Durham Research Online

Nation, Race and Affect: Senses and Sensibilities at National Heritage sites

Mike Crang

Divya P. Tolia- Kelly

Address, both at:

Geography Department,

Durham University,

Science site,

South rd.

Durham

DH1 3LE

Words= 10,039

Nation, Race and Affect: Senses and Sensibilities at National Heritage sites

Abstract

This paper picks up from extensive literatures that have addressed the relationship of heritage to national identity. Much work focuses upon the symbolic construction of the past through heritage institutions, but in so doing it tends to underplay the affective experience of heritage sites. The paper argues that it is the felt experience and the organisation of sensibilities towards heritage which are often as important, and these have racialised modalities. The paper thus looks at attempts to foster civic inclusion and argues that they need to work through not just civic openness but felt exclusions and fears. The paper takes two canonical heritage sites to exemplify these issues. First, the British Museum was chosen as an urban national institution that is conventionally seen speaking in an unemotive, pedagogical register. The history of the museum as collecting artefacts from around the world and bringing them to London is related to diasporic communities' feelings about the collections focusing on the Oceanic gallery. The second exemplar is the English Lake District, chosen as a rural national park that is seen to mobilise more visceral affective responses, is deeply bound up with national sensibilities but has attracted attention for racial exclusivity.

Key words: race, heritage, affect, Lake District, museums, landscape

Introduction:

> 'I would like to speak on something that other people may not say. Many museums were born out of the pain of conquest. I feel that there is a need for the museum community to acknowledge that pain. Museums that present the culture of the world need to acknowledge the story by which those collections were acquired. An apology for this pain is necessary.' Professor Jack Lohman, Director, Museum of London Group, in GLA (2005, page 23)

> Museum collections come from a wide range of sources, and can be used to offer a variety of ways for people to connect with local and global concerns. They have the potential to mobilise a range of emotions and provide tolerant spaces in which difficult issues can be addressed. Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2005, page 14)

This paper examines the limits of a new orthodoxy in Britain of a 'heritage for all' that is framed by a process of civic inclusion (Moscati, 2007). A series of important, effective and progressive reports on national heritage have appeals to making 'tolerant spaces.' These respond to critiques of the processes of civic governmentality in heritage sites but miss important aspects of fostering inclusion. Thus in 120 pages of cogent arguments for 'mainstreaming race' in London Museums, only 3 sides tangentially address the emotional responses and affects of exhibitions. The quote above from Jack Lohman is all too true, other people did not raise that issue of emotional response to exhibitions. To rectify this, the paper makes two moves. First, it highlights the need to consider affect, emotion and bodily relationships between audience and curatorial displays at national heritage sites. It argues that the production and circulation of feeling and sentiment, rather than civic

knowledge, is crucial in excluding and including different people. National memory and national heritage are embedded in the affective infrastructure that Thrift (2004) argues drives, shapes, mobilises and motivates the national economies and body politic. Second, it looks to the affective economies of nation experienced as an insider or stranger (Ahmed, 2000) as expressed in encounters between citizen and landscape or heritage space. Heritage sites are interrogated as spaces where affective economies of citizenship both secure those sites as valuable, historical and singularly representative of national sensibilities, and as places which thus imbue those able to properly enjoy them with the virtues of citizenship.

Focusing upon the affective energy and emotive force of heritage entails a shift in analytic approach around issues of representation and feeling. Heritage studies have been very attentive to the discourses both around and also embedded in sites. They have deployed a variety of semiotic and textual strategies to 'read' museums, and unpick heritage sites both as metaphoric texts and through their deployment of texts (Crang, 2003). Looking to felt heritages requires us to understand belonging as emerging 'as much from visceral, affective and pre-discursive processes as it does from the materializing force of discursively embedded representations' and thus requires 'an ethos that apprehends the world less as a series of sites from which to extract representational meaning, but as a field of processes and practices through which the ethical sensibilities of thinking may emerge' (McCormack 2003, page 489). It is to take the social in motion rather than as a set of sedimented or naturalised categories. We then interested in heritage sites as occasions for doing and feeling, of connecting different sensations, representation and thoughts. We then follow the emerging work on geographies of affect that sees them as emotions in motion. We see

heritage site as key enablers in the traffic between places, things, identities and belongings. Affect operates at more than the individual level and crossing different substances.

However, heritage sites differentially enable and arrest the circulation of objects, people, emotions and ideas. They are at least in a significant part also intended more or less successfully to fix, stabilise and store both things and categories. Museums work to sediment categories onto things, landscapes often naturalise social values. Work on affect in geography has attended rather less to the fixities, intransigencies, to relations that are fetishised and reified, to performance as repetition (Pile 2010, page 10). Saldanha (2006) opens out some of this with his metaphor of viscosity for how racial types gradually become 'sticky' and cluster into racialised aggregates where localised 'thickenings' emerge from fluxes. Heritage sites allow us to look at such moments. Attending to the differential circulations and thickenings acts as a check on analytic elisions of ontological monism, seeing everything as of the same substance, with an implied universalism of affect. Instead it highlights how feelings frame the gendered, raced and classed experience of places (Pile 2010, page 7). It thus offers a caution that decentring the individual, human emotion in favour of the transhumant, collective affect leads inevitably to questions of *which* human's feelings are to be abandoned (Thien, 2005). The danger is that tacitly privileging one form of affective response as universal has been the hallmark of exclusive heritages. Instead the paper highlights the differentiated affective energies created by relationships between geography (site, situation and spaces), places (how they are encountered, experienced and felt), the body (race, citizenship, and positioning) and the 'heritage' apparatus (exhibits, taxonomies, and conservation).

4

This paper explores these differentiated relations through two contrasting iconic national heritage spaces that both promote rituals of citizenship, where civic practices display and inculcate belonging by orchestrating categories of 'native', 'nature' and 'culture' (Hall, 1997; Young, 2008). The museum exemplifies a site where 'natives' are made as Others and displayed through the circulation and fixing of objects of knowledge in a cultural taxonomy. The national park offers a landscape where 'natives' are made as selves, through the policing and inclusion of specific objects and biota framed through an aesthetic taxonomy. The choice of an urban and rural example highlights how location does, and does not, alter racial affects and resist locating those affects so easily in white rurality and cosmopolitan urbanism. In each the paper looks at how affective modalities and engagements can provide the possibilities of a truly inclusive national heritage praxis.

