Bridges to the Past

Historical Distance and Multiperspectivity in English and Dutch Heritage Educational Resources

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Colophon

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Bruggen naar het verleden

Historische afstand en multiperspectiviteit in Engelse en Nederlandse erfgoededucatieve materialen

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Preface

The torture chamber of the Breendonk internment camp in Belgium and the huge Egyptian temple on display at the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: these traces of the past that I encountered on two different school visits during my secondary school years a long time ago still form a vivid image in my memory. In both cases, these heritage objects and sites, thus, seem to have triggered something in my mind, stimulating the imagination with physical evidence of the histories of World War II and Ancient Egypt. Whether both encounters also resulted in a meaningful learning experience is hard for me to reconstruct. Regarding both occasions I also remember some flashes of the free time we had afterwards in the cities of Antwerp and Leiden, which downplays these experiences at least a little bit. Yet, the fact that I still recall these sites and objects does seem to indicate that they must have had at least some impact, and the fact that these school trips stood out against all other regular history classes must have taught me something about the significance that people attribute to these histories today.

Other heritage encounters that I remember vividly are the great many historic house museums that I visited with my family on our holidays to the UK. Fully embracing the heritage discourse that has been criticised to such a large degree since the 1980s, we revelled in the splendour and nostalgia of these stately homes. Paradoxically, however, some of these historic houses may also have been one of my first tangible encounters with the fact that history is always constructed and interpreted from (a) particular perspective(s). With most of these museums only showing and telling about the life of British noble families, encountering the servants' quarters at Erddig House or learning about the workers in the slate industry who made the building of Penrhyn Castle possible, both located in North Wales, provided for new insights into British history. Based on these kinds of experiences I became increasingly fascinated by the diverse ways in which museums and other heritage institutes represent histories. Combined with my interest in new (digital and interactive) media technologies, I thought it would be interesting to study how these heritage institutes try to evoke immediate experiences of the past through original artefacts and modern reconstructions, and how that takes shape in the context of history learning.

In 2009 I was given the opportunity to pursue these interests in a PhD research project, which was part of the research programme *Heritage Education, Plurality of Narratives and Shared Historical Knowledge,* funded by The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and carried out at the Centre for Historical Culture of the Erasmus University Rotterdam. The programme ran from 2009 to 2014 and consisted of

three research projects: project 1 *Heritage Educators and History Teachers: Concepts and Ideas* by Dr Stephan Klein; project 2 *Heritage and History Teaching: Dutch and English Curriculum Practices* by the author of this study; project 3 *Heritage and Entrance Narratives: Constructing Shared Historical Knowledge* by Geerte Savenije MA. Research leaders were Prof. Maria Grever and Prof. Carla van Boxtel.

Although the temporal distance between 2009 and 2014 is not that long, a lot has happened in these five years, and I am indebted to many people without whom this study could not have been written. First of all, I would like to thank my primary thesis supervisor, Prof. Maria Grever for all the invaluable advice, comments and critiques. Her attention to detail has been crucial in writing this thesis and her enthusiasm has helped me to stay on track and motivated throughout the project. I am also grateful to Prof. Carla van Boxtel who, as my secondary supervisor, has offered me a lot of constructive criticism and insight that really helped me shape my thoughts and ideas. Without both their help and support in navigating the various fields that were involved in this study, I would never have found the crossroads where they all intersect.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all the other people that have helped shape my research, providing me with new insights and indispensable criticism on various drafts of my Thesis. I am particularly grateful to my direct colleagues Dr Stephan Klein and Geerte Savenije for their constructive criticism and our in-depth conversations, particularly during the early phase of our research programme. I would also like to thank Geerte for her invaluable moral support and friendship, and for keeping me sane those five long years. Although not directly related to the creation of this PhD Thesis, I have thoroughly enjoyed working with Dr Maarten van Dijck and Geert Stevens in the teaching of courses for the history bachelor programme: without their support in these activities, this Thesis would probably have suffered greatly. A great deal of thanks, furthermore, goes to the other research associates of the Centre for Historical Culture: Dr Robbert-Jan Adriaansen, Stéphanie Benzaquen, Marc van Berkel, Dr Bregje van Eekelen, Dr Susan Hogervorst, Dr Marijke Huisman, Laurie Slegtenhorst and Tina van der Vlies. In particular I would like to thank Prof. Kees Ribbens for his in-depth comments on one of my empirical chapters. I also have fond memories of the meetings with Barbara Beckers, David Duindam, Laurie Faro, Inge Melchior, Iris van Ooijen, Froukje Demant, Ilse Raaijmakers, Dr Erik Somers and Dr Claartje Wesselink of the somewhat organically formed network of PhD students working on research relating to the memory culture of World War II. Learning about their studies and receiving their honest, yet constructive, feedback has always been very inspiring.

Within the context of our research programme, we have organised several conferences and symposia, which have been indispensable in order for me to conduct this research. These activities would not have been possible without the backing and aid of The

Netherlands Institute for Heritage (Erfgoed Nederland) and the National Centre of Expertise for Cultural Education and Amateur Arts (LKCA). In particular, I would like to thank Piet Hagenaars, Désirée Rozestraten-de Kreuk and Michiel de Wit for their tremendous input and support in the co-organisation of the International Conference *Tangible Pasts? Questioning Heritage Education*. I am also appreciative of the various collaborative occasions with the people from EUROCLIO.

For my empirical research I am indebted to a great number of people working in museums, archives and memorial centres, who were kind enough to share their insights into the field of heritage education and provide me with information about their practices and experiences. I am grateful to Victoria Howarth, Jurmet Huitema-De Waal, Maria Karg, Hester Ketel, Wiel Lenders, Jon Marrow, Anna Salaman, Dean Smart, Kirsty Sullivan, Christel Tijenk, Lucy Trotman, Alex van Stipriaan, Gundy van Dijk and Anneke Van Waarden-Koets for their openness and participation in my in-depth interviews, which became a vital part in my research. Furthermore, I would like to thank David Alcock, Michaela Alfred Kamara, Louisa Balk, Bernardine Beenackers, Jacob Bosma, Malcolm Burrows, Ruth Fisher, Herman van Gessel, Joke van Grootheest, Anite Haverkamp, Sarah Howard, Nienke de Jong, Deborah Lens, Charlie Keitch, Janneke Kingma, Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, Esther Lockwood, Marije de Nood, Gert-Jan van Rijn, Floriëlle Ruepert and Moniek Warmer for sharing their experience, expertise and sometimes their educational materials, which allowed me to gain a better insight into the research field.

All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, so finishing this research project was not possible without taking some time off as well. I would like to thank my friends and family for their good company and my fellow PhD students for making this work even more pleasant. Last, I would like to express my gratitude to my brother Marc for designing the cover and, together with my parents, Regina and Emma, for everything else.

1 *Introduction*

After leaving a room, a group of school pupils, all equipped with handcrafted gas mask boxes, is suddenly transported back in time, to Britain in a state of anxiety and despair during the Second World War. A billeting officer, called Mary, explains everything about the German bombings that ravage the country and how the British people are coping with them, showing things like a gas mask, a rattle and a siren that are used when danger is imminent. As it is not safe to stay in town due to the high risk of German bombings, Mary directs the group of children to a school bus that is standing ready in the street near the cycle shop and the Yorkshire chemist shop: they are evacuated to the countryside. Upon arrival, they meet their host, Mrs. Lockington, a housewife who welcomes the group and tells them everything about the difficulties of rationing. Suddenly, she starts comparing people's diet from the 1940s to that of the 2000s and reflects on the importance of having a well-balanced diet for maintaining good health, breaking the illusion of being in Britain during the Second World War.

As part of the Streetlife Museum's educational programme for primary schools in Hull, this experience thus aims to stimulate pupils' imagination and trigger their interest in learning about the history of World War II through various strategies, such as the use of authentic historical objects, reconstructions and particularly a first-person perspective that allows them to learn about the past as if they were really there. The immersive experience of wartime Britain may also evoke an emotional engagement of nostalgia, fear or gratitude for not having to live through these circumstances; the idea of going on an adventure is likely to be attractive to pupils. By making an explicit link between the past and the present, furthermore, the museum intends to render the history of the Second World War more comprehensible and relevant to pupils. While such strategies may very well engage pupils into history learning and help them to better understand the past, practices that bring the past closer, that try to understand it through a present-day point of view or that stimulate engagement can also prevent a detached reflection on history and the exploration of multiple perspectives, which theories of history teaching have highlighted as important for gaining insight into the past.[1]

[1] Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, 5-17; Seixas, Morton, Colyer and Fornazzari, *The Big Six*, 138.

The strategies that feature in the example of the Hull museum are just a few of the many techniques that are available to stimulate a feeling of nearness of the past or to present it in an engaging manner. In this study, I will examine these different narrative and sensory strategies through the concept of historical distance, which is defined as the configuration of temporality and engagement in historical representations. Furthermore, I will analyse how the use of these techniques that often extend or build upon the experience-based nature of cultural heritage relates to the possibilities for exploring multiple perspectives. This research encompasses a comparison of English and Dutch educational resources and their related presentations (i.e., exhibitions, memorials and historical sites) that have been developed by heritage institutes. In both countries, these educational practices are often referred to by the term 'heritage education'.[2]

This study is part of the larger research programme *Heritage Education, Plurality of Narratives and Shared Historical Knowledge* (2009-2014), which also explored other aspects of heritage education, including the perceptions of heritage educators and history teachers and the entrance narratives and ideas on significance of school pupils participating in a heritage education project. For the programme, we selected two research topics as a context of analysis: the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and World War II / Holocaust. In this study, the analysis of resources on World War II and the Holocaust was split up, reflecting the way these histories are dealt with in heritage education, meaning that this research effectively comprises three research topics. These topics are particularly interesting to study, as they are rather sensitive histories, reflecting an engagement with the past that is emotional and identity-focused, which makes reflection on the relationship between historical distance and multiperspectivity even more significant.

Both topics are also closely related in the sense that present-day memories of the Holocaust are often linked to colonial histories, which sometimes leads to contestation as people interpret the Transatlantic Slave Trade as a 'Black Holocaust', resulting in a contest for victimhood.[3] This connection shows that there are also sensitivities and tensions between the two histories and further highlights their use as a resource for identity construction: something that is made tangible and concrete through cultural heritage.

In the context of our research programme, only my study has adopted a comparative approach between England and the Netherlands. Apart from broadening the scope, such a comparison allows for reflection on the impact of specific (trans)national contexts on the construction of historical distance in heritage educational resources. Since heritage

[2] This study specifically focuses on England as one of the constituent countries of the UK, as including Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland would introduce too many variables. These four countries all, for instance, have a different school curriculum and a different infrastructure in regards to the heritage sector.
[3] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 1-7.

education revolves around material and immaterial traces of the past that have been preserved in the present, it is assumed that the way in which particular histories are commemorated and remembered greatly impacts how they are approached in heritage educational resources.[4] In this study, therefore, I will compare the heritage educational resources by taking into account developments in museum presentation, history education and commemoration of the selected research topics. Regarding World War II, for instance, the fact that the Germans had occupied the Netherlands, resulting in the transportation and murder of over 100,000 Jewish people, has vastly impacted the way this history is taught and remembered in both material and immaterial form. England and the Netherlands were chosen because the history curricula in both countries are largely similar in that they carry a strong focus on skills of historical thinking and historical enquiry.[5]

The central question of this study is: *How do English and Dutch heritage institutes construct historical distance in their heritage educational resources on the topics of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, the Second World War and the Holocaust, and what are the implications for exploring multiperspectivity?*
This research question has been broken down into three sub-questions:

1. *What narrative strategies and bridging techniques are used to construct historical distance, and, consequently, which perspectives are included and excluded?*
2. *How are the similarities and differences in the construction of historical distance related to the selected topics?*
3. *How are these similarities and differences related to the institutional backgrounds, which have been shaped by developments in English and Dutch historical cultures?*

In this Chapter, I will first reflect on the concept of heritage and the field of heritage education in both research countries. Next, I will elaborate on two developments in Western historical cultures: the increasing experience-centred approach towards the past and the idea of calling upon history to stimulate a feeling of commonality. These processes help explain the growing popularity of heritage and heritage education and provide some contextual background regarding museum presentation and history education trends in the heritage educational resources studied. Last, I will explain the theoretical framework on historical distance and multiperspectivity underlying this study and clarify how sources were selected.

[4] Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed*, 38; Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 3.
[5] Wilschut, 'History at the Mercy of Politicians and Ideologies', 711; Grever, Pelzer and Haydn, 'High School Students' Views on History', 212-214.

1.1 Heritage and Heritage Education

Traces of the past can be found almost everywhere in today's society, whether they are remnants that are still visible in the landscape, monuments that refer to historical events or figures and objects that can be viewed in museums. Since the late twentieth century, the term 'heritage' has emerged to refer to these kinds of traces. As I will explain later in this section, this term has a long and multi-layered tradition involving different types of heritage, such as local heritage, world heritage, cultural heritage, natural heritage and digital heritage. In this study, the terms 'heritage' and 'cultural heritage' refer to (material and immaterial) traces of the past that people have deliberately preserved in the present for future generations.

In many Western countries, heritage is also used as a resource in educational practices, referred to in some countries, including England and the Netherlands, by the term 'heritage education'.[6] Heritage education, however, is a very diverse field with many different actors involved. Often heritage is located at institutes that have been established specifically to preserve and provide access to a particular collection. These institutes, such as museums and archives, commonly offer educational programmes and resources for both regular visitors and school groups. Organisations that are dedicated to the commemoration of a specific history, such as memorial centres or the organising committees of remembrances, similarly develop learning activities and resources.

Apart from these heritage institutes, there are also other organisations that operate in the field of heritage education, including local history associations, municipalities and platforms that stimulate cooperation between heritage institutes and schools, such as the Dutch regional 'heritage houses'. Schools and individual teachers themselves, in addition, develop teaching materials and initiate learning projects on cultural heritage. Types of heritage educational resources also vary widely, ranging from print-based materials for use in exhibitions to complete learning programmes consisting of several different activities. Other resources are only available online, providing an interactive learning experience on a website or through a mobile application.

Although heritage education is not a recent phenomenon, the term appears to have become increasingly more popular since the late 1980s.[7] Writing from the Flemish context,

[6] The term heritage education is not uncontested and difficult to define, particularly in an international context, where it can carry various interpretations and connotations in different countries. In 2006, the Council of Europe, for instance, in their definition attributed to heritage education a particular learning methodology (see: CANON Cultuurcel, VIOE and Agentschap Kunsten en Erfgoed, *Erfgoededucatie in het Vlaamse onderwijs*, 24). In the Netherlands, confusion can arise about the use of the word 'education', which can either refer to lifelong learning approaches targeted at a broader group (informal learning) or to learning in the context of the school curriculum (formal learning) (see: Van Veldhuizen and Huiskes, *Blik op erfgoededucatie* 3).

[7] Hunter, 'Introduction', 4.

historian Kaat Wils, however, has argued that already since the late nineteenth century, governments stimulated educational visits to their national archives. Later, in the interwar period, education in the direct surroundings of schools gained in popularity, probably due to the influence of ideals regarding imaginative and experience-based learning.[8] From the early 1990s onwards, this type of learning has also been stimulated by various organisations. In 1994, for example, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) launched a project promoting world heritage for youngsters, called 'Young People's Participation in World Heritage Preservation and Promotion', which intended to stimulate the integration of cultural and natural heritage into secondary school curricula, using global heritage as a focal point, but also taking into account local and national histories.[9] Contrary to the Netherlands, the UK is one of the countries participating in this project, and a special national programme was developed in 2009 that intends to stimulate the communication of World Heritage messages to 'formal education audiences'.[10]

The participation of the UK in this UNESCO programme may be a result of the fact that heritage education in this country already had a strong presence on a local and national level. Since the introduction of the National Curriculum in England, Wales and Northern Ireland in 1988 it has become well-established: according to the syllabus, pupils in both primary and secondary education should learn to study the past through information offered by heritage institutes and 'appreciate and evaluate, through visits where possible, the role of museums, galleries, archives and historic sites in preserving, presenting and influencing people's attitudes towards the past'.[11] In several trainee teacher guides, heritage educational resources are suggested as being a good way to teach history over traditional school textbooks.[12]

In the UK, heritage education thus seems to have been stimulated to a considerable degree by the government. As two reports indicate, the UK government considers cultural heritage a valuable resource to stimulate a sense of commonality. A 2001 report by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport stated that 'England's historic environment [...] is something from which we can learn, something from which our economy benefits and something which can bring communities together in a shared sense of belonging'.[13] Another report from the Education and Skills committee published in 2005 emphasised the importance of taking children out of the classroom for various subjects, such as science, geography, arts and history. Not only could such activities improve students' social skills, but

[8] Wils, 'Geschiedenisonderwijs en erfgoed', 2-3.
[9] www.unesco.org/en/aspnet/flagship-projects/world-heritage-education/ (11 May 2010).
[10] www.unesco.org.uk/world_heritage_education (11 May 2010).
[11] http://curriculum.qcda.gov.uk (6 May 2010).
[12] Hawkey and Morgan, 'Teaching "The Romans" in an English Primary School Context', 55.
[13] Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *The Historic Environment*, 4.

they could also give them the opportunity to 'experience the countryside, or other parts of our heritage that many others take for granted', in effect contributing to the 'social inclusion agenda'.[14]

Although the Netherlands does not actively participate in the UNESCO World Heritage programme I mentioned above, this type of learning did find its way into the Dutch curriculum as well. Dutch heritage teaching seems to have taken off after the ministry of Education, Culture and Science drew attention to the concept in 1996 in a report entitled '*Cultuur en School*' (Culture and School). Although this report was meant to give an impetus to the much more widely defined 'cultural education', it explicitly mentioned the value of cultural heritage. Culture, in particular pupils' own environment, was seen as a source of knowledge and inspiration that could trigger pupils' curiosity.[15] In addition, it could provide a basis for sharing experiences, which was thought to be especially important in multicultural settings.[16] This governmental programme profoundly stimulated interest in heritage teaching, especially in primary education. In 2004, the project office Erfgoed Actueel, funded by the government, initiated a programme to stimulate the use of heritage at primary schools, with a particular focus on local heritage found in their immediate surroundings.[17] Currently, at the time of writing, heritage education primarily acts as an umbrella term for educational activities related to traces of the past by museums, monuments, archives and schools, with the Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst (LKCA, National Knowledge Institute for Cultural Education and Amateur Art) in charge of stimulating cooperation and exchange.[18]

Several positive effects that are often attributed to heritage education can already be derived from these governmental reports, such as its importance in getting pupils to see the value of preserving cultural heritage and the role it can play in stimulating a sense of commonality. According to Wils, these arguments stem from the longer tradition of heritage education since the nineteenth century.[19] Drawing on the Dutch context of heritage education in primary schools, heritage education expert Merel Thomése has argued that

