 2008: 149-150; 2014). The work resists constructions of nature as one pole of a culture-nature binary and challenges a view of attachment as exclusively relating to near-natural places. The research has focussed on: first, documenting Aboriginal and non-indigenous people's attachments to park landscapes, particularly via a spatialised history approach (Goodall and Cadzow 2009; Kijas 2009; Veale 2001); second, investigating processes of place-making by settler migrants (Byrne and Goodall 2013; Byrne et al. 2012; Martin Thomas 2001; Mandy Thomas 2002); and, third, generating spatial and archaeological approaches for identifying and documenting attachment (Brown 2010b; Byrne and Nugent 2004; Guilfoyle 2006; Harrison 2004).⁴⁵ This body of work is well regarded at a scholarly level but made only small inroads into NPWS practice with regard to recognising non-indigenous attachments to culturally imprinted landscapes. That is, there is an acknowledgement of attachment as an intangible relationship between people and cultural heritage places in park management practice, yet limited practical application of the concept. This situation, I suggest, is a consequence of an organisational culture focussed on natural heritage conservation.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Other studies concerning the management of place-attachment in the context of protected areas include those by, for example, Feld and Basso 1996; Godden Mackay Logan 2005; Harrington 2007; Inglis et al. 2008: 17-19; McConnell 2012; and van Riper et al. 2011.

⁴⁶ This position is reinforced by the IUCN definition of a protected area, which includes a principal stating, 'nature conservation will be the priority' (Dudley 2012: 11). As noted earlier, there is also a distinction between attitudes toward indigenous and non-indigenous attachment. In brief, NSW NPWS tends to conceptualise Aboriginal people as part of nature because of their long occupation of the continent (see James 1995; Marris 2011: 43) and recognise Aboriginal connection to Country for political and social justice reasons. This reasoning does not apply to settler Australian groups, frequently framed as the agents of environmental degradation. In short, Aboriginal attachment is containable; non-indigenous attachment is uncontainable.

In NSW protected area management a dominant view of place-attachment is the timeless and physically distant relationship between humans and the natural environment.⁴⁷ Each park landscape allows for visitation yet is conceptualised as unoccupied. Therefore relatively static ecosystems can remain unchanged and be managed to maintain stasis. A consequence of a view that a park landscape is devoid of people, as well as natural and unchanging at regional scales, is that a need to assess social value is obviated (Byrne et al. 2012: 34). Pines become privileged over people like the Ponders.

Heritage practice and attachment

In the cultural heritage field in Australia, while there has been a general assumption that people do form attachments to what we refer to as heritage places, there appears to be little understanding of the nature of such attachments, how they are formed and how they change over time. (Byrne 2008: 149-150)

From the 1970s, the Australian heritage system evolved a participatory heritage discourse and dynamic practice characterised by innovation and critical self-reflection. In the 21st century, the system – a three-tier scheme of national, state and local government frameworks – has become marked by stasis and prescriptive practice (see Commonwealth of Australia 2006: 43-76; Lush 2008: 68-70; Queensland Heritage Council 2006; Waterton et al. 2006).⁴⁸ One consequence of standardising is a widening gulf between global understandings of heritage and institutionalised practice.⁴⁹ For Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton,

...there is a significant disjunction between authorised, professional and institutional understandings and definitions of heritage and the realities or material consequences that heritage has. That is, heritage does social, political and cultural ‘work’ in society, but

⁴⁷ For discussion of a comparative situation in the USA, see Cronon (1996) and Spence (1999).

⁴⁸ Minouschka Lush (2008: 72) suggests that the Australian heritage management system applies an ‘authoritarian state model’, a concept that architect Dieter Hoffman-Axthelm uses to describe heritage management processes in Germany (Holtorf 2007).

⁴⁹ At a global level also there is a trajectory toward the hardening of heritage practice as evidenced by increasing global conformity in official practices (reproduced in a plethora of international, regional and national doctrinal texts) and administrative frameworks.

definitions of heritage at large in public policy, legal instruments and management practices fail to acknowledge this. (Smith and Waterton 2009: 41)

In the case of the Ponders and Culgoa NP, the 'political work' of park management was not acknowledged to be a consequence of institutional heritage practice. However, before discussing the specific case of the Ponders further, I briefly describe and discuss the Australian heritage system with reference to place-attachment.

The Australian heritage system operates separate regimes for Indigenous heritage and settler-migrant heritage (as well as for natural heritage). Different legislation, administrative structures and policy frameworks are implemented for identifying, assessing, managing and the public presentation of Indigenous and non-indigenous heritage (Adams and English 2005; Byrne and Nugent 2004: 5). Thus, in NSW Aboriginal heritage is afforded 'blanket' protection (all material traces of past Aboriginal occupation are legally protected regardless of cultural significance) while settler migrant heritage is categorised via a 'values-based' approach (only items assessed against standard criteria as meeting a certain threshold of significance are recognised in heritage inventories). To ascribe cultural significance to non-indigenous heritage items, the NSW heritage system adopts a 'thresholds-based values approach' whereby the values attributed to a heritage item must be assessed against a series of criteria to qualify for 'local' or 'State' heritage status. In general, for an item to meet the criteria it must be either an outstanding or rare example (i.e., grandest, oldest, most beautiful, most intact, unique) or representative (i.e., derives its value from the extent to which it acts as an exemplar of a class of place or type of object; Harrison 2010: 26).

How are values associated with non-indigenous people's place-attachment identified and assessed? In the Australian heritage system the values ascribed to non-indigenous heritage are typically categorised under the headings of historic, scientific (or technical including archaeological), aesthetic (perception, beauty) and social (encompassing spiritual/religious) but may also include economic, educational and recreational (NSW Heritage Office 2005 [1996]; Mason 2002). The special

feelings held by a group or community for heritage items are generally evaluated in relation to concepts of social value or social significance (Byrne 2008; Byrne et al. 2001; Harrison 2011; Johnston 1992) and aesthetic value/significance (Carlson and Lintott 2004; Context Pty Ltd 2003; Johnston 2010; Mitchell 2013; Ramsay and Paraskevopoulos 1993). For example, the nationally agreed heritage criterion for social value requires that a place has,

(G) Strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural and spiritual reasons. (HERCON criteria adopted at the 1998 Conference on Heritage)⁵⁰

Few of the terms embedded in this criterion are explicitly defined in the Australian heritage system, or the field of heritage studies more generally, including ‘strong or special’, ‘association’, ‘particular’, ‘community or cultural group’ and ‘social, cultural and spiritual reasons’.⁵¹ For example, the term ‘community’ is not self-evident.⁵² Smith and Waterton (2009: 11-20) observe that while communities may be defined by place, shared histories and ethnicity, they ‘take many forms, are often riven by dissent, and bear the burden of uncomfortable histories’ (2009: 12). In seeking to identify a community associated with a place, heritage practitioner Chris Johnston asks: Who recognises the community – is recognition internal as well as external? How dynamic is the community – does it survive in a recognisable form in the present day?⁵³ Similarly, the term ‘association’ is not straightforward. Does an association with a place need to be longstanding and continuous, an enduring relationship, and can it be recent? Does an association necessarily have to be ‘strong

⁵⁰ The HERCON criteria are based on the longstanding, but now obsolete, Australian Heritage Commission criteria for the Register of the National Estate. The equivalent social value criterion used in NSW states: ‘an item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in NSW (or the local area) for social, cultural or spiritual reasons’ (Heritage Branch 2009: criterion [d]); and in Queensland: ‘A place has a strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons if that place has a perceived meaning or symbolic, spiritual or moral value that is important to a particular community or cultural group and which generates a strong sense of attachment’ (Queensland Heritage Council 2006: 60).

⁵¹ Like the legal system, the terms are applied in the heritage system through precedent and recognised case examples, though the process is considerably more informal in the heritage system.

⁵² For example, the Queensland Heritage Council (2006: 60) draws on a meaning from the *Macquarie Dictionary* (2003, online edition) – ‘**community** *noun* (*plural communities*) **1.** a social group of any size whose members reside in a specific locality, share government, and have a cultural and historic heritage.’

⁵³ Chris Johnston. ‘Frameworks for assessing heritage values’. Presentation at workshop titled *Communities and Place: Understanding social and aesthetic values in heritage conservation*, Institute for Professional Practice in Heritage and the Arts, The Australian National University, 26 April 2012.

or special' rather than quotidian or utilitarian to have heritage value? This thesis touches on ways in which the terms 'community' and 'association' are used in heritage practice and questions the tendency to exclude individuals and families in the application of social value criteria.

A further point to be made concerning HERCON criterion (G) is that the ambiguous meanings of the terms can be viewed as both a strength and a weakness: ambiguity enables creativity in applying the criteria but may also create misunderstanding (e.g., for the purpose of comparative analysis of a place or property).⁵⁴ Thus, for example, by not adopting a standard meaning for 'community', heritage practitioners can accommodate a variety of applications suited to each particular heritage study, from a whole town (e.g., Johnston 2010) to disparate groups with links to similar place-types (e.g., mountain huts; Godden Mackay Logan 2005) and collections of objects (e.g., Collections Australia Network 2001; Winkworth 2001).⁵⁵

Despite the ambiguity of terms common in heritage practice, there are methodologies for applying social significance criteria. For example, the Queensland Heritage Council (2006: 2) advocates a three-stage process that requires employing 'significance indicators' to identify cultural significance and applying 'threshold indicators' to determine the level or degree of significance. Ultimately, what applying the Queensland Heritage Council method identifies is the importance, and the degree of importance, a place has for a cultural heritage management purpose.

There is a particular uncertainty with the use of social value criteria, such as HERCON criterion (G), which is problematic. I suggest that the thrust of wording and meaning advocated in the criterion lays emphasis on the place having strong or special association with a group, rather than the reverse or even equivalence. Thus, the weight of affection, fondness or sympathy is described as residing in the place and emanating toward the community or cultural group. This reading may seem

⁵⁴ Comparative analysis is concerned with the qualitative assessment of relative significance of heritage values between similar heritage places.

⁵⁵ Conceptually a collection of material things or objects can be considered a community. However, to my knowledge this post-humanist perspective has not been applied in Australian heritage practice.

pedantic, perhaps unintended, at one level, but it is also revealing because historically in heritage there has been a tendency to view objects and fabric as having intrinsic value(s) residing in the material (e.g., see discussion in Byrne et al. 2001: 55-58; Smith 2006: 3)⁵⁶ rather than the opposite: that is, viewing values as socially constructed meanings residing in individual humans and collectively in groups of people. From the latter perspective, it would seem more reasonable to locate the weight of feelings of attachment in a cultural group and toward a place, though recognising that a place in and of its material self is not passive in its affective connections with humans (as I discuss in the following chapter).

What can be read from this critique is that heritage conservation, when place-driven and place-based, is able, conceptually, to locate humans outside of material things and landscapes, thus echoing much of the dominant discourse on wilderness and biodiversity management.⁵⁷ This is a particularly attractive view from a park management perspective because it supports a separation of people from place, whether cultural heritage place or near-natural place. People constructed as external, rather than mutually constituting in the construction of place, can thus be positioned as external in the practice of place management.

A problem of detachment

The 'dark' and 'negative' experiences of Bruce and Pam Ponder, arising from hurtful management actions at Culgoa NP, provoked me to seek reasons as to why the heritage management system failed and harmed them. Journeying through the etymology of words such as attach, attachment and belonging, attachment theory in psychology, the death of Aldo Leopold and a consideration of Australian heritage practice, I have pointed to two issues concerning place-attachment that seem,

⁵⁶ This is also evident in the *Burra Charter* (Australia ICOMOS 2013: Article 1.2), which recognises cultural significance as 'embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.*' (See Waterton et.al. 2006: 348).

⁵⁷ Within nature conservation, biodiversity means genes, species and ecosystems: i.e., process scales conceptualised as residing beyond the human world.

unbeknown to Pam and Bruce, to have enabled park management to ignore their feelings for Byerawering.

The first issue resides in the historical trajectory and particular usage of place-attachment in the field of protected area management. I have suggested that in this field place-attachment is applied in a particular way to signify the connections between communities and the natural environment. This meaning derives from concepts and approaches applied in the field of environmental psychology, meanings that have become incorporated into, and adopted by, a nature conservation ethos seeking to foster stewardship behaviours. The consequence for the Ponders of this positioning is that place-attachment between people, particularly non-indigenous individuals, and heritage items is typically not recognised within park management frameworks. The *Culgoa National Park Plan of Management* (NPWS 2003) exemplifies the detachment of settler-migrant people from their material traces in the practice of historic heritage management.

Secondly, I have argued that within the field of Australian heritage practice, a consequence of a focus on place as central in heritage management has been the conceptual separation of place from community in on-ground management practice. While the idea of attachment as affect, emotion and feeling has a particularly strong historical trajectory within the discipline of psychology with its people-centred viewpoint (as in anthropology, sociology and history), this has not been the case in the field of heritage studies and practice. Historically, heritage has had a centuries old concern with the material (i.e., culturally created artefacts), including structures and landscape modifications. This concern originates in the material-centred disciplines of architecture and archaeology. While heritage practice has increasingly moved beyond a materials focus (e.g., from monuments and artefacts to values), the evolutionary echoes of the discipline's traumata remain. Hence a heritage management practice that configures social value as residing in place (i.e., a social response to something intrinsic in place) is able to separate and make external those individuals and communities attached to place.

My argument is that the two matters outlined here (i.e., the particular meaning of place-attachment in environmental management and a process that separates place and people in heritage practice) coalesced during the 1990s in such a way as to be a root cause of the harm caused to Pam and Bruce Ponder. What this case example points to more broadly is that the management of non-indigenous people's attachment to place on land administered for conservation is insufficiently theorised and inadequately operationalised in the practice of heritage management. This is not to suggest that place-attachment is poorly managed in a universal sense, but rather that the Ponder's experience is not uncommon in the field of protected area management.

It is not my intention to demonise park personnel. Rather I have sought to draw attention to history and processes of park management practice that unwittingly yet profoundly impact on people's lives.⁵⁸ I have met and worked with some of the NPWS staff who uprooted Pam Ponder's garden. They did not act out of malice toward Pam, but rather implemented a nature conservation management regime, echoing Aldo Leopold's land ethic, which not only frames the introduction into parks of non-native plant species as invasive, but considers gardening itself an invasive practice.

Based on the Ponders experience and the discussion presented in this chapter, it is the sustained argument of my thesis that place-attachment and belonging can be conceptualised in a way that is more amenable to effective heritage management practice than is currently the case. I argue that advances in understanding place-attachment made in the fields of psychology and geography can be better assimilated into heritage practice in order that peoples' feelings are recognised and respected. In the chapter that follows, I interrogate current models of place-attachment and draw on a range of theoretical perspectives to propose an alternative formulation for the work of heritage practice: one aimed at addressing issues detailed in this chapter.

⁵⁸ There is however a dimension of civility and respect toward Pam Ponder that is not easily excused.



FIGURE 4.1 George Filev (lower) and Steve Brown performing 'cloudswing' at Red Raw Dance Party, Shed 14, Melbourne.

The camera lens created a view that no audience member actually saw. Photographer Angela Bailey said she could not explain the red 'shadowing', though it most likely related to stage lighting.

(Photo credit: Angela Bailey, January 1998.)

Chapter 4

Rethinking place-attachment

Cloudswing

For a time I gave up employment as an archaeologist to become a circus performer. I had begun learning basic circus skills in Tasmania – where I was a founding member of *Horizon Circus*. For much of my stage career I worked with Brisbane-based *Rock 'n Roll Circus* (1990-1994), though later performed in the duos *Mates* and *Hula Deluxe* whilst living in Melbourne. For the most part I bowed out of physical theatre in 1998 after participating in a cabaret tour in the United Kingdom.

So, what has circus performance to do with attachment? I suggest an analogy can be made between the idea of place-attachment and performing circus acts.⁵⁹ I will use the case of a double-aerial act, though I might equally have chosen a human pyramid, juggling or tight-wire walking.

Figure 4.1 shows George Filev and me performing. The performance apparatus is a rope – a ‘cloudswing’ in circus language – used in much the same way as a trapeze.⁶⁰ It is evident from the image that there are physical attachments. I am holding George and my legs are entwined with the rope. Beyond the frame of the photo, the

⁵⁹ For an exploration of belonging as a performative achievement, see Bell (1999a); on performance as constituting a ‘theatre/archaeology’, see Pearson and Shanks (2001); on forms of heritage as performance, see Bagnall (2003), Campbell and Ulin (2004) and Pishief (2012); and on artists performing archaeology see, for example, Vilches (2007). Finally, for ‘performative approaches’ as an alternative to representationalism and social constructivist approaches, see Barad (2007: 28, 59-66, 133-135).

⁶⁰ Cloudswing refers to both the apparatus (rope and shackles) and a performance using the apparatus.

cloudswing is chained and shackled to a steel warehouse roof beam from which it hangs. In turn, vertical posts support the beam. Shed 14, of which the beam and posts are a part, is built on a wharf with wood piers sunk into the sediments of the Yarra River. The forces of attachment in and of this aerial act can be further magnified and expressed in the vibrancy and tensions of the non-human components (rope, beam, posts, piers, even our costume shorts as well as water and air), the musculature and energy flows within our bodies and the intensities of our senses.

Thus the human and non-human elements involved in this performance, this 'body-ballet' (Seamon 1980), are 'comprehensively entangled with one another' (Ingold 2011: 71). George and I are enfolded into 'chains of entanglements' (Hodder 2012: 112)⁶¹ and the nature of the attachments is complex. I have emphasised physical dimensions, largely discounting the affective and emotional engagements between George and me (e.g., our trust of one another) and between the audience and us (e.g., the performative aspect). In writing of the physical attachments captured in a single instant, I have also discounted the dynamism of attachment over the duration of our performance: time is stopped in the photograph, thus conveying only partial knowledge of a past event. However, for the purpose of analogy, 'attachment' represented in a present moment is sufficient.⁶²

Sociologist Bruno Latour (2005) might account for the cloudswing act in terms of actors and agents (humans, non-humans, individual entities and institutions) enfolded into networks of inter-connections. Anthropologist Daniel Miller (2005) might define people/things relations expressed in the cloudswing act in terms of dialectical relationships. Philosopher Michael DeLander (2006: 5) might see the performance of cloudswing as an assemblage, a whole 'whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts.' Tim Ingold (2007a) would likely appeal to Henri Lefebvre's term meshwork, 'an unbounded entanglement of lines in fluid

⁶¹ Literally enchainment ('held fast') in the sense that steel chains are part of this entanglement.

⁶² Daniel Stern's (2004) phrase 'the present moment' conceptualises 'the present' as a 'duration that is not just always lost and fleeting but which people slow down by projecting or moving it into space' (Berlant 2010: 116).

space' and 'a flow of material substance in a space that is topologically fluid' (2011: 64). Archaeologist Ian Hodder (2012: 94) might see the entangled relationships between humans and things as co-dependent, 'the dialectical tension of dependence and dependency, historically contingent.' Physicist and philosopher Karen Barad (2007), drawing from quantum physics and a concept of the entanglement of matter and meaning, might describe the performance of cloudswing as formed in intra-action. The reasons Latour, Miller, DeLander, Ingold, Hodder and Barad might apply such concepts and language to the cloudswing example is indicative of work being undertaken across the humanities and social sciences. Their work resides within a paradigm of co-evolution, co-production and co-enactment that focuses on 'entanglements' (performing cloudswing) rather than interactions of pre-existing, separate entities (performers, rope, shed, Yarra River).

What is pertinent here is the way in which belonging and place-attachment might be re-conceptualised with reference to such scholarship. How does an emphasis on entanglement over interaction of separate entities enable the idea of place-attachment to be reconfigured? The chapter responds to this question. I examine two place-attachment frameworks predicated on concepts of interaction between separate entities. I then propose an alternative construct that draws on a notion of entanglement. Finally, I discuss how a model of place-attachment as entanglement might benefit thinking and practice within the field of heritage conservation.

Framing place-attachment

In Chapter 3 I argued that non-indigenous heritage practice typically conceptualises place-attachment in a way that separates place and people. It does so by constructing people (groups/communities) and place (geographic location) as stable and distinct entities. Thus each person is constructed as a singularly bounded psychological subject and each group a defined and recognisable entity (Queensland Heritage Council 2006: 60), while place is essentialised as fixed and empirically defined: that is, a physical location with spatial coordinates (Australia ICOMOS 2013:

Article 1.1) and the site of something (e.g., structure or event). In other words, for the purpose of constructing attachment, place is represented as ‘spatiality’ and people as ‘sociality’ (Dovey 2010: 3-6). This is not to say that heritage practitioners resist notions of place as simultaneously physical location and social construct (*sensu* Cresswell 2004; Malpas 1999), but rather heritage practice typically adopts a people-place separation because it is convenient for the work of place-based conservation. By dividing people from place in conservation practice, place-attachment is conceptualised as a process of ‘bonding’ between individuals and their important places (Brehm et al. 2013: 523; Guiliani 2003; Low and Altman 1992: 2; Scannell and Gifford 2010b, 2014) or ‘association’ between communities and significant heritage sites (Australia ICOMOS 2013).⁶³ That is, people and place are treated as distinct entities and bonding or association is the process that enables place-attachment (Figure 4.2).⁶⁴

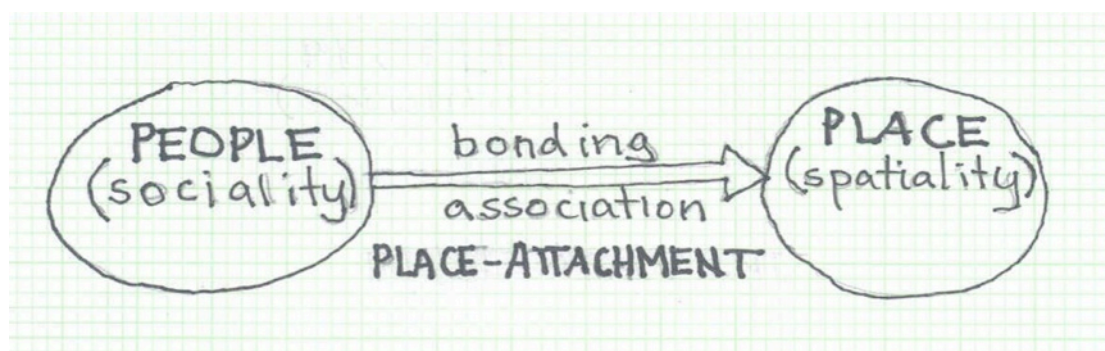


FIGURE 4.2 Place-attachment: heritage model.⁶⁵

In the heritage model, place-attachment is the association or connection that occurs between people and a place and an intangible phenomenon that exists in the spaces between.

⁶³ ‘Associations mean the connections that exist between people and a *place*.’ (Australia ICOMOS 2013: Article 1.15; italics in original)

⁶⁴ My focus here is non-indigenous heritage. For Australian Aboriginal people, place (or Country) and people are inseparable in a cosmological sense (Bradley 2008; Thomas and Ross 2013). While Australian Indigenous heritage registers may link places (or sites) to named individuals and/or groups, it is my experience that ‘archaeological site’ registers commonly effect a people-place separation through listing processes.

⁶⁵ Figures that are my own work, such as this one, are hand drawn to emphasise the personal nature of the research project. By contrast, computer generated graphics (e.g., Figure 4.3) have the effect of solidifying and representing ideas as ‘official’ and authoritative, which is a form of representation I have sought to avoid in this thesis.

Thus in heritage practice, place-attachment is viewed as a collection of parts, a linear equation (i.e., people + place = place-attachment), whereby interactions between people and place result in a form of connectivity or association termed place-attachment. In the cloudswing analogy, this is equivalent to saying that George and I are separate entities from the cloudswing apparatus and the steel beams of Shed 14 (i.e., the tangible dimensions) and attachment comprises the associated forces and energies binding us together (intangible dimensions).⁶⁶ That is, it is the interaction of the parts that enable a narrative of connectivity to be assembled.

The model of place-attachment as a collection of parts, the dominant paradigm and norm for attachment and belonging applied in non-indigenous heritage practice, is commonly represented as linear and static. It is static because place is conceived as fixed in space and a cultural group as relatively stable over time. Place-attachment is the only variable subject to change because it may strengthen or weaken in intensity. A second point concerning this model is that things (i.e., objects or artefacts and non-human species) are not explicitly visible: place is conceptualised as topographic and topological and within places reside, entirely passively, built structures, buried remains, cultural plantings and landscape modifications. The aliveness or agency of material things is not apparent and place-attachment is conceptualised as materially 'light'.⁶⁷ A reason why things are not apparent is because they move. That is, things disrupt the idea of place as spatially contained and stable since things have mobility unconstrained by boundaries (e.g., natural forces shift stone artefacts around the landscape; people transport heirlooms and translocate plants).

Psychologists Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford (2010b) propose a more nuanced framing of place-attachment to the heritage model (Figure 4.3). Based on a synthesis of diverse literature from social and environmental psychology, human geography

⁶⁶ However 'forces and energies' are not exclusively intangible as I discuss later in the chapter.

⁶⁷ I borrow the term from Jane Lydon (2012: 205). She applies it to Australian Aboriginal desert life in a way that implies a criticism of views that emphasise material culture over strength and richness of culture. I am using the phrase here to suggest that heritage practitioners do the opposite – they emphasise the intangible association of people and place in a way that negates any possible role for material culture in people's experience of attachment. Stated otherwise, the world of active subjects is emphasised over passive objects (Bennett 2010: 108).

and urban sociology, they propose a tripartite or three-dimensional conceptual organising framework for place-attachment.

This framework proposes that place attachment is a multidimensional concept with person, psychological process, and place dimensions... The first dimension is the actor: *who* is attached? To what extent is the attachment on individually or collectively held meanings? The second dimension is the psychological process: how are affect, cognition, and behaviour manifested in the attachment? The third dimension is the object of the attachment, including place characteristics: what is the attachment *to*, and what is the nature of, this place? (Scannell and Gifford 2010b: 2)

The Scannell and Gifford person-process-place framework is a more comprehensive rendering of the concept of place-attachment than is the heritage model. For example, it incorporates place as both physical space and social construct and recognises attachment at individual and group scales. The process dimension of place-attachment is entirely psychological and is manifested through affect,⁶⁸ cognition and behaviour. Additionally, for Scannell and Gifford the functions of place-attachment (i.e., survival and security; goal support; and temporal or personal continuity) are also represented as psychological in nature.

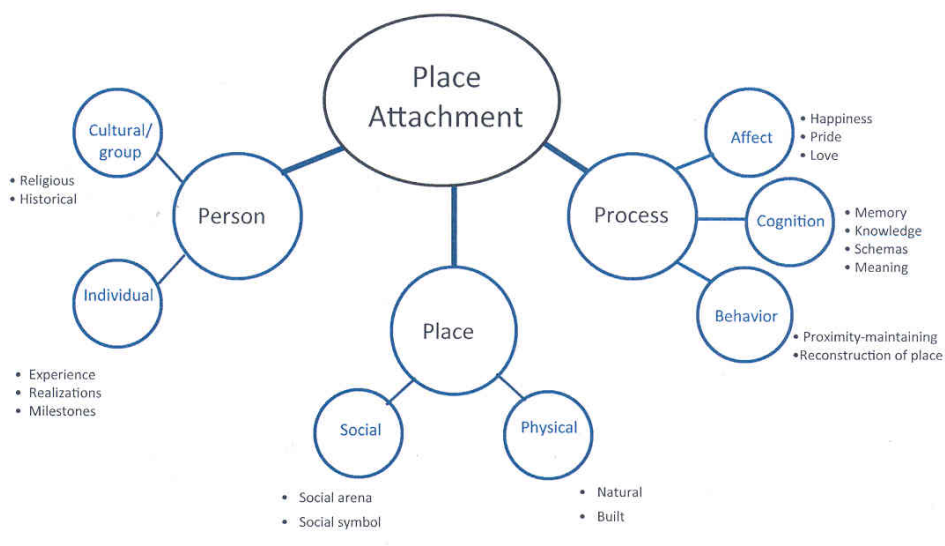


FIGURE 4.3 Place-attachment: a tripartite model (Scannell and Gifford 2010b: 2)

⁶⁸ Scannell and Gifford (2010b) use affect as a synonym for emotion, rather than making the distinction, common in Affect Theory, between affect as pre-conscious and emotion as conscious (Gregg and Seigworth 2010; Massumi 2002).

This three-dimensional, person-process-place framework from environmental psychology synthesises various meanings of place-attachment.

If I apply the person-process-place framework to the cloudswing experience it might be articulated as Steve-attachment-Shed 14. The *person* is me, a performer who in 1998 held in my body a memory of how to enact cloudswing. My in-place experiences at Shed 14, of which the cloudswing performance was one part, were almost exclusively related to dance parties: around three per year from 1995 to 2000. At these events I occasionally performed, mostly danced and first experienced the drug ecstasy – a ‘milestone’ (Scannell and Gifford 2010b: 2) or ‘flashpoint moment’ (Manzo 2005: 81). The *place*, Shed 14, a large metal-framed structure (i.e., place as bounded physical space) was a location that facilitated social relationships and my sense of gay identity (i.e., place as social arena). The psychological *process* of bonding was built on emotions dominated by pleasure; the memories and meanings of the dance parties (cognition); and behaviours manifested in dancing, performing and shared storytelling (i.e., actions through which attachment is expressed).

However I find the Scannell and Gifford model of place-attachment troubling because the person-process-place framework, like the heritage model, perpetuates a paradigm of interaction between separate components. This separation is difficult for me to sustain at an experiential level. In large part this is because the framework constructs the process of place bonding or attachment in psychological terms (intangible in heritage terms), a process in which materials and things are rendered passive and invisible. Let me take for example the shorts I am wearing (Figure 4.1). They are silver leather and were produced by a craftsman at his upstairs studio in Commercial Road, Prahran. They were one of many pairs of short shorts that I had tailor-made for dance parties in the 1990s. I have thrown most out, but still retain the silver pants – even though they no longer fit. I enjoy the memories and feelings they provoke and the way pleasure is embedded in the silvery material: in short, I am attached to them. They are a form of material memory (Stallybrass 1993), not simply because they invoke past dancing and performing, but their wornness and leathery smell (still detectable beyond a musty odour arising from years of storage)

transmits the physical experience of rope, George and performing cloudswing at Shed 14 in January 1998. They reconstitute that experience. Thus separating the silver leather shorts and cloudswing apparatus from the dance party experience is impossible. The person-process-place components are much too entangled to be meaningfully disconnected or deconstructed (cf. Hodder 2012; Russell 2012).

There are a number of other schemes that have been developed for modelling place-attachment – for example, psychologist Kerry Anne McBain’s (2010) theoretical model of environmental attachment⁶⁹ and Shadia Taha’s (2013) representation of multiple dimensions of attachment to heritage places. However, both schemes perpetuate to varying degrees a view of place-attachment as psychological bonding (McBain) and intangible association (Taha). I challenge the use of models and singular meta-narratives that frame attachment as interaction between separate entities and in which material things are either largely absent or passive. Instead, I propose a meaning of place-attachment that moves from notions of pre-existing interacting entities toward a more relational ontology in which entities and agencies emerge through non/human entanglements.

To begin, I discuss ways in which our principal actants - people, places and things - are neither separate nor stable entities, but are ‘uncontained’. Conceptualising the self as uncontained, place as unbounded and things as active is a necessary pre-requisite to introducing a framework of entanglement, a framework which enables a view of place-attachment as ‘performed’ into being. I draw on the idea of entanglement because it has currency across the humanities and social sciences (e.g., Hodder 2011, 2012a; Ingold 2008, 2010; Thomas 1991) and sciences (e.g., Barad 2007), though also recognise it has commonalities with concepts such as network (Latour 2005), meshwork (Ingold 2007a, 2011) and milieu (Venn 2010).⁷⁰

⁶⁹ For a useful summary of recent conceptual frameworks for place-attachment, see Hernández et al. (2014), who categorise such models as: (1) one-dimensional; (2) multi-dimensional; and (3) ‘subordinate’ (i.e., place-attachment as a dimension of a subordinate concept such as sense of place and place identification).

⁷⁰ The term milieu means all the elements and conditions in a given situation that act as a single system (Venn 2010: 132).

People, place and things as uncontained

the self as uncontained

Performing cloudswing required forms of body-to-body co-enactment contained neither fully within George nor me: the performance was collective. For George to be held in a swallow position (Figure 4.1) necessitated communication outside the register of language, ‘yet not outside the register of signifying, using sight, sound, smell, gestures, movement, posture, that is, conscious as well as non-conscious ways of speaking and doing with one’s whole body’ (Venn 2010: 134-135). The swallow position was not an end in and of itself but anticipated a to-come movement whereby George dropped forward and his shins/ankles and my arms fastened together.⁷¹ We rehearsed these positions, and the transition between them, hundreds of times. They were practices embedded in body memory, or ‘habit memory’ (Kennedy and Radstone 2013: 241; Olsen 2013: 209-211), a phenomenon arising out of prior learning through repetition.⁷² But in each and every performance of these moves our awareness of one another was acute: our minds and bodies, our conscious and non-conscious selves, were so melded together that these couplings as separate poles made no sense. The collective, co-constituted ‘George-Steve’ acted as one.

In thus describing the cloudswing act I am drawing on literature that decentres categories and concepts of the individual, subject and group and resists privileging the individual as starting point (Venn 2010). Various framed as ‘the problematic of individuation’ (2010: 135) or ‘the problem of personality’ (Blackman 2012), this literature critiques the idea of individual entity as an absolute or singularly bounded

⁷¹ Equally, paraphrasing a line from archaeologist Barbara Voss (2010: 182), it is possible to trace a material connection between now and what-is-to-come.

⁷² By body memory I mean the co-production of particular repeatable patterns of neural pathways and ‘muscle memory’ (i.e., consolidating a specific motor task through repetition and thus creating a movement able to be performed without conscious effort). For Bjørnar Olsen (2013: 209), Henri Bergson’s concept of ‘habit memory’ ‘emerges as an outcome of habitual schemes of bodily practices. ... a lived or acted memory preserved by repetitious practice.’ In concepts of attachment, a related notion, ‘habitual regularity’, is applied (Seamon 2014: 12).

(i.e., contained) psychological subject. An alternative view of the self is as ‘an entity whose existence needs to be accounted for by reference to processes whereby it is enacted in co-action with others’ (Varela et al. (1993) in Venn 2010: 135). I co-opt this latter notion, the idea of the individual human as lacking a self-contained existence (Barad 2007: ix), by drawing upon two bodies of literature: theories of attachment based in developmental psychology and neuroscience; and the concept of the ‘extended mind’ founded in philosophy, archaeology and geography.⁷³

Interpersonal neurobiology research points to the idea that each particular being is more than an individual. For example, child psychiatrist Daniel Siegel (2012) provides an integrative framework for understanding the emergence of the ‘mind’: ‘an integration of mental processes (such as memory and emotion) with both neurology (such as neural activity in specific circuits) and interpersonal relationships (such as patterns of communication)’ (2012: 2). That is, the mind is simultaneously synaptic and social. Siegel defines the mind as ‘an embodied and relational process that regulates the flow of energy and information’, a process which takes place within each brain and between brains (2012: 2-3).

...the mind is a process that emerges from the distributed nervous system extending throughout the entire body, and also from the communication patterns that occur within relationships. (Siegel 2012: 3)

Drawing on attachment theory, infant attachment studies provide evidence for ways development is grounded in patterns of communication characterised by attuned (i.e., sensitivity to signals), non-verbal communication between infant and caregiver (2012: 91-95). In particular, the organisation of a developing child’s brain (‘neural integration’) is directly shaped by the caregiving adult’s mind and patterns of communication and vice versa (2012: 103). Non-verbal forms of communication (e.g., gaze, facial expressions, tone of voice, body posture and action, gesture) allow

⁷³ Other literature relating to the self as uncontained, but not discussed here includes: Daniel Lord Smail’s and Andrew Shryocks’ (2011) discussion of the ‘distributed body’, the ‘long reach of the nervous system’ and the ‘plastic body’; and the idea of embodiment as neither ‘packaged’ (Sheets-Johnstone 1998: 359-361) nor enfolded into the contained body (Ingold 2011: 134-135). A further questioning of the body as contained is raised by considering the porosity of the border between a human body and its outside: where does the epidermis end and the environment begin? (Bennett: 2010: 102). Reproductive technologies, organ transplants and cloning are also relevant to a discussion of ‘contained’ personhoods (Meskell 2004: 21; Miller 2001a: 95).

minds to 'connect' or 'resonate' with one another, and thus for the child's or caregiver's brain to become co-produced rather than develop independently. Siegel (2012: 94) terms this co-regulating (i.e., the brain of one person influences another), contingent (i.e., dependent) communication, a form of contact that relies on attunement of 'states of mind'. Attunement is not restricted to child-caregiver relationships but is evident in all relationships (e.g., George-Steve in the cloudswinging performance).⁷⁴

If the mind is co-produced through interpersonal intra-action, then might its location and boundaries be entangled with a wider world ('enviro-mental') of things? The 'extended mind hypothesis' (Clark and Chalmers 1998; Gell 1998; Menary 2010a) posits that minds and things are continuous and inter-definable processes rather than isolated and independent entities (Malafouris and Renfrew 2010a: 4-5).⁷⁵ In other words, human thought is not just expressed in material things but is partly constituted by materials and therefore 'things-beyond-the-skin *must* be counted parts of the cognitive system' (Wheeler 2010: 36).

The way that things are part of the extended process of human thought is illustrated in the case of memory. A memory trace 'stored' within the extended nervous system is termed an 'engram', or internal memory record, and may incorporate various levels of experience: semantic or factual, autobiographical, somatic or embodied feeling, perceptual, emotional and behavioural (Siegel 2012: 50-51).⁷⁶ Memory records stored outside each individual's nervous system are termed 'exograms', or external memory records, and take many forms: for example, significant objects, writing systems, libraries and 'smart' machines (Donald 2010). Thus memory systems of individual brains combine with, for example, modern electronic media (the

⁷⁴ Robert Seyfert (2012: 30) makes the additional point that attunement is dependent on the receptivity of each particular person/body and on the affective configurations of the participants during each specific encounter.

⁷⁵ The concept of extended mind (or externalism) is developed in work of philosophers Andy Clark (1997, 2008; Clark and Chambers 1998), Mark Rowlands (2003) and Michael Wheeler (2005). The concept builds on longer philosophical traditions extending back to Martin Heidegger and Karl Marx (Gosden 2010: 39) as well as Donald Davidson (Malpas 1999: 11-12). In writing on the extended mind, I draw in particular on Malafouris and Renfrew (2010a) and Menary (2010a). For an overview of the concept and its critics, see Menary (2010b).

⁷⁶ 'What are stored are the probabilities of neurons firing in a specific pattern – not actual things' (Siegel 2012: 50).

exogram) to form distributed networks (2010: 76). The extended mind thesis views the human cognitive system, of which memory is an entangled component, as distributed beyond the physical limits of the individual subject. Furthermore, in human evolutionary terms,⁷⁷ the human cognitive or information processing system and information technologies can be said to have amplified and co-produced one another. In other words, to reference psychoanalyst Donald W. Winnicott (1991 [1971] in Radstone 2013), living takes place at the intersection between inner and outer worlds, in the space between inner and outer reality.

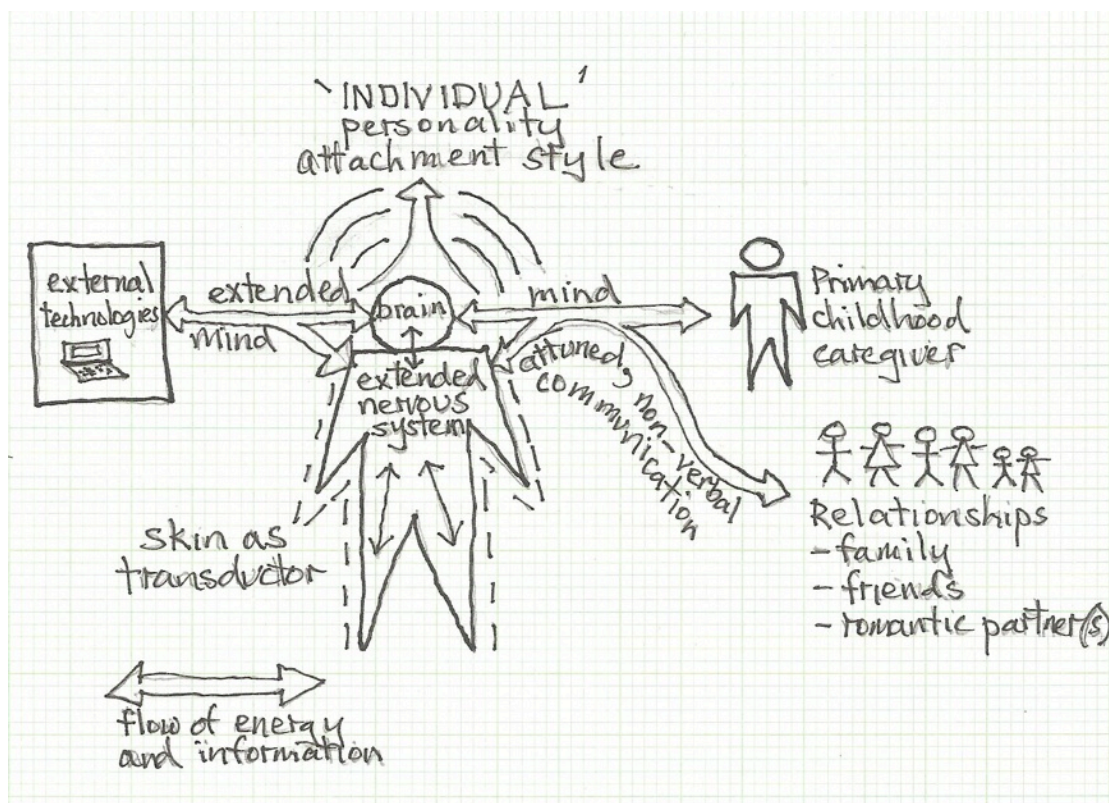


FIGURE 4.4 Self as distributed.

The illustration draws on attachment theory and development psychology to represent the self and mind as simultaneously synaptic and social (right side diagram). It also draws on the idea of extended mind to illustrate the way the human cognitive system extends beyond the physical limits of each human body (left side of diagram). Finally, it shows the bodily porosity of the border between inside and outside.

⁷⁷ Merlin Donald (2010) views the development of 'hybrid human-machine networks' (2010: 76), the 'exporting of the human memory from brains to exographic media' (2010: 77), and the 'trend toward externalizing memory' (2010: 78) as becoming evident in the Holocene, linked to the development of writing systems c.6,000 years ago, and increasing dramatically in the 20th and 21st centuries with new technologies.

In summary, the extended mind hypothesis, arising from work in the humanities and social sciences, posits that the human mental or cognitive system is distributed across, or an entanglement of, the 'internal' person and 'external' things and technologies. Development psychology literature posits the brain as extending throughout each subject body and develops (i.e., is co-produced) and functions in relation to experiences between people. Figure 4.4 is an attempt to illustrate the idea of the distributed or uncontained self and, drawing on Robert Seyfert's (2012: 30) terms, to show bodily existence as simultaneously fluid and expanded.

place as unbounded

The stuff of our 'inner' lives is thus to be found in the exterior spaces or places in which we dwell, while those same places and spaces are themselves incorporated 'within' us. (Malpas 1999: 6)

The origin of the idea of place is attributed to classical Greek philosophy: in the notions of *chora* (a place in the process of becoming; Cresswell 2009) and *topos* (an achieved place) developed in the writings of Plato and Aristotle (Casey 1997; Cresswell 2009; Malpas 1999: 23-26). Subsequently, it has been the work of Martin Heidegger, in particular his concept of 'being-in-the-world' that emphasises concepts of place and locality (Malpas 2012), that have proved influential to the development of the notion of place, for example, for geographers (e.g., Buttner and Seamon 1980; Cresswell 1996; Harvey 1993; Massey 1993, 2005; Pred 1984; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977).⁷⁸ Thus for Tim Cresswell:

...it is only since the 1970s that it [place] has been conceptualized as a particular location that has acquired a set of meanings and attachments. Place is a meaningful site that

⁷⁸ I do not review the vast literature on place here. For the purpose of my thesis, I have considered perspectives on place in human geography (Cresswell 2009), social anthropology (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003), philosophy (Malpas 1999), history (Macfarlane 2010) and architecture (Dovey 2010). Sarah Pink (2009: 29-34) provides a succinct summary of Edward Casey's (1996) phenomenological theory of place, Doreen Massey's (2005) reformulation of the relationship between place and space and Tim Ingold's (2008) rethinking of place in terms of entanglement.

combines location, locale, and sense of place.⁷⁹ ...In any given place we encounter a combination of materiality, meaning, and practice.⁸⁰ (Cresswell 2009: 1)

Shed 14, where George-Steve performed cloudswing, can be said to have meaning because it is a location (37° 49' S latitude, 144° 56.4' E longitude), locale (a structure 170m long and 30m wide) and setting for party experiences and for me has a sense of place (both individual and shared) through its connection with dance parties. For Cresswell (1996, 2004), as in the heritage model of place-attachment, the idea of place is predicated on a conceptual separation of spatial from social.

For architect Kim Dovey (2010: 6), the idea of place 'hinges on the relation between spatiality and sociality.' Dovey argues that dividing spatial from social dimensions of place creates a separation between place as pre-given space and place as human-centred social construct (see Cresswell 2004: 29-30),⁸¹ a conceptual separation that I have suggested is prevalent in non-indigenous heritage practice. It might be argued that this separation represents place as bounded spatially but as unbounded socially (i.e., in the realm of human meaning). In other words, place in a spatial sense is fixed and rooted. Place as social meaning implies 'extension' and rooted in the sense of human mobility⁸² because sense of place resides in individual brains and bodies and in shared consciousness. This meaning is convenient for my purpose of conceptualising place as distributed, however, it is founded on a view of place-as-fixed that I resist.

Instead, I am drawn to a concept of place, expounded by Dovey (2010: 6), which views spatiality and sociality as inextricably intertwined and entangled. That is, a post-human notion that does not insist on the centrality of human consciousness

⁷⁹ 'Location' refers to a physical location with spatial coordinates; 'locale' refers to a material landscape setting; and 'sense of place' refers to meanings and the feelings and emotions people have for a place (Agnew 1987; Cresswell 2009).

⁸⁰ For Cresswell (2009), 'materiality' refers to material structure (i.e., the physical thing and its social and historical context in relation to the human); 'meaning' refers to personal and shared associations and experiences; and 'practice' refers to what people do in-place such that places become continuously enacted through, for example, work, dwelling and recreation.

⁸¹ For a critique of the idea of place as 'socially construct', see Malpas (1999: 35-36).

⁸² Doreen Massey (1993 in Cresswell 2004: 13, 53) developed a concept of 'progressive sense of place', which views place 'as open and hybrid – a product of interconnecting flows – of routes rather than roots.'

and experience (e.g., place as social construct). To cut across the sociality-spatiality divide, Dovey argues for replacing,

...the Heideggerian ontology of being-in-the-world with a more Deleuzian notion of becoming-in-the-world. This implies a break with static, fixed, closed and dangerously essentialist notions of place, but preserves a provisional ontology of place-as-becoming: there is always, already and only becoming-in-the-world. (Dovey 2010: 6)⁸³

Dovey (2010: 16-17) argues for the notion of place-as-assemblage, a concept that draws on work by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987 [1980]: 88-89; Bennett 2010: 23-24) and subsequently developed as 'assemblage theory' by Manuel DeLander (2006). For these authors, assemblage is structured along two intersecting dimensions: first, materiality and expression that 'links the material interactions of bodies and spaces with the expression of meaning through propositions, language and representation... assemblages are always at once material and expressive' (Dovey 2010: 16); and, second, the dimension of territorialisation and deterritorialisation 'that mediates the degree to which an assemblage is stabilized or destabilized' (2010: 17)⁸⁴ Materiality-expression and territorialisation-deterritorialisation are conceptualised as pairs ('twofold') that co-exist in a mixture, as entanglement, rather than in a dialectic relationship: 'they morph or fold into the other rather than respond to it' (2010: 22); and 'They cannot be seen as separate but rather as overlapping and resonating together in assemblages' (2010: 23). Thus for Dovey: 'All places are assemblages' (2010: 16) and 'place is best conceived as the assembled mix' (2010: 23).⁸⁵

To illustrate the notion of place-as-assemblage I return to Shed 14. Shed 14 is a steel-framed, metal clad structure that sits on one of a network of post-1880s

⁸³ Anthropologist Tim Ingold (2011: 83-84) also draws on insights drawn from Gilles Deleuze's work (Deleuze and Guattari 2004 [1980]: 224-225, 323), with particular reference to 'lines of becoming', in formulating his (Ingold's) notion of meshwork. For a detailed presentation on Heidegger and thinking on place, and in particular Heidegger's attachment to the hut in Todtnauberg in the Black Forest, Germany, see Malpas (2012).

⁸⁴ 'Deleuze and Guattari describe the process of territorialisation and deterritorialisation in three steps: establishing a centre of order; then inscribing a boundary around that centre; then breaching that boundary to venture out... both spatial and social exclusions operate to enforce spatial boundaries and exclude non-members of the assemblage' (DeLander 2006 in Dovey 2010: 18). For use of the term territorialisation in relation to the state and indigenous people, see Warnier 2011.

⁸⁵ For Jane Bennett (2010: 23), 'Assemblages are ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts.' I find this a useful framing of Dovey's 'assembled mix'.

wharves constructed on the Yarra River.⁸⁶ After the docks fell into disuse in the early 1990s, a consequence of shipping containerisation, the area became notable for an underground rave dance scene (Tomazin et al. 2002). My encounter with Shed 14 in the mid and late-1990s arose within this historical context of disuse and city-fringe alternative culture. I experienced place as an assemblage comprising built structures (car park, shed, wharf), setting (a metal superstructure over water and under night sky), the affective intensity of temperature-music-lights, the pleasure of being with friends, the anticipation and sensuality of encounter (dancing, performing, sex), the buzz of conversation and the movement of goods (drugs, condoms, money). Configurations and entanglements of human and nonhuman forces infused this assemblage: the landscape of each dance party was 'fabulous' - energetic, intense and exciting.

Thus place-as-assemblage is a notion that inherently resists concepts of place as bounded or contained in a spatial/social sense. For a dance party to happen, people and things (e.g., lighting, cloudswing, clothing) assembled and co-existed in a mixture over a limited duration (territorialisation) and then disaggregated (deterritorialisation). During the party sound and light leaked beyond the confines of Shed 14, people departed with tunes in their heads, sometimes ringing in their ears.⁸⁷ The sense and affect of place was distributed simultaneously within and beyond a 'core', a word pointing to the fluid and distributed nature of place.

Places are unbounded because they 'stretch outward' (Munn 1996). Malpas (1999: 34, 102-106) frames the uncontained character of place in the notion of 'nested structure'.

⁸⁶ For a history of the transformation of Melbourne's docklands from 1983 to 2003, see Dovey (2005: 122-215).

⁸⁷ Loud music experienced over a sustained period can result in the sensation of ringing in the ears (tinnitus). Tinnitus is usually a fault in the hearing system: it is a symptom not a disease in itself. Available at: Australian Tinnitus Association. 'Tinnitus – What is it?' <www.tinnitus.asn.au/tinnitus.html> (accessed March 2012).

...thus places are juxtaposed and intersect with one another, places also contain places so that one can move inwards to find other places nested within a place as well as move outwards to a more encompassing locale. (Malpas 1999: 34)⁸⁸

Malpas points here to both the socio-spatial and temporal dimensions of place. In turn, these dimensions are connected through memory: 'the ordering of memory must always be an ordering that is spatial as well as temporal' (1999: 105). Autobiographical memory enables individuals to revisit previously experienced places and thus to 'distribute' place across time. In this context, time is multi-temporal (Hamilakis 2011), a complex ordering of time, rather than necessarily chronological or linear (Malpas 1999: 105; see also González-Ruibal 2013; Lucas 2005; Macfarlane 2010; Olivier 2011, 2013). I return to Shed 14.

On a pleasant sunny Thursday morning (11 October 2012), I re-visited Shed 14. The structure, now part of Central Pier within Melbourne Docklands, an urban renewal project (Dovey 2005), had been refurbished to create a series of event and function spaces.⁸⁹ The building, a series of commercial privatised interiors, along with the surrounding area was unfamiliar to me. Unfamiliarity arose out of the way I engaged with the place: walking around Shed 14's perimeter was something I never did in the 1990s. Neither had I previously viewed in daylight the exterior of the building, now rejuvenated and clad with large, weathered interpretation panels. My experience of a derelict 1990s Shed 14 had been primarily nocturnal and inside the building, a sensuous space of loud music, vibrant lighting, energetic bodies and intense feelings. The repurposed Shed 14 in 2012 was not the 1990s place I recollected and in many ways was difficult to imagine as the same place, which of course it is not. However my experience of Shed 14 still exists because it is entangled in memory and identity (i.e., it extends into the present and is not, in this sense, temporally bounded or spatially rooted) and is evoked by certain things (e.g., the silver leather shorts), particular dance music tracks of the time and through memory-sharing with friends.

⁸⁸ Malpas (1999: 101-103), drawing on work by psychologists James Gibson (1979) and Ulric Neisser (1986), discusses the nested structure of place as being similar to the nesting of memory, narrative and events: 'The nesting of events is very similar to the nesting of places. Events are "located" by inclusion in larger events, just as places are located with reference to larger places' (Neisser 1986: 73, quoted in Malpas 1999: 102).

⁸⁹ Available at: Melbourne Docklands. 'Central Pier', <<http://centralpier.com.au>> (accessed February 2014).

Figure 4.5 is an attempt to illustrate place as uncontained and unbounded and thus in a conceptual sense distributed across space, people, memory, things and time: place as ‘a mode of connection among unlike elements’ (or ‘lash-up’; Molotch et al. 2000: 793, 816). As with the moment in the cloudswing act captured in Figure 4.1, place is neither stable nor fixed, but on a continuous trajectory of becoming. By drawing on ideas of place-as-assemblage and the nested structure of place, Shed 14 illustrates how place can be conceptualised as unbounded and uncontained and thus able to extend across spatial/social and temporal dimensions.