The paper starts with the example of the British Museum examining how old taxonomies have given way to new civic inclusivity. It begins by reviewing the colonial and national taxonomies that invest the British Museum with authority, as a space to inspire and to instruct, for improvement of the mind (Nielsen, 2008), before introducing the powerful critiques from the 'new' museology that have led to a new multi-cultural orthodoxy. This orthodoxy though, we suggest, still retains an exclusionary affective economy in how it organises bodies and objects. The paper then examines a recent exhibition that suggests how to go farther to become non-ethnocentric and thus create a collective thickening of histories through collaboration with communities represented. The second example is the Lake District National Park which inspires different modalities of experience and sensibilities. We choose this rural example since 'the connections between the countryside, nation and racialization have had a particular longevity. It has been through pastoralism that

5

quintessential versions of Englishness have been constructed' (Neal, 2002, page 444). The affective economy of the Romantic tradition is an accepted foundation for the national park with Wordsworth's characterisation of this landscape as famously 'a sort of national property', in which ' every man [sic] has a right and an interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy' (quoted in Matless, 1998, page 251). However, the affective responses to this landscape have been argued to be racially coded where, as described in an oft cited caption of Ingrid Pollard's 1984 Pastoral Interludes series: 'it's as if the black experience is only lived within an urban environment. I thought I liked the LAKE DISTRICT, where I wandered lonely as a Black face in a sea of white. A visit to the countryside is always accompanied by a feeling of unease, dread' (emphasis in original, cited in Kinsman, 1995, page 301). The heritage presentation of these areas, and their population base, has made them feel exclusionary to visible minorities (Askins, 2006). These issues have led to deliberate attempts to be racially inclusive. Attempts that became embroiled in political debates over claims that the Park's authority stopped various guided treks because they were 'too white and middle class' (Tolia-Kelly 2007b, page 335).

The British Museum appeals to a putatively de-ethnicised sense of identity, and thence a civic nationalism. Such an ethos sets this kind of institution in stark contrast to the affective register of romantic ethnonationalist sentiment that mobilises an identification with place and soil. Very often critical accounts oppose affective, exclusive senses of belonging to civic, democratic, rationalist institutions. Where the former speaks all too problematically of blood and soil, the latter are strangely bloodless. The paper shows how they both still owe debts to colonial taxonomies that organise bodies, things and visiting practices through notions of native and non-native, in different yet consistent ways. Recent attempts to make

the institutions inclusive, such as in debates on cultural property, still work with a putatively universalist framework – where the assumed universal values are freighted with western assumptions (O'Neill 2004). The sites claim a universal affective response where difference is erased. A 19th century account of 'race,' fixing the taxonomies of 'man,' still permeates the civic spaces of national museums and parks, and subtends supposed audience sensibilities. This paper argues that in as much as understanding the racialisation of heritage requires an understanding of its affective registers, then understandings of affects require an understanding of their racialised production.

Emotion and affect have always been foundational to fear, belonging, terror and moral geographies underlying citizenship. Affect drives the encounter between national geopolities (Thrift, 2004; Ahmed, 2004). As Ahmed (2004) has shown, national identity pivots around a sensibility that enfranchises some but also divides along raced lines. However, within the literature on this affective identification (Davidson et al. 2005; Thrift, 2004; Thien,2004) there has been a limited account of the ways that national heritage industries are implicated in affective economies of love and hate which shape international relations, civic identity and national pride (Sylvester, 2009). This paper considers how cultural cohesion, national culture and a national history are intertwined in the spaces of the British Museum and the Lake District National Park. This intervention reviews the call for inclusive civic management and museological praxis (Bennett, 2004) and the continued debates on race and heritage (Littler and Naidoo, 2005; Hall, 1997; Hall, 2000) and their political frictions (Karp *et.al* 2006; Voogt, 2008).

Siting heritages: Britishness, Englishness, urbanity and rurality

Any account of heritage and national identity in Britain faces the problematic of the malleable usage of national categories such as 'Englishness' and 'Britishness.' The historic union of England, Scotland and Wales has also always been inflected by a South centred national imaginary (Daniels, 1993). The relationship of Scottishness to Britishness, decolonization, devolution and the production of new internationalized national image are a different set of alignments again (McCrone et al., 1995) that are beyond the scope of this paper. The changing alignments of Britain and England can be registered in Hogan's (2009) survey of public discourses of national identity in Britain, she finds a frequent conflation between Britishness and Englishness by mass populations though after political devolution in 1997, was a slight increase in sentiment towards Englishness in England. The elisions between English and British are maintained throughout our cultural realms and have been written through and critiqued by many others and do not need to be retheorised here (see Matless, 1998; Hall, 1990; Gilroy, 1993; Colley, 1992). The production of Britishness, and the diminution of England, has been argued to happen through the process of imperial expansion (Schwartz, 1996). Imperial contraction might be supposed to invert that. For example, the founders of the National Trust located England's future in the ability to preserve its past, retreating in to a concern for preserving the domestic beauty of England and in 'so doing, the Trust contributed to the dislocation of England from the imperial project of the British Empire, securing the image of idealised, rural Englishness within the national geographic imagi(nation)' (King, 2007, page 187). At the British Museum, Britishness becomes sublated into the Great Chain of Being where the march of Civilisation takes us ineluctably towards the pinnacle represented in the contemporary nation (Mack,

2003, page 17). Partly it was through the production of an 'Anglo-Saxon' race by the development of typologies shackling together objects, developmental stages and peoples. In this way, stories of the 'British race' could be produced, articulating ethnological measurement of peoples and artefacts with a teleological racial story both in museum exhibits and via ethnological maps of rural folk (Young, 2008). National heritage sites themselves, thus play an active role in the constant, if constantly evolving, set of elisions between versions of nation, and its definition. Indeed the elastic imaginative spaces in which the sites are located is part of their power.

Both the British Museum and the English Lake District operate within a national institutional field of practices that collate an understanding of 'national' and 'citizenship'. That is they have a *national* curatorial voice framed within a professional field that legitimates and supports their operation. They are also geographically positioned in relation to the national polity. The British museum was situated in British Imperial territory spanning several continents brought together in the consciously imperial display triangle, anchored on Whitehall and Kensington with Trafalgar square. It was at the heart of the imperial capital where promotional campaigns in the early twentieth century advertised the ability to take the Underground to see all of the empire – botanical specimens at Kew, colonial embassies around the Strand, through to the Victoria and Albert museum with the reconstructed Gwalior Gate from India framing its oriental exhibitions entrance and the Imperial Institute offering 'all the empire under one roof' in South Kensington (Driver and Gilbert, 1998; Gilbert and Driver, 2000; Swallow, 1998). The English National parks such as the Lake District, by contrast, have been framed as inner places where the 'connection between the rural as the 'genuine' England and [constitutively] not multicultural ' can appear 'to exclude

ethnic minorities, among other groups, from accessing the countryside, both physically and emotionally' (Askins, 2009, page 365). Neal and Agyeman (2006, page 9) argue that whiteness and senses of nation are conflated through a sense of feeling in the countryside where 'ethnicity opens up the gaze to majoritized ethnic formations, particularly Englishness.' The two examples contrast a Britishness in the world with an internalised Englishness.