[14] Education and Skills Committee, *Education and Skills*.
[15] Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen, *Cultuur en school*, 24-33.
[16] Ibid., 12.
[17] Hageman, 'Plan en uitvoering van Erfgoed à la Carte', 8-9; Van der Zant, Hageman and Land, *Erfgoed op tafel*, 7-8; Kievit, *Goed bekeken*, 13. This project, called *Erfgoed à la Carte*, was inspired by a programme designed by a group of cooperating museums in the Dutch city of Leiden in 1997 as a response to the *Cultuur en school* report. These museums worked together with several primary schools in order to integrate museum education more structurally in the curriculum. *Erfgoed à la Carte* can be seen as a national interpretation of this idea. The programme was meant to stimulate cooperation between schools and local heritage institutes. Previously, schools had largely depended on the educational programmes developed by the larger museums, archives and memorial sites. The aim of *Erfgoed à la Carte* was to give smaller heritage institutes a chance to open their doors to schools as well.
[18] www.lkca.nl/erfgoededucatie (3 February 2014).
[19] Wils, 'Geschiedenisonderwijs en erfgoed', 3.

these kinds of arguments present cultural heritage *itself* as being the aim of education. Heritage can also be used, however, as a *means* of engaging pupils into learning, making learning more concrete, stimulating pupils to get more involved and triggering their imagination, which is particularly the case when it involves traces of the past in pupils' immediate surroundings.[20] To stimulate an inquisitive attitude and affective responses is considered to be an important feature of using cultural heritage in education, as pupils may get more emotionally involved, acquire a feeling of experiencing the past and develop an explorative attitude. A Dutch report indicated that the fact that heritage education often uses historical objects that have been made by real people gives pupils a tangible connection with the past and engages them into learning about it.[21] In the context of heritage learning taking place in pupils' own surroundings, moreover, the report emphasised that teaching pupils to see their own environment as a place full of references to past events and people may stimulate their historical consciousness. Moreover, it may teach them to respect their own environment and the accomplishments of their predecessors.[22] In addition, the report highlighted the identity-based nature of cultural heritage, arguing that this may provide an opportunity to strengthen pupils' perceived identity and put it into perspective at the same time.[23]

Several policy-makers and people working in the field of heritage education thus agree that this type of learning may be important both as a way of enriching and supporting history education and as a goal in itself, teaching pupils new knowledge and skills. Their argumentations revolve around notions of sharing history and the idea that cultural heritage can provide an immediate experience of the past that triggers the imagination and stimulates historical consciousness. This study will shed some light on the strategies used in heritage education practices that may contribute to these goals. In the third section of this Chapter, I will examine two major developments in historical culture that may have led to this line of reasoning and provide some general context to my analysis of heritage educational resources. First, however, I will describe the changing meanings of the concept of (cultural) heritage.

People acquire knowledge of the past or come into contact with it not only through the work of historians, but also through other media, such as history education, museums, films and commemorations. Within this context, the notion of 'heritage' has emerged to distinguish a specific set of past relationships. While professional historians were long seen as the primary mediators between the past and the present, other forms of history have become

[20] Thomése, *ErfGoedonderwijs op de basisschool*, 18-20.
[21] Van Eekelen, Kilian and Bunnik, *Schatkamers voor scholieren*, 3.
[22] Ibid., 8.
[23] Ibid., 11.

more dominant in Western countries since the 1970s.[24] People can learn about history in museums, at historical sites, through heritage trails and many archives have made public presentations based on their collections. The past is also a popular subject for filmmakers and features in television programmes both as a means to provide viewers with historical knowledge and as a setting against which (reality) game shows are played. Tons of historical information is available on the Internet as well, and some video games use historical events or settings as a background for both story and gameplay.

People thus learn about the past in many different ways. In a 2002 study, Dutch historian Kees Ribbens used the term 'popular historical culture' to refer to forms of history that exist parallel to fields like education, museums and monuments, including historical novels, television programmes, collections, local history organisations, genealogy, historical tourism and amateur historians who visit archives or perform archaeological research.[25] British literary historian Jerome de Groot has referred to this idea by the term 'Historioglossia': a complex entanglement of relationships with the past covering a single topic. A specific historical narrative, for instance, can be conceptualised as a novel and subsequently be reprocessed into a television series and a feature film. These different versions of the same (fictionalised) historical narrative interrelate not only with each other, but also with all other - professional and popular - historical accounts on the same subject matter.[26]

The rapid expansion of historical culture is not necessarily a new phenomenon. Since the 1970s, several authors have reflected on specific aspects of this development that already occurred during the nineteenth century. The German philosopher Hermann Lübbe, for example, focused on the increasing dominance of history museums as part of a process he called 'musealisation'. This term encompassed the rapid growth of the number of museums and exhibited artefacts in society as well as a simultaneous increase in object categories in museums.[27] According to Lübbe, these developments were the result of processes of modernisation and industrialisation that caused many everyday objects to rapidly lose their original function, in effect becoming museum-worthy.[28]

In his famous work *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, Pierre Nora, similar to Lübbe, reflected on the rapid growth of memory sites, which he also saw as a result of major social processes. Using the term 'acceleration of history' to grasp these developments, Nora indicated that people increasingly tried to capture their (collective) memories in historical narratives or at

[24] Ribbens, *Een eigentijds verleden*, 51.
[25] Ibid., 53-128.
[26] De Groot, *Consuming History*, 11-13.
[27] Lübbe, *Zeit-Verhältnisse*, 9-10.
[28] Ibid., 10-11.

specific places as they would otherwise forget them.[29] As these *lieux de mémoire* can be both material and immaterial, Nora's concept shows some similarities to Eric Hobsbawm's notion of the invention of traditions, which referred to the construction of ritual and symbolic practices, particularly during the period from 1870 to 1914, as a response to processes of modernisation.[30]

Heritage emerged as a term to signify several of these past relationships that coincided with academic forms of history. Many authors have pointed to the growing interest in preserving the past: a development that has been called the 'heritage industry'.[31] French historian François Hartog has argued that heritage thrives with ruptures of time, many of which occurred in the twentieth century, for instance in the form of wars.[32] The concept of heritage, however, is much-debated and, therefore, difficult to define. This notion even acquires a different meaning when translated into other languages. In the 1950s, the English term 'heritage' was used primarily to describe local languages, religions and rituals that were part of the British Empire, thus focusing more on immaterial practices rather than material objects. Today, the concept refers to the British national legacy, both material and immaterial, including that of minorities in British society. In addition, the English concept not only refers to cultural elements, but also to the conservation of nature and landscape.[33]

The Dutch term *erfgoed* ('heritage') carries strong judicial connotations. Already since the fourteenth century – and probably earlier – *erfgoed* and related concepts such as *patrimonie* were used to refer to the origin of ownership of material goods. The term was used to distinguish goods that were inherited by someone from those that they had acquired themselves. In other West-European countries, similar concepts were used to designate judicial status to material goods, like *propres* and *Erbgut* in France and Germany, respectively.[34] Only in the twentieth century was the Dutch term *erfgoed* used specifically to designate cultural goods that had been inherited from the past. In 1975, for example, the government official Frederik Jules Duparc described *cultureel erfgoed* as such, indicating that it included not only arts and crafts objects from national artists, but all objects created and inherited by mankind.[35]

In many European countries, the term 'heritage' carried national connotations for a long time, since the nineteenth century.[36] The nationalisation of the concept was probably

[29] Nora, 'General Introduction', 1-7.
[30] Hobsbawm, 'Introduction', 1-5.
[31] Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*.
[32] Hartog, 'Time and Heritage', 16.
[33] Grijzenhout, 'Inleiding', 10.
[34] Van den Berg, 'Erfgoed', 23-24.
[35] Grijzenhout, 'Inleiding', 5-6.
[36] Van der Laarse, 'Erfgoed en de constructie van vroeger', 2; Den Boer, 'Geschiedenis, herinnering en "lieux de mémoire"', 44-45.

inspired by the French use of the term *patrimoine*, which originated after the French revolution and explicitly referred to antiquities, art works and monuments belonging to the national government which had to be protected from revolutionaries who tried to destroy such past references.[37] The Second World War evoked similar concerns, raising awareness in European countries that their national heritage could be damaged beyond recovery. Therefore, they pleaded for the preservation of a European 'common cultural heritage'. Since 1972, this idea has been broadened to a worldwide notion, with UNESCO creating a World Heritage List, containing cultural goods that express 'common global cultural values'. As a response to these European and global tendencies, the concept of heritage, however, is still often confined to national boundaries, but it also carries local, regional and transnational connotations.[38] According to François Hartog, the number of organisations dealing with local heritage has increased significantly over the last twenty years, aiming to establish continuity by relating memories to specific places.[39]

While I have said above that the English term 'heritage' refers both to immaterial heritage and tangible objects, it could be argued that this distinction is an artificial one. Heritage objects or sites derive their meaning and value from the cultural processes and activities that surround these artefacts. Therefore, it could be said that heritage is immaterial by definition and sometimes manifests itself in or around an object or site, thus blurring the boundaries between tangible and intangible heritage.[40]

It should also be argued that heritage always involves a relation with the present. Heritage objects are constructed with present-day notions of remembrance and commemoration.[41] Cultural heritage, therefore, is a dynamic concept. Specific histories are commemorated in the present in order to support a group identity.[42] Sometimes such commemoration is mediated through material objects. Which collective identity is to be constructed continually changes over time. Consequently, which heritage is being preserved is always different, making cultural heritage a dynamic notion.[43] In the next section, I will elaborate on two developments in Western historical culture that provide some contexts to the growing popularity of heritage and heritage education and the issues associated with it.

[37] Grijzenhout, 'Inleiding', 7-8.
[38] Ibid., 11-15.
[39] Hartog, 'What Is the Role of the Historian in an Increasingly Presentist World?', 248.
[40] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 53-54.
[41] Ibid., 3.
[42] Frijhoff, 'Behoort religie tot ons erfgoed?', 22.
[43] Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed*, 38-39.

1.2 Changing Historical Cultures

In order to better understand the ideas, practices and issues associated with cultural heritage, this section will reflect on two major developments in Western historical cultures that explain and contextualise the growing interest in cultural heritage and heritage education and that form an important context for the study of heritage educational resources. The umbrella concept of 'historical culture' refers to the ways in which people deal with the past and how they express this through narratives, media, ideologies and attitudes. Therefore, historical culture includes both the 'production and reproduction of historical knowledge, as well as the social infrastructure of the field of history'.[44]

As this section seeks to provide the contextual background for my analysis of heritage educational resources, I will particularly examine those tendencies that relate to the fields of heritage and history education. First, I will reflect on the increasing visualisation of the past and the urge to experience it. Second, I will elaborate on recurring ideas of stimulating commonality and creating shared historical knowledge in relation to developments in the field of history education and issues regarding the identity-centred nature of cultural heritage.

Visualising and Experiencing the Past

The growing urge to visualise history and preserve material artefacts, whose significance is then raised by labelling them as 'heritage', is characteristic of today's historical culture.[45] As I have shown in the first section, this aspect of visualisation and experience is often used as an argument to support the use of cultural heritage for educational purposes. In this section, I will explain that this idea of visualising history itself underwent major changes. In addition, I will examine the debate that followed in the 1980s, in which heritage, especially its focus on experience, was heavily criticised. Last, I will show that, despite these critiques, the tendency towards experience is present in all parts of historical culture.

The visualisation of history in museums has gone through several stages in which the perspective of the viewer appears to have changed. Since the nineteenth century, historical artefacts have increasingly been put into museum displays to mediate the past in the present. These objects act as visual remnants of the past, providing more tangible evidence of a specific history. New presentation techniques have increasingly been introduced to highlight the temporal proximity of the past that such objects are able to convey. I distinguish

[44] Grever, 'Fear of Plurality', 54-55; Grever, *Research Program Center for Historical Culture*, 2. The research programme conducted at the Center for Historical Culture, Erasmus University Rotterdam, focuses on the dynamics of historical culture, in particular on the impact of global encounters in giving meaning to the past. See www.eshcc.eur.nl/chc

[45] Ribbens, *Een eigentijds verleden*, 51.

two major transitions in museum display techniques that gradually presented the past in a more tangible manner.

Since the late nineteenth century, firstly, museums have tried to place objects more in their original context by reconstructing historical reality with dioramas and mannequins.[46] Visitors were required to view such historical scenes from a distance. Many folklore museums, for example, presented an episode of people's daily life in the past by using objects and mannequins in a reconstruction of a living room, encouraging visitors to peek into such typically private scenes.[47] Such presentation techniques are probably based on those featured at nineteenth-century World Fairs that provided visitors with an overview of world history from a distant, privileged position.[48]

Modern technology has pushed the development towards experience even further, as museums have increasingly replaced the distant perspective by a first-person viewpoint. Instead of focusing on an object's classification, new presentation techniques try to tell a story or convey a message.[49] These types of display immerse people in a recreated version of a historical world, often involving all the senses: from seeing, hearing and smelling the nineteenth century by passing through a recreated town setting straight from the famous novels by Charles Dickens to reliving the life of a Dutch soldier in World War II, defending the city of Arnhem.[50] In their exhibitions, furthermore, museums increasingly draw attention to personal stories from people who have lived through or feel related to the history presented, often bringing these people to the forefront instead of focusing on artefacts.[51] In addition, some museums reinforce such experiences through living history, with actors re-enacting characters from a historical period, often combining this first-person interpretation with an educational element.[52] The idea of completely immersing people in a reconstruction of historical reality often features in heritage education as well, not only through experience-

[46] Henrichs, 'Een zichtbaar verleden?', 247.
[47] De Jong, *De dirigenten van de herinnering*, 111-113.
[48] Mitchell, 'The World as Exhibition', 222-223; Grever, 'Tijd en ruimte onder één dak', 116-117.
[49] Macdonald and Silverstone, 'Rewriting the Museum's Fictions', 425-426; Phillips, 'History, Memory and Historical Distance', 92-93.
[50] I refer here to the English visitor attraction 'Dickens World' in Chatham, Kent, which is based on the novels of Charles Dickens, and the Dutch Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein' in Oosterbeek in the eastern part of the Netherlands. While 'Dickens World' is dedicated and established to deliver a re-enactment of the nineteenth century, reliving the Battle of Arnhem is part of the permanent exhibition of the Airborne Museum. Both institutes offer teaching materials for primary and secondary education. The Airborne Museum is dealt with in greater depth in Chapter 5 of this study.
[51] Mason, 'Nation Building at the Museum of Welsh Life', 28; Somers, *De oorlog in het museum*, 298-301. Somers notes that the iconic World War II museums in the Netherlands are wary of implementing experience-based presentation strategies into their exhibitions, but most of them use digital and audio-visual techniques to provide visitors with personal stories about the war.
[52] De Groot, *Consuming History*, 116-119; Dicks, *Culture on Display*, 2. This type of display is strongly related to the development of (open-air) folk museums, such as Skansen, near Stockholm, which was opened in 1891: Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 115; Mason, 'Nation Building at the Museum of Welsh Life', 22.

based forms of museum display, but also through educational activities that involve role playing.[53]

Many history theorists have criticised this trend of visualising and experiencing the past, and the best-known is probably David Lowenthal, who drew attention to this development in two famous works. In *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), Lowenthal observed an incredible yearning for nostalgia in many Western societies, depicting the past as a foreign country that attracted increasing interest from tourists.[54] Related to this development was the reinvention of the nineteenth-century historical novel that allows readers to 'experience' the past through 'direct' contact with its actors. Modern historical fiction, according to Lowenthal, differs from that of the nineteenth century in its nonlinear structure and its growing interest in slightly altering the course of historical events, inventing new characters and events and writing history from a present-day perspective, allowing anachronisms to sneak in.[55]

Besides this nostalgic yearning and interest in popular forms of history, Lowenthal also noticed the omnipresence of tangible relics from the past. These relics are subject to transformation, for example, through protection measures or redefinitions of their function, which in effect changes the meaning of the past.[56] Such redefinition of artefacts can also be brought about indirectly, through the creation of replicas or emulations, re-enactments and commemorations of historical events.[57] The consequences of transforming the past, Lowenthal wrote, are exaggeration and conflation of past events, presentist biases and anachronisms.[58]

Lowenthal further developed these ideas in *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1998), in which he used the concept of 'heritage' to reflect in a more negative manner on the explosive growth of popular forms of historical representation in Western society. He strongly contrasted heritage with history, describing heritage as a nostalgic, celebratory, presentist way of dealing with the past.[59] While history and heritage both select, alter and invent the past in their representations, historians are aware of their biases and try

[53] See, for instance, the educational programme of the Hull museum I referred to in the introduction to this Chapter. Another good example is the Belgian 'Platoon Experience' in which children dress as Australian soldiers to re-enact the Battle of Passchendaele that took place around the town of Ypres during the First World War. See: www.passchendaele.be/ned/Platoon%20Experience.html (27 April, 2010). According to museum education expert Daniel Spock, however, these kinds of activities can also go beyond 'the dress-up box', stimulating pupils' imagination in other ways: Spock, 'Imagination', 130-132.
[54] Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 4.
[55] Ibid., 226-229.
[56] Ibid., 238-264.
[57] Ibid., 290-324.
[58] Ibid., 348-362.
[59] Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, ix-xviii.

to avoid them as much as possible; people in the field of heritage, according to Lowenthal, endorse these biases and make them a central aspect of their representations.[60]

Although Lowenthal's publications have been very influential, the stark distinction between history and heritage has not been uncontested.[61] Still, other authors have pointed to a similar sort of rift in historical culture between academic history, offering well-researched critical accounts of the past, and public forms of history, leaning more towards experience, fiction and nostalgia. However, not all of these scholars addressed this development in a negative manner. Museum expert and archaeologist Nick Merriman, for instance, argued in 1991 that heritage was not the 'death of the past', which many authors said it was, as museums and heritage institutes attracted a growing number of visitors who were not confined by the narrative presented by culture heritage but could construct their own historical account based on the available evidence.[62]

London-based historian Raphael Samuel took a similar, more moderate approach in 1994, summarising the arguments of the other participants in the heritage debate in terms of the Disneyfication, vulgarisation and trivialisation of history, but not necessarily agreeing with them.[63] Arguing, like Lowenthal, that historians and people in the field of cultural heritage both rigorously select historical events whilst ignoring others in order to construct a narrative, Samuel contended that historians could also learn from this expanding field in historical culture, as heritage had been a tremendous success in providing more playful forms of studying in education, such as object-based learning, historical re-enactment and role-play.[64] Samuel's argument thus concurs with the reasoning of professionals working in the field of heritage education, which I explored in the previous section.