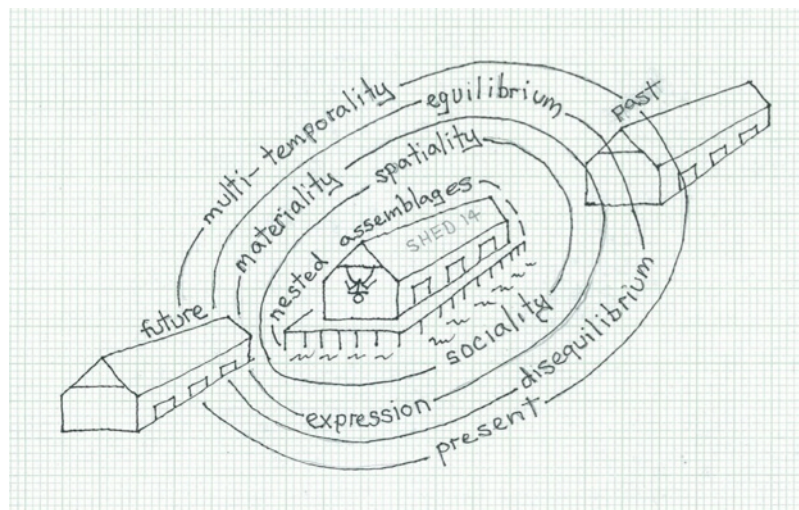


FIGURE 4.5 Place as unbounded.

The illustration draws on a notion of ‘circular regeneration’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987 in Dovey 2010: 18-19) to evoke the way places are nested – the cloudswing within Shed 14, in turn within the Melbourne docklands, etc. There is no particular logic to the order of encirclement. Each oval represents a co-existing ‘twofold’.

things as active

Thing-power gestures toward the strange ability of ordinary, man-made items to exceed their status as objects and to manifest traces of independence or aliveness, constituting the outside of our own experience. (Bennett 2010: xvi)

Philosophers Martin Heidegger (1967) and Bruno Latour (2004) remind us of the etymology of ‘thing’: ‘in all European languages, including Russian, there is a strong connection between the words for thing and a quasi-judiciary assembly’ (Latour

2004: 232-233; see also Olsen 2013: 209).⁹⁰ Thus, a thing is in one sense a 'gathering'. So while 'object' implies self-containedness and an ability to stand apart (e.g., the cloudswing as passive apparatus), a thing as a gathering implies connections and entanglements in networks of action (e.g., the cloudswing as 'vibrant material actant'; Bennett 2010: 98).⁹¹ In what follows, I use 'thing' to mean a gathering, 'an entity that has presence... a configuration that endures, however briefly' (Hodder 2012: 7). By material things, I am primarily referring to items made or handled by humans, which can include animals, plants and natural materials such as clay, stone and water.⁹²

Scholars have characterised things as either matter that is inanimate, passive and able to be acted upon (e.g., ideas of 'agency' in Gell 1998; Giddens 1984; Gosden 2001; Robb 2004) or things as active, as gatherings, with volition of their own (e.g., ideas of 'material agency' in Barad 2007; Bennett 2010; Boivin 2008; Jones and Boivin 2010; Latour 2005; Olsen 2010; Pickering 2010).⁹³ While the former position privileges the role of human agency, the latter recognises a material agency existing independent of, yet entangled with, human action and thus requiring a respectful and attentive awareness of non-humans with whom we share the world (Harvey 2005; Jones and Boivin 2010: 343; Peterson 2011). The anthropocentric position is criticised for maintaining an opposition between subject (i.e., animate human subjects that exercise 'primary agency') and object (inert material objects that exercise 'secondary agency') (Jones and Boivin 2010: 340-342). The material agency position, a view to which I adhere, is predicated on the assumption that people and things, subject and object, are co-mingled and relationally attached (Callon 1991):

⁹⁰ The Alþingi (Althing or Althingi) of Iceland is the oldest extant parliamentary institution or general assembly in the world. Þingvellir (Thingvellir) National Park, 45km east of Reykjavik, was where the Althing, an open air assembly, was established in 930AD and continued to meet until 1798. Available at: UNESCO World Heritage List. 'Þingvellir National Park', <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1152>> (accessed February 2014). I visited this World Heritage property in November 2013.

⁹¹ Barad (2007: 35) talks of 'matter as a dynamic and shifting entanglement of relations, rather than a property of things' and 'matter is substance in its intra-active becoming – not a thing but a doing, a congealing of agency' (2007: 183).

⁹² Hodder (2012: 218) also applies the term things to thoughts and feelings. He argues: 'things are really flows of matter, energy and information' However, in the context of my discussion of 'things as active', I find it useful to limit the use of the term things to materials. I use 'material things' and 'trace' to emphasise this point.

⁹³ For Jane Bennett (2010: 65), 'The association of matter with passivity still haunts us today, I think, weakening the discernment of the force of things.'

that people and things are effectively folded into one another (Hodder 2012; Latour 2007).

In order to consider how things are active, I touch on two concepts from the literature on material agency: political theorist Jane Bennett's notion of 'vibrant matter' and Tim Ingold's writing on non-human things as active and living.⁹⁴ Bennett argues for recognition of the active participation of nonhuman forces in events. She theorises a notion of 'vital materiality' that situates things as 'lively'.

By 'vitality' I mean the capacity of things – edibles, commodities, storms, metals – not only to impede or block the will and designs of humans but also to act as quasi agents or forces with trajectories, propensities, or tendencies of their own. (Bennett 2010: viii)⁹⁵

Vibrant things, Bennett argues, have a certain effectivity of their own. For example, the cloudswing apparatus, comprising a rope of continuously looped nylon thread encased within a cotton cover, manifests traces of independence through the materials of which it is comprised. The materials expand and contract in response to air temperature and moisture level and, because it is not rigid, the rope moves in particular fluid and malleable ways. Expansion and contraction took place when George-Steve applied weight and we moved – we allowed for the rope's independent active capacities when we shifted from position to position; and we applied a 'sensory attentiveness to the non-human forces operating' (2010: xvi) in and of the cloudswing. Also, the cloudswing's nylon fibres fatigued and tore over time and hence the rope, to function safely, had to be regularly inspected and attended to. Bennett equates such activity and responsiveness, an 'impersonal affect' (2010: xi-xiii), of a physical thing, like the cloudswing, with its materials, rather than positing a separate force that animates such a non-human object.

Ingold argues for things as alive because they 'leak' (2010: 7) and for things as active (2007b).⁹⁶

⁹⁴ The notions that these writers espouse come from a tradition of post-critique, an approach which is concerned with getting closer to 'matters of concern' rather than attempting to debunk 'matters of fact' (Latour 2004).

⁹⁵ A number of other scholars express similar ideas. For example, political theorist William D. Connolly (2013: 400) talks of vitality as a notion 'installed in energy/matter complexes' and Karen Barad (2007: 33) writes of 'aliveness' in terms of vitality, dynamism and agency.

Drawing on James Gibson's tripartite division of the inhabited environment into medium, substances and surfaces, it is argued that the forms of things are not imposed from without upon the inert substrate of matter, but are continually generated and dissolved within the fluxes of materials across the interface between substances and the medium that surrounds them. Thus things are active not because they are imbued with agency but because of ways in which they are caught up in these currents of the lifeworld. (Ingold 2007b: 1)

For Ingold, the 'currents of the lifeworld' can be imagined as a meshwork of interwoven lines whereby the relation between people and material things is 'a line along which materials flow, mix and mutate' (2007c: 35).⁹⁷

Persons and things, then, are formed in the meshwork as knots or bundles of such relations. It is not, then, that things are entangled in relations; rather every thing is itself an entanglement, and thus linked to other things by way of the flows of materials that make them up. (Ingold 2007c: 35)

Thus things, or substances immersed in media (such as air), are part of a world of materials that vary in their degrees of stability and permeability. The forms of solid things (e.g., the cloudswing apparatus) 'arise and are borne along – as indeed we are too – within this current of materials' (2007b: 7). Things grow and are created, they solidify and dissolve, and such changes are especially evident at subatomic and genetic levels. Thus in Ingold's and Bennett's concepts, things have independence beyond the realm of the human: things as gatherings, entanglements and actants are active and unbounded, neither stable nor fixed.

I turn now from the idea of things as vibrant and active to consider how humans, non-humans and material things become entangled. This a necessary task because, as stated previously, I argue for the inclusion of material things in heritage concepts and practice with respect to place-attachment.

⁹⁶ I acknowledge Ingold's (2012) position that the study of material culture conceives of a 'material world and the nonhuman that leaves no space for living organisms.' He proposes an 'ecology of materials', though I prefer to retain the term 'things' and use it to encompass nonhumans – for example, peony poppies, roses, everlastings, gooseberry bushes and gum trees, which are plants discussed in the case study chapters of this thesis.

⁹⁷ Here Ingold is making a contrast with the idea of network as relations between interconnected points (Jones and Boivin 2010).

People and things as entangled

...‘materiality’ – a word that attempts to move away from the idea of a separation between different material and cultural domains, and to accommodate the material form of things. (Hicks 2010: 74)

The idea of ‘material culture’ emerged during the second quarter of the twentieth century in British anthropology and archaeology (see Hicks 2010 for a genealogy). It reflected long term divisions between British archaeological and anthropological thinking – between the ‘material’ and the ‘cultural’ (2010: 28; Jones and Boivin 2010: 347-350), though the phrase ‘material culture’ itself placed an emphasis on the more abstract term ‘culture’ (Boivin 2008: 26). By the late twentieth century, the material part of the equation began to be emphasised. In the *Journal of Material Culture*, founded in 1996, the study of material culture was initially defined as a post-disciplinary field (i.e., ‘undisciplined’ rather than interdisciplinary) concerned with the ‘investigation of the relationship between people and things irrespective of time and space’ (Miller and Tilley 1996: 5). This meaning conceptually separates humans and things and locates scholarship in the spaces between: that is, on the connections and bonds linking things and people. Ironically, the work de-emphasised things themselves and, as many scholars have discussed, ‘things were forgotten’ and actual materials overlooked (Boivin 2008: 22; Hicks 2010; Ingold 2000, 2007b; Knappett 2005; Olsen 2003, 2010; Schiffer 1999; Trentmann 2009).

The 1996 meaning of material culture was subsequently reconceptualised and, as Dan Hicks (2010: 76) outlines, this was largely in response to Bruno Latour’s (1993, 2005) development of Actor-Network Theory (ANT). For ANT, relations between humans and non-humans are not simply bilateral (as implied in the 1996 definition of material culture), but ‘are far more wide-ranging networks that emerge through the actions of both humans and non-humans’ (Hicks 2010: 76). Latour’s work led Miller (2005) to emphasise the term ‘materiality’ over ‘material culture’, the former

a term that sought to resist defining humanity in opposition to materials and to give focus to the idea of agency arising from the work of Latour and Alfred Gell (1998).⁹⁸

Use of the term 'materiality' was itself not necessarily clear or self-evident. Ingold (2007b: 3) argued that the concept is 'a real obstacle to sensible enquiry into materials, their transformations and affordances'. He argued for the use of 'materials' – 'the stuff that things are made of' [2007b: 1]. Hicks (2010: 84) views materials, like materiality, to be a variation on accounts of networks and relations. In turn, Hicks draws on Ingold's ideas of 'formation' and 'skill' to focus on objects as 'emergent through time, and as effects of enactments, rather than bound up in webs of representation and meaningful social action' (2010: 81).⁹⁹ That is, things as events and things as effects of material practice (2010: 87). Meanwhile, Jane Bennett (2010: 48) uses materiality as 'itself an active, vibrant power'.

The language of these discussions is complex. This brief and selective overview of scholarship concerning material culture, materiality and materials belies the complex theorising, arguments, discussions and critiques taking place.¹⁰⁰ My purpose in pointing to this body of scholarly endeavour is to highlight ideas and commentary on ways in which humans and things are enfolded and co-produced. What such scholarship shows is that abstract concepts such as culture, society and mind (Boivin 2008: 22-23) and things, materiality and landscape (Olsen 2010: 3-4), and to which I would add attachment, have material, visceral and sensual dimensions. This point is illustrated, for example, by recent work in geography, sociology and architecture that seeks to bring together visuality and materiality studies by focussing on reconceptualising the visual as an embodied and material realm (Rose and Tolia-Kelly 2012); and work in feminism that explores how apparently abstract concepts

⁹⁸ In a similar vein, Sarah Whatmore (2006) argues for a vision of 'more-than-human' approaches that focus less on meaning and instead examine what things do: a focus on the 'co-fabrication of socio-material worlds.'

⁹⁹ Hicks (2010: 81) draws on Ingold's (2007a) call for anthropologists to understand things 'in formation', the sociological process through which things are formed as objects; and the idea of skilled use of things evident in Ingold's (2000) idea of 'skill' central to his ideas of meshwork and weaving and his distinction between 'building' and 'dwelling' (Hicks 2010: 87).

¹⁰⁰ For example, see recent discussions on 'new materialism' (e.g., Connolly 2013; Coole and Frost 2010).

such as collectivity, resistance and humour are materialised in things (Bartlett and Henderson 2013).

What does scholarship that makes calls to 'rematerialise' mean for re-conceptualising the idea of place-attachment? What is the difference between conceptualising place-attachment as interaction between separate entities of people, places and things versus a paradigm of entanglement in which people are uncontained, places are unbounded and things are active?

entanglement

To be entangled is not simply to be intertwined with another, as in the joining of separate entities, but to lack an independent, self-contained existence. Existence is not an individual affair. Individuals do not pre-exist their interactions; rather, individuals emerge through and as part of their entangled intra-relating. (Barad 2007: ix)

In *Entangled Objects*, a seminal work on entanglement in the humanities and social sciences, Nicholas Thomas (1991), explores how objects become entangled in colonialism. His concern is with complex 'inter-actions' between people and artefacts and is thus predicated on a separation of people from material things. For Karen Barad (2007), by contrast, the notion of entanglement is based in 'intra-action'.¹⁰¹

The notion of intra-action is a key element of my agential realist frame-work. The neologism 'intra-action' *signifies the mutual constitution of entangled agencies*. That is, the contrast to the usual 'interaction', which assumes that there are separate individual agencies that precede their interaction, the notion of intra-action recognizes that distinct agencies do not precede, but rather emerge through, their intra-action. It is important to note that the 'distinct' agencies are only distinct in a relational, not an absolute, sense, that is, *agencies are only distinct in relation to their mutual*

¹⁰¹ Barad draws on ideas of entanglement originating in quantum physics. 'Quantum entanglement', an idea that was conceived in the 1930s, refers specifically to the way two unattached particles can have 'linked spins' – thus challenging the 'presumed ontological separability of seemingly individual particles; and has, since the 1990s, underpinned work in technological endeavours such as quantum computing' (Barad 2007: 385-391; see also Aczel 2003; Gilda 2008).

entanglement; they don't exist as individual elements. Crucially...the notion of intra-action constitutes a radical reworking of the traditional notion of causality. (Barad 2007: 33, italics in original)

My view of entanglement, for the purpose of reconfiguring place-attachment, draws on Barad's notion of intra-action. Thus, returning to the cloudswing analogy, the performance is a phenomenon that emerges from the interplay of forces, energies and agencies borne out of the specific intra-actions of George-Steve, Shed 14 and cloudswing apparatus, not to mention air, lights, audience and so on. In this instance, intra-action is the acrobatics of collaboration (Ingold 2011: 92) and 'dance of agency' (Pickering 2010) that enables the co-constitution of people-place-things as cloudswing performance. A notion of intra-action views people and things, subjects and objects, as co-mingled, entangled and relationally attached.

As evidenced in the work of Barad (2007) and Thomas (1991), and in the cloudswing situation, entanglement is a concept able to be applied in the real world. Archaeologist Ian Hodder (2011, 2012) applies a framework of entanglement, used as a 'bridging concept' (2012: 14), to the analysis of archaeological data. His concern is with entanglements between humans and material things: 'how society and things are co-entangled' (2012: 3). For Hodder (2012: 88-89) entanglement is the dialectic between dependence (productive and enabling) and dependency (constraining and limiting).¹⁰² Entanglement in this view is not directly concerned with the interactions between humans and things as separate entities but on the processes (or transactions) of enfolding and entrapment (i.e., intra-action) that derive from the tensions arising from and between dependence and dependency.

¹⁰² I use the term dialectic here because it is the term Hodder uses. However, I am aware of the critiques of the term as perpetuating modernist dualisms as categorical structures (Webmoor and Witmore 2008), but this criticism is less relevant in the case of dependence and dependency ('actions' or 'forces') than between, for example, humans and material things as separate entities. Hodder's (2012: 18) use of the notion of dependency draws on ideas from World Systems Theory (Wallerstein 1976) and psychology (Rice 1998). He states: 'As is clear from my frequent reference to scholars such as Thomas (1991) and Nuttall (2009), my use of the term entanglement is much indebted to post-colonial studies of the dependencies that emerge in core-periphery relations within world economic systems. Much of these arguments can be transferred to other forms of entanglement, most of which have cores and peripheries of their own' (2012: 109).

Given the application of notions of entanglement in quantum physics, history and archaeology, how might entanglement be applied to re-conceptualising place-attachment in heritage studies and practice?

Toward re-framing attachment to place

In this chapter I have sought to conceptualise each person, place and thing as uncontained rather than as a stable and separate entity. Thus, rather than conceptualising a *person* as a singularly bounded psychological subject, each human can be theorised as extending beyond their physical body (e.g., skin and nervous system) via, for example, affective processes (Venn 2010; Siegel 2012: 2-10) and an extended mind (Malafouris and Renfrew 2010b; Menary 2010b). Rather than viewing *place* as fixed, bounded or rooted (i.e., a physical location within spatial coordinates and the site of something such as a structure or event), a place can be viewed as nested and unbounded because it comprises materials and meanings 'distributed' through, and emergent from, networks of people and things (Cresswell 2009; Dovey 2010; Malpas 1999). Finally, rather than conceptualising *material things* as inert, they can be viewed as vibrant, alive and thus active (variously framed as agency, affects and affordances) and distributed in ways that co-produce humans and human action (Barad 2007; Bennett 2010; Ingold 2007a; Jones and Boivin 2010; Latour 2005).

My purpose in conceptualising people-place-things as uncontained has been to break down the boundedness of these categories, these actants, and to recognise the entangled nature of their being and becoming. Uncontained people, places and things interpenetrate and each people-place-things assemblage is more than the sum of its parts. Jane Bennett's (2010: 81) phrase 'circuits of intensities' conveys a sense of the way forms and forces intra-act and become entangled. And 'agentic swarm' (2010: 32), a notion of distributed agency, conveys images of currents of vitalities and energy forces at play: though 'distributed agency' does not imply that agency (or effectivity) emerges equally across all matter, whether human or things.

Some things generate small agencies (like my leather shorts in the cloudswinging performance)¹⁰³ or operate with variable intensities.

People-places-things configured as uncontained, vital and agentic assemblages enable a view of place-attachment as a 'distributed phenomenon': that is, the notion of distributed phenomenon or configuration moves from talk of pre-existing entities interacting toward employing a more relational ontology that explores how entities emerge from entanglements arising out of human and non-human intra-action. In line with these ideas and concepts, I propose the following definition: *place-attachment is a distributed phenomenon that emerges through entanglements of people-place-things*. Figure 4.6 is an attempt to represent this meaning.

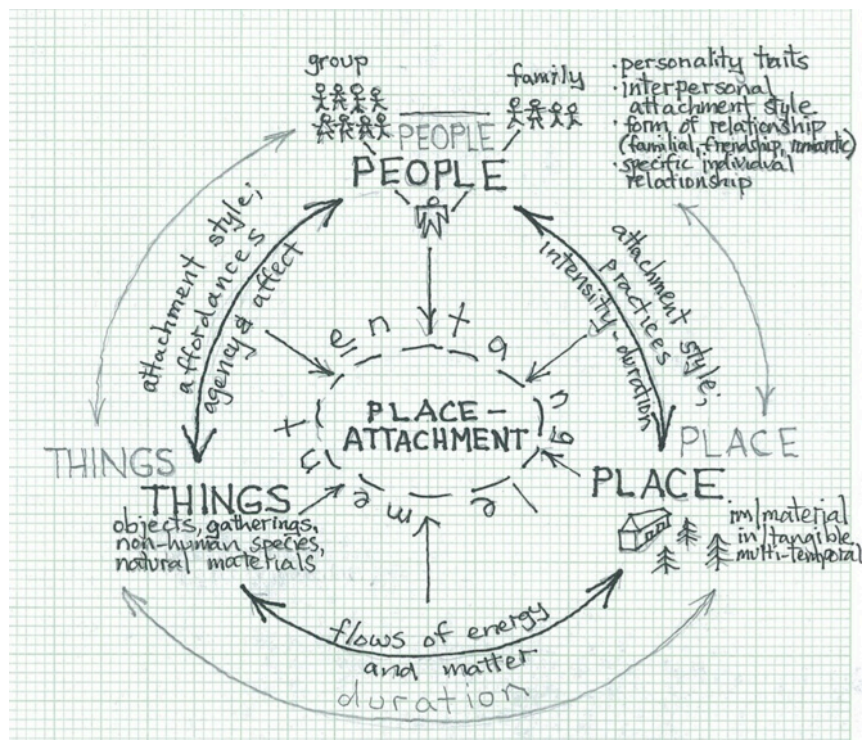


FIGURE 4.6 Place-attachment as entanglement.

The illustration draws on notions of each person as uncontained, each place as unbounded and material things as active. Rather than discrete entities, people-place-things are represented as relationally attached. Encircling arrows depict 'circuits of intensities' as flows of forces, energies and agencies that enable the co-constitution and entanglement of people-place-things. Lighter background text and arrows are intended to convey a sense of depth, dynamism and multi-temporality.

¹⁰³ 'Small agency' is a term Charles Darwin applied to worms (Bennett 2010: 94-96).

Place-attachment defined in terms of entanglement across people-place-things assemblages has implications for current heritage practice. For example, as a distributed phenomenon, place-attachment is necessarily more than place-centred and more than existing in the space between people and place (Figure 4.2). Place-attachment as entanglement entwines material and immaterial (im/material) and implies more than intangible social value. Place-attachment as a distributed phenomenon privileges dynamism and becoming over stasis and being. From an entanglement perspective, attachment between humans and ‘heritage’ places (i.e., places subjectively assessed to have significant values) result from a multiplicity of intra-actions in which people, locale and material things are necessarily inter-dependent and in which fabric, feeling and setting are co-constituted.

Typical heritage vocabulary for place-attachment as association	Vocabulary for place-attachment as entanglement
place and communities as separate and stable entities	place, people and things as uncontained, co-produced, co-enacted
bonding, association, interaction between distinct entities	entanglement, ‘gathering’, intra-action of people-place-things assemblages
place-centred	dispersed assemblages and mixtures of people-place-things
relatively static	equilibrium/disequilibrium
tangible and intangible as binaries	in/tangible, im/material as ‘twofolds’
collective (community or cultural group)	intimacy (individual/family)
social value as residing in place	social value as relational ethics
official heritage, outsider heritage	unofficial heritage, insider heritage

TABLE 4.1 Place-attachment: contrasting vocabularies.

In contrasting a framework of place-attachment as entanglement with place-attachment as association, it is evident that different concepts are drawn upon and different vocabularies adopted. Table 4.1 compares and contrasts place-attachment vocabularies and serves to condense and extend on the points made in the chapter. In the remainder of the thesis, I draw on a vocabulary of entanglement to present,

analyse and discuss four case studies. My aim is to demonstrate the gains to be made for heritage practice in framing ideas of place-attachment, belonging or sense of place as entanglement.

Reflection: swinging in the clouds

For the months that I worked on this chapter, the cloudswing photograph (a 'subjective object' – Lydon 2012: 7) remained on my desk. While text and ideas emerged, some developed and much discarded, the memory photograph patiently endured as a material aid to my thinking on place-attachment. Many a time I cast my gaze toward the image, interrogating its parts and encouraging it to give up more and more insights into the moment and context of its creation: on the ways place-attachment can be grounded in applied theory and theorised practice (Labrum and McCarthy 2005). I have now squeezed out sufficient meaning from this 'testimonial object' (Hirsch 2012: 206) in my re-framing of the idea of place-attachment to return to the real world of heritage practice and lived experience.

Up to this point in the thesis, I have shown how my interest in the topic of place-attachment was provoked by the real world situation in which Bruce and Pam Ponders' feelings for Byerawaring were disregarded and harmed by park management (Chapter 3). I have sought to understand the root causes of that situation by interrogating the way place-attachment is applied in the heritage field and protected area management. In this chapter I drew on a range of post-humanist theory and perspectives to propose a framework of place-attachment as entanglement. I now return to grounded, applied research to trial the framework.

PART II

PRACTICING ATTACHMENT



FIGURE 5.1 Yellow everlastings, Kosciuszko National Park.
(Photo credit: Allan McLean, April 2012.)

Chapter 5

Field research: methods and anxieties

Intruding

Mabel (Mabs) Sinnett (1912-2003) lived with her family at 65 Knight Street, Arncliffe. Nephews and nieces told me of their great affection for ‘Mabs’ place’. Michael Hayden had lived at Knight Street for a while as a boy and he, along with his cousins Richard Holmes, Lyn Sestan and Trisha Van Gelder, often attended Knight Street get-togethers as children in the 1950s and 1960s.

One sunny Sunday afternoon, on 26 August 2012, I decided to walk to Mabs Sinnett’s former residence, as it lies only a short distance from my home. Michael Hayden had told me Mabs’ home was no longer there: it had been knocked down to make way for public housing. The demolished building, Michael said, had been similar to a neighbouring, still-standing brick cottage at 63 Knight Street.

I set off from 85 Fairview Street, turned east into nearby Wolli Creek Road and walked two blocks, past the 1921 building housing local shops. At the intersection of Wolli Creek Road and Forest Road I vigilantly crossed at the traffic lights – cars regularly run the red signal at this location. I then turned left and headed north to Knight Street.¹⁰⁴ I hadn’t thought much about the visit to the former home prior to setting off. I had decided to walk there as it was nearby and it was an excuse to take a break from writing and stretch my legs. I was also keen to see the physical location of 65 Knight Street, a site of childhood memories for people whom I had interviewed as part of the Glen Eden case study (Chapter 8). However, as I neared, then turned

¹⁰⁴ This route led me past 170 Forest Road, a property Laurence Weidenhofer, a former tenant of my house, had rented after Winifred, his wife, had died in 1938 (Chapter 6).

into, Knight Street I began to feel uncomfortable. Walking along the south-side footpath, noting the odd-numbered houses on the opposite side of the street, I was overcome by a sense of prying and that I was an intruder. I had imagined I was simply visiting the site of a former building but instead experienced a locale haunted by past lives and events and other people's personal memories. Lyn, Richard, Michael and Trisha had shared with me their love for childhood get-togethers at this location. My visit to the place of Mabs' demolished house felt like snooping, peering into personal lives without consent and seeking to make private pasts visible. Red letters on a faded Department of Housing metal sign screamed out from behind 65-67 Knight Street: **'PROHIBITED'**. I walked past the sign, noted the Victorian-style cottage at 63 Knight Street and continued down the street without glancing back; on the way passing two boys cajoling their young sister along the footpath. Soon I was descending the steep sandstone stairs into the calming gardens of Gardiner Park.

I mention this incident because, while my PhD project has been for the most part an immensely enjoyable undertaking, there have been troubling moments, including anxieties such as that exposed by the Knight Street visit. I touch on two further facets here because they were disconcerting aspects of the field research, but also because they say something of the nature of research experience.

The first point concerns initial engagement with participants. I felt trepidation and anxiety before making contact with each new participant. I typically put the moment off umpteen times, an experience captured in Megg Kelham's (2012: 56) phrase 'pre-interview procrastination'. I would eventually telephone to explain the project in a 'cold-call' conversation, on occasion preceded by an explanatory email, and all along wonder if what I was saying made sense. Subsequently, I would experience anxiety prior to each first meeting with the 'stranger', at times in their home. Such pre-interview anxieties are common experiences for many historians and ethnographers (e.g., Dortins 2002: 208-209; Mayan 2009: 69-70; Schlunke 2005), though knowing this was of little comfort.¹⁰⁵ As it turned out, all participants, who

¹⁰⁵ However, I never 'lost my nerve' and 'chickened out on my resolve to interview' as anthropologist Harry Wolcott (2010: 57) reports on one occasion.

likely had anxieties and tensions of their own concerning our first meeting, were welcoming and generous in sharing their feelings and fondness for people, places and things. Their responses eased and transformed my first contact anxieties.

A second point concerns the extent to which personal information is shared and, specifically in my circumstance, revealing to project participants my sexual orientation. Informing people with whom I come into contact through work, as opposed to friends, about my sexuality has always bothered me. I did not disclose this to the Bandjima men with whom I worked in the Hamersley Plateau in 1983 (Chapter 1) nor the Ponders with whom I visited Culgoa National Park in 2006 (Chapter 2). My unease lies in a conflict between the matter as a private concern, neatly shrouded beneath a veil of professional conduct, versus being open and honest – the latter my preferred *modus operandi*. After all, I was asking people to share intimate knowledge, for example, of sacred sites or personal feelings for place. The willingness of participants to share aspects of their personal lives caused me to experience anxiety because I felt I was not returning a trust I was being afforded. It was easy to respond to direct questions of marital status and (not) having children, but difficult to offer the principal reason for this circumstance. Thus I positioned myself in a situation, of my own making, of not telling but not wanting to conceal. In anthropologist Harry Wolcott's (2010: 124) words, 'I am silent about some things, but what I have told is true.'¹⁰⁶ Ultimately I chose to accept my unresolved anxiety concerning this matter ...and get on with it.

It is in this vein that I turn to the job at hand, which is to describe and discuss the methods and approach to the field studies. I discuss issues of scale – social, spatial and temporal – in relation to the idea, construction and process of place-attachment. I then turn to the nuts and bolts of the case studies: selection criteria, data collection methods and the approach to presenting the field studies. Finally, I touch on the ethical dimensions of the project, where further anxiety is revealed.

¹⁰⁶ Wolcott does not reveal his sexuality in his published ethnographic studies of the 1960s and 1970s, but is frank about such matters in later publications (2002, 2010: 116-124).

Multi-scalar perspectives on place-attachment

What steps are we taking, and skipping, when we move from ethnographic observations to general commentary? (Xiang 2013: 285)

This part of the thesis, ‘Practicing attachment’ (Chapters 5-9), is concerned with real-life experiences of place-attachment. What does a sense of attachment or belonging feel like to an individual, family or group? I commence this exploration by considering the role of scale in the notion of place-attachment (Table 5.1). This is because I used matters of scale to select the case study sites, having imagined scale to be a useful framework for comparing and discussing experiences of place-attachment across field settings. When I commenced the project, my thinking centred on questions of the roles that social, spatial and temporal scales play in ways that place-attachment is experienced by individuals and is constructed by heritage practitioners.

Scales	Dimensions of place-attachment			
	Spatial (A)	Spatial (B)	Social	Time
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local ▪ regional ▪ national ▪ global 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ object or body ▪ place ▪ landscape 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ individual ▪ family ▪ community or cultural group ▪ State or nation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ deep time ▪ living memory ▪ present ▪ future

TABLE 5.1 Scales and place-attachment: a preliminary framework.

about scale

Scale means a graduated series. Scales can be fixed and based on arbitrary but standardised measurements concerning, for example, length (e.g., a centimetre or

kilometre) and time (e.g., minute, day or decade).¹⁰⁷ However for the purpose of this thesis, scale is used in a qualitative way to indicate relative magnitude (Table 5.1) rather than discrete and quantifiable units or separate levels of measurement.¹⁰⁸ A discussion of the concept of scale is useful here because scale was a criterion used to select field study sites, though this does not imply that scale is necessarily an attribute of place-attachment.

In the Fairview Street case study (Chapter 6), I am concerned with scale at an intimate level, that of the single individual/body and suburban home/garden. In Chapter 2 I touched on Peter Read's sense of shared belonging to Sydney Basin sandstone country, which is intimate in the sense that it concerns a single individual's feelings and emotions, though Read's attachment is to a landscape rather than a single suburban block. Many of the cases examined by Read in *Returning to Nothing* (1996) and *Belonging* (2000) concern attachments of groups (e.g., residents of a rural community or conservationists) to large landscapes comprising towns (e.g., Adaminaby in NSW and Yallourn in Victoria), whole suburbs (Beecroft in Sydney) and remote wilderness (e.g., Lake Pedder in Tasmania).¹⁰⁹ The data Read draws on to describe community and group attachment to place is primarily derived from one-to-one interviews. Thus, from Read's work it can be concluded that the scope of individual attachment can be extensive in spatial or geographic terms.

In the discussion of heritage management presented in Chapter 3, it was noted that the practice of determining cultural significance in Australia is typically undertaken in relation to a community or cultural group and rarely in relation to an individual or nuclear family. For example, the *Heritage Act 1977*, the primary legislation

¹⁰⁷ 'Measurements, then, are causal intra-actions, physical processes. What we call "measurement" is a correlation or entanglement between component parts of a phenomenon, between the "measured object", and the "measuring device"' (Barad 2007: 337). For Barad (2007: 342-350) 'the problem of measurement' as an issue in science research.

¹⁰⁸ On the relative nature of scale (i.e., scales as separate yet simultaneous), see, for example, Shryock and Lord Smail (2011: 18-19) on scale as 'highly integrative'; Barad (2007: 246) on scale as intra-actively produced; and Xiang (2013) on 'multi-scalar ethnography' as a 'method of fieldwork, analysis and writing.'

¹⁰⁹ For other examples of literature concerned with attachment of individuals or communities to cities, landscapes, regions and/or the nation, see Dominy (2001), Dovey (2005), Gaita (1998, 2004, 2011), Ireland (2005) and Seddon (1972).

governing non-indigenous heritage in NSW, has a concern with determining cultural significance at a State level: that is, identifying heritage places that are of importance to the people of NSW. In heritage practice, place-attachment is largely conceived in terms of the social scales of local community and state-wide society, scales that contrast with, but are inter-meshed with, the intimacy of individual or family attachments. How are multiple individuals' feelings and emotions for an object, place, landscape or State aggregated to determine shared patterns of meaning?

The issue here is one involving process transformations due to alterations in scale. A useful analogy for explaining this concept comes from ecology. Ecologists consider scale when looking at basic ecosystem properties such as stability and equilibrium (Turner et al. 1993).

If the disturbances to an ecosystem are large and rapid, compared to the cycles in the ecosystem of interest, then the ecosystem is likely to become unstable. However, if the same sets of disturbances are considered at larger spatial scales, ecosystems appear to respond in a stable manner. Thus, although individual stands of forest may come and go, the total forest cover for a region can remain relatively constant. (Ridges 2003: 22)

O'Neill and King (1998: 5-6) summarise issues of ecological scale.

These studies...lead to one inescapable conclusion: if you move far enough across the scale, the dominant processes change. It is not just that things get bigger or smaller, but that the phenomena themselves change.

The issues of scale from an ecological science perspective (e.g., genes, species, ecosystems) are thus not dissimilar to issues of scale in the social sciences. Like ecosystem properties, human behaviour is complex. Social units such as individual, family and community imply different levels of generalisation. Indeed the ecosystem analogy suggests a proposition that place-attachment at the level of the individual or nuclear family 'may come and go' and at the scale of the community 'can remain relatively constant' (Ridges 2003: 22). This is a possible reason why community is the level at which institutionalised heritage practice typically operates. Furthermore, the

ecosystem analogy suggests the phenomenon of place-attachment itself will vary or change with social scale (i.e., individual or community). These propositions are examined in later chapters.

In summary, scales are socially constructed. They interpenetrate, overlap and interconnect and, in Barad's (2007: 245) terms, are intra-actively produced. Scales are useful devices for ordering the world (Ansell 2009: 195) and for considering different data sets, whether ecological or social, at different levels of generalisation. An important point is that scales establish context: they do not explain observations but rather permit explicit statements about context (Ridges 2003: 20).¹¹⁰ Anthropologist Harry Wolcott (2010: 90), though not specifically referencing scale, notes: 'the idea of ethnography is especially sensitive to context, and to multiple contexts.' I propose to use the concept of scale and a multi-scalar perspective in Wolcott's contextual sense, though recognising that the way scales are constructed and nested (Table 5.1) effects how they are investigated and experienced.¹¹¹

Field studies

A reflexive ethnography implies a commitment to the value of understanding human social life; even while recognising the limits to such understanding and to its power in the world. (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 236)

selection of field study sites

The first field study site, my home at 85 Fairview Street, Arncliffe, (Chapter 6), interrogates place-making and belonging via a critically reflexive, auto-ethnographic approach. The social scale of the study is the individual, the spatial scale a suburban block and the temporal scale, in linear historic terms, the last 100 years though the

¹¹⁰ It is not my intention to provide here discussion on the notion of 'explanation', though I have found useful insights on the topic, for example, in Strevens (2008) and Wylie (2002).

¹¹¹ I find the idea of abandoning the concept of scale and replacing it with a 'flat' ontology (i.e., whereby both large and small scales are explored through unified methodologies) less useful for the purpose of the field research outlined in this thesis.

term 'present-past' better describes my sense of experiential time. A particular focus of the Fairview Street study is the role of material things: how physical objects and material memory are entangled in the construction of place-attachment. In the three additional case studies, my concern is with other people's connections to place.

Social, spatial and temporal scales were considerations informing my selection of the additional field study sites. These scales, I had imagined, would establish different contexts within which to investigate place-attachment. Beyond scale, four additional criteria were applied to site selection: first, places with contemporary Anglo-Australian connection; second, places with domestic gardens; third, places where adult participants would be willing to be interviewed; and, fourth, places located within the NSW protected area system.

The purpose of working with only Anglo-Australian participants was to enable a level of control over structural differences between linguistically and culturally diverse communities (Plumwood 2005: 379). In so choosing, I was influenced by George Nicholas' (2010: 241) view that 'it is arrogant to think that Western minds can comprehend fully the minds of very different cultures, whether past or present.' I also chose to focus on the place-attachments of Anglo-Australians because I am Anglo-Australian and familiar with the culture, language and history of this ethnic group. However, I recognise that comprehending the minds of Anglo-Australians is also a complex task because of internal diversity or non-homogeneity resulting from different histories of individuals and groups. However, a focus on Anglo-Australians, relatively speaking, eliminates a need for cross-cultural enquiry.¹¹²

A further selection criterion was that each case study site includes an existing or previous domestic garden. Gardens, as discussed in Chapter 2, are useful places for

¹¹² For an example of bicultural enquiry concerning place-making in national parks by Australians of Arabic and Vietnamese background, see Byrne et al. (2013). For a discussion of possible differences in memory and narrative characteristics between Western cultures (e.g., independent self-focus) and East Asian cultures (interdependent self-focus), see Siegel (2012: 85-86, 96-97).

investigating place-attachment.¹¹³ They enable consideration, for example, of non-human species and sensory experience; socio-cultural meanings and in-place practice; and private versus public expressions of attachment. Garden plants, either as individual specimens or assemblages of species, are often entwined with people's feelings and fondness for place (Read 1996). I was also keen to include domestic gardens in the field settings because I am fond of them, which will become evident in the discussion of attachment to my property (Chapter 6).

I also sought out places where adult interviewees (i.e., individuals over 18 years of age) could be recruited to participate in the project. This was a pragmatic consideration because of complexities in obtaining human research ethics approval to interview children and young adults.¹¹⁴ The absence of young interviewees was overcome by selecting participants whose connections with field study sites commenced in childhood. For example, Dorothy Constance lived at Old Currango between the ages of three and ten and Aaron Mitchell regularly visited the homestead throughout his childhood (Chapter 9).¹¹⁵

Finally, field study sites concerned with other people's attachments were chosen from within the NSW protected area system. The reasons were threefold: first, I have a long-held interest, beyond the scope of this thesis, in the heritage management of land administered for conservation (Brown 2010b, 2011); second, studies of Anglo-Australian attachments to national parks and to places within them are few in number (though see Kijas 2009; Veale 1997, 2001); and, third, permission and access to protected areas for a research purpose is relatively straight forward in an administrative sense. Since I worked with the NSW NPWS for over a decade (2000-2013), I had an established network of colleagues able to advise me in the

¹¹³ For examples of literature on the role gardens in peoples sense of belonging, see Freeman et al. (2012), Graham and Connell (2006), Gross and Lane (2007), Head and Muir (2006, 2007), Kiesling and Manning (2010), Power (2005), Smith (2011) and Tilley (2009).

¹¹⁴ Sexual orientation is also a factor here in so much as I grew up during a period when, in public discourse, homosexuality was commonly equated with paedophilia. This view, which I unreservedly reject, has a consequence of making me reticent to spend time alone with children whose parent(s) I do not know well.

¹¹⁵ Whilst recognising that adult remembering of childhood has complexities (Engel 1995; McGeachan 2013), it is not a topic I discuss in this thesis.

selection of case study sites through their knowledge of, and a concern for, people's connections with protected area landscapes.

The process of selection began with place-as-starting-point. That is, the case study sites were selected by identifying a principal node or core locale and, I anticipated, each node or place would be situated within separate, overlapping and individually constructed networks of entangled places, people, practices, events and things. The site selection process might have been undertaken in reverse – that is, starting with an individual, family or group and then locating the multiple linked-places to which they hold connection. However, the place-centred approach was the more practicable and feasible option and, additionally, starting with place mirrors place-based approaches typical in Australian heritage practice (e.g., Brown 2010b; Godden Mackay Logan 2005; Harrington 2007; Harrison 2004; Read 2000; Veale 1997).

To select those field study settings, additional to the Fairview Street site, I drew on the five criteria to, first, compile a list of potential places based on personal knowledge; and, second, approach cultural heritage professionals and park management staff to identify potential field settings. The process of determining prospective places was relatively rapid (i.e., several months). Ultimately, three field sites were selected that met the selection criteria and aims of the study.¹¹⁶ This number of field settings, in addition to my home, was considered adequate because they represent a trade-off between variety of places and depth of investigation possible within the timeframe of a PhD.

The field study sites (Figure 5.2) comprise, first, my home at *85 Fairview Street* in the Sydney suburb of Arncliffe (Chapter 6). The second site is the *Darcoola Station homestead garden*, Kalyarr National Park, near Hay in western NSW (Chapter 7). Brenda Weir, who developed a passion for roses, tended and grew the garden from

¹¹⁶ I thank Gavin Newton (NPWS Ranger), Anna Wong (then Historical Heritage Project Officer) and Olwen Beazley (archaeologist and public sector manager) for drawing my attention to Eusdale Nature Reserve, Darcoola Station homestead garden and Old Currango respectively. My lengthy discussions with Caroline Lawrence (Heritage Architect) during the course of a Sydney / Bourke road trip were invaluable in shaping my thinking about the range of potential case study sites.

the late 1960s until her death in 2002. After 2002, friends and family cared for it. The third study area is a small rural property, *Glen Eden*, Eusdale Nature Reserve, located in the Tarana Valley between Bathurst and Lithgow (Chapter 8). Albert and Florence Reakes occupied the subsistence farm from 1907 until 1936. Descendants of the Reakes, since the early 1990s, have held annual reunions at the property. The fourth study site is *Old Currango*, a remote 1870s house located within Kosciuszko National Park (Chapter 9). The dwelling was occupied until 1955, after which time it fell into disrepair. From 1987, volunteers restored and cared for the building. Table 5.2 summarises information on the field settings.

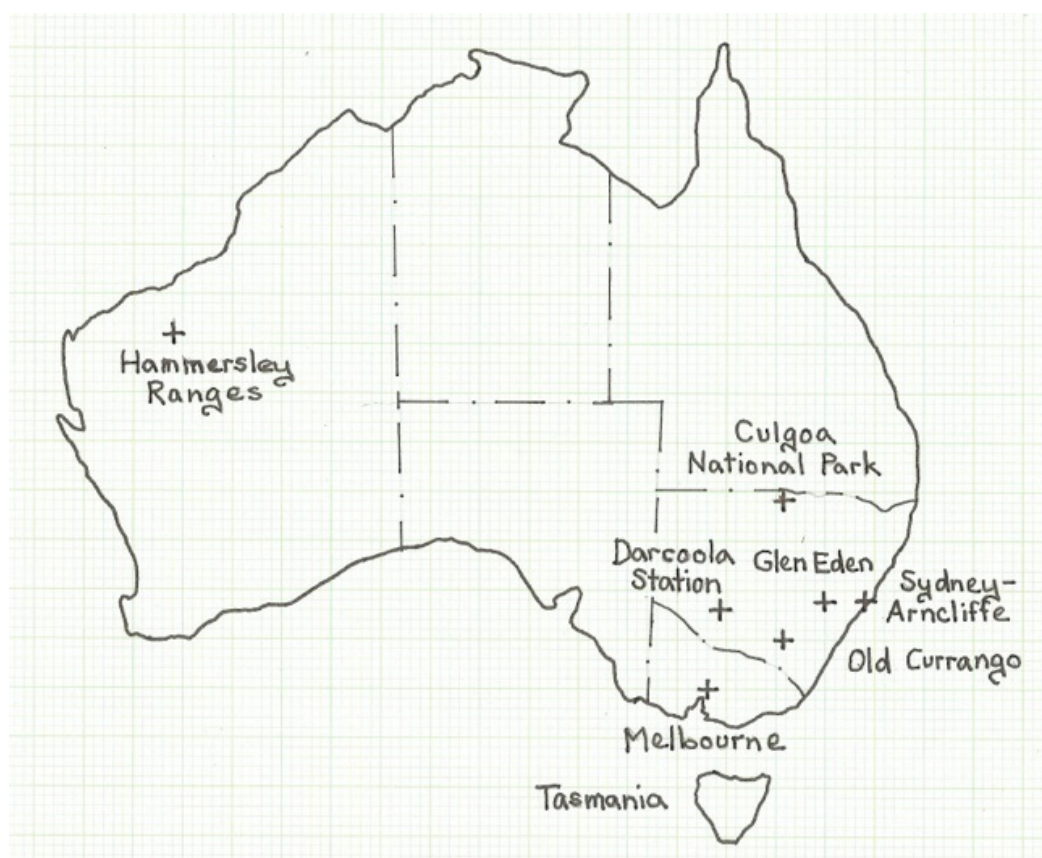


FIGURE 5.2 Field study sites: locations.

The field study sites presented in this thesis are Fairview Street, Arncliffe (Chapter 6), Darcoola Station (Chapter 7), Glen Eden (Chapter 8) and Old Currango (Chapter 9). My experiences with Bandjima men took place in the Hamersley Ranges (Chapter 2); with Bruce and Pam Ponder in relation to Byerawering Station – now incorporated into Culgoa National Park (Chapter 2); and with George performing cloudswing in Melbourne (Chapter 4).

Field study site	Time scale	Spatial scale	Social scale
85 Fairview Street, Arncliffe	1905: subdivision created 2007: author occupies property	350m ² suburban block	Individual owner (the author)
Darcoola Station homestead garden, Kalyarr National Park	1922: garden established 1968-2002: garden tended and remade by Brenda and Robert Weir 2002-current: garden maintained by volunteers and NPWS	Domestic garden set within a wider pastoral landscape	Family members revisit property. Volunteer group of Brenda Weir's friends care for garden. Garden open to public visitation in 2002 and 2003
'Glen Eden' farm, Eusdale Nature Reserve	1907-1936: property farmed by Albert and Florence Reakes 1991-current: annual reunions of Reakes' descendants	Small-scale subsistence farm	Descendant extended family members hold annual reunions at Glen Eden
Old Currango – house and setting, Kosciuszko National Park	1870s-1955: house occupied 1987-current: house restored and cared for by volunteers	House, garden and local landscape	Previous occupants occasionally revisit place. Volunteer caretaker group maintain homestead

TABLE 5.2 Field study sites: summary data.

data collection: methods

The aim of data collection for the purpose of my project was to obtain qualitative information on place-attachment from each of the four field settings. Information was gathered using social science methods, principally oral testimony, auto-ethnography and participant observation (discussed below). Additional methods utilised to compile data were: historical background research to assemble situated, place-specific histories; photography – both *in situ* documentation and historical images; reflexivity, which was a continuous part of field research and the research project more generally; and, drawing on Ann Brower Stahl's (2010) work, 'material histories', which in the context of my research project means narratives or vignettes and biographies of objects and organisms. In addition, at the Fairview Street site, I undertook a series of archaeological excavations (Brown 2012) that explored excavation as a process of place-making. Though this material is not reported on in the thesis, it played an important role in developing a grounded understanding of my entanglement with artefacts and place.

Place-attachment data for the three case study sites situated in protected areas was acquired via semi-structured, open-ended, one-to-one interviews.¹¹⁷ Questioning focussed on four inter-related matters: first, documenting the interviewees autobiography including his/her connection with the place; second, eliciting feelings of place-attachment; third, discussing the importance of being in-place and the role of *in situ* practice; and, fourth, examining ways in which things such as objects and plants become entangled in place-connectivity. Rather than rigidly structured, my approach to each interview was guided by intuition, evocation over interrogation and a degree of serendipity to ensure sufficient flexibility and adaptability to pursue unanticipated lines of enquiry.¹¹⁸ That is, I drew on an inconsistent, opportunistic research approach (Miller 2010: 7) whereby a set framework of questions was either followed, adjusted or reformulated depending on each situation.

Oral testimony can be problematic for eliciting feelings and emotions because it is a method in which the interviewee's cognitive consciousness can dominate emotive reflection (Pink 2009). However, this can be countered by adopting an interview approach that highlights the role of the senses and material things. My experience during the interviews was that discussion of senses (e.g., the smell of roses) and things (e.g., the rose bushes themselves) elicited the emotional in memories of place. At times, emotional memory also revealed embodied, often unconscious, routine behaviours that might otherwise go unmentioned because they are perceived as ordinary and taken for granted by an interviewee. My approach sought to elicit mundane yet persistent routines in each interviewee's intra-action with assemblages of people-places-things.

¹¹⁷ The interview process drew on approaches advocated by the Oral History Association of Australia (Robertson 2010) and NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (Veale and Schilling 2004). During the period of my research I was interviewed by doctoral candidates Paulette Wallace (Deakin University) and Jane Lavers (University of Queensland) on cultural landscapes and World Heritage respectively. Thus I experienced the 'other-side' of the oral testimony process, encounters I found useful in gaining an experiential understanding of the interviewee's role in collaborative knowledge making.

¹¹⁸ The idea of serendipity means 'a certain aptitude for making desirable discoveries by accident' and 'Luck, coupled with a lot of patience' (Wolcott 2010: 45, 64). I also found the notion of serendipitous sensory learning (Pink 2009: 65-69) useful in my interview approach.

The second major data collection method applied to the field studies was auto-ethnography. Auto-ethnography is a research method of analysis and interpretation using the researcher's autobiographical data to investigate the practice of others (Chang 2008; Mayan 2009: 41) and reflection to develop analytical insights – what sociologist Leon Anderson (2006) terms 'analytic autoethnography'. Auto-ethnography is the methodological basis of the Fairview Street study (Chapter 6). Here I used auto-ethnography to develop grounded understandings of place-attachment in relation to theoretical frameworks. I applied the method by interrogating my experiential, affective and emotional intra-actions with place and things and by constructing an intensely personal account of place-attachment. This self-narrative served as a window through which to view, investigate, compare and contrast other people's experiences of place-attachment.

Auto-ethnography was also applied to the case study sites located in protected areas. First, auto-ethnography was used to document my first-time experience of each location. Initial field visits provided, in addition to experiential knowledge of settings, an opportunity to critically reflect on my own responses and feelings toward each place and in-place material things prior to meeting with, and thus being influenced in my thinking by, the research participants. Second, I used self-reflective writing to document my experience of, and perspective on, the encounter immediately following each interview. I found this process and the resulting texts useful for reflecting on how each researcher-participant interview shaped my understandings of the other person's sense of place-attachment. Finally, I used auto-ethnography as a methodology to reflect on linkages between individual meanings of place-attachment (i.e., unofficial heritage communicated via the project participants) and my knowledge of current heritage management practice (i.e., official heritage as communicated through NPWS staff and management documents).

Finally, data were collected via a participatory approach, by which I mean participant observation as embedded research grounded in ethnography (Lewis and Russell 2011). The purpose of my active participation was to witness and experience how

shared and repeated in-place activity maintains and cultivates place connectivity. I participated in in-place practice by joining the 2012 extended family reunion at Glen Eden (Chapter 8), participating as a volunteer in the 2013 Bishops Lodge Market day (Chapter 7) and working with the volunteer caretaker group at Old Currango in 2014 (Chapter 9). These participatory events were short-term (one to four days) and the groups I engaged with were established social groups whose members had shared histories extending over many decades. Participant observation enabled me to actively engage with people in-place (e.g., using informal 'mobile interviewing'; Hitchings 2006: 369) as I socialised, experienced and moved through the place.

The combination of oral testimony and participant observation was well suited to investigating place-attachment at the three field sites in protected areas. The methods provided different settings and place-events within which to document and observe practices of place-attachment. The two different contexts (out of place¹¹⁹ and in-place) enabled comparisons to be made between saying and doing, recognising that different expressions and realities of place-attachment may be revealed by each practice. Field settings also provided opportunities for sharing time, and developing increased rapport, with study participants. And, despite initial anxieties, I found the events to be productive and immensely enjoyable occasions.

Based on the application of the three qualitative data collection methods, I initially planned the fieldwork to comprise three sequential components: an initial author-only visit to the field site; then the collection of oral testimonies; and, finally, participation in activities that involved interviewees. I had envisaged this structured approach would enable comparison of data gathered across the field settings. The three-stage structure was generally followed (Table 5.3), though the order of the components did not always occur in the envisaged sequence. In the case of Glen Eden, for example, my author-only visit took place after the interviews had been conducted.

¹¹⁹ A consequence of the criteria to choose places within NSW protected areas is that people with attachments to those places reside at some distance from them.