Sylvester (2009) notes that the imperial underpinnings of the British Museum's geographical claims persist to this day but with different resonances:

> The British museum is always artfully somewhere else, too [...] It is both National and International [...] the British Museum says to the spectators: Great Britain is still great, despite stinging controversies about imperial exploits of the past and diminished power in its present incarnation. The British Museum says something to International Relations too: there is no clash of civilizations; there is only international culture, which we can best caretake (page 53).

'Race' becomes part of a disembodied liberal ideology within the heritage realm which attempts to convince us 'that the liberal state has sloughed off its ethnic-particularistic skin and emerged culturally cleansed, universalistic, civic form' (Hall, 2000, page 228). 'Race' within this ideology, if mentioned at all, blends into a time-line of knowledge where a linear map delineates racism as 'in the past' (Naidoo 2005, page 39). Its director describes the British Museum as a 'universal institution' whose displays enable visitors 'to see the world as one' and hence promote a more tolerant society (O'Neill 2004, page 190). This new orthodoxy offers a cosmopolitanism for a putative citizen of the world, that feeds upon the current rescripting of the city, especially London, as multiculturally open in ways the

countryside is apparently not. Instead this paper argues that race is still important to the moral geographies of nation and national heritage; through differential bodily affects animating performances of citizenship.

Civilising affects (pt 1): producing native Others and knowing subjects

The first configuration of affects and spaces we use is the British Museum: an institution that claims to speak without emotion, but instead through the dispassionate voice of an educative scholarship. It does so through a technology using a specific epistemic sensibility. Museums act as tools of governance 'connecting specific forms of expertise to programmes of social management, operat[ing] in registers that are simultaneously epistemological and civic' (Bennett 2005, page 522).

The civic museum categorised and ordered the world, articulating 'a coherent cultural response to the fragmenting and challenging conditions of modernity by arranging objects so that they tell coherent stories about time and space' (Hetherington 2006, page 602). This museum took the disembodied gaze of visual knowledge and transformed it into physical form, where rooms and buildings spatialised categories and set material objects out as visual proof of the logic behind the museum (Hooper-Greenhill 1992). The museum envisioned the world and our place within it by fixing imported and domestic artefacts; thus nationalising others' natures, cultures and artefacts too. It produced a purified *domus* and foreign through regimes of truth that reworked the aesthetics, grammars, and meanings of

artefacts textures, histories through systems of classification and categorisation. It pacified and ordered the global movements of people and cultures that

> throw objects, identities and ideas into flux. [Migration] has been a defining factor
>
> of modernity yet remains hazily understood as a significant factor in the 20th -
>
> century artistic formations [...] but what often arises is a largely de-historicised
>
> outlook (Mercer 2008, page 7)

The museum thus brought together objects from around the world to represent cultures and thus used processes of delegation, in a Latourian sense (Bennett 2002, page 31), whereby these new centres of representation made the distant in space and time speak of 'Other' natives to a civic public.

The museum was a technology where the 'democratic' use of objects, assembled into categories of knowledge, was intended to inculcate civic virtues via civic rituals (Bennett, 2004) though these were freighted with class based assumptions (Hill 2005). Visiting galleries and museums became both an expression of civic belonging and a means of inculcating it. The ornamental exterior of museums, proclaimed their mission as secular temples to learning and the celebration of national virtues. Over the nineteenth century the hegemony of the neo-classical style set the museum up as a shrine to the secular values of state and nation. Its pretensions to universal knowledge were symbolised by the move to 'universal' classical forms, and away from competing 'national' built forms, such as mock Gothic. The museum did not merely resemble a shrine, but worked like a temple for the performance of a secular ritual of citizenship (Duncan, 1991). The British Museum main south entrance enacts this with a neo-classical frontage whose pediment interprets 'The

[universal] Progress of Civilisation', followed by the memorials to staff who gave their lives in two world wars (Mack 2003, page 14).

The British Museum's universal voice to an assumedly undifferentiated audience is now even more problematic:

> The emblems of Empire do, of course, fitfully appear in the Heritage. However, in general, 'Empire' is subject to widespread selective amnesia and disavowal. And when it does appear, it is largely narrated from the viewpoint of the colonizers. Its master narrative is sustained in the scenes, images and the artefacts which testify to Britain's success in imposing its will, culture and institutions, and inscribing its civilizing mission across the world' (Hall 1999, page 7).

In a postcolonial context James Clifford (1997, page 212) has called on museums to become more of 'a borderland between different worlds, histories and cosmologies' than the site of authoritative curation with universalized meanings and audiences. Bennett notes that entails new 'forms of cultural objecthood' being developed to 'to refashion museums so that they might function as instruments for the promotion of cultural diversity' (2005, page 521).

However, despite having embraced a critical review of the narration of an Imperially defined categorization of culture, cultural objecthood remains embedded within a formal universalism where the British Museum defines the parameters of inquiry, interpretation and conservation. So the first shift amounts to 'other' histories appearing in a deracinated, consumer cosmopolitanism. Thus the British Museum has recently tended to engage with overseas heritages through 'block buster' exhibitions such as *Shah Abbas: the making of Iran*

(2009); *Hadrian: Life, Love, Legacy* (2008); *The First Emperor: China's Terracota Army* (2007); *Africa at the British Museum* (2005) *Views from Africa* (2005-6), and *Africa Now* (2006).

Beyond these exhibitions, a shift in curatorial 'voice' has been occurring since the millennium. Increased utilisation of exchanges with other galleries, and new media, have made the institutional frame porous. Its curatorial practice has become more mobile and thus the geography of its knowledge production has extended.[1] If the centrality of Western voices is being displaced then there is the opportunity to allow new registers of meaning and identification – as in the recent Africa exhibition the second segment of the exhibition is entitled *Views from Africa* that included views from Black British residents with ancestral connections with nations in Africa. These were though professional voices including those of Stuart Hall, and African curators in Southern and Western Africa. This shift in intellectual voice enacts the cultural geographies of new museological practices, but also the new geographies of Africa and Britain being forged through the collaborations with visitors, academic professionals and anthropologists.

Such a shift struggles against the history of the exhibition of artefacts from other cultures focusing on the visual impact of the exotic rather than their cultural context. The success of these displays depended on the museums' practice of 'visual commodification, dominated by purveyors of spectacle and entertainment' (Bohrer 1994, page 212). Arguably the dominant blockbuster exhibitions perpetuate rather than challenge this tradition. This aestheticisation risks the self-alienation of viewers whose culture is thus spectacularised , the exhibits are meant to be seen 'back here' by 'us' about 'them' 'over there' – yet now 'they' are 'here' (Lionnet, 2004). The perpetuation of these distancing colonial optics, and the failure to open a dialogic space, led to exhibitions such as '*Into the Heart of Africa*' in the

Royal Ontario Museum, being besieged by angered publics (Schildkrout, 2004). In New Zealand this sense of national race tension in the heritage industry has been addressed through developing a bicultural heritage or, at least, a 'strategic biculturalism' in sites such as the Te Papa Tongarewa museum in Wellington, which attempted 'to collapse hierarchical boundaries traditionally organising museum collections ... and to construct a heterotopia' (Dyson 2005, page 129). However the result has been to indigenise 'whiteness' and homogenise 'Maori' as neoprimitive, reduced to an almost timeless disembodied singularity, effectively muting and making palatable the subaltern. Truly co-constituted material histories for the British Museum, need to acknowledge the sharing of resources and knowledges *from* elsewhere, imported into Europe. Otherwise the sensibilities from whence these international artefacts are collected are lost; the artefacts are deadened, and their evocative power for awe and wonderment (and their own biographical lives) are delimited by the complex of display and the grammar of the legacy of an Imperial cultural lens. A recent exhibition of Oceanic heritages offers an example of what co-constituted histories might look like.