While several theorists have noted the nostalgic nature of many cultural heritage practices, the trend towards visualisation and experience can also be noticed in exhibitions or heritage presentations that deal with more sensitive histories. Sometimes heritage institutes offer a 'demonised' instead of a nostalgic account of the past in which past events are presented in a negative way, particularly compared to present-day standards.[65] For example, an exhibit of the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, which I examine in greater detail in Chapter 2, immerses visitors in the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade through an audio-visual reconstruction of the Middle Passage (the transatlantic crossing in

[60] Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 116-122.
[61] Dutch historian Ed Jonker, for example, has argued that academic history and 'unofficial' memory are both shaped by emotion, analysis, ethics and politics: Jonker, *Ordentelijke geschiedenis*, 22. See also: Klein, Grever and Van Boxtel, 'Zie, denk, voel, vraag, spreek, hoor en verwonder', 381-382; Grever, De Bruijn and Van Boxtel, 'Negotiating Historical Distance', 886.
[62] Merriman, *Beyond the Glass Case*, 8-18.
[63] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 8-27.
[64] Ibid., 259-285.
[65] Gieryn, 'Balancing Acts', 207-208.

the triangular trade).[66] Apart from general issues of authenticity and anachronism, such exhibits present another important problem, as they provide an experience that can be considered too intimate, playing to negative emotions of fear, sadness, grief or even guilt, depending on visitors' prior knowledge and feelings towards the history presented.[67]

In order to prevent historical narratives from being perceived as 'nostalgic' or 'demonic' instead of giving an insight into historical reality, it is important not to present history as a coherent tale, or as a determined process that could not have happened in any other way, but to include and be aware of multiple points of view.[68] I will elaborate on the concept of multiperspectivity, which is also related to history teaching theories, in the next section.

Apart from the fact that it is difficult to maintain a rigid distinction between history and heritage, it is important to note that the trend towards visualisation and experience is not restricted to cultural heritage per se, but is something that is noticeable in the historical culture of Western societies as a whole. In the context of this study, it is interesting to reflect on how this tendency has also found its way into the field of history education. Popular and visual forms of history have increasingly made their way into history textbooks, as famous objects and historical sources are printed for illustrative or teaching purposes. Moreover, feature films, television documentaries, museum exhibitions and monuments are increasingly seen as replacements for existing teaching materials.[69] Schools have also increasingly been equipped with ICT infrastructure and resources, which in the UK has particularly been supported by the government.[70]

This tendency might have had a bigger impact in the UK than in the Netherlands, as British history teachers often use their own resources to supplement or even substitute the school textbook.[71] William Marsden even speaks of an anti-textbook ethos in British education that particularly flourished in humanity subjects.[72] Marsden points out several reasons that may help to explain this anti-textbook mentality, such as the popularity of ideologies that prioritise pupils and teachers over content; the idea that textbooks are authoritative and politically and socially biased; and financial constraints withholding teachers from using textbooks, while new technologies provided them with other teaching methods.[73]

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[66] http://avrambuchanan.com/?p=309 (25 May 2010).
[67] Phillips, 'History, Memory and Historical Distance', 91-95; Riegel, 'Into the Heart of Irony', 87.
[68] Grever and Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*, 50-51.
[69] Lässig, 'Textbooks and Beyond', 11.
[70] Haydn, 'The Changing Form and Use of Textbooks in the History Classroom for the 21st Century'.
[71] Johnsen, *Textbooks in the Kaleidoscope*, 25.
[72] Marsden, *The School Textbook*, 55.
[73] Ibid., 58-70.

Although new media have challenged the textbook, it has retained its position as the most important educational resource in many countries.[74] Several initiatives have been taken to stimulate the use of digital media in the classroom, but, though they have established themselves to some extent, the use of new media has been in a transitional phase for a long time.[75] This probably had to do with financial constraints that schools are under and the lack of technical and methodological skills among teachers in working with new media.[76] At the time of writing, the use of digital technologies at schools has started to take off, allowing for a continuous supply of audio-visual materials in the history classroom. This development will blur the boundaries between traditional history teaching materials and heritage educational resources even more, as cultural heritage can make its way more easily into the history classroom in a digital or virtual manner.

Commonality, Cultural Diversity and Heritage Dissonance

As I already explained in the section on heritage education, many people involved in this field emphasise the potential this type of learning can have for stimulating commonality. The idea that history and heritage can contribute to the feeling of sharing a common past is a notion that is evident in the wider historical culture, although this inevitably involves the exclusion of perspectives as well. History education in Western societies, from the nineteenth century onwards, for instance, primarily served the purpose of supporting a national identity, while marginalising other voices.[77] In many countries since the 1960s, however, it has significantly broadened in scope: instead of mainly focusing on events of national significance in political history, history education now also took into account social, cultural and economic history. Furthermore, it slowly developed a more skills-based approach in which the interpretative nature of history was given precedence over the teaching of factual knowledge.[78]

In recent years, however, the history curriculum in several European countries has been subject to a debate about refocusing on national history, emphasising the learning of facts rather than of skills in order to stimulate social cohesion.[79] In England, for instance, the late 1980s saw the introduction of the National Curriculum, which politicians, from what Robert Phillips has called the 'new right movement', used as an opportunity to critique the

[74] Lässig, 'Textbooks and Beyond', 9.
[75] Ibid., 9.
[76] Haydn, 'Information and Communications Technology in the History Classroom', 98-112; Lässig, 'Textbooks and Beyond', 1-20.
[77] Grever and Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*, 54-57.
[78] Wilschut, 'History at the Mercy of Politicians and Ideologies', 710-711; Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations', 91-93.
[79] Grever, 'Dilemmas of Common and Plural History', 76; Wils and Verschaffel, 'Longing for the Present in the History of History Education', 793-794.

turn that history education had taken in the seventies and eighties towards concepts and skills at the expense of content.[80] The final report of the committee advising on the National Curriculum recommended a focus on British history, but in a broader European and global context.[81] In the past decade, the debate resurfaced, primarily stemming from discontent among politicians, both left- and right-wing, and a small group of high profile academic historians, with the curricular emphasis on skills of critical thinking and the development of disciplinary understanding of the subject.[82] They have advocated the implementation of an 'island narrative' of national history in order to stimulate social cohesion in an increasingly multicultural Britain.[83]

Around the same time, politicians and publicists in the Netherlands have also criticised history education for not being successful in establishing 'historical awareness' among school children due to a lack of emphasis on historical facts and chronology.[84] In the new millennium, therefore, Dutch history education has seen the introduction of a framework of ten eras intended to stimulate chronological understanding and a canon of fifty 'windows' on Dutch history and culture that was meant to foster shared historical knowledge and social cohesion, developed by separate committees instituted by the government.[85]

These debates about refocusing national history are occurring in a historical culture that has increasingly become more culturally diverse, due to processes of globalisation, decolonisation and migration, creating what Kees Ribbens has called a ‘multicultural historical culture’.[86] Migrant communities often carry a distinct historical background that may clash with the dominant narrative in Western historical cultures, and conflicts may arise over sensitive histories, such as the history of the colonial era.[87]

Research shows that the process of globalisation has further increased the cultural diversity of Dutch and English schools. Particularly in larger cities, such as Rotterdam and London, the student population in secondary schools is composed of many different nationalities.[88] Within this context, several scholars have explored the relationship between pupils' ethnic identity and their attitude towards history in educational settings. Survey-based

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[80] Phillips, *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State*, 32-35.
[81] Phillips, 'History Teaching, Nationhood and Politics in England and Wales in the Late Twentieth Century', 358-359. Wales and Northern Ireland have a different national curriculum for history education, which focuses more on Welsh and Irish history. Scotland has an entirely different curriculum with no prescribed topics, but only a requirement to teach five different periods from a primarily Scottish perspective. For information regarding the development of these curricula, see for instance: Phillips, Goalen, McCully and Wood, 'Four Histories, One Nation?', 158-162.
[82] Haydn, 'History in Schools and the Problem of "The Nation"', 277-278.
[83] ibid., 279.
[84] Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations', 97-98.
[85] Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations', 97-101. Ribbens, 'A Narrative that Encompasses Our History', 70-71.
[86] Ribbens, 'De vaderlandse canon voorbij?', 500-503.
[87] Grever, 'Geschiedenis per decreet', 385.
[88] Grever and Ribbens, Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden, 87-88.

research in the UK, France and the Netherlands, for instance, has shown that native pupils or those that particularly value their national identity are often more interested in traditional national history compared to non-native pupils, who are more likely to demonstrate an interest in the history of religion, family history and the connection of histories with the history of migrants.[89] Research on the British context by educationalists Kate Hawkey and Jane Prior has indicated that pupils relate in different ways to the national narrative taught in schools and that, while their different approaches did not seem linked to their ethnic backgrounds, pupils' interests in history did not match the views of those politicians who advocate a more traditional national history curriculum.[90]

In a study by Canadian educational researcher Carla Peck on pupils' ascription of historical significance to events in the history of Canada, pupils' ethnic identity was an important factor in their construction of the historical narrative and their choice of criteria to decide which events should be included in it.[91] Some studies have also suggested that pupils sometimes have difficulty relating to the teaching of some dominant historical narratives due to their diverse cultural backgrounds. A small-scale Canadian study by Peter Seixas, for example, has shown how pupils from minority communities, whose prior knowledge was primarily shaped by family stories and experiences, could not connect to the national history taught in school.[92] Research by the American educationalist Terrie Epstein has revealed that European-American and African-American pupils carry different historical perspectives, which are not adequately addressed in the academic frameworks for teaching US history.[93]

These issues can become even more tangible in the context of cultural heritage, as the preservation and presentation of traces of the past in the present is often linked to the construction of a specific collective identity, which can result in a rigid representation of a

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[89] Andrews, McGlynn and Mycock, 'Students' Attitudes Towards History', 374; Grever, Pelzer and Haydn, 'High School Students' Views on History', 225-226.
[90] Hawkey, 'History and Super Diversity', 169-170; Hawkey and Prior, 'History, Memory Cultures and Meaning in the Classroom', 242.
[91] Peck, '"It's Not Like [I'm] Chinese and Canadian. I Am in Between"', 608.
[92] Seixas, 'Historical Understanding Among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting', 321-322.
[93] Epstein, 'Deconstructing Differences in African-American and European-American Adolescents' Perspectives on U.S. History', 419; Epstein, 'Adolescents' Perspectives on Racial Diversity in U.S. History', 203-204. In the context of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery specifically, a study by Geerte Savenije and others has indicated that pupils of Surinamese and Antillean background attributed a greater importance to heritage of slavery for their family compared to those of other backgrounds. Several pupils, however, distanced themselves from perspectives on the heritage of slavery associated with the ethnic group they would be related to. Most of them, furthermore, did not recognise an effect of their perceived ethnic identity on their ideas regarding heritage of slavery: Savenije, Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Sensitive "Heritage" of Slavery in a Multicultural Classroom', 144. Regarding World War II, small-scale studies in the Netherlands have provided clues that pupils with various religious backgrounds can carry different perspectives and attitudes towards learning about this history, sometimes leading to sensitive situations in the classroom: Blanken, Tuinier and Visser, *Antisemitisme op school?*, 20-24; Ensel and Stremmelaar, 'Speech Acts', 162-169.

certain history.[94] Heritage expert Laurajane Smith has argued that there is a so-called dominant heritage discourse in the Western world, containing cultural values that govern the way we think about and create heritage.[95] Minority groups in many Western countries have challenged this dominant discourse, claiming their own heritage.[96] Museums have also been regarded as 'politicised or contested sites'.[97] While museums can present a 'sanitised' entertaining version of the past, they can also offer exhibitions that exclude certain groups in society, making them controversial.[98] From a standpoint of government policy, politicians, on the other hand, have regarded museums as a good vehicle for stimulating social cohesion: an idea that can be traced back to the nineteenth century, in which museums were established to support a national identity.[99]

Heritage theorists Brian Graham, Gregory Ashworth and John Tunbridge have referred to conflict situations surrounding cultural heritage by the term 'heritage dissonance', as an important characteristic of heritage in multicultural societies. Ashworth has described heritage as a text, written by someone, transmitting a particular message and subsequently read by several (groups of) people. Because the text only appeals to one or a few collectives, however, dissonance may arise when others take offence.[100] Conflicts may also arise when heritage sites that have been claimed by certain (ideological) groups have also become objects of mass tourism.[101] Ashworth offers two solutions to such heritage dissonance: destroy the material objects that cause conflict, hoping that in effect the message they refer to will be wiped out or reinterpret the message of dissonant heritage.[102]

According to Kees Ribbens, some minority groups do indeed try to re-interpret cultural heritage from their own perspective, in effect giving such sites multiple layers of meaning, whereas others acknowledge their relation to the heritage of their host country: an act of loyalty that simultaneously reaffirms their own roots.[103] Historian Susan Legêne assigns an important task to the museum sector in order to avoid exclusion, caused by the ever-transforming meanings of heritage objects. She argues that museums should interact more with the viewing public.[104] Canadian museum expert Susan Ashley similarly argues

[94] Frijhoff, 'Behoort religie tot ons erfgoed?, 23.
[95] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 4-5.
[96] Ibid., 28.
[97] Duncan, 'Representing Empire at the National Maritime Museum', 17.
[98] Macdonald and Fyfe, *Theorizing Museums.*
[99] De Bruijn, *Verzamelingen voor verbondenheid,* 101-104.
[100] Ashworth, 'The Conserved European City as Cultural Symbol', 261-286.
[101] Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage*, 24.
[102] Ashworth, 'The Conserved European City As Cultural Symbol', 273-275.
[103] Ribbens, 'De vaderlandse canon voorbij?', 500-502.
[104] Legêne, 'Canon van verschil', 130.

that heritage institutes should provide a platform for discussion, debate and dialogue, inviting people to participate instead of imposing unity from a privileged position.[105]

These kinds of issues can make it difficult for heritage education to stimulate 'a shared sense of belonging', which, as I have explained in the first section of this Chapter, is often regarded as an important goal for this type of learning. On the other hand, if heritage education does help pupils' to reflect on their own identity, it may also prove to be a good vehicle for dealing with these problems. The trend of visualising and experiencing the past may similarly present opportunities and constraints to heritage education that aims to contribute to history learning: while experiencing the past and stimulating engagement can make history more tangible for pupils and trigger their curiosity, it can also limit the introduction of multiple perspectives or make their exploration difficult. This study, therefore, examines how heritage educational resources mediate the temporal proximity or distance of the past, to what extent they stimulate engagement or detachment, and how this relates to the inclusion or exclusion of multiple points of view. In order to analyse these aspects, I used the concepts of historical distance and multiperspectivity, which I will elaborate in the next section.

1.3 Theoretical Framework: Historical Distance and Multiperspectivity

Since the emergence of history as a discipline in the nineteenth century, many historians and philosophers of history have reflected on the question how they themselves relate or should relate towards their objects of study.[106] In recent years, such problems have been theorised through the notion of historical distance as a metaphor, referring to the time span between the present in which historians write and the past they study.[107] Some theorists primarily emphasise that historians should maintain or create distance in order to be able to re-enact the past 'objectively'. Others focus on the problem of how the past can be understood by historians who are working in the present with present-day values and concepts.[108]

The relationship between the past and the present has also been an important issue underlying theories of history learning, such as the concepts that educational researcher Peter Seixas has described as the so-called historical thinking concepts. In their publication *The Big Six,* Seixas together with Tom Morton present a six-part framework to help school pupils understand how historians write and think about the past, which involves the problem

[105] Ashley, 'State Authority and the Public Sphere', 14-15.
[106] Grever, De Bruijn and Van Boxtel, 'Negotiating Historical Distance', 880.
[107] Den Hollander, Paul and Peters, 'Introduction', 1-10.
[108] Ibid., 5-7.

of the distance between the present and the past about which they write.[109] Other authors have similarly emphasised that it is important for pupils to learn that the past is not something found by historians in the present, but that historians create historical accounts based on evidence.[110] History education can provide pupils with tools to assess and criticise these accounts and examine the evidence on which they are based.[111] Acquiring these skills appears to be even more important in a day and age in which the past comes to people in so many ways, as a result of the expanding historical culture I described in the previous section.