Field study site	Author-only visit	Interviewee (date)	Participatory visit
Darcoola Station homestead garden, Kalyarr National Park	21 November, 2012 18-19 October, 2013	Sholto Weir (13/10/12) Robert Weir (20/11/12) Coleen Houston (22/11/12) Nerida Reid (23/11/12)	Annual Bishop's Lodge Market, Hay (19-20 October, 2013)
'Glen Eden' farm, Eusdale Nature Reserve	18 July, 2013	Richard Holmes (6/7/12) Trisha Van Gelder (9/7/12) Lynette Seston (9/7/12) Michael Hayden (21/8/12)	Annual reunion of Reakes' descendants (10 November, 2012)
Old Currango – house and setting, Kosciuszko National Park	6 April, 2012 ('Good Friday')	David Mitchell (5/8/12) Harry Hill (6/8/12) Dorothy Constance (8/8/12) Aaron Mitchell (18/11/2012)	Old Currango caretaker group annual work party (18-21 April, 2014)

TABLE 5.3 Field study sites in protected areas: dates and data collection.

data collection: access and interviewees

The process for obtaining permissions to visit the three field study sites within protected areas involved contacting NPWS staff with responsibility for the management of the relevant conservation reserve.¹²⁰ Since the study did not entail physical impacts (e.g., excavation or collection of either cultural or natural materials), I required neither licences nor permits issued under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* or *Heritage Act 1977*. NPWS staff provided the names of contact persons for two of the field sites: the Hay Historical Society for the Darcoola Station homestead garden and Michael Hayden for Glen Eden. The contact person for the Old Currango Caretaker Group, David Mitchell, was available through the Kosciuszko Huts Association website. David Mitchell and Michael Hayden were interviewed as part of the research project.

¹²⁰ Principal NPWS contacts for each reserve were Ranger Megan Bowden (Old Currango), Ranger Gavin Newton (Glen Eden) and Senior Field Supervisor Harry Mangan (Darcoola Station). I am grateful to each for their support in facilitating access to the field study sites, for enabling access to relevant documentation and for generosity in sharing knowledge of the study sites, including information on local NPWS management practices. Any errors in relation to place-histories and place-management are of my own making.

Identifying suitable adults to interview was based on discussions with the contact persons and then applying a 'snowballing' approach, whereby potential study participants were identified through word-of-mouth recommendation. Those participants most suitable for, and willing to participate in, the project were subsequently contacted and provided with information on the research project.¹²¹ It was not my intention to recruit a large number or structured sample of people, but rather to select a small number of individuals representing a diversity of personal-place histories and willing to discuss their sense of place-attachment. That is, it was the intelligent and careful pursuit of knowledge to ensure the quality of my PhD project work, rather than undertaking a certain number of interviews, that was important (Dortins 2012). Nonetheless, taking into consideration the scales of the three field settings being investigated, I estimated I would formally interview between 10 and 25 people and informally talk with anyone who was willing and interested.¹²²

Ultimately semi-structured one-to-one interviews were conducted with twelve participants between April and November 2012 (Table 5.3). Eleven hours of formal interviews were recorded and transcribed.¹²³ The revised and edited transcripts of the interviews, which comprise a series of individual, personal narratives on place-attachment, as well as signed 'participant consent forms', are held by the author. Each participant was provided with his/her interview transcript. Table 5.4 summarises data on the interviewees. In brief, the interviewees comprise Anglo-Australian adults, with a relatively even representation of women and men. Ten interviewees were over 50 years of age at the time of the interviews.

¹²¹ Information was provided via a hard copy 'participant information statement'. When I look back at the format and content of the statement, prepared as part of The University of Sydney ethics approval process, I now consider it was unnecessarily complex and thus not a particularly user-friendly document.

¹²² Informal discussions were undertaken, for example, with Silvana Keating, Liz Vines, Anna Wong and Adrienne Howe-Piening (Darcoola Station); Pat Shallcross, Wendy Eggleton, Geoff Sinnett, Beverley Edmonds, Harley McHutchison and Linda Holmes (Glen Eden); and Beryl Donnelly, Olwen Beazley, Caroline Lawrence, Sylvia Mitchell, Kelly Mitchell, Jack Ratz and Adam (Old Currango). Discussion with each of these people contributed to my knowledge and thinking concerning people's connections to the case study sites.

¹²³ One participant chose not to have the interview recorded. I made extensive notes on this conversation.

Variable	Category	Frequency			
		Darcoola	Glen Eden	Old Currango	TOTAL
Ethnicity	Anglo-Australian	4	4	4	12
Sex	Male	2	2	3	7
	Female	2	2	1	5
Age	Range	42-70+	61-70	28-80+	N/A
Residence	Town/City	Hay (3) Melbourne (1)	Sydney (4)	Canberra (2) Tumut (1) Cooma (1)	N/A

TABLE 5.4 Field study sites in protected areas: socio-demographic characteristics of interviewees.

Discussion: more anxieties triggered

[Stories are] always partial, incomplete and full of silences, and told at a particular time, for a particular purpose, to a particular audience. (Ellis 2009: 13)

In this final part of the chapter I expand on three topics related to the fieldwork – the narrative style of the field accounts, ethics and representativeness in qualitative research.

qualitative research and representativeness¹²⁴

The field sites are each ‘small’ in spatial (i.e., physical extent) and social (i.e., number of people) scales and thus enabled a level of in-depth study. While a low number of settings (i.e., multi-sited research) is the norm in ethnographic approaches (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3, 32), this feature, in combination with a small number of participants, opens research to the charge of being neither representative (Knowles 1997: 40-42) nor adequate for ‘drawing general

¹²⁴ I am not referring here to the idea of representativeness as found in heritage practice (i.e., a place demonstrates the principal characteristics of a class of cultural or natural places/environments; Heritage Office 1996) nor representativeness applied to the protected area system with regard to vegetation classes and bioregions.

conclusions of *some kind*' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 232). However, in Clifford Geertz' (1973: 20) words, 'It is not necessary to know everything in order to understand something', and to question small sample size on the grounds of being unrepresentative is to misunderstand its nature.

Human geographer Russell Hitchings (2006) studied people's relationships with their domestic gardens. He worked with seven gardeners in north London and concluded:

In fact, whilst an idea of a successful gardener can connote an efficient exercise of power, I want to argue that the opposite is actually the case. My contention, therefore, is that, to fully find pleasure from plants, people must become enjoyably expert in understanding that any complete control is always unlikely... (Hitchings 2006: 364)

Hitchings is able to consider a big issue – the relationship between people and urban domestic gardens, from a small sample size – seven people and their gardens. He is able to do this because the minutiae of social life (e.g., the maintenance of lawn edges), a small piece of a social system, are entangled in a larger social world: the seemingly trivial can inform the substantive. Anthropologist Joan Knowles makes this point in her study of non-indigenous practices in the Tasmanian central highlands.

Anthropologists do not seek to interview or survey large numbers of people in order to show what they find is representative. This is not a suitable route by which to come to an understanding of a culture. Anthropologists do seek out the pervasive mode of thought – through actions and utterances, both verbal and written – of a group of people. This pathway leads to a deeper understanding of [practice]... (Knowles 1997: 41)

In this thesis I use small sample sizes to discuss large issues, to reference social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen's (2010) aphorism. This is evident, for example, in the Fairview Street case study (Chapter 6) where I use a small number of objects (including a gnome and a teaspoon) and a plant species (peony poppy) to discuss the role of material things in the construction of place-attachment. That is, I move from narratives of single objects to object lessons.

The field data gathered at three case study sites presented in this thesis draws on twelve oral testimonies of place-attachment. My interest was in the traits and qualities of each individual's relationship to place. Neither normative behaviours (Eriksen 2010: 63-64) nor generalisation about Anglo-Australian place-attachment was a concern. Nor did I intend to universalise the concept of place-attachment either at local or State levels (i.e., construct a narrative of shared or collective attachment). Rather, my purpose was to consider commonalities and differences, routine and extraordinary features, in the ways participants expressed feelings of place-attachment and then to compare and evaluate the data against ways in which attachment is conceptualised and normalised in heritage management practice. For this purpose I required in-depth personal data on feelings for place and things.

fieldwork and ethical conduct

Example 2: Research involving one-to-one interviews to be conducted by a student researcher in private homes in a rural setting in Australia... As the interview will take place in a private home, the researcher will take steps to ensure that he is able to leave at any time. This includes only entering 'public' areas of the house where possible (such as kitchens and living rooms), ensuring that the exit route is clearly known, and watching to ensure that the door is not locked after entering. (Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Sydney 2010: 4)

Four of my case study interviews took place in private homes in rural settings. Prior to each, I was aware of the University of Sydney guideline quoted above. However, I found the requirement for such premeditated thinking to be galling: on the occasion of each interview I would be seeking to build rapport and trust with an interviewee whilst having to be wary of him/her as potential assailant. Needless to say, I resisted the latter practice and cast any such thought aside.¹²⁵ However, on a positive note,

¹²⁵ I resisted the idea with a combination of ridicule and politically incorrect humour, which is not to say that the possibility of harm (to either a participant or me) is irrelevant but rather as an older, life-experienced adult, as well as being a robust person, I trust my sense of mindful awareness in recognising and responding to potentially dangerous situations. Thus, I resist an explicit, absolutist approach in relation to potential violence associated with one-to-one interviews.

the safety guideline caused me to reflect more deeply on my ethical position than I might otherwise have done in relation to the research project.

My ethical approach to undertaking the research project was never absolute. Rather it fell somewhere between making judgements in context ('ethical situationism'; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 219) and doing what was necessary to be true to myself and taking responsibility for my actions and their consequences for others ('relational ethics'; Slattery and Rapp 2003: 55, in Ellis 2009: 308). Central to relational ethics is the question 'What should I do now?' rather than the statement 'This is what *you* should do now' (Bergum 1998, in Ellis 2009: 308). My approach recognised that obtaining oral testimony and undertaking participant observation is 'meddling' (Solomon and Forbes 2010: 227). That is, it investigates and interferes in the lives of, and those places valued by, living people. In undertaking fieldwork, the consequence of meddling, in my view, is a need for continuous reflexivity within a framework of situated and relational ethics.

Thus my position was not to take an absolute position on, for example, informed consent, privacy or harm (either to a participant or myself) and I managed such issues variably and in the context of each encounter and situation.¹²⁶ My 2010 experience of the University of Sydney human ethics approval process was that it is more absolutist than my practice, though by matters of degree rather than excessive difference.¹²⁷ And just for the record, I was not threatened or assaulted during or as a consequence of fieldwork (Wolf 1991) and neither did I date (Wolcott 2010: 116-121) or marry (Irwin 2006) any of the study participants. My experiences, while not without anxieties, were overwhelmingly positive: participants were generous-of-spirit, intellect and patience. Our engagements were mutually respectful and a level

¹²⁶ I sought to ensure ethics remained at the forefront of my fieldwork, though there is a notable tendency to consider ethics in the final chapters of published books: e.g., see Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 210-229), Ellis (2009: 303-318) and Wolcott (2010: 112-124).

¹²⁷ In 2010, I encountered a widespread level of cynicism amongst scholars concerning ethics approvals. I attribute, in part at least, this to a process that conflates ethics, work health and safety, and institutional liability. In addition, oral testimony as a method of historical research is treated within ethics processes as akin to psychological experiments, in which an interviewee's rights are privileged over an interviewee's positive desire to share knowledge of their lived experience.

of professional distance was maintained between each participant and myself – the scholarly stranger (Agar 1996).¹²⁸

telling narratives of attachment

Having collected a body of interview, auto-ethnographic and historical data, how might stories of place-attachment be told? The essence of my approach evolved in 2012 after I began to work on a first draft of Old Currango (Chapter 9). I aimed to convey a sense of journey, both descriptive and experiential, that interwove and blended autobiography with the personal attachment stories of participants. I wanted the narrative to be ‘telling’ in two ways: first, as a plain speaking scheme presenting stories of attachment from the experiential perspectives of participants and author; and, second, telling as gradually revealing my thinking and learning on place-attachment.

In the first draft chapter of Old Currango chapter I included a large component of background history, which I felt necessary to situate the participants’ and my stories. Old Currango has a complex land-use history (Merritt 2003) and the homestead precinct a complicated built and occupation history (Hill 1997; McDougall and Vines 2007). However the descriptive contextual history I compiled served to break up the ‘telling narrative’ approach I wanted to create. There was a clash of styles between passive, critically distant, authoritative third-person voice and personal, hesitant first-person storytelling.

When I discussed my predicament and anxiety with Denis Byrne, he suggested I abandon the idea of presenting a background history. He advised I merge and give attention to only selected parts of the history in the personal narrative (e.g., Macfarlane 2010: 1-22). This seemed an obvious solution when I think back on it, but at the time I was entrenched in a belief that a background history was necessary even though historical truth or authority (Ashton and Hamilton 2010: 21-23) was not

¹²⁸ Here I am meaning the relativity of the stranger as ‘the nexus of nearness and distance’ (Newell 2006: 194, drawing on work in Simmel 1971 and Fortes 1975).

a central concern of the project. It became helpful in applying a 'merging approach' to think of myself as a heritage tourist to the field settings. A tourist visiting a heritage place for the first time acquires an experiential sense of place and fragments of history: for instance, through site managers, signboards, brochures or podcasts. Where a tourist makes a second visit, and I visited each field site twice, a greater level of historical knowledge and embodied experience is obtained. The heritage tourist analogy has been useful in thinking about and constructing the field chapters, though it is not a comparison that I use literally.

In choosing to write in a personal narrative style, I do not want to suggest that objective history (i.e., facts and events) is either 'other' to my endeavour or is an entirely separate domain or way of knowing to personal narrative. Rather, the two genres mutually shape one another. An example of historical writing illustrating this point is Maria Nugent's (2005, 2009) revisionist interrogation of Captain James Cook and Botany Bay, where multiple local meanings, other pasts and the national story are recognised as simultaneously co-evolved, entwined and contested. Importantly with regard to the subject of my thesis, objective history (however defined or constructed) and personal historical experience (however narrated) work together in constructing place-attachment.

Beside our discussion on approaches to writing history, Denis and I discussed narrative writing style. During our conversation, he referred me to James Clifford's and George Marcus' 1986 edited volume *Writing Culture*, a book that, Denis said, had a profound effect on his own writing.¹²⁹ The book is well known for sparking a 'crisis in representation' in American cultural anthropology and caused anthropologists to scrutinise their texts and develop new ways of working reflexively.

In essence, the collective message of the book's authors was focused on the authority of the ethnographic text. They questioned the established modes of ethnographic writing that embodied a single authorial voice and thereby, it was argued, a privileged

¹²⁹ On Tuesday 25 March 2014 I attended a presentation by George Marcus. His topic was the social life of the ethnographic method (Marcus 2007).

ethnographic gaze. The consequence was – in some quarters – a radical reappraisal of how ethnographies are written. (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 203)¹³⁰

If I hadn't already been convinced, this book certainly clinched a desire to avoid any form of separate authoritative background history in the case study chapters. The papers in *Writing Culture* had a considerable influence on the writing of these chapters, reaffirming the approach and narrative elements I had mapped out for the first draft of *Old Currango*, but more importantly extending the possible ways in which this might be achieved. Here I touch on one aspect: 'truths'.¹³¹

At their core, the case study chapters attempt to convey 'truthfulness', a standard of judgement showing emergent ways by which material on place-attachment was revealed during the field encounters. Such constructed truth is more-or-less accurate (i.e., it is not intentionally wrong), individualistic, self-consciously partial and, I hope, gives plausibility to the overall accounts (Wolcott 2010: Chapter 5). My discomfort with producing a background history, I now rationalise, is that objective writing is an artificial construction or 'un-truth' and presents as authoritative no matter how skilful the synthesising of data or how many caveats are placed on the reliability of sources. Fact or objective history is also largely devoid of emotion, while my experience is people's recollections of their encounters with valued places comprise a combination of explicit factual memory and implicit emotional and bodily memory. Thus the field study chapters draw substantially on the participants' accounts of place-history and their engagements with them. In essence, the participants' worldview is preminent though necessarily filtered through my reading and my consciously auto-ethnographic approach.

For this reason the participant's own words, phrases and extended interview extracts shape the narratives. To emphasise a blended storytelling approach, *the participants' words are presented in italics*, which, for example, is a stylistic device Peter Read (2000) utilises in *Belonging*. This style emphasises the collaborative

¹³⁰ For discussion of related issues in writing history, see Curthoys and Docker (2010).

¹³¹ I found useful commentary on this topic, for example, in Curthoys and Docker (2010: 206-219), Latour and Woolgar (1979), Maynes et al. (2008), Rabinow (1986: 236-239) and Sandmo (2005).

nature of my narratives and ways knowledge is co-constructed and can be represented via a jostling, multiply-shaped dialogue. I also wrote the chapters with the interviewees in mind as a primary audience and sought, and received, feedback from them on draft chapters. Since the primary audience for a PhD thesis is the academy, I have reconciled the situation of competing audiences by referencing, but limiting discussion of, scholarly literature in the case study chapters. I discuss the referenced material in greater depth in the discussion on place-attachment and heritage practice following the field study narratives.

It is now time to journey to Fairview Street, Darcoola Station, Glen Eden and Old Currango to share the wonder of these places and the ways people express their attachment to, and love for, them.



FIGURE 6.1 '85 Fairview Street', June Brown, 2007.

(Photo credit: Steve Brown, 2010.)

85 Fairview Street: an auto-ethnography of attachment

Transience

Moving [house] becomes a means to reshuffle relationships and memories by bringing them back into consciousness, by making them explicit and for deciding which ones to reinforce, which ones to abandon or put on hold. ...In other words, moving allows people to order their relations and memories. (Marcoux 2001: 83)

When I first read *Belonging*, Peter Read's (2000) book concerning ways in which settler Australians articulate feelings of connectivity to place, I came to recognise myself as 'placeless' (Chapter 1). By this I mean my sense of belonging, my identity, was linked to family members, family history, friends, possessions and work environments rather than connected to specific places. I privileged feelings for people and fondness for things (mementoes, family heirlooms and furniture) over attachments to specific locales.

I attribute this state of affairs to transience – a history of moving. My frequent moving from house to house is a trait with familial antecedents. My paternal grandfather, Quinten Hepburn Brown (1891-1955), was born in Devon, England, and raised in South Africa. As a young man he was one of the first Europeans to establish a farm (c. 1911) on the Nzoia River in eastern Kenya. Born in Kenya in 1924, my father, David George Hepburn Brown, from age six attended boarding school in Kitale, Kenya, and undertook his secondary schooling in South Africa. He fought in north Africa and Italy

in the Second World War and later returned to farming in Kenya. My maternal grandmother, Amelia Mary Rosa (1904-1997), was born to Italian parents in England and was schooled at a convent at Castelnuovo de Garfagnana in the province of Lucca, Italy. In 1930 she married an Englishman – John ‘Jack’ Hickman (1903-1992). Together with many of the Italian side of the family, they migrated to Kenya in 1953 in search of a better life, a ‘brighter future’ (Prangnell 2013: 67). After finishing her nursing training in Birmingham, my mother June Veronica Hickman, joined her family in 1954. My parents met at the bar of the Kitale Club and married at the local Catholic Church on 5 February 1955, 19 days after my paternal grandfather Quinten had died.

I was born in Kitale in 1956. At age seven, my family migrated to Western Australia, a new generation in search of a better life. I attended schools in Bakers Hill, Kondinin and Northam before studying at the University of Western Australia. By age 18, I had lived with my family on two continents and in nine different houses: the last, at 61 Charles Street, Northam, was the first my parents owned. After graduating with an Arts degree in 1976 (having lived at a university college and a shared house), I worked as an archaeologist in Western Australia for six years (five residences), travelled overseas for two-years and then worked in Tasmania from 1984 to 1989 (two houses). I ran away to join Rock ‘n Roll Circus in Brisbane for five years (two dwellings), before returning to life as an archaeologist in Victoria (two residences). Since July 2000 I have lived in Sydney (five residences), with a brief interlude in Melbourne (an apartment).¹³²

My current home, a circa 1913 semi-detached, Edwardian-style cottage at 85 Fairview Street in the Sydney suburb of Arncliffe, is the 26th dwelling I have occupied for an extended period and the seventh abode I have owned. It has been home for Allan and me since August 2007 and is the first residence to which I have developed a sustained sense of connection: the location where my placeless life, my promiscuous house-hopping existence, was halted. The concern of this chapter is to

¹³² I have found similar accounts of mobility, transience and fleeting-attachment in, for example, actress/singer Jane Clifton’s *The Address Book* (2011), a story of revisiting 32 former residences across Europe, Malaysia and Australia.

explain how my sense of attachment arose and, extending on the work in Chapter 4, to examine the role of material things in the construction of my feelings of place-attachment for the Arncliffe property.

What does a sense of place-attachment and belonging ‘feel’ like? I tackle this question by tracking some of the entanglements that have arisen in the seven years of living at 85 Fairview Street. I begin with a series of short object biographies. I then examine how my in-place material entanglements are constituted and how acts of accommodation ultimately shape my sense of place-attachment.

Favourite things

I like having things around me that make me feel good. (‘Anita’ in Marcus 1992: 104)

In the film *The Sound of Music* (20th Century Fox, 1965), the free-spirited and wayward novice Maria, to cope with moments of despair, vocalises pleasurable feelings by recalling favourite things: brown-paper packages tied up with string, raindrops on roses, bright copper kettles and warm woollen mittens.¹³³ For Maria, packages, kettles and mittens elicit positive memories and provoke emotions and feelings of pleasure and happiness (Ahmed 2010; Connerton 1989; Siegel 2012). The following vignettes or object-cameos detail a few of my favourite things (Figure 6.2) and illustrate how in-place material things and I enfold into, and co-produce, one another: though never through song.

¹³³ Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II and music by Richard Rodgers.


	
<p>Fragment of Aboriginal artefact</p>	<p>'Card left for Mrs L. Weidenhofer'</p>
	
<p>Hand painted clay gnome</p>	<p>Sticker covering bullet hole in glass panel</p>
	
<p>Peony poppies</p>	<p>AirUK teaspoon mark</p>
	
<p>Silver foil stars sprinkled over ground surface</p>	<p>Waratah air vent</p>

FIGURE 6.2 85 Fairview Street: favourite things.

(Photo credits: Allan McLean and Steve Brown.)

Aboriginal stone artefact: a deep-time presence

In undertaking test pit excavations at my suburban block (Brown 2012), six small Aboriginal stone artefacts were recovered.¹³⁴ One of the recovered objects is a fragment (41x27x15mm) of a hand-grinding/pounding (or top) stone, a part of a water-worn cobble.¹³⁵ In the Sydney Basin, grinding/pounding stones are typically interpreted as women's tools, used in the grinding and beating/pounding of plant foods (e.g., the processing of fern-root, yams and other tubers) and plant products (e.g., pounding tree bark as part of a process to produce cord or string) (Attenbrow 2002: 91-92, 100-101). Such stones were also used to process ochres and produce coloured pigments for painting bodies, wooden tools and rock surfaces.¹³⁶

To touch the excavated stone fragment is for me to feel past presence, to feel alive to the movement of Aboriginal people through a sentient landscape, people stopping along the ridge top to process plants and minerals, and to almost hear, but not quite hear, voices echoing through a previously open forest setting and across time.¹³⁷ I have always found Aboriginal stone artefacts evocative of imagined pasts. However the grinding/pounding stone fragment is particularly powerful to me, not only in its ability to speak to specific tasks, to gender and to lifestyles so different from my own, but because it expresses deep-time Aboriginal connection to 'my' plot of land. The stone is both durable and multi-temporal (Hamilakis 2011: 409). It is also political because the object is an assertion of Dharag Country, a material marker of contemporary Aboriginal people's connection to this location. And beyond these

¹³⁴ It is a requirement of the NSW *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* that Aboriginal objects be reported to the Chief Executive of the Office of Environment and Heritage (NSW). A 'site record card' and a short report on the artefacts were submitted to the Office of Environment and Heritage (NSW) in February 2011.

¹³⁵ The stone type is volcanic, possibly porphyritic dacite or rhyolite (Tessa Corkill, The Australian Museum, personal communication, 2011).

¹³⁶ For example, painted hand and foot stencils survive in a rockshelter within a Earlwood backyard, a short distance from Arncliffe. Available at: Heritage Branch. 'Earlwood Aboriginal Site.' <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5060975>> (accessed February 2013).

¹³⁷ The vegetation community occupying my present-day home site in the early nineteenth century was a mixture of Cooks River Sandstone Vegetation (Forest and Woodland) and Turpentine-Ironbark Forest (Benson et al. 1999: 8-9, 13-14). A remnant of this latter community, which I have visited, survives near Silverwater, Sydney. On occasion, I imagine experiencing movement through Turpentine-Ironbark Forest on the ridge top that Fairview Street now occupies.

forms of memory, it is personal because it 'belongs', having likely resided here for longer than Europeans have un/settled Australia.¹³⁸

Mrs Weidenhofer: a card and a gift

On the afternoon of Friday 24 August 2007, I picked up the keys to the newly purchased Arncliffe property. A boarded-over fireplace in the front bedroom immediately aroused my curiosity, already over-stimulated by the excitement of new-home ownership. I removed the ply-wood panel. Jumbled amongst ash and charcoal was a cache of objects that included a dusty pale-yellow card. Hand-written on the card, almost illegibly, in pencil is 'card left for' and in dark blue ink:

Mrs L. Weidenhofer.
Fairview Street.
Arncliffe
New South Wales.

I have since discovered that Mrs Weidenhofer is Winifred Nina Flood, a woman who, with her family, was a tenant at the property from 1920 until her death in 1938 (Brown, in press).

Recovering, retaining and researching the card has for me reawakened Winifred's presence. The tarnished card's patina transmits a sense of age, yet makes the past present. I do not equate the card with an absent body even though it may carry Winifred's DNA. However, it provoked me to enquire after the Weidenhofers and created a desire for 'family-arity' (Stallybrass 1993: 44). In material culture terms, the effect of the affective card has been to bind me into networks of obligation (Latour 2005; Miller 2010). As my knowledge of the Weidenhofer family accumulated, and as I interacted with the card more and more, Winifred has re-inhabited our house. While Clarence Roy Tasker, the landlord at the time of Winifred's death, may have wished to erase the material traces of Winifred by enclosing them in the bedroom fireplace, I welcome her return. I am pleased that

¹³⁸ There is archaeological evidence for Aboriginal occupation of the area dating to 10,000 years ago (McDonald 2008: 37).

our bodily presences are simultaneously imprinted into the fabric of the building. I am not haunted by Winifred's death at the house or her material presence: Winifred, the gift card and I have come to accommodate one another and we reside happily together.

gnome: a German presence

In 2008, Allan uncovered a decapitated miniature gnome while removing lawn at the front of the house. The gnome's smile, his eternal happiness, is unaffected by the separation of head from body. He is eleven centimetres high and is made from a thin shell of white clay produced from a mould, subsequently hand-painted. The gnome has a full bushy beard. His well-rounded buttocks rest on a brown tree stump, right leg slightly raised, right hand on knee and a garden rake in his left hand. His shoes are black, pants white, and a blue shirt with rolled up sleeves is worn over a yellow undershirt. His lips and pointed hat are red.

It is likely Lawrence and Winifred Weidenhofer, past tenants of 85 Fairview Street, owned the now-decapitated gnome. In 1930s Australia, a gnome, whether white clay or fine porcelain, emphasised German-ness because gnomes had nineteenth century origins in Germany and Switzerland (Twigs Way 2010; Londos 2006). Thus the miniature, ever-smiling gnome, a signifier of good luck in central European traditions, may have been displayed on one of two mantelpieces in the Fairview Street house. On occasion this material expression of German identity may have been hidden from the gaze of visitors in order to mask the ethnic identity of Lawrence.¹³⁹ For me, the gnome is a 'happy object' (Ahmed 2010) because his smile and posture evoke good feelings and communicate a sense of contentment, a man taking a break whilst gardening. But I can't help thinking that beneath the lucky smile there is also a story of neighbourhood ethnic tension, of early twentieth century suburban life at Arncliffe not being as settled as historians might have us believe.

¹³⁹ Janis Wilton has written on objects owned by her mother that connect with her German ancestry, including a few German books hidden by her father to avoid internment during WWI (Wilton 2008: 46-47).

***AirUK* teaspoon: theft, speed and modernity**

On 15 November 2009, while digging at the side of the house, a bent metal teaspoon appeared. It was not until I washed the spoon that I noticed a stylised Union Jack flag and 'AirUK' etched into the handle. AirUK, I subsequently found out, was an airline that operated from 1980 until 1997, after which it was acquired by Dutch flag carrier KLM and rather awkwardly renamed 'KLMuk'. AirUK's flight network served the British Isles and continental Europe: the carrier never flew to Australia.

So how did an airline teaspoon, presumably taken by a light-fingered passenger or unruly flight attendant, end up bent and discarded at the side of a house in suburban Arncliffe? I don't expect to ever know the real circumstance or events that led to this situation. But the spoon illustrates the movement and dispersal of things around the globe and the ways in which local suburban places are materially connected into a globalised world: the spoon is a marker of global connectivity. Also, the spoon is evidence of the late-20th century phenomena of the experience of time as accelerating (Virilio 2000). Not only is the teaspoon associated with the speed of air travel, it already evidences a bygone era, in the sense that the airline no longer exists, is obsolete, and that metal airline cutlery has become a rarity since 9/11. The themes of global connectivity, accumulation and a sense of speed in the late-modern period are evident in the life history of the AirUK teaspoon. These themes also emphasise notions of place as extended and nested, of things as hyper-mobile and active and thus point to the dynamic, local-globally distributed and multi-scalar nature of my backyard assemblage.

bullet hole: a vestige of violence

A woman and two children have escaped unhurt after shots were fired at their home in Sydney's south overnight. A number of bullets pierced the Arncliffe house just before 10pm. Police spokeswoman Georgie Wells says forensic officers are examining the scene. (ABC News 2006)

A Google search on 'Fairview Street Arncliffe', undertaken before I purchased and occupied number 85, located media reports describing how the house had been fired upon at 10:20pm on Friday 17 February 2006. The headlines read: 'Family's home peppered with bullets' and 'Shots fired into Sydney home' (*Sydney Morning Herald* 2006; ABC News 2006).¹⁴⁰ The most obvious evidence of this episode is a hole 11 millimetres in diameter piercing the glass-panel above the front door. Radiating out from the bullet trace, across the glass, is a series of small cracks. On the inside of the glass pane, covering the hole, is a five centimetre diameter circular sticker. The translucent sticker incorporates the Arabic character for Allah. I surmise that the Muslim family living here at the time deliberately covered the bullet hole with the sticker in order to propagate future blessings and safety from gunmen. I have left the sticker, not just because it covers the bullet hole, but also because it is a 'material memory' (Olivier 2011; Renfrew 2004) of a dramatic event.

Over time the bullet hole and sticker have acquired new meanings and become personalised through the accumulation of additional narratives. For example, the tulip-shaped Arabic character on the sticker acts as a metonym for my 2010 travels in Turkey, and in particular visits to Istanbul's Aya Sofya where huge 19th century wood medallions inscribed with gilt Arabic letters, including the letter for Allah, hang high above the marble floor.¹⁴¹ There is an emotional dimension to this transformation – the bullet hole and sticker have become less a haunting reminder of danger and more a pleasurable memory of holiday travel. In other words, my engagement with the material world is about transformational practice, an effect of which is 'renovate' place by attaching personal experience and memory.

¹⁴⁰ Drive-by shootings at private residences, or 'drive-bys' (a local vernacular term), were virtually unheard of in Sydney in the mid-1990s but grew, for example, in the first half of 2013 to 72 shootings or one every 2½ days (Neubauer 2013). Police and media reports attribute drive-bys to ethnic rivalries (e.g., conflict between Sunni and Shia religious factions), bikie turf wars, drug-related disputes of organised crime gangs, tit-for-tat matters between family members, and 'copycats' (Ralston and Kwek 2012). The extent of this urban landscape of drive-bys is visible in various cartographic representations (e.g., Phillips 2012).

¹⁴¹ A powerful memory of the visits is discovering and tracing marks cut into the marble floor that outline the circumference of the main dome that soars above. Looking upward to the dome is a large part of the tourist experience, examining the floor something more suited to the archaeological gaze.

poppies: a beautiful presence

When Allan's grandmother Doris passed away, he inherited a margarine container with seeds of her favourite peony poppies. Allan planted some of the seeds. They grew in profusion: dense copses of stems up to a metre high with silver-green, jagged-edged leaves and topped with spectacular, fire-engine red pom-pom-like flowers. As the flowers lose their petals, a large, sap-filled bulb (likely a potential narcotic) becomes visible, which then dries and breaks open to release vast numbers of tiny black poppy seeds. Year after year, each spring, the self-propagating plants emerge to re-announce their brilliant presence. These stunning plants are reminders of Doris and her vibrant personality, a woman known for speeding between Newcastle and Sydney in her pink Volkswagen. The poppies mark a celebratory connection with Doris. They are a direct connection to a loved family member and provoke sensations of warmth, fun and happiness. In making our garden we have materialised memories of Doris and the plants themselves might be said to hold material memories of her.

In considering our connections to Doris' poppies, I am drawn to a phrase used in reference to pastoral herders in southern and eastern Africa – 'personal identity points' (Smith 2005: 178), a term referencing ways in which personal identity is marked or performed.¹⁴² For me, the poppies act as markers that characterise particular connections to place. Similarly, other plant species are reminders of places and identity points – such as the 'square-leafed' succulent originating from a roof garden of a building I previously lived at in Darlinghurst, Sydney; and Mullein (*Verbascum* spp.) with stems of yellow flowers, seeds of which were collected during a holiday on Kangaroo Island. Material things are also memory triggers, *aide memoire*, like the Chinese gatepost covered in Buddha images, purchased from a favourite nursery in Fitzroy, Melbourne. Thus, I create connections to people and places through acts of growing a garden.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Although archaeologist Andrew Smith uses the term with reference to Ilchamus herders of East Africa, and specifically women's use of ash from the domestic hearth, I am applying the phrase in a more general sense.

¹⁴³ This point is also made by other authors writing on gardens – e.g., MacKellar 2004; McManus 2008; Mulcock 2008; Read 1996; Tilley 2008, 2009; and White 2012.

Will's stars: marks of visitors

Natalie and Brad and their son Will stayed at 85 Fairview Street for five weeks in 2010 while Allan and I travelled in Turkey. Natalie and I were work colleagues. During their stay at our place, on the morning of Sunday 10 October 2010, Natalie and Will sprinkled silver and red foil stars along the side of the house. The welcoming stars, as well as a sign saying: 'STOP! The Party is here', marked the occasion of Will's fourth birthday party. The sign and stars had a practical purpose: to direct people along a side path so that they did not enter and dirty the house. A second reason for the choice of stars was that they suited the superheroes party theme and, Natalie said, made the backyard look 'enchanted'. When I asked Natalie if any of the children collected stars, perhaps as keepsakes, she said that every child liked the stars and some girls may have collected a few. Some toddlers apparently ate a star or two. I conducted an interview, possibly one of the shortest on record, with Natalie about the stars. In part, this was because the stars, along with the bullet hole, represent one of the few events at 85 Fairview Street for which I have an exact time and date. I wanted to document the moment and meaning of the star's appearance.

At the time I first saw the stars I was amused. Gradually, as they re-presented themselves when I walked to and from the house via the side of the building, my feelings of pleasure intensified. Now the stars evoke mayhem, children in superhero outfits and remind me of Nat's family. Noticing them causes me to smile. I think of the red and silver foil stars as symbolising 'absent presence' (Buchli and Lucas 2001b) and 'presencing absence' (Buchli and Lucas 2001c): Will's party is over, I wasn't invited, but that party is part of my everyday life because the stars make it so. My experience of 85 Fairview Street is filled with absent presence, with known individuals like Winifred, Doris and Will and with less well-known collectives – the Weidenhofer family, the Muslim family and Aboriginal people.

Accommodating things, constituting attachment

This acre of land is so full of intense memory that it will never let me pass through. Each time I visit, it snags the heart so violently that I'm left disorientated by the force of emotion. It's a landscape peopled with images so clear and voices so loud that it shakes my sense of reality. (Bunting 2009: 2)

In the introduction to this chapter I pointed to a reading of my life as 'placeless', a transient process of house moving that required things to be divested, relationships reshuffled and memories refurbished (Marcoux 2001). What becomes evident is that my time at each house was insufficient, or my life at each lacked sufficient intensity, for a sense of prolonged attachment to become rooted in me. There were no deep or sustained memories that snagged the heart in the way Madeleine Bunting (above) describes for her inherited one acre property on the North York moors.

In contrast to the transience of frequent house moving, I have described how settling at 85 Fairview Street since 2007 involved activities that invest feelings and meanings in things such as a stone artefact, gift card, gnome, teaspoon, bullet hole, peony poppies and foil stars. Though these things are only a tiny portion of a large assemblage of objects and species present at the property, they are indicative of ways things and me have become entangled in networks of relations.

Having set the scene by contrasting moving-as-divestment and staying-as-investment, I now return to the question posed at the start of the chapter: What does my sense of place-attachment and belonging feel like? To discuss my feelings of attachment, and building on the object vignettes, I draw on concepts from material culture studies and archaeology to explore how things and me have become entangled and co-constituted.

material intimacy, experiential understanding

Places and objects contribute to a sensory and emotional perception of belonging, of home and community. (Ireland and Lydon 2005: 1)

Daniel Miller's book *Stuff* (2010), a manifesto for the study of material culture, is premised on the idea that people make objects and objects make people.¹⁴⁴ He argues that 'stuff actually creates us' (2010: 10) and stuff is that which makes us part of the world.¹⁴⁵ Miller uses as one of many examples, his arts and crafts period home in London to explore the way his house and he accommodate one another.

Theoretically I own the house, and I should be able to do any damn thing I want to it, subject only to the feelings of my family and the laws of the state. But of course I can't. The wretched house is simply too good looking and constantly humiliates me. But as long as I am prepared to be humble and respect its original features, I gain a great deal of pleasure from it. (Miller 2010: 94)

Here Miller is pointing to the 'obdurate nature of material things' (2010: 94)¹⁴⁶ with respect to agency: the idea that material culture has volition or intentionality of its own (2010: 94; see also Barad 2007; Bennett 2010; Boivin 2008; Olsen 2010; Pickering 2010).¹⁴⁷ Agency distributed between Miller and his house is reciprocal: Miller can change his home to suit himself (e.g., paint, decorate and furnish) and is concurrently made to do things (i.e., effected and affected) by the house (e.g., he is intimidated by the aesthetic demands of the original features) (Miller 2010: 92, 96).¹⁴⁸ Thus Miller finds it productive to view 'the home not as a thing but as a process' since 'being accommodating and being accommodated is something with

¹⁴⁴ *Stuff* is a recapitulation of earlier work by Miller (e.g., 1987, 2001b, 2005, 2008).

¹⁴⁵ Miller (2010: 10) is challenging ('demolishing') an orthodox semiotic view 'that objects signify or represent us and that they are principally signs or symbols that stand for persons.' As I discussed in Chapter 4, this is part of a wider project within humanities research that seeks to understand the material beyond the discursive, subjective or intentional.

¹⁴⁶ 'Objects can be obdurate little beasts, they fall from the mantelpiece and break, they refuse to grow in shady spots in the garden, they cause us to trip' (Miller 2010: 94).

¹⁴⁷ Miller uses agency in this way rather than saying this is how agency necessarily works.

¹⁴⁸ Miller writes about this effect as objectification, the process of self-alienation, derived from his 'sense of inferiority to the house itself' (2010: 92). In doing so he is drawing on work by philosophers G.W.F. Hegel and Georg Simmel (2010: 54-68, 159; also Miller 1987: 19-33, 68-82). Ian Hodder (2012: 18) might describe Miller's entanglement with his house as the dialectic between dependence (things as enabling and productive) and dependency (constraints and limits), which I touched on in Chapter 4.

which we are constantly engaged' (2010: 96). The notion of accommodation points to entangled and recursive processes whereby people with their homes are in a continuous state of becoming, re-shaping and merging.

I find Miller's argument that people make objects and objects make people, and his use of the term accommodation, useful for examining my sustained engagements with in-place things. How might my 1913 Arncliffe house, like Miller's 1906 London home, make me as much as I make it? When I first moved into the house I already held an affection for the building, both in general and specifically for some of its 'period features', such as the bull-nose iron roof over the front verandah, high timber ceilings, plaster air vent covers with waratah motifs, picture rails and electric lights operated by pull-cords.¹⁴⁹ When Allan and I renovated (e.g., removed carpets, painted ceilings and walls, re-made the kitchen), we did not want to change the feeling of the place: the original features, having charmed and seduced us, exerted forces requiring them to be retained and accommodated.¹⁵⁰

Amongst the original features, the waratah vent covers (Figure 6.2) provoke in me warm feelings of home. I have become attentive to the presence of such vents beyond the Fairview Street house. I am delighted and thrilled when visiting places with these features (such as my friends Xavier's and Darren's house in Tempe; Thai Nesia restaurant in Oxford Street, Surry Hills; or Renaissance Café in the Rocks) or when I find one that is out of place (e.g., I collected an intact vent from a rubbish skip; and Allan found and collected a fragment, an embossed plaster waratah, from beneath our house). They evoke our home, not just a reminder of the place at which we live but the pleasurable feelings I have of being here. Beyond the feelings of home-attachment they convey, the vents represent an era (the late nineteenth and early twentieth century) when settler society began to feel less alienated from the

¹⁴⁹ 'Offering all the charm of yesteryear in a quiet street with easy access to transport and recreation facilities... Original features including high ceilings.' (Advertisement for 83 and 85 Fairview Street, June 2007: Century 21 Favorito Real Estate, Earlwood)

¹⁵⁰ The carpets, likely dating to the mid-1990s, and the c.1950s kitchen did not make the same aesthetic demands on me as did the 'original features'. My sense of selective aesthetics generally favoured original features over introduced elements. Thus our reasons for retaining some things and removing others were less about respecting the building's authenticity and integrity in a *Burra Charter* sense (Australia ICOMOS 2013), but more a visceral response to the period 'charms': the carpets and dilapidated kitchen did not sufficiently charm.

Australian landscape and came to increasingly accommodate local topography and native species. For example, architects and designers increasingly represented native plants and animals in their work.

What of the other objects that I have described? How do they simultaneously accommodate and become accommodating? An obvious response is that we share physical space – the things reside either within the house (the stone artefact, gift card, gnome, AirUK teaspoon, bullet hole) or in the garden (the poppies, Will's stars). Through proximity there is a sense of human-object-ecological accommodation. And by constantly living together our already entwined lives become ever more entangled. The waratah vents, for example, are home but also stand in for places further afield (e.g., Thai Nesia and the many dining events experienced there). The bullet hole has a violent biography but the covering sticker stands in for touring the Aya Sophia. The stone artefact is an enduring trace marking the presence of Aboriginal people just as the foil stars are the continuous presence of Will's birthday party. That is, there is an accretion, an accumulation, of meanings that emerge through co-habitation. There is an experiential sense in which forces and energies, including memories, are mixed and distributed amongst humans, non-human species and material things in ways that become ever more entangled. Bennett's (2010: 32) term 'agentic swarm', a notion of distributed agency and intra-action, makes sense to me, feels apt, and encapsulates how I experience co-mingling as currents, vitalities and energy forces. Equally, the notion of extended mind, discussed in Chapter 4, encapsulates a sense in which my feelings of place-attachment are co-constituted with material things.

Also, these material things – objects and plants – make me because I study and write about them. The biographies, the social and cognitive lives, of the things become enfolded in my academic publications (Brown 2010a, 2012, in press). To achieve this I am compelled by the things to investigate them – to examine their histories, material properties, sensuous natures and affects. There is a sense in which our intra-actions intensify over time – the more I write of things the more they demand of me: our dependencies become ever more entangled.

The things and I are emotionally entangled. My feelings, my moods, are entwined with the things. The things can preconfigure my emotional states because of our shared and sensuous histories. Things are affective: they provoke visceral forces beneath and alongside consciousness that emanate as emotion. The gnome's grin has an affective quality: it makes me smile. At times the Aboriginal artefacts make me anxious because I feel guilt for failing to have adequately discussed their futures with Aboriginal people. The bullet hole variously incites unease (the threat of violence) or pleasure (memories of the Aya Sophia). The foil stars unfailingly make me happy. The poppies recollect the first and only time I met Doris: our awkward yet warm conversation. While I portray the emotional states that these things provoke and elicit as singular, they are often more complex.

Within the complex mix of affect and emotion is the experience of empathy. By empathy I mean being emotionally affected by someone else's emotions and experiences and/or emotionally affected by an object and creatively imagining oneself in another person's or thing's situation. This meaning differs from traditional notions of empathy, which are generally restricted to the human domain (e.g., Coplan and Goldie 2011; though see Currie 2011). However it is my contention, a view that is informed by my long-time experience as an archaeologist and my experience of home-thing entanglements, that empathy be extended to the realm of non-humans. This view draws from ideas of 'material memory' (Olivier 2011), that artefacts have life-histories (Kopytoff 1986) and because of the liveliness of things (Bennett 2010; Ingold 2007b). To my mind the bullet hole above my front door has all these qualities. It enables me to empathetically imagine, to experientially understand, a past situation, both as an event and emotionally charged incident for the woman and children occupying the house at the time of the shooting.

what if we never discovered these objects?

Objects and artifacts, owing to their durational qualities, constitute material memories that embody and project time as coexistence rather than as linearity or succession: They are multitemporal. (Hamilakis 2011: 409)

I pose the question 'what if we never discovered these objects' because it provokes a different angle from which to consider the way attachment materialises and how it feels. In attempting to answer the question, however, I must begin by talking about interpersonal intimacy and homemaking. For Allan and me, ours is the longest relationship either of us has experienced. Perhaps because of this fact there is an intensity to our relationship expressed in our engagement with place. We renovate, garden and excavate because, at one level, we instinctively enjoy these practices. The practices are physically intimate collaborations that necessitate engagements with artefacts, soil, plants and noises (e.g., birds, neighbours, aeroplanes). Thus constructing home through practise and with things, what Andrew Gorman-Murray (2006) terms 'identity work', is a large part of who we are as partners. Material things draw us in and lodge in our minds. They become part of our make-up and we gain sustenance and comfort from them. We accommodate and are accommodated. Things and us come to depend on one another. Home and home-things are co-produced and consolidate Allan and my partnership.

Thus the practices of gardening, renovating and excavating necessarily co-mingle and entangle us with a myriad material things. Importantly, we not only unintentionally encounter things but actively seek things out. Personally, I blame Winifred for this state of affairs. If that 'card left for Mrs L. Weidenhofer' hadn't perked my interest in who she was and how the card got to be enclosed in the fireplace, then our lives, the form of our relationship, might have taken a different turn. As it was the card was the first of many actors/agents (*sensu* Latour 2005) that drew us into their stories, their social and cognitive lives. They charmed us, as the card used intrigue, into wanting to know some-thing of their back-story, their present circumstance and their possible futures with us.

This leads me to a second point. By handling and retaining objects, by being ‘tricked’ into wanting to know more of their lives, we began to invite people back into our home and into our lives. In Jane Bennett’s (2010: 4) words, ‘stuff exhibited its thing-power: it issued a call... it provoked affects’. In a sense we re-awaken the departed, re-call the forgotten – the generations of Aboriginal people who passed over our land, past tenants (the Weidenhofer family and the young Muslim family) and friends who have visited or stayed (Natalie, Brad and Will). Things we gather, collect and accumulate are alive, not only because they may carry traces of DNA, but because the things themselves have memories, material memories (Hamilakis 2011: 409; Olivier 2011; Renfrew 2004).

According to archaeologist Laurent Olivier (2011), archaeology is a discipline concerned with material memory.¹⁵¹ Rather than a form of history that emphasises sequential and linear time, Olivier argues, archaeology is a form of memory: ‘Archaeological memory is a material memory’ (2011: 59). Material memory is unconscious and it is the role of the archaeologist, like the psychoanalyst, to bring to light something not immediately evident. In this view the past is not temporally or physically remote but rather is here, now and everywhere. Olivier states: ‘the place of the past is not the past itself, but rather the present’ (2011: 86). Thus, in Olivier’s conception, the discipline of archaeology is concerned with studying the materiality of the present regardless of whether material things originate in deep-time or the contemporary past (i.e., time as multi-temporal rather than linear; Hamilakis 2011).

Thus material memory is a memory trace that can be brought to light, to conscious awareness. Winifred’s card is an example of an object whose material memory has been awakened. The card, after lying dormant for more than 75 years, reveals in the present a palimpsest, a moment, of history forgotten yet retrieved by being investigated, studied and experientially understood. As with people’s memories, material memories can be considered as reconstructed from an original memory trace, an engram (discussed in Chapter 4; Siegel 2012: 50-51), that comprises a ‘gist’

¹⁵¹ For Colin Renfrew (2004: 28), material memory is ‘perpetual engagement’, a notion that consciously harks back to insights into the life-histories of artefacts (Kopytoff 1986).

– the general notion of an event – and specific details: ‘With time, the details of an experience may begin to fade away and become less tightly bound together’ (2012: 51). Thus a material memory is a restoration or re-collection and a form of reconstruction of a past event in the present.

I think of material memory, in one respect, as comparable to affect (Gregg and Seigworth 2010) – both are conceptualised as forces beneath consciousness: affect is a precursor to human emotion¹⁵² and material memory is a dormant trace of past events and experiences. Thus a material thing, such as the clay gnome, has in a sense a double unconsciousness or ‘potential’ – an affective power that shapes emotion (the smile can provoke happiness) and a material memory that can be revealed (e.g., its German associations) through archaeological and historical enquiry. Thus affect and material memory are agented processes enabling things to be experienced as alive (Hitchings 2006: 366-369; Peterson 2011). When I encounter and handle material things, the departed are being awakened because I am mindful and aware of other non-humans with whom I share the world and because I expose myself to the potential of things to provoke affect and reveal pasts.

So what if we never discovered and embraced objects? It is quite clear that our lives, Allan’s and my relationship, are entangled with an enormous array of things and it would be impossible to separate ourselves from them or reside in a world without things (e.g., house, objects, plant species). Nonetheless what if we did not pay heed to our object encounters? What if we ignored those things that are necessarily exposed through house renovation, gardening and archaeological field practice? First, we would reside in a place that for us had no back-story. Without the gift card we would never have known of Mrs Weidenhofer. Without stone artefacts, deep time Aboriginal presence would remain an idea and not a material reality. Without foil stars, sharing our house with friends would be generous but materially untraceable. And waratah air vents would remain a structural element rather than a

¹⁵² Here I overlook critiques of affect as solely non-conscious (e.g., Blackman 2012; Leys 2011).

process of wider world engagement. We would be present with materials yet without a material past.¹⁵³

Secondly, without objects our connection to place would be diminished. By being unresponsive, by not allowing ourselves to be open to the affective qualities and material memories of things (a virtual impossibility if it is accepted that affect is neither conscious nor intentional), our register of in-place feelings and emotions would necessarily be reduced and deficient. We might have found intensity through experiences external to home: for example, through travel. Even then we would have to be careful not to purchase souvenirs or take photographs as such material actions would necessitate bringing emotions and material memories into our home. We would need to discard travel clothes that had become sticky or sedimented with affect and/or materially altered (e.g., torn, stained or faded and thus intimately connected to place, event, object and memory). Finally, we would need to be careful not to link places or people encountered in our travels with material things in our home – for example, avoid creating an association between the sticker covering the bullet hole and the disk in the Aya Sophia. Even a bout of amnesia inflicted in a taxi *en route* from the airport to home, with or without clothes, is unlikely to prevent the immediate past from interpenetrating the present. Thus not becoming co-mingled with the huge array of objects that we accommodate within our home environment is impossible.

Connecting personal experience and heritage practice

The subtle but powerful blending of place, object, and feeling is so complex, so personal, that it is unlikely that the process will ever be fully explained. (Marcus 1992: 111)

¹⁵³ Despite all of this avoidance and living with dulled imaginations, would we still be attached to the house? One possibility is that we would have, in development psychology terms, ‘dismissive’ states of mind with respect to adult attachment styles: i.e., dismissing of attachment-related experiences and relationships (Siegel 2012: 99). However, this topic is not addressed in the thesis.

Archaeological practice is a process of entanglement between people (e.g., archaeologists, volunteers, visitors), place (the location of field studies, laboratories, storage facilities) and things (the artefacts encountered, recovered and described). As such archaeology, and material culture studies more generally, is well placed to investigate the role of things in the construction of place-attachment, despite place-attachment being a phenomenon with which archaeologists seldom engage.¹⁵⁴

In the case example of 85 Fairview Street, a personal account of attachment, I have emphasised the role of material things. Home renovation, gardening and archaeological excavation are practices that have enveloped and entangled me in a local environment of lively things. Winifred's card was a catalyst for turning my object encounters from happenstance to active hunting, collecting and detecting. I have described this process as one of being open to affect to reveal emotion and cognisant of material memory to reveal artefact life histories. As a result of my fascination with the object world of my suburban block we, the things and me, have come to accommodate one another, to be willing to share and grow muddled and mixed lives.

Dwelling in-place has engendered in me a sense of place-attachment. I explain this state of affairs as arising because my body, each material thing and nested places extend beyond their physical boundaries and because the intra-action of agentic forces and energies creates assemblages of people-place-things. My experience is visceral, sensorial and intellectual as bodies and in-place material things co-mingle and intertwine in multiple, dynamic ways: that is, I experience place-attachment as a distributed phenomenon and entanglement.

heritage matters

So what has been learned from the study of 85 Fairview Street that is relevant to ways that place-attachment is conceptualised and applied in heritage practice? This

¹⁵⁴ For example, archaeologist Sue Hamilton (in Bender et al. 2007: 66) makes this point, observing that fieldwork 'can engender a strong sense of, and reaction to, place, yet little of this is evoked or utilised in the interpretation and publication of excavations.'

question is itself tangled in the question of what heritage is and does (Harrison 2013: 5-7; Smith 2006).¹⁵⁵ For the present discussion I use heritage, drawing on a view emanating from Cambridge University, to mean a process of making and re-making narratives (Dull 2013: 2-3), but also a practice of caring for the in/tangible things societies want to keep.

A first response to the question of what has been learned from the Fairview Street project derives from the nature of the case study site itself: 'home' or more precisely the process of house/garden-life or 'home culture' (Buchli 2010). The Western privatised domestic sphere is a space prevalent in literature on place-attachment (e.g., Ahrentzen 1992; Buchli 2010; Gorman-Murray 2006; Miller 2001b; Molcar 2008), though less common in the field of heritage studies (for exceptions, see Buchli and Lucas 2001d; Finn 2009; Ulin 2009). Much, not all, literature emphasises the domestic sphere as physically bounded: walls delineate the house-as-structure and fences mark each property boundary and thus, by implication, walls and fences create spaces within which feelings of belonging are 'contained'. There is a disjuncture for me between this view and my feelings of connectivity to 85 Fairview Street.