The body in the British Museum/ The body is the museum

The dry, educative register of the British Museum belies the violence of colonial taxonomies of race and culture (Bhattacharrya, 1998; Young, 2008; Anderson 2007). The curatorship of cultural artefacts was predominantly driven by an understanding of 'other' cultures as bounded, different to European and based on 'other' philosophical and emotional palates.

In essence, art and culture from racialised nations were rendered as primitive , based on feelings and not intellect, savagery not civilisation, and thus not situated within modernity itself (Gilroy, 1993; Cubitt et al, 2002; Mercer; 2008). In 1953, Fagg , a benevolent keeper of artefacts in the British Museum's Department of Ethnography, thus noted that

> The artist may be using his creative genius to give expression to a philosophy common to his people, which he unreservedly and perhaps unconsciously accepts […] but when, in a sufficiently receptive form of mind we are confronted by the art of some exotic people, we can hardly fail to recognize the presence of an alien habit of thought (pages 7-8)

For many indigenous artists, the representation of Oceanic culture has been a violence of misrepresentation and mistruths, perpetuated by the grammars and curatorship of art and culture in museums the world over. For contemporary Maori artists classic exhibits are not factual and emotionless but alienating, traumatic and indeed inspire affective responses that remember the violences of colonial intervention in 'Oceania'. The museum becomes a disorienting place. These are the affective economies of heritage sites: the inspiration of emotional response that is collectively experienced, which in turn has a political force.

The drive towards making the displays and the structure and content of narratives within the museum space relevant to all (Alizar, 2009) has seen new attempts to connect to communities as participants. In this vein, 2009 was a significant year with the re-launch of the British Museum's Oceanic and Polynesian galleries on the ground floor with the sculptor George Nuku becoming Polynesian artist in residence. The galley's re-launch is part of the British Museum's project of incorporating the contemporary modes of heritage representation and re-making of this Imperial space of instruction. The Maori artist George

Nuku was selected as artist in residence to modernise, enliven and bring a future vision to the collection of oceanic art due to his fabrication of traditional forms utilising new materials such as Perspex and polystyrene to stress that innovation and transcultural flows are part of Polynesian tradition. The galleries were realigned with a 21st century narration of crystallising a 'structure of feeling' that reflected contemporary Maori senses and sensibilities about their heritage, in their terms. The re-launch ceremony was significant in that the gallery space became Maori -- it became a place of rightful belonging of both objects and peoples. It proffered a state of citizenship to all of those attending, a truly civic status to museum and community. The power dynamic between Imperial archive and colonised also shifted; it was the Maori community, represented by artists such as Rosanna Raymond, that invited the British Museum directors into the newly organised cabinets, where they were welcomed as if they were entering as Maori, into a *marae*. Significant rituals, songs, chants and dress were reproduced to make a re-embodied 'home' for the British 'national' collection of Aotearoan and Polynesian artefacts assembled in the museum since Cook's voyages in the Pacific 1768-80 (Starzekca, 1996). These artefacts included sacred objects and fine art which were given in goodwill to Captain Cook as an act of exchange. However when interviewed Raymond was clear she felt nothing was then reciprocated. Raymond described the re-launch as a moment in recovering a prospect of reciprocation at least of respect and goodwill. By bringing in the 'voices of the marae', the British Museum is finally made 'home' to the artefacts ripped from their hearth. This re-launch physically shifted the museum space to incorporate an embodied and performative ceremony, which proffered it as a civic hearth, a 'home' state led by the London residents of Maori, Polynesian and other oceanic communities. The aim for the British Museum was to counter the myths and violations of prior narrations and to enfranchise Maori visitors, and

reposition objects in museum cabinets and archives to be *for* a community and not *of* a primitive race. They challenged the 'dubious intellectual procedures (that) underlay the history of the interpretation of the Pacific cultural origins' based on 'a complex of assumptions, deeply entrenched in European thought made it possible to attribute sophisticated technical skills to people who in other contexts were regarded as close to Nature ... or, in the second half of the nineteenth century, as of low social evolutionary status' (Durrans 1979, page 153). These fixings and distancings were finally acknowledged and re-written through a new mode of empathy and possibilities for a collaborative authorship .

A part of this new enfranchising moment was to shift the framings of artworks and artefacts. Thus, newly commissioned artworks by Rosanna Raymond and George Nuku use fibres, old and new, acrylic and jade; feather and plastics. The inclusion of new materials is intended to enrich the cabinets with contemporary grammars and aesthetics that speak to new generations and which physically and affectively disturb older curatorial accounts that situate Maori as primitive, and these objects as ethnographic rather than as an alternative art history. Raymond, in her 2009 *ethknowcentrix* exhibition at the October gallery reverses the classic sense of museums organising bodies within their galleries, to suggest instead 'the museum is in the body.' For the artists involved, the exhibition turns on its head the notion of displaying bodies of 'others' as passive texts and artefacts from which we can know 'other worlds, peoples and places.' Instead intelligibility is reliant on the audience's openness towards an emotional and embodied encounter that orientates towards experience rather than making objects and text legible. The usual heritage encounter is counteracted in this event. It reveals the British Museum's usual problematic assertion of

'the superiority of a universal cultural value over the living religious meanings of sacred objects' (McNeill 2004, page 194). The authorship here is held by the 'other' and the audience connect to them through the vernacular media of dance, art and voice, enacting contemporary versions of the spiritual stories which challenge orientalist accounts of mythologies, with postcolonial reconstructions of the power of kinship and ecologies of living and leaving a heritage of the earth.

The objects attain their life meaning or *Va* (Raymond, 03.12.09, interview), they awake from their deadened state and become alive through a national sensibility and awaken diasporic identification. Raymond explains that using the body is essential in a new inclusive museology, as the bodies of the diasporic are the museum space itself. The body knowledges harbour a newly translatable record, bringing to life archive and artefact through which "the world can write the new histories that it needs to understand its past and shape its future" (accessed 19.11.09

Http://www.thebritishmuseum.org/the_museum.aspx).