One of the concepts that Seixas and Morton describe as part of historical thinking is the taking of historical perspectives, which involves reconstructing how people in the past felt and thought based on evidence, in order to understand the past as a foreign country. Their concept of historical perspective-taking includes exploring multiple points of view in order to understand history better.[112] The British educationalist Robert Stradling has strongly advocated the exploration of multiple perspectives in order to acquire 'a richer and more complex' account of historical events.[113] In order for pupils to take a historical perspective, some degree of distance towards the past is needed so that they achieve *historical* empathy rather than identification with historical actors.[114]

The concept of historical empathy has often been mistaken for generating sympathy with historical actors, yet, according to educationalists Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, it is not about sharing feelings of people in the past, but about acquiring knowledge based on evidence about how people in the past saw things and why they acted in a particular way. This does not mean that pupils may not feel sympathy for some historical actors, but, according to Lee and Ashby, it should not be the aim of an activity to stimulate it.[115] Educational researchers Keith Barton and Linda Levstik have argued that this kind of ‘caring for’ people from the past on an emotional or moral level in the classroom should not be dismissed too easily, pointing to the relationship between affective engagement and cognitive development. Too often, however, activities designed around this form of empathy become an end in themselves.[116] Barton and Levstik also distinguished this type of 'caring for' historical actors from the more cognitive kind of historical empathy that refers to the idea

[109] Seixas, Morton, Colyer and Fornazzari, *The Big Six*, 2-3. See also: Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, 5-17.
[110] E.g., Lee, 'From National Canon to Historical Literacy', 50-51.
[111] E.g., Seixas, 'Who Needs a Canon?', 20-22; Van Drie and Van Boxtel, 'Historical Reasoning', 94; Barton and Levstik, Teaching History for the Common Good, 201-202.
[112] Seixas, Morton, Colyer and Fornazzari, *The Big Six*, 6.
[113] Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching*, 19-20.
[114] Seixas, *Benchmarks of Historical Thinking*, 10; Davis Jr., 'In Pursuit of Historical Empathy', 3; Yeager and Foster, 'The Role of Empathy in the Development of Historical Understanding', 13-14; Lee and Ashby, 'Empathy, Perspective Taking, and Rational Understanding', 21-22.
[115] Lee and Ashby, 'Empathy, Perspective Taking, and Rational Understanding', 24-25.
[116] Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, 234-237.

of perspective recognition.[117] Historian and educationalist Karen L. Riley has pleaded for the concept of historical empathy to include multiple perspectives of historical actors. She argues that this is particularly important with regard to complex historical events, such as the Holocaust, where focusing on the actions of one historical figure does not lead to a better understanding of fundamental questions, such as how such an event could have happened.[118]

It is important to note that, while many teaching experts have pointed out the opportunities of teaching multiperspectivity in history education, several have noted some constraints as well. Educational researcher Stéphane Lévesque, for example, argued that presenting several different perspectives can cause pupils to be confused and suspicious of history.[119] Robert Stradling observes that learning about multiple perspectives does require a certain level of empathy, requiring pupils to understand the reasons and underlying values of historical actors and producers of historical narratives in order to interpret evidence and accounts.[120] In addition, it can prove to be difficult to implement these perspectives in the school curriculum. Including just a few events or developments that are considered to be significant for each social group may just serve to marginalise them, only emphasising the dominance of the dominant group, whereas fully integrating these perspectives may prove to be impossible in an overcrowded curriculum.[121]

In the field of heritage education, there has also been some discussion on the opportunities and constraints of working with multiple geographical perspectives. Dutch teacher trainer Paul Holthuis has considered the local perspective as an important criterion of good heritage teaching, aiming to teach pupils to value their environment; immediate contact with heritage in their neighbourhood would help them to live more consciously.[122] Merel Thomése, however, argues that although local and regional heritage could be used in a heritage education programme, it would be better to go beyond the immediate vicinity of schools since there are lots of national and international heritage sites that may be worth a visit.[123] Educationalist John J. Patrick warns not to overemphasise the local aspect of heritage education, acknowledging that local heritage sites could be a good starting-point, but stressing that it is important not to isolate their meaning from important events and themes in regional, national and world history.[124] Dutch educational researcher Carla van Boxtel regards heritage education as a good opportunity to connect local, regional, national

[117] Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, 206-227.
[118] Riley, 'The Holocaust and Historical Empathy', 161.
[119] Lévesque, 'Teaching Second-Order Concepts in Canadian History', 29 September 2009.
[120] Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching*, 23.
[121] Ibid., 10.
[122] Holthuis, 'Erfgoed is niet van gisteren', 15.
[123] Thomése, *ErfGoedonderwijs op de basisschool*, 20.
[124] Patrick, *Heritage Education in the School Curriculum*, 9-10.

and global histories with each other, for heritage is often a product of several different cultures. Heritage institutes could easily provide interesting local examples of national or global historical developments to be taught in schools.[125]

In this study, I use the concepts of historical distance and multiperspectivity as analytical tools to examine heritage educational resources. Historian Mark Phillips has argued that historical distance is constructed in every historical representation as it has to position its audience 'in some relationship of closeness to or distance from the events and experiences it describes'.[126] Historical distance, according to Phillips, is constructed on a gradient ranging from proximity or immediacy to remoteness or detachment.[127]

In our research, we have made a clear analytical distinction between the construction of temporal distance between the past and the present and the level of engagement. The configuration of temporality and engagement often goes hand in hand with, for instance, experience-based exhibits that aim to bring the past closer while also attempting to trigger an emotional or moral response. This is not always necessarily the case, however: some strategies only paint a vivid picture of the past without eliciting any form of engagement. A strategy that constructs the past as temporally distant, on the other hand, may still evoke engagement. Historical distance, hence, is defined as the configuration of *temporality*, referring to the distance or nearness of the past, and *engagement*, which can occur on the level of affection, moral commitment or ideology.[128]

In this study, I have analysed how historical distance is constructed in heritage educational resources, which often rely on visual and three-dimensional strategies to configure various degrees of temporal distance and engagement. Whether the past is experienced as distant or nearby and in an engaged or detached manner, however, always depends on the background knowledge, experiences and attitudes of the visitors or participating pupils. Historical distance, therefore, is constructed in a dialogue between heritage educational resources and pupils. This study seeks to identify the strategies and techniques used in heritage educational resources to configure temporality and engagement, in order to contribute to existing theories on constructing historical distance in historical representations and add to the body of knowledge about designing and educationally mediating museum presentations.

The second central concept of this study, which, as I will explain below, is closely related to historical distance, is multiperspectivity. This concept refers to the different viewpoints of creators of historical accounts (e.g., historians) and to the various perspectives

[125] Van Boxtel, *Geschiedenis, erfgoed en didactiek*, 13-14.
[126] Phillips, 'History, Memory and Historical Distance', 95.
[127] Ibid., 89.
[128] Grever, De Bruijn and Van Boxtel, 'Negotiating Historical Distance', 875.

of people who witnessed historical events or developments and produced evidence that reflects their personal points of view.[129] In addition, historical narratives can take place on different geographical scales, from local to global.[130] Dutch historian Chris Lorenz has argued that spatial concepts used to indicate various geographical levels are sometimes coloured by a specific ideological background, such as the notion of 'the Orient' to distinguish a region from more 'civilised' parts of the world. Furthermore, history that is in fact confined to certain regional or tribal boundaries is sometimes given national status.[131] Lorenz, therefore, argues that it would be best always to present history as a 'debate among different and often conflicting representations'.[132]

In this study, it is assumed that constructing the past as nearby or in an engaging fashion influences opportunities for exploring these kinds of multiple perspectives. The presence or absence of a plurality of points of view, vice versa, also impacts the configuration of historical distance. Depending on its presentation, a historical narrative that looks at the past through the perspective of a single (group of) historical actor(s) can stimulate a more intimate relation with the past than a narrative that looks at it from various angles. As I will explain in more detail in Chapter 5, for instance, a narrative about the Holocaust that tells this history solely from the point of view of Jewish victims, is likely to generate greater temporal proximity and engagement than one that switches between perspectives of victims, bystanders and perpetrators. Personalisation of the victim perspective, for example through the story of Anne Frank, would make this history even more evocative, which illustrates the different layers that are involved in historical distance.[133] According to Riley, furthermore, a sensitive history like the Holocaust also presents a unique problem regarding historical empathy in the sense that affective aspects of learning can overshadow the more cognitive understanding of this event. Understanding the perspective of historical actors involved in these kinds of sensitive histories can easily be clouded by feelings of compassion or outrage.[134]

Based on insights from history theory and narrative analysis I have developed a theoretical framework regarding the configuration of temporality and engagement in historical representations in which I have distinguished two main strategies: narrative

[129] Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching*, 10-18.
[130] Lorenz, 'Towards a Theoretical Framework for Comparing Historiographies', 36-39.
[131] Ibid., 36-39. See also: Grever and Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*, 34.
[132] Lorenz, 'Towards a Theoretical Framework for Comparing Historiographies', 39.
[133] As I already explained above, the way in which pupils engage with a particular presentation or whether they experience temporal proximity or distance, also depends on their background and prior knowledge. Regarding World War II, for instance, a Dutch small-scale exploratory study on anti-Semitism in schools indicated that pupils with different religious backgrounds showed various forms of engagement towards learning about this history, generating tension in the classroom: Blanken, Tuinier, Visser, *Antisemitisme op school?*, 30-31.
[134] Riley, 'The Holocaust and Historical Empathy', 140-141.

emplotment and mnemonic bridging (see Table 1). In the following, I will further elaborate on the various categories of narrative emplotment and mnemonic bridging.

All producers of historical representations provide an account of the past through a narrative plot, the structure of which influences the degree of temporal proximity and engagement. For example, they can provide a synthetic view on the past (synchronic) or emphasise developments through time (diachronic).[135] Furthermore, historical representations can contain different narrative plotlines. This study distinguishes four ideal types of narrative plotlines, based on the framework of sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel. Firstly, *progressive* plotlines provide a 'later is better' scenario in which the present is considered to be better than the past. *Declining* plotlines, secondly, refer to narratives in which the past is depicted as superior to the present, resulting in nostalgic accounts. The *zigzag* plotline or rise-and-fall narrative, thirdly, offers a combination of decline and progress plots. Whereas progressive and declining plotlines create a linear connection between the past and the present, highlighting their relation, zigzag plotlines construct greater temporal distance through their multifaceted nature of the past. In *rhyming* plots, lastly, historical events are presented as fundamentally similar to present occurrences, fusing the past and the present, which generates temporal proximity.[136]

The perspectives inherent in these narrative plot(s) also contribute to the configuration of historical distance. Cultural theorist Mieke Bal has distinguished between external focalisation in narratives, in which the point of view lies with an anonymous agent who is not part of what is being narrated, and character focalisation, referring to the perspective of characters who are participants in the events narrated. According to Bal, narratives using external focalisation can appear to be more objective, as the subjectivity of the focalizor remains implicit.[137] The seemingly objective feel of external focalisation generates greater temporal distance and emphasises a detached approach, whereas using character focalisation can bring the past closer and can elicit emotional engagement more easily through its direct account of the experiences of historical actors.

Narrative emplotment is not the only way to create connections between the past and the present; they are also established through what Zerubavel calls ‘mnemonic bridging’. This concept refers to devices and techniques that are meant to preserve continuity between the past and the present. Zerubavel distinguishes six categories of mnemonic bridging. Firstly, people establish continuity through *same place* strategies, in which people's physical surroundings contain references to past events or processes. In addition, mnemonic markers can highlight the historical significance of a place. *Relics and memorabilia*, secondly, can

[135] See for an elaboration of these terms: Jansen and Grever, 'Inleiding', 11.
[136] Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 11-25.
[137] Bal, *Narratology*, 147-153.

equally be used as a physical mnemonic bridge to the past, while an important difference is that relics are not fixed to a specific location and, therefore, can easily be moved and integrated into different contexts. Thirdly, people also create new mnemonic devices through *imitation and replication*, in which reconstructions, re-enactments and (invented) traditions all establish pseudo-physical contact between the past and the present.[138] This bridging technique also relates to empathy activities in which people cognitively or physically re-enact a historical actor, imagining what it would have been like to be that specific person from the past.[139] The fourth category, called *'same' time*, refers to the calendric fusion of the past and the present through anniversaries and commemorations. Fifthly, the past and the present can be linked through *historical analogies* between seemingly parallel events. Lastly, things like names, consecutive ordinal numbers and timelines can function as a *discursive token of 'sameness'*.[140]

Narrative emplotment	**Mnemonic bridging**
Synchronic: synthetic view on the past **Diachronic:** developments through time	**Same place / constancy of place:** references to past in physical surroundings
Narrative plotlines *Progressive:* present better than past *Decline:* past better than present *Zigzag:* combination decline and progress *Rhyming:* fusion past and present (similarities)	**Relics and memorabilia / material relics:** moveable objects that refer to the past
	Imitation and replication: pseudo-physical contact between past and present (reconstructions, re-enactments and traditions)
Perspectives within plots *External focalisation:* point of view with anonymous agent outside the text *Character focalisation:* point of view with characters within the text *Geographical perspectives:* local, regional, national, global	**Same time:** calendric fusion of past and present
	Historical analogies: connections between seemingly parallel events
	Discursive token of 'sameness'

Table 1: Theoretical framework regarding historical distance

Obviously most history museums focus on the second category of bridging techniques, using material relics to construct a physical connection between the past and the present. The Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga has argued that such material relics may cause a so-called 'historical sensation': a feeling of 'immediate contact with the past'.[141] Dutch historian Frank Ankersmit, however, providing Huizinga's notion with a stronger philosophical basis, has argued that in order to undergo such an experience one would need to know a lot of historical context. These so-called 'clouds of context' conceal the 'real' past:

[138] Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 37-46.
[139] Spock, 'Imagination', 124-127.
[140] Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 46-54.
[141] Huizinga, 'Het historisch museum', 259.

direct contact with a historical artefact can allow people to break through.[142] Drawing from an ethnographic study, archaeologist Siân Jones says it is important for people to be able to relate to the past relationships attached to objects in order to experience authenticity. According to Jones, authenticity is not an internal quality of objects, but 'a product of the relationships between people and things'.[143] Museums often offer some of the context required for these kinds of experiences through text panels, object labels or imitations. By placing them in different settings, objects can acquire different meanings.[144]

In order to refer to different types of museum display, Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett has introduced the terms 'in context' and 'in situ' presentations: while 'in context' approaches provide background information to the objects or emphasise their relation to other relics, representing a more traditional way of museum presentation, 'in situ' modes of display aim to include the larger reality that surrounds the object through reconstructions, replicas or re-enactments.[145] Regarding 'in situ' types of display, Henrietta Lidchi has distinguished between simulacra, which solely rely on imitations of real objects, and reconstructions, featuring artefacts that are authentic in origin or design.[146] According to Lidchi, both 'in situ' modes of display require little interpretation and communicate a sense of 'realness'. 'In context' presentations with objects in glass display cases, on the other hand, establish temporal distance, as they emphasise the artificiality of collecting and exhibiting processes. Such displays also feature more texts, as objects are often labelled individually, which draws attention to the interpretative nature of the exhibit.[147] Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims also distinguish a category of 'idea-driven exhibitions' in which these interpretative texts dominate over the actual objects. In these kinds of exhibitions, they argue, objects are no longer the primary source of authority and only offer tangible evidence to the information provided in the exhibition.[148]

1.4 Sources and Methods

This study focuses on heritage educational resources that have been designed by heritage institutes, including museums, archives and memorial centres. It does not take into account activities that, for instance, schools, individual teachers or other organisations have developed in relation to cultural heritage. Furthermore, I have selected those resources that

[142] Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience*, 276-277.
[143] Jones, 'Negotiating Authentic Objects and Authentic Selves', 200.
[144] Legêne, 'Canon van verschil', 128-130.
[145] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 19-23.
[146] Lidchi, 'The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures', 174.
[147] Ibid., 173.
[148] Crew and Sims, 'Locating Authenticity', 169.

provide out-of-school activities, as heritage institutes can rely on a more varied set of museum presentation strategies on location, which is interesting for studying the construction of historical distance. It is important to note that the education departments of most heritage institutes usually offer activities for much wider target audiences than school pupils.[149] Furthermore, educational resources are designed not only for history education, but also for other school subjects, such as mathematics, geography and arts. In this study, I have only taken into account those resources that relate to the history curriculum and have been specifically designed for secondary school pupils.

In the early phase of this research, I made an inventory of the educational resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and World War II for secondary schools listed by heritage institutes (i.e., museums, archives and memorial centres) on their websites (see Appendix I).[150] While this list by no means claims to be a complete overview of all heritage educational resources on these topics that were available at the time, it is based on a comprehensive Internet search. Together with a range of non-recorded semi-structured interviews, it was used to get a better idea of the field of heritage education in England and the Netherlands. This survey shows that there were few heritage educational resources relating to the slave trade in the Netherlands, whereas the number of resources on the Second World War shows a much more balanced view between the two research countries. The year 2013 saw a temporary increase in activities and resources related to the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, due to the 150-year commemoration of the Dutch abolition. As the survey was made at the start of this research project, these resources were not included.

The inventory served as a point of departure for further selection, which was based on geographical criteria, type of institute and institutional background. For heritage education on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, I have distinguished between heritage educational resources that dealt with this history in general and those that focused on local aspects of the trade. Since the survey showed that the history of the Holocaust in heritage educational resources is often separated from that of other aspects of the history of the Second World War, I also decided to split the analysis of resources related to these topics. I selected resources that are aimed at pupils in the age category of 13-15 years, which corresponds to the second and third classes in secondary education in the Netherlands, including all levels, vmbo, havo and vwo, while it includes pupils in the last phase of Key

[149] Hagenaars, *Museumeducatie in de praktijk*, 21-22.
[150] In 2011, historians Kees Ribbens and Esther Captain also published a survey of all the museums in the Netherlands that deal with the history of World War II: Ribbens and Captain, *Tonen van de oorlog*.

Stage 3, years 8 and 9 in England.[151] The following heritage educational resources were selected for analysis:

	England	**The Netherlands**
Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery	National Maritime Museum (London) *Transatlantic Slavery Study Day*	Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam) *Latin America and the Caribbean*
	International Slavery Museum (Liverpool) *Exhibition Trail*	NiNsee (Amsterdam) *Break the Silence, Child in Chains*
	Victoria County History *Bristol Slavery Trail*	Zeeland Archives (Middelburg) *Enthralled by Zeeland's History of Slavery*
	Museum of London Docklands *Slavery Study Day*	
Holocaust	The Holocaust Centre (Laxton) *Learning about the Holocaust*	Anne Frank House (Amsterdam) *The World of Anne Frank*
	Imperial War Museum North (Manchester), *Holocaust Trail*	*Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork *Visiting Westerbork Transit Camp*
World War II	Newhaven Fort *The Home Front*	OorlogsVerzetsMuseum (Rotterdam) *Question and Answer*
	D Day Museum (Portsmouth) *Exhibition Trail*	Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein' (Oosterbeek) *The Friendship Armband*

Table 2: Selection of Heritage Educational Resources

This study shows that heritage educational resources related to the two selected research topics vary widely in both countries: exhibitions range from small (sometimes temporary) displays featuring only physical objects and text panels to large galleries with big exhibitions incorporating audio-visual technologies. Furthermore, the educational resources offered by heritage institutes are often - but not always - designed around these exhibitions and include print-based brochures or gallery trails, guided tours and other staff-led activities. Some even provide full educational programmes featuring multiple sessions. Due to this great variety in heritage educational resources, a one-on-one comparison is impossible, but by taking into account the background of the heritage institute that designed the resource and the (trans)national context of history education, museum presentation and commemoration on the selected topics, this study also reflects on patterns that emerge in analysing the resources.

Heritage educational resources are also dynamic in nature in the sense that educational activities are often redesigned on the basis of new insights and that most exhibitions have a restricted life span. During the period in which this research was conducted, some exhibitions vanished, others were redesigned and several educational

[151] For more information on the English and Dutch school system in relation to the history curriculum, see for instance: Wilschut, 'History at the Mercy of Politicians and Ideologies'; Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations', 83-116.

resources were subject to change. All exhibitions included in the analysis, therefore, were photographed and most educational resources were studied on the basis of printed materials. In order to get a better understanding of the aims and ideas behind the design of the heritage educational resources, I spoke with 16 heritage educators who worked on resources related to the three research topics in the two countries. In the last phase of this study, I conducted 13 semi-structured interviews with educators involved in the design or execution of the heritage educational resources studied in order to contextualise some of the main findings in my analysis. Moreover, I was able to observe the educational programmes of the National Maritime Museum (London), the Holocaust Centre (Laxton) and the Anne Frank House (Amsterdam). Unfortunately, it was not possible to conduct formal interviews with staff members of three of the heritage institutes included in this study, due to practical concerns. For instance, some institutes did not have a dedicated educator on staff or had their educational resources developed externally. Results of the interviews have been used in order to contextualise the analysis of the educational resources. The extent in which they feature, hence, mainly depends on the complexity and scope of the resource.