To explain this disjuncture let us assume that a conventional heritage practitioner interrogates me on my sense of place-attachment: perhaps as part of a local heritage study. It is fair to assume that the practitioner would conceptualise the study or field site, 85 Fairview Street, as a single spatial unit, a discrete bounded property within the City of Rockdale.¹⁵⁶ Immediately there is an issue here: I do not think of my home as a contained entity or solely a 349.7m² block. Rather than relying on a metaphor of containment, my construction of home-place is multi-scalar, malleable, situated and context-dependent. My feelings of attachment are enfolded with

¹⁵⁵ For Laurajane Smith, heritage is 'a cultural process or performance of meaning-making.' Heritage by this meaning is not a thing or a place, but an intangible process, in which social and cultural values are identified, negotiated, rejected or affirmed (Smith 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009: 44). For Rodney Harrison (2013: 14), heritage is also not a thing but 'refers to a set of attitudes to, and relationships with, the past'.

¹⁵⁶ This approach is evident, for example, in the Rockdale Heritage Study (Walker and Kass 1991), which includes the suburb of Arncliffe. The study compiled an inventory of 427 non-indigenous heritage items – a series of bounded private and public spaces dominated by dwellings, shops, public buildings and works, churches and schools with a sprinkling of parks, trees, 'natural' areas and archaeological sites (1991: Appendix C).

specific things (the gnome, for example) or assemblages of things including sandstone-edged garden beds, collections of bits and pieces that dot the backyard, boxes in the study in which excavated artefacts are stored, blue wrens that roost in the lilly-pilly hedge. In my conception, things 'leak' (Ingold 2010: 7), such as trees that overhang boundary fences and teaspoons that are well travelled; and meanings leak – for example, the plaster waratah air vents that simultaneously co-mingle home with other places, people and events. To talk of home as a singular, bounded entity (i.e., structure or property) is to subsume things – such as the teaspoon and air vents – and the memories, stories, affects and emotions entangled with them, into a construct of place-as-fixed that is not my lived experience. Home to me is a set of forces and energies which are not contained. Home is a multiplicity of nested places and an extensive and dispersed network of places and place-feelings.

Thus, and this is a second connected matter, there are different constructs of place-attachment and these are reflected in the use of different vocabularies (Table 4.1). Typically the language of heritage practice expresses place-attachment as bonding (Scannell and Gifford 2010b: 1) or association (Australia ICOMOS 2013: Article 1.15). It will be clear from Chapter 4 that this language is problematic and the concepts and words used in current heritage practice for describing attachment do not mesh with my experiential understanding of the phenomenon. Hence, to respond to a heritage practitioner's questioning on place-attachment as association requires me to separate me (constructed as a singular, bounded subject) from place (location and locale; Cresswell 2009: 1) and to view home-place as conceptually fixed and stable. A static view of attachment is antithetical to a notion of attachment as entanglement in which assemblages of individuals are uncontained, place is unbounded and nested, and things are active. In fact, the heritage practitioner applying static and bounded notions of attachment would disrupt my sense and experience of attachment. By imposing a concept of place-attachment as bonding or association, the heritage practitioner compels me to realign and re-configure my sense of place, my thinginess with objects and my narrative of attachment.

Hence there is a disconnect between a conception of home-as-fixed applied by the heritage practitioner studying place-attachment and the complicated muddle of stuff that is my experience of domesticated belonging. An interviewee for a study on attachment to home is pushed into taking an outside, externalised or scopic view, a kind of Google map visualisation, of their home in order to respond to questions on place-attachment conceptualised as an association between person and place. The bigger point I am making here is that place, when defined as tangible and spatial, is the bounded space into which the heritage practitioner forces heritage values to fit, but place as bounded may not represent the lived experience of a community member. An approach to redressing this issue is to resist fixing place as bounded and static and to conceptualise locale as a central node or core within a distributed people-places-things network. Such an approach would align with Malpas' (1999: 34) notion of the nested structure of place.

What this discussion suggests is that heritage studies of place-attachment that are place-based will likely set off on the wrong footing. A better starting point for such a study might begin with people: for example, investigating the lived experiences of an individual or group and exploring ways in which conceptions and configurations of attachment extend across spatial, social and material domains. However, where heritage studies insist on, or necessitate, place-as-starting-point, they might circumvent being rooted to locale by investigating the routes via which place-attachment is constructed: for example, by documenting, perhaps mapping, the spatial distribution or networks of connected places, people, practices and events.

Finally, a matter emphasised in the Fairview Street case study is the role of material things. In the discussion above, as well as in previous chapters, I have described how material things are absent when place-attachment is conceptualised as a symbolic, subjective relationship (Low 1992: 165) or as a discursive practice of meaning-making (Johnston 1994: 10). Rather than a form of intangible heritage, I have argued for a concept of place-attachment that aligns with paradigms of co-evolution, co-production and co-enactment and which emphasises entanglements between assemblages of people, place, objects and non-human species. The idea that

symbols, associations and meanings (intangible heritage) can be easily separated from material traces (tangible heritage) is of course not novel in heritage studies (e.g., Andrews et al. 2007; Byrne 2009; Gonçalves and Deacon 2003; Harrison 2013: 14; Smith and Akagawa 2009: 6). Nevertheless, conceptualising place-attachment as oppositional to material things has remained widespread in heritage practice.¹⁵⁷

I have sought to counter this absence of things by focussing on the role of material things in my experience of home place-attachment. By fashioning vignettes, I have illustrated how objects and plants became entangled in my sense of attachment: that is, material things are used to create ‘object lessons’, to borrow a phrase from Tracy Ireland and Jane Lydon (2005).¹⁵⁸ It is an approach that emphasises ‘material histories’ rather than ‘histories of materials’ (Stahl 2010: 151). Material histories, Ann Brower Stahl argues, ‘bring into view the bundling of people, things, and ideas past and present’ and thereby elicit configurations across humans, non-humans and the material traces of history.¹⁵⁹ Applying a material histories approach to my experiential understanding of place-attachment has provided a constructive pathway for demonstrating the vibrant and spirited role of material things in the person-place-thing assembly.

Reflection: no place like gnome

Subtly, without my fully, clearly noticing it, the field had gone from being an aesthetically pleasing, interesting, and refreshing place in Nature to walk to a place that spoke to and soothed my often weary spirit, if not my frequently exhausted body. It had begun to take the place of the friends who were all far away. (Butala 2000: 35)

¹⁵⁷ However, at a joint ICOMOS Mexico and ICOMOS International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICICH) meeting held in Coatepec, Mexico, in October 2013, a ‘Declaration on the Inseparability of Tangible and Intangible Heritage’ was formulated.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Object lessons’ has a long genealogy – first used in 1896 by anthropologist Edward B. Tylor in the foreword to Friedrich Ratzel’s *The History of Mankind* (Meskell 2004: 13-14).

¹⁵⁹ Stahl (2010: 155-157) recognises three complementary analytical approaches in archaeology and anthropology to construct material histories: biography (‘approaches to material practices [that] draw attention to the varied associations of objects as they circulate within and between contexts across a range of spatial scales’), deposition (which ‘draws attention to the practices and effects of drawing together – “bundling” or “gathering” – of objects in specific contexts’) and genealogy (‘focus attention on the reproduction and transformation of practice in time’).

The concern of this chapter has been to examine my feelings for home by contrasting a previous sense of being placeless with now becoming attached to place. The change has been gradual, imperceptible for the most part: a shift from initial experiences of strangeness and unfamiliarity to persistent feelings of familiarity, intimacy and connectivity. I have interrogated my sense of place-attachment by drawing on autobiography, mindful of concepts in the field of heritage studies and their application in heritage practice. I have focussed on experiential understanding to describe how my senses, intuition and intellect construct place-attachment and how belonging actually feels. My experience of place-attachment is entangled with in-place material things, people and other places.

In exploring my experience, I have found value in using object narratives via a material histories approach (Stahl 2010) to: first, articulate a sense of aliveness of things, such as Winifred's card, the Weidenhofer's miniature gnome and Doris' poppies; and, second, to reflect on ways objects are co-produced and accommodated within assemblages of people-place-things. In short, I have tried to convey why matter matters in my experience of attachment. I have also emphasised my experience of 85 Fairview Street as un/contained (e.g., through waratah air vents) and un/settled (e.g., the co-presence of the Weidenhofer family). My experience of place is not straightforward or stable: it often feels muddled, messy and difficult to fully explain because place is a complex construction that, to me, is not a bounded suburban property, but stretches simultaneously out/inward (Munn 1996; Malpas 1999). I have found value in misplacing place.

Finally, in concluding the chapter, it seems only fair to mention that Allan and I are considering moving in a few years time from our home in Arncliffe to rural NSW. This may seem strange for someone like me who has placed so much value on a first-time, intense experience of place-attachment. However, the prospect of moving, of 'going bush', is both exciting and daunting. And we will not leave unaccompanied: while the Aboriginal stone artefact, bullet hole and foil stars, perhaps also the

gnome, teaspoon and Mrs Weidenhofer's card, will continue to reside in a physical sense at Arncliffe, the poppies will likely move with us. 85 Fairview Street will thus extend beyond Arncliffe into our new home-place. Home, as the saying goes, is where the heart is. But the heart, even a heart saddened by the act of re-locating, will always be home to many things.



FIGURE 7.1 Darcoola Station: entrance.
(Photo credit: Steve Brown, November 2012.)

Darcoola Station: fondness, family and friends

Gums with roses

My aim is to have such a pleasing arrangement of colour and such a satisfying informal design that the garden will have appeal even when it is not being cared for. (Extract from diary of Brenda Weir; *The Riverine Observer*, 7 August 2002: 6)

There is no mistaking the main entrance into the former Darcoola Station (Figure 7.1). Large, evenly-spaced metal letters attached to weld-mesh and framed by white-painted posts and rail spell D-A-R-C-O-O-L-A. Robert (Rob) Weir, with whom I first visited Darcoola in November 2012, told me his father, the sixth Robert (Bob) Dundas Weir, had created and attached the letters to the entrance fence. He had wanted it made absolutely clear to visiting pastoralists that this was DARCOOLA because graziers occasionally came to the property to negotiate the agistment of livestock: temporarily taking sheep or cattle to graze on their land was an income source for the Weirs. Pastoralists visiting Darcoola for the first time had to be assured that the country was cared for and stock-feed plentiful. Bob Weir had created the bold signage at a time when the adjoining property – Waimea – between Darcoola and the main Hay-Maude Road, had, in Rob's word, been *flogged* (i.e., overstocked and overgrazed).¹⁶⁰ Bob did not want graziers confusing the denuded landscape bordering the access road with Darcoola's cared-for saltbush country.

¹⁶⁰ At that time, Waimea was stocked at a rate of one sheep per acre on land where one sheep per 3 to 4 acres was the norm. The RSPCA became involved with the overstocking after some 200 dead sheep were discovered in the corner of a paddock near the main road. The owner was fined and went broke. (Rob Weir, 21 November 2012)

Thus the large metal letters proclaiming DARCOOLA demarcated farms and farming practices.

Immediately beyond the Darcoola entrance, flanking the gravel road, are two trees. Brenda Weir, the second wife of Bob Weir, planted a number of Black Box (*Eucalyptus largiflorens*) and some Western Australian eucalypt seedlings in this area, but only two trees remain. Coleen Houston, Brenda's close friend who lives on the neighbouring property of Budgewah (pronounced bud-gee-war), told me that it was a common sight to see Bren' pushing a wheelbarrow containing star pickets and wire mesh netting (used to exclude rabbits) across Darcoola's flat paddocks. Brenda planted out seedlings of Black Box and River Acacia (*Acacia salicina*) and, 'as the opportunity presented itself' (Scriven and Driver 1993), fenced off naturally regenerating Black Box, Murray Cypress Pine (*Callitris glaucophylla*), Butterbush (*Pittosporum phylliraeoides*) and other species.

Looking beyond Bob's DARCOOLA sign and Brenda's two eucalypts, past the sign announcing Kalyarr National Park and across the saltbush and grassy plain,¹⁶¹ a thin band of dark green trees can be seen extending, and on a extremely hot day shimmering, along the horizon (Figure 7.1). The trees mark the course of Darcoola Creek, a broad creek channel so shallow it is only apparent because of the corridor of Black Box Woodland. Nestled beside the channel, but not visible from the property entrance, is the present day Darcoola Station homestead. Approaching the heavily wooded surrounds of the homestead brings a surprise. The low silver-grey saltbush shrubs and red soils of the flat plain and gravel access road give way to ever-taller trees and then, hidden amongst a woodland (created by the Weirs), the lush green of the Darcoola Station homestead garden. On the afternoon Rob and I arrived the temperature exceeded 38 degrees Celsius. Even just looking at it, the garden exuded coolness and the prospect of escape from the tremendous heat and dryness of the outlying plain.

¹⁶¹ Technically this is chenopod shrubland, part of the Murrumbidgee Scalded Plains ecosystem, a vegetation community typical of the western Riverina Bioregion (NPWS 2004: 2-3).

The garden covers an area of three quarters of an acre. It is known locally for roses for which Brenda Weir had a passion. Brenda extended, tended and loved the garden from 1967 till 2002. She mapped 211 rose varieties in the garden at June 2002, one month before she passed away from cancer at age 59.¹⁶² Brenda had a particular interest in heritage varieties, including unidentified varieties – termed ‘Renamed Old Roses’. She propagated rose varieties found at cemeteries, surrounding pastoral properties and the Bishop’s Lodge garden in Hay (Bishop’s Lodge Management Committee 2012). Brenda had a long-standing and intimate association with the restoration and maintenance of the garden at Bishop’s Lodge (Figure 7.2; Weir 2003), the official residence for the Anglican Bishop of Riverina from 1889 until 1943.



FIGURE 7.2 Brenda Weir at Bishop’s Lodge, 1998.

(Source: Riverina Regional Tourism. Courtesy of Nerida Reid.)

¹⁶² ‘Obituary: Brenda Frances Weir’, *The Riverine Grazier*, Wednesday 7 August 2002: 6. Copies of Benda Weir’s hand-drawn plans, which show the Darcoola Station homestead garden layout and plantings, can be found on NPWS File No. 03/05194, Hay Office.

Brenda began negotiating the sale of Darcoola Station to the NPWS in June 2000,¹⁶³ two years after her husband Bob had died. Rob Weir told me that one of the discussions he and his siblings – Jennifer, Lindsay and Sholto – had with NPWS when negotiating the sale of the property concerned ongoing access for family members. On 8 July 2003¹⁶⁴ the NPWS purchased Darcoola Station and it was gazetted as Kalyarr National Park on 11 November 2004.¹⁶⁵ In November 2012, Rob told me it was a *good thing* to be able to visit Darcoola whenever he wanted. He also said, on the day prior to our visit, that *it was a shame that National Parks had let the garden go*. This comment immediately elicited in me feelings of apprehension and reawakened memories of Pam Ponder’s despair at discovering what park management had done to her Byerawering garden (Chapter 3).

However, as was to be revealed in my discussions with people closely connected to the Darcoola Station homestead garden (presented below), this was not entirely the case. But it was a close shave.

The feelings of family

Gardening is an activity which evokes ideas about landscape, space and place. ...an activity through which an individual interacts with the landscape, planting out meanings... (Holmes 2003: 172)

Rob Weir: about Darcoola

Darcoola was always home. (Robert Weir, 21 November 2012)

¹⁶³ Letter from Brenda Weir to Regional Manager, NPWS, 22 June 2000 (NPWS File No. 01/011, Hay Office).

¹⁶⁴ The date the property, comprising 8,135 hectares, was settled. (NPWS FIL03/01614 ST, Hay Office)

¹⁶⁵ *New South Wales Government Gazette* No. 77, 24 June 2005: 3138 (NPWS File 03/01614, Hay Office). Kalyarr (pronounced kal-air) is a Wiradjuri word related to the Lachlan River. The name was put forward by Steve Meredith, a NPWS Aboriginal Heritage Officer (undated memorandum; NPWS FIL03/05194). Rob Weir told me the name ‘cumbungi’, the origin of ‘kalyarr’, referred to the lower Lachlan River.

Robert (Rob) Weir, son of Bob and Shirley Weir, after more than two decades working *on the mines* in northern Queensland, now lives in Hay. His house, the location of our first meeting and interview, overlooks the River Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) fringed Murrumbidgee River. On the north side of Rob's town block, at 480 Orson Street, sits the original Darcoola Station homestead – 'Arniston', a *Scottish name*. This 1880s timber framed, weatherboard and iron clad building was moved over twenty miles in the 1920s to its present site, likely by bullock or horse and dray.¹⁶⁶ Its original location was 'Old House' Paddock, an eastern portion of Darcoola Station.¹⁶⁷

I asked Rob if it felt strange living next to such an obvious reminder of Darcoola. He said that although the house had been altered, and was not on the property during his lifetime, it made him *feel like he is on the property*. Rob grew up on Darcoola and was schooled for six years via correspondence and several governesses. His memories are of *good times, a good childhood*, like capturing *bog-eyes* (Shingleback Lizard; *Tiliqua rugosa*) to sell in Melbourne for 40 cents each. Rob fondly recalled the times he would jump into an old Pontiac he had learned to drive at nine years of age. *Rob had the Pontiac until about four years ago.*

After leaving school Rob worked for *the old man* on Darcoola for eighteen months (1971-1972). He then travelled and worked around Australia before he *returned home* to work for a further five years (1979-1984) at a time when *things were tight*.¹⁶⁸ Rob liked working on Darcoola. He felt at home in the wide-open spaces and enjoyed being with his father, despite a tumultuous relationship. Rob did a lot of surveying with his father. He *held the staff while putting in channels*. Bob Weir was a keen surveyor and was responsible for initiating the Darcoola Water Scheme, an irrigation system that brought water from the Murrumbidgee River to Darcoola

¹⁶⁶ This was a period when houses were often moved and, for example, Harris (1977: iii) provides an image of 'shifting a house with 29 horses'.

¹⁶⁷ The original house site on Darcoola is marked by a gnarled Pepper (*Schinus* sp.) tree and a scatter of *well picked over* artefacts – ceramic, glass and metal fragments.

¹⁶⁸ Rob is referring to the low income derived from farming at that time.

Station and neighbouring properties.¹⁶⁹ Rob, the seventh Robert Dundas Weir, would have liked to have managed and run the farm.

I asked Rob if he enjoyed returning to the property, a place where public ownership and he and his siblings negotiations with NPWS, has enabled him to have straightforward access. Rob told me that although *not so much survives from earlier times* and that things *move on*, he enjoyed visiting the place *every twelve months or so to reminisce*, to think about *good times* and to think about the history of Darcoola Station. ‘Old’ Robert Dundas Weir (1842-1915), Rob’s great-grandfather, took up Darcoola in the late 1880s so there are four generations and more than 120 years of family history on which to reflect.

The present-day Darcoola homestead is located on a previous treeless claypan immediately west of Darcoola Creek. It was built in 1922 by Rob’s grandfather, Charles Sims Weir (1893-1965).¹⁷⁰ An Athel Tree (*Tamarix* sp.), a house-warming gift from Reverend Mackie to Charles and Mozelle (nee Guston) Weir, celebrated the new home.¹⁷¹ Charles and Mozelle planted trees in and around the house, including Black Box (on the western and northern sides), native *Pittosporum*, Pepper (*Schinus* sp.), Sugar Gum (*Eucalyptus cladocalyx*) and Kurrajong (*Brachychiton populneum*). Many survive as mature trees and buffer the house and garden against chilling winter winds and ameliorate the effects of summer heat and dust storms. In addition, the Weirs grew almond and apricot trees, grape vines that draped the verandah and, in spring, sweet peas on a trellis. Water for the post and wire enclosed garden was pumped over 700 metres from Chinaman’s Tank. Rob told me that his grandfather was renowned for his ability to *reuse anything and everything*, evidenced in two curved iron pipes, originally sections of a bed frame, that now support garden taps.

¹⁶⁹ Information on the Darcoola Water Scheme can be found on NPWS FIL01/011, Hay Office.

¹⁷⁰ The fifth Robert Dundas Weir (1879-1900), Charles Weir’s older brother, died at Darcoola at 21 years of age from a shotgun wound. His body was found in a hut, perhaps an outbuilding of Arniston, on the property. It was unclear if the death was accidental or suicide.

¹⁷¹ In October 2013 there were two Athel trees in the Darcoola Station homestead garden, both located on its southern side.

In 1942 Rob's father, Bob Weir (1926-1998), at age 16, took over the running of the property (Vines 2007: 7). Bob and his first wife Shirley (nee Whyte), whom he married in 1952,¹⁷² were responsible for a number of changes. They extended the house; constructed an earth bank around the orchard after the 1956 Murrumbidgee River flood; planted new trees in the orchard, including Naval and Valencia Oranges – Rob described the fruit from one of these trees as the *best he ever tasted*; built a weld-mesh fence around the garden to exclude stock; and in 1960 constructed the House Tank to the east of the homestead which was fed from the main Darcoola Water Scheme channel. Shirley established a lawn from sprigs or runners of buffalo grass sourced from Jack and Barbara Matthews at Elginbah Station. Rob told me that *Shirley got the garden going and she liked geraniums* because they did not take much water. They now grow en masse beside part of the garden's eastern fence. She also planted roses. Brenda described the 1960s front garden as 'very charming and serene' and that in wanting to change the design of this part of the garden she was 'always aware of a nice feeling about this area that must not be lost.'¹⁷³

A garden project is never finished (e.g., see Hitchings 2006; Tilley 2009: 183). The Darcoola Station homestead garden is testimony to more than eighty years (1922-2003) of hard work, experimentation and creativity over multiple generations of the Weir family. The garden was never solely an enclosed green space separated from its setting. Rather, it was a space planted so as to 'flow' into the surrounding landscape of Black Box Woodland and saltbush plain. After 1960, the garden benefited from the weld-mesh fence that excluded grazing animals and the *cool water* from the Murrumbidgee River via the irrigation channel and House Tank (as opposed to 'warm' bore water previously pumped from Chinaman's Tank). Each part of the garden layout and each structure (e.g., bed-end tap supports) and plant is entwined into Weir family history and mark connections with other people, places and practices (e.g., 'friendship gardens' discussed below). Plants tell of people and people of plants and entangled relationships (Mukerji 2010: 543-544). Rob told me

¹⁷² *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 20 September 1952.

¹⁷³ Brenda Weir (July) 2002. 'Welcome to Darcoola'. NPWS FIL03/05194, Hay Office. Much of the material in this and the preceding paragraph derives from this source.

that the orchard trees planted in c.1960-61 were each dedicated to either of his two sisters, Jennifer and Lindsay, or himself. To this day the siblings argue over which tree is whose: *“That was my almond!”*

Sholto Weir: garden and landscape¹⁷⁴

...when Mum passed away, one of the promises I made is we'd have the Open Garden Scheme there... She passed away earlier in the year [July 2002] and then in that October we had the Open Garden and all those people came out and helped do the pruning and weeding prior to that because it was a pretty big job. I was trying to run the farm... I think we had 200 [visitors] or so, which is pretty good. We had a couple of coach loads. A lot of people from Hay came out... Because of the roses. Because she [Brenda] had 400 roses and they were all different varieties. (Sholto Weir, 13 October 2012)¹⁷⁵

I met with Sholto Weir, his wife Teresa and their young daughter Francis, at the Botanic Gardens in Melbourne, the city in which they live. At times during the interview tears ran down Sholto's cheeks as he talked of his mother, his father, the homestead garden and the landscape of Darcoola Station. Sholto's emotions communicated sadness and loss but also affection and love for family and Darcoola.

Sholto grew up on Darcoola Station though spent much of his adult life away from the place.¹⁷⁶ However, a year or so after the death of his father, Sholto returned to help Bren run the farm. At the time the bank, Westpac, *was trying to foreclose*. Sholto said he has *really fond memories of running it as a farm*, largely because 1999 and 2000 were *beautiful seasons where we had grass a foot and a half, two feet high*. They were followed by years of *huge drought and the place was just blowing away, even though we had no sheep on it*.¹⁷⁷ The decision to sell the property coalesced around the beginning of the drought. Brenda was keen to find a buyer, like

¹⁷⁴ Information in this section is based on an interview I undertook with Sholto Weir (13 October 2012). I also incorporate information contained in an interview with Sholto Weir by Elizabeth Vines - 'Darcoola Oral History Interview with Sholto Weir', 25 October 2007. Unpublished transcript. Sholto is the only son of Bob and Brenda Weir and a half-sibling to Rob, Jennifer and Lindsay.

¹⁷⁵ The event also raised money for charity (*The Riverine Grazier*, Wednesday 16 October 2002: 2).

¹⁷⁶ Sholto did his early schooling in Hay. From 13 years of age he attended boarding school at Bathurst, returning to the farm on school holidays. Immediately after finishing school he *went off to university* in Sydney.

¹⁷⁷ During the years Sholto managed the farm it produced sheep and rice, though *the main income was sheep*.

NPWS, who would continue the work of restoring and conserving the landscape and its vegetation.

Beside planting local native species on their farm, often in enclosed *tree plantations*, Bob and Brenda Weir undertook a number of other actions to encourage regrowth. One action was to occasionally flood part of Darcoola Creek with water available from their irrigation allocation, a form of ‘environmental flow’ – ‘to assist regeneration events that help maintain the character of the country’ (Scriven and Driver 1993).¹⁷⁸ A second conservation activity involved regenerating native vegetation on parts of the Sandhills Paddock, an area of 56-hectares purchased by the Weirs in 1959. Initially half a hectare was fenced to exclude rabbits and enable Murray Cypress Pine, a locally rare and *quite unique* species, to regenerate. Gradually the whole of the sand hills area, considered *no good for sheep*, was enclosed (c.1995).¹⁷⁹ The Weirs also participated in the Rangeland Assessment Programme, a long-term study that monitored vegetation condition in western NSW.

Sholto said his visits to Darcoola have become infrequent since he left the property in 2003. He has visited the place on two occasions with wife Teresa, for whom the Darcoola garden is *lovely*. Sholto had shown Teresa pictures of the garden *at its prime* and, although it is not now as it was, Teresa enjoyed visiting the garden and house because it gave her a connection with Sholto’s mother, Brenda, and is a link to the place *where Sholto grew up*. For Sholto, the experience of re-visiting Darcoola has changed over time.

...when it was still the way it was it made me...sentimental about the past... Initially it was all the little things. So you’d see roses or poppies or a particular little bush and you’d remember Mum saying something about it or tending...like watering that and saying “Oh, I hope this gets going”. ...But as times gone on its moved onto the bigger things,

¹⁷⁸ Flooding a natural watercourse was illegal at the time, though the Weir’s appear not to have been aware of this situation in the first years they adopted the practice (Nerida Reid, 23 November, 2012).

¹⁷⁹ The sand hills enclosure was the subject of a Registered Property Agreement (No. HA9902RP), between the Darcoola Joint Tenants and the Department of Land and Water Conservation (NSW), under the *Native Vegetation Conservation Act 1977*. On 5 September 2001, Brenda Weir led 16 people on a ‘spring walk’, organised through Greening Australia, at the Darcoola Sandhills, identifying native plants and more than 20 bird species (*The Riverine Grazier*, Wednesday 10 October 2001: 6).

like there are some trees – like the Spotted Gums which were put in when I was very young – and I guess that’s because I have photos of those when they were little and now I can see the result. Whereas the smaller things, they just don’t tend to show up in the photos and the memories as much.

So initially...I’d see things and I’d see them deteriorating a bit I guess and feel sad to think that Bren’s not here. But now on the other hand I look at it and I say “Oh, my Mum planted that” or “my Dad planted that”... But as a whole...you lose a sense of connection with it unfortunately. Once the person’s not involved in it and it’s not the same. And it’s the same with the house as well...once the things, the possessions, are removed it becomes a bit impersonal. I know this is not related to the garden but in a way the landscape becomes more a factor than the garden, whereas in the past it was more the garden than the landscape. Does that make any sense? (Sholto Weir, 13 October 2012)¹⁸⁰

Later during the interview, Sholto reflected further on the relationship between the garden and wider landscape.

It shapes you. It can’t help but shape you. That’s the way it goes... I find it hard to find that distinction between the garden and the landscape and how it shapes you though. Certainly the garden was something that gave me an interest in nature, which I might not have otherwise had, because Bren was very interested in that too. So she’d be showing me a ladybug... And just birds and animals, which part of that’s also landscape as well...the two are so interconnected.

That’s part of the thing about that landscape is often it’s a very brown, grey-green landscape and in a way the garden was a bit of an oasis from that. Because you had real greens. You had grasses; you had plants, flowers and colours. Whereas the natural landscape is mainly grey-green. You’ve got a few red berries from some saltbush... Some muted yellow eucalyptus flowers. You have to look very carefully to find the things. When you do find them... I really do love that landscape, now as an adult... But it’s amazing when you find those just quite beautiful details in what is otherwise a place where you think there’s nothing here. You take a quick look and you go “Ah! Nothing. Nothing to see.” When you look in detail there’s a lot to see. (Sholto Weir, 13 October 2012)

¹⁸⁰ In heritage terms, a practitioner might see a shift in Sholto’s experience from historical, perhaps also spiritual, values associated with the garden to aesthetic values associated with the broader landscape. I thank Caroline Ford for drawing my attention to this point.

What Sholto points to here is the role things play in expressing difficult to articulate dimensions of the recent past and present (Olsen 2013): a gradual loss or shift in material integrity (e.g., the changes in individual plants and plant groupings) requires memories to be reshaped and reconfigured. There is not, however, a clear linear temporal pathway from recollections of intimate things and events to memories dispersed across the landscape. Rather, the two scales interplay. For Sholto, this is evidenced in the material trajectory of the homestead garden's Spotted Gums (i.e., their rapid growth since they were seedlings and he a child) versus the constant presence of saltbush across Darcoola Station.

Sholto has three plants from Darcoola Station in his Melbourne garden: *an olive tree, which Bren planted as a pot plant, some yellow irises and a very common creeper*. He also has seeds – *lots of eucalypt seeds, some vege seeds and sweet peas*. Rose cuttings he collected have not survived. He would like to grow Queen Beatrice¹⁸¹ sourced from Darcoola, a rose with large multi-coloured and strongly scented flowers.



FIGURE 7.3 Darcoola Station homestead and garden.

(Photo credit: Steve Brown, November 2012.)

¹⁸¹ A pink and crimson hybrid tea rose developed in the USA in 1905. A specimen of Queen Beatrice is marked no. 83 in Brenda Weir's plan of rose locations in 'Darcoola Garden – 2002' (NPWS File 03/05194, Hay Office).



FIGURE 7.4 Darcoola Station homestead garden: geraniums
(Photo credit: Steve Brown, 2012.)



FIGURE 7.5 Darcoola Station homestead garden: roses
(Photo credit: Steve Brown, 2012.)

The fondness of friends

Gardens, I maintain, are small places that are a source of contemplation on big ideas.
(Tilley 2009: 173)

Coleen Houston: about Brenda

This is a strange thing. We went out [to Darcoola] and this was when the Open Garden Scheme, we were doing that and that was the year she died and we'd put it in the Open Garden Scheme [October 2002]. So we maintained it and made sure it was right for the Open Garden. And we went out there to do some tidying up, I suppose...she'd said earlier that if she wasn't there she'd come back as a bird or something like that. And I was walking up from the gate and in the tree...it's a crab-apple or one of those... It's over to the right. And in this tree was a white owl. And then it just went up and flew off. And none of the others saw it. And I just think it was Brenda. I mean it was the strangest

feeling it gave me! I think it was a young owl because they are whitish when they're young. (Coleen Houston, Thursday 22 November 2012)

Coleen Houston and Brenda Weir were *very close friends*. They were neighbours on Darcoola and Budgewah, rural pastoral properties with connections since the late 1880s between the Houstons and Weirs. Brenda and Coleen, women who married into these families, shared a common interest and involvement in Landcare.¹⁸² While Landcare brought them together, it was the roses and garden at Bishop's Lodge that led to their deep friendship. Brenda joined the Bishop's Lodge Advisory Committee in 1986 and she convinced Coleen to join the group the following year.¹⁸³ Between them they accumulated a large number of books on roses and developed a fascination, extensive collections and ultimately an expertise, 'garden capital' to use Bourdieu's (1984) term, in heritage roses.¹⁸⁴ In the early 1990s they cared for roses propagated from the Bishop's Lodge rare varieties. Brenda, Coleen and other women such as Nerida Reid and Val Davies would pot the bare-rooted plants and each tend to about 200 roses which were then sold at the annual Bishop's Lodge Market.¹⁸⁵

Brenda...being a teacher was always very interested in detail and always documentation. Coleen told me that they would both *read as much as we could, cross reference things and discuss things*, often communicating by fax.

...the faxes would be going back and forth between us. I'll show you... you'd have it down, and then it's written and you've got the date on it and you know exactly. And we were planning the garden at Bishop's Lodge too. And different structures and things. And we were looking up roses to go in the hedges at Bishop's Lodge so we were trying to

¹⁸² 'Landcare is a national network of thousands of locally-based community groups who care for the natural resources of our country.' The scheme commenced in 1989. Information available at: Landcare Australia. 'About', <www.landcareonline.com.au> (accessed April 2014).

¹⁸³ The Advisory Committee was formed as part of a bicentennial conservation project and was the forerunner of the present day Bishop's Lodge Management Committee – established in 1991 (Bishop's Lodge Management Committee 2003: 6). For a description of Bishop's Lodge prior to the restoration project, see Freeman (1982: 213-217).

¹⁸⁴ Bourdieu (1984, in Tilley 2009: 186, 191) uses the term 'garden capital' to refer to knowledge and skill in gardening. Brenda, Coleen and Nerida Reid accumulated considerable garden capital through working in their own gardens, with friends in their private gardens, at the Bishop's Lodge garden and via Landcare.

¹⁸⁵ The Bishop's Lodge Market, a *moneymaking concern* based on the sale of nineteen unidentified rose varieties (Renamed Old Roses) found in the garden, takes place each spring on the third weekend in October. The first sale was in 1990. I attended the Bishop's Lodge Market on Sunday 20 October 2013.

work out what roses. And in the 'Picking Garden' at Bishop's Lodge we were trying to do a variety of colours so that when you would look across one lot would go pinks and then you'd go from pinks to whites. And then sort of from reds to yellows to whites. And so when you looked across you'd get this pattern of colours and things, which took a lot of working out and a lot of agonising over rose books and things. (Coleen Houston, Thursday 22 November 2012)

Brenda and Coleen also spent considerable time together in one another's garden.

[Darcoola garden] had a lovely atmosphere...a beautiful atmosphere in the garden. I tend to feel probably gardens do that to me anyway. I wouldn't say all gardens. I would say NOT all gardens but certainly Brenda's. And I think just everything Brenda used to put into it. And also Bob with the house and what he did in the construction of the house. And the way it was, the bedroom wing – the new wing that Bob put in – you'd look out into the garden too. So the garden came into the house as well, which I think is a lovely idea and which Brenda wanted to do very much... The garden itself can't be entire of itself. It has to fit into the landscape. And so therefore you have to sort of, towards the outer edges of the garden you try and put things in that will mesh into the landscape... Myall [Acacia sp.] or the Black Box – Eucalyptus largiflorens. And Acacia pendula [Weeping Myall]... And some of the saltbushes and the Rhagodia [Rhagodia spinescens, Berry Saltbush]. Both Brenda and I were very keen on Rhagodia. It's a little spade-leafed saltbush and it has little red oval, well round berries that go in little droplets down. It's very pretty and it's all around here in the garden. And it certainly is at Darcoola. And she had it running out, coming in a little bit and then going around in the creek bed. (Coleen Houston, Thursday 22 November 2012)¹⁸⁶

When Brenda was unwell and after she passed away, people from Hay and the surrounding district maintained the Darcoola garden.¹⁸⁷ *They did that garden for Brenda. It was in her memory.* People wanted to remember Brenda through the garden.

¹⁸⁶ For a study of the ways boundaries between domestic gardens and bushland can blur, see Head and Muir (2006, 2007).

¹⁸⁷ This was thus a time when the Darcoola Station homestead garden was transitioning from a place of family and friendship memory and identity to 'communal heritage'. I thank Emma Dortins for drawing my attention to this point. Such processes of transition and value accumulation at a social scale are common during public acquisition of, and the making of, protected areas.

She had a wonderful following, Brenda. She was a lovely person. How to explain Brenda? Brenda always made you feel good. If you'd said you were upset about something you'd said, that you felt would upset people, and she'd say "No, no there's another way of looking at it." And she'd turn it around for you. And make it OK. I miss Brenda. I miss her desperately actually... I was lucky to have those years. We were all lucky to have those years. (Coleen Houston, Thursday 22 November 2012)

After the Open Garden Scheme in October 2002, a second group visit to the Darcoola Station homestead garden was arranged, this time as part of a Heritage Roses in Australia National Conference.¹⁸⁸ Coleen, the group's Riverina Coordinator, while at the previous conference in Hahndorf, South Australia, put her *hand up* and said: "*I feel we could do one in Hay.*" As part of the Seventh National Conference of Heritage Roses in Australia,¹⁸⁹ on Saturday 1 November 2003, five coaches carrying 200 people visited local gardens including Darcoola and Budgewah. Coleen, Nerida Reid, Val Davies and others worked in the Darcoola garden in the lead up to the event, and continued to undertake *working bees...for a couple of years afterwards.*¹⁹⁰

Coleen said her favourite rose is Bourbon Souvenir de la Malmaison, a plant with *very pale pink*, full blooms and a *beautiful perfume*. Brenda grew this variety in the Darcoola Station homestead garden. She also had two varieties of rose sourced from Budgewah – Laneii and Trigintipetala.

After the interview, Coleen and I went into the Budgewah garden to *hug a tree*. Coleen had told me of the Spotted Gums, now mature, that she and Brenda had planted in their respective gardens. In the summer months, when the trees have lost their bark, the smooth trunks are cool to touch: *when you put your head against them, they are ice cold*. Coleen encouraged me to embrace one of the tall, salmon-

¹⁸⁸ Heritage Roses in Australia Inc., founded in 1979, *is an organisation that promotes the growth of heritage roses and the appreciation of heritage roses*. Its mission is to 'advance the preservation, cultivation and study of old garden roses'. Heritage Roses. <www.heritage.rose.org.au> (accessed April 2014).

¹⁸⁹ The conference proceedings included a copy of Brenda Weir's 1992 paper 'Information on Unnamed Roses in the Bishop's Lodge Garden'.

¹⁹⁰ It was noted in 2006 that: 'The rose collection is maintained by a local rose society and this should be encouraged as a public relations exercise.' (Clark 2006: 37)

coloured gums, to go cheek to trunk. It felt remarkably cool that hot November day, a day filled with the warmth of affectionate memories. Coleen also talked of the importance of station gardens to the men on the properties and how during the long drought years of the 2000s many said to their wives: *“No matter what happens, keep the garden going.”* The coolness and brilliant colours of the garden helped them to keep their sanity, to give hope and to refresh the spirit in inhospitable times when the land was drying and stock suffering, with many perishing.¹⁹¹

Nerida Reid: a friendship garden

NERIDA: ...everybody swapped cuttings, back in the old days. You had a friendship garden.

STEVE: Is a friendship garden a separate part of the garden where you put other people’s cuttings?

NERIDA: No. No. A friendship garden is – you can walk around and go “Oh yes, I got that from Bren” or “I got that from Coleen”... And it is quite valuable in that as we moved from place to place after we were married we went from a really sandy garden where you could run the hose all day and it wouldn’t leave a puddle, to a heavy clay and then to another heavy clay. And then to a sand.¹⁹² And my great uncle had given me a lot of chrysanthemums and a lot of dahlias and when we moved from the sand to the heavy clay I lost almost all of them but I was giving them away to other people. So that even though he’d died I managed to regain quite a few of them. And that’s what a friendship garden is. You give it away so that you can get it back. (Nerida Reid and Steve Brown, Friday 23 November 2012)

I interviewed Nerida Reid in the dining room at Bishop’s Lodge. The room has an outlook through tall sash windows onto the front garden. Beyond two century-old Canary Island Date Palms (*Phoenix canariensis*) lies a hedge of dense plantings that mask the entry to the Picking Garden and Hidden Rose Garden. Greener than green

¹⁹¹ The gardens might be described as ‘material cultures of hope’, a phrase I borrow from anthropologist Fiona Parrott (2005: 248), though Parrott’s use of the phrase is in a different context to gardens.

¹⁹² Nerida and her family moved five times before purchasing and settling at South Burrabogie, 60 kilometres from Hay, in 1976.

new wisteria growth covering an iron trellis, a structure designed by Brenda and illustrated on one of Coleen's faxes, was visible amongst the thicket of plantings.

Nerida, *the oldest of six children* and now retired in Hay, is a third generation local. Nerida grew up on Waterloo Station, a dry land sheep grazing property 70 kilometres south-east of Hay. In 1958 her father, Albert (Bert) Barnes, closed off one of the paddocks, *the Enclosure*, to enable native plants to regenerate. It had contained plants no longer present at that time and which his father talked of when Bert was a child. Bert and June Barnes entered into a Conservation Agreement with the NSW Government on 28 October 1993 to protect regenerating native vegetation, the sixth such voluntary agreement made under the NSW *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*.¹⁹³

Nerida and Brenda Weir met *at the kinder's classroom door*. Sholto Weir and Nerida's daughter are the same age. Both Nerida and Brenda shared an interest *in the land* – farming, gardening and the *natural environment*. They believed in *going with nature rather than battling against it*. With a small number of other farming women they established 'Hay Trees on Farms' after *some local wind damage in the early 1980s during the drought* highlighted the need for more trees on station properties.¹⁹⁴ The logo for the group, a seedling growing above a shovel-head sunk into the ground (Figure 7.6), was designed by Sholto Weir. Brenda Weir was an advocate for the group using the botanic or Latin names of all plants, something her father's *great interest in botany* had encouraged.

Hay Trees on Farms adopted a philosophy of leading by example. They ran stalls at local events (Figure 7.6) and ran field days on members' farms and on properties to which they had been invited. The group's activities included tree-planting days (*It'd*

¹⁹³ Gray, Bruce 28 July 1993. Waterloo Conservation Agreement. NPWS: Unpublished Memorandum; Brodie, Louise 2010. Property Visit Report: Waterloo Conservation Agreement. NPWS: Internal Report. Scriven and Driver (1993) provide a brief description of the Enclosure.

¹⁹⁴ In 1989 the group incorporated to become Hay Trees on Plains Landcare Inc., one of the earliest Landcare groups in NSW. In Australia, 1990 was declared the 'Year of Landcare', which then morphed into the 'Decade of Landcare'. A massive wind event in late November 1994 caused enormous damage to vegetated landscapes in western NSW, further emphasising the work of Landcare. (Nerida Reid, email of 13 March 2013)

become a social day) and tours to inspect areas set aside for native vegetation regeneration (e.g., the Darcoola Sandhills and Waterloo Enclosure). Nerida said the group's approach was to influence particular environmental behaviours, an approach she called *looking over the fence*, rather than a *hard sell* approach that pushed views onto fellow farmers: farmers don't want to be told how to manage things.¹⁹⁵



FIGURE 7.6 (above) 'Hay Trees on Farms' stall at Maude Fair, 1993: Coleen Houston (left), Jim Russell, Brenda Weir
(Photo courtesy of Nerida Reid.)

FIGURE 7.7 (left) Brenda Weir inspects black box seedling (*E. largiflorens*), Darcoola Station.
(Source: Department of Conservation and Land Management, Wagga Wagga, May 1993.)

Nerida recalled a number of field days on Darcoola. After a days work, the women gathered in *Bren's garden* to *enjoy the peace and relief after you'd gone tree planting*. At such get-togethers cuttings were swapped, friendship gardens expanded and, thereby, friendship networks, both between individuals and with plants, nurtured. Nerida has from Brenda *beautiful bulbs* (fire lily, *Cyrtanthus parviflorus*) and a low shrubby rose called *The Fairy* with *masses and masses of pink flowers*. *Quite small roses*. Nerida said of the latter that she has *been very particular about*

¹⁹⁵ The women were also active in promoting environmental learning with children through school holiday programs.

*keeping it with me as I move. However, her favourite rose is Autumn Damask, a really, really old fashioned one that was at South Burrabogie...it's pink and it's got such a strong perfume, you can smell it right through the garden when there's flowers out. Bren got some and Coleen got some cuttings from it.*¹⁹⁶

Concerning Brenda, Nerida said:

She was just one of those people that just took you along with her. She would be creating your interest in things and you would be wanting then to learn more. And that was probably her skill as a teacher too, but as in all her avenues – with the gardens, with the environmental things – she would be so encouraging of you learning more... Just such a great community person... if her garden is there as a testament to her that would be good. (Nerida Reid, Friday 23 November 2012)

After the interview, Nerida took me into *The Treasures Room*, originally a serving pantry at Bishop's Lodge (Bishop's Lodge Management Committee 2003: 70).¹⁹⁷ The space, which once stored Bishop Anderson's sets of china, a silver-plated soup tureen and ivory and silver cutlery,¹⁹⁸ is now filled with archival documents and objects connected with the history of Bishop's Lodge. Among the treasures are Bishop's Lodge garden restoration plans, items prepared by Brenda Weir and donated by Sholto. Nerida and I looked through the beautiful sketch maps showing garden beds, pathways, ornaments and arrangements of plants.¹⁹⁹ I felt privileged to have seen Brenda's faxes to Coleen, drafts of ideas for the garden, and then to see in *The Treasures Room* completed drawings of the evolving Bishop's Lodge garden: materialised, for example, in the steel-framed wisteria trellis.

¹⁹⁶ The Rose is probably 'KAZANLI (*Rosa damascena trigintipetala?*), a very ancient rose from the Middle East, used for pot pourri and attar of roses. This variety was shared amongst the Bishop's Lodge rose enthusiasts. Another rose which is in all three gardens [i.e., Nerida's, Coleen's and Brenda's], and many others, that came from South Burrabogie is a white climber, very vigorous, called FORTUNEANA, which is dated to China in the 1850s.' (Nerida Reid, email of 13 March 2013)

¹⁹⁷ 'The pantry was used as the serving point into the dining room, the food having been brought over to the house from the kitchen, a separate building to the east of the house.' (Bishop's Lodge Management Committee 2003: 70).

¹⁹⁸ *The Riverine Grazier* (9 December 1924: 3) referenced in Bishop's Lodge Management Committee (2003: 70).

¹⁹⁹ 'The Grounds of The Bishop's Lodge, Hay, as existing April 1992', drawn by Brenda Weir, is published in Bishop's Lodge Management Committee (2003: inside end cover). Brenda's 1997 drawing suggesting plantings for the Bishop's Lodge front garden was one of 25 objects exhibited in 2010 to mark 25 years since the commencement of the Bishop's Lodge bicentennial project and involvement of volunteers in the place.

Family and friends, landscape and love

Every garden...has its significant stories, memories, and its biographical associations. Gardens change as people and their circumstances change. Each is intertwined and one cannot make sense of the garden without knowing the person and vice versa. Both gardens and people have their lifecycles and gardens are often powerful material metaphors. (Tilley 2009: 176-177)

What do people's connections with, and feelings for, the Darcoola Station homestead garden tell of the nature of place-attachment?

Before I interviewed those with connections to the garden I had envisaged it as somehow separated from the house and its surroundings: an entity isolated from its environs and isolated in the way people could place 'borders' on place-attachment. I had also interpreted the garden as Brenda Weir's creation over three decades (1968-2002), the work of a single person with a fascination for roses. I positioned the much-loved garden, a place nested within a wider pastoral landscape, in limited spatial (i.e., geographical extent) and temporal (i.e., historical) ways with respect to the social scales of family and friends. In retrospect, mine were naïve views, particularly inexplicable given how I had previously contextualised setting and history within my own garden at Fairview Street (Chapter 6).

Interviews with family, Sholto and Rob Weir, and close friends, Coleen Houston and Nerida Reid, concerning Brenda Weir and the Darcoola Station homestead garden exemplify the multifaceted ways in which the place converges with, and is entwined with, individual lives. The case study illustrates how assemblages of people, places and things, and their individual and collective biographies, are deeply entangled. In the final part of this chapter I touch on three aspects of the interviewee's place-attachments: the holism between the homestead garden and the entirety of Darcoola Station; how the garden is historically contingent; and conjunctions and separations in place/person feelings between family and friends.

attachment as simultaneously intimate and dispersed

Brenda Weir had a concern for the environment – soils, plants and animals – at the Darcoola homestead garden and across the broader landscape (i.e., Darcoola Station specifically and the Hay Plain more generally). Nerida Reid points to the *big wind event* in the early 1980s as a catalyst for native vegetation reinstatement amongst local farming families. Women such as Nerida, Brenda and Coleen took a lead on this issue and were instrumental in establishing the cooperative *Hay Trees on Farms*. They practiced what they preached on their properties – planting out trees and sharing information, often in the surrounds of their own gardens. After 1986, when Brenda joined the Bishop’s Lodge restoration project, she developed an abiding passion for roses, heritage roses in particular. Coleen and Nerida were drawn into this adventure of roses: their care and concern for plants and gardens became entangled with enduring friendships.

Darcoola Station evidences Brenda Weir’s enthusiasm for cultivating the homestead garden and restoring native vegetation across the property. The verdant garden is dominated by roses and includes native Australian plants such as Spotted Gum and saltbush. Indigenous species, planted and encouraged to regenerate by the Weirs, grow around the weld-mesh fence that encloses the garden. They create an artificial open woodland that merges and blends with vegetation marking out the course of Darcoola Creek. Bob and Brenda Weir encouraged local indigenous plants to flourish by using irrigation water to occasionally flood parts of the creek channel. Across the open plains Brenda, on her wheelbarrow travels, encouraged regrowth of indigenous species and planted a variety of native trees.

Thus, when those whom I interviewed about Brenda and the Darcoola Station homestead garden talked of their feelings for person and place they did not communicate hard physical borders or boundaries. The weld-mesh fence to which are attached the letters DARCOOLA at the front gate of the property is no more a border to feelings of connection to Darcoola Station than is the weld-mesh fence that has enclosed the homestead garden since the 1960s. Rather, to use Jeff Malpas’

(1999: 34) term, these are 'nested places': locales that are juxtaposed and intersect with one another and places that simultaneously stretch inward and outward. The material markers of attachment (e.g., plants such as saltbush and gum trees; structures made from star-pickets and wire-netting) extend across the Darcoola landscape, even though the homestead garden may lie at the core of Coleen's and Nerida's feelings of affection for Brenda. The geography of attachment also extends well beyond the boundaries of Darcoola Station as evidenced in friendship gardens, the Bishop's Lodge garden and the activities of groups such as Hay Trees on Farms and Heritage Roses in Australia.

A second point relates to generational history and multiple actors in Darcoola Station's creation. Rob Weir highlighted the role of family members in the construction and growth of the garden after 1922 – his grandparents Charles and Mozelle Weir and his parents Bob and Shirley Weir; as well as his father's continued role in the garden and house extension after he and Brenda married. Rob positions Darcoola Station and its homestead garden in generational time, a family history materialised for Rob in Arniston, the old Darcoola Station homestead located on the block adjoining his current home in Hay. He recognises in the current Darcoola homestead and garden a collective enterprise – the cumulative work of generations of Weirs. The gifted Athel tree and the oldest pepper trees are markers of these generations and measures of the duration of home-making activities.

Darcoola is also a collective enterprise extending beyond immediate family – a hybrid achievement (Power 2005). Friends such as Coleen and Nerida planted trees on the property, contributed plants to the homestead garden and took cuttings from it. They with other volunteers tended the garden after Brenda passed on. Rob and Sholto grew up in the garden and knew it intimately as children. Brenda's teachings in the garden instilled in young Sholto an appreciation of, and sense of wonder for, the natural world.

Thus attachment to Darcoola and its homestead garden is historically contingent and situated in each individual's history of encounter and entanglement. For Rob, Sholto

and Coleen there are long experiential histories with the local landscape through being family or a long-time farm neighbour: feelings of dispersed attachment in which fondness is distributed across landscape and time. For Rob there is a strong connection between his memories and feelings for Darcoola through his relationship with his father in particular, while for Sholto it is the connection, particularly childhood relationship, with both parents, and, after 1999 when he returned to run the farm, with his mother Brenda. For Coleen and Nerida the connection is most strongly and intimately through Brenda and their mutual interests in managing farmland and cultivating gardens – their own, their friends and the garden at Bishop’s Lodge. Thus, and this is the third and perhaps an obvious point, emotional connections to Darcoola are experienced, remembered and expressed in different, sometimes overlapping, ways between family and friends.

cultivating and pruning attachment

It’s probably really difficult for National Parks with so many homesteads and gardens that they have now because a garden is something you potter in, whereas if they just have an employee who comes in and does a quick water and mow or something like that it’s not going to have the same look as a garden that somebody potters in, because you’ve got a lot of the softening plants, a lot of the annuals, just aren’t there in a garden that’s maintained just to be a showy garden. (Nerida Reid, 23 November 2012)

Then suddenly you’ve got National Parks coming in... they’re trying to feel their way into how they’re going to manage that and they did a pretty good job I’d say to keep it going. But it’s never going to be the same as someone who’s out there every single day. Poking about. Watering. (Sholto Weir, 13 October 2012)

After Brenda died, friends rallied to participate in working bees to maintain the Darcoola Station homestead garden. The Open Garden Scheme event (19-21 October 2002) and the visit to the Darcoola homestead garden as part of the Heritage Roses in Australia National Conference (1 November 2003) were a focus for caring and maintenance activities. Friends and family wanted to hold the Open Garden and conference visits for Brenda. The garden was material testimony to love,

loss and celebration. Coleen was assured by the sight of the owl of Brenda's continued presence in the garden.

After NPWS acquired Darcoola, a Field Officer, Colin (Col) Miller, a family friend of the Weirs, was appointed.²⁰⁰ Col and his wife Lyn moved into the Darcoola Station homestead in 2003. Lyn Miller was contracted to maintain and tend the garden²⁰¹ because NPWS had determined it to be of historical significance (NPWS 2004: 4). Coleen Houston recalled,

Colin Miller...they knew Brenda. They were fond of Brenda and they did that garden for Brenda. Like it was in her memory... And so they kept the Brenda thing alive and it was very good. (Coleen Houston, 22 November 2012)

After some years, the Millers were required to leave Darcoola. The next NPWS occupants barely maintained the garden.²⁰² Then the house was unoccupied for twelve months. In 2011 NPWS Senior Field Officer Harry Mangan moved into the place and, with wife Kay, has taken an interest in reviving and maintaining the garden, including replanting roses with varieties obtained from Bishop's Lodge. The close shave I talked about at the beginning of this chapter is that the Darcoola Station homestead garden was almost lost through neglect. It is now being tended and cared for.