What is required as a catalyst between museum and visitors, individuals and the logics of exhibition is an empathy between them. The affective charge of empathy, bonds intellectually, spiritually and presents an opportunity for using the affective capacities of individual and collective bodies to counteract the tendency to assuming universal responses (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). A similar move can be seen where Jensen, the senior curator at the National Museum of Australia, Canberra, attempts to address how situating visitors' own bodies and time-lines can serve to overcome discordances projected in prior curatorial practice. Her exhibition: *Eternity: Stories from the emotional heart of Australia* is one of five permanent exhibitions launched at the museum's opening in March 2001. The themes of

the exhibition are: Mystery, Loneliness, Passion, Fear, Separation, Devotion, Chance, Thrill,

Hope and Joy. The themes allow individuals to tell their story, illuminated through access to

icons, objects and directly linked to Australian history. In Eternity, the metanarration of

history is not the overarching aim of the curator, but a grounded notion of a 'people's'

history, as woven into the artefactual collections is. "The stories leapt out of the cases"

(Jensen, 2007 page 13). The bodies, emotions and affective registers of the people of

Australia made the museum.

Civilising affects (pt2): producing native selves, constituting unfeeling Others

Our argument is that there are different affective registers between national park and

national museum, but that the epistemic regimes of materiality and belonging are linked.

Both are designed and organised as embodying 'national' spaces for the welfare, education

and enjoyment of the citizens. However, instead of producing a mode of civic engagement

by reaching out around the world, the national park is based on preserving, actually

fostering, a sense of a 'native' landscape and thus in a 'nationalising of nature', and a

reciprocal naturalising of the nation (Jazeel, 2005; Kaufmann, 1998). National parks tend to

be represented as 'home' landscapes or 'national' natures and associated with the political

idea of a bond between people, land, and nation (Mels, 2002, page 137; Crang 1999). In

British heritage the collapsing of 'native', 'national' and the sensibilities that are aligned with

the process of being a citizen, 'whiten' both the sensibilities and histories of British culture

(Dyer, 1997; see also Darby, 2000). Often those 'non-native' cultures, bodies and

sensibilities that are occluded are those of 'darker' territories and continents, 'non-civilised' and 'non-nativised' cultural migrants and diasporas. In civic terms, these are British nationals, present as a result of the circulation of Britain's expansive colonising regimes and yet they are deemed out of place in the ethno-nationalist sensibility of the Lake District. There particular ethnicities and sensibilities are negated in a process embedded with an imperative to treat 'national' culture as 'native'. The landscape is emptied or naturalised leaving a sense of an ahistorical, 'pure' ecosystem where there is a simple bond between people, land, and nation. In the case of national parks, a scientific sense of the biological natality of flora and fauna that redoubles the integrity of a natural, material landscape.

The National Park is connected to the typological imaginary of race in the museological episteme. The taxonomic divisions are in this case embedded in the world:

> During colonialism it was English rurality that represented what was particularly civilized and culturally superior about Britain. In a postcolonial era the importance of English rurality has developed around the politics of (invisible) whiteness and constructions of ethnicity, identity and belonging (Neal, 2002, page 444)

Museological productions of Anglo-Saxon racial stories were matched in the nineteenth century by cartographies such as Beddoe's (1971/1885) *Races of Britain*. This produced maps of peoples created through typologies based on specific chosen physiognomic features. Beddoe's could thus produce and map an 'Index of Negresence', where colour is pejoratively coded, founded on a quasi-algebraic formula combining like head shape, eye colour, hair colour and so forth (Winlow, 2001, page 521). Even though these maps claimed to describe, they projected a moral geography (Winlow 2006). The facticity of maps lent credence to the frankly speculative natures of the identities charted, but a close

examination reveals two trends. First, with the least influence from racial mixing, the heart

of the English Lake District was in his index a hearth of British whiteness and cultural purity.

Second, for all his scrupulous cataloguing of difference, it was clear that mixture and

migration were the foundation of English identity (Young 2008, pages 131-133).

Despite the maps' attempts at producing clear divisions of peoples and types, they reveal

such divides to be cartographic artefacts:

> Saxon supremacism was therefore finally successfully challenged through invoking
>
> contemporary racial science. […] As racial science became more sophisticated, and
>
> as ethnologists began to test out their thesis that the English were racially axons,
>
> the more it became apparent that not just historically, cultural and linguistically,
>
> but also racially, the English were irretrievably mixed (Young, 2008, pages 124-5).

Parallel to this racial mapping was a cultural cartography of the Lakes as a fixed, bounded,

natural landscape – occsionally recognised as stewarded by a (fixed, bounded) local

community. This is reiterated in the anxiety to maintain 'native' landscapes in Britain. Yet as

Smout (2003, page 19) argues, the claim or quest for a native ecology is 'feeble in scientific

terms', being rather more animated by 'emotive issues' than accurate ecology or history so

that the archival 'preservation of our priceless heritage' and perhaps a variety of 'ethnic

cleansing' are 'seldom far from the surface.' This can lead to 'cultural and natural

categorisations that are disingenuous to British landscape history' and tantamount

'ecological racism' (Tolia-Kelly, 2008, page 290).

In this heritage landscape great energies are invested in keeping out 'alien species', such as

in the concerted efforts and scientific imperatives for 'bio-integrity' reiterated in the

Bassenthwaite Still Waters Partnership whose aim is to control invasive alien species in that catchment area. And yet a scrupulous ecology of the Lake District reveals it has long been a site of 'non-native' fish and flora, at least since the 10th century, possibly the Roman rule of Britain, which makes a dualistic approach (of native and foreign) naïve and culturally disingenuous. The Herdwick sheep roam the hills as a result of introduction by the Vikings. Without sheep, the landscape would return to its natural state of woodland, meaning 'foreign' animals underlie the aesthetics of preservation. Nordic place names such as 'beck' (stream), 'dale' (valley), 'tarn' (lake), 'thwaite' (clearing) also mark this landscape with Scandinavian practices and cultures of nature, and were made visible in the Beddoes typologies of British peoples. Skiddaw itself is composed of Ordovician slates, which were laid down as sediments some 500 million years ago in a sea that we now call the Iapetus Ocean, one-third of the way south of the equator towards the south pole -- only crossing the equator comparatively recently in their history (Massey, 2006, pages 34-5).

In the narrations of this heritage site the fluidity and cosmopolitan roots of the cultural history of what makes up the natures, landscape and material cultures of the Lake District are not emphasised. As Ingrid Pollard suggested 'you do not have to look very far beneath the surface of rural landscapes to find new narratives of the past. The exhuming of these ghosts and the places they inhabit is a kind of "cultural archaeology"' (cited in Bressey, 2009, page 387). As an example, on the nearby coast lies 'Sambo's Grave.' A solitary grave of an unknown black servant, who died in the 1730s and was commemorated in 1796 from subscriptions raised by summer visitors (Kean, 2008, page 57), it is approached down a mile of track from a turning at Overton starting from what was called the 'cotton tree', most likely a kapok tree from the West Indies, that finally blew down in 1998. All too often an

Englishness that is actually made up of translocal and transcultural, cultures, natures and peoples, came to function instead 'as a coded term for whiteness, for the invisible norm against all other ethnicities were measured and defined' (Young 2008, page 239). Ignoring the depth of that plural history, can itself be used as a rationale for not addressing issues of race in the countryside.