Based on the theoretical framework I have explained in the previous section (see Table I), I designed a qualitative scheme of analysis in order to study the various heritage educational resources (see Appendix II for the scheme of analysis on the Holocaust as an example). This scheme allowed me to examine the extent to which the resources used mnemonic bridging techniques, as well as narrative references to present-day events or processes other than historical analogies. Furthermore, the scheme was used for narrative analysis to study the plots of the resources and the perspectives within these plots: what historical events were included and through the point(s) of view of what historical actors were these narrated? The perspectives incorporated into the scheme of analysis were based on the historiography of the three research topics. Any points of view that had not been included in the scheme of analysis were included in the 'Other' category. In addition, I checked for references to the points of view of historians or other producers of historical accounts.

Depending on the resource, the analysis encompassed various narrative plot structures. The heritage educational resource as a whole, the specific educational activities and the cultural heritage that features in them can be seen as a narrative plot in which historical distance is constructed. Furthermore, material and immaterial traces of the past are also encapsulated in a narrative sense in an exhibition or a city trail, for example. In this study, I have analysed the heritage presentations (i.e., exhibitions, city trails and historical sites) and the accompanying educational resources in relation to each other. The narrative plot structures were characterised using the narrative plotline categories mentioned above (progress, decline, zigzag and rhyme).

Due to the sensitive nature of the histories taken as context of analysis, the use of terminology is complicated and complex. Using particular terms to designate specific groups of people can, for instance, downplay their individual agency. I have tried to be careful in the use of language as much as possible. Please keep in mind these sensitivities, whenever I speak in this study about, for instance, slaves / enslaved people, Holocaust, Jews or Germans. I have used the term 'Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery' to refer to the transatlantic slave system as a whole, whereas 'transatlantic (slave) trade' and 'transatlantic slavery' indicate specific aspects of the system. As the terms 'Final Solution' and 'Shoah' are often used to refer exclusively to the genocide of the Jewish people, I will use the term 'Holocaust' that is taken to also include all other victims of the Nazi regime.

In the following Chapters, I present the results of my analysis of the selected heritage educational resources. Each empirical chapter opens with sections describing the most important developments in how the research topics have been taught, presented and commemorated in England and the Netherlands.

Chapter 2 examines heritage education on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and shows how the context of commemorating this history in England and the Netherlands influences the way in which heritage educational resources deal with historical distance and multiperspectivity. In England, the narrative of focusing on the ‘heroic’ actions of national abolitionists has increasingly been challenged by migrant communities seeking recognition for other aspects of the history of transatlantic slavery. The Netherlands saw a similar development with communities breaking the silence about this history that had been present in Dutch society for a while. The Chapter particularly shows the different ways in which institutes with different backgrounds that can be related to these developments construct historical distance.

Chapter 3 focuses on heritage educational resources that emphasise local aspects of the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. By comparing a Dutch and an English city trail, it shows different ways of stimulating temporal proximity through a ‘same place’ experience. In addition, it reflects on how the use of bridging strategies on a local level affects the possibility of introducing multiple perspectives.

Chapter 4 features four resources on the research countries’ military and civilian experiences during World War II, including the Operations Overlord and Market Garden and the German strategic bombings. The analysis reveals different ways in which the past is brought temporally closer through reconstructions and experiences and how these can be mediated in various ways through educational resources. Furthermore, this case study particularly features strategies of stimulating ideological engagement, fostering national

identification. The Chapter reveals how these strategies that contribute to the construction of historical distance impact the inclusion of multiple points of view.

Chapter 5, the last empirical Chapter, examines the history of the Holocaust and shows how the globalisation of the memory of this history has also impacted the way in which heritage educational resources deal with it. Both research countries, however, also show an interesting difference, as the Dutch resources are primarily based on historic sites that can be related to the history of the Holocaust, whereas such places in England have not been preserved and interpreted for educational purposes. Therefore, the Chapter shows striking differences and similarities in dealing with traces and places of this sensitive history.

In the final Chapter, I summarise and synthesise the findings of my research, presenting the different ways in which historical distance can be constructed and how various approaches relate to the construction of multiperspectivity. Furthermore, I present observations based on a comparison of the heritage educational resources between the two research countries and the three research topics. In addition, I reflect on the implications of this study's findings for further research and how they could be translated to practices in the field of heritage education.

2 *Facing Transatlantic Slavery*

At the 150 year commemoration of the abolition of slavery in Amsterdam in 2013, the Dutch minister for Social Affairs Lodewijk Asscher looked back 'on this black mark on Dutch history' and professed 'deep sorrow for how the Netherlands have dealt with human dignity.' Although the government did not make a formal apology for the Dutch involvement in the slave trade – as some Surinamese organisations had requested – Asscher's remarks were met by applause: it was considered the first time for the Dutch government to express regret about this history.[1] In 2008, Prime Minister Tony Blair similarly expressed 'deep sorrow' for Britain's role in the transatlantic trade. As in the Netherlands, several organised minorities responded by saying that this was not enough, asking for apologies and reparations.[2]

From the sixteenth up until the nineteenth century several western countries engaged in the transportation of millions of people from the African continent to the Americas, particularly to work on the plantations for producing sugar, coffee, tobacco, cocoa and cotton. Britain and the Netherlands (until late 18th century, the Dutch Republic) were both heavily involved in this transatlantic slave system, with Britain in terms of scale outmatching the other European powers.[3] In both countries this history lay dormant in the collective memory for a long time. Processes of decolonisation and migration have, however, contributed to an increasing attention for this history, due to new communities seeking recognition for it. On several occasions during the 2000s, minority groups were able to introduce their perspectives that often conflicted with the dominant narrative, which is why the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery can be regarded as a rather sensitive history.

This development has also affected the cultural heritage sector: institutes responded in various ways, navigating between traditional narratives and new perspectives on the slave trade.[4] The institutional and (trans)national background of heritage institutes, therefore, shapes how they deal with this history, with their specific chosen point(s) of view impacting how they construct historical distance. The aim or mission of an institute, vice versa, can also translate into particular strategies of constructing historical distance, evoking various

[1] www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2686/Binnenland/article/detail/3468274/2013/07/01/Kabinet-diepe-spijt-en-berouw-over-slavernij.dhtml (3 July, 2013).
[2] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6185176.stm (3 July, 2013).
[3] Morgan, 'General Introduction', xi.
[4] Nimako and Small, 'Collective Memory of Slavery in Great Britain and the Netherlands', 103-104.

degrees of temporal proximity and engagement that affect the possibilities for exploring multiple perspectives.

In this Chapter, I study this dialogue between historical distance and multiperspectivity in English and Dutch heritage educational resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in the context of history learning. For either country, I will first outline how this history has been commemorated and remembered in material and immaterial ways. Next, I will present the results of my analysis and reflect on how the specific approaches of heritage educational resources may be related to the institutional backgrounds in which they have been developed, reflecting the (trans)-national contexts of remembrance and commemoration.

I have selected two English and two Dutch heritage institutes that represent distinct perspectives in representing the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. The National Maritime Museum (NMM) in London and the International Slavery Museum (ISM) in Liverpool are both national museums in the sense that they are funded by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, but the way in which they approach the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery shows some fundamental differences. As I will elaborate in section 2, the NMM has incorporated its gallery on the subject into a narrative about Britain's maritime history, whereas the ISM focuses much more on the African and enslaved perspectives and the legacies of this history.

The two Dutch heritage institutes can be distinguished in a similar way although they carry different themes. The Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam originated as a museum on the Dutch colonies and has included the history of transatlantic slavery in their exhibition on Latin America and the Caribbean. The former *Nationaal Instituut Nederlands Slavernijverleden en Erfenis* (NiNsee), on the other hand, was established as a dedicated knowledge and research institute for the history of slavery and its legacy in the context of migrant communities, increasingly seeking attention and recognition for this aspect of the past.

2.1 Confronting History or Celebrating the British Abolition?

Up until 2007, the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery did not loom large in the British collective memory. Most commemorative expressions regarding this history revolved around the British abolition of the slave trade in 1807.[5] In Britain since the 1780s a movement had developed that sought to abolish the slave trade, strongly supported by the

[5] Hall, 'Introduction', 1-2.

Quakers and Christian evangelicals in the Church of England.[6] The history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, therefore, for a long time has been narrated from the perspective of British anti-slave trade campaigners who played a big role in ending the system, depicting them as heroes with a strong moral compass: a narrative structure that has been called the 'abolitionist myth'.[7] In the early years, because of this focus, the only museums that had significant exhibitions on the topic focussed on 'anti-slavery', and were located in Hull and Wisbech, the hometowns of abolitionist campaigners William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson.[8] According to heritage scholar Nikki Spalding the way in which the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery has currently been integrated into the school curriculum also reflects this abolitionist perspective, as it explicitly mentions William Wilberforce, and Olaudah Equiano, who became famous for his autobiography *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, which added a black voice to the abolition campaign. Although the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery has been taught at British schools and included in textbooks since at least the 1980s, it was not included as a compulsory topic in the curriculum until 2008, alongside the British Empire, the two world wars and the Holocaust.[9]

Heritage scholar Emma Waterton and historian Ross Wilson distinguish five features of what they call the 'Abolition Discourse'. Firstly, the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery is temporally distanced from the Britain of today: whatever happened in the past should not take anything away from the fact that everything is fine now. Secondly, instead of focussing on people, 'slavery' is made an active agent in itself, diverting responsibility away from the British government, companies or individuals. Thirdly, Britain's benevolence is emphasised by highlighting its positive aspects, whereas other countries are represented in a negative light. Fourthly, by using specific pronouns and perspectives, abolitionist discourse draws attention away from issues of responsibility and culpability. Lastly, it preserves social inequalities and sketches racism as an irrelevant issue.[10]

According to historian John Oldfield, memories have begun to transcend the abolitionist narrative since the 1980s. Evidence of this development can be discerned in new museum exhibitions on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in which African perspectives began to emerge, the surfacing debates on reparations and the growing support for a Slavery Remembrance Day.[11] The Wisbech and Hull museums redesigned their exhibits to include black perspectives, followed by other museums that started to

[6] Morgan, 'General Introduction', xxiii-xxiv.
[7] Cubitt, Smith and Wilson, 'Introduction', 3.
[8] Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*, 119-121.
[9] Spalding, *Learning to Remember Slavery at the Museum*, 101-102.
[10] Waterton and Wilson, 'Talking the Talk', 382-383.
[11] Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*, 2.

develop new exhibitions in the 1990s. This trend started with Liverpool's Merseyside Maritime Museum in 1994, followed by a temporary exhibition at the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, which was later moved to the Bristol Industrial Museum (now redeveloped as M Shed). The year 1997 saw the opening of a gallery at the National Maritime Museum in London, which was renewed in 2001 due to criticism directed particularly at a tableau depicting a stark contrast between white Britons and black slaves. Finally, the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol - now closed - opened a display on the topic in 2001. There was an increasing interest in monuments such as gravestones and sites that could be associated with eighteenth century black Britons, as well as memorials commemorating the experiences of black people during the period of transatlantic slavery. According to Oldfield, these initiatives should be understood in a context of a more inclusive notion of Britishness being stimulated by the government, new trends of democratic openness and participation in the museum sector, and academics drawing more and more attention to black perspectives.[12]

The year 2007 was taken as a commemorative year, as it marked the fact that Britain had abolished the slave trade exactly 200 years ago, and, hence, helped generate a lot of new initiatives. The Labour government in office at the time supported this commemoration, as it suited their agenda of stimulating social cohesion by promoting citizenship, 'British values' and shared heritage.[13] Financially, government backing was made concrete through funding via the Heritage Lottery Fund and longer-term commitments, such as the Understanding Slavery Initiative (USI), which was meant to support the teaching of transatlantic slavery in schools using heritage collections.[14] The USI was a partnership of six museums across the United Kingdom, including the National Maritime Museum and International Slavery Museum, which I study in this Chapter. This network developed educational resources and shared expertise and new insights on how to deal with the history of transatlantic slavery, whilst acknowledging the sensitivities associated with it.[15] The bicentenary also received official recognition through the presence of Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Tony Blair at a commemorative service held at Westminster Abbey.[16] During a debate in 2004 on the upcoming bicentenary year, members of the House of Commons stressed that the commemorations should also raise awareness of modern-day slavery and the involvement of Britain in the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery.[17]

[12] Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*, 119-121.
[13] Hall, 'Introduction', 2.
[14] Ibid., 2.
[15] www.understandingslavery.com (February 4, 2014).
[16] Paton and Webster, 'Introduction', 162.
[17] Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*, 109.

According to Waterton, the governmental response to the commemorative year was still based on an abolitionist narrative template. Official accounts, such as the speech by Prime Minister Tony Blair and parliamentary debates, underemphasised Britain's role in the slave trade while overemphasising its role in abolishing it.[18] The same abolitionist discourse structured accounts of the bicentenary in national newspapers and influenced commentators on online message boards.[19] Historian Diana Paton and archaeologist Jane Webster show how most commemorative activities evaded the question of apologies and reparations, although, with representatives of African or Caribbean nations involved, it was sometimes impossible to avoid this issue.[20] Similar to Waterton, they argue that although the international dimensions of the slave trade were sometimes part of the discussion, the commemorations were primarily Britain-focused.[21] Historian Katherine Prior has also shown that black people were rarely represented in media coverage of the bicentenary and only had a voice through Olaudah Equiano, an African involved in the British abolitionist campaign who supposedly wrote an autobiography about his experiences as a slave.[22] In the run-up to the 2007 commemorations, tensions arose over the 'abolitionist myth', as it was increasingly criticised by people from the African-Caribbean community and academics.[23]

Heritage scholar Laurajane Smith has noted that, although there are many places, artefacts and documents relating to the slave trade in Britain, the idea that there were few of such objects – as this history was supposed to have taken place on other continents – was raised several times in the bicentenary year. The fact that British country houses alone, which have been a popular tourist attraction for a long time, can often be related to profits made from the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery was not taken into account. According to Smith, exploring such relations may have been too sensitive because of the risk of them losing their tourist appeal and their value for stimulating a sense of national British identity. The fact that this idea existed, Smith argues, also signifies that a large section of the public was unfamiliar with the history of the slave trade.[24]

Some parts of the heritage sector, however, did aim to include the legacies of the slave trade and explore the agency of the slaves themselves.[25] Goals outlined by the Bicentenary Advisory Committee stressed the importance of accentuating the idea that the

[18] Waterton, 'Humiliated Silence', 137-138.
[19] Waterton and Wilson, 'Talking the Talk', 389-395.
[20] Paton and Webster, 'Introduction', 163.
[21] Ibid., 162.
[22] Prior, 'Commemorating Slavery 2007', 203.
[23] Cubitt, Smith and Wilson, 'Introduction', 4.
[24] Smith, 'Affect and Registers of Engagement', 263.
[25] Waterton, 'Humiliated Silence', 137.

Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery is a history shared by everyone in Britain.[26] Furthermore, several heritage institutes opted for community consultation during the design phase of their exhibition to try and break through the dominant abolitionist narrative. These community consultation projects ranged from small personally invited focus groups or interviews with key individuals from certain communities to larger discussion groups that had been recruited through newspapers. Other museums decided to create a dedicated space to a community consultation project alongside the main exhibition.[27]

The community consultation process did not always go smoothly. Tension arose over the limited influence participants might have over the final exhibition. Participants would often bring forward their personal relation with the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, advocating a 'people-driven' focus paying attention to African culture before the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the legacies of this history, whereas most curators tended to base their designs on the relevance and authenticity of objects in the museum's collection.[28] Elsewhere, Laurajane Smith and heritage scholar Kalliopi Fouseki have argued that while curators had wanted to create balanced exhibitions, communities saw them as sanitised, missing information on what Britain had gained from the slave trade and the richness of African culture that was lost because of it.[29] In an interview study, Ross Wilson shows that curators also expressed a feeling of intrusion into their professional domain and difficulty in dealing with the emotional trauma of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and the strong engagement that communities felt with this history.[30]

While English literary historian Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace has discovered new trends among the larger museums in London, Liverpool and Hull in dealing with slavery today, the complexities of African societies and presenting enslaved Africans as active agents fighting for emancipation, several authors have argued that most exhibitions created during the bicentenary still carried a narrative template that viewed Britain's involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the light of its abolition.[31] Although Diana Paton did recognise the inclusion of black abolitionists, exhibitions ultimately did not draw attention to less noble reasons that explain the abolition, such as political and economic motives, despite these being debated in historiography on the subject.[32] In addition, they only included Africa's cultural history before the slave trade, neglecting the political and economic aspects

[26] Wilson, 'Rethinking 1807', 166.
[27] Fouseki, "Community Voices, Curatorial Choices", 182-183.
[28] Ibid., 183-188.
[29] Smith and Fouseki, 'The Role of Museums as 'Places of Social Justice'', 98.
[30] Wilson, 'The Curatorial Complex', 143.
[31] Wallace, 'History at Large', 227-228.
[32] Paton, 'Interpreting the Bicentenary in Britain', 278-282. For instance, Paton refers to the explanatory framework that Robin Blackburn developed in *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848* (London, Verso, 1988) in which he points to political and economic motivations of the elite to abolish the slave trade.

and the impact of the abolition on the continent.[33] On the basis of his analysis of exhibitions created for the bicentenary year, historian Geoffrey Cubitt similarly concludes that abolition was their main focus.[34] Cubitt has indicated that museums struggled with the idea of introducing the theme of active resistance by slaves, while also relating to their traditional audiences that would expect the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to be combined with that of its abolition.[35]

Ross Wilson has argued that the exhibitions 'distanced' Britain from the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery through neutral language, the lack of a specific perpetrator, and many references to other nations involved in the slave trade. In addition, emotional engagement was often cultivated in sections on separation, loss and the Middle Passage, reflecting strategies used by nineteenth century abolition campaigners, while the exhibitions' chronological structure (both textually and spatially) communicated a sense of victory by depicting Britain as the first abolishing nation.[36] According to Wilson, the inclusion of community responses alongside or separate from main displays also undermined their function, as they were viewed as reactive, as an afterthought or as a dishonest attempt to meet funders' requests. Therefore, he has advocated a 'pluralist' approach in which alternative perspectives are incorporated into the heart of the exhibition.[37]

Important in fixating an abolitionist discourse during the 2007 commemorations was the release of the film *Amazing Grace*, which portrays the life and abolition campaign of William Wilberforce. Research by Waterton and others shows that several visitors to museum exhibitions created for the bicentenary related their experiences to this film, indicating that they had difficulty relating to displays that did not carry a celebratory abolition narrative.[38] In a visitor study of exhibitions in the bicentenary year, Laurajane Smith found that many respondents who identified as white British experienced feelings of guilt and shame after their visit, most of them using a range of arguments condoning British involvement to deal with these negative emotions, such as the idea that morals were different back then, that this history happened a long time ago or that Africans also participated in the slave trade.[39] Respondents who identified as African-Caribbean British, on the other hand, actively engaged with the exhibitions, either by assessing their political meaning or by forging personal relations of commemoration and remembrance.[40] Many of

[33] Paton, 'Interpreting the Bicentenary in Britain', 283-285.
[34] Cubitt, 'Lines of Resistance', 159.
[35] Ibid., 159.
[36] Wilson, 'Rethinking 1807', 170-173.
[37] Ibid., 174-175.
[38] Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 'Forgetting to Heal', 29-33.
[39] Smith, 'Affect and Registers of Engagement', 267-268.
[40] Ibid., 268.

these visitors commented on whether an exhibition recognised Britain's involvement or whether it merely sanitised the country's role in the slave trade.[41]

As museums wanted to cater to both traditional and new audiences, according to Cubitt, this also impacted the way exhibition makers were to handle so-called 'atrocity materials', referring to objects, images, texts and audio-visual media that 'depict, represent, evoke or imaginatively reconstruct the physical brutality of slavery and the physical sufferings of the enslaved.'[42] Most museums included such atrocity materials in their exhibitions for the bicentenary to illustrate and symbolise the brutality of slavery but also recognised the problems involved in putting them on display.[43] A strong focus on atrocity materials could cause them to become too familiar for people, to lose their impact and meaning, and to draw attention away from other aspects of transatlantic slavery, reducing the role of enslaved Africans as active historical agents. Furthermore, many of these objects and images could be considered racialist or voyeuristic by today's standards, while their repetition could give them a symbolic meaning, generalising the experiences associated with them and ignoring their wider historical context. Moreover, objects of restraint, torture and suffering can create an empathetic connection, generating a feeling of 'imaginative identification' that could be too intimate or even unattainable.[44] From data collected for the '1807 commemorated' research programme, Cubitt concluded that visitors responded differently to these atrocity materials, with some expressing emotional discomfort and others finding them fascinating. Many commented on the power of these objects to stimulate an imaginative reconstruction of historical reality, while some wished the museum had done more to facilitate this process in their presentations.[45]

The way the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery is dealt with in Britain, therefore, is very dynamic, with new perspectives making their way into cultural heritage practices but still generating a lot of sensitivities, with people either feeling that narratives are still too celebratory or experiencing discomfort in being confronted with Britain's involvement in the actual Transatlantic Slave System. The extent to which heritage institutes cater to these audiences depends on their specific institutional background and mission, which may impact the way this history is dealt with in heritage educational resources. The two museums selected for analysis in the next section, therefore, show distinct, yet in some ways also similar, approaches to constructing historical distance and multiperspectivity in their heritage educational resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery.