How might people's attachment to the Darcoola homestead garden shape its future management? Nerida Reid said: "*A garden is an evolving thing.*" Things change constantly and a garden is never static. Nerida told me, for example, that when Brenda was caring for the garden, Black Box trees eventually shaded the southwest part of the garden to such an extent that it was necessary to under-plant *with things that tolerated shade*. Recently, Nerida said, a *lightening strike* took out a couple of the box trees, allowing sunshine to again reach this part of the garden. Hence NPWS

²⁰⁰ 'Locals appointed as park rangers', *The Riverine Grazier*, 29 October 2003: 5.

²⁰¹ NPWS Financial Impact Statement, 23 January 2004. NPWS FIL03/05149, Hay Office.

²⁰² They were not paid to do so. Nevertheless it might be expected that park staff have a responsibility for homestead gardens under their care, particularly at Darcoola Station where the garden had been provisionally assessed as culturally significant.

cannot hope to ‘freeze’ the Darcoola garden in a way that retains the 2002 planting scheme. Nor should they: Nerida said that Brenda herself did not like *things to be just so* and that gardens constantly change in small and big ways.²⁰³

All interviewees however were keen for the homestead garden to be retained as a *testament* to Brenda and the Weirs. Coleen expressed the view that the *lovely peaceful atmosphere* was what was important about the garden. Its essence lies in the sense of enclosure that artificial woodland provides to a green plot: the garden as restorative place. Coleen spoke of specific rose varieties, like Sofrano, an early nineteenth century tea rose with buffy coloured flowers, that grew in Brenda’s mother’s garden and which *Brenda loved very much*. Brenda grew Sofrano in a clump beside the south entrance brick and concrete mosaic pathway. Details matter in the construction of people’s attachment, but in the longer term what can be retained is an historical sense and the spirit of place. In the case of Darcoola, this sensibility relies on gums with roses, geraniums and oranges, to create charm, serenity and warm feelings; or in Brenda’s words ‘a pleasing arrangement of colour’ and ‘a satisfying informal design.’²⁰⁴

heritage management, recognition and respect

Following acquisition of Darcoola Station by the NPWS, the homestead and garden were determined to be of local and possibly regional significance (Vines 2007: Executive Summary; NPWS 2004: 4).²⁰⁵ While the NPWS recognises the ‘association’ of the garden with the Weir family, and Brenda in particular, as well as the connections of the garden with the wider Hay community, the notion of place-

²⁰³ In heritage terms, one might speak of processes of gradual loss of material integrity and, simultaneously, an accumulation of collective memory. Managing the garden, as I argue later, requires NPWS to mediate between retaining a sense of spirit of place (ICOMOS 2008) and simultaneously recognising, respecting and accommodating emergent entanglements of plants, people and place.

²⁰⁴ *The Riverine Observer*, 7 August 2002: 6.

²⁰⁵ No formal assessment of cultural significance (i.e., application of a thresholds-based values methodology) has been undertaken at Darcoola Station. However, heritage consultant Elizabeth Vines (2007) suggests that the ‘site elements’ of Darcoola Station are of at least local heritage significance.

attachment is not specifically articulated in existing planning documents.²⁰⁶ How might people's attachments to the Darcoola Station homestead garden be recognised? How does a concept of place-attachment as distributed phenomenon assist in the heritage management of the place?

Individual-scale attachment is not accommodated in the NSW heritage system (Chapter 3). The criterion for State or local heritage listing requires that 'an item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in NSW (or the local area) for social, cultural or spiritual reasons' (Criterion [d], Heritage Office 2005: 5). That is, association must be collective and social.

It is no easy task to find a balance between specific, personal connection (i.e., feelings held by individuals such as Brenda, Sholto and Rob Weir, Coleen Houston and Nerida Green) and collective connection to place. When heritage assessment determines a place to have local or regional significance, it necessarily relies on the connectivity of a community or cultural group: that is, the place must be associated with collective memory (Shahzad 2012), experience and identity. To construct collective connection, heritage practitioners apply a thresholds-based values approach (Chapter 3). I suggest that this approach is an impediment to recognising and respecting an individual's feelings of place-attachment to the Darcoola Station homestead garden because the intimate and personal connections between family members and family friends are subsumed in a notion of 'community' (i.e., community at the scale of the local Hay region and the geographically dispersed community of heritage rose enthusiasts). To emphasise this point it is useful to outline the senses of place-attachment, both individual and collective, that I have gleaned from my investigations.

In brief, the Darcoola Station homestead complex, dating to 1922, has importance to Weir family members because it is interwoven with family history. For Rob and

²⁰⁶ At September 2013, the homestead complex had neither been listed on the NPWS Historic Heritage Information Management System nor listed on the *Hay Local Environmental Plan* (2011, Schedule 5). See: <www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/consol_reg/hlep2011257/sch5.html> (accessed May 2014).

Sholto the garden is entwined with generations of family, in particular their mothers (Shirley and Brenda respectively) and father (Bob) who built structures, laid out garden beds and provided water to, and established and nurtured, new plantings. Rob's and Sholto's feelings for, and memories of, the garden and home are also nested within the wider Darcoola Station pastoral and agricultural landscape. For friends of Brenda Weir, such as Coleen Houston and Nerida Green, the garden is a place of bitter-sweet memory, of the pleasurable times spend socialising and exchanging plants, but also a place intimately associated with the loss of their close friend. The garden is Brenda. For these women the garden is implanted with other places (e.g., Bishop's Lodge), friendship, stories, shared activities (e.g., propagating rare rose varieties), memories and the scents of heritage roses – 'aromas of recollection' (Waskul et al. 2009).

The Darcoola Station homestead garden also features in the memories of the many people, both locally and from across Australia, who visited it as part of the 2002 Open Garden Scheme and the 2003 National Conference of Heritage Roses in Australia. These events, undertaken following Brenda's passing, fostered a sense of collective memory and experience that extended connections beyond the Weir family and Brenda's immediate friendship circle. Additionally there are those within NPWS (e.g., Col and Lyn Miller; Harry and Kay Mangan) who appreciate the homestead garden and who developed connections to it through growing, tending and cultivating. Plants themselves have become sedimented with memories of people, places and events. For Rob, the geraniums are the presence of his mother, Shirley. For Sholto, the Spotted Gums stand for the passing of time from childhood to adulthood. For Nerida, The Fairy rose is entangled in memories of, and feelings for, Brenda. For Coleen, the clump of Sofrano roses evidence Brenda's family connections.

A persuasive case for local heritage significance can be made for Darcoola Station homestead garden, I suggest, on the basis of place-attachment (association and social value in Burra Charter terms; Criterion [d] in NSW heritage terms).²⁰⁷ This

²⁰⁷ The focus of the discussion here is only place-attachment. Darcoola Station homestead and garden are likely to be assessed as locally significant in terms of other criteria. For example, the place as representative of broad

requires emphasising connectivity arising out of an assemblage of entanglements (Figure 4.6) and lived experiences particular to Darcoola from the 1980s to the early 2000s, emphasising the early 2000s as a time of disequilibrium during which people became consciously aware of their place feelings. The early 2000s was a period when people's most intense intra-actions with the garden coalesced – the Weirs sold the property; Brenda passed away; volunteers tended the homestead garden; the garden was opened to visitors; and when feelings and emotions of solidarity and community care found their most visible personal expression and public support.

Applying a values-based approach in this way creates social, spatial and temporal discontinuities. The recent past is privileged over longer durations and the present. The homestead and garden is privileged over its landscape setting and connections with other places (e.g., Bishop's Lodge; other station homestead gardens). And the communal nature of attachment is emphasised over individual experience and circumstance. The concept of discontinuity, heritage practitioner Ioannis Poullos (2010) argues, underpins a values-based approach. Furthermore, Poullos argues, the approach is problematic when applied to a 'living heritage site' (i.e., 'a heritage site that maintains its original function'; 2010: 175) where 'continuity, change and core community' are key concepts.²⁰⁸ A living heritage approach, however, is not readily applied to the Darcoola Station homestead and garden – there is no 'core community'. Rather, attachments are diverse and the intensity of feelings for the garden vary between Weir family members, Brenda's close friends, local volunteers who worked at the garden and one-off visitors to the place. Some individuals will necessarily develop and maintain a deeper and stronger sense of connectivity than others.

A consequence of diverse and intense feelings for the Darcoola Station homestead garden, and the absence of a readily identified core community, is the need for an ethical approach to place-management. I suggest two ethical domains are most

historical themes, such as demonstrating aspects of friendships of rural women (Kijas 2003), practices of care for the landscape and changing land management practices.

²⁰⁸ The phrase 'living heritage sites' has parallels with the World Heritage term 'continuing landscape': i.e., a landscape 'which retains an active social role in contemporary society' (UNESCO 2013: Annex 3, p. 88).

relevant: *recognition* and *respect*. Recognition means acknowledging people's meanings, perspectives and feelings for place, material things and other people. Respect means to give attention to, demonstrate care for and actively engage with people's feelings of place-attachment. The implication of an ethical approach is that park management has a stewardship role to play in regard to documenting narratives of attachment and presenting them to various publics. Recognition and respect do not require heritage assessment. They require willingness to appreciate and implement values of caring, civic responsibility and public engagement.

Furthermore, in heritage conservation and park management I argue that a notion of care be extended to things (González-Ruibal 2013).²⁰⁹ In the case of the Darcoola Station homestead garden, things include Sofrano roses and Spotted Gums. When place-attachment is conceptualised as entanglement and a distributed phenomenon, recognition and respect become necessary components in the management of plants, gardens and blended native-introduced vegetation communities.²¹⁰

Reflection

We love that you are writing about Brenda Weir. She taught us so much about gardening, roses, mulching, pruning and using water wisely. She is in our hearts synonymous with the Bishop's Lodge garden, with roses, with saltbush and of course with 'Darcoola'. (Letter from Anne Longworth, Secretary, Bishop's Lodge Management Committee to Steve Brown, 25 October 2013)

At Bishop's Lodge, when a committee member passes on, a seat is placed in the garden in her/his honour. Brenda Weir's seat, a wood bench with a small brass plaque (Figure 7.8), is positioned with a view to the Alister Clark Rose Garden.²¹¹ The

²⁰⁹ '...care or respect for the thinginess of the thing, an attitude that avoids "talking over" things and respects their silence, recalcitrance and sheer materiality.' (González -Ruibal 2013: 22)

²¹⁰ An ability to extend to non-human species a concept of 'customer-focus', a current mantra of the NPWS (State of NSW and Office of Environment and Heritage 2013), will be a conceptual challenge for that organisation.

²¹¹ Alister Clark is best known as a rosarian, successful in hybridising *Rosa gigantea* and breeding new rose varieties. In 1936 he was awarded the prestigious Dean Hole Memorial Medal by the English National Rose Society (Rundle 1981).

garden commemorates the prolific number of rose varieties that Clark (1864-1949) propagated. They include Tonner's Fancy and Harbinger, two hybrid *gigantea* varieties thought to have been lost until Brenda and Coleen located and identified them in the garden at Thelangerin Station on the Lachlan River.



FIGURE 7.8 Plaque on memorial seat, Bishop's Lodge, Hay.

(Photo credit: Steve Brown, 2012.)

Sitting on the unshaded bench on a hot November afternoon, I reflected on gums, roses and the words of those that I talked with about feelings for Brenda and fondness for Darcoola. Neither Coleen nor Nerida have visited or worked in the Darcoola Station homestead garden in recent years: the place is now someone else's home. Sholto's visits have become less frequent, though he continues to travel on occasion from Melbourne to Darcoola Station to share his knowledge, fond memories and feelings for the landscape with his wife and daughter. Rob, now retired in Hay, likes to return to Darcoola to reminisce about childhood and family connections. The actions and connections of NPWS staff, those of Colin and Lyn Miller and Harry and Kay Mangan, have and continue to shape the garden through personal and institutional practices of care. There have been no open days or conference tours since 2003.

Intimacy of attachment, whether feelings for a specific person, plant, garden or landscape, can change over time, sometimes intensifying and at other times diminishing or becoming inconspicuous. Place-attachment may become dispersed as people pass on or family and friends lose direct contact with a place and its material, including plant, memories. What happens to people's sense of place-attachment over generations? What remains intimate and what dispersed or even lost? In the next case study I consider issues raised by these questions.



FIGURE 8.1 Waiting for the cousins: Wendy Eggleton points to the last arrivals before the commencement of a ceremony to scatter her mother's ashes.

From left: Geoffrey Sinnett; Megan Sinnett; Brian Eggleton; Ron Hyde (behind, wearing flat hat); Wendy Eggleton (holding ashes container and pointing); Gwen Hyde (behind Wendy); Linda Holmes; Lyn Sestan; Allison Holmes; Kirsty Sinnett with daughter Courtney-Anne; Dean Sinnett; Harley McHutchinson (behind Dean); Don Kelly; Rachel Holmes; and Jason Eggleton (foreground with back to camera).

(Photo credit: Richard Holmes, 2004. Courtesy of Richard Holmes)

Chapter 8

Glen Eden: reunions, story-telling and generations

Ashes and everlastings

Mum [Mabs Sinnett] adored Glen Eden. Geoff and I often thought that the family reunion there satisfied her soul for the next twelve months – a place where she was happy and had all the family together. To Mum everything started and ended with family and the importance of bonding, and understanding. Granny Molly, her Mum, was a great believer in ‘love’, which stands out as one of the important conversations I had with her. We were a very matriarchal family. (Wendy Eggleton, email of 9 March 2013)

The ashes of Mabel Emma Edmonds (1894-1991) and Mabs Sinnett (1912-2003) are scattered at Glen Eden in the Tarana Valley, NSW. Albert and Florence Reakes, Mable Edmond’s parents and Mabs Sinnett’s grandparents, had farmed and lived at Glen Eden from 1907 until 1936. It was the request of the women that their ashes be laid to rest there. A photograph taken by Richard Holmes (Figure 8.1), Mabs Sinnett’s nephew, shows the moments before her ashes were scattered beneath a cherry tree near Albert’s and Florence’s former home. In the photo Wendy Eggleton, Mabs’ daughter, is holding the container of ashes and also pointing toward a vehicle – some of the cousins attending the event were running late. However, because it *took twenty minutes to get the lid off the ashes container*, they arrived in time for the ceremony.

In the photograph, the group is standing along side an abandoned house. The building was constructed in 1907 by erecting a wood frame of locally felled and

hand-adzed timber and assembling wattle and daub walls. After 1936 the walls were replaced with concrete. The house is situated on a low spur that extends toward Eusdale Creek (not visible in Figure 8.1). Between the house and creek is a large, 100-year-old Nashi Pear, a vestige of a once productive garden. Beyond the creek, and to the right of the forested ridge slope, are the remains of a second home, Gemalla Cottage, around which yellow everlastings appear each spring.

The concern of this chapter is the houses, the setting, everlastings, ashes and the ways these things are entangled with the lives of the family members gathered at this much-loved place. In Figure 8.1 the group have their backs to the un-lived-in home of their ancestors, but the house is not empty: it is full of the presence of those who lived and holidayed there and the stories, thoughts, feelings and emotions of those who continue to visit it.

arrival

My first visit to the former Glen Eden property, now situated within Eusdale Nature Reserve,²¹² took place on Saturday 10 November 2012 as part of an extended-family *get-together*. Richard Holmes and Michael Hayden, great-grandsons of Albert and Florence Reakes (Figure 8.2), invited me to join the gathering. Flooding of Eusdale Creek had caused the 2011 reunion to be cancelled so the 2012 gathering was eagerly anticipated. Richard's and Michael's generation, including sisters Lynette (Lyn) Sestan and Patricia (Trisha) Van Gelder and siblings Wendy Eggleton and Geoff Sinnett, formed the core of the family members who attended the 2012 reunion. Also present were Patricia (Pat) Shallcross, Michael's mother, and Beverley (Bev) Edmonds, Lyn's and Trisha's aunt, as well as two of *the partners*, Linda Holmes and Harley McHutchison. Before travelling to Glen Eden I had interviewed Richard, Lyn, Michael and Trisha about their attachments to the place. Arriving at the get-together, I was therefore aware of stories concerning, and people's feelings for, Glen Eden.

²¹² Eusdale Nature Reserve is located 30 kilometres southeast of Bathurst in the NSW Central Tablelands. The reserve was gazetted on 17 November 2006 (NPWS 2012: 1).

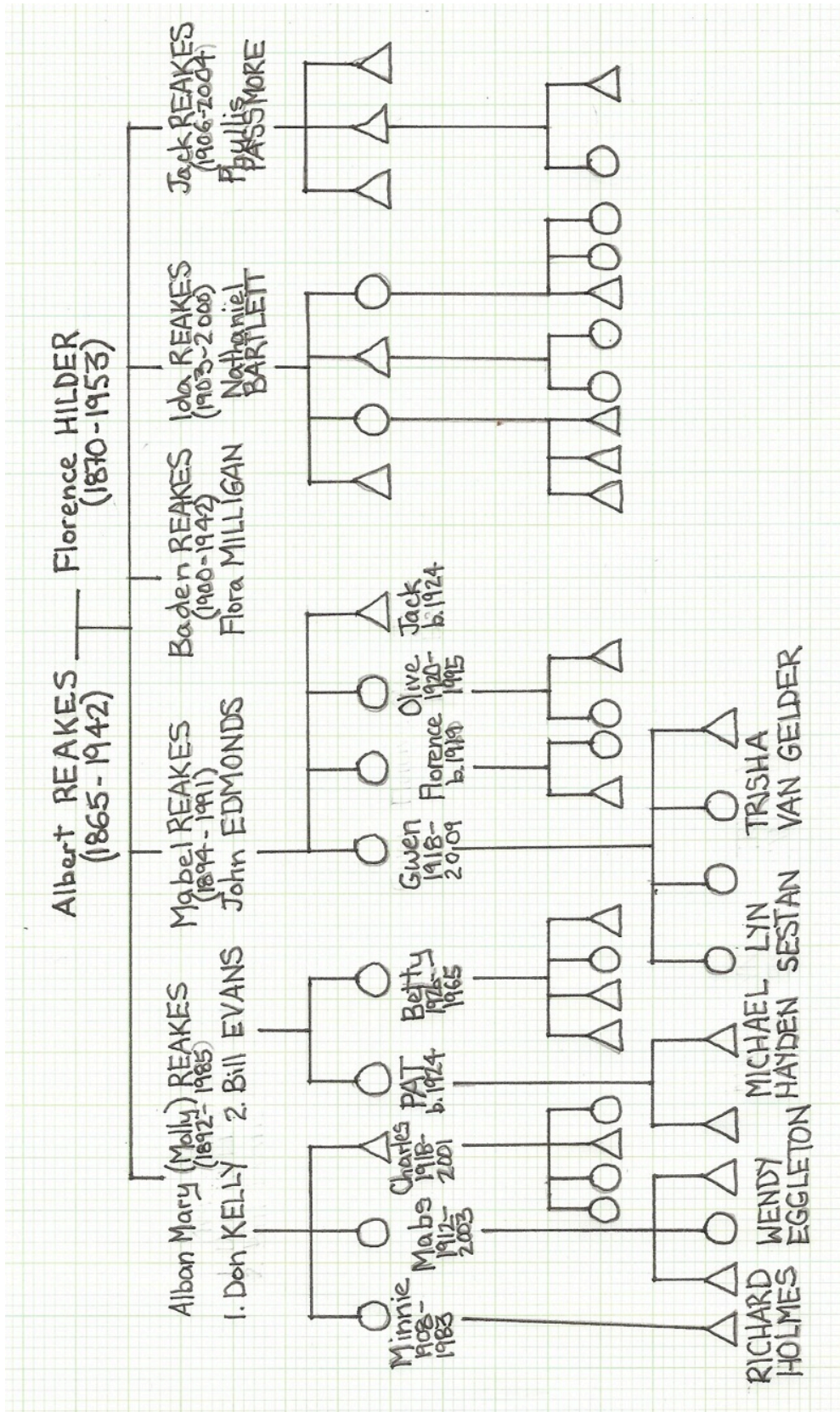


FIGURE 8.2 Reakes family tree.

(Drawing: Steve Brown, 2014. Based on Reakes 1995. Courtesy of Michael Hayden.)

The meeting point for the day was the Tarana Hotel. Once everyone had arrived and unloaded their weekend's supplies, Michael led a convoy of five vehicles from Tarana (pronounced tar-an-nar) to Gemalla (pronounced je-mella). Gemalla was once a railway siding marked by a small weatherboard station building, now long gone. To enter Glen Eden and Eusdale Nature Reserve from the south it is necessary to cross a short stretch of private property. The access road is roughly formed, though passable by two-wheel drive vehicle so long as fallen eucalypt branches are removed from the track and wombat burrows avoided. The open eucalypt woodland landscape through which we passed was coloured with the golden yellow flowers of Pale Wedge Pea (*Gompholobium huegelii*). Toward the end of the track our convoy twice crossed Eusdale Creek via low concrete causeways over which flowed a few centimetres of water. The entry to Eusdale Nature Reserve is located after the first crossing and marked by a solid metal gate – necessary to deter those seeking illegal entry to the reserve.²¹³ Michael and I wrestled with the gate's brass padlock before it opened. It would have been easy to walk the remainder of the route to our destination but Bev and Pat would have found the hike difficult.

Approaching the former homestead area from the south, there is a magnificent view into a steep-sided valley which narrows, gorge-like, in the distance. Grasses, bracken fern and low shrubs cover the valley floor along which Eusdale Creek meanders while open forest dominated by gum trees extend over the steep hill slopes.²¹⁴ Blue skies and sunlight pouring into the valley accentuated the colours, dramatic topography and, for me, welcoming nature of the landscape.

The convoy parked adjacent to NPWS Ranger Gavin Newton's utility. As soon as the cars halted there was a flurry of lunchtime activity: it was well after 1.30pm. Foldout tables encircled by a dazzling array of colourful chairs sprung up in the shade of the century old pear tree. Finger food appeared, a cork popped and glasses filled with bubbles or red wine clinked as the get-together settled in and the buzz of lively

²¹³ Lyn Sestan told of the time (c.1999) that the house was being used to cultivate marijuana. On the second morning of that get-together, after *a car zoomed in...and zoomed out* during the night, *everything was cleared out*.

²¹⁴ Dry Sclerophyll Forests with grassy or shrubby understorey (NPWS 2012: 5).

chatter and conversation, the sound of place-making, echoed around the otherwise silent valley (Figure 8.3). Dips and cheeses served with crackers, flavoured potato chips and nuts and berries were shared as the group caught up on each other's news, matters of ill and good health, and talked with the 'outsiders', Gavin and me. Richard and I spoke of recent travels to China, around Guilin in particular. It was a beautiful sunny afternoon.



FIGURE 8.3 Family get together, Glen Eden, 10 November 2012.

From left: Gavin Newton, Wendy Eggleton (behind Gavin), Michael Hayden, Linda Holmes, Pat Shallcross, Lyn Sestan, Richard Holmes (back to camera), Bev Edmonds, Trisha Van Gelder and Harley McHutchison. Absent: Geoff Sinnett.

(Photo credit: Steve Brown, 2012.)

Over 75 years ago (March 1936) the Bank of New South Wales foreclosed on a loan, forcing Albert and Florence Reakes to leave Glen Eden. Pat was twelve at the time. She said *everything all went*, but mostly what went were the *wonderful school holidays* she and sister Betty spent with their grandparents. Pat's mother, Alban Mary (Molly) Evans (nee Reakes), was a single working mum.²¹⁵ Each school holiday

²¹⁵ Mabel Reakes wrote of her sister: 'Alban Mary lost her first husband Don Kelly when the terrible flue was Killing people like flies. They had 4 Children. Minnie, Mabel, Don and Charles. Molly worked 7 days a week.

from the ages of six or seven, Molly put the sisters unaccompanied on the train from Sydney (Redfern or Central station) to Gemalla. Pat and Betty then walked the three miles to Glen Eden with food supplies and bags, likely following the access route we had driven. Pat told me that she loved being here playing with her cousins, the Bartletts.²¹⁶

Some time into the picnic, while I was talking with Harley, I noticed Pat, Gavin and Richard walking up the low spur to the house. I joined them and we examined the dilapidated interior of the six-room timber, concrete and iron building. Pat had trouble recalling the layout. Was the laundry previously an open verandah? Which room was the dining room? She remembered her grandmother, Florence, cooking on an open fire in the kitchen. Florence was nearly blind, with no peripheral vision, and Pat recalled helping with the cooking, mostly reminding Florence what food was in which pot. Pat thought the walls of the house were not concrete, but rather mud plastered with white pipe clay.²¹⁷

Afterward we re-joined the picnic. Gavin and Pat pushed their way through dry, thigh-high bracken to look at Eusdale Creek, some ten metres from the shaded picnic spot. I heard Pat express concern about snakes and Gavin say, "all's good." When they returned, Pat recalled learning to swim in the creek – three strokes took her from one bank across the shallow creek to the other side. The creek is now considerably narrower with less water than when Pat was a youngster. Pat told me about the cherries she ate on summer holiday visits. She, her cousins and sister had competitions to see how many cherries they could put in their mouths, pushing in as many as possible then spitting out the pips and counting *six – eight – ten*. Pat

There were no Government help in those days. They did own their house. Molly went out house cleaning 5 days. Saturday Cashier at the races. Sunday waitress at La-Perouse. She met a very good man Bill Evans. She was then 26 years old when widowed. They had two lovely daughters. Patricia Mary is the picture of her mother. Betty very like her father. Bill Evans was blown up in digging a trench. Contacted T.B. [tuberculosis] lived about 4 years.' (Mabel Emma Reakes, 'A Life Album'. Courtesy of Trisha Van Gelder)

²¹⁶ Leonard Rex Bartlett (b. 1926) and Yvonne Florence Bartlett (1930-1979), children of Ida Hilder Bartlett (nee Reakes, 1903-2000) and Nathaniel Joseph Bartlett (1893-1960).

²¹⁷ The source of the white pipe clay was 'a mine on the second bend of the creek going towards its source.' (Mabs Sinnott, November 2002. 'Welcome to Glen Eden').

couldn't remember the record. One of the cherry trees, Pat recalled, was near the house.

The ashes of Mabel Edmonds and Mabs Sinnett were scattered around the remains of a cherry tree, likely the one Pat recalled.²¹⁸ I asked Michael where the tree had stood. We returned to the front of the house, another area overgrown with bracken. Michael stamped around, flattening the dry ferns, trying unsuccessfully to locate the stump. Michael thought there were other cherry trees below the house, though above the creek flat where a vegetable garden was once located. Gavin told me that the same area was where William (Bill) Smith, an occupant of the property in 1960, had established a mass of rudimentary dog kennels as part of a kelpie breeding enterprise.

Whilst we stood beside the house, Michael told me that the layout of the six-room building and much of the hand-cut timber was the work of his great-grandfather, Albert Reakes; that the concrete formwork post-dates 1936 and is thus subsequent to the departure of Albert and Florence. Michael pointed out the irregular round posts (*Eucalyptus* sp.) supporting the front verandah and visible in the back wall of the house. The posts show marks of adzing – *You can see it's been hand-adzed*. He considers the posts to be a product of Albert's labour. The hand-cut posts hold meaning for Michael because they are original and authentic timbers hand-felled, adzed and fitted by Albert. They are, in Sara Ahmed's (2010) phrase, 'happy objects' for Michael because they have accumulated a 'positive affective value' (2010: 30). They are also a material presence of Albert Reakes, an example of the way in which the house holds material memories (Olivier 2011) and, in Michael's words, *memories of the people*.²¹⁹

On a number of occasions during the picnic Pat talked of her amazement at Albert's accomplishment in building the house for which she holds such fond childhood

²¹⁸ Michael Hayden told me Mabel Edmonds may have planted the cherry tree.

²¹⁹ *And Albert was the first Reakes born in Australia. He was born in 1864 or '65. So this was a house that literally had a first generation for the family in Australia* (Michael Hayden, 21 August 2012).

memories. Pat told me that Albert was well educated – he attended a private school in Sydney. She wondered what Albert and Florence must have thought when they ended up in this narrow, remote valley: *What did they think they had come to?*

exploration

After a few drinks and a good lunch the group walked to the site of the former Gemalla Cottage. The weatherboard and iron building had been constructed in 1916 by sons-in-law of Albert and Florence – John Edmonds, Don Kelly (*both of them were carpenters*) and Nathaniel Bartlett. It is 60 metres – as the crow flies – southeast of Albert’s and Florence’s home. There was much merriment and banter as our group scurried over the tussock-covered floodplain toward the rail-carriage bridge crossing Eusdale Creek.²²⁰ The wind had picked up and the sky had clouded over: there was a nip in the air and most people wore jumpers or jackets. On arriving at the bridge we looked back to see Pat and Bev making their way along the track from the abandoned assemblage of chairs, tables and eskies. Trisha and I went back to lend a hand to the women who were having difficulty navigating their way over uneven ground. Bev was feeling the cold and decided to return to the vehicles. Eighty-eight year old Pat was determined to join the expedition. Trisha and I, either side of Pat, headed slowly to the bridge, across the wood decking and up the hill slope to the former cottage site.

A dense thicket of bracken cloaked the site. Visible among one part of the crowded foliage was an assemblage of wire and crumpled metal sheeting, likely remains of a shearing shed and yards build by the last owners of Glen Eden – John and Glenyce Frappell.²²¹ Slightly higher up the slope, still within the mantle of bracken, was the remains of a chimney – bricks and formed concrete as well as scraps of wood and metal: traces of Gemalla Cottage.

²²⁰ ‘the Scout association installed a railway carriage for use as a vehicular and pedestrian bridge for crossing Eusdale Creek.’ (NPWS 2012: 8). The Australian Boy Scouts Association leased 10 acres (four hectares), including the Glen Eden main house, from 1968 to 2001 (NPWS File 07/19469, Bathurst Office).

²²¹ John and Glenyce Frappell occupied the area in the early 1960s. The shearing shed was constructed on the site of Gemalla Cottage, possibly incorporating surviving brick footings. ‘The shearing shed was made from corrugated iron and yellow box timbers and was approximately 15m x 15m. It had wire yards to the north and sheep yards that extended to the east for 30m-40m.’ (Newton 2008).

On the ridge extending above the scant remains was a meadow dotted with brilliant *yellow daisies*.²²² The brightly coloured flower heads are small (20-30mm wide) and the plants knee-high with wiry stems. Lyn and Trisha had previously talked with me about the Paper Daisies behind Gemalla Cottage.

I've got a picture of my mum because she didn't die that long ago and in front of it I've a small lot of Everlasting Daisies... my grandchildren came in not that long ago and said "Grandma, why do you keep those dead daisies?" And I explained it to them and then they were much more interested in why you do something like that. (Lyn Sestan, 9 July 2012)

Lyn's and Trisha's mother, Gwen Hyde (1918-2009), loved the yellow everlastings and *always loved to go and get daisies to bring back* to her home in Sydney. Gwen, the daughter of Mabel and John Edmonds, had lived with her parents at Gemalla Cottage until she was about five years old, after which time her family moved to Sydney. When Gwen was nine or so *she got pneumonia and was very, very sick*. After some medical treatment, a doctor said to Gwen's mother, *"Send her away to the country somewhere."*

TRISHA: She went there for a year.

LYN: She lost a year's schooling; she didn't go to school. She was met at the Tarana or the Gemalla railway station by her grandmother, Florence, and by Ida who was living up there then... Ida, I think, later told her sister...that when she saw Gwen she didn't know whether she'd live or not. But she just ran wild for a year.

TRISHA: Mum loved it and did whatever she wanted to.

LYN: She was terribly spoilt up there because she was the one that almost died. And she went out on the dray with her grandfather every day and apparently she used to wear out her underwear and so Ida made her – of course they weren't wealthy – Indian outfits out of chaff bags and Indian bloomers too and they stuck a feather in her hair and she went around and she thought she was wonderful – dressed like a little Indian. So these are the stories. (Lyn Sestan and Trisha Van Gelder, 9 July 2012)

²²² The species may be Sticky Everlasting (*Xerochrysum viscosum*), though in the text I use Paper Daisy or Everlasting Daisy as they are the names commonly used by those I interviewed.

When the family scattered Gwen's ashes in October 2012 (though not at Glen Eden), they were mixed with Everlasting Daisies. The daisies near Gemalla Cottage have deep significance for Lyn and Trisha: the flower evokes times Gwen *ran wild* and her life-long love for Glen Eden. Through their location, colour, form, affective abilities and material memory, the flowers express to Lyn and Trisha their mother's love of place and family: that is, they convey happiness. Simultaneously, they communicate a deep sense of personal loss.

By five thirty, the weather was becoming increasingly cold. The group, having visited a scout altar on a nearby ridge top,²²³ returned to the vehicles, packed up the material presence of the get-together and set off for the Tarana Hotel for dinner.

Memories, stories and family

...reunions and the story telling re-unite us as a family. (Michael Hayden 2007: 2)

When I first met with Michael Hayden and Richard Holmes to discuss their involvement in my PhD project, at TJ's Coffee House in Penshurst on 30 May 2012, I left the meeting inspired by their enthusiasm yet bewildered. During our two-hour conversation, they had rattled off the names of six generations filled with Christian names such as Mabel, Patricia – Pat or Trisha, Jack and Charles, as well as endless maiden and married names.²²⁴ I had no idea who was who and who fitted where and when and with whom. Michael subsequently emailed me a copy of the family tree (Reakes 1995: 40, 46-50), a series of complex diagrams that represent lives as *births, deaths, marriages and names* and, in historian David Walker's (2012: 12) words, a 'hatched, matched and dispatched' record of ancestry. Trisha Van Gelder, who had been a history teacher, told me that until the last decade or so she hadn't taken much interest in the Reakes' side of her family tree. She had assumed that the

²²³ An arrangement of stones and modified ground comprising 'a stone altar and seating area to conduct religious services.' (NPWS 2012: 8)

²²⁴ Anglo-Celtic family trees that follow the male line, like Weir (Chapter 7) and Brown (my family), are relatively easy to track, but maiden and married names – sometimes more than one – of women ancestors can obscure individual identity and lineage.

stories repeated at family gatherings had been written down. In fact little about family events, experiences and tales in the Tarana Valley had been documented.²²⁵

The brief history that follows is derived from family stories passed down and shared amongst generations of Albert and Florence Reakes' descendants. The narrative is compiled from oral testimony, images and a few Reakes' family texts; and includes information sourced from government records and contemporary newspapers. The history is to my mind collaborative (Chapter 5 – telling narratives of attachment). It is a co-production arising out of formal interviews, casual in-place conversations at the 2012 reunion and subsequent email correspondence. The narrative also incorporates corrections, perspectives and edits, provided by Michael Hayden, Trisha Van Gelder, Lyn Sestan and Wendy Eggleton to an earlier draft chapter. My aim is to tell a story that rings true to participants (Curthoys and McGrath 2009) and also foreshadows the academic commentary that follows.

in the beginning

Albert William George Reakes (1865-1941) and Florence Elizabeth Reakes (nee Hilder) (1870-1953) were battlers, much of their lives spent at the mercy of drought, fire and banks. They had convict ancestry and Aboriginal relatives.²²⁶ Albert's passion was mining, though he never made a fortune or, in later years, even enough to escape debt. However he initially made sufficient money from gold to buy the Railway Hotel in Narromine, 330 kilometres northwest of Sydney. After marrying Florence, and following the birth of Alban Mary in 1892, Albert was of the view that 'a Hotel was no place to bring up Children', so 'sold it and brought a Station property

²²⁵ However, there are a number of texts written by family members. They include those by: Mabel Emma Reakes ('A Life Album', a hand written diary, extracts of which were provided to me by Trisha Van Gelder); Mabs Sinnett (a series of stories including 'Earliest memories' (1998), 'Learning a painful lesson', 'One in a hundred', 'Tarana Mansions' and 'Welcome to Glen Eden' (2002), provided to me by Wendy Eggleton); and Michael Hayden ('Why we visit Gemalla every year' [2007]). Trisha Van Gelder has compiled a collection of annotated images, titled 'Ma's Scrap Book Circa 1900-1960', some of which are reproduced in this chapter.

²²⁶ Albert's maternal grandfather, George Phillip Croft (1808-1887), was awarded *an assisted passage* from Dublin (c.1827) for stealing a wood dresser valued at 25 pounds. Albert's maternal great-grandfather, George Thornton, was transported to Australia in 1815 or 1816 on the ship 'Guildford'. Albert Reakes' uncle (his father's brother), William George Reakes (b.1839) married Ann Smith (1846-1895). Ann was said to be the daughter or granddaughter of 'King Billy', an Aboriginal man who lived in the Dubbo area. One of Albert's nephews also married an Aboriginal woman.

called “FAIRFIELD”, 8 Miles out of Narromine’.²²⁷ The family was forced to leave the property in 1902 after the ‘Federation Drought’.²²⁸ They lived for a time in Sydney – at Darlinghurst with Albert’s relations and then Rockdale where Albert owned a ‘Barber Shop’. For three years they lived at Yerranderie, where Albert was an employee of a silver mine and Florence and he ran a guesthouse until a bushfire on 1 January 1905 ended the enterprise.²²⁹

In late 1907, Albert and Florence, now with five children, settled on a farm near the small and thriving community of Gemalla.²³⁰ They named the property Glen Eden: ‘Glen’ for the many fertile river flats bordering Eusdale Creek and ‘Eden’ to symbolise a new beginning for the family. The property was purchased in the names of Florence and second daughter Mabel – not Albert’s name, as he was an undischarged bankrupt at the time. Albert and Florence lived, raised their family, farmed and mined at Glen Eden (Figures 8.4 – 8.6) until they were forced to leave the property in March 1936 when the Bank of New South Wales foreclosed a loan.²³¹ Daughter Ida and son Jack continued to live in the district.

On occupying Glen Eden, Albert built a *house of wattle and daub* framed using locally axed and adzed timber. The building comprised six rooms, two with fireplaces, and a verandah. The layout remained unchanged though the building was subject to gradual improvement – for example, the addition of pressed metal ceilings.²³² The

²²⁷ Mabel Emma Reakes (‘A Life Album’). Information and quotes in the first part of this paragraph derive from this source and from Mabs Sinnett’s ‘Welcome to Glen Eden’ (2002).

²²⁸ ‘Applicant ascribed his bankruptcy to the drought, losses in stock and failure in crops... was married and had three children under age; had sold the Fairfield Estate for £3815 in December by auction to J. and J. O’Leary, Millthorpe.’ (*Dubbo Liberal*, 11 March 1903: 3). Mabs Sinnett (‘Welcome to Glen Eden’, 2002) writes that Albert, days before the sale, was swindled of money he was owed for his wheat crop by a Sydney solicitor.

²²⁹ The following case was heard in the Supreme Court of NSW: ‘Claim for Loss by Fire. Reakes v Yerranderie Silver-Mining Company... This was an action brought by Albert Reakes against the Yerranderie Silver-mining company (No Liability), to recover the sum of £250 as compensation for loss sustained by him owning, as he alleged, to the negligent, careless, and improper conduct of the defendant’s servants in not preventing a fire started by them on their own property from spreading to plaintiff’s land... at Burrangorang, about 40 miles from Camden... and thereon he had erected a cheap tenement... Plaintiff said that he not only lost the house, but the furniture and some personal effects, including jewellery... The jury, after a short deliberation, returned a verdict for the defendants.’ (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, Wednesday 13 September 1905: 4)

²³⁰ Portion numbers 113 (‘The Gap’; 404 acres; title holder – Florence E. Reakes), 125 (1,270 acres; title holder Mable Emma Reakes) and 127 (827 acres; title holder Mable Emma Reakes), Parish of Eusdale, County of Roxburgh, Land District of Bathurst. I thank Michael Hayden for providing this information.

²³¹ The Weirs of Darcoola Station also had issues with loans from this bank (Chapter 7).

²³² Architectural drawings and a detailed description of the present day building are provided in Barnson (2009).

second house, Gemalla Cottage constructed in 1916, was initially occupied by Mabel and Jack Edmonds (until c.1922) and subsequently by Ida and Nathaniel ('Jack') Bartlett.



FIGURE 8.4 Albert Reakes with 'Peter Pan' at Glen Eden.

(Photo credit: Mabel Edmonds. Courtesy of Trisha Van Gelder.)



FIGURE 8.5 Florence Reakes with 'Paddy' the sheep.

(Photo credit: Mabel Edmonds. Courtesy of Trisha Van Gelder.)



FIGURE 8.6 At Glen Eden, 1920s.

Florence Reakes (centre) with children (from left) Mabel Emma (1894-1991), Jack Charles (1906-2004), Baden Fairfield (1900-1942) and Ida Hilder (1903-2000). Missing is Alban Mary (1892-1985). The handwriting is that of Mabel Edmonds (nee Reakes).

(Photo credit: Mabel Edmonds. Courtesy of Trisha Van Gelder.)

Glen Eden was a small land holding farmed at a subsistence level.

On the creek flats Albert grew vegetables and crops, while around the house a number of fruit trees (cherries, apples and pears) were planted. Farm animals including, chickens and dairy cows to supply the household with eggs, meat, milk and cream. Florence was renowned for the quality of the cream produced from her cows and it was sold throughout the valley. This achievement is all the more remarkable as she was virtually blind with cataracts in both eyes. Albert also raised sheep and a few beef cattle and whilst an active farmer, prospecting was still his first love and he worked a number of small mining claims throughout the district (none of which were very successful).²³³ (Michael Hayden 2007: 1)²³⁴

The five children of Albert and Florence, as well as some of their grandchildren, attended the Tarana School. They travelled between Gemalla and Tarana by train.²³⁵ The school day finished 15 minutes early for the Gemalla kids – the toot-toot of an approaching train was the signal for them to run down a long hill slope to the Tarana Station platform. If they missed the train it was an eight-mile (13km) walk home. On one such walk granddaughter Minnie Kelly narrowly avoided being struck by a train. The Reakes children were close to one another, especially Alban Mary (Molly) and Mabel who lived away from Gemalla, in Sydney, for much of their adult lives.

The Reakes family was active in the local community. Albert played the concertina at local dances: for example, at the public welcome for Allen Bartlett on his return from ‘the front’ in 1919.²³⁶ Florence was awarded prizes for her cream at various Bathurst, Lithgow and Oberon agricultural shows. The family made the local papers for such

²³³ Reference to one of Albert’s mining ventures is made in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Wednesday 4 March 1914: 15. There is also a reference to him working a ‘Molybdenite field’ (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, Monday 10 April 1916: 11).

²³⁴ The document from which this quote is taken comprises a three-page history prepared by Michael Hayden to mark the centenary of the Glen Eden homestead. The history was used by NPWS to inform a Plan of Management for Eusdale Nature Reserve (NPWS 2012).

²³⁵ Gemalla was located on the Main Western railway line between Tarana and Locksley. A railway station building stood at the siding from 1907 and 1974. Available at: NSWrail.net. ‘Gemalla’, <http://www.nswrail.net/locations/show.php?name=NSW:Gemalla&line=NSW:main_west:0> (accessed March 2014).

²³⁶ ‘Welcome to Soldier’, *Lithgow Mercury*, 17 September 1919. Albert Reakes’ musical skills are recognised in ‘The Dance at Eusdale Creek’, a poem by Mulga Bill. I thank Wendy Eggleton for providing a copy of the poem.

events, but also for more dramatic reasons, such as when 13-year-old Jack Reakes spent a night lost in the forested ranges²³⁷ and when a snake bit Albert.

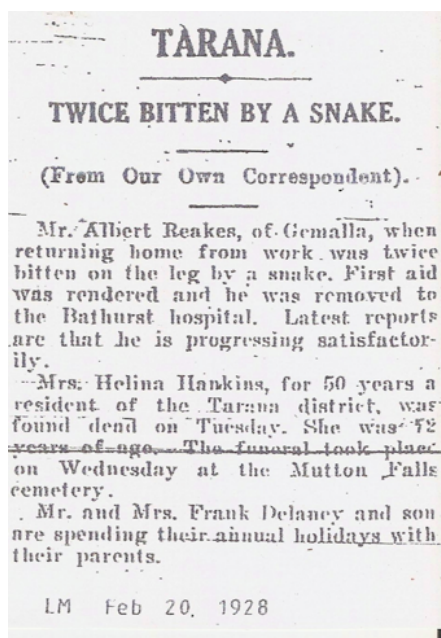


FIGURE 8.7 News article, *Lithgow Mercury*, 1928.

(Image courtesy of Trisha Van Gelder.)



FIGURE 8.8 'Jack Reakes in front of Tarana Hotel, about 1930'.

(Photo displayed at Tarana Hotel. Photo credit: Steve Brown, 2013.)

story and speculation: 'Twice bitten by a snake'

Mr Albert Reakes, of Gemalla, when returning home from work was twice bitten on the leg by a snake. First aid was rendered and he was removed to the Bathurst hospital. Latest reports are that he is progressing satisfactorily. (*Lithgow Mercury*, 20 February 1928) (Figure 8.7)

Snakes loom large in stories of life at Gemalla, Tarana and Glen Eden. In *the 1920s and 1930s there wasn't a great deal of antivenin available particularly for tiger snakes and brown snakes*. Richard Holmes' mother, Minnie, had friends die from snakebite. Gwen Edmonds (nicknamed 'Snakey') *was very good at finding snakes*.

²³⁷ 'Lads Trying Experience', *Lithgow Mercury*, 14 July 1920.

Pat Shallcross, who is petrified of snakes, was there the day one of the Bartlett children was lucky not to have been bitten when he trod on a snake: *when he put his foot down he went literally behind its head. And being a kid running...two, three paces and he was past.* There is a photograph in the Tarana Hotel of Jack Reakes holding a live snake (Figure 8.8). More recently, there was a tiger snake encounter at the 2010 family get-together at Glen Eden; and Tarana Cemetery is still reputed to have *more tiger snakes than headstones.*²³⁸ But it is Albert's story of lucky escape that is the most recounted of all snake encounters.

There are variations on the story. It is generally agreed that Albert was bitten twice on the lower leg while crossing the Fish River, which may have been in flood at the time. Michael says Albert was crossing *a hand bridge – one or two wire strands for your feet, and one for your hands.* Lyn thought the crossing was *on some kind of a rope, which they'd made.* Richard says Albert was jumping *across the river on stepping-stones and he jumped on a tiger snake, or disturbed a tiger snake, and got bitten.* Lyn and Richard believe that Albert's son, Jack, was with him when Albert was bitten: *Jack cut it with a razor blade and chased him down and cut a big wedge out of it with a cutthroat razor to save his life.* Michael tells the story with Albert alone on the flooded Fish River: *so he got his penknife out and had to cut the snake away. And then carried out immediate first aid; cut out a bit of the flesh where the snake had bitten him.* Then, after tying a *tourniquet above his knee,* Albert walked two or three miles to the homestead where *Jack did some more operating on his leg.* It seems that flowing water and layers of clothing (*thick socks, thick trousers and thick boots*) limited the effect of the two snake strikes: *probably not too much venom got in.* Albert was then transported *to Bathurst, a couple of hours drive in those days.*

²³⁸ Seigel (2012: 162-163, referencing Forgas 2008) discusses evidence for how a fear of snakes might be passed on genetically, in turn shaping the brains value systems and thence states of arousal. 'Mirror neurons' may also play a role in regulating a person's arousal responses via the input of other's emotions. Australian author Miles Franklin (1963: 115), for example, writes: 'From infancy my elders implanted in me their own fear of these reptiles and it took root and grew to an unconquerable revulsion.' Perhaps family antecedents and genetics account for my anxiety about snakes. My mother sat on a couch at the Kitale Sports Club, Kenya, pregnant at the time with my younger brother Mal, when she felt a wiggle beneath the slip-on cover: the movement of a Black Mamba. My father's mother, Lesley, was bitten by a Puff Adder after she walked from bright sunlight into a darkened hut and stood on it. She survived the encounter.

The punch line in each of Richard's, Lyn's and Michael's accounts is similar and intentionally humorous.

And the only thing he was suffering from was loss of blood. [laughs]

(Richard Holmes, 6 July 2012)

When they got him into hospital I believe they said, "We don't know whether to treat him for blood loss or snake bite." (Lyn Sestan, 9 July 2012)

...the doctor said, "Well, I'm not sure whether I treat you for snake bite or for someone attempting to amputate your leg." (Michael Hayden, 21 August 2012)

After the event Albert was left with *a hole in his leg that never grew fully back*. Pat Shallcross, who had seen her grandfather's healed wound, said that the scar was *the size of a twenty-cent piece*, physical evidence of the experience marked in Albert's body.

The point of presenting the different ways in which Albert's snake encounter was recounted is not to cast doubt on any one person's version of events. Each of the narratives is part shared knowledge and part conjecture and each story points to different, yet overlapping, notions of place in which spatial and social are intertwined (Dovey 2010: 6). Place in the snake accounts is neither an exact locale nor a single narrative or past. Each narrator knows a few crucial details and thenceforth speculates by filling in gaps, vividly imagining a locale and re-creating the way the drama played out; and all the time keeping the narrative alive and lively. Richard, Lyn and Michael are all familiar with the local landscape and the danger snakes pose and thus able to imagine, and empathise with, Albert's in-place encounter.

I have little doubt that if the three story tellers were in the same location, and indeed after they read this chapter, they would dispute and argue about the details, pointedly disagreeing on some 'facts', agreeing on others and laughing and marvelling about the story itself. The dialogue between family members is what becomes important and the details, which can never be accurately known, less so.

There is an element of ‘Chinese whispers’ in the way that stories like Albert’s get retold, reinvented and elaborated, sometimes contested, across generations and fourth cousins.



FIGURE 8.9 Florence Reakes and grandchildren, Gemalla Cottage, 1930s.
(Photo credit: Mabel Edmonds. Courtesy of Trisha Van Gelder.)



FIGURE 8.10 Swimming in the Fish River, 1930s.
(Photo credit: Mabel Edmonds. Courtesy of Trisha Van Gelder.)

return to Glen Eden

We used to love to come here. It was wonderful. We used to paddle in the creek and catch tadpoles. (Pat Shallcross, 10 November 2012)

After the Reakes' children grew up, married and had children, it was common for Albert and Florence Reakes' grandchildren to stay at Glen Eden during school holidays (Figure 8.9): Minnie, Mabs, Don and Charles Kelly and Pat and Betty Evans (Alban Mary's children) and Gwen, Florence, Olive and Jack Edmonds (Mabel's kids). There they camped on mattresses laid along the verandah of the house. Life-long bonds were formed between cousins, including with Leonard, Yvonne and Neal Bartlett, then residing at Gemalla Cottage.²³⁹ The third generation of Reakes always remained close. This closeness is evidenced, for example, in the re-use of a wedding dress by two siblings and a cousin – Mabs Sinnett (nee Kelly), Gwen Hyde (nee Edmonds) and Florence Simon (nee Edmonds).²⁴⁰

Family gatherings, *huge family parties*, were a feature of the extended family; third and fourth cousins knew one another well. Richard Holmes, an only child, remembers get-togethers occurring throughout his life. His cousins, great-grandchildren of Alfred and Florence Reakes, *were like brothers and sisters I never had, because we used to see them weekly, particularly the ones that lived around this part* (i.e., Brighton Le Sands, Arncliffe and Campsie). It was common, for example, for a family gathering to take place *on the first Saturday in October* to celebrate the birthday of Florence Reakes who, when almost blind by the 1940s, lived in the front room of Mabel Edmonds house at 126 Evaline Street, Campsie (Figure 8.11). Most of the great-grandchildren of Florence remember her – Lyn Sestan was twelve when she died, Richard Holmes was nine and Michael Hayden was four. Trisha Van Gelder was only two, but was later told that she loved to *snuggle into bed with her great Grandma*. A tradition of October get-togethers continued long after Florence passed

²³⁹ A fourth sibling, Claire, was born in 1939, after Glen Eden had been forfeited.

²⁴⁰ The respective wedding dates and places are: 17 June 1939 – Marrickville; 21 June 1940 – Campsie; and 16 December 1940 – Canterbury.

away in 1953 at age 84.²⁴¹ Richard Holmes affectionately recalls family gatherings in Sydney: *we'd have two or three get togethers a year. Usually up here at Arncliffe at Knight Street, where Mabs Sinnett's family lived. Mabs always used...any excuse to have a...get together, and everyone would bring a plate and it'd just happen.*²⁴²



FIGURE 8.11 Family gathering on the occasion of Mabs Sinnett's 16th birthday, Evaline Street, Campsie, 1928.

Back row left to right: Grandma Mooney Reakes, Albert Reakes, Florence Reakes, Jack Reakes, Alban Mary (Molly) Evans, Mabs Sinnett, Bill Evans, Don Kelly, Mabel Edmonds and Jack Edmonds. Front row left to right: Charles Kelly, Betty Evans, Pat Evans, Jack Edmonds, Olive Edmonds, Gwen Edmonds, Florence Edmonds.

(Photo credit: Minnie Kelly, 1928.)

²⁴¹ Michael Hayden: *In fact, Richard's father used to tell a great story. He used to be the Social Secretary of Brighton Fisherman's Club, and they said to him one night, "Dick, where's Min?" He said, "She's at her grandma's birthday." "Oh, Min's grandma's still alive? How old?" "107." "Oh, that's a fantastic age." He said, "No, she's been dead for 25 years."*

²⁴² Michael Hayden recalls that nearby Gardiner's Park was *our backyard* during these times and *we'd be at Mab's place an' we'd walk down to Brighton Beach.*

During the 1950s the Sydney families occasionally visited their relatives, Ida and Jack's families, in the Tarana area. Richard Holmes remembers going to Glen Eden with his mother²⁴³ and Uncle Charles²⁴⁴ when he was about seven years of age. In his teenage years, Richard often went to Uncle Jack Reakes' property at Yetholme to shoot rabbits, recalling that *we'd always call in, have a look at the property [Glen Eden] when we were in the area.*

During the August 1961 school holidays, almost 25 years after Albert and Florence Reakes were forced to leave Glen Eden, Mabs Sinnett, Ida Bartlett and Jack Reakes returned with their children, as well as those of Alban Mary, to visit the former family home and farm.²⁴⁵ Both homes at Glen Eden still stood and the 1907 building was occupied.²⁴⁶ According to Michael Hayden (2007), the 1961 visit, as well as visits in the following two years, 'rekindled the interest of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren in the family history, especially when Mabel, Ida and Jack retold the stories of family exploits and adventures.'²⁴⁷ The family visits did not continue after 1963, possibly because the NSW Forestry Commission acquired the land around this time.²⁴⁸

During the 1970s and early 1980s parts of the extended family began to have less contact with one another and *there was no specific contact with the property, Glen Eden.*

And when we were little there were big family parties. So we knew all these people really well from when we were little but we'd lost connection with them over a period of time, partly because we moved to Clontarf, but I don't think only that, because everyone had

²⁴³ Minnie Holmes (nee Kelly, 1908-1983).