The reading of the landscape culture of the Lake District as a closed localised entity subtends its representation as a singular sensibility available to and properly appreciated by an English citizenry. However, this does not reflect truly the *translocal* values and affective experiences of mobile folk. The popular landscape aesthetic of the Lakes proffers a timeless experience of nature, textures of landscape and cultures an Englishness defined through a packaged 19th Century Romanticism. William Wordsworth's descriptions of particular sites and routes are routinely harnessed within the Lake District tourist economy to secure a notion of this landscape as embodying a picturesque culture of enjoyment and appreciation (Squire, 1988). However, Wordsworth's poetry reflected his visceral response of terror and awe to the sublime beyond the well documented 'nostalgia for a rural economy, and a simple life among pastoral mountains' (King, 1966, page 171). Wordsworth's focus on nature is often cited as a retreat from the world of politics into being a 'nature poet'. However his nature was the last site of resource for a denuded humanist citizenry offering a revolutionary ecology. His aims of preservation were not simply aimed at conserving a local Cumbrian pastoralism but to open the ecological enfranchisement of the Lake District. The younger Wordsworth's politics are critical in unsettling the 'national' nature of the sensibilities harboured and mobilised through the heritage economies of today. Indeed we can consider his poetics of nature and his landscape sensibilities as themselves *translocal*.

Wordsworth's emotional relationship with the Lake District harboured radical sensibilities loaded with empathy for the colonised overseas.

Affective Ecologies and TransCultural Taxonomies

For, certainly the younger, Wordsworth, England was a primarily a political force, and not a benign native territory. He penned a sonnet entitled "To Toussaint Louverture," published in The Morning Post in February 1803, in which he deplored the reestablishment of the Code Noir in the French colonies. England's body politic was equally a source of Imperial oppression. Wordsworth's social sensibilities are framed within the notion of 'a singular human heart' (Wordsworth, 2004, page 58). It encompassed an *international* notion of this landscape as a site of nurture, and refuge. The lakes by default were a site of nurture of an international sensibility, sensitive to others' suffering, dehumanisation and objectification. De Quincey (1921, page 43) in particular argues that Wordsworthian humanism embodied a refuge from an economy of Imperialism. Wordsworth's canonisation as a 'nature poet' celebrated for an envisioned, bounded 'localness' misses how his loves of nature and landscape are in fact elements of a broader and globally located sensibility. The landscape of Grasmere, the locale at the heart of Wordsworth's emotional life, is a means to find emotional nourishment away from the degradations of capitalist life (Bate 1991, page 26).

A sensibility built on Wordsworthian awe provides a sensory palette that both links to and challenges colonial taxonomies. The ability to feel for the countryside is often at the heart of definitions of cultural appreciation and thence identity. Therefore our affective response

and questions of the 'nature' of our identity are interlinked. What emerged, historically, was a notion of a 'centre' of civilized culture, that can feel and appreciate properly. The ability to feel for beauty was denied to 'others.' Aesthetic values, sensibilities and cultural heritage are intertwined in the foundational value system of cultural definitions. In the context of the Lake District these have long been connected with:

> 'Fears of *imperial decline, racial degeneration and class warfare* laid the foundation stones for a variety of bodies in these years- from Baden Powell's Boy Scouts to Cecil Sharp's Folk Dance Society- all *anxious* to counter the unhealthy physical and mental conditions of urban life by bringing its 'victims' into contact with the natural world' (Trentmann, 1994, page 585)

The countryside was seen as redeeming (white) urbanites by exposing them to authentic Englishness, through teaching them the sensibilities to experience the landscape. By the 1930s about 100,000 English men and women were regularly hiking across the countryside and camping out in the popular brand of "Maori Tents".

Honey-coated re-inventions and marketing of Windermere offer the affective pleasures of serenity, tranquility and the pastoral. Wordsworth's original experience of terror is not evidenced in the proffered encounters with heritage space. However this closes down the sensibilities brought to the lakes where transcultural experiences mean fear is re-encountered, and the landscape resonates strongly with awe in contemporary visitor experiences (Tolia-Kelly, 2007b; Kinsman 1995). As Askins (2009) argues there are twin traps of simply universalising a rural appeal invariant to all or simply 'othering' people as repelled, or unable to access the affective appeal of the landscape due to 'having different "nature myths" and a different appreciation of nature, because they are of different ethnic

background' (page 368). Instead she notes the complex set of affective registers of response. For sure there is anxiety (partly driven by being very visible as different visitors, but also by gendered concerns that cut across racial lines) but there are also other emotions and feelings (both positive ones, such as feeling liberated, and negative ones, such as, boredom) that are cross-cut by gender, age and class. The 'native' and 'outsider' distinction, is complicated by felt resonances in site where parallels are drawn to distant places whose presence they invoked. Askins' respondents' affective responses made explicit connections of upland national parks with the foothills of the Himalayas/the Blue Mountains in Jamaica, while villages were associated with remote ancestral homes, and thus 'rurality is implicated in and implicates other spaces and places' (2009, pages 371, 373). Equally though the affective connection to the sites may differ, as when Tolia-Kelly (2007, pages 343, 346-7) found immigrant women expressing fear of the Lake District as physically mountainous and refusing to walk up to the high Kirkstone Pass even though they 'had lived in the Himalayan foothills, [where] their "high places" were one hundred fold higher and steeper.' Here they then refused the affective appeals of walking as bodily practice or of the mastering of peaks (Lorimer and Lund 2003). Others found joy and exhilaration in the hills freeing them of confined domestic situations. These heterogeneous affective economies recombine bodies, nations, and territory.

Conclusion

The affective economies of race emerge in heritage encounters, that is race is produced through movements between sites, bodies and feelings. This paper has shown that 'affective economies need to be seen as social and material, as well as psychic. The

27

accumulation of affective value shapes the surfaces of bodies and worlds' (Ahmed 2004, page 121). Affective engagements with cultures of landscape need to account for differentiation through material practices and presences of beholding and that beheld (Tolia-Kelly 2006). The emotions evoked are not universal or individual, but need to be historicized as emerging from conjunctures of power, identity and mobility. This differentiation of affective registers and responses highlights that there are no affective universals or automatic responses. The notion that one affective response is universally produced has indeed enabled places like the Lake District to hide the ethnic coding of that particular experience. That then is a danger in attending to the affective force of sites and landscapes without situating and historicizing their felt response. Equally, seeing heritage sites as producing affective economies provides a positive way to get beyond the dismissal of feelings of exclusion or repulsion as individual foibles or mere emotion compared to rational responses. Encounters with landscape mobilize hosts of energetic transfers.