[41] Smith, 'Affect and Registers of Engagement', 275.
[42] Cubitt, 'Atrocity Materials and the Representation of Transatlantic Slavery', 229-231.
[43] Ibid., 234.
[44] Ibid., 234-248.
[45] Ibid., 249-256.

2.2 National Narratives, Black Voices

National Maritime Museum (London), 'Transatlantic Slavery Study Day'

The National Maritime Museum (NMM) is located in 'Maritime Greenwich': a UNESCO World Heritage Site on the Thames in London. Greenwich is famous for its Royal Observatory, and for the prime meridian passing through, name-giver to the West-European time zone, but the town also has a long maritime history. The museum is based in the buildings that were formerly home to the Royal Hospital School and lies behind the Old Royal Naval College. It was founded in 1934, exploring Britain's contacts at sea and overseas from a historical, scientific and environmental point of view. In 1999, the NMM opened its new Trade and Empire gallery as part of the museum's full redevelopment. This gallery, which dealt in part with the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, received a lot of criticism both from right-wing and more liberal commentators. In response to some of the criticism, the museum made a few alterations.[46]

The NMM set out to acquire a new collection of materials relating to the slave trade, which formed the basis for a new gallery, which opened in the bicentenary year of 2007. In developing this gallery, the museum chose to strike a balance between pleasing its traditional core audience and encouraging under-represented groups to visit the museum. In order to maintain this balance, the NMM chose to incorporate the history of the slave trade into a broader narrative.[47] The gallery called *Atlantic Worlds* explores Britain's relationships with Africa and the Americas, using the Atlantic as its main theme. The history of slavery comes into play as people from African countries were transported over the Atlantic to the Americas and goods were brought back over the same ocean from these colonies to Britain.[48] According to Douglas Hamilton, who was curator of Eighteenth-century Maritime and Imperial History at the NMM at the time, the museum not only opted to provide a more elaborate account of the brutality of the Middle Passage compared to the first gallery, but also aimed to give the enslaved people a sense of agency by emphasising their acts of resistance on the slave ships and plantations, rather than just focus on the horrors and hardships they had suffered. Instead of solely focusing on white abolitionists, moreover, the new exhibition also covered some of the black voices in the abolition campaign.[49]

The museum offers two educational programmes on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery for secondary schools. The programme entitled 'Slavery: London and Beyond' is a collaboration with the nearby Museum of London Docklands. In this Chapter, I will focus on

[46] Hamilton, 'Representing Slavery in British Museums', 128-129.
[47] Ibid., 129-135.
[48] www.nmm.ac.uk/about/press/archive/national-maritime-museum-launches-new-atlantic-worlds-gallery (10 January, 2011).
[49] Hamilton, 'Representing Slavery in British Museums', 135-137.

the programme called ‘Transatlantic Slavery Study Day’, which consists of five sessions that focus on different skills of independent enquiry. In the introduction, pupils first receive an overview of the history of transatlantic slavery and its legacy and formulate their own research question. They are asked to answer this question by gathering evidence in the three activities that follow: a handling session with replicas of several museum objects; a manuscript session featuring original documents from the museum's archives; and a visit to the *Atlantic Worlds* gallery in which pupils collect evidence using mobile tablet devices to take pictures and videos of objects or make notes. The day ends with a concluding session in which pupils are asked to share the things they found with the rest of the group.[50]

Handling material relics: multiple senses and perspectives

Regarding the main strategy of 'mnemonic bridging' to construct historical distance, the National Maritime Museum strongly relies on the technique of using material relics to emphasise the relation between the past and the present. In its object-handling and manuscripts session, pupils get to work with both replicas and authentic physical objects relating to the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. This method of constructing a bridge with the past could have important consequences for the inclusion of multiple points of view because museum collections can be limited to only a few perspectives in terms of historical actors and locations. Although curators can rely on objects on loan from others, the museum’s history and collection policy to a great extent determines what objects are available. As I will describe below, however, the National Maritime Museum has maintained multiperspectivity to a great extent.

The replicas used in the object-handling session are based on objects from the slavery-related collection the museum acquired in 2002 and from collections of partner museums that participated in the Understanding Slavery Initiative.[51] This way, the museum is able to offer a great variety of objects and, hence, a broader range of perspectives. The most recent iteration of the session, which I was able to observe in 2013, started off with several objects providing insight into African cultures before the Transatlantic Slave Trade. These objects served as a basis for introducing the triangular trade and how it interrupted and transformed African societies. In the object-handling session that followed, pupils handled objects related to trade and commerce, the Middle Passage, Caribbean plantations, resistance and abolition. The objects included, for example, an African drum, sugar nippers, leg-irons, a lady whip and a wooden carved spatula (see *illustration 4*). Hence, the session was quite balanced regarding the representation of different historical actors, including the

[50] National Maritime Museum, *Transatlantic Slavery Study Day - Session Outline.*
[51] Interview Anna Salaman and Lucy Trotman (London, November 26, 2013).

perspective of African and European traders, enslaved people, British consumers, sailors, plantation owners and anti-slavery campaigners.

In their handling session, the National Maritime Museum emphasises that these objects are replicas but still represent ordinary people involved in the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, who have been ignored for a long time. The museum, therefore, takes great care that pupils are respectful in handling the objects and do not act out with them. Pupils are able to see, feel and smell these objects, so all their senses are involved. Drawing from experience, museum professional D. Lynn McRainey has argued that engaging children's senses creates a sense of depth to the past, allowing them to imagine what it must have been like back then.[52] According to archaeologist Siân Jones, the element of physical contact or an intimate experience is important in establishing a relationship with the networks of past and present people and the places they embody.[53]

The question is, however, whether it matters that these objects are replicas. Some scholars have argued that reproductions can provide a similar authentic experience if they are well-made and people do not know that they are replicas: something that can be enhanced by additional presentation techniques.[54] According to Anna Salaman, the museum's Head of Formal Learning, they 'wanted students to have access to as much real stuff as possible', but for various practical reasons it was impossible to do so with objects from the collection. Nevertheless, handling objects can still provide an experience that cannot be achieved when they are displayed in a case. Talking about the sensitivities associated with working with atrocity materials, Salaman gives an example of one of the museum's facilitators who just rattled with slave chains instead of putting them on. While still being respectful to the history that this object represents, it can trigger pupil's imagination in a way that just looking at an object cannot.[55]

The museum also provides a manuscripts session in which pupils get in contact with authentic historical documents from the archives, mainly manuscripts written by plantation owners and logs by slave ship captains. This session is therefore necessarily limited to only a few perspectives. Although pupils are not allowed to touch the documents, their experience is more intimate than when they see objects presented in an exhibition. The main aim of the session, however, is not to convey this experience, but, just like the objects in the

[52] McRainey, 'A Sense of the Past'?, 161.
[53] Jones, 'Negotiating Authentic Objects and Authentic Selves', 189.
[54] Holtorf, *From Stonehenge to Las Vegas*, 118-119; Hall, 'The Reappearance of the Authentic', 94-95. In her analysis of people's experience of authenticity related to a reconstruction of an 8th century cross-slab, British archaeologist Siân Jones nuances this idea. Her study reveals that passing tourists did problematise the inauthenticity of the reconstruction when juxtaposing it with the excavation of the original nearby, while locals following the construction of the new version developed relationships with the object, attributing it with a sense of authenticity: Jones, 'Negotiating Authentic Objects and Authentic Selves', 196.
[55] Interview Anna Salaman and Lucy Trotman (London, November 26, 2013).

handling session, the manuscripts serve as evidence in the pupils' own historical enquiry. The manuscripts session expands this idea through the concept of 'bias'. By analysing how these manuscripts are coloured by their author's perspective, pupils learn that historians base their research on the interpretation of sources. Pupils have to look at the origin of the source, the type of document and are encouraged to think about the question why it has survived the test of time:

> **All sources are biased.** It is the task of historians to determine the extent to which a particular source is biased, and to take account of this when considering how to interpret the information it contains. For example, is a personal letter more biased or reliable than a newspaper report covering the same event? You should remember that however biased a source may be, it can still be of use to the historian - after all, it may be the only source available!
>
> **In order to assess the bias within a source, it may be useful to ask the following questions:**
>
> **Who produced the document?**
>
> **What type of document is it? Is it for or against abolition of the slave trade?**
>
> **Why was the document produced? Is it possible to tell?**
>
> **When was the document produced? How do you know if it is authentic?**
>
> **Where was the document produced?**
>
> **Why do you think this particular document has survived when many have been lost or destroyed? Is it simply a question of luck?**[56]

As the programme thus combines the temporal proximity generated by the bridging technique of material relics with the detached approach of teaching pupils about source reliability and engaging them in enquiry-based activities reflecting the concepts of historical thinking, which I elaborated in Chapter 1, the absence of multiple perspectives in this session of the programme does not provide a fixed and objectified account of the slave trade through the eyes of Europeans, although with documents like plantation inventories, slave ship documents and writings from abolitionists, this perspective does actually dominate. The programme also shows that objects can trigger other perspectives by interpreting them in a different way. For example, a packet containing letters and papers from a plantation owner is described to have been carried by an enslaved man called Scipio:

[56] National Maritime Museum, *Understanding Slavery Manuscript Sessions*, 6.

> **Slave carried letter, Kingston, Jamaica, 30 June 1785**
> Letter and papers carried by Scipio, a slave, from the Blue Mountain Estate to Kingston, on an errand for the plantation owner. Scipio is listed as being a carpenter and would have been one of the most trusted slaves as he was charged with the task of delivering the letter. Scipio's name is written on the envelope so he could be identified as having permission to leave the plantation if stopped. He also would have worn an iron 'identity' manacle similar to the one in our handling collection, with the name of the plantation on his wrist so if stopped he could show where he was from and that he had permission to be there. [...] It would have taken him five days to reach Kingston and he would have had to have stayed overnight. This provided opportunities to catch up with slaves on other plantations who were friends and family and to pass on messages to loved ones. Some slaves used this opportunity to organise resistance, co-ordinating uprisings at different plantations on the same day. The packet includes an inventory of slaves on the plantation giving their names, place of work and medical condition. The packet also includes details of cane crop production and the overall condition of the estate.[57]

This object is thus given a different meaning, referring to a historical actor different from the actual author of the documents.

In my observations, however, the activity of questioning the reliability of sources did not come through as much as was stated in the session's aims. Instead, the educators focused on specific details of the manuscripts, emphasising temporal proximity. This attention for the 'realness' of these documents, thus exploiting the bridging technique of material relics, may engage pupils and trigger their imagination. Without the more detached activity of reflecting on source bias, however, the lack of other perspectives may result in a Eurocentric narrative, with pupils only investigating the descriptive level of meaning of these documents (denotations) but not the connotations they have been given over time. In combination with their physicality, this may suggest stability and objectivity.[58]

The last session of the educational programme, which involves a visit to the exhibition gallery *Atlantic Worlds,* allows pupils to also look at authentic material relics that represent other perspectives than that of Europeans. However, the presentation of these objects in glass display cases in a museum environment, dislocated from their original context, may create more temporal distance than proximity.[59] Yet, Salaman thinks the gallery visit is still important for pupils because it allows them to encounter 'real' objects. This makes the history they are studying even more concrete and may intensify their experience of objects they have already handled in the previous session.[60]

[57] National Maritime Museum, *Understanding Slavery Manuscript Sessions*, 2.
[58] Lidchi, 'The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures', 151-222.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Interview Anna Salaman (London, November 24, 2010).

Atlantic Worlds: diachronic zigzag

As I explained in Chapter 1, historical distance is also constructed through narrative emplotment. The narrative of the *Transatlantic Slavery Study Day* is very much shaped by the museum's maritime focus, which is most apparent in the session that takes place in the gallery. In *Atlantic Worlds* the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery has been incorporated into a broader narrative that also includes other voyages across the Atlantic Ocean from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries (see *illustration 2*).[61] The plotline of this exhibition gives the impression of a 'zigzag narrative': a plot that combines decline and progress, presenting history both as a 'rise-and-fall' and a 'fall-and-rise' narrative.[62] The gallery first describes the voyages of European explorers across the Atlantic and the expansion of British trade and empire. Then it turns to people on the move, consecutively dealing with voluntary migration and the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Finally, it explores the abolition of slavery, its eventual continuation in the form of indentured labour and the growth of British maritime power.[63] The narrative of this gallery articulates progress and evolution, interrupted several times by a strong decline. Through its diachronic and multi-layered approach to time, the narrative of the *Atlantic Worlds* gallery constructs temporal distance. Explicit references to the present are almost absent and only invoked in order to give significance to the history narrated by emphasizing how it has shaped today's world. This is exemplified by an object label on maroon communities and a text panel that introduces the theme of the gallery:

> This gallery is about the movement of people, goods and ideas across and around the Atlantic Ocean from the 17th to the 19th century. The connections created by these movements changed the lives of people on three continents, profoundly affecting their cultures and societies and shaping the world we live in today.[64]

The gallery is made up of one straight corridor. Visitors can see the end of the gallery when they enter it. This way, the structure of the gallery is immediately apparent: it provides little depth and there are no alternative ways to go through it. These aspects give the impression that the events presented in the narrative relate to each other in a natural and logical fashion, and that the knowledge presented is well-known terrain.[65] The gallery is still faintly divided into several sections, however, by slightly extending walls and display cases. In each section, the opposing walls appear to narrate the history of different sides of the Atlantic: for example Britain versus North America and Africa versus the Caribbean. In the

[61] Parts of this analysis have also been published in the article, Grever, De Bruijn and Van Boxtel, 'Negotiating Historical Distance', 873-887.
[62] Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 18-19.
[63] National Maritime Museum, *Atlantic Worlds.*
[64] Ibid.
[65] Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, 137-139.

middle of the first section, a round exhibit features the different goods that were produced across the Atlantic. The centre of the slavery section features two display cases with chains and whips that were used by Europeans to subject enslaved people to their rule. This presentation seems to suggest that these objects are a central part of the history of the slave trade.

The exhibition narrates the history of transatlantic slavery by referring to the perspectives of different actors, such as African and European traders, enslaved people, resisting slaves and abolitionists. Yet the exhibition very much favours a European perspective. This is evident from the fact that people from African countries only come into play when Europeans encounter them through their explorations for resources. Moreover, in the sections preceding the resistance and rebellions of slaves, the passive tense dominates when enslaved people are mentioned. For instance, an object label referring to a pair of leg-irons (see *illustration 3*) says:

> These shackles were used to restrain captives while on board ship. They could be fitted over the ankles or wrists. Commonly, two individuals would be restrained together by one double shackle. Enslaved people were only released for short periods of time, in order to eat or exercise on the deck of the ship.[66]

School pupils visiting the gallery during the *Transatlantic Slavery Study Day* do not follow the narrative of the gallery. Instead, the gallery supports the activity of historical enquiry, again resembling concepts of historical thinking, as pupils are asked to find five objects relating to transatlantic slavery they think had an impact on people's lives and, subsequently, they have to try and use the gallery to answer the research questions they formulated at the beginning of the day. Pupils use mobile learning tablets to take pictures of objects. The tablets provide interpretative texts that have been written specifically for the session. This activity thus encourages pupils to disentangle the objects from the narrative plot in which they have been embedded and make the evidence their own. This also allows for the introduction of more perspectives than the gallery offers, which Salaman cites as an important part of their approach in the session, besides providing a more human approach to this history, attributing contemporary or personal relevance to the themes presented and giving pupils the opportunity to be active learners.[67]

In its exhibition gallery, to sum up, the National Maritime Museum has embedded the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in a narrative that carries a strong maritime focus, reflecting is institutional context. While this attributes a European frame to the narrative, it also distances Britain from this history as it considers the slave trade as a

[66] National Maritime Museum, *Atlantic Worlds.*
[67] Interview Anna Salaman and Lucy Trotman (London, November 26, 2013).

global phenomenon. Although the maritime point of view is also present in the *Transatlantic Slavery Study Day* to some extent, this educational programme incorporates a broader range of perspectives, partly because of the museum's participation in the Understanding Slavery Initiative. This partnership project led to the development of an object-handling session in which the inclusion of multiple perspectives was possible due to the sharing of collections.