²⁴⁴ Charles Albert Kelly (1918-2001).

²⁴⁵ Recollections of these visits are associated with staying at a local farmhouse, variously called, in jest, Tarana Mansions or Paris Mansions.

²⁴⁶ Michael Hayden recalls the Wade family living on the property in 1961. After 1961 the Frappell's occupied Glen Eden (Newton 2008). Albert and Florence Reakes' house continued to be occupied until 1969-1970, and was subsequently used by the NSW Scout Association; along with the occasional grower of illicit plants.

²⁴⁷ *...the four sisters – that's my mother [Pat Shallcross], her sister Betty [Townsend], and the two elder sisters Mabs [Sinnett] and Minnie [Holmes], decided that they'd take their kids back to Tarana to let them see a bit of the family history.* (Michael Hayden, 21 August 2012)

²⁴⁸ On 17 September 1964 the NSW Forestry Commission purchased land from J.W. and G.N. Frappell to create Sunny Corner State Forest with an intention to convert the area to Pine (*Pinus radiata*) plantation, though this never eventuated. The land was leased for grazing purposes until acquired by the NPWS in 2006.

lost connection but we had been very close because Florence and Albert's children were all very close and so it was with all their children and grandchildren who came together for these huge family parties that used to take place. (Trisha Van Gelder, 9 July 2012)

From 1991, following the scattering of Mabel Edmond's ashes, the extended family of Reakes' descendants made annual visits to the ancestral property.²⁴⁹ The first year *they stayed in the house and some camped.* These visits took place in October or November, after the cold of winter and before summer got *boiling hot with lots of flies.* The family members regularly attending the reunions included Jack Reakes, grandchildren such as Pat Shallcross, Mabs Sinnett, Gwen Hyde and Jack Edmonds, and many of the great-grandchildren of Albert and Florence Reakes.²⁵⁰ Over the years *all kinds of people come once,* including in 2006 a relative from America.²⁵¹

Lyn Sestan has attended get-togethers over a long period. She was initially dubious about going to the event: *"I wonder how I'm going to stay there for the whole weekend"*, but went because *I thought I'd be doing something that would make my Mum happy.* At the gathering, Lyn met family members she had not seen *for a long period of time* – since the parties at Mabby's house in Arncliffe. Lyn enjoyed reconnecting with aunts and distant cousins at Glen Eden. By contrast, Trisha Van Gelder, Lyn's younger sister, only began attending the get-togethers in the last seven or eight years.

I think I started being interested in my ancestry generally...as far as I was aware, my mother's – the Reakes' family history had been done – so we've got births, deaths and marriages back to the 1600s but we actually don't have a lot of detail. ...And then I discovered that Michael particularly knew all these family stories that I didn't know anything about... So I think that's what got me really interested. Now it's the family history. ...I'm going to delve more into that and try and find out more about how they lived and that side of things. But also it's the connection with my cousins – second, third,

²⁴⁹ There may have been an earlier one-off gathering in 1987. (Michael Hayden, 16 February 2013)

²⁵⁰ People that had known the Reakes' occasionally attended the get togethers – for example, Tom Wade who had been *particularly good friends with Jack Reakes.*

²⁵¹ Charles Maydych. The American side of the Reakes family are descended from the siblings of Walter and William (Albert Reakes father and uncle) who immigrated to the USA c.1858 and settled in Ohio. Other members of the American side of the family to visit Australia included Paul and Edna Rex (1964), Richard and Hilder Knight (c.1975) and Marian Elk (1988). I thank Michael Hayden and Trisha Van Gelder for this information.

fourth cousins, quite distant in a sort of way, but they're actually...people who, if you needed them, you could...rely on them...and it's lovely catching up. (Trisha Van Gelder, 9 July 2012)

In 2012 the number of family members attending the Glen Eden get-together was ten. Pat Shallcross is the last surviving member of the family to have slept in the family house: at age 11 in 1936 she spent a last summer holiday there. Great-great-grandchildren of Alfred and Florence Reakes either do not join the gatherings or have only attended once. Michael is of the view that when his mother, Pat, dies *we'll probably still want to go there*, but that the gatherings *within the next five years are probably going to cease*. In addition, NPWS proposes to demolish the house. Albert's and Florence's home, the place of school holiday memories for Pat and hand-adzed posts for Michael, is one of the focal points of the annual Reakes family get-together, along with the ashes and everlastings.

Generational transfer of positive experience

Postmemory describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. (Hirsch 2008: 103)

At the end of the previous chapter I posed the question: What happens to people's sense of place-attachment over multiple generations? The connection between Glen Eden and the Reakes' descendants over more than 100 years is a useful case study for investigating this question. To frame the discussion of place-attachment across generations, I draw and extend on the idea of 'postmemory', a concept explored by the Holocaust and memory scholar Marianne Hirsch (2008, 2012).

Hirsch (2008: 106) argues for postmemory as an inter-generational and trans-generational structure of transmission. Memory, for Hirsch, is a system of mnemonic

prompts, processes and products maintained over generational time (Gibson 2013: 248) and ‘acts of transfer’ (Connerton 1989) that ‘not only transform history into memory, but enable memories to be shared across individuals and generations’ (Hirsch 2012: 31). She emphasises how postmemory is not the literal memories of others experiences, rather it is ‘post’ and ‘at the same time, it approximates memory in its affective force’ (2008: 109).

Postmemory describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears on the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they ‘remember’ only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory’s connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation... These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present. (Hirsch 2008: 106-107)

Using the Holocaust as a historical frame of reference, and the phenomenology of photography in that context, Hirsch suggests that her analysis is ‘relevant to numerous other contexts of traumatic transfer that can be understood as postmemory’ (2008: 108).²⁵² I argue that Hirsch’s conceptualisation of postmemory need not be limited to ‘traumatic transfer’ but can be extended to the transmission of ‘positive affect’ (Ahmed 2010) and positive pasts (i.e., non-traumatic experiences) and, furthermore, pasts where the contemporary experience of landscape and material things play a substantive role.

connecting family, generations and place

Each of the interviewees for this study – Lyn Sestan, Richard Holmes, Michael Hayden and Trisha Van Gelder – experienced overwhelmingly positive child-adult relationships with their great-grandmother Florence Reakes. Lyn said that Florence *had a wonderful rapport with all her great grandchildren. The first place you went*

²⁵² In Australia, trauma (and testimony) are evident in a range of memory studies (Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton 2013: 375-378) – e.g., Schlunke 2005; Tumarkin 2005, 2013; and Twomey 2013.

when you went to my grandmother's home was into the front room to visit Gran. She was always our first stop. For 12 years after Albert died until her death in 1953, Florence is credited with shaping her grandchildren's and great-grandchildren's interest in life at Glen Eden.

Alban Mary (Molly) and Mabel, daughters of Albert and Florence, were long-time matriarchs of the family. The sisters, who were very close, lived in Sydney for most of their adult lives and were instrumental in keeping the extended family connected. Sharing and retelling family stories played an important role in this matter. Richard and Michael spoke of how they were indoctrinated, in a positive way, regarding Glen Eden by their grandmother (Molly) and mothers (Minnie Holmes and Pat Shallcross respectively). Lyn, Richard, Michael and Trisha's parent's generation spent many of their *wonderful school holidays* at Glen Eden. Gwen Hyde had particularly strong childhood memories of and feelings for Glen Eden: of growing up there in her early years, then school holidays and subsequently the year she was sent *away to the country* and *ran wild*. For Molly's and Mabel's children, Glen Eden in the 1920s and 1930s was a childhood paradise filled with in-place experience (e.g., swimming, catching tadpoles and eating cherries), a place where close interpersonal relationships with grandparents and between cousins were built and nurtured.

When the 'holiday-cousins' had their own children in the 1940s and 1950s, they remained close. Pat Shallcross and Mabs Sinnett, for example, spoke almost daily: *the longest period they went without talking would have been when Mabs was overseas in the early 1970s; Mabs went on a Women's Weekly world cruise.* Extended family get-togethers were common and the gatherings at Mabs' place at 65 Knight Street, Arncliffe, are fondly recollected by Lyn, Richard, Michael and Trisha. Minnie Holmes, Richard's mother, is remembered as a great storyteller.

Minnie had the knack of being able to weave the romance, the stories of the family history. Because her grandfather, Albert, adored her...always she was telling a story in the first person and made it alive... I can remember as a five or six year old that Minnie would be telling family history stories and it sounded like the great romance, a romantic

style of talking... Minnie was good at entertaining the kids... Sometimes you might have heard the story three times, but Minnie would change the story anyway. So there was always this idea of this house, this property at Gemalla that...great-Grandpa had built... So there was a lot of idealisation. (Michael Hayden, 21 August 2012)²⁵³

The early-1960s visits to Glen Eden to *see a bit of the family history* made Minnie's stories real and grounded. The house and landscape setting materialised the fantastic family tales, enlivening past times for new generations. In-place accounts, within the context of a close extended family, encouraged life-long interest in the family's past at the ancestral property. Renewing ties with Glen Eden from 1991 through annual family get-togethers has served to reinvigorate connections between family, generations and place. For some, like Trisha Van Gelder, more recent attendance at get-togethers has meant re-engaging with the ancestral place in Reakes' history.

bodily communication and generational transfer

A key theme in the Reakes history, as related by 'fourth-generation' family members Lyn, Richard, Michael and Trisha, is the role of women in maintaining family connections and links between family members and Glen Eden. Credit for this is given to Florence Reakes, then second-generation sisters and matriarchs Molly and Mabel, and subsequently third-generation women Minnie Holmes and Mabs Sinnett (*the leaders*) as well as Pat Shallcross, Betty Townsend and Gwen Hyde. From the perspective of the fourth-generation, who never experienced Glen Eden as lived-in home, their great-grandmother, grandmothers, mothers and aunts are the family's champions and women who communicated and memorialised stories, feelings and fondness for family, flowers and Glen Eden. The women bound lived experience at Glen Eden into inter- and trans-generational family ties.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Although the idea of nostalgia – sentimentality for a lost past and lost places and positive memories of happy times – is implied in Michael's comment, it is not a topic I discuss in this thesis.

²⁵⁴ In the fourth-generation, Michael Hayden is recognised as the champion of the family reunions, a knowledge holder of stories and the author of the public narrative (Hayden 2007). I am conscious that I am playing a role here by contributing an outsider perspective, a collaborative synthesised account of family history-as-attachment.

There is a complex interplay between generations that enfolds lived experience with memory. Important elements of this entanglement include storytelling (e.g., Minnie Holmes' engaging renditions) and the landscape of Glen Eden itself (e.g., a landscape of snaky-ness where venomous creatures are a constant danger). The layout and hand-adzed posts of the house and displays of yellow Paper Daisies materialise past and present lives. Such things act as 'points of memory', to borrow a phrase coined by Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer (Hirsch 2012: 22, 61-63), 'that tell us more about our own needs and desires, our own fantasies and fears, than about the past to which they supposedly bear witness' (2012: 22).²⁵⁵ The landscape situates the past and provides a present-time spatial and multitemporal setting from which stories, such as Albert's snake encounter, can be retrieved, re-imagined and recounted as well as re-examined and re-negotiated.

In discussions of the concept of postmemory, Hirsch emphasises the family as a fundamental unit of transmission – the 'language of the family, the language of the body: nonverbal and non-cognitive acts of transfer occur most clearly within a familial space, often in the form of symptoms' (Hirsch 2008: 112). Symptoms such as 'nightmares, idioms of sighs and illness, of tears and acute aches' (Hoffman 2004: 9-10, in Hirsch 2008) are forms of bodily expression that affectively communicate adult experiences to children and adolescents.²⁵⁶

Affective nonverbal and non-cognitive acts of transfer within familial settings and the language of the family and bodies (i.e., the notion of postmemory), I argue, are part of the Reakes descendants' experience of Glen Eden. For example, Lyn Sestan regularly experienced Glen Eden in these ways during visits with her mother. Lyn saw and heard Gwen re-live memories and love for the place: she observed her mother collecting Paper Daisies. Lyn and Trisha experienced the year their mother ran wild

²⁵⁵ Hirsch and Spitzer use the phrase 'points of memory' with reference to a picture from a family photo album. I am using the phrase in a broader sense to encompass material things beyond photographs.

²⁵⁶ The context of Hoffman's (2004: 9-10) statement is, 'they also spoke...to their intimates, to spouses and siblings, and, yes, to their children. They spoke in the language of family – a form of expression that is both more direct and more ruthless than social and public speech... In my home, as in so many others, the past broke through in the sounds of nightmares, the idioms of sighs and illness, of tears and acute aches that were the legacy of the damp attic and of the conditions my parents endured during their hiding.'

through Gwen's stories but also through the sense of joy Gwen's body communicated – her posture, smile and affection-laden delivery.

Mum was very expressive in a rather understated way. When she spoke of Glen Eden her beautiful blue eyes sparkled even when she was quite old and she beamed all over.
(Trisha Van Gelder, email of 6 March 2013)²⁵⁷

I also surmise that Minnie Holmes' recounting of life at Glen Eden to the young Michael Hayden similarly involved a significant component of nonverbal communication: the imagined romance of Glen Eden was enlivened through facial expression, brightened eyes, tone of voice and embodied enthusiasm.²⁵⁸

Thus when Michael Hayden (2007: 2) says the 'reunions and the story telling re-unite us as a family', he points to the Glen Eden get-together and the act of transfer of knowledge, emotion and experience between and within generations as glue that cements his extended family. The act of transfer involves a communication of stories about place and people, where fact, speculation and performance (e.g., *Minnie would change the story*) are combined for effect. Transfer also involves the transmission of sensation, at times a feeling of reliving the experiences of past generations: for example, evident in the joy expressed by the school holiday generation. The idea of postmemory, affectively expressed as sets of powerful and positive bodily patterns, behaviours and feelings, is suggested in this practice.

heritage management, expertise and in-place practice

4.4 Social... The building is of particular importance to the families associated with it, but holds little significance to the wider community. The concrete/rubble construction at 'Glen Eden' holds little aesthetic appeal. The residence has a setback from the road of about 1.2km and is quite overgrown. Its relevance as the residence of a local farming family has not been diminished over time for that family. The descendants of the Reakes

²⁵⁷ Trisha wrote this in response to a request from me. I had asked if the way I expressed Gwen's manner of communicating her love for Glen Eden rang true. Trisha wrote: 'I think everything you've written about is correct'.

²⁵⁸ Michael Hayden (email of 7 March 2013) said that, although difficult to recall Minnie's non-verbal communication style, he thought that the words presented here, which I had surmised from what Michael had previously told me, 'correctly captured what it was that I found so special about them [i.e., Minnie's stories].'

family have been making annual visitations to the site for some time, and hope to continue to do so. It has been advised that the ashes of several members of the family have been spread over the site. Family advice also suggests that the family have a greater affinity with the site in general, as opposed to the actual dwelling, given the building's change and deterioration over time. (Barnson 2009: 13)

A 2009 heritage assessment of the former Reakes home at Glen Eden concluded that the 'place is locally significant with historic and cultural value' (Barnson 2009: 4). The assessment determined the house to have historical value because of its association with the Reakes family from 1907 to 1936 (2009: 12) and social value evidenced in family history and expressed through annual get-togethers and the scattering of family members' ashes. What are not evident in the social values statement (quoted above) are personal feelings and behaviours or their generational transfer. Rather, the statement adopts a discourse of authority – in particular architectural expertise – and the assessment serves, in Denis Byrne's (2009: 231) words, to 'deform' place by treating materials as ends in themselves and as 'things minus feelings'.²⁵⁹ Thus the connections between personal attachment and the house layout, materials and setting are barely visible. However, as I have discussed in this chapter, the original hand-cut and adzed wood posts, evidence of Albert Reakes' building skills, hold personal meaning for Michael Hayden. For Pat Shallcross, the front verandah provokes memories of childhood, school holidays and her cousins, while the open fireplace is a reminder of cooking with her grandmother, Florence Reakes. Material things – posts, verandah and fireplace – are entangled and embedded in Michael's and Pat's memories, feelings and experiences.

While the 2009 assessment of significance captures considerable factual information concerning the place's historic and architectural attributes, it divorces them from their emotional setting.²⁶⁰ The links between personal, in-place experience and

²⁵⁹ This is not surprising given that the consultant did not meet with, or discuss, place-feelings with any of the Reakes descendants. The consultants derived information relating to social value from existing data (e.g., Hayden 2007) and the personal knowledge of NPWS staff. In my experience, this situation is common to many, but not all, NPWS heritage studies where assessments of social value are limited to secondary data sources due to perceived costs associated with conducting face-to-face meetings, focus group workshops or on-site events.

²⁶⁰ On this point more generally in heritage practice, see Byrne (2009), Byrne et al. (2001: Chapter 2), and Swenson et al. (2013). There is a challenge faced by consultants and managing authorities in applying a heritage

heritage values are not evident and the complex intra-actions across people, Glen Eden and material things are not revealed. If, as I argue in Chapter 4, place-attachment is conceptualised as a phenomenon evident in the entanglements of people, place and things, then separating a structure's materials from home-feelings is impossible. Thus a framework of entanglement views the ashes of Mabel Edmonds and Mabs Sinnett as embedded within family memory-scapes; Michael's feelings as sedimented in the house posts ('post-memory'); Pat's memories as co-constituted with the kitchen fireplace; and Lyn's and Trisha's recollections as entangled with yellow everlastings. What is absent in the 2009 statement of social value, therefore, is emotional engagement with family member's feelings for Glen Eden. How might a heritage practitioner engage with the emotional dimensions of heritage place and experience?

My experience of Glen Eden illustrates how ethnographic research methods, including interviews and in-place participation, are in themselves place-making processes. Place constructed in this way creates what anthropologist Sarah Pink terms 'ethnographic places'.

Ethnographic places are thus not the same actual, real, experienced places ethnographers participate in when they do fieldwork. Rather, they are the places that we, as ethnographers, make when communicating about our research to others. Whatever medium is involved, ethnographic representation involves the combining, connecting and interweaving of theory, experience, reflection, discourse, memory and imagination. (Pink 2009: 42)

The Barnson (2009) heritage assessment represents place (i.e., Glen Eden) as 'actual and real' (e.g., via measurement, scaled architectural drawings and a site plan) and thus Glen Eden as 'heritage place' is concretised through its observable materiality (i.e., structure, plantings and landscape features). By contrast, my representation of Glen Eden draws on 'the sensory sociality of ethnographic place-making' (Pink 2008) and,

practice that separates 'manageable' tangible remains from 'unmanageable' meanings, values, memories and feelings.

...by theorizing collaborative ethnographic methods as place-making practices we can generate understandings of both how people constitute...environments through embodied and imaginative practices and how researchers become attuned to and constitute ethnographic places. (Pink 2008: 176)

Pink draws on Edward Casey's (1996) idea of place-making as a gathering and Tim Ingold's (2007a: 103) notion of place as constituted through entangled pathways to argue that ethnographic methods of audio-recording, photographing, the sociality of walking and eating, and imagining enable the researcher to become attuned to place and other people's experience of place.

By attending to the sensoriality and materiality of other people's ways of being in the world, we [the researchers] cannot directly access their 'collective' memories, experiences or imaginations. However, we can, by following their routes and attuning our bodies, rhythms, tastes, ways of seeing and more to theirs, begin to make places that are similar to theirs, and thus feel that we are emplaced. (Pink 2008: 193)

The point Pink makes here echoes an argument of Clifford and Marcus (1986): that is, the researcher practitioner is always personally entangled in ethnographic practice and cannot easily stand outside it. While this point has long been recognised in anthropology, in Australian heritage practice there is resistance to the subjective, emotional and qualitative nature of the research encounter. This is exemplified in the Barnson (2009) report's discourse of expertise in architecture and history to determine Glen Eden's social value. The hand-adzed posts and 'probably original' (2009: 11) kitchen chimney are represented entirely as structural elements of the house. The present-day affective qualities of these features, their power to evoke past events and personal experiences, their material memories, are rendered invisible in heritage discourses of expertise. Consequently, the Barnson report represents Glen Eden from an outside, detached and authoritative position. By contrast, I have sought to understand and represent Glen Eden through descriptive storytelling as an ethnographic place (i.e., inside, living, intimate and mediated) via a perspective of auto-ethnographic experience and, in Pink's (2008: 176) terminology, sensory sociality.

Reflection: empathy as research method

...how truly lucky we are to have this special bond – with Glen Eden and with each other. (Lyn Sestan, email of 7 March 2013)

When I participated in the Glen Eden get-together in the company of Pat Shallcross, the last surviving Reakes descendant to sleep at Albert's and Florence's house, there was a sense of the wonderful childhood holidays communicated in Pat's movement in the landscape. This pleasure was communicated, for example, through her genuine delight in pointing out the swimming hole, walking to the remains of Gemalla Cottage and re-imagining the cherry-eating competitions. I imagined myself as a competitive child pushing plump, red cherries into my mouth.²⁶¹ Pat's sense of joy was transferred to me, not only through the personal in-place story but through the aura of gratification her body exuded. When I recall Pat's experience, I am re-charmed by a sense of imagined familiarity.

However, as an outsider to Pat's extended family, I am less attuned to Pat's nonverbal communication style than are her kin. And because Pat and I only met once, postmemory does not explain the transfer of Pat's pleasurable experience to me. My response to Pat's cherry story was more immediate and best explained by the idea of 'empathy' – a topic I discussed in relation to my entanglements with objects at 85 Fairview Street (Chapter 6). Pat's encounters with cherries, the swimming hole and the Glen Eden home tell of real-world experiences. Pat's stories enable me to empathetically imagine her past experiences as in-place events, material entanglements and emotionally charged situations.

Empathy is a form of experiential understanding (Coplan 2011: 17-18). That is, experiential understanding provides an observer/participant (e.g., a heritage practitioner) with some knowledge of another person's or group's thoughts and feelings and thus their emotional engagement with place and material things.

²⁶¹ Pat's evocative memory led me to recall, when at age 11, while stealing loquats from a farm orchard near the town of Bakers Hill, Western Australia, I fell from a tree and broke my arm. I lied to my parents about the cause of the accident, but was found out.

Experiential understanding does this in a way that differs from expert authority or scientific explanation – as philosopher Amy Coplan explains.

...while all scientific theories involve representations from a third-person point of view, empathy involves representations from a first-person point of view. Through empathy, we represent the other's experience by replicating that experience. ...we attempt to share the other's perspective. ...[empathy] may provide what no third-person form of scientific understanding can: understanding of another person from the 'inside'. (Coplan 2011: 18)

Thus a reason I have found empathy useful for studying attachment at Glen Eden and Darcoola Station (Chapter 7) is, as philosopher Derek Matravers (2011) discusses, because 'empathy can give us knowledge' and empathy is a source of data. Empathy or 'empathic interpretation' (Williams 2011) is therefore beneficial for investigating people's experiences of place-attachment because it is a method for gathering information on emotions and feelings. Empathy enabled me to achieve a level of analytical, experiential and sensory comprehension of the Reakes descendants sense of place-attachment and, furthermore, a level of emplacement (Pink 2009).

Finally, in ending this chapter, it is noteworthy that Michael Hayden told me that when his mother, Pat, passes on she *wants part of her there*, some of her ashes scattered at Glen Eden.²⁶² There her remains will join with those of her aunt and half-sister and with the landscape and things, like Paper Daisies, that hold memories of *wonderful school holidays* and generations of family. There is something powerful in wishing to reside eternally in a landscape filled with feelings of fondness, where, to paraphrase Verna Nichols (Chapter 1), the stories and experience of family jump out of the landscape and where physical presence becomes a profound expression of place-attachment. I find myself envying such power of feeling: the way affection is transmitted across generations and expressed within families such as the Reakes for Glen Eden. I consider myself fortunate to have shared with family members their love of place and connectedness to family life.

²⁶² ...and the other part to be with her father at Randwick (Michael Hayden, 21 August 2012).



FIGURE 9.1 Old Currango: first impressions.
(Photo credit: Allan McLean, April 2012.)

Old Currango: life-stages and absent things

At Gurrangorambla Plain

The lurid pink of Old Currango's weatherboards jumped out of the vast landscape. I was in a 4WD, driven by Ranger Megan Bowden, more than one and a half kilometres distant when the pink speck exposed itself. It was an exhilarating feeling that moment Old Currango first came alive to me.

As we approached the building and I became accustomed to the Sea Coral colour, more things became evident: the rusted iron roof, seemingly manicured lawn and Rustic Red trim on verandah posts. Megan pointed out the Kentish Cherry (*Prunus cerasus*) orchard, a dense thicket of reddish stems atop a terrace, located considerably further from the house than I had imagined from the description in Harry Hill's (1997) *Old Currango*.²⁶³ I had avidly read Harry's book prior to this visit.

The thing about Old Currango that most visitors comment on, even regular visitors such as Megan, is the sweeping vista to the northeast, east and south. It is stunning. Extending away from the house is a wide-open plain covered in a sea of wispy, waving grass stalks and dotted with copses of sallies (*Eucalyptus* sp.), dark green needle-bush (*Hakea microcarpa*) and large granite boulders. Encircling the plain are

²⁶³ Harry Hill is of the view that fruit trees are Damson Plum (*Prunus domestica*). I have been unable to determine the correct sub-species of *Prunus*. I refer to the trees as Kentish Cherry here because it is the name commonly used by people with whom I spoke.

the Gurrangorambla and Brindabella Ranges. A jagged skyline marks the meeting of rugged ranges and open sky. So vast is the phantasmagorical landscape and arching skies that I imagined myself to be in a giant snow-dome, an unshaken snow-dome as the real scene was bathed in brilliant sunshine.

In addition to wanting to experience the setting and the house itself, I had travelled to Old Currango with an interest in two things arising from my reading of Harry's book. The first was the mortar used in the reconstruction of the main chimney (Hill 1997: 51-54). Volunteers had reconstructed the chimney in the late 1980s, but it is now unstable due to deteriorating mortar. The mortar used to reassemble the chimney's stone-rubble base was clay obtained from a nearby wombat burrow.²⁶⁴ The reconstruction work is illustrated in a series of faded colour photographs displayed in the hallway of Old Currango: one is captioned, 'Des Butler digging clay (mud) for stone work' (see Butler 1987; Hill 1997: 51-54, 120, 128). The use of clay previously excavated by a wombat seemed to me poetic – burrow earth borrowed to re-create a re-imagined 1870s hearth. As I ran my hands over the sun-warmed rocks and mortar of the chimney's exterior surfaces, the sensation was of aliveness – the work of volunteers and wombats sedimented into the assembled materials.

The second thing that had perked my pre-visit interest was a magazine picture (Hill 1997: 66, 92). It is pasted on one of the living room's paper-lined walls. The placement at eye-level, the colours and the landscape scene immediately captured my attention on entering the room. The image is a reproduction of a Frank Hurley photograph and depicts a garden near the town of Sheffield in northwest Tasmania. Mount Roland is in the background (Figure 9.2). The picture has a 1950s quality: pastel colours and grainy reproduction give it a romantic sensibility. I wondered if Betty French, who had pasted it on the wall in the 1950s, saw the greenness of Tasmania as somehow more appealing, more desirable, than the grassy plain that extended for miles beyond her own front verandah. Equally, a colour picture of Dirk

²⁶⁴ The volunteers reconstructing the stone chimney base in 1987 were told by the then Ranger-in-charge that cement was not to be used in the mortar (Hill 1997: 51). Over the years the mud mortar deteriorated. Eventually the stonework was repointed using a clay-cement mix (David Mitchell, 6 August 2012).

Bogard in his English home, a home that ‘most people dream about’, suggests an idealised life elsewhere than in the remote Australian Alps.²⁶⁵ Perhaps I was over-analysing a meaning behind the coloured magazine pictures and the real reason, as Betty French told Harry Hill (1997: 66), was simply to add ‘a bit of colour’ and to freshen up the room.



FIGURE 9.2 Old Currango: magazine picture on living room wall.

(Photo credit: Allan McLean, April 2012.)

A first visit to a place armed with some or even a lot of information is overwhelming. There is much to take in – known, sensed, imagined, unexpected and misunderstood. I could sense the liveliness of things at Old Currango but was poorly attuned – by my lack of knowledge and in-place experience – to their material memories and life histories. Having read Harry Hill’s (1997) account, and heard Megan Bowden’s anecdotes whilst travelling to Old Currango, I was however able to pick out from the building materials and the expansive setting tiny strands of past

²⁶⁵ I am reminded here of a statement by the Sydney-based writer John Hughes (2014: 197) on the idea of home: ‘Australia exists in its imagining of other places.’

lives. I had commenced spinning out my own lived experience of Old Currango (Ingold 2011: 161) by responding to and being affected by the place and its material things and I had begun to invoke and invest stuff with stories and memories. That is, I had begun a process of creating an 'ethnographic place' (Pink 2009: 41-43) which, for me, derived from a range of in-place experiential understandings arising out of prior knowledge (e.g., Harry's book), bodily engagement and creative imagining.

After my initial frenetic explorations and wanderings, and after Megan had left, Allan and I sat on the verandah to eat lunch. We watched a group of brumbies on the plain. For a short time a foal ran in jumping movements back and forth, seemingly wild and carefree, in and around the fully-grown horses. At some point my gaze was drawn to a piece of white glazed ceramic on the ground beside my foot – a fragment of an insulator. It signalled the presence of the long gone 'party-line', a makeshift phone line once strung between Old Currango, Currango and Rules Point Hotel (Figure 9.3).



FIGURE 9.3 Old Currango, circa 1910.

Notable features of the building at this time include the central structure (1870s), the no-longer-standing extension (c.1900-1981; right side of photo), brick chimney, picket fence and telephone line with insulator. An outbuilding is also visible (left side, centre).

(Reproduced from Hill 1997: 1.)

It was an amazing day, the Good Friday of my first visit to Old Currango. Even the twelve kilometre return walk to Ghost Gully Campground, where our car was parked, was filled with pleasure as we strolled across grassy plains brimming with patches of large, past-their-prime yellow Paper Daisies.

Old Currango: memories and stories

...and it's good to see someone is doing some work to maintain this house. (This is not a hut). M.T. (Entry in NPWS Visitor Book, 31 March 1989)²⁶⁶

Throughout this thesis, the name 'Old Currango' is used rather than 'Old Currango Hut'. Heritage architect Geoff Ashley (1993: part A), in his study of huts within the NSW national park system, defines huts as vernacular structures that are 'small' or pared down to a minimum and usually occupied temporarily or seasonally. Old Currango, comprising four bedrooms, a living room, hall and kitchen, was permanently occupied from the 1870s until 1955. It was only after 1955 that it was used as a stopover and emergency shelter by bushwalkers and cross-country skiers and, from 1987, occupied for a few days each year by caretaker volunteers who restored and continue to maintain the house (Hill 1997: 127-130).

In the first part of this chapter I describe and examine three people's connections with Old Currango. Drawing on this material, I then analyse place-attachment with respect to, first, the contrasting experiences of childhood and adulthood; second, the role of material things, especially absent things; and, third, consider the tension in heritage management between personal belonging and collective attachment.

²⁶⁶ M.T. is Mollie Taylor who, with husband Tom and their two sons, lived at Old Currango for six months over the winter of 1943 (Hill 1997: 55-58).

Dorothy Constance: 'it was good times'²⁶⁷

In the summer we made daisy chains out of wild clover and necklaces and bangles from the red berries off briar bushes. ...We ate plenty of rabbits, boiled, stewed and baked. Sometimes Mum would mince the flesh with onion and cook tied in a cloth. When cold it would be sliced into rings and fried. ...Some of the gooseberry bushes that Dad planted at OC are still there. Someone wrote in the visitor's book...that they picked and stewed some with brown sugar and they were delicious. (Dorothy Constance to Steve Brown, letter and notes, 2 November 2012)

Between 1935 and 1943, Harcourt Reid, a dingo trapper for the NSW Dingo Destruction Board, lived at Old Currango with his wife Vera and their children – May, Jack, Dorothy, Bruce, Athol, Eric, Thelma and Jenny.²⁶⁸ The family were largely self-sufficient and, *twice a year*, purchased a limited range of goods including flour, sugar, tea, dried fruit and horse feed.

Dorothy was aged three to ten during the period the Reid family lived at Old Currango (Figure 9.4). She told me she doesn't remember much from that time, but for someone who doesn't remember much she recalled a hell of a lot!²⁶⁹ What I think Dorothy meant by not remembering is that she did not have a coherent narrative of life as a child at Old Currango. Rather, her memories are fragmentary; recollections of seemingly disconnected events. When I interviewed Dorothy, with her daughter Beryl Donnelly, in her home in Cooma she had not long turned eighty. There were shrivelled balloons in an array of colours dangling from a balustrade above the kitchen table. Her eightieth birthday had been in March 2012. We met

²⁶⁷ Information in this section is primarily drawn from an interview I conducted with Dorothy Constance on 8 August 2012; from conversations with Dorothy and Beryl Donnelly on 25 April 2013; and from our correspondence. I also draw from Harry Hill's (1997: 35-38) account of Dorothy's biography as well as from an interview historian Stephen Gaps undertook in 2002 with Dorothy, Zilla Ford and Fay Bevan (Gapps 2003, in Sheppard 2003: Volume 2).

²⁶⁸ The Reids are likely distantly related to Nerida Reid whom I interviewed with regard to Darcoola Station homestead garden (Chapter 7).

²⁶⁹ Historian Harry Hill and I discussed this point when I interviewed Harry. Harry said of his first meeting with Dorothy in the mid-1990s: *I contacted Dorothy and said, "My name's Harry Hill, I don't know if you know of me"; and I said "Can you tell me anything about Old Currango?" "Oh no, I was only a little girl, I can't remember. No there wouldn't be much." I said "I'd be happy to come down and see you." "I've got some photos." "Have you?" "Would you like to see the photos?" "Oh, I'd love to." So I spent a day finding where she lived and then, she can't tell me anything. Enjoyed the photos. "Oh yes, I remember that bit." And then she said "I'll tell you something I just remembered" and she'd then relate a story that was unbelievable. (See Hill 1997: 35-38)*

and talked in August, so the balloons had been there for quite awhile. Beryl said eighty was special so her Mum might as well make the most of it.

When I arrived at the house, Dorothy had a copy of Harry Hill's *Dingo Tales* (2010) on the table. She had loaned someone her copy of *Old Currango* (1997) and it had not been returned. She showed me the early twentieth century photo of the homestead with its brick chimney, telephone line and picket fence (Figure 9.3). Dorothy said there was no picket fence when her family lived there and that her father, Harcourt Reid, erected a post and wire fence. She said the chimney was possibly not brick though she could not recollect what it looked like. There was no phone either. I asked Dorothy if the exterior of the house was pink. She thought it was washed white.

In 1935 Dorothy was three years old, her sister May was eleven years older and Jack three years older. When they arrived at Old Currango the house had been previously occupied by a rabbit trapper – there were piles of dead carcasses under a sheet of tin inside the house. Dorothy's mother, Vera, cleaned up the mess. On that first day Dorothy nearly got lost.

Well apparently my older sister, she was getting us all washed in the afternoon, s'pose you'd get washed up before it got dark and be ready for bed. And she said to me "Go out and tell your mother what a pretty girl you are." So I went out but Mum wasn't there. And then when she come back "Where's Dorothy?" "Oh, I sent her out to you." And then they looked, they saw me just getting through a fence. Yeah before I got into the bush or I'd have been lost. (Dorothy Constance, 8 August 2012)

Dorothy doesn't remember the event: it's a family story, an incident made familiar through multiple re-tellings.

Dorothy slept in the front or northeast room of the house. Her mother was a *nervous* woman and usually slept on the verandah, through summer and winter, so as to see anyone approaching from across the plain. Harcourt was away much of the time trapping and poisoning dingos and herding pigs. The family had a car – Dorothy

remembers its little curtains – though Vera didn't drive.²⁷⁰ During the war years petrol was in short supply and the car rarely used. Dorothy remembers the kids being allowed to sit in it, but they didn't much bother. There was plenty to do.

For a start there was schoolwork. A mailman travelled from Rules Point Hotel to deliver correspondence books – twice a week in summer and once in winter. But Dorothy preferred the *Ginger Megs* and *Speed Gordon* comics he also brought. Delivered to Vera was the *Women's Weekly* which her sister-in-law, Loti, posted once she had read them. Magazines pages were used to line interior walls and thus insulate the house. The paper gradually became stained yellow over the course of a year from the open fire's smoke and,

You'd need some clean ones. And by that time we were sick of all the pictures and the writing and we'd have something fresh to look at. (Dorothy Constance, 8 August 2012)

And there were chores to be done. Cows had to be milked. Vera made butter which she salted to make it last. Beryl remembers her Gran's butter with obvious delight, which Vera still hand-produced long after the family left Old Currango. Pigs and turkeys had their own yards. Along with the horses in a nearby paddock, all the animals had to be fed daily. Harcourt established vegetable gardens at the back of the house: *Dad had a good vegetable garden*. The family grew peas and lots of root vegetables, the latter stored in bags in a wood-covered earth pit behind the kitchen for use during winter months. Onions were *strung up in bunches*. Dorothy recalls her father giving her the job of weeding the carrots (Hill 1997: 36).

The Kentish Cherry's fruited soon after Christmas. Dorothy said that she *can't remember a year that we didn't have cherries*. She recalled that she and her siblings were not allowed to eat the fruit when the sun was on them – they were not to eat the cherries anytime without permission: though they did. Vera made jam from the cherries as well as from home-grown gooseberries. There was an apple or pear tree though it never fruited. *There were two garden beds built up at either side of the*

²⁷⁰ Jack Reid, Dorothy's brother, said to Harry Hill (1997: 30) that Harcourt had an A-model Ford when the family moved to Old Currango, later replaced by a Hudson which was sold when the Reids left Old Currango.

chimney and in the front garden were flowers – lupins and daffodils and, one year, *lovely sunflowers* (Figure 9.5). Dorothy also went out with May and Jack to attend to rabbit traps – the older siblings sold the skins. For a time Dorothy delivered the mail to the *homestead* (Currango), four kilometres southwest of Old Currango, when Jack did the mail run from Rules Point.



FIGURE 9.4 Thelma (left) and Dorothy Reid at Old Currango.

(Photo credit: Vera Reid, c.1940. Courtesy of Dorothy Constance.)



FIGURE 9.5 Eric and Thelma with sunflowers.

(Photo credit: Vera Reid, c.1941. Courtesy of Dorothy Constance.)

Dorothy learnt to ride a horse at a young age. She fell off on her first trip to the homestead, but became a good rider – on one occasion riding across the flooded Murrumbidgee River with younger brother Bruce clinging to her (Hill 1997: 37). She rode around the local area for social reasons.

But you see when we lived there, there was quite a settlement because there was Dad's brother (Jack and son Bruce) had the lease up at what they call Cooinbil that was Long Plain we called it.²⁷¹ ...and then there was Taylors²⁷² and there was Harrises²⁷³ and

²⁷¹ Cooinbil Hut is located on Long Plain, ten kilometres northwest of Old Currango. It was built in 1866, then replaced in 1905 and was 'a big hut on the eastern side of Long Plain with stockyards on one side and a shed and toilet out the back.' (Hueneke 1982: 195).

²⁷² Tom and Molly Taylor and their two sons, Don and Ted, lived at Spencers Hut before their move to Old Currango in 1943 (Hearn 2001: 11).

whoever was over at the homestead. When we went there, there was an elderly couple (Bill and Mrs Russell)²⁷⁴ and then after that there was Johnsons.²⁷⁵ (Dorothy Constance, 8 August 2012)

Dorothy recalled riding out for the day with older sister May to visit the Blue Waterholes. The Reids travelled to social events at Yarrangobilly. For example, there was a Christmas when the family rode there and on the way younger sister Thelma, then three, asked: *“Who heaped up all this dirt?” She’d never seen a road before!* It was on that occasion empty mugs were handed out and brother Bruce said: *“There’s nothing in it.” He’d never been handed an empty mug before. The mugs came around first then someone else came around to put cordial in them.* Another time, May went to a social event at Yarrangobilly with a new, catalogue-bought, *beautiful green ball gown* tucked in her saddlebag. She had purchased the dress with money made from selling rabbit skins.

Christmas and birthdays were usually low-key events.

Sometimes we wrote Merry Christmas in big letters on a piece of cardboard and put holes all the way around the writing about ¼ inch apart, then with Ever Lasting Daisies you put one down one hole and up the next hole and so on. The finished masterpiece hung above the door. (Dorothy Constance to Steve Brown, letter and notes, 2 November 2012)

One Christmas Vera’s relatives from Adaminaby came to Old Currango. There never was a Christmas tree, but there were occasional presents. Auntie Molly (Taylor) gave Dorothy a child’s green and white porcelain tea set with hand-painted images of pretty red flowers and a curious looking cat behind a wood picket fence (Figure 9.6).²⁷⁶ The tea set was never used because Dorothy’s three younger siblings were

²⁷³ William (Bill) and Irene Harris (nee Taylor), with daughters Phyllis and Shirley, built and lived at Harris Hut, then known as Blue Water Hole house, in 1933 (Hueneker 1982: 220-223).

²⁷⁴ *Mrs Russell had two pet kangaroos that slept on straw in an enclosed part of the verandah off the kitchen [at Currango]. I sometimes rode over there with May and when we would be having a cup of tea the roos would come to the table for a biscuit (Dorothy Constance, 2 November 2012).*

²⁷⁵ Dorothy Constance: *Another brother Bert had the lease at Peppercorn and he and his son Neville looked after that.*

²⁷⁶ Circa 1920s, ‘Made in Japan’. Archaeologist Mary Casey (in Allen 2012: 38, 52) describes a stylistically similar sugar bowl recovered from an excavation in Sydney, noting that such miniature tea sets were common and inexpensive toys produced from Victorian times until the mid-twentieth century.

boys and none of them wanted to play pretend tea. Vera kept the set for Dorothy, only returning it when Dorothy married. It now sits in a cabinet in Dorothy's lounge (Figure 9.6). A cup had to be mended after one of the grand-daughters dropped it. Dorothy retains two books from her childhood at Old Currango: *Snow White*, which Don and Ted Taylor gave her, and *Red Riding Hood* (Figure 9.7).²⁷⁷

On the night before the Reids departed Old Currango (April 1943), the Taylors moved in. Dorothy said she and some of her siblings slept in Don and Ted's beds, as the Reid children's beds were already packed away. Dorothy was nearly eleven years old.



FIGURE 9.6 Dorothy Constance with childhood tea set, Cooma.
(Photo credit: Steve Brown, April 2013.)

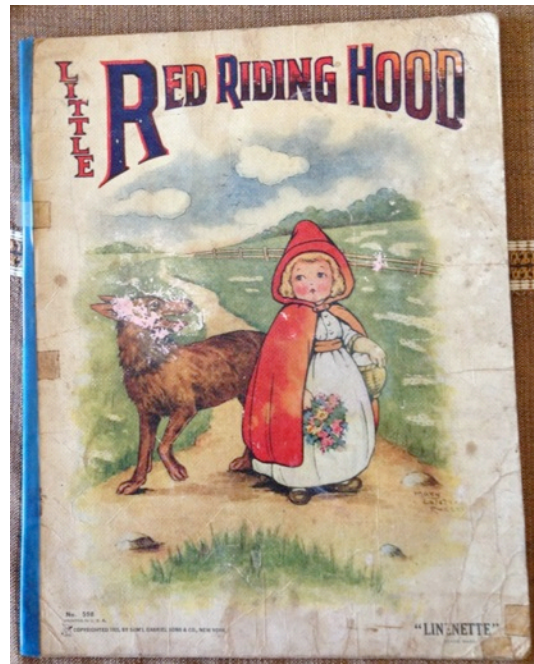


FIGURE 9.7 'Little Red Riding Hood': a childhood gift.
(Photo credit: Steve Brown, April 2013.)

²⁷⁷ Dorothy noted in November 2012: *Can't find this [Snow White] book. Must be packed away. But Little Red Riding Hood is here.* The book is 'Copyrighted 1925 by Sam'l Gabriel Sons & Co. New York. Made of linenette.' Linenette is a cotton fabric made in imitation of linen.

childhood remembered

It was forty years after the Reids left Old Currango before Dorothy returned. She and brother Jack went there in 1983. Dorothy recalled the place was a mess. She was nonetheless surprised at its scale: the distance from the old front gate to the verandah; the size of the house (*so little; so little*) which had felt so roomy to a kid mucking about; and the nearness of the well to the home. The world was bigger and things farther apart in her young girl's mind.

In 1983 the cast-iron stove that used to be in the kitchen at Old Currango had been removed. Vera Reid had baked bread in the wood oven twice a week for eight years. Someone had taken or stolen the stove. Dorothy said: "*People are mean.*" When Dorothy told me of this meanness she expressed hurt. The memory of the empty space once occupied by the stove provoked grief. It also aroused pleasurable memories of childhood on the Gurrangorambla Plain. Implicit memories (i.e., outside of conscious awareness, Morgan 2010: 13; Siegel 2012: 51-57) formed in Dorothy's childhood were involuntarily revived and 'childhood emotional states re-lived' (Morgan 2010: 18) through memories of the smell of fresh-baked bread and the taste of warm bread, home-made butter and cherry jam. Things matter. Even absent things.²⁷⁸

Things like the lost cheque.

DOROTHY: There'd be horse feed too. And then sometimes Dad used to have to ring up and get some horse feed out from Adaminaby and a bag of stuff come once and they said he didn't pay for it. So I s'pose he had to wait, you know, til he got his statement from the bank. But the cheque hadn't been presented. When they pulled old Rules Point down, they found it.

STEVE: The cheque?

DOROTHY: Yes, in the envelope.

²⁷⁸ Archaeologist Ingereth Macfarlane (2010: 334-336) also provides an account of a missing stove. Her story concerns a discarded oven at a central Australian pastoral outstation. On returning to the site a year later, Macfarlane is saddened and angry to find the oven gone. She is later happily reunited with it – now the centerpiece of a Rangers' field camp.

BERYL: Behind a cupboard wasn't it?

DOROTHY: No, the mantelpiece. Because we had a mailbag. But because there was only one letter to go, Dad must have taken it over to the lady at Rules Point and it was put on the mantle shelf and it had fallen behind.

STEVE: How amazing they found it.

DOROTHY: Yes, and my brother wanted it and they wouldn't give it to him.

STEVE: That's a bit mean. Who wouldn't give it to him?

DOROTHY: Well who was pulling the... I s'pose it was the Parks people. Whoever pulled Rules Point down. So that's where it turned up.

STEVE: Wonder where it is now?

DOROTHY: I wonder. And I suppose Dad had to write another cheque.

(Dorothy Constance, Beryl Donnolly and Steve Brown, 8 August 2012)

It was good times, but things from the past that have been removed, stolen or not passed on can cause grief and pain.

Dorothy's last visit to Old Currango was in 2002 on the occasion of a Reid family reunion. *There was probably about 30 of us or 40, heaps of people.*²⁷⁹ The group was trucked in in relays from Currango and they then had to walk out. Dorothy and Beryl arrived late that day as they had travelled from Bungarby. They stayed the night at The Pines²⁸⁰ and the next day went to Blue Waterholes, the second time Dorothy ever visited the place.

Dorothy told me that the volunteers and National Parks had done a good job of restoring what remained of the house. She said it would be a *pity if it wasn't there*. It would be sad if the house of childhood memories was neglected or burnt down.

²⁷⁹ *The Reid reunion was at the same time as a 'back to Currango' do and people came from afar* (Dorothy Constance and Beryl Donnolly, letter and notes, 2 November 2012). I had attended the 'back to' event, a community consultation meeting undertaken as part of the development of a conservation management plan for Currango (Sheppard 2003). I don't recollect meeting Dorothy or Beryl.

²⁸⁰ 'The Pines', a former workmen's cottage, is now used as visitor accommodation at Currango.

David Mitchell: 'I always had a love of the bush'

There's glass once more in the window
Where our eye to the plain is cast
But all is quiet now in Old Currango
Where we fathom the depths of its past.

(Helen Gee 1996. Entry in Old Currango Visitor Book, 17 March 1996)

David Mitchell first visited Old Currango in 1969 on a Newcastle Bushwalking Club trip. He was 19 years old. His next visit was 15 years later, in 1984, with wife Sylvia. He recalled that 'it was a very hot day...the plain was covered with knee high Golden Everlastings, dandelions and other flowers' (Hill 1997: 107). At that time David was a member of the Landrover Club of the ACT (Australian Capital Territory). Two years later, on Saturday 20 December 1986, David participated in an on-site meeting whose purpose was to decide if Old Currango would be restored or left in ruin (Figure 9.8).



FIGURE 9.8 Old Currango, 1973.

(Photo credit: Jack Bridle, 1973. Reproduced from Hill 1997: 1.)

At the on-site meeting were two NPWS Rangers – one was Janet Mackay; members of the Talbingo and District Bushwalkers Club; members of the Landrover Club of

ACT; and former Old Currango occupant Les French. Harry Hill (1997: 14-18) provides an account of the meeting and how the unanticipated decision to restore the dilapidated building was reached. In Harry's view it was Janet Mackay who made the pronouncement: Janet seemed to have misread the groups' views and thought that those present would be delighted to work voluntarily on the place!

To coordinate volunteers and restore Old Currango, the NPWS appointed dual caretaker groups – the Land Rover Club of ACT and Talbingo and Districts Bushwalker Group represented by David Mitchell and Harry Hill respectively.²⁸¹ The men planned and participated in the restoration works (1987 to 1992; Hill 1997: 127-130) and subsequent annual maintenance trips. Harry Hill (1997: 127) calculated that between 1987 and 1995 there were 17 work parties comprising 296 people days (1,753 hours by 52 different people over 39 days) requiring 61 vehicle trips covering 12,200 kilometres (mainly from Canberra and Tumut) as well as time spent on planning, reporting and materials preparation (50 hours). David Mitchell has retained the position of voluntary caretaker for Old Currango since 1986, a period of almost 30 years.²⁸² He visits the house at least twice each year, often with family members – Sylvia, son Aaron and his family and daughter Sarah.

David was born in Cessnock in the Hunter Valley. His parents, Alex and Doreen Mitchell, had migrated to Australia from the United Kingdom in 1949 after Alex left the British army. David's father worked at a local mill – *back then it was hard to get work; it was the only work he could get*. Using timber from the mill, Alex built a two-room hut near the mill site (Figure 9.9), which was where David was born and whence began a life long interest in wood structures and Australian outback history. The family returned to the UK for some time, but returned to the Hunter region in 1958.

²⁸¹ Harry Hill's contact with the northern part of Kosciuszko National Park commenced in the 1930s through bushwalking, camping and fishing expeditions. He retired from a career as a schoolteacher in 1985 and dedicated much of his time to voluntary work with the Kosciuszko Huts Association (KHA) and Talbingo and District Bushwalking Club on restoration works, principally Cooinbil (Hill 1996) and Old Currango (1997).

²⁸² Initially on behalf of the Land Rover Club of ACT and later, when liability insurance became an issue, as the KHA Huts Maintenance Officer (HMO) for huts and houses in the northern part of Kosciuszko National Park.



FIGURE 9.9 David Mitchell with mother Doreen and father Alex, Cessnock, c.1964.

'The original shack where we lived is the building on the right with the door. My father built it from rough sawn boards and it was unlined, comprising two rooms (bedroom and living with smoky iron fuel stove) and a closed in louvered verandah on the other side facing the mill, which was the kitchen come wash room with no sink, bath or running water, which was carried by bucket by my father from a mill tap. The toilet was the outside mill dunny. My mother said that as the boards shrunk, gaps appeared in the walls and floor, which allowed her to see out and sweep the dirt between the floor boards. A bit like Old Currango!' (David Mitchell, email of 26 April 2014)

(Photo courtesy of David Mitchell.)

Alex Mitchell worked in the timber industry in the Mount Royal area, Barrington Tops. At this place and time selective logging was standard practice; old Blitz trucks, cross cut saws and the axe were tools of the trade; bullocks were still used to snig logs; and timbermen built simple split timber huts. The timber from Barrington Tops was mostly used to produce pit props for the Hunter Valley coal mining industry. When about nine years of age (c.1959), David visited the logging area where his father worked. He recalled that most timber-getters appreciated and cared for the bush.

Dad, he really loved the bush and the wildlife... The men that used to go selective logging they loved the bush and would protect it. I remember when I was up there in the bush, I

was about nine or ten and one of the other timber men brought his son up and he had a rifle with him. I remember he shot what we used to call a Mountain Lowry which is a Crimson Rosella and my Dad grabbed hold of him and gave him a thrashing for killing wildlife. (David Mitchell, 6 August 2012)

Through his father, David developed a love of the bush, including an interest in Australian history and an appreciation of the craft skills of timber-getters – and huts.

David joined the Newcastle Bushwalking Club at age 16. Members often walked in the Barrington Tops area, where the club had built huts including Selby Allen Hut (named after a professor at Newcastle University whom David knew) and Darby Munro Hut (named after a horse racer). It was with club members that David first visited Old Currango in 1969, travelling to the area in an infamous Kombi (Hill 1997: 107).

DAVID: In the '70s I used to go down there [Kosciuszko] with the Newcastle Bushwalking Club. They had an old blue Kombi van that we'd bought. It had no windows in the back. Old Volkswagen Kombi and whoever got in the front seat they were the lucky ones and the rest of us were in the back seat with all our Paddy-Made packs which were heavy canvas.

STEVE: How many of you would pile in?