The question becomes what affects does heritage incite for a new age? We might then characterize a struggle between a populism (that risks being a free-for-all commodifying cultures as sources of pleasure), or a community based approach where different interpretative audiences are sought (that risks essentialising communities or assuming some liberal commonality of reciprocal communication) and a refashioned modernism (that holds on to the ideal of universal meaning with the risks of missing different sensibilities) (Dibley, 2005). This paper suggests that what is required to enable an ethical orientation in 'civic' heritage landscapes are frameworks of thinking which promote open, transcultural responses to art and culture (Tolia-Kelly, 2007a). Transcultural, emotional identifications with citizenship are embedded in cultural praxis and influenced by connections with

landscapes across the *imperium* (in its temporal and spatial contours). Emotional values and attachments result from networked mobilities that contribute to an English/British sensibility. This approach explores Britishness and heritage values from a perspective of transcultural affective influences to recover them from than imperial categorisations. Thus we can see the transcultural affects circulated and produced by the felt difference from the English lakes but also their felt familiarity with Asian mountains, or the affects enabled by invoking the original romantic politics, or the reanimation of traditional objects brought from Polynesia and previously sequestered, now revivified through new forms with new materials to render traditions usually depicted as static and 'over there' as alive and 'over here.'

National heritage institutions in Britain today are clearly becoming more sensitized to issues of inclusion. However the framing of this as creating neutral taxonomies or spaces of tolerance focuses upon universalist modes of knowledge apprehended through cognitive processes. Given emotional responses, and emotive appeals, lie at the heart of the power of heritage then institutions need to engage on the terrain of how they orchestrate affective energies. Their solicitation and production have just as deep colonial and racial legacies as the collections of artefacts in the museums. However, engaging with the affectual economies of responses to heritage also offers the possibility to find new modes of solidarity, not in putatively universal feelings or masterful visual displays of diversity, but in empathy through heterogeneous felt responses.

References

Ahmed, S. 2000: *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge.

Ahmed, S. 2004: 'Affective Economies', *Social Text*, 22, 2: 121-139

Alizar, T.V. 2009: *Role of Museums and Libraries in Strengthening Communities* New York, Nova Science Publishers, inc.

Anderson, K. 2007: *Race and the crisis of humanism*. London: UCL Press

Askins, K. 2006: New Countryside, New Country: visible communities in the English National parks. In Agyeman, J. and Neal, S., editors, *The New Countryside?: Ethnicity, Nation and Exclusion in Contemporary Rural Britain,* London: Policy Press, 149-172.

Askins, K. 2009: Crossing divides: Ethnicity and rurality. *Journal of Rural Studies* 25, 365-375.

Bate, J. 1991: *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition* London: Routledge.

Beddoe, J. 1971 [1885]: *The races of Britain : a contribution to the anthropology of Western Europe*. London: Hutchinson.

Bennett, T. 2002: Archaeological Autopsy: Objectifying Time and Cultural Governance. *Cultural Values* 6, 29-47.

Bennett, T. 2004: *Pasts beyond memory : evolution, museums, colonialism*. London: Routledge.

Bennett, T. 2005: Civic Laboratories: Museums, cultural objecthood and the governance of the social. *Cultural Studies* 19, 521-547.

Bhattacharyya, G.1998: *Tales of Dark-Skinned Women, Race, Gender and Global Culture*, UCL press.

Bohrer, F. 1994: The Times and Spaces of History: Representation, Assyria, and the British Museum. In Sherman, D. and Rogoff, I., editors, *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles,* London: Routledge, 197-222.

Bressey, C. 2009: Cultural archaeology and historical geographies of the black presence in rural England. *Journal of Rural Studies* 25, 386-395.

Clifford, J. 1997: *Routes : travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Colley,L. 1992: *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Crang, M. 2003. On display: the poetics, politics and interpretation of exhibitions. In *Practising Cultural Geography*, eds. J. May, A. Blunt, P. Gruffud, M. Ogborne and D. Pinder, 255-268. London: Arnold.

Crang, M. 1999: Nation, Region and Homeland: History and Tradition in Dalarna Sweden. *Ecumene* 6, 447-470.

Cubitt S, Sarder Z., Araeen R 2002, *The Third Text Reader: art, theory and culture* London, Continuum.

Daniels, S. 1993: *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery & National Identity in England and the US*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Darby, W. J. 2000. *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of Nation and Class*. London: Berg.

Davidson J, Bondi, L and M Smith (eds) 2005 *Emotional geographies* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2005 *Understanding the Future: Museums and 21st Century Life*, London: DCMS

De Quincey, 1921 "Wordsworth's poetry" in W, Wordsworth *Poetry and Prose, with Essays by Coleridge, Hazlitt, De Quincey.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 36-44.

Dibley, B. 2005: The museum's redemption: contact zones, government and the limits of reform. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 8, 5-27.

Driver, F. and Gilbert, D. 1998: Heart of Empire? Landscape, space and performance in imperial London. *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 16, 11–28.

Duncan, C. 1991: Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship. In Karp, I. and Lavine, S., editors, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Politics and Poetics of Museum Display,* Washington DC: Smithsonian Press, 88-103.

Durrans, B. 1979: Ancient Pacific Voyaging: Cook's Views and the Development of Interpretation in Mitchell TC (ed) The British Museum *Captain Cook and the South Pacific*, London, British Museum Publications, 137-166.

Dyer, R. 1997: *White*: Essays on Race and Culture, London: Routledge

Dyson, L 2005: "Reinventing the Nation: British Heritage and the bicultural settlement in New Zealand" in Littler J. and Naidoo R, (eds) *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of Race* Oxon, Routledge, 115-129.

Fagg W, 1953 *The Webster Plass Collection of African Art: The catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition held in the King Edward VII Galleries of the British Museum* London, British Museum Press.

Gilbert, D. and Driver, F. 2000: Capital and Empire: Geographies of Imperial London. *Geojournal* 51, 23–32.

Gilroy, P. 1993: *The Black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Greater London Authority. 2005: Delivering Shared Heritage: The Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage. London: Greater London Authority.

Hall, S. 1997: *Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. Milton Keynes, OU Press

Hall, S. 1990: 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in Rutherford, J. (ed), *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 222-37.

Hall S, 1999, "Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nation: Whose heritage?" *Third Text* **13** 3-13

Hall S, 2000 "Conclusion: The Multicultural Question" in B Hesse (ed) *Un/settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions*, London, Zed Books, 209-41.

Hetherington, K. 2006: Museum. *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, 597-603.

Hill K, 2005: *Culture and Class in English Public Museums 1850-1914* Aldershot, Ashgate.