This session, therefore, brings the past temporally closer by allowing pupils to touch and feel replica objects, whilst maintaining multiperspectivity. The activity of working with original documents from the museum's archives adds an extra layer of authenticity to this experience, and the educational programme shows that, with these kinds of materials, multiperspectivity can still be triggered by interpreting them in different ways. In general, the programme balances the experience with distance and detachment through a general focus on independent enquiry, approaching all objects primarily as evidence. While this activity also allows for the Eurocentric nature of the exhibition to be transcended, it may prove difficult for pupils to disentangle the artefacts from the narrative in which they have been emplotted.

***International Slavery Museum (Liverpool),* 'Exhibition Trail'**

The International Slavery Museum (ISM) in Liverpool is based on the third floor of the Merseyside Maritime Museum, which deals with Liverpool as a port city and related histories. The museum is located in a former warehouse at the Albert Dock near the River Mersey that runs into Liverpool Bay on the Irish Sea. The dock was opened in 1846 and was used for the shipping of valuable cargoes, including cotton, tea, tobacco and sugar. Today the dock is a vibrant cultural area containing several museums, galleries, hotels and restaurants. It is part of the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City: six locations listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site. The museum opened during the bicentenary year on the date of the annual Remembrance Day, August 23rd, 2007.

The Merseyside Maritime Museum already attempted to address the history of transatlantic slavery in a museum exhibit in 1987. The project failed, partly because Liverpool's black community was suspicious of the museum's intentions. Having learned their lessons from this first project, the museum commissioned the idea of a new exhibition gallery in 1992. This exhibition, called 'Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity', opened in 1994.[68] It was funded by the Peter Moores Foundation - established in 1964 by a British philanthropist - in collaboration with the Tourist Development Project. In his introduction to the exhibition catalogue, Peter Moores explains that an important reason for

[68] Wallace, *The British Slave Trade & Public Memory*, 26.

initiating the project was his awareness that the history of transatlantic slavery was a taboo.[69] The museum decided to ask eleven guest curators with diverse cultural backgrounds to help develop the exhibition, which formed the basis for the more elaborate exhibition on view at the International Slavery Museum today. In the future, the museum intends to expand to the adjacent building, which will allow it to have its own entrance.[70]

For secondary school groups, the ISM offers learning sessions on various subjects, including history, citizenship, English, art and geography. On the subject of history, the museum has developed activities on African culture, the legacies of transatlantic slavery, Liverpool's involvement in the slave trade and an object-handling session. In addition, they offer staff-led and self-guided tours. In order to facilitate the latter, the museum provides an exhibition trail for schools to download from the website.

Handling objects and legacies

The International Slavery Museum offers a variety of staff-led sessions that take place in its education room, called the Anthony Walker Education Centre. The centre is named after a student who was the victim of a racially motivated murder in Liverpool in 2005. The museum named its educational centre after Walker, because, through its educational work, it campaigns against racism and seeks to increase understanding of the many legacies of transatlantic slavery, its enduring impact and to address ignorance and misunderstanding by looking at the deep and permanent impact of slavery and the slave trade on Africa, South America, the USA, the Caribbean and Western Europe.[71] In one of its learning sessions and a recently produced resource for teachers to use in the classroom, the museum has adopted this topic as the main focus.[72] According to the museum's Senior Education Manager, Jon Marrow, a specific aim of the legacy session is to help 'young people to respond appropriately to racism and to give them the background information and knowledge that they need to support them in that.'[73] This goal coincides with the museum's role in actively campaigning against human rights abuse.[74] In these sessions, the museum thus attributes significance to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery for the present through the main strategy of narrative emplotment to configure temporality and engagement. By creating a link between the past and the present, the focus on legacies stimulates temporal proximity and generates a moral engagement, providing pupils with lessons that can be learned from history for the world today.

[69] Wallace, *The British Slave Trade & Public Memory*, 32-33.
[70] http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ism/about/future-plans.aspx (December 13, 2013)
[71] Interview Jon Marrow (Liverpool, November 29, 2013).
[72] International Slavery Museum, *Legacies of Transatlantic Slavery.*
[73] Interview Jon Marrow (Liverpool, November 29, 2013).
[74] Ibid.

Although this contemporary focus is most explicit in the museum's dedicated legacy activities, it also trickles down into the broader Understanding Transatlantic Slavery session. This session, however, aims to give more of an overview of the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery with a specific focus on Liverpool's involvement and the impact it had on people's lives. Furthermore, it primarily relies on the technique of material relics as part of the main strategy of mnemonic bridging to construct historical distance. Similar to the object-handling session of the National Maritime Museum, this session is based on a collection of replicas that pupils can examine and interpret. The sets of handling objects are based on the objects the museum has in its collection or on display in the exhibition.[75] Therefore, while there are some similar objects, such as pieces of Kente cloth and replicas of the shackles used to enslave people, there are also some items used at the International Slavery Museum which are not included in the handling collection of the National Maritime Museum, such as Adinkra stamps, a Ghanaian carved stool, a replica punishment collar and a replica blunted tool for cutting sugar cane.[76] This list of objects indicates that the focus of the session may lean towards the perspective of enslaved people, but, according to Marrow, other points of view are also taken into account, such as those of abolitionists, merchants or other people involved in the slave trade. 'Because inevitably', Marrow argues, 'as a historian you've got to look at the motivation of all the people involved.'

In this session, the museum uses replicas as primary evidence of what has happened during the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. The idea of handling these objects may bring the past temporally closer. Contrary to the National Maritime Museum, however, the ISM does not have the opportunity to provide pupils with an intimate experience of real artefacts. While Jon Marrow regrets that, for practical reasons, it is impossible to let pupils handle originals, he argues that 'there's still a lot that can be learned from these [replicas]' as 'you can feel the weight of shackles and so on.'[77] The replicas, according to Marrow, can still 'bring history home' to pupils. This experience then serves as a stimulus for further discussion of issues behind transatlantic slavery.[78]

Aside from these learning sessions, the museum also offers several activities in its exhibition gallery. One of them is a staff-led tour that provides an overview of the history of transatlantic slavery and specifically highlights the continuous resistance of slaves, Liverpool's role in the triangular trade and contemporary slavery. Although the museum would prefer all schools to participate in a staff-led session, with the large number of groups coming in, this is practically impossible.[79] Therefore, they also provide an exhibition trail that

[75] Interview Jon Marrow (Liverpool, November 29, 2013).
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.

pupils can use to guide themselves through the exhibition. A number of more up to date trails are currently being devised.[80]

Immersive experiences or intriguing artefacts

The exhibition of the International Slavery Museum provides a comprehensive account of the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery divided over six zones: West-African culture before the slave trade; the economic side of the slave trade, including the African slave trade and the Middle Passage; and the life of slaves on plantations, their resistance and maroon culture.[81] The exhibition strongly relies on the mnemonic bridging technique of material relics to construct historical distance, which are presented in glass display cases and have been arranged thematically. Aside from these more traditional in-context types of museum display, which emphasise temporal distance through the presentation of objects behind a glass panel and their encapsulation in interpretative texts, the exhibition also contains exhibits that offer a more immersive experience of the history narrated.[82] For example, the design of the section on life in West Africa before slavery is based on the culture of the Igbo people who lived in the southeast of Nigeria. Several walls have been decorated with Igbo carvings or patterns, and in the back of the gallery the museum has reconstructed an Igbo family compound, which visitors can walk into (see *illustration 6*).

This in situ type of presentation has been developed even further in the section of the exhibition that deals with the Middle Passage. At the centre of this section is a tomblike circular structure with an entrance/exit on either side. Visitors walking through this so-called 'Middle Passage Immersive' - which is optional - find themselves surrounded by four projection screens showing moving images of a slave chained in the hold of a ship, suffering from pain, exhaustion and despair. These images are reinforced by sounds of people moaning, screaming and vomiting. Aiming to elicit emotional engagement with the enslaved people who suffered through this journey, the immersive means to bring the past closer and evoke a feeling of the Middle Passage. A similar yet less elaborate strategy is used in the next section that deals with life on plantations. In an enclosed space, surrounded on the outside by reproductions of slave huts on a plantation, a slave woman tells about her experiences, contemplating that 'being a slave and a mother is too hard'. Video screens show female and child slaves intermingled with bloody images of slaves screaming as they are being chained and whipped.[83]

[80] Interview Jon Marrow (Liverpool, November 29, 2013).
[81] International Slavery Museum, 'Permanent Exhibition'.
[82] Lidchi, 'The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures', 173; Crew and Sims, 'Locating Authenticity', 169.
[83] International Slavery Museum, 'Permanent Exhibition'.

Although these in situ types of museum presentations are an important factor in the exhibition, the educational worksheets do not explicitly mediate their experience to pupils. One question on the Middle Passage, however, does aim for emotional engagement by asking pupils to write down three words that describe how you feel about this historical event:

> Write down three words to describe how you feel about the Middle Passage.[84]

According to Jon Marrow, because of its sensitive nature, during guided tours of the museum by staff, visitors are given a choice about whether they wish to visit the Middle Passage Immersive.[85] This is probably the reason why it is also optional in the exhibition trail. Some authors have, indeed, argued that these kinds of exhibits can provide a too intimate experience of the past, bringing history too close to visitors.[86]

Most questions focus on authentic material relics that are displayed in glass cases, often asking for facts that can be derived from the accompanying text panels and labels without really mediating the experience of temporal proximity these artefacts can provide. For example:

> This [image of 1900 Asante ceremonial sword] was used for:
> Cutting sugar cane?
> Carving masks?
> Preparing food?
> Cutting cheese?
> Ceremonies?
> Decoration?
>
> What were these used for? [images of a head-dress made of cowrie shells and beads, clay tobacco pipes and manillas]
>
> What was a yoke for?[87]

Instead of directing pupils to look closely at the objects, these questions draw their attention to the interpretative texts around them, with the relics primarily acting as an illustration. With other questions, however, such an experience of temporal proximity may be more likely, as they stimulate pupils to reproduce parts of objects and patterns that have been drawn on them or point to specific details that can be discovered, requiring them to actually engage with the relics (see *illustration 7*):

[84] International Slavery Museum, *Exhibition Trail*, 3.
[85] Interview Jon Marrow (Liverpool, November 29, 2013).
[86] Phillips, 'History, Memory and Historical Distance', 91-95; Riegel, 'Into the Heart of Irony', 87.
[87] International Slavery Museum, *Exhibition Trail*, 2-3.

> Draw in what is missing from this punishment collar.
> What is written on this branding iron?[88]

Other questions ask to investigate the origin of objects, highlighting the past relationships that are embodied in them, which would be important for experiencing their authenticity:[89]

> Who did this stool belong to?
> Where was this necklace made?[90]

Some of the questions specifically emphasise the horrific aspects of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, as in the example of the punishment collar, where pupils have to draw the part that emphasises the object's cruel nature. Another assignment about a painting of runaway slaves being hunted by dogs aims to elicit emotional engagement by asking pupils what is happening, what they think would happen next and if they would want such a painting at home. According to Jon Marrow, specific objects are chosen for activities on the basis of teachers' needs, as well as the aims of the trail and the museum's knowledge of what artefacts are particularly interesting and suitable for the age group.[91]

Enslaved perspectives, contemporary significance

As I have explained in Chapter 1, narrative emplotment is one of the two main strategies of constructing historical distance in heritage educational resources. It is, however, difficult to characterise the narrative of the exhibition at the ISM as following a progressive or a declining plot. Both are applicable in the sense that the narrative emphasises the importance of freedom, which was a positive end for the African people who were enslaved, but the last section of the exhibition also stresses the negative legacies of the transatlantic slave system in the form of racism, discrimination and global inequalities. On the other hand, it also narrates about cultural legacies of this history in a more positive manner, for instance, by focusing on African influences in religion, music and pottery, and on the achievements of black people, such as Shirley Bassey, Malcolm X, Bob Marley, Nelson Mandela and Kofi Annan. The exhibition in general contains many references to the preservation of heritage today and the importance that people attach to commemorating this history, for instance:

[88] International Slavery Museum, *Exhibition Trail*, 3.
[89] Jones, 'Negotiating Authentic Objects and Authentic Selves', 200.
[90] International Slavery Museum, *Exhibition Trail*, 2.
[91] Interview Jon Marrow (Liverpool, November 29, 2013).

> This story has been neglected by too many for too long.
>
> We will remember. The transatlantic slave trade is commemorated throughout the African Diaspora. This is done through:
>
> - Slave forts – Elmina Castle, Ghana, is one of the most notorious.
> - Sculptures – the Middle Passage Monument, U.S. Virgin Islands, commemorates the horrors of enforced migration.
> - Events – 23 August is recognised by UNESCO as Slavery Remembrance Day.
>
> These memorials help us remember how Africans triumphed but also the cruelty of slavery.[92]

This idea is made even more tangible and personal through an exhibit called 'Shrine to the ancestors', which consists of a cabinet filled with objects referring to the legacy of the slave trade, lighted by a warm blue and yellow, with a bench in front of it (see *illustration 9*). Visitors are 'respectfully' invited 'to enter the shrine and to reflect on the stories and the lives of the people presented in this gallery.'[93] The exhibition's narrative structure with its many connections to present-day people and processes, creating temporal proximity, gives relevance to the study of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery.

Few questions in the exhibition trail for school pupils convey this idea that the history of transatlantic slavery has significance for people today. The worksheets do request pupils to write down a quote from the famous persons featured on the 'Freedom & Enslavement wall' in the introductory section. In addition, it points to a 'Vodou flag' from Haiti, presented in one of the display cases, which symbolises the effect of transatlantic slavery in creating new belief systems in the former colonies (see *illustration 9*). Lastly, they ask pupils to find examples of racism in the exhibition, after pointing out the discriminatory nature of an early twentieth century advertising poster for Lux soap:

> This is an example of racist advertising. What other examples of racism can you find?[94]

By dedicating the first section in the narrative to African culture before European involvement, the ISM strongly emphasises the point of view of African people. In other zones, however, where European perspectives are also taken into account, this focus begins to shift. The sections on the economic side of the slave trade and the Middle Passage primarily rely on the perspective of Europeans, including specific individuals from Liverpool, hence emphasising the city's involvement in this history. In the displays on the Middle

[92] International Slavery Museum, 'Permanent Exhibition'.
[93] Ibid.
[94] International Slavery Museum, *Exhibition Trail*, 4.

Passage, the perspective also begins to shift to that of slaves, albeit still in a passive voice. The exhibition presents enslaved people as active historical agents in the sections on plantation life, including their resistance and emancipation, frequently invoking the point of view of individual slaves. Visitors can hear about the experiences of field and house slaves, for instance, while looking at a model of a sugar plantation (see *illustration 8*). The following two quotes illustrate this difference:

> Living Space. Enslaved Africans, especially men, were held below decks for long periods of time during the Middle Passage voyage. Most were confined to very cramped conditions.
>
> Turn the block to find out how much space enslaved Africans were allowed on three Liverpool voyages.
>
> Slaves performed most of the manual, skilled, and domestic tasks on plantations and worked from sunrise to sunset and beyond.
>
> Resistance.
> Slaves fought against their oppressors in numerous ways. There were uprisings and rebellions as well as less obvious methods of resistance. Slaves stole from their owners, damaged machinery, worked slowly and pretended to be sick.
>
> Those who resisted were brave individuals. All acts of resistance carried the threat of severe and inhumane punishment if discovered.[95]

The exhibition trail roughly follows the zone structure of the exhibition and, therefore, produces a similar narrative, yet it is interesting to note that the section on life in West Africa before the Transatlantic Slave Trade receives a little more attention in terms of the number of questions. Although this is not always made explicit, the exhibition trail appears to narrate history from the perspective of Africans who were eventually enslaved but also resisted. With questions on objects used for restraint or punishment, this perspective is not necessarily evident, but the way they have been embedded - in the context of other assignments that do employ the slaves' perspective - suggests that pupils should try to reconstruct the experience of enslaved people.

In conclusion, the contextual background of the International Slavery Museum, established with a strong mission to counteract the negative legacies of transatlantic slavery and to give the black community a voice, is clearly visible in its exhibition that counters the abolitionist narrative by emphasising life in Africa before the slave trade, black agency and Britain's (and particularly Liverpool's) involvement in this history. The museum's exhibition trail similarly appears to follow the narrative of the enslaved people from their life in Africa before slavery to the legacies that led to their discrimination. The experience of this narrative

[95] International Slavery Museum, 'Permanent Exhibition'.

is reinforced in the educational assignments that stimulate temporal proximity by highlighting objects as illustrations, pointing to specific details, their origin or people associated with them. The trail, however, does not take the opportunity to use the more immersive in situ types of display but focuses solely on material relics in glass display cases: a presentation strategy that in itself generates temporal distance. With its interest in legacies and black agency, the ISM appears to be focusing particularly on the African-Caribbean side of this history in its educational programmes. In its object-handling session, however, it does introduce multiple perspectives, as it combines objects from the collections of the partnership museums of the Understanding Slavery Initiative similar to the National Maritime Museum.

2.3 A Forgotten History in Dutch Collective Memory

Up until the late 1990s, the history of slavery was a very small part of the Dutch collective memory. There were no monuments or memorials commemorating the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery.[96] Compared to countries like England, France and the United States, the Netherlands had very few museums that deal with the history of transatlantic slavery. In 1988, the Westfries Museum in the northern Dutch town of Hoorn staged an exhibition about the West-Indian Company, which also dealt with the Transatlantic Slave Trade.[97] Since 1999, only a couple of museums presented a few objects related to this history, with the exception of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, which hosts a permanent exhibition on the subject. The private Surinaams Museum in Amsterdam had an extensive collection on slavery, but this was known in only a few circles.[98] In 2003, the Tropenmuseum presented a small temporary exhibition of photographs on the subject and from 2005 to 2006 the Museum of Amsterdam History had an exhibition on sugar on display, with some references to slavery in Suriname.[99] The year 2009 saw the opening of a temporary exhibition at the Tropenmuseum that focussed specifically on maroon culture in Suriname: a subject that up until then had been largely neglected, despite there being several collections of objects in European museums and scientific publications on those who escaped from slavery.[100] Until the 1990s, school history textbooks also had very little attention for the Transatlantic Slave

[96] Oostindie, 'Inleiding', 8.
[97] R. Spruit, *Zout en slaven. De geschiedenis van de Westindische Compagnie* (Houten, De Haan, 1988) cited in Oostindie, 'Overpeinzingen bij een 'monument'', 112.
[98] Oostindie, 'Overpeinzingen bij een 'monument'', 107-108.
[99] Nimako and Small, 'Collective Memory of Slavery in Great Britain and the Netherlands', 106; Nimako and Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic*, 176.
[100] Van Stipriaan and Polimé, 'Inleiding', 8.

Trade and Slavery.[101] In the field of professional history, many aspects of this history had already been studied. Dutch historian Gert Oostindie, however, argues that this field of study was still marginal and primarily studied by white Dutch scholars, which may have contributed to people's unfamiliarity with and suspicion about this research domain.[102]

The commemoration and monumentalisation of slavery had largely been restricted to the former Dutch colonies in the Caribbean, as it was considered to be relevant to these societies only. It was not until 1998 that politicians launched the idea of constructing a national monument in the Netherlands.[103] According to Oostindie, interest in the subject of slavery grew with the increasing presence of people from the former Dutch colonies in society.[104] Based on his analysis of Dutch historiography on the abolition of the slave trade and emancipation, historian Alex van Stipriaan concludes that the (self-)liberation of the black lower classes in the Caribbean has only recently become part of the historical discourse, a development that also coincided with the increasing presence of migrants from the former Dutch colonies.[105] While the presence of migrant communities in itself already made it difficult to ignore the colonial past of the Netherlands, these minorities also actively strived for recognition of 'their' history.[106] Anthropologist Guno Jones recognises a trend in the late 1990s among Dutch people of Caribbean descent to strive for official recognition of the history of slavery. The use of the prefix 'Afro' (in terms like Afro-Dutch or Afro-European) as an identity marker is taken as an expression of this wish for acknowledgement.[107] In 1998, four Afro-Surinamese organisations campaigned for the establishment of a monument. Other individuals, such as the authors Frank Martinus Arion and Adriaan van Dis, and the South-African ambassador in the Netherlands, Carl Niehaus, also supported this idea.[108]

A volume on the memory of slavery, entitled *Het verleden onder ogen,* edited by Oostindie, was also meant to be a catalyst for the debate on commemorating the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in the Netherlands. The presentation of the book in 1999 was the first occasion on which the Dutch government officially proclaimed its support for remembering this history. Since then, the government has frequently expressed 'remorse' over the Dutch involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, although the idea of material reparations has always been ignored.[109] Eventually, it was Labour MP, Ad Melkert, followed by his fellow party member, Prime Minister Wim Kok, who put the idea of

[101] Regarding primary education, see for instance: Hogervorst, *Van etnocentrisme naar cultuurrelativisme?*, 43-48.
[102] Oostindie, 'Overpeinzingen bij een 'monument'', 108.
[103] Jones, 'De slavernij is *onze* geschiedenis (niet)', 64.
[104] Oostindie, 'Inleiding', 11-12.
[105] Van Stipriaan, 'Disrupting the Canon', 214-215.
[106] Oostindie, 'The Slippery Paths of Commemoration and Heritage Tourism', 57-58.
[107] Jones, 'De slavernij is *onze* geschiedenis (niet)', 65.
[108] Marshall, 'Een Nederlands monument voor de slachtoffers van slavernij', 37-39.
[109] Oostindie, 'The Slippery Paths of Commemoration and Heritage Tourism', 58.

establishing a monument on the political agenda.[110] According to Van Stipriaan, this government interest was partly grounded in socialist-liberal policies on nurturing a multicultural society.[111]

At the book presentation, the Minister for Metropolitan and Integration Policies, Roger van Boxtel, announced that the government would back this initiative.[112] The 'static' monument, providing a physical location to commemorate the slave trade, was to be built in 2002. It was to be located in a park in the eastern part of Amsterdam, a location the city council had selected. Furthermore, a 'dynamic monument' was to be established in the form of an institute that would conduct research and develop commemorative and educational activities. Moreover, the government was to provide its support in constructing exhibitions and a website, revising school textbooks and creating a television series for schools.[113]

Before Van Boxtel announced such government support, there had already been several proposals from many different Afro-community organisations, which were united in one national platform. Ministerial staff, in consultation with this platform, devised plans for establishing the 'static' and 'dynamic' monuments.[114] Although the Platform acted as the government's official consultative partner in all activities relating to the commemoration of slavery, Van Boxtel also decided to establish a new Committee of Recommendation that would play an advisory and promotional role in developing the monument. Meanwhile, a steering committee with representatives from the National Platform, the Committee of Recommendation and several ministries was established to discuss and prepare decisions. Van Stipriaan supposes that the idea for the Committee of Recommendation was to act as a buffer between the government and the platform, in order to avoid the possibility of having to promote too radical ideologies.[115] Nine artists presented their designs for a monument at the Amsterdam City Hall, one of which was eventually chosen to be constructed in the Oosterpark.[116]

The official national monument was inaugurated on July 1st, 2002 (Emancipation Day), with former Queen Beatrix and Prime Minister Wim Kok being present at the ceremony.[117] This ceremony caused a lot of consternation, as only a select group of people had been invited to attend and the site had been fenced off, which - according to Roger van Boxtel - was due to security measures. Many interested people, mainly from Surinamese and Antillean descent, were furious that they were unable to attend or witness the official

[110] Oostindie, 'Inleiding', 11-12.
[111] Van Stipriaan, 'The Long Road to a Monument', 118.
[112] Oostindie, 'Stony Regrets and Pledges for the Future', 13-15.
[113] Ibid., 15-16.
[114] Van Stipriaan, 'The Long Road to a Monument', 118-119.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Oostindie, 'Stony Regrets and Pledges for the Future', 18.
[117] Oostindie, 'The Slippery Paths of Commemoration and Heritage Tourism', 58.

ceremony, as all barrier fences had been covered by black sheets.[118] According to ethnologist Markus Balkenhol, the ceremony, the monument itself and its remote location from the city centre are still important points of contestation.[119]

The 'dynamic monument' was established in 2003 and dubbed the Nationaal Instituut Nederlands Slavernijverleden en Erfenis (NiNsee).[120] The year 2005, furthermore, marked the start of the programme 'The Atlantic World and the Dutch, 1500-2000', which aimed to make an inventory of landmarks, archival records, library resources, research initiatives and priorities on the Dutch involvement in Africa and the Americas.[121] In 2013, the government decided to cut funding for NiNsee as part of a wider package of government cutbacks.[122] Agreeing with the idea that there has been a trend of attempts to 'break the silence' about the history of slavery in the Netherlands since the late 1990s, Guno Jones also signals a discourse that developed at the beginning of the twenty-first century in which these attempts were resisted and the Dutch involvement in the slave trade was interpreted differently.[123] According to Jones, some extreme right-wing commentators and politicians in particular depicted the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery as not being a part of Dutch history and culture, but as something that only belonged to a particular ethnic community.[124]

The Dutch slavery debate is, however, more complex than the distinction between those that support and those that oppose commemorating this history. The group of proponents is by no means uniform. On the contrary, people have different opinions on how the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery should be commemorated. Oostindie argues that there were already heated debates in 2001 about the idea of 'white' versus 'black' accounts of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. For example, some people expressed doubts whether the 'dynamic monument' that was to be established, would be able to provide a new perspective on this history compared to what 'white' scholars had provided in the past.[125] Another hot issue is the idea that Africans themselves were complicit in slave trading, a subject that, according to Oostindie, is rarely raised in the Dutch slavery debate.[126]

Although the Dutch involvement in the transatlantic trade stretched out over a wide region, Oostindie argues that memories of it today tend to highlight a special relation between the Netherlands and Ghana. Oostindie argues that this is rooted in the Ghanaian community in the Netherlands, which has grown a lot over the years and has been an active

[118] http://www.zeeburgnieuws.nl/integratie/slavernij-01.html (13 November, 2013).
[119] Balkenhol, 'The Changing Aesthetics of Savagery', 77.
[120] Jones, 'De slavernij is *onze* geschiedenis (niet)', 63.
[121] Oostindie, 'The Slippery Paths of Commemoration and Heritage Tourism', 73.
[122] Jones, 'De slavernij is *onze* geschiedenis (niet)', 67.
[123] Ibid., 58.
[124] Ibid., 67-68.
[125] Oostindie, 'Stony Regrets and Pledges for the Future', 16.
[126] Oostindie, 'The Slippery Paths of Commemoration and Heritage Tourism', 64-65.

participant in the slavery debate.[127] According to the author, Elmina and its slave fort on the Ghanaian coast has become an important symbol in the memory of the Dutch slave trade and played an important role in several television documentaries that were made on the subject.[128] In 2003, for instance, a Dutch broadcaster specialised in educational television programming broadcast a three-part documentary series on transatlantic slavery specifically catered at school pupils in the later years of primary education and early years of secondary education.[129]

In 2011, a new television documentary series was aired entitled *De Slavernij*, the trailer of which already generated a lot of controversy as it was disguised like a trailer for a new video game, in which players would step into the shoes of a seventeenth century slave trader, whose goal was to 'make a tremendous fortune' by buying, disciplining and exploiting slaves. People in countries all over the world, including the United States, took offence. It proved to be a hoax and was also criticised afterwards as a marketing strategy. For example, Mildred Caprino - a historian who had been an advisor for the series - criticised it for being unethical.[130]

The concept of the series was based on a successful earlier episodic documentary on the Second World War, called *De Oorlog* ('The War') and it managed to reach a similar audience, which was quite large in terms of numbers of viewers.[131] The series also attracted a lot of criticism. A right-wing politician already criticised the series before it was even aired, saying that slavery was not a part of Dutch history. Others, including historians, advisory experts involved in the making of the series and interested people of various backgrounds, criticised some decisions that had been made in the depiction of the topic. For instance, they took issue with the fact that a white Dutch host was looking for physical evidence of the slave trade, taking the 'objective' role, whereas a black Dutch comedian was searching for his roots, representing the 'subjective' engaged participant. The commentators felt this amounted to a colonial view of science, aggravated by a supposed lack of 'black' scholars providing their expert views in the documentary. Furthermore, some people argued that the series played down the unique aspects of the Transatlantic Slave Trade System by comparing it to modern types of slavery.[132]

As in Britain, the memory of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in the Netherlands is a sensitive one due to the different perspectives on this history. This is partly the result of the fact that this history had been absent from Dutch collective memory for a

[127] Oostindie, 'The Slippery Paths of Commemoration and Heritage Tourism', 64-65.
[128] Ibid., 72.
[129] Duursma, 'Slavernij voor scholieren'.
[130] Jones, 'De slavernij is *onze* geschiedenis (niet)', 61.
[131] Ibid., 60.
[132] Ibid., 69-80.

long time and is still only a small part of it even now. Compared to Britain, there are very few exhibitions on transatlantic slavery in the Netherlands. The 150-year commemorations of 2013 generated a lot of new activities and exhibitions, but most of these appeared to be temporary, so it remains to be seen how many of them will stand the test of time. In history education there is also a growing attention for the subject, with the topic having been included in the canon of Dutch history and school textbooks increasingly presenting black voices, although the history of slavery still has a marginal place compared to that of World War II.[133]

In the next section, I will analyse the educational activities of two institutes that were designed at - and hence represent - different stages in the development of the collective memory of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. This contextual background, again, may impact the ways in which historical distance and multiperspectivity are constructed.

2.4 Back to the Roots

Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam), 'Latin America & the Caribbean'

The Tropenmuseum originated as the Koloniaal Museum that was founded in Haarlem in 1871 by colonial entrepreneurs to show objects from the Dutch colonies. In 1926 the museum moved to its current location in Amsterdam, having acquired a collection of ethnographic objects of the Amsterdam city zoo, Artis.[134] After the declaration of independence of the Dutch East Indies, the museum took a broader focus, including the regions of the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.[135] As a part of the Royal Tropical Institute, the collection of the Tropenmuseum has been shaped by the developments in Dutch colonial relations, with most of the objects having been acquired from private individuals.[136] During the 1960s and 1970s the Tropenmuseum was taken under the wing of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which aimed to foster a support scheme for developing countries.[137] The museum's collection and exhibition policies reflected this emphasis on contemporary political and social issues regarding the developing countries.[138] Since the

[133] Van Stipriaan, 'Disrupting the Canon', 216.
[134] Legêne, 'Flatirons and the Folds of History', 48-49.
[135] http://tropenmuseum.nl/-/MUS/5745/Tropenmuseum/Over-Tropenmuseum/Organisatie-/Tropenmuseum-vroeger-en-vandaag (20 August, 2013).
[136] Legêne, *Spiegelreflex*, 7-16.
[137] http://tropenmuseum.nl/-/MUS/5745/Tropenmuseum/Over-Tropenmuseum/Organisatie-/Tropenmuseum-vroeger-en-vandaag (20 August, 2013).
[138] Legêne, *Spiegelreflex*, 17.

1980s, the museum has changed its perspective from poverty and underdevelopment to developments of cultures.[139]

Currently, the Tropenmuseum hosts a permanent exhibition gallery on Latin America and the Caribbean on the second floor. This gallery, which was opened in 2000, deals with various aspects of this continent's history, such as the Inca culture, Indian tribes living near the Amazon and Dutch colonial relations with Surinam and the Antilles. A special section of the gallery, called 'The price of sugar', has been devoted to the history of transatlantic slavery and its impact on present-day Surinamese, Antillean and Dutch society (see *illustration 11*).[140] The museum has two school activities relating to this gallery on offer: a guided tour and an exhibition trail which students can use to guide themselves through the museum. Both activities do not focus on slavery alone but on the history of Latin America and the Caribbean in general, just as the exhibition. This approach indicates that the Tropenmuseum has designed its educational programme from the point of view of its own mission and collection rather than the school curriculum. In the following, I will focus on the sections related to slavery in the exhibition and accompanying educational resource.

Objects as illustration

The museum uses the mnemonic bridging technique of material relics as one of the main strategies to construct historical distance to bridge the gap between the past and the present, but has presented most of its slavery collection in flat glass display cases. This technique of displaying objects primarily stimulates temporal distance. Some exhibits, however, are contained in more or less in situ types of display. For objects relating to trade on the African coast and the Middle Passage, for instance, visitors enter a small reconstruction of a ship's bow and are presented with a list of slave ships, trade goods and some information on what enslaved people experienced on their journey from Africa to the Americas. The colour scheme that is used helps to tie the objects into their original context: the section on the triangular trade is portrayed against the blue of the ocean, while the parts on plantations and the interior are presented against green. The section that deals with recent history and the present is all white. The artefacts on maroon culture in the interior of Surinam are presented in a darker closed-off area of the exhibition. In the last section, the museum has also incorporated large blow-up photos depicting Surinamese society and its many cultures, which may provide a more immediate experience. The different groups of

[139] http://tropenmuseum.nl/-/MUS/5745/Tropenmuseum/Over-Tropenmuseum/Organisatie-/Tropenmuseum-vroeger-en-vandaag (20 August, 2013).
[140] www.tropenmuseum.nl/-/MUS/12379/Tropenmuseum/Over-Tropenmuseum/Persinformatie/Persinformatie-Algemeen/Persinformatie-Algemeen-Latijns-Amerika-en-de-Cariben (27 January, 2011).

migrants that came to Surinam from the 1900s onwards are displayed in a step-wise manner, which may represent the different layers of which this society consists today.[141]

The exhibition trail for schools features several questions divided over ten sections about the history and culture of the continent under study. Two of these sections relate to the gallery's slave trade exhibits, dealing very briefly with the Middle Passage, the plantations, the abolition and the situation after the slave trade was abolished. Most questions are more or less descriptive and ask for factual information, such as in what country one could find a particular sugar plantation, what the expression *Keti Koti* means in Dutch and how plantation owners found a new workforce after the abolition of slavery.

> Look for this display case. Press the button. You will see the sugar plantation Merveille. In which country was this plantation located?
>
> What does Keti Koti mean?
>
> Walk on a bit to the big display cases on the left.
>
> After the abolition of slavery plantation owners searched for other cheap labourers. Name two countries where the new cheap laborers came from.[142]

In these questions the objects act more as an illustration, as pupils have to find their answers on objects labels or text panels in the exhibition. Other questions, however, draw pupils' attention more to the objects on display, for instance (see *illustration 13*):

> The Netherlands abolished slavery in the 19th century. Walk on and you will see a red shawl showing the coat of arms of Surinam. The object gives you a lot of information!
>
> A. In which year did the Netherlands abolish slavery?
> 0 1863
> 0 1889
> 0 1963
>
> B. On which date is it commemorated?[143]

These questions mediate material relics as a bridging technique, although their ability to provide an experience of temporal proximity would still be limited, because of the way they have been presented.

The question on a diorama of the Merveille plantation by Gerrit Schouten similarly encourages pupils to look closely at the object, as it asks them to think about the differences

[141] Tropenmuseum, *De prijs van suiker.*
[142] Tropenmuseum, *Onderwijskijktocht V: Latijns-Amerika en de Cariben*, 3-4.
[143] Ibid., 4.

between the place where the enslaved lived and where the overseers lived in relation to the total number of people that would have worked on the plantation (see *illustration 12*).[144] The way in which the educational resource thus uses this object to stimulate temporal proximity, runs contrary to how it is presented in some of the museum's other publications that aim for more distance and detachment. A leaflet, for instance, indicates how the diorama carries its maker's perspective, as Schouten would intentionally have presented the plantation like more of an idyll than it actually was and would, therefore, have slightly obscured the slave huts behind the overseer's big house.[145] According to Alex van Stipriaan, it is important for teachers or museum guides to trigger pupils with these kinds of objects, asking questions such as: what is it you *don't* see in the diorama?[146]

Roots and Dutch connections

Regarding the main strategy of narrative emplotment to construct historical distance, the slavery section of the exhibition at the Tropenmuseum, 'The price of sugar', narrates the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in chronological order, starting with the slave trade in Africa, followed by displays on work and life on plantations in Surinam, Afro-Surinamese culture and run-away slaves (maroons), who developed their own culture, which interacted with that of existing indigenous communities. These sections, which are consecutively presented in a linear fashion, lead into a more open space that describes how this history has impacted colonial societies.[147] The openness of the space may represent the undetermined nature of the present, contrasting with the linear narrative about things that have already happened.

Both spatially and textually the exhibition explains the cultural diversity of the Dutch former colonies as a direct result of the history of slavery and its aftermath.

> From 1500 onwards, millions of Africans were forcibly taken by Europeans to Latin America and the Caribbean. Violence and slavery form the basis of this 'New World'. But over time mutual influences and a mixing of peoples and cultures developed.[148]

This topicality is made concrete in the last section by showing recent video footage of the streets of Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam. The exhibition also contains a reference to the significance of this history for Dutch society, as it shows the cultural export of the Antillean Carnival festivities from Curacao and Aruba to the city of Rotterdam. Because they include

[144] Tropenmuseum, *Onderwijskijktocht V: Latijns-Amerika en de Cariben*, 3.
[145] Tropenmuseum, *