DAVID: Oh goodness me we'd have three in the front and probably, back then, about eight in the back. No seatbelts in those days you know. You just piled in. And the good thing about the Kombi, there's a lot of room where the motor is... And up in Kosi here, the Brindabellas, and we'd get there at one or two o'clock in the morning, having driven all the way up from Newcastle. We'd pull out our old Paddy Kiandra sleeping bags and throw a bit of plastic on the ground and we'd just sleep. We never used to...very rarely had tents. We always used to sleep out in the open, wake up in the morning and we'd all be covered...the sleeping bag would be covered in frost.

(David Mitchell and Steve Brown, 6 August 2012)

David has had an enduring connection with Old Currango since 1987 when restoration work commenced. In August 2012, I asked David why the place was

important to him. He offered several reasons. First, he told me that Old Currango evokes history: it is history. As the oldest surviving pastoral building in Kosciuszko National Park, Old Currango represents the *hardship and endurance* experienced by early Australian pastoral families. *They did it hard*. For David, it is also a place to reflect on the areas links with Aboriginal people, evidenced for example, in nearby ceremonial bora rings.²⁸³

Second, David loves the old house itself. He has a great admiration for the bush craftsmen who built Old Currango: for example, the skill involved in splitting Alpine Ash (*Eucalyptus delegatensis*) to produce exterior weather boards, wedge-shaped in cross section, without the need to dress them; and boards used to line the interior walls and coffered ceilings.²⁸⁴ David's respect for craftsmanship and for the timber itself is most powerfully revealed with respect to a 28-foot, Alpine Ash beam supporting the front verandah. The fine-grained timber – cut from a *beautiful tree* – used to produce the beam was hand split and dressed over 140 years ago. In 2004 there was an incident that resulted in the beam being damaged. A horse rider had tethered her horse to wire tied around the southern verandah post. The horse bolted, pulling on and dislodging the post and causing the beam to split and a piece to sheer off.²⁸⁵ David was and remains disturbed and upset by the episode. It made him question all the volunteer effort that had gone into restoring and maintaining the house. He is still considering how best to repair the beam, which requires a wedge of planed timber to be scarfed into the missing section. The verandah post and sagging roof were repaired: the *amazing Ash beam* is irreplaceable.

David has a love for the names of things: joists, plates, studs, bearers, lintels, shingles, sashes and beams. He is meticulous in his approach to the restoration and conservation of Old Currango. For example, David scrounged replacement windows from a ruined building of similar age to Old Currango at Tuross Station near

²⁸³ Jack Bridle showed David the site. Jack also took NPWS officers to the site to document it.

²⁸⁴ The interior boards were cut to fit flush – i.e., they do not overlap as with tongue and groove. Hence there was a need to line the walls with paper to insulate the rooms.

²⁸⁵ The woman subsequently wrote to NPWS apologising for the incident, and included a cheque for \$100. The NPWS forwarded the cheque to the Kosciuszko Huts Association.

Countegany. From the Tuross ruin he also salvaged most of the internal hardwood timber (plates, joists and *hard as iron studs*) used to replace the weather-exposed back (western) wall of Old Currango. David told me he enjoys the debates with NPWS rangers regarding future restoration and maintenance work and how it is undertaken. He and Megan Bowden are currently discussing whether or not to replace roof iron with a pitch (i.e., corrugations) that exactly matches the original. David is also sourcing hand-made bricks for use in replicating the chimney shown in an early twentieth century photo (Figure 9.3). For David, material integrity and authenticity matter.

David told me that Old Currango is important to him for a third reason. He has shared his love of the place with his family and in the process of restoration and maintenance has made great friends – a second family – and shared wonderful times. Over more than 28 years he established connections with numerous people; *it's about the memories – it was like old men being boys who never grew up*. David became mates with, for example, old Jack Bridle – related to the author Miles Franklin – who was born and raised in Talbingo; Tony Glavika, *a Slovenian guy*, who was a surveyor on the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme and surveyed the top of every mountain in the Kosciuszko region; Doug Eping, a school teacher; and Harry Hill, previous co-caretaker and the camp cook, who would duck off around mid-morning on the work parties and whip up a batch of camp-oven cooked scones to be eaten with smoked trout. *All these stories. They were all good times. Things we used to find together.*

Aaron Mitchell: 'those memories are refreshed'

...this place has been a part of my life for most of my life...because I've been going there for so long I've grown an attachment to it. Not only through the experience with my father being there but also just the history of the place and the feeling I get there...it's an amazing place...it's a special place. I love it. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)

When Aaron and I met in the foyer of the National Library in Canberra he brought his signed copy of Harry Hill's *Old Currango* (1997). Aaron had attended the launch of Harry's book *at an old dairy mill in Tumut* when 12 years of age: *Harry actually presented it to me*. In it Harry wrote,

One of the best workers on Old Currango. That's why he is in the picture on the front cover and in the colour section in the middle of the book. Harry Hill. Tumut. 14.12.97.

The signed book is *particularly precious* to Aaron. When he reads the book he hears Harry's voice – *I'll never forget his voice...he was a really good storyteller*.

And what particularly made it even more amazing was a lot of the stories he did tell about Old Currango he told while we were there, sitting around the fire in the main room... And he'd talk about dingo and wild dog trapping...some nights you'd go outside...and you'd hear the quiet murmur of the guys inside still chatting and you'd be outside with the stars out and you'd just hear...the faint howling of dogs out in the distance. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)

A schoolteacher and principal for more than 40 years, Harry *had always been interested in Australian history*. He embellished stories.

I liked talking about Kennedy and his trip up through the Queensland coast. I'd try and make it real. When the natives speared him I liked to have the children on edge. (Harry Hill, 6 August 2012)²⁸⁶

One of the photographs in Harry's book (1997: 96/97), taken in March 1991, shows Aaron, then aged seven, and Chris Northey displaying a collection of artefacts assembled from an 'archaeological dig'. I asked Aaron what he recalled of the excavation.

...behind the homestead there were a lot of wombat holes and we noticed, as you do as you're playing as a kid around wombat holes you notice little things, and we noticed there were a lot of fragments of china plates and teacups and old bottles, bullet shells and that kind of stuff scattered around where the wombats dug their burrows. So yeah,

²⁸⁶ Explorer Edmund Besley Kennedy was killed in 1948 near Cape York, Queensland.

being adventurous young lads we thought we'd dig further and be kind of archaeologists... I vaguely remember the ranger coming by to check up on the work party and I think she wasn't too happy with us unearthing or digging up some of that stuff... But as far as the artefacts went, she wasn't too worried about us keeping a couple that we really loved or putting some of the other nice things on display in the hut. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)

Aaron kept a *rusty and corroded* fob watch chain *as a little keepsake*, a physical reminder of the childhood event.²⁸⁷ He still has the chain, though said he would *have to dig deep into some old boxes to try and find it*. Over the years after the childhood excavation, Aaron located a number of other rubbish dumps at Old Currango, though he did not dig into any of them: wombats, pigs and rabbits do most of the excavating now.²⁸⁸

Aaron told me of things he has encountered at Old Currango and with which he has developed connections. For example, Harry Hill's *delicious scones* and *beautiful smoked trout*; the pink of the exterior homestead walls (*I absolutely love it* but used to think it *a hideous colour*); the lacquered *coffered style ceiling* in the front bedroom; favourite news stories pasted on interior walls (e.g., advertisements for *some real old Fords from the '50s* and *old logging trucks*); cornerstones marking the location of a previous garden fence; the *uncanny silence so quiet that it's deafening* at 'Castle Rocks', a group of boulders several hundred metres from the homestead; and the daffodils, *beautiful yellow flowers*, that sprouted at the front of the house after sediment covering a stone path was removed. Aaron said the appearance of the daffodils felt *like unearthing the past*. Aaron's presence is visible in some of the NPWS visitor books where, as a kid, he drew pictures of artefacts and the house itself (Figure 9.10), taught to sketch by Chris, his excavation co-director.

²⁸⁷ Daniel Miller, in *A Theory of Shopping* (1998), demonstrates how the accumulation of objects is used to constitute relationships. This process is evident in Aaron's collecting of the keepsake from Old Currango.

²⁸⁸ In April 2014, during the annual maintenance work event, I unpacked the artifact assemblage gathered in 1991 by Aaron and Chris and repacked it. The collection is stored at Old Currango.



FIGURE 9.10 Old Currango: drawn by Aaron Mitchell at age 10.
(NPWS Old Currango Visitor Book, 1995. Photo credit: Steve Brown, 2012.)

Two other *favourite bits* are evident in Aaron's stories of Old Currango. The first is a *group of gooseberry bushes*, planted in the 1930s by Harcourt Reid, Dorothy Constance's father. They were planted in a line beside a channel that brought water to a house-well from beyond the Kentish Cherry orchard. Aaron remembers playing amongst the thicket of gooseberry plants,

...and finding it a bit strange or a bit weird how there was this little line of old plants that I could tell weren't native – gooseberries were introduced – and imagining why they may have planted them there. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)

Devastating bushfires in 2003 burnt *those gooseberry bushes away*.

And it's sad because I liked them there. I know it's something simple and it sounds funny but it was one little part of the homestead that I kind of liked and I identified with and not many people noticed or paid attention to them... When you're a kid you're a bit more inquisitive with small insignificant things that can be overlooked by an adult. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)

For Aaron, a second favourite element of the landscape is a *big old Black Sallee* once located a *good hundred metres* west of Old Currango.

And I remember my Dad, because we did a lot of camping, he had this canvas bush shower which is basically a big canvas bucket with a shower – brass showerhead on it. And when we'd stayed there for a couple of nights you'd want a shower after a dirty day digging around in the homestead and he used to string this bush shower with a rope over this big old dead tree on the plain there...we used to call that the 'shower tree'. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)

In 1996 or 1997 the tree *just fell over* and people cut it up for firewood. In 2011 Aaron revisited the location.

I went for a walk over there and thought: "Let's see if I can find where the old shower tree was"... there's still a bit of the stump but just the ring of the stump. The inside of the timber's all rotted out. But it was just nice to see where it used to be and go: "This is the shower tree! It's still here." (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)²⁸⁹

Plants grow, die and disappear; yet traces of the shower tree and gooseberry bushes survive. For Aaron, memories of the plants and events associated with them are happy ones. Loss of the living plants has caused sadness for Aaron but simultaneously reminds him of a life-long personal history with Old Currango. As a teenager of 14 and 15, Aaron said he had nightmares in which Old Currango burnt down as a result of bushfire or the stupidity of vandals. The nightmares and the anxiety they induced were evidence of how much he cared for and loved the place.

In addition to the material traces of childhood experience and adult re-encounter, Aaron identifies with Old Currango as a place where he and his father, David, spent considerable time together. During the 1990s, when restoration work was in full swing, David and Aaron would be at Old Currango *every third weekend* over summer. For many of those weekends it would be just the two of them.

²⁸⁹ Aaron took me to the location of the shower tree in April 2014. A crater, three to four metres in diameter and a metre deep, marked the location. Several grey, weathered fragments of tree stump were visible.

And those early years of going were really – when I look back – some of the most strongest bonding times with my father. Some of my fondest memories of my Dad, being at Old Currango. And it was just a real good time that we could just spend father and son time together... And as I've got older...I've always made an effort to keep the Old Currango weekends free so I could go and relive those times with my Dad. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)²⁹⁰

Aaron still returns to Old Currango on occasions with his father, *like old times*. He now has a young family of his own and visits the place with his wife, Kelly: *I took her up there for one of the work parties and she pretty much fell in love with the place the first time she went. Aaron took his daughter, Summer, there when she was almost two.*

[She] just run around the paddock like I used to and you could tell she loved being there as well. Even though she doesn't know the significance of it yet. But I definitely would love to keep going up there for the rest of my life. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)²⁹¹

For Aaron, returning to Old Currango with his family creates new experiences. Being there also continues to elicit for Aaron his own memories, emotions and feelings. When he leaves behind his everyday life in Canberra, *all those memories come flooding back*. Memories are retrieved, resynthesised and refreshed.

Place-attachment and Old Currango

Talking with Harry Hill, Dorothy Constance and Beryl Donnelly, and David and Aaron Mitchell, as well as Megan Bowden, concerning Old Currango has been a pleasure and privilege. The knowledge, feelings, memories and stories they shared were infused with joy, happiness, humour and pleasure, though also pain, grief and anxiety. Their accounts deepened my understanding of ways of knowing and being

²⁹⁰ Aaron also commented: *And most of the trips up there, just being with Dad and being a young boy, I'd miss my Mum. As you do. And I'd feel like she's so far away but then I'd look at the glow of Canberra lights [beyond the Brindabella Range] and go: "Well, Mum's just over those hills."*

²⁹¹ I suggest unconscious processes of transference (Hirsch 2012; Willen and Seeman 2012), forms of 'positive' postmemory as I discussed in relation to Glen Eden (Chapter 8), are taking place between Aaron, his daughter and Old Currango.

at Old Currango. In contrast to my first experience at Old Currango, when the beauty of the place overwhelmed me and I was blind to its memoryscape and material memory, my second visit as a participant in a volunteer work party (April 2014) allowed me to experience the vibrancy of things (Bennett 2010) and the sensuousness of place (Pink 2009). That is, I gained in-place experiential understanding of other people's place connections. Over the four days of this second visit, as I applied Sea Coral paint to exterior Alpine Ash boards, Indian Red to the cracked verandah beam, repacked rocks beneath the house and talked with other volunteers, I was flooded by stories and feelings entangled with the materials of Old Currango itself. I experienced the house and landscape as bustling with presence and absence because I had knowledge of, and empathised with, other people's stories and emotions. I felt sadness and anger when painting the cracked verandah beam; pleasure evoked by the smell of fresh baked bread; and meanness when viewing the place of the absent stove. What do the accounts of Dorothy, Harry, David and Aaron and my experiences of Old Currango say of place-attachment?

childhood versus adulthood attachment

No other spot has ever replaced the hold on my affections or imagination of my birthplace, nor are any other incidents so clearly and tenderly etched in my memory as those connected with it. (Franklin 1963: 1)

This is the opening line in Miles Franklin (1879-1954) autobiography *Childhood at Brindabella: My First Ten Years*. Her 'jottings', published posthumously in 1963, are set in the Australian Alps – at her grandmother's house at Talbingo Station and her parent's property, Brindabella Station. Franklin's childhood memories are of 'daisied plains' (1963: 20), sunflowers as a favourite plant (1963: 26), the weekly mailbag 'filled with zestful anticipation' (1963: 27), the scent of roses (1963: 45) and thickets of Kentish cherries that yield 'appetizing fruit especially delicious for preserves' (1963: 131). Many of the things, events and sensuous memories listed here are also evident in Dorothy Constance's childhood recollections.

Dorothy Constance and Aaron Mitchell experienced Old Currango when children: Dorothy as a permanent resident (three to ten years old) and Aaron as a regular visitor from age four. By contrast, Harry Hill and David Mitchell encountered and came to know Old Currango in later life, in particular through regular work parties after 1986. How might feelings for Old Currango differ between childhood experience and adult intra-action?

Psychologist Paul Morgan (2010) proposes an ‘arousal – interaction – pleasure developmental model of place-attachment’ to explain the ‘process by which place-attachment develops’ – a process with ‘parallels with the developmental process described by attachment theory’ (2010: 18; Chapter 4 this thesis). This formative pattern, Morgan argues, emerges between the ages of eight, and possibly as early as five, and 13; and thus later than human or interpersonal attachment (i.e., the first three years of life) (2010: 20). In childhood, a ‘pattern of positively affected experiences of place are generalised into an unconscious internal working model of place that manifests subjectively as a long-term positively affected bond to place known as place attachment’ (2010: 11).²⁹² The robustness of internal working models of childhood place, according to Morgan, varies with childhood experience, as does the intensity of adult emotional engagement with memories of childhood place. Aaron Mitchell’s childhood experience of Old Currango, for example, aligns with Morgan’s development model of place-attachment.

I think when I was a toddler I’d kind of just hang around Dad and stay around the hut more but getting to five, six years old I’d start to explore the surrounding areas and...the places gave me a really amazing feeling. Even back then even. It was just a kind of mysterious place, especially for a young kid. (Aaron Mitchell, 18 November 2012)

Several adult participants in Morgan’s study expressed a sense of being shaped or ‘parented’ by places associated with positive childhood experience (2010: 21).

²⁹² ‘Internal working model’, ‘mental models’ or ‘schemata’ are a fundamental aspect of learning whereby the human ‘mind is able to make “summations” or generalised representations from repeated experiences... *Mental models are basic components of implicit memory*’ (Siegel 2012: 52, italics in original).

For adults with predominantly positive experiences of childhood place, recollection commonly lacks narrative structure or coherence because remembering childhood relies on implicit memory. That is, a form of involuntary recall and subjective sense of recollection that includes behavioural, emotional, perceptual and bodily memory (Siegel 2012: 51-57) and 'involves parts of the brain that do not require conscious processing during encoding or retrieval' (2012: 52). This form of memory is evident, for example, in Dorothy's childhood stories which she relates as a series of short, descriptive narratives: receiving the tea set; her first experience of horse riding when she fell off; the smell and taste of home-made bread; an encounter with a snake; and visiting friends and neighbours. Her stories are fragmented in nature because Dorothy's implicit memories do not enable her to place events, feelings and sensuous recollections into a sequence or unfolding narrative. Yet in the fragmented details of Dorothy's stories of everyday life, as with those of Miles Franklin (1963), her childhood comes alive.

For Dorothy, like Aaron, Old Currango is a place of positive and pleasurable childhood experience. Dorothy's recollections convey a sense of being parented as much by Old Currango as by Vera and Jack Reid, her biological parents. Morgan's notion of parented-by-place seems apposite in Dorothy's case. The homestead from this perspective functioned as a caregiver and safe-place from which young Dorothy could discover the world: aroused by fascination and excitement and a desire to explore and play, she ventured out from the house. For Dorothy, the outside world could provide positive affect through adventure and a sense of mastery (e.g., horse riding), but also distress and anxiety (e.g., encountering snakes) that a return to the house could ameliorate (Morgan 2010: 15). I do not know these things for sure as I am not a child psychologist, but they make sense: the house as parent and caregiver fostered Dorothy's sense of place-attachment and her love for the place. Dorothy's potent and affect-laden stories of childhood spent at Old Currango support this view.

Aaron Mitchell also experienced Old Currango during his youth, regularly visiting the homestead between the formative place-attachment years of five and 13. These visits were most often with his father, David, though at times with other family

members and work party volunteers. Harry Hill, Aaron's friend and rousing storyteller, was always present at the work parties. Family, friends and Old Currango itself are entwined in Aaron's in-place childhood experience. His childhood memories are implicit in form, like Dorothy's, and comprise short narratives of events (e.g., the archaeological dig) and things (e.g., the shower tree) in which matter and meaning are inextricably entwined.

For David Mitchell and Harry Hill, attachment to Old Currango – the physical structure, setting and history – developed in adulthood. While childhood attachment experiences are linked to implicit memory, adults utilise explicit memory – that is, semantic or factual memory and episodic or autobiographical memory (Siegel 2012: 56-63). Thus David's and Harry's narratives concerning Old Currango are consciously aware with regard to self, place and the sequencing of events and time because explicit memory 'allows people to remember where things are and when they were there' (2012: 56).

However, David's and Harry's senses of place-attachment are not disconnected from their childhoods. In Morgan's (2010: 18) terms, their recollections and feelings for Old Currango link aspects of their adult identity to patterns of place connectivity developed during formative childhood years. For David, Old Currango links sense of self with his father as timber getter and wood craftsman and evokes the Cessnock family home and childhood visit to the Barrington Tops forest. For Harry, whose father died when he was 11, Old Currango is reminiscent of being with, and fondness for, his father: the man who had encouraged his love of the outback.

As a kid, I spent as much time as possible with my father in the bush. I was always interested in being in the bush. And he was a very knowledgeable person in the bush. Setting rabbit traps for night time and not using the lantern because it was a waste of kerosene and lighting the lantern; pulling the rabbits out of a trap and walking through the bush for three or four hours. (Harry Hill, 6 August 2012)

These men did not explicitly state their father-son connections to me. But their words and expressions, stories and emotions, for Old Currango bound them with

their fathers through affection-laden recollections.²⁹³ I suggest it is possible to see a sense of 'parent-in-place' bound into David's and Harry's attachments to Old Currango, which differs from a notion of 'parented-by-place' in the cases of Dorothy and Aaron.

memory, life-histories and things

For the purpose of discussing intra-actions among material things and life-histories at Old Currango, I focus to three episodes: Dorothy Constance and the absent oven; David Mitchell and the verandah beam that split when a horse bolted; and Aaron Mitchell's recollection of the shower tree, a memory trace evidenced in the tree's remnant stump. Each case illustrates how human lives and material things become so deeply entangled as to be inseparable.

For David, the Alpine Ash beam is family history. It marks the presence of his father, Alex, as timber worker, as builder of David's childhood home, as bush carpenter and a man with knowledge of timber and forests. The beam is also David's own family's involvement in the work parties at Old Currango. They helped him fix the place. His children grew up there, played in the local landscape, explored boulder outcrops, collected old things and drew pictures in the NPWS visitor books. The Alpine Ash beam is personal history and family presence.

I say 'is' deliberately. The beam is not simply passive, an *aide-memoire* or a material thing that evokes people and events; or something that elicits or reminds David of the present past via a linguistic meaning-making process (Rosén Rasmussen 2012: 123). The stories, people and beam are intertwined. For Dorothy and Aaron, the absent stove and shower tree are things entangled in childhood experience and adult recollection. I am reminded here of the challenge presented to geo-archaeologist Nicole Boivin (2008) to understand the use of red soil to mark large red rectangular patches above home hearths in the village of Balathal in the Indian state

²⁹³ I have emphasised father figures here as they are most evident in the interviews and discussions I had with David and Harry. However, this is not to say that the relationship between father and son is necessarily the only or most important relationship integrated into their experience of Old Currango.

of Rajasthan. Several villagers told Boivin that the red soil 'is' the deity Laksmi, the Hindu goddess of wealth and good fortune. Over a number of years, Boivin (2008: 9) came to accept the soil is not part of the world of concepts, codes, symbols and meanings but in fact part of the realm of the sensual, experiential and emotional. The red soil *is* Laksmi.

I think of the Alpine Ash beam, the absent stove and the remnant tree as part of the realm of the sensual, experiential and emotional. As anthropologist Janet Hoskins shows in *Biographic Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (1998), the entanglement of thing-histories and life-stories show how memory, whether implicit or explicit, and identity is not exclusively tied to words and spoken narratives. Ethnologist Lisa Rosén Rasmussen (2012: 115) also makes this point concerning material objects entering the memory process. She argues that objects take the interviewer and interviewee 'beyond an exclusively linguistic understanding of memory' because materials are part of a non-verbalised storyline. Thus, bound up with material things like the stove, beam and tree are significant aspects of Dorothy's, David's and Aaron's life histories interwoven into Old Currango's biography. These in/tangible things are multisensorial 'memory objects' (Hoskins 1998; Olivier 2011; Pink 2009) and are active and affective actants in mixes of people-place-things.

Thus material and emotional narratives interweave with the more sensual aspects of remembering things (Paterson 2007; Pink 2009: 109). The absent stove enables Dorothy to recall the smell of fresh baked bread and taste of Vera's home-made butter and jam. For David, the feel of Alpine Ash is interwoven with feelings of awe concerning craftsmanship, family (e.g., his father as timber worker; he as father) and enjoyment derived from friendships with fellow volunteers. For Aaron, the tree remains express memories of the sound and feel of lukewarm water cascading from the canvas bucket shower and time spent with his father. The remnant tree, fractured beam and absent stove provoke and are simultaneously entwined with senses and feelings (i.e., loss and pleasure). There is a tactile, sensory and embodied character to memory in its intra-action with things. Archaeologist Ian Hodder (2012:

7, 15, 218) finds it useful to envisage things as both material stuff, 'solid entities made or used by humans', and thoughts and feelings, smells and sounds – that is, things as flows of matter, energy and information. This meaning recognises humans, place and things as deeply entangled in the sensuous dimensions of memory.

An implication for heritage practice and management of this interlacing of memory, life histories and material things is that the distinctions between tangible and intangible are, at the very least, blurred. To separate the architectural or archaeological value of Old Currango's verandah beam from its social meaning and entanglement with David Mitchell's experience, life history and feelings is to misrepresent and disrespect place-attachment. A task of heritage, I argue, is to make the humanity of place visible in its story and to make evident the feelings of love, grief, pleasure, security and identity. Place is not a passive backdrop on whose stage human emotions are performed. Rather, people, life-stories, memories, emotions and things are simultaneously im/material and in/tangible. Fabric is family and family is fabric.

heritage management, personal belonging and collective attachment

In 1979 it was recommended that Old Currango 'not be retained for cultural reasons.'²⁹⁴ It was argued that nearby Coolamine, with its suite of surviving outbuildings, better represented local pastoral heritage than did the then dilapidated Old Currango. The 1970s and 1980s was a period in Australian 'cultural resource management' when fabric trumped family and feeling (Ford 2010); and personal histories and emotional connectivity (i.e., place-attachment) were not valued as cultural heritage. Heritage managers typically determined the importance of built structures such as Old Currango with reference to history, architecture and archaeology (Byrne et al. 2001). Practitioners in these disciplines expressed place-meanings in detached, distant and objective terms. Historians had begun to adopt an historical themes approach to heritage management while archaeologists and architects privileged materials; and all practitioners valued places for their pastness

²⁹⁴ Michael Pearson, 20 November 1979. File Note, File 02/02999, NPWS Office, Tumut.

and ability to represent distant life ways and practices. Since that time, things have and have not changed in heritage conservation practice.

In 2006, the Kosciuszko National Park Plan of Management (NPWS 2006) determined that,

The suite of huts associated with pastoralism collectively have national significance in terms of historic and social values. (NPWS 2006: 85)²⁹⁵

The management plan is notable for its integration of cultural heritage values (2006: 81-102). Prominent amongst these is social value: 'The qualities for which a place has become the focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group' (2006: 84).²⁹⁶ The plan recognises the social value of pastoral period structures for their association with 'high country traditions and stories' (2006: 85).²⁹⁷ The assessment of social significance, whether 'national' for the entirety of the Alps National Parks or 'State' solely for Kosciuszko National Park (Independent Scientific Committee 2004: 142), are dependent on two levels of abstraction: first, the tangible – pastoral huts as a combined suite of heritage structures and settings; and, second, the intangible – individual connections aggregated as collective 'association' to disparate places. How does Old Currango sit within this state of tension between place as individual and unique versus place as one component of a generalised architectural, historic and social ensemble?

To examine this question I begin by drawing on an analogy from work by historian David Walker.

²⁹⁵ A statement of cultural significance for the collective of huts (including Old Currango) is provided in the *Kosciuszko National Park Huts Conservation Strategy* (Godden Mackay Logan 2005: 114). The statement determines that the group of Kosciuszko huts (i.e., all huts, hut ruins and sites of former huts) to be of State heritage significance for their social, historic and aesthetic values. Collectively all huts in the wider Australian Alps national parks have been assessed to be of national heritage value. See: Australian Government, Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities. 'National Heritage, National Heritage Places – Australian Alps National Parks and Reserves'. <<http://www.environment.gov.au/node/19632>> (accessed May 2014).

²⁹⁶ The definition is taken from the *Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Cultural Significance* (Australia ICOMOS 1988: 5). Note that by defining social value in terms of the 'the qualities of place', the physicality of the place is separated from the people with whom feelings and affections reside, a point I have made throughout this thesis.

²⁹⁷ For example, *The Man from Snowy River*, a poem by Andrew Barton (Banjo) Paterson published in 1890, is used as evidence of the way inspirational values of the Australian Alps contribute to a sense of national identity.

How do we reconcile or accommodate the competing claims of the big events of history with the constant flow of small, day-to-day trials and pleasures? Small events also have their place in determining who we are and what we value as individuals and as a community. (Walker 2011: 25)

Walker wrote these words whilst marvelling at references to his grandfather Oswald Walker's 1917 award winning 'mighty onion', which weighed 36 ounces (1.2 kg) and 'made people gasp' (2011: 24).²⁹⁸ 1917 was also the year of 'the awful death toll' (e.g., 700,000 died at Passchendaele), the Russian Revolution and big strikes in Australia.

Oswald's undeniably impressive onion becomes appreciably smaller and rather less momentous. Moreover, the obese onion speaks of a life of settled domesticity and quiet cultivation in a year marked by death and upheaval. Surely such a life is too trivial, too remote from the turbulent spirit of the times to warrant attention. Yet to eliminate the onion because bigger events necessarily take precedence, reduces the power of the local and the immediate in human affairs. (Walker 2011: 25)

Individual or personal place-attachment in heritage practice is like Oswald's impressive onion: individual connection to place can appear insignificant in comparison to community attachment. That is, in presenting local, State or national heritage values, heritage practice often renders invisible personal stories of attachment and belonging. By contrast, I argue for the importance of small events, small things, small agencies and individuality in elucidating the power of the human spirit and what it is to be human.²⁹⁹ What is lost when heritage practice privileges collective association (i.e., community, landscape, past) over attachment at more intimate scales (i.e., individual/family, place, present)?

The work of anthropology recognises this issue as one of scalar integration, an issue captured in Thomas Hylland Eriksen's (2010) book title *Small Places, Large Issues*. In the book's preface, Vered Amit and Jon Mitchell (2010: vii) state:

²⁹⁸ The onion, along with many other giant vegetables and flowers, was grown in Bridge Street, Burra, South Australia. I attended a presentation by David Walker in 2012 at which he related the onion story.

²⁹⁹ There are broad parallels between the idea of 'small heritage' I am emphasising here and the concepts of microhistory and the singularisation of history, which reject 'the notion that fragments of historical data can be put together into rational and coherent metanarratives.' (Mímisson and Magnússon 2014)

Anthropology is a discipline based upon in-depth ethnographic works that deal with wider theoretical issues in the context of particular, local conditions.

Eriksen's (2010) book is a critique of ethnography as solely detailed description and argues for using ethnographic data to reflect on wider issues in the social sciences and humanities. In so doing, 'anthropology asks large questions, while at the same time it draws its most important insights from small places' (2010: 2). The same can be said of archaeology. For example, I excavated test pits at my Sydney suburban block to say something concerning, first, the nature of place-attachment and, second, how local historical experience can challenge metanarratives of Australian suburbia (Brown 2012).

It is the dance between the universal and the particular in the work of anthropology and archaeology, between the Great War and a great onion in David Walker's dilemma, that is relevant to heritage studies and practice. For anthropology, this performance of scale asks, 'to what extent do all humans, cultures or societies have something in common and to what extent is each of them unique?' (Eriksen 2010: 5). In heritage, the bridge between the particular and universal typically crosses a number of scales – local, State, national and global significance. The mechanism used to distinguish the ordinary or particular from the extra-ordinary (i.e. collectively or universally valued) is the notion of 'threshold'.³⁰⁰ For social value, threshold is a qualitative measure of the strength of association that a place has 'with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons' (HERCON Criterion G; discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis). Thus in heritage practice the question arises as to the extent to which a suite of places has something in common and to which each individual item makes a unique contribution. The obvious response is neither entirely one nor the other. Rather, it is the dance and oscillations between difference and commonality, between the particular and the universal –

³⁰⁰ Threshold: A strip of wood, metal or stone forming the bottom of a doorway and crossed in entering a Church, house or room. See: Oxford Dictionaries. 'threshold'.
<https://au.search.yahoo.com/search?_from=R40&p=meaning+of+threshold&fr=yfp-t-501&ei=UTF-8> (accessed August 2014). Thus in heritage assessment a place will be determined to have either crossed the threshold ('inside') or remained 'outside' – i.e., unable to be entered onto local, State or national heritage registers.

which are themselves not oppositional (Malpas 1999: 180; Nugent 2005; Savage et al. 2005: 4-5) – that are telling.

In my view the notion of collective attachment is inadequately theorised for the purpose of ascribing heritage value. Thus, in relation to Old Currango, what is collective attachment? How is social value universalised and ascribed based on the unique experiences and intimate connections of David Mitchell, Dorothy Constance, Harry Hill and Aaron Mitchell? Typically in heritage practice the process is to identify ‘stakeholder groups’, such as previous occupants (which would include, for example, Dorothy), the house restoration participants (David, Harry, Aaron), bushwalkers and cross-country skiers, recreational horse riders, perhaps illegal shooters and NPWS staff (Rangers Megan Bowden and Janet Mackay). Next comes the tricky and subjective part: to generalise the *nature* and *strength* of association between each stakeholder group and Old Currango; and then to state the cumulative associations of all groups. Such a process might determine Old Currango to be of local significance (e.g., McDougall and Vines 2007: 23).³⁰¹ How then are heritage values, and in particular social value, for Old Currango interlinked with all pastoral period structures in Kosciuszko National Park?³⁰² How rigorous is the approach to collective assessment of social value, for example, undertaken for the Kosciuszko National Park Plan of Management (NPWS 2006)?³⁰³

Ascribing levels of social value or significance is achieved because the particular (e.g., individual memory) informs the universal (e.g., collective memory; see Hirst and Manier 2008) and because local, State or national significance has meaning only in

³⁰¹ McDougall and Vines (2007: 23) determine the level of significance for Old Currango: ‘Given the degree of repairs and rebuilding of the homestead, and the degree of change from the original homestead complex with the removal of the north west wing, the hut is not considered to be of State Significance in its own right. It is considered to be of Local Significance individually within this region. However it is an integral part of the overall collection of huts which have been evaluated as being of National Significance’. Many of the criticisms I made in Chapter 8 with respect to the statement of social significance for Glen Eden (Barnson 2009) are evident in this assessment (i.e., a focus on fabric minus emotions).

³⁰² For example, the Kosciuszko National Park Plan of Management (NPWS 2006: 87) describes the social significance of the collective of huts in the following way. ‘The complex has social value as representing a way of life that has an iconic, if somewhat romanticised, status in Australia... Most huts represent the labour and lives of pastoral workers, small-time prospectors and migrant workers...’

³⁰³ This is not to say that there are no conceptual frameworks concerning the idea of collective (e.g., see Hirst and Fineberg [2011] and Hirst and Manier [2008] on psychological approaches to collective memory), but rather they are not evident in heritage studies.

the context of specific in-place stories and meanings. Thus Old Currango is a locale enriched by particular narratives: Dorothy's stories of a toy tea set and an absent stove; David's experience of the cracked veranda beam and his love of the craftsmanship expressed in the house; Harry's scone and history-making skills; and Aaron's childhood experiences traced through an excavation, remnant shower tree and gooseberry bushes. To collectivise material histories and these people's affections and stories – that is, to universalise feelings of place-attachment – has the effect of diminishing or losing a sense of intimacy.³⁰⁴ I understand why heritage practice universalises in seeking to determine and conserve significant places/landscapes, but it makes me uncomfortable: dissatisfied that the power of the personal must be subsumed for a methodological greater good.³⁰⁵ I believe there is a better and more inclusive way.

In Chapter 5, I made two points concerning scale. First, drawing on an ecosystem analogy, place-attachment can vary and change with scale (e.g., from individual or family to community or cultural group). Second, and as a consequence of their being socially constructed and intra-actively produced (Barad 2007: 245), scales interpenetrate: that is, scales overlap and are interconnected. It is the qualities of variability and interconnectedness that challenge efforts to ascribe heritage value at different social scales. It is my contention that these very qualities point to a method able to bridge the gap between heritage values at the scales of individual/family and community/cultural group. The method is narrative.

narrative and stating attachment

In this chapter, as in the two preceding it, I have presented individual people's stories as expressions of place-attachment. My interviews and discussions with Harry, Dorothy, David and Aaron inform the co-created narrative. I have used

³⁰⁴ Expressed another way: 'we glean a sense that what ordinary citizens value about the places they hold dear is much more expansive than what is currently encompassed by traditional historic preservation.' (Morgan et al. 2010: 114)

³⁰⁵ The Kosciuszko National Park Plan of Management (NPWS 2006) does however value personal attachment. It recognises a need to document contemporary 'specific community, family and individual attachments' (2006: 90, Action 7.0.1-7).

narrative to intertwine biography, memory and emotion with Old Currango's material traces and landscape setting. In addition to the stories themselves, I have incorporated experiential understanding in the narratives. As discussed in Chapter 8, experiential understanding draws on empathic engagement with participants' experiences (and material things) to describe and explain the affective, emotional and agentic character of people-place-thing entanglements. This is because empathic engagement provides a way of understanding another person from the 'inside' (Coplan 2011: 18). I have sought to represent 'understanding from the inside' through text via narrative structure and forms.

In general, narrative refers to a story that can be told (Goldie 2012: 2). For Peter Goldie,

A narrative is a representation of events which is shaped, organized, and coloured, presenting those events, and the people involved in them, from a certain perspective or perspectives, and thereby giving narrative structure – coherence, meaningfulness, and evaluative and emotional import – to what is narrated. (Goldie 2012: 8)³⁰⁶

Thus a feature of narrative is the emotional weight it gives to a story. Emotion, I argue, is typically absent from representations of place-attachment in Australian heritage practice (Chapter 3), despite the increasing emphasis placed on social value since the 1990s (Byrne et al. 2001; Johnston 1992; Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 153-167). Much recent heritage work in Australia, as in the 1970s, continues to be represented from a third-person perspective: that is, constructed as authoritative and expert (e.g., Barnson 2009; McDougall and Vines 2007: 21, 23; NPWS 2006). As a consequence, there is an element of pseudo-empiricism in much contemporary heritage practice: for example, evident in the way it makes claim to reveal intrinsic and quantifiable attributes or values of place, rather than recognising that place-meanings are constructed by the heritage practitioner (Byrne 2008; Harrison 2013; Smith 2006).

³⁰⁶ For Goldie (2012: 2-25), drawing on narrative theory, narrative has three characteristic features: *coherence* (i.e., reveals connections between related events in a way that a 'mere list' does not), *meaningfulness* ([1] how the thoughts, feelings and actions of those people internal to the narrative make sense and [2] meaningful in revealing the narrator's external perspective) and *evaluative and emotional import* (reveals the way things matter to people). For Goldie it is these characteristics that give narrative its special explanatory, revelatory and expressive power.

I argue that narrative structure, in Goldie's (2012) sense, injects humanity and 'emotional import' into ways that heritage practice might articulate and represent place-attachment. This is no simple task, but in my view is necessary because, if people's place connections are not valued and made visible in heritage documents and interpretation, then there is a risk that people will cease to foster links with, or care for, heritage places. Thus in order to garner support for heritage conservation, it is necessary to recognise, document and publicly present people's place-attachments. These actions complement views that all parts of the landscape are alive with cultural meaning and connected to living people and communities (Brown 2010b). In the case of Old Currango, this means that affection, fondness and love of place as expressed by those intimately entangled with the house, object assemblies and setting should be made visible, and be recognised and respected, in heritage planning and practice.

Two characteristics of narrative structure enable attachment to be articulated in this way. First, as discussed above, narrative injects humanity and emotional weight into an account. Second, narrative structure is shaped, organised and coloured by perspective or point of view of those internal to the narrative as well as those external to it (Goldie 2012: 11). By incorporating emotion and multiple perspectives, narrative structure is able to counter a single authoritative voice and, therefore, in theory at least, has a capacity to make explicit connections between individual belonging and collective attachment. Narrative structure has the potential to do this by simultaneously locating individual experience as internal to a story alongside a narrator's external perspective on group attachment. Let me practice what I am proposing by presenting a short narrative on Old Currango.

Dorothy Constance, one of eight siblings, grew up at Old Currango. She has fond memories and incredible stories of her childhood years spent there (1936–1942). On revisiting her childhood home as an adult in the early 1980s Dorothy felt sadness because the homestead was falling down. On a second return visit in 2002, she was pleased to see the restored house, now cared for by the Kosciuszko Huts Association and

the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service. Dorothy said: "It'd be a pity if it wasn't there." Dorothy's experience of Old Currango demonstrates, and is representative of, powerful attachments that people hold for lived-in buildings and their settings in Kosciuszko National Park. Her experiences and emotions parallel those of author Miles Franklin who, in *Childhood at Brindabella* (1963), writes of the significance of childhood experience and adult memories of home in the remote and inspiring Australian Alps.

In this mini-narrative values statement, I draw on Dorothy's changing perspectives – perspectives 'internal' to the narrative – to express personal experience, feelings and psychological states or emotions (e.g., fondness, sadness and pleasure). The narrative invites the audience to 'pick up on' Dorothy's perspective (Goldie 2012: 18). The narrative also tells the reader something of time (from childhood to adulthood; from the mid-20th century to the early 21st century), memory and place: that is, Old Currango as multiple places – geographical, experienced and imagined. The narrative also incorporates an 'external' evaluative perspective – evident in the last two sentences where I broaden Dorothy's experiences into a wider nexus of landscape settings (Kosciuszko National Park and the Australian Alps) and recognise similarities with another adult's memories of childhood – that of celebrated author Miles Franklin. As the narrator, I have also sought an empathic response by drawing on the reader's experiential understanding of childhood places to relate to Dorothy's experiences at Old Currango. Thus I have sought to make explicit connections between individual belonging and shared attachment.

My conclusion, therefore, is that narrative is a method and form able to accommodate place-attachment at different scales in heritage management. This is because, as I have argued, narrative employed in the creation of heritage values statements has a power to make evident connections between personal belonging and collective attachment, and consciously incorporate the heritage practitioner's perspective.

Summary

Through four case studies (Chapters 6-9) I have investigated how place-attachment is lived and experienced and how the concept is applied in heritage conservation. I have questioned and examined underlying reasons for distinctions made in heritage practice between 'official' and personal or 'unofficial' heritage (Chapter 7); between 'outside' experts (who inscribe values) and 'inside' practice (as lived experience) (Chapter 8); and between collective association and personal belonging (this chapter). I have proposed a number of mechanisms by which these separations might be better integrated or folded into one another than is currently the case. For example, by better linking heritage practice methods with an ethics of recognition and respect (Chapter 7); by consciously incorporating the heritage practitioner's experience of, and perspectives on, place-attachment through auto-ethnographic methods (Chapters 6, 8); and through the use of narrative structure to construct heritage values statements in ways that accommodate different scales of place-attachment.

In the final section of the thesis (Part III: Re-placing attachment), I draw together my thinking and learning on place-attachment and re-examine the applicability to the heritage field of the definition proposed in Chapter 4: that is, place-attachment as a distributed phenomenon that emerges through the entanglements of individuals (or groups), places and things.

PART III

RE-PLACING ATTACHMENT



FIGURE 10.1 Old Currango: reflections.
(Photo credit: Allan McLean, April 2012.)

Re-framing place-attachment

Recollecting Knight Street

At the start of Chapter 5, I recounted my first experience of 65 Knight Street, Arncliffe. The property was the former home of Mabs Sinnett and a place of fondly recollected family get-togethers. My first visit elicited feelings of anxiety, discomfort and a sense of intruding on the personal lives and private pasts of others: not just any others but those whom I had interviewed with regard to Glen Eden (Chapter 8). Since that first venture in August 2012, I have occasionally revisited Knight Street. My feelings of discomfort and intrusion are provoked on each re-encounter, albeit in diminished form. Why do my first impressions continue to re-emerge?

An answer, from the field of interpersonal neurobiology, is that the way I felt at the time of my first visit influences how and what my memory retrieves when I re-experience 65 Knight Street.

In memory research, the initial impact of an experience on the brain has been called an 'engram'. If you visited the Eiffel Tower with a friend and were talking about existential philosophy and Impressionist paintings as you were having your picnic, your engram might include the various levels of experience: semantic (factual – something about philosophy or art or knowledge about the Tower), autobiographical (your sense of yourself at that time of your life), somatic (what your body felt like at the time), perceptual (what things looked like, how they smelled), emotional (your mood at the time) and behavioural (what you were doing with your body). Your original Eiffel Tower engram would include linkages connecting each of these forms of representations. (Siegel 2012: 50)

I find this explanation compelling because it incorporates different ways of experiencing and knowing; and different ways experiences are encoded in, and retrieved from, the mind/body. In the case of Knight Street, I emphasised prior historical knowledge (semantic), experiential understanding (emotional) and feelings of discomfort and intrusion (somatic) in narrating the initial visit, as these were my most immediate and conscious levels of experience.³⁰⁷

What this experience and explanation highlights is the role of the mind with respect to memory, emotion and attachment. For Daniel Siegel (2012: 2), the mind integrates mental processes with both neurobiology and interpersonal relationships (discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis). That is, the social and synaptic are mutually constituted; and the social nature of the mind derives in large part from the interactions that an uncontained individual has with nested places and lively material things. Siegel defines the mind as ‘an embodied and relational process that regulates the flow of energy and information’ (2012: 3). This meaning has commonalities with Ian Hodder’s (2012: 218) definition of things as ‘flows of matter, energy and information’. Together, these convergent meanings emphasise the idea of ‘material mind’ (Boivin 2008: 23-29) – that is, the mind as material, visceral and sensual, rather than abstract and transcendent.

Siegel’s concept of the mind and Hodder’s notion of things provide a useful introduction to discussing the construction of place-attachment. In this chapter I draw on research in the field of neurobiology to point to plausible routes by which place-attachment is constructed and experienced. I also incorporate discussion on the role of things (objects, plants, structures and landscape), which interpersonal neurobiological literature does not emphasise, and the ways material things are enfolded in memory, emotions, sociality and place-attachment.

³⁰⁷ I wrote about the experience, as related at the start of Chapter 8, immediately after I returned from the foray and before I encountered the idea of an engram.

Conceptualising place-attachment

The general thesis at issue here that memory, and identity, are tied to spatiality, to embodiment and to worldly location is one that should be familiar from a wide range of literary and poetic works, as well as from many other sources, including a number of empirical psychological studies. (Malpas 1999: 184)

In Chapters 7-9, I presented blended narratives that interweave the personal stories and place-feelings of 12 interviewees with my experiential understandings of those people and places. The studies intentionally sought out and highlight instances where material things are entangled in people's connections to place and thus extend on the Fairview Street account (Chapter 6). Material things enmeshed in these stories included peony poppies at Fairview Street, roses in and connected to the Darcoola Station homestead garden, yellow paper daisies and hand-adzed posts at Glen Eden and an Alpine Ash beam at Old Currango. Absent things – such as the kitchen stove, gooseberry bushes and shower tree at Old Currango – also play an important role in that narrative (Chapter 9). Whether present or absent, things are demonstrably entangled in connections between people and place.

In addition to the idea that things are entangled in the construction of attachment, three further themes relating to place-attachment emerged from the field studies. The first is *life-stages*. That is, some study participants had connections with the field settings originating in childhood while others developed place-connections in adulthood. A second theme is the role of *generational transfer*. That is, the transmission of positive experiences via storytelling and non-verbal bodily communication that establish affection for, and strengthen connection to, place. A third theme is the role of *empathy*: an affective process of attuned communication between bodies (i.e., either between humans or humans with material things). Empathy and generational transfer, as discussed in Chapter 8, are different processes.

In what follows, I revisit each of these themes – life stages, generational transfer and empathy – in relation to research in interpersonal neurobiology, psychology and material culture studies. Do these themes offer support for a concept of place-attachment as entanglement?

childhood, adulthood and place-attachment

...all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home...the imagination functions in this direction whenever the human being has found the slightest shelter.
(Bachelard 1969: 5)

The concept of place-attachment in heritage practice, discussed in Chapter 3, draws on work in geography and psychology (Lewicka 2011). In psychology, attachment studies were initially concerned with infant attachment behaviour (i.e., attachment theory) and subsequently extended to interpersonal attachment across the whole human lifespan, then to material possession attachment (Belk 1992; Kleine and Baker 2004) and finally place-attachment (Altman and Low 1992; Manzo and Devine-Wright 2014). Recent studies support a proposition that human attachment to place has characteristics similar to infant attachment behaviours (McBain 2010; Morgan 2010; see Siegel 2012: 99 on attachment categories). Furthermore, Paul Morgan's (2010) developmental model proposes that formative patterns of place-attachment emerge between the ages of five and 13 (discussed in Chapter 9). A key point in relation to the construction of place-attachment is that people who have positive experiences of childhood place will likely have long-term affective and 'secure' bonds to that place (2010: 19) and a capacity in adulthood to form positive bonds to new places.

I drew on Morgan's developmental model to explain Dorothy Constance' and Aaron Mitchell's strong place-attachment sentiments for Old Currango. I argued that a notion of being 'parented-by-place' (i.e., place as caregiver; Morgan 2010) aptly describes the overwhelmingly positive and pleasurable recollections of their

childhood experiences at Old Currango.³⁰⁸ I suggest that the idea of parented-by-place also applies to Pat Shallcross' experiences of *wonderful school holidays* at Glen Eden; and to Rob and Sholto Weir with their childhood home – Darcoola Station. For these individuals, childhood experience is affectionately recollected, though certain episodes are interwoven with feelings of anxiety, loss and sadness. However, because their experiences of childhood place were predominantly positive, Dorothy, Aaron, Pat, Rob and Sholto return, in adulthood, to their places of childhood affection. Returning to place and moving through place, according to Edward Casey (1987: 194, in Pink 2009: 38), enables the body to import 'its own emplaced past into its present experience'.

I also made the point in Chapter 9 that many of Dorothy's and Aaron's recollections of childhood at Old Currango are articulated in the form of short anecdotes in combination with nonverbal behaviours (e.g., gesture, facial expression and emotion). Recollections of childhood experience structured in this way are characteristic of implicit memory (Morgan 2010: 18-19; Siegel 2012: 51-57). I suggest that implicit memory, which is a form of involuntary recall, is itself evidence of the co-construction of child and place arising out of embodied, often repetitive, in-place experience. Thus in childhood place-attachment, to extend on Siegel's (2012) aphorism, the social, synaptic *and the site* are mutually constituted.

An example illustrating this point is Dorothy Constance's experience, at age 50, of Old Currango's missing oven, which provoked childhood memories of the smell and taste of homemade bread, butter and jam (Chapter 9). While this recollection is explained in mind development terms as a childhood memory trace that is retrieved, the point with respect to the construction of place-attachment is that Dorothy's implicit memory of smell and taste is *involuntary* and thus innately a part of her. That is, the memory trace is encoded, ingrained or embedded in her mind/body. It is an implicit memory formed via repeated positive childhood experiences of bread,

³⁰⁸ Louise Chawla (1992: 74-75) might describe Dorothy's and Aaron's childhood place-attachments in terms of 'affection' – i.e., places associated with happiness and security where there are parallels between warmth of feeling for the place and for the people associated with it; and to which I would add warmth of feeling for in-place material things.

butter and jam, the stove, her mother and Old Currango. David Seamon (2014: 13-14) uses the term 'habitual regularity' and Paul Connerton (1989) 'habit memory' to explain such in-place lived routines.³⁰⁹ Thus Dorothy's sense of place-attachment is embodied in sensory memory (Pink 2009: 37-38), founded in implicit memory and results from patterns of positively affected childhood experience in which Old Currango is place and parent. Jeff Malpas, in the following passage, encapsulates how childhood memories of place, like Dorothy's, operate.

The way in which such [formative] memories and places often become more important as we age, and the strong feelings (whether of fondness or, sometimes, of revulsion) that are typically associated with the places of our growing up and of our early life, can be seen as indicative of the founding role of those places in our narratives about ourselves and the establishing of our sense of self-identity. (Malpas 1999: 182)

For eight (of 12) field study participants, place-attachment developed in adulthood. However, as I postulated in Chapter 9, Harry Hill's and David Mitchell's senses of connection with Old Currango involved the transfer or import of positive childhood experiences associated with their respective fathers. For Lyn Sestan, Richard Holmes, Michael Hayden and Trisha Van Gelder, an important aspect of their connection to Glen Eden arose from childhood experiences of affective and emotional storytelling communicated via their mothers, aunts and grandmothers (Chapter 8). For Coleen Houston and Nerida Reid, affection for the Darcoola Station homestead garden is intimately connected to their close friendship with, and feelings of love and loss for, Brenda Weir (Chapter 7). I do not propose to speculate further on how the specifics of each of these individuals' senses of place-attachment arose since I would be entering a realm of psychology in which I am unskilled. Rather I will touch more generally on how attachment in adults operates.

Place-attachment formed in adulthood, in contrast to childhood, draws on explicit memory – a combination of factual and autobiographical memory. Both memory forms are associated with 'self knowing awareness' or 'autonoetic consciousness',

³⁰⁹ I touched on these terms in relation to 'the self as uncontained' (Chapter 3; footnote 72).

and enable a person to link past, present and anticipated future (i.e., 'mental time travel') (Siegel 2012: 58-60).³¹⁰ Thus for David Mitchell, whose autobiography with *Old Currango* is associated with travels in the Newcastle Walking Club kombi, visiting the house with his family and coordinating volunteer work parties, there is a clear chronological narrative (i.e., factual memory) and sense of self entwined with place-history (autobiographical memory).

My feelings for 85 Fairview Street also developed in adulthood and thus are connected with explicit memory. In Chapter 6, I described how my previously placeless home-life ended after moving to Fairview Street and how I became entangled in the vibrant materiality of, for example, a stone artefact, waratah air vents, gift card, gnome, bullet hole, AirUK teaspoon, peony poppies and foil stars. Some of these objects led me to recall associations from the past – for example, the stone artefact evoked memories of similar objects encountered during previous archaeological field surveys and excavations. Reflecting on artefacts encountered in the present to recall the past involves 'working memory', a form of 'long-term explicit memory' (Siegel 2012: 60-61). So for me, working memory found material expression in new things, strange yet family-iar objects (Casey 1987: 194), and thus material things enabled me to experience Fairview Street as multi-temporal and autobiographical. That is, explicit memory enabled a sense of my past self to be materially visible in present-place.

In summary, the construction and experience of place-attachment can arise through embodied forms of implicit memory developed in childhood and autobiographical forms of explicit memory fashioned in adulthood. The case studies show how implicit and explicit memory can be entangled in each person's construction of place-attachment and, furthermore, how implicit and explicit memory can be entwined with things.

³¹⁰ Autonoetic consciousness means 'to have a sense of recollection of the self at a particular time in the past, awareness of the self in the lived present, and projections of the self into the imagined future' (Siegel 2012: 58).

generational transfer and place-attachment

Her memories have become my memories, as we have shared the site of their occurrence. ...Our memories are held in *place*. All I have to do to receive a hundred such memories is recall that place. (MacKellar 2004: 20)

Historian Maggie MacKellar wrote these words at the time of her grandmother's passing. The burial place was 'next to my grandfather and cousin, beneath the flowering gums, in the place that she loved into a home' (2004: 19-20). MacKellar's grandmother (and mother) communicated to her feelings of intimacy and belonging – 'that connection between body, land and memory that make up the bones of home' (2004: 2).