Hogan J, 2009 *Gender, Race and National Identity: nations of flesh and blood* New York: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1992: *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Jazeel, T. 2005: 'Nature', nationhood and the poetics of meaning in Ruhuna (Yala) National Park, Sri Lanka. *Cultural Geographies* 12, 199-227.

Jensen, S. 2007: Museums and Emotion: fear and passion in public spaces. *Museum of Antiquities Maurice Kelly Lecture,* Museum of Antiquities: Arnidale, NSW, 1-33.

Karp I, Kratz A, Szwaja L, Ybarra-Frausto T, 2006 *Museum Frictions* Durham, Duke University Press.

Kaufmann, E. 1998: "Naturalizing the nation": The rise of naturalistic nationalism in the United States and Canada. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, 666-695.

Kean, H. 2008: Personal and Public Histories: Issues in the Presentation of the Past. In Graham, B. and Howard, P., editors, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity,* Farnham: Ashgate, 55-70.

King A, 1966: *Wordsworth and the artist's vision: an essay in interpretation* London: Athlone Press.

King, S.M. 2007: Whiteness in the English countryside: a case of the National Trust. [PhD, Durham].

Kinsman, P. 1995: Landscape, Race and National Identity: The Photography of Ingrid Pollard. *Area* 27, 300-310.

Lionnet, F. 2004: The Mirror and the Tomb: Africa, Museums and Memory. In Carbonell, B., editor, *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts,* Oxford: Blackwell, 92-103.

Littler J and Naidoo R, 2005 *The politics of Heritage: The legacies of Race* Oxon, Routledge.

Lorimer, H. and Lund, K. (2003) Peak Performance: practising walking on Scotland's mountains, in Szerszynski, B. and Waterton, C. (eds.) *Nature Performed: environment, culture and performance*. London: Blackwells.

Mack, J. 2003: *The Museum of the Mind*. London: British Museum Press.

Massey, D. 2006: Landscape as a provocation - Reflections on moving mountains. *Journal of Material Culture* 11, 33-48.

Matless D, 1998 *Landscape and Englishness.* London: Reaktion.

McCormack, D. P. 2003. An Event of Geographical Ethics in Spaces of Affect. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 (4):488-507.

McCrone, D., Morris, A. and Kiely, R. 1995: *Scotland -- the brand: the making of Scottish heritage.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Mels, T. 2002: Nature, home and scenery: the official spatialities of Swedish National Parks. *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 20, 135-154.

Mercer, K 2008 (Ed.). Exiles, diasporas & strangers. *Annotating art's histories. Cross-cultural perspectives in the visual arts, 4*. Cambridge, US: MIT Press, 146-165

Moscati P. (ed) 2007 *Virtual Museums and Archaeology* "Archeologia e Calcolatori" , Supplemento 1,

Naidoo R, 2005 "Nevermind the buzzwords: 'race', heritage and the liberal agenda" in Littler J and Naidoo R, *The politics of Heritage: The legacies of Race* Oxon, Routledge, 36-48.

Neal, S. 2002: Rural landscapes, representations and racism: examining multicultural citizenship and policy-making in the English countryside. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, 442 - 461.

Neal S and Agyeman J (eds) 2006: *The New Countryside?: Ethnicity, nation and exclusion in contemporary rural Britain* Bristol, The Policy Press.

Nielsen, C. 2008 *To Inspire and Instruct: A history of medieval art in Midwestern Museums* Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

O'Neill, M. 2004: Enlightenment museums: universal or merely global? *Museums and Society* 2, 190-202.

Pile, S. 2010. Emotions and affect in recent human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (1):5-20.

Saldanha, A. 2006. Reontologising race: the machinic geography of phenotype. *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (1):9-24.

Schildkrout, E. 2004: Ambiguous Messages and Ironic Twists: Into the Heart of Africa and The Other Museum. In Carbonell, B., editor, *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts,* Oxford: Blackwell, 181-192.

Schwartz, B. 1996: The expansion and contraction of England. In Schwartz, B., editor, *The Expansion of England: race, ethnicity and cultural history,* London: Routledge, 1-9.

Smout, C. 2003: The Alien Species in 20th-century Britain: constructing a new vermin. *Landscape Research*, 28, 1, 11 - 20

Squire, S. 1988: Wordsworth and Lake District Tourism: Romantic Reshaping of Landscape. *Canadian Geographer* 32, 237-247.

Starzecka, D C. 1996: "The Maori Collections in the Museum" in Starzecka (ed) *Maori Art and Culture*, London British Museum press, 145-58

Swallow, D. 1998: Colonial architecture, international exhibitions and official patronage of the Indian artisan: the case of a gateway from Gwalior in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In Barringer, T. and Flynn, T., editors, *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum,* London: Routledge, 52-67.

Sylvester, C. 2009: "Cultures, Nations and the British Museum" in Sylvester C. *Art/Museums: International Relations where we least expect it* Boulder & London, Paradigm Publishers, 33-53

Thien, D. 2005: After or beyond feeling? A consideration of affect and emotion in geography *Area* 37, 4, 450–454.

Thrift, N. 2004: Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect. *Geografiska Annaler B* 86, 57-78.

Tolia-Kelly, D. 2006 Affect - an ethnocentric encounter?: Exploring the 'universalist' imperative of emotional/affectual geographies. *Area* 38 213-217.

Tolia-Kelly DP, 2007a "SPILL: Liquid emotion and transcultural art" In *SPILL Exhibition Catalogue* (Adelaide: *SASA Gallery*)

Tolia-Kelly DP, 2007b "Fear in paradise: The affective registers of the English Lake District landscape re-visited" *Senses and Society* **2** 329-351

Tolia-Kelly, D. 2008: Investigations into Diasporic Cosmopolitanism: beyond Mythologies of the 'Non-native'. In Dwyer, C. and Bressey, C., editors, *New Geographies of Race and Racism,* Farnham: Ashgate, 283-296.

Trentmann, F. 1994: Civilization and Its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture. *Journal of Contemporary History* 29, 583-625.

Voogt P, 2008 *Can we make a difference?:Museums Society and development in North and South (Bulletin 387 of the Royal Tropical Institute)*Amsterdam, KIT Publishers

Winlow, H. 2001: Anthropometric cartography: constructing Scottish racial identity in the early twentieth century. *Journal of Historical Geography* 27, 507-528.

Winlow, H. 2006: Mapping moral geographies: W. Z Ripley's races of Europe and the United States. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96, 119-141.

Wordsworth, W. 2004: *Guide to The Lakes* London: Frances Lincoln

Young, R.C. 2008: *The Idea of English Ethnicity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

[1] The recent pattern of exhibitions attest to the changing voice of the British Museum, but also indicate that it is responding to these issues rather later than some other museums, such as the Horniman, Oxford or Cambridge anthropological museums, that have wrestled with issues of curatorial voice rather more publicly. The emergence of new voices in the British Museum capitalises upon and reveals the many collaborations which had previously been kept behind the scenes.