In Chapter 8, I showed how strong and pleasurable emotions for Glen Eden held by Lyn Sestan, Richard Holmes, Michael Hayden and Trisha Van Gelder originated in the transmission of knowledge and experience across generations of the Reakes family. I argued that Hirsch's (2008, 2012) notion of postmemory – non-verbal and non-cognitive acts of transfer within familial settings – could be co-opted to account for such potent connectivity.³¹¹ I showed how inter-generational transfer of affection for Glen Eden was sedimented in Lyn, Richard, Michael and Trisha via childhood stories related and enlivened by grandmothers, mothers and aunts: for example, Michael Hayden's memories of Aunt Minnie's tales. In Tim Ingold's words,

To tell a story is to relate, in narrative, the occurrences of the past, bringing them to life in the vivid present of listeners as if they were going on here and now. (Ingold 2011: 161)

Evidence from developmental neurobiology offers support for Ingold's view. Research suggests 'past event conversations during early childhood have long-lasting effects on autobiographical memory' (Jack et al. 2009, in Siegel 2012: 60) and that 'mothers who reminisce with their young children in elaborated or evaluative

³¹¹ Siegel (2012: 56) defines transference as 'the activation of old mental models and states of mind from our relationships with important figures in the past'. This meaning has similarities with the idea of postmemory.

ways have children who develop more detailed, coherent, and evaluative autobiographical memories' (Fivush 2011, in Siegel 2012: 60).³¹² In other words,

...our relationships not only shape what we remember, but how we remember and the very sense of self that remembers. (Siegel 2012: 59)

Thus for Lyn, Richard, Michael and Trisha, remembering Glen Eden is linked to positive childhood family experience and embodied engagement with the repeated sharing of 'origin' stories concerning the ancestral farm. The stories, and thus childhood implicit memory and habit memory, became ingrained in their minds and bodies.

For the fourth generation Reakes descendants, childhood experiences of place happened away from Glen Eden. The property had been relinquished in 1936 and Lyn, Richard, Michael and Trisha, living in Sydney, neither grew up nor holidayed there as children. In contrast, Rob and Sholto Weir, the fourth generation of Weirs at Darcoola Station, lived their childhoods on the farm. Sholto attributes his love for nature and the Darcoola landscape to the ways his mother, Brenda, encouraged his engagement with the homestead garden. Again, a process of generational transfer is suggested.

Aaron Mitchell's testimony speaks to the way his love for Old Currango is connected with times spent there with his family, most often his father, during childhood and as a young adult. The idea of generational transfer is implicated in Aaron's feelings of affection for place. In turn, Aaron's father, David, developed strong feelings for Old Currango that, in part, incorporate experiences with his own father, Alex: for example, evident in David's appreciation for history, vernacular architecture and craftsmanship (Chapter 9). David's connections with father and son are evidenced in the Alpine Ash verandah beam. There is a sense in which the communication of positive feeling for Old Currango operates through postmemory across four

³¹² Auto-noetic consciousness comes into play here because the shared communication between adult and child 'directly enhance a child's capacity for auto-noetic consciousness' (Siegel 2012: 59).

generations of Mitchells, if Aaron's children are included in this lineage.³¹³ What I am pointing to here is that there are antecedents in the Mitchell family's male lineage (specifically David's father's biography) that have become sedimented into the fabric of Old Currango and communicated across generations via material things, family stories and embodied and sensory non-verbal acts of transfer.³¹⁴

Thus the case studies reveal differing degrees to which place-attachment is shaped across generations and transferred via affective behaviours. In many instances postmemory is enmeshed with materials – such as Paper Daisies and adzed posts. Based on the case studies, I suggest there is a generational dimension to each individual's feelings of attachment and that 'generational time' is a feature of people's connections to Darcoola Station, Glen Eden and Old Currango. What can vary is the level of intensity communicated and experienced. This is evident in the case of Glen Eden where intensity of place-feelings varies between family members. For example, Lyn, Richard, Michael and Trisha hold a deep affection for the place and its stories; yet some other Reakes descendants of their generation rarely attend the annual get-togethers. Additionally, many of the children (i.e., the fifth generation) of those with affection for Glen Eden do not participate in the get-togethers, suggesting intensity of affection for Glen Eden is diminishing – or perhaps changing. This may be because of the time since Alfred and Florence Reakes owned the property (i.e., 1936) and the loss of connection with those ancestors (grandparents and great-grandparents) who had lived or stayed at the farm.³¹⁵

The situation described for Glen Eden points to the idea that postmemory, the inter-generational transfer of embodied experience of and emotions for place, is of itself insufficient to ensure ongoing intense place-feelings. A necessary additional process for sustaining feelings of place-attachment across generations is an ability to directly

³¹³ There is a theme of 'four generations' emerging out of the case studies, which may be pointing to the time over which bodily communication patterns can be sustained within any one family. However, this is not something I explore further in this thesis.

³¹⁴ It is evident that the male line (i.e., Mitchell) is dominant in communicating attachment with Old Currango, while for Glen Eden the female line dominates. This observation points to the way gender might operate in practices of generational transfer and place-attachment, and warrants further investigation.

³¹⁵ Furthermore, any fifth generation descendant will have 16 great-great-grandparents, which makes sustaining or privileging connections with any one set challenging.

experience place: to *see a bit of the family history* in Michael Hayden's words. This finding has implications for the management of heritage places located within protected area landscapes: to sustain feelings of place-attachment, individuals and groups with existing personal connections must visit, and thus require access to, that place.

empathy and place-attachment

To know someone or something is to know their story, and to be able to join that story to one's own. (Ingold 2011: 160-161)

My sense of the landscape of Byerawering, now located within Culgoa National Park, was deeply influenced by feelings conveyed to me by Bruce and Pam Ponder (Chapter 3). Thus the remnant Byerawering house garden became an uncomfortable and difficult place for me to encounter because of the way Pam reacted to its destruction. Similarly, my engagements with Old Currango, Glen Eden and Darcoola Station have been shaped by the ways, verbal and non-verbal, those people with connections to them expressed their senses of place-attachment to me. For example, Old Currango's absent stove evoked in me emotions of sadness and a feeling that *people are mean*: the empty space in the kitchen tells me that people can be insensitive to the personal place-histories of others.

Research suggests that emotion is primarily communicated through nonverbal behaviour (Siegel 2012: 146). Furthermore,

An important aspect of emotions is their social function. Emotions, both primary and categorical, serve as the vehicles that allow one person to have a sense of the mental state of another. The capacity to feel another person's experience has many labels, such as 'empathy', 'compassion', 'sympathy', 'mirroring', 'attunement', and 'mindsight'. In its essence, the ability of one mind to perceive and then experience elements of another person's mind is a profoundly important dimension of human experience. (Siegel 2012: 175)

Thus, when Lyn Sestan and Trisha Van Gelder told me of the year their mother, Gwen Hyde, *ran wild* at Glen Eden, they communicated to me a sense of happiness and sheer delight. They did this through words, but more so in the joyful tones of their voices, warmth of facial expressions, directness of eye contact (both with me and with one another) and upright, open postures – slightly leaning their bodies toward me.³¹⁶ I was affected by their story because their joint telling communicated genuine feelings of love. My state of mind became attuned to theirs and my perception of Lyn's and Trisha's bodily communication gave shape to my emotions (Siegel 2012: 175-176). Scholars describe this process as 'emotional contagion' (Coplan 2011: 5-9): that is, 'an involuntary spread of feelings' (Wispé 1987: 76-77, in Coplan 2011: 8) and 'the tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize expressions...and movements with those of another person, and, consequently, to converge emotionally' (Hatfield et al. 1992: 153-154, in Coplan 2011: 8). When I attended the Glen Eden get-together, subsequent to the interview with Lyn and Trisha, the meadow of yellow paper daisies simultaneously evoked in me the emotionally contagious interview in Kirribilli and the presence of 11-year-old Gwen *dressed like a little Indian*, running wild and doing *whatever she wanted to*. I embodied my own experiential understanding, a mediated perspective (Coplan 2011: 9), of what Lyn and Trisha had related about their mother's year at Glen Eden.³¹⁷ My feelings, arising out of experiential understanding, began to be inscribed and sedimented into the landscape of Glen Eden. For me the landscape became tinted by the intensity of Lyn's and Trisha's feelings for the place and coloured by the radiant yellow of everlasting.

The reasons for relating this particular episode are twofold. Foremost, it is to clarify a distinction between empathy (Siegel 2012: 175-177) and transference or postmemory (Hirsch 2008, 2012). Empathy is the emotional contagion I experienced over a coffee at Kirribilli and then at Glen Eden. Transference is what happened

³¹⁶ We were sitting around an outdoor table at a café in Kirribilli, north Sydney: Trisha was at my right and Lyn diagonally across the table from me.

³¹⁷ I have resisted calling my empathy 'affectively matched', a phrase discussed by Coplan (2011: 6-9), which means 'an observer must experience affective states that are qualitatively the same as those of the target.' Because I am unable to determine whether my empathy is affectively matched with Lyn's and Trisha's emotions, I prefer to use the phrases 'experiential understanding' and 'mediated perspective' to describe my sense of empathy.

between Lyn and Trisha through their life-long relationships with their mother, aunts and grandmother. In both processes, nonverbal signals (e.g., tone of voice, facial expression, sparkling of eyes, bodily motion) are communicated unconsciously – that is, affective expression or simply affect, which is the way an internal emotional state is externally revealed (Siegel 2012: 153-154).³¹⁸ The difference between empathy and transference I am pointing to here is one of duration: short or momentary versus generational.³¹⁹

There is a second aspect to my sense of connection with Glen Eden. The engram arising from my initial visit to the meadow of everlastings above Gemalla Cottage incorporated different levels of experience: some factual knowledge (i.e., family history); pleasure at picking out chimney remains from amongst the bracken thicket; stories about the Paper Daisies; the meadow-like quality of grasses and everlastings; delight in imagining the presence of Gwen; joy at being part of the get-together; a sense of people scattered across the ridge as they explored the landscape; and the chill of wind beneath an overcast sky. On my first visit I was a novice to the landscape of Glen Eden.

Making their way from place to place in the company of others more knowledgeable than themselves, and hearing their stories, novices learn to connect events and experiences of their own lives to the lives of predecessors, recursively picking up the strands of these past lives in the process of spinning out their own. (Ingold 2011: 161)

Thus, as with the Knight Street episode I related at the start of this chapter, my first visit to Glen Eden was intensely memorable because my engram picked up the strands of past lives and incorporated them into my various levels of experience. Experiential understanding played a significant role in this process and in the way I now recollect that gathering.

³¹⁸ For an excellent summary on the distinction between emotion and affect in the humanities and social sciences see Byrne (2013: 2-3). Though Byrne's description is slightly at variance with some points made by Siegel (e.g., emotion as only conscious), it is pertinent because the focus of Byrne's synthesis is 'the way objects can become involved in the transmission of affect.'

³¹⁹ As I have done throughout this thesis, I emphasise multi-temporality over linear time, which applies to terms such as moment and generation and in particular to how memory shapes the temporality of such terms.

I want to sound two notes of caution concerning empathy in relation to documenting place-attachment. First, empathy does not exactly replicate another person's feelings. My sense of joy and happiness when at the hill slope above Gemalla Cottage may have been qualitatively similar (see Coplan 2011: 6-9 on 'affective matching'), but was not identical to the feelings and emotions experienced by Lyn and Trisha. This will be the case no matter how closely attuned I am to their communication styles or how resonant our psychological states. Consequently, Lyn and Trisha as the 'attached' and I as researcher will experience and construct place differently: theirs is learned and lived, mine is as ethnographic place (Pink 2009: 41-42). Second, there is a tension between empathy as familiarity and as 'strangeness'. In the disciplines of history and archaeology, for example, there is a desire to accommodate otherness – whether in the present or deep time (Shryock et al. 2011: 50-51) – by seeking to understand behaviours and create a sense of familiarity with past or present peoples, actions and events. My relationship with Winifred Weidenhofer exemplifies this tension (Chapter 6). I came to know Winifred through intra-action with objects such as the gift card and gnome and documents such as electoral roles and newspaper accounts. I described how we, Winifred and me, accommodate one another in the Fairview Street house, but accommodation accepts the strange as well as familiar. Sometimes I feel I know something intimate of Winifred, an empathy that quivers and 'surges with energy' (Siegel 2012: 184), while for much of the time she is unknowable. There is social, temporal and critical distance, a bridge that empathy can span for a time, perhaps only a moment, but beneath which unstoppable currents of strangeness flow.

Re-conceptualising place-attachment

Modern memory is, above all, archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image. (Nora 1989: 13)

In Chapter 4 I proposed the following definition: place-attachment is a distributed phenomenon that emerges through the entanglements of people, places and things.

This meaning, I argue, frames place-attachment as an emergent force that arises out of a milieu, assemblage or agentic swarm of uncontained humans, nested places and active things (Figure 4.6). The meaning resists conceptualising attachment as bonding or association resulting from interactions of pre-existing entities (i.e., the 'heritage model'; Figure 4.2). A notion of place-attachment as distributed phenomenon, akin to a form of distributed agency, draws on a Deleuzian ontology of becoming-in-the-world in preference to the Heideggerian notion of being-in-the-world: that is, place-attachment as vibrant, active and continuously co-constituted versus passive, fixed and contained. This is of course a simplified distinction, one that masks how assemblages, networks or systems oscillate between periods of equilibrium (being) and disequilibrium (becoming). Nevertheless, the distinction is useful for the discussion that follows.

In the Fairview Street case study (Chapter 6), a personal and autobiographical narrative of attachment, I emphasised practices of dwelling, archaeology, gardening and house renovation as activities enabling my entanglement with material things. I described the process of entanglement as one of being open to affect to reveal emotion in combination with an ability to uncover material memories to construct multi-temporal stories: mixes of matter with meaning (Barad 2007) and sentiment with intellect (Turkle 2007). I also described how artefacts, organisms and me, as a result of my fascination with the object world of my suburban block, had come to accommodate one another and be willing to share and grow muddled and mixed lives. I sought to explain my sense of place-attachment, drawing on vocabularies of co-production (Table 4.1), arising because my body, each material thing and the place extends beyond its own physical boundedness through forces and energies that radiate and pulse. Thus for me, the idea of place-attachment as distributed phenomenon and entangled experience arose as a consequence of visceral and agentic encounters, coevolutionary spirals – 'feedback loops and conjoined patterns of cause and effect' (Shryock and Lord Smail 2011: 16) – that entwined in-place things and me in ever growing ways (Ingold and Hallam 2014). My feelings of place-attachment invigorate and energise and are rarely passive.

In the three case studies of 'other' people's sense of place-attachment, as in the Fairview Street study, material things, whether present or absent, are evident. In the Darcoola Station, Glen Eden and Old Currango case studies, I emphasised the human estate and ways individuals are enfolded with and into place and things. I identified and highlighted a number of themes that shaped constructions of place-attachment. For example, the role of life stages; ways interpersonal relationships, whether familial or friendships, create people-place collectives; the role of generational transfer; oscillations between feelings that are at once intimate or focussed and dispersed; and the way empathy and strangeness coexist and are intertwined rather than dialectically related. Inculcated in these themes are affects, feelings and emotions, as well as memory and identity. I have also shown how implicit and explicit memory serves to entwine past and present, mixing people, places and events in complex geographic, social and spatial ways and scales. For example, Dorothy Constance's stories oscillate between her present sense of self (drawing on factual and autobiographical memory) and implicit memories of her childhood at Old Currango. Thus the toy porcelain tea-set (Figure 9.6) which was initially a childhood gift is now a display item and plaything for grandchildren; and the absent stove an adult re-encounter with a recollected childhood sensory experience. From these case studies I conclude that place-attachment can be conceptualised as a distributed phenomenon because it arises from the entanglement of complex, hybrid or blended assemblages of emergent and co-produced individuals, places and things.

toward a place-attachment framework for heritage practice

In part, the multi-temporal nature of place-attachment, moving through equilibrium-as-being and disequilibrium-as-becoming, also incorporates an iterative form, a sense of growth. It is akin to a narrative structure as beginning, middle and end (Goldie 2012), though perhaps more ongoing than ending. Place-attachment can also be explained by Morgan's (2010) arousal-interaction-pleasure childhood development model. However, rather than using standard storytelling terms or Morgan's development psychology language, I propose the following terminology: *gathering-intensification-awareness*. My purpose here is to represent my experience

and knowledge of place-attachment in a way that is accessible and applicable in heritage theory and practice.

An initial process or stage in the construction of place-attachment is one of coming together, whereby collectives of people-places-things encounter one another and a consequential connectivity is triggered. I use the term *gathering* – a deliberate reference to the etymology of the word ‘thing’ as assembly (Chapter 4) – to describe an initial entanglement of people-places-things, energies and forces, which intra-act and come into being. In one sense such forms of encounter are a continuous part of human being, a process captured in the line: ‘Everywhere you go you’ve done stuff’ (Read 2000: 63).³²⁰ A conjuncture of people, places and things might be instantaneous (e.g., the moment Mrs Weidenhofer’s gift card was revealed to me) or more gradual, a series of repeat encounters of similarly organised assemblages (e.g., times shared by Nerida Reid and Coleen Houston with Brenda Weir in the Darcoola Station homestead garden). Whether momentary or repeat encounters, the effects and affects of gathering are neither predetermined nor human-centred.

Thus, to separate the lasting effects of an entanglement from the everyday, place-attachment requires a second process in its construction: a form of engagement I term *intensification*. That is, feelings of affinity, and of cultivating, growing and experiential understanding, arising out of a single or repeat person-places-things entanglement. Intensification can be conceptualised as creating levels of dependence (Hodder 2012) and consequential ‘circuits of intensities’ (Bennett 2010: 81): an intensifying of affects that in humans can pre-empt feelings and emotions. For example, Paul Morgan’s (2010) place-attachment model exemplifies how repeated patterns of positively affected experiences of place in a developing child can manifest as subjective notions of attachment. Here I am representing intensification, like gathering, as largely affective, a process that is neither

³²⁰ This statement is a quote from one of Peter Read’s interviewees. On the one hand it is a statement of the obvious: to be somewhere is to be doing something (e.g., walking, sitting, laughing, dancing, thinking, remembering). On the other hand, it raises the question of what person-place-thing configurations make for an affective and consequential event or experience? What mechanisms elevate happenings beyond everyday momentary experience to become meaningful encounters?

necessarily intentional nor conscious to the human (extended) mind. There is also a sense that habitual regularity (Seamon 2014: 13-14) is implicated in processes of intensification.

A third and final stage, *awareness*, emerges from the circuits of intensities whereby place-attachment, sense of place or belonging is discernable and becomes conscious from a human perspective. For example, the threat of loss of place can trigger awareness (Read 1996). Place-attachment in this sense is not a predetermined aim, nor the product of any one actant – especially not a sole human actor or agent. Awareness requires a creative self-organisation on the part of the human subject, though attachment remains a distributed phenomenon, a relational force binding assemblages of people-places-things. This third stage achieves a sense of stability or plateau: awareness as a conscious recognition of relational and emergent connections. The awareness stage may be momentary, a flash of self-conscious recognition and emotional intensity, or prolonged by becoming embedded in periods of relative equilibrium followed by radical or ‘small’ disequilibrium whereby tiers of temporality (Connolly 2013: 401) as energy-matter complexes shift and settle, become familiar and unfamiliar, and oscillate across affective and conscious realms. The clearest example of awareness in the case studies is the period in the early 2000s when people became consciously aware of their place feelings for the Darcoola Station homestead garden (Chapter 7). This was a time when affection and fondness found their greatest expression.

At first glance, characterising processes of gathering and intensification as largely affective and unintended suggests that they are inaccessible to study. However, I argue that this is not the case. Rather the ways in which entanglements of people-places-things emerge are accessible through various research methods. It is to these I now turn.

Research methods of place-attachment

Three of the case study sites described in this thesis were selected on the basis of five criteria: scale; contemporary Anglo-Australian connection; presence of domestic gardens; availability of adult interviewees; and location within a protected area (Chapter 5). Qualitative information on people's feelings of connectivity to these case study sites was collected via interviews, auto-ethnography, participant observation and material histories. In the process of undertaking the studies, I also drew on two further methods: empathy (Chapter 8) and narrative (Chapter 9). How effective were these methods for eliciting understandings of place-attachment as a phenomenon distributed across assemblages of people-place-things?

Oral testimony was a key method for eliciting memories, gathering stories and constructing narratives concerning each interviewee's intra-actions with collectives of people-place-things. The recorded voices and interview transcripts are narratives of past events that tell of previous experiences in the context of current lives (Nugent 2012: 192). Some testimonies (e.g., Richard Holmes and Aaron Mitchell, neither of whom had been previously interviewed) have a raw quality, a literal sense of memories being recollected, formulated and expressed verbally and emotionally in the present. Others, such as the testimonies of Dorothy Constance, Sholto Weir and Michael Hayden, are stories and memories being retold and remobilised from previous tellings. For example, Harry Hill (1997: 35-38) had interviewed Dorothy Constance in the mid-1990s and Stephen Gapps (2003) interviewed her in 2002. When I interviewed Dorothy in 2012, it was clear her previously related narratives of childhood at Old Currango were being refined, added to and enlivened.³²¹ In terms of the gathering-intensification-awareness framework outlined above, oral testimony can elucidate each stage of the model. In particular, interviewees were able to consciously narrate processes of gathering and intensification – that is, largely affective and subconscious processes – because oral testimony is necessarily back-looking and present-situated. That is, because an interview is a form of

³²¹ Re-remembering is further evidenced in the three-pages of childhood recollections provided to me by Dorothy after I had provided her with a transcript of her interview. (Dorothy Constance to Steve Brown, letter and notes, 2 November 2012)

narrative, it has both internal (e.g., Dorothy as child) and external (e.g., Dorothy as adult storyteller) evaluative perspectives (Goldie 2012: 26-55) and thus explanatory, revelatory and expressive power.

Throughout this thesis I have resisted a notion of objectivity or ‘truthfulness’ and ethnographic authority when producing narratives of place-attachment (Chapter 5). Rather, I have used *auto-ethnography* to develop and articulate analytic insights into people-place-thing entanglements. This method did not position me as external to other people’s place-attachments, but recognised that in the process of investigating other people’s senses of attachment I became enfolded into complex and multi-temporal assemblages. In this process I constructed ethnographic places (Pink 2009: 29-43). Auto-ethnography also engendered a sense of shared learning: I learned from the participant’s knowledge and experiences and, to a lesser degree yet simultaneously, they assimilated my presence, attitudes and commentary into their knowledge and experience of place. I also recognise that each participant’s oral testimony was tailored, censored in a sense, to what I represented – a university scholar – and how I elicited information: for example, the way I framed questions and my ability to empathise with interviewee responses (Hoskins 1998: 1).³²² Each interview experience was laden with affect, feelings and emotion (e.g., pleasure, joy, sadness) and thus subjective and interpersonal experiences played a role in my empathic interpretation and evaluation of meanings. As a method for eliciting place-attachment data from Anglo-Australian citizens, auto-ethnography provided me with an explicit tool, a form of comparative analysis, for understanding, analysing and constructing the experience of others. The effectiveness of the method, which enabled me to write narratives that convey a sense of shared authority with the participants, is illustrated in the positive feedback received from Michael Hayden, Trisha Van Gelder and Lyn Seston concerning Glen Eden and from Nerida Green concerning Brenda Weir and the Darcoola Station homestead garden. In short, for

³²² Janet Hoskins (1998: 1) expresses this matter in the following way: ‘An ethnographic interview, whether conducted at one time or over many years, is a complex dialogue, a co-creation of a narrative that is in part structured by the listener’s questions and expectations.’

these participants my written narratives of place-attachment read as honest and believable representations of their experiences, stories and feelings.³²³

I also drew on auto-ethnography when participating in events at the three case study locations. I joined an annual extended family get-together at Glen Eden (2012), worked as a volunteer at a Bishop's Lodge Market (2013) and as a volunteer at an Old Currango annual work party (2014). *Participant observation* (i.e., in-place ethnography) via communal activities was a particularly effective method for observing and experiencing place-attachment. The informality of participating in communal events, in contrast with the formal interviews, enabled me to gain experiential understanding of certain elements of the participants' senses of attachment. For example, at the Glen Eden get-together I gained a spatial experience of place (e.g., the relationship of house, cherry tree and swimming hole in Pat Shallcross' stories) and the event enabled me to observe family intra-actions and movement over the landscape (e.g., the way people dispersed across the hill slope over which yellow everlastings grow). Observing the way people moved about the landscape and the expressiveness of their in-place bodies when sharing anecdotes (e.g., Pat's childhood cherry eating escapade) was also important to my understanding of how place-attachment was conveyed. At Old Currango, when I re-packaged the assemblage of artefacts excavated by then seven-year-old Aaron Mitchell, I was able to share in the enjoyment and enchantment that the now adult Aaron expressed in re-collecting the objects of his childhood memory. At the Bishop's Lodge workday, preceding the market, I became caught up in the story of roses and Benda Weir; and in the energy, enthusiasm and generosity of the committee members as they readied the place for the market.

Being in-place also enabled me to clarify aspects of the stories recounted in the interviews undertaken prior to each event. They enabled experiential understandings of, for example, the sheer delight of being amongst yellow

³²³ I attribute this outcome to my ability to create stories that are inclusive and weave the dialogues of researcher and participants in a way that consciously recognises participants as both knowledge holders and audience (Yardley 2008).

everlastings at Glen Eden; of working between beds of magnificent, at-their-peak flowering roses in the Picking Garden at Bishop's Lodge, which Brenda Weir and Coleen Houston had designed; and, beneath brilliant blue skies, applying Sea Coral and Rustic Red paint to the exterior of Old Currango, whilst all the time taking in the vista of distant mountains and the Gurrangorambla Plain – across which brumbies came and went.

In Chapter 5 I described how my *narrative approach* to revealing place-attachment sought to convey 'truthfulness'. To achieve this I created texts that entwine auto-ethnography, *experiential understanding* and reflective practice alongside other people's stories and selected facets of local and family history. The narratives self-consciously elicit the role of material things, both artefacts and organisms, in people's sense of place-attachment: for example, peony poppies, everlasting daisies, roses, a veranda beam, hand-cut and adzed posts, a missing stove, a child's toy tea-set and a shower tree. The embedded thing-stories are often related in the form of *material histories* (Stahl 2010) that in themselves chronicle attachment. For Ann Brower Stahl (2010: 151), material histories underscore 'the ways in which material culture was bound up in how history as socio-historical process was lived, thus revealing how its study can provide insights into past [and, I suggest, present] practices and processes.' I have found that emphasising the role of things in people's accounts of place-attachment, including my own, offers insights into how place-attachment is distributed beyond, and gathered or enfolded into, human experience (on this point see Brown et al. 2015). A material histories approach can elicit awareness of how things as things and things as actants become entangled in narratives of place-attachment.

The case-study approach utilised in this thesis draws on the methods of oral testimony, auto-ethnography, participant observation and material histories, as well as experiential understanding and narrative, to elicit individual as well as shared experiences of place-attachment. Mixed methods research has enabled me to integrate embodied, sensory practice with verbal accounts and in-place practice; and to conceptualise place-attachment as a dynamic and distributed phenomenon

arising out of multi-temporal entanglements of people-place-things. In these studies I have argued that place-attachment is always in a state of becoming, generated through complex and extra/ordinary processes of gathering, intensification and awareness. In my experience, place-attachment is a phenomenon that quivers and moves between states of equilibrium (i.e., fragile periods of stuff holding together) and imbalance, a dynamic which can make sense at any one point but can shift with the inherent vitality and liveliness of each and any people-place-things assemblage. From this perspective, place-attachment is constructed of visible and invisible parts: unconscious affects and conscious emotions; implicit, explicit and material memory; generational transmission and experiential understanding; and circuits of intensities in the form of energies and forces. In presenting the case studies, I have argued against a notion of attachment as solely linear process expressed as bonding or association between place and people, a notion prevalent in current Australian heritage discourse and practice (Chapter 4). I have reconceptualised the idea of place-attachment by drawing on a paradigm of co-production, a framework of entanglement and a vocabulary largely drawn from work in material culture studies and psychology.

Reflection

On several occasions during my research into place-attachment, I found myself recalling an episode in James Michener's 1965 historical novel, *The Source*.³²⁴ I had read the book – a dramatised story of Judaism – in early adolescence. It relates a series of chronologically sequenced stories inspired by structures and artefacts excavated from strata within a Middle Eastern tell site ('Tell Makor'). One of the objects is a bullet found in 1964 on the mound's surface by American 'biblical archaeologist' Dr John Cullinane (Michener 1965: 11-12). Some 1,000 pages into the novel we discover that the bullet relates to a skirmish in 1948 between 'Arabs' and 'Jews', during which the wife of another archaeologist on the excavation, Dr Ilan

³²⁴ For David Walker (2011: 6): 'We remember our books: where they were purchased, the settings and the circumstances. Their history builds as we live with them.'

Eliav, is killed. Eliav tells Cullinane, “She was shot. Right over there. Right...there” (1965: 1018). For Eliav, the bullet links place, memory and traumatic personal history.³²⁵

The reasons I recollect this episode are twofold. First, re-encountering material traces is a theme that infuses the place-attachment narratives concerning Fairview Street, Darcoola Station, Glen Eden and Old Currango. During my interviews with the research participants, re-encounters with things were related to me in deeply emotional ways: feelings of pleasure and warmth, sadness and loss, humour and seriousness permeate stories of the homestead garden at Darcoola Station, Paper Daisies at Glen Eden and the absent oven and remnant gooseberry bushes at Old Currango. Second, the fictional Tell Makor episode reminds me that historical and emotional connections between material things and an individual are never obvious: one needs to know the person-thing backstory to understand contemporary entanglement. Thus the particular emotions entwined with Old Currango’s split verandah beam (i.e., awe and anger) are invisible without knowing David Mitchell’s story. It is necessary to understand David’s experiences and the beam’s material memory, the engram and exogram, in order to locate evidence of place-attachment. Thus the role of the heritage practitioner and the site manager, in my view, is to become aware of and investigate intimate stories or micro-histories of place-attachment as a prerequisite to effective and ethical management of heritage places. The bullet episode in James Michener’s novel, like the bullet hole above my front door, alerts me to this need.

³²⁵ The bullet story is a form of contemporary archaeology, the archaeology of the period of our own lives and experiences. Contemporary archaeology traces its origins to the ethnoarchaeological work of William L. Rathje (1979) and Richard Gould and Michael Schiffer (1981), and later in publications edited by Paul Graves-Brown (2000) and Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas (2001a) (see Harrison and Schofield 2010: 21-34). Michener’s fictionalised account of a contemporary archaeology, and of auto-archaeology, pre-dates its recognition and practice within the academic discipline of archaeology.

Place-attachment in heritage practice

Stating significance

We understand a particular space through being able to grasp the sorts of ‘narratives of action’ that are possible within that space; we understand a place and a landscape through the historical and personal narratives that are marked out within it and that give that place a particular unity and establish a particular set of possibilities within it. (Malpas 1999: 186)

In 2008, when I first considered undertaking test pit excavations at 85 Fairview Street, I required a research permit (NSW *Heritage Act 1977*, sections 139-146). A permit was necessary where archaeological investigations were likely to reveal ‘relics’, then defined as non-Aboriginal artefacts over 50 years in age. However, legislative amendments in 2009 re-defined an archaeological relic, no longer based on age, to be ‘any deposit, artefact, object or material evidence...of State or local heritage significance’ (*Heritage Act 1977*, section 4[1]).³²⁶ I argued to the local heritage authority that the deposits in my backyard were highly disturbed and consequently did not meet a threshold of ‘local heritage significance’.³²⁷ I was subsequently advised that my proposed investigations would not disturb ‘relics’ within the meaning of the Act (i.e., locally significant)³²⁸ and therefore no research permit was required. The archaeological remains were thus deemed to be non-

³²⁶ *Heritage Amendment Act 2009* assented on 9 June 2009. Available at: <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/num_act/haa2009n34193.pdf> (accessed May 2014).

³²⁷ Steve Brown to Director, Heritage Branch, letter and Exception Application, 27 November 2009. An Exception Application is made under section 139[4] of the NSW *Heritage Act 1977* (Heritage Branch 2009).

³²⁸ Vincent Sicari to Steve Brown, letter of 22 January 2010.

heritage in the State's legal framework and thus outside the purview of authorised heritage management.³²⁹

My experience of the NSW heritage legislation reveals a disjunction, both artificial and pragmatic, between forms of heritage over which the State exerts control (i.e., 'official heritage'; Harrison 2010: 8-9) versus unregulated forms of personal or unofficial heritage.³³⁰ This observation is not new in heritage studies (see Byrne 2008, 2009; Harrison 2013; Holtorf and Fairclough 2013; Smith 2006; Swensen et al. 2013). And I am happy for the State to mind its own business with regard to the material things on my property. However there is a wider issue here, and one I have highlighted with regard to place-attachment. That is, when framed as a distributed phenomenon, assemblages of people-place-things are complex and operate at multiple social, spatial and temporal scales (Table 5.1). Thus, to draw a line between a community and an individual, a place and a personal heirloom, and deep-time and the present, mostly relegates the latter in these binaries to categories outside NSW's sanctioned heritage regime. Furthermore, as I discussed in Chapters 3 and 7, attachment is not accommodated at individual or familial in the NSW heritage system because association must be collective (Heritage Office 2005: 5).

Heritage conservation has historically been embedded, first, in the idea of physical sites – for example, 'historic monuments' in the *Venice Charter* meaning (ICOMOS 1964) and 'cultural property' in UNESCO's definition of heritage (Ahmad 2006; Dicks 2003; Harvey 2001); and, second, in a notion of physical sites as temporally distant from the present (Harrison 2013; Lowenthal 1985; Poullos 2010: 170-172; Voss 2010: 185). Archaeologist Alfredo González-Ruibal (2013: 16) describes this phenomena as a 'double separation': a temporal distance between present citizen and pre/historic forebears and a spatial distance that creates bounded places within which heritage is displayed (on this latter point see also Meskell 2012, 2013). In the 1990s, as the trans-disciplinary sub-field of Heritage Studies was emerging (Sorenson 2013),

³²⁹ However, this is not true for the Aboriginal artefacts on my property: they are defined as 'Aboriginal objects' and protected under the NSW *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*.

³³⁰ Edward Relph (1976: 43) makes a comparable distinction between inside and outside perspectives on places: 'inside' refers to personal, lived experience and 'outside' to an external gaze upon a place.

heritage began shifting its focus: first, from nationalist monumental architecture to local traditions and intangible heritage (Dull 2013: 4); and, second, from a view of heritage structures as distant in time to the immediacy of each heritage experience (Pine and Gilmore 2011).

Today, heritage has multiple meanings. For example, it is represented as a form of intangible practice or series of discursive practices (Smith 2006); as ‘a process of making and re-making narratives’ (Dull 2013: 2); and as social action (Byrne 2008; Fairclough 2008). In Australia, for example, the shift from fabric-focus to discursive practice, though by no means a universal progression, is evident in changing iterations of the Australia ICOMOS *Burra Charter*.³³¹ Despite doctrinal change, a separation between humans-sociality and place-spatiality endures.³³² Heritage conservation as place-driven and values-based (Australia ICOMOS 2013: Article 1.2) is able, conceptually and in practice, to locate humans beyond, and external to, the realm of place and material things, as I argued in Chapter 3.³³³ More broadly, as Denis Byrne (2008) and Rodney Harrison (2013) discuss, there is a powerful discursive move on the part of the heritage field to avoid conceding that heritage is socially constructed. Furthermore, the heritage field, unlike archaeology for example, rarely acknowledges or accommodates ways that material things intra-act with humans.

Thus, if the artefacts in my backyard were determined to be of State or local significance, they would be defined as relics or objects in their own right and therefore external to me.³³⁴ This position is in direct contrast to my personal experience. As discussed in Chapter 6, I find myself so deeply entangled with my home place and the resident objects as to be unable to separate my experiences, memories and emotions from the things themselves. Consequently, the State’s

³³¹ *The Burra Charter* was adopted in 1979. Minor revisions were made in 1981 and 1988, with more substantial changes in 1999 and 2013.

³³² This continuing spatial-social separation is illustrated in the Commonwealth of Australia’s (2014: 12) recent statement on ‘What is heritage?’ For example: ‘Heritage can be simply defined as the special places or things that tell important stories about us and our world’; and ‘Places are also important repositories of heritage.’

³³³ There is a parallel here with the UNESCO ‘Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity’ programme, which in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s (2004: 55-58) view has a tendency to focus on traditions rather than on the culture bearers themselves.

³³⁴ In this construction, I am more likely to be regarded as a ‘threat’ (like weathering, erosion or development), and thus a person who has a greater potential to mistreat significant fabric than to care for and accommodate things.

notion of assemblage – as archaeological, passive and past – does not match my experience of assemblage – entangled, dynamic and multi-temporal.

In this final chapter, I review the work of the thesis. I highlight issues in theorising and applying the notion of place-attachment with regard to disjunctures between official and unofficial heritage, tangible and intangible heritage, and linear time and multi-temporality. Drawing on the case study evidence presented in the thesis, I argue that conceptualising place-attachment as entanglement can go a long way toward addressing such separations. Finally, I point to avenues for future research.

Emotion, material things and heritage practice

In this thesis I have argued that creating rich and sound understandings of place-attachment will inspire more effective heritage management practice than is currently the case. I have described how the thresholds-based values approach, a central tenet in Australian heritage practice, conceptualises place-attachment as an association or bonding between people and place. I have argued, focussing on the place-attachments of Anglo-Australians, that this construct is predicated on a separation of people from place which enables heritage managers to segregate people from place in the management of place-attachment. Drawing on theory in psychology, material culture studies and quantum physics, I proposed an alternative construct of place-attachment – as entanglement across assemblages of people-place-things. I applied this concept at four case study sites. The field-testing revealed the complex nature of Anglo-Australian place-attachment. I argued for the necessity to understand such complexity if people-place-things assemblages are to be effectively and respectfully managed at heritage sites and, furthermore, that the framework of place-attachment as entanglement is a suitable means to this end.

In the first part of this thesis (Chapters 2-4) I laid out a background to the idea of place-attachment, emphasising origins in attachment theory in psychology (e.g., Morgan 2010) and in phenomenological approaches arising out of work in human

geography (Lewicka 2012). Studies of place-attachment in social and environmental psychology typically apply empirical methodologies: for example, evident in studies of pro-environmental engagement (e.g., Carrus et al. 2014). By contrast, phenomenological traditions typically apply qualitative methods to investigate 'sense of place' (e.g., Seamon 2014; Vanclay et al. 2008). A further difference between the two traditions is that quantitative psychometric approaches locate attachment primarily in the human while the qualitative phenomenological approaches emphasise place and space.³³⁵ Thus place-attachment, depending on one's disciplinary leaning, is conceptualised as located either inside the human estate or in-place.

Australian heritage practice, drawing on geography's phenomenological traditions, typically views attachment as place-centred (Chapter 3). In this heritage construct, place and people are conceptualised as separate entities and attachment framed as a process of bonding or association (the 'heritage model'). As I showed in Chapter 3, by characterising association as a social response to something intrinsic or inherent in place or contained within sites, heritage practice is able to distance place or spatiality from those individuals, cultural groups or communities attached to place.³³⁶ Constructed as external, rather than mutually constituted with place, people can thus be made external in the practice of heritage management. Thus, for Pam and Bruce Ponder the consequence of this people-place separation was neglect of the Byerawering homestead and garden and harm to Pam's and Bruce's senses of wellbeing.

In conceptualising place-attachment as a form of bonding and intangible heritage, and by creating a conceptual separation between people and place, attachment is thereby represented as relatively static. Belonging-as-stable is largely a methodological consequence of, firstly, documenting place-attachment via one-off exercises rather than longitudinal studies; and, second, constructing attachment as

³³⁵ Furthermore, quantitative psychometric approaches are commonly applied in natural environments and phenomenological approaches to cultural settings.

³³⁶ Rodney Harrison (2013: 112) makes a similar point.

collective phenomenon. This latter process has an effect of separating official heritage (i.e., associations of a community or cultural group) from personal forms of heritage. That is, individual people's feelings of place-attachment become subsumed in the process of constructing sense of place as communal (Chapter 9).

Ultimately place-attachment as official or authorised heritage is typically configured as intangible, place-centred and relatively static, though variable in intensity. Cultural significance, drawing on the notion of threshold, is thence determined in relation to either a community/cultural group or geographic entity (e.g., State or nation). Thus, in current Australian heritage practice place-attachment is constructed in relation to a set of inherent and fixed Cartesian dualities – individual-group, people-place, present-past, tangible-intangible, dynamic-static – then privileging one of each of the poles – that is, group, place, past, intangible and static.

My critique of this position is threefold: the invisibility of material things; conceptualising people and place as contained or bounded; and envisioning attachment as arising from the interaction of stable and separate entities. These criticisms, I argue, are addressed by framing place-attachment as a distributed phenomenon that emerges through the entanglements and intra-actions of individuals (or groups), places and things. This meaning draws on post-humanist notions that view material things (i.e., non-human species and objects) as agentic, affective and active in the co-production of people and human action (Barad 2007; Ingold 2007a; Jones and Boivin 2010). In this framing of place-attachment, the primary actants are theorised as unbounded: that is, each person as uncontained, places as nested and things as alive. Ultimately place-attachment constructed as entanglement privileges intra-action over interaction, emergence over fixity and binaries as co-existing rather than opposing.

What are the theoretical, methodological and pragmatic consequences for heritage studies and heritage practice of conceptualising place-attachment as entanglement?

First, the notion of place-attachment as intangible social value must necessarily be reassessed. When place-attachment is framed as a distributed phenomenon, as energy flows and affective forces across dynamic assemblages of lively things, nested places and distributed minds, then questions arise as to the utility of separating intangible from tangible heritage.³³⁷ Place-attachment conceptualised as entanglement necessitates a view that things, places and people are ontologically indivisible.³³⁸ Thus, memories of, and feelings for, their mother are inseparable from yellow everlastings for Lyn Sestan and Trisha Van Gelder; the absent stove and remnant gooseberry bushes are enfolded into Dorothy Constance' and Aaron Mitchell's respective connections with Old Currango; and Mrs Weidenhofer's gift card is integral to my attachment to 85 Fairview Street. Assemblages of people-place-things do not reduce to, or are separable into, material and immaterial because a framework of entanglement is predicated on a notion of things as formed in intra-action rather than comprising existing tangible and intangible entities that interact.

Second, place-attachment as a distributed phenomenon implies vibrancy, dynamism and a multi-temporal character. The idea of multi-temporality challenges modern notions of time as solely linear and historical.³³⁹ The implication for heritage is evident in the difference between envisaging the past as estranged, a 'foreign country' (Lowenthal 1985), versus 'thinking of heritage as a creative engagement with the past in the present' (Harrison 2013: 229) and thus a field of practice that has little to do with a distant past *per se* (2013: 228; Shanks 2012: 42). The way temporalities endure, conflate, oscillate and percolate is evident in Olivier's (2011) notion of material memory. Material memory recasts the past in the present and, for example, is apparent in the interplay of the absent stove and Dorothy Constance's present-day sensuous memories; and in the ways Spotted Gum trees interweave childhood and adulthood for Sholto Weir. In developmental psychology, the ability to 'time-travel' is attributed to autobiographical memory and auto-noetic or self-

³³⁷ Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (2009: 6) also make this point – in relation to the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2003).

³³⁸ Rodney Harrison and Deborah Bird Rose (2010; Harrison 2013: 213-217) draw a similar conclusion about the material and dialogical nature of heritage, though their argument draws from indigenous ontologies.

³³⁹ Alfredo González -Ruibal (2013: 10-15) provides an excellent overview of this matter. The work of Walter Benjamin (e.g., 1968) has been foundational and influential in notions of multi-temporality.

knowing consciousness – an ability to create representations of the self in the past and to have a sense of recollection of the self at a particular time in the past (Siegel 2012: 58).

As time and memories interweave, material things like the absent stove and Spotted Gums become sticky and sedimented with affect, become contagious (Ahmed 2010; Byrne 2013). As a consequence, material things and material memory not only have the effect of altering time but enable re-collections of assemblages of people (e.g., Dorothy's mother Vera and Sholto's mother Brenda), sensory experiences (e.g., the smell and taste of fresh baked bread) and emotions (e.g., loss, meanness, sadness, pleasure). Each new recollection of 'pastness' necessitates an experience of 'nowness' because the mind retrieves, resynthesises and recasts memory in the present. Hence feelings of place-attachment at the level of the individual are dynamic and continuously reconfigured across multiple temporalities. This situation challenges a notion of place-attachment as fixed, stable and necessarily chronological. As I have shown (Chapter 10), oral testimony is a method that is inherently multi-temporal because it interweaves past person and present narrator and is thus able to represent place-attachment as pastness and nowness. This is why oral testimony is a key method for documenting place-attachment.

A third consequence for heritage practice of viewing place-attachment as an in/tangible, multi-temporal and distributed phenomenon relates to the artificial separation between heritage as official – that is, authorised through legislation and policy – and personal or individual. In Australian heritage practice this separation hangs on a notion of threshold. In the case of Old Currango, for example, I questioned the 'hard' separation between personal versus local, State and national heritage values, preferring to emphasise the dance between individual expressions of place-attachment and collective forms of belonging (Chapter 9). In regard to the Darcoola Station homestead garden (Chapter 7) I went further, suggesting there are dimensions of place-attachment that warrant consideration because they lie outside the reach of the Australian heritage system. I argue for applying an ethical framework in which moral values of caring, civic responsibility and public engagement are

applied, emphasising principles of recognition (i.e., acknowledging people-place-thing entanglements) and respect (i.e., engage people and things in heritage management). An ethics framework that is attentive to ethical situationalism and relational ethics (Chapter 5) is necessary in the practice of heritage conservation and heritage related matters.

There is a level of semantics here concerning what is and is not heritage and the tension between official heritage and forms of personal heritage in which powerful feelings for place and things reside outside State-authorised heritage meanings. Ethical practice is already part of Australian heritage practice, through various codes of practice and conduct, particularly where 'living heritage sites' (Poulios 2010) are a concern. A challenge as I see it is to avoid limiting ethical practice to official heritage regimes. It is not so much a question of when does peoples 'just doing stuff' become 'heritage' (Wright 2012: 240), but when does peoples 'just doing stuff' necessitate recognition and respect. If this were the approach applied by NPWS in 1996, then Bruce and Pam Ponder might well have continued to visit, and satisfy their affection for, the landscape, homestead and garden at Byerawering.

end

The argument presented in the thesis is that place-attachment is able to be better conceptualised and operationalised in heritage theory and practice than is currently the case. Place-attachment as currently applied in Australian heritage practice is often used in an uncritical way, often unaware of the genealogy of the concept and its applications, for example, in psychology and geography (Lewicka 2011; Hernández et al. 2014). I argue that heritage theory and practice can learn from such work, but should resist direct borrowing and uncritical application. Furthermore, and because material things are typically absent from research on place-attachment in psychology and geography, heritage practitioners can benefit from examining work that reclaims material things, evident, for example, in archaeology (González-Ruibal 2013; Graves-Brown et al. 2013), material culture studies (Hicks and Beaudry 2010; Tilley et al. 2006) and memory studies (Erlil and Nünning 2008; Harrison 2013: 166-203; Olivier

2011). It is my view that place-attachment is a phenomenon intimately entwined with, and thus accessible through, material things. Making things visible necessitates fabricating and reformulating notions of place-attachment in ways specific to the work and goals of heritage conservation. However, constructions of heritage-specific concepts of, and approaches to, place-attachment should, I argue, resist becoming normalised, but rather embrace creativity, respectful practice and diverse approaches. I have favoured entanglement as a construct for conceptualising and documenting place-attachment: it is one paradigm among many possibilities.

Tied to a call for disciplinary and context specific concepts and practice is the related matter of methods. That is, different constructions of place-attachment can arise from, or require the application of, different methodologies. Because I have emphasised the personal and intimate over collective notions of place-attachment, and multi-temporality over historical time, I have applied ethnographic methods – interviews, participatory practice and auto-ethnography – as well as material histories, experiential understanding and narrative. This toolkit, one of any number of a plurality of approaches, is one I have found appropriate to investigating place-attachment conceptualised as entanglement. It is neither the only suite of applicable methods nor the only framework.

Finally, in proposing and promoting a concept of place-attachment as entanglement, many avenues for future research are opened. Here I mention two. First, the focus of my study has been the place-attachment of Anglo-Australians. To what extent is the place-attachment framework presented here applicable to different cultural groups and diverse communities? Second, my work has been with individuals who have strong and secure place-attachments. What intra-actions take place across people-place-things assemblages when individual's dispositions do not allow them to form or maintain secure attachments? And how might such persons be incorporated into an inclusive and ethical heritage practice?

Coda: qualities of strangeness

The study of deep history is ultimately an encounter with strangers, but with strangers whose otherness seems potentially intelligible and with whom a relationship seems possible, if only through interaction with their objects. (Shryock et al. 2011: 51)

Anthropologist Andrew Shryock, historian Thomas Trautmann and archaeologist Clive Gamble argue that a 'quality of strangeness is pervasively felt by scholars who study the deep past' and this quality of strangeness 'provokes a desire to accommodate...otherness' (Shryock et al. 2011: 50). They imagine deep-time strangeness as akin to visiting distant relations. Accommodating strangeness, whether Mrs Weidenhofer through her gift card or other people's contemporary place connections, is a theme that runs through this thesis. There is a subtext underlying my study to interrogate and renovate the idea and application of place-attachment: heritage and place-attachment have qualities of strangeness. Although I think heritage is strange when expressed as a noun, this is not what I mean by the quality of strangeness. Rather, it relates to the dance between the familiar and the strangely unfamiliar, between what becomes knowable and what is incomprehensible.

In the field of contemporary archaeology (Graves-Brown et al. 2013), a claim is made that the study of material culture can make the familiar strange or the 'familiar unfamiliar' (Graves-Brown 2000: 1; Harrison and Schofield 2010: 33). This is the sense in which I view Mrs Weidenhofer's gift card and the hand-painted clay gnome. I am at ease with gift cards and gnomes as familiar categories of objects, yet in the context of the lives of others and each object's biography, meanings are complicated and complex. I am able to accommodate things, like the gift card and gnome, in my home life. For me accommodation is marked by intrigue, a sense of wonder and a willingness on my part to accept that imagining and experiential understanding of material lives is not the same as knowing. Objects have a quality of strangeness.

The same can be said of place-attachment. Attachment is mysterious to me when configured in heritage practice as bonding or association between a community and place. Yet it is also complicated, elusive or even shadowy when reconfigured conceptually as a distributed phenomenon. The vitality and aliveness of people-place-things assemblages has logic to me, is understandable at bodily, emotional, sensory and empathic levels of practice, learning and theory. When I talked to people with deep affection for places, such as with Dorothy Constance for Old Currango, Coleen Houston for the Darcoola Station homestead garden and Lyn Stestan for Glen Eden, there were moments when I felt deeply their feelings of place-attachment: I experienced flashes of empathic recognition that produced spine-tingling sensations. I sensed something authentic that seemed to match their sensuous recollections. But do I really know what place-attachment feels like when it is not my own? Can the places of others ever become knowable? Or for the heritage practitioner can they only ever be ethnographic places? Place-attachment has a quality of strangeness.

It is the quality of strangeness that leads me to favour auto-ethnography as a principal investigative method for studying place-attachment. My lived experience of attachment and my past experience of being transient and placeless enable me to relate to, to experientially understand, the entanglements of other individuals with places and things. I also recognise that 'there is an element of strangeness in even the most intimate connections' (Newell 2006: 194, drawing on Simmel 1971). I accept that I will never know how other people actually feel, but in acknowledging the validity of my own lived experience, I have learnt a great deal about the idea of place-attachment from Rob and Sholto Weir, Colleen Houston and Nerida Green; Michael Hayden, Pat Shallcross, Richard Holmes, Lyn Sestan and Trisha Van Gelda; and Harry Hill, Dorothy Constance and David and Aaron Mitchell. Their stories, their feelings of affection, pleasure and sadness for people, places and material things are inspiring. This was the case even when, at times, they had difficulty expressing the embedded nature of their own lives: lives entangled in the aliveness of other people and plants, landscapes and places, feelings and experiences, implicit and explicit memories. Auto-ethnography showed me how human experience has a quality of strangeness.

Political sociologist Chris Rumford (2013) observes that strangeness has become globalised: 'We now live in a generalized state of strangeness...we no longer know where our community ends and another one begins.' In the modern context of hyper-diversity (Amin 2012: 3), the heritage practitioner documenting and assessing place-attachment is, in Rumford's phrase, the 'cosmopolitan stranger': a person adept in promoting new forms of social solidarity and able to connect with distant others. In conducting the case studies I am the cosmopolitan stranger, the post-humanist researcher who draws together feelings of togetherness, who assembles materials and constructs shared narratives based on stories and fragmentary moments of empathic recognition between researcher, participant and material things. Out of the gathering of things and strangers comes awareness, something new, something un/familiar, something transitory arising from encounters and entanglements of people-place-things assemblages that I choose to situate under an umbrella notion of place-attachment. Heritage practice has a quality of strangeness.

Personally, I am comfortable with strangeness: with being heritage practitioner as cosmopolitan stranger. I take comfort in operating within the entanglements of situated practice and in the anxieties and pleasures that arise across fleeting and intense encounters with people as they share their experiences of attachment and belonging. I have learned an incredible amount about human diversity and attachment to place by being with people, such as the Bandjima men in Munjina Gorge, the Ponders at Byerawering, doing cloudswing with George in Melbourne, as well as with the study participants as they shared their memories and love for Darcoola Station, Glen Eden and Old Currango. I am interested in the small-scale of unofficial heritage where recognition, caring and respect are powerful values and where the power of the personal is more potent to me than abstract communal meanings. I have aimed to represent truthfully the feelings of those that entrusted their stories to me. I recognise, in Verna Nichols words, that 'baskets are never empty', that memories jump out of people, places and things *onto all of us*. Our lives are woven into landscapes. Our lives become entangled with those people and things we investigate. Our lives interweave humanity with qualities of strangeness.

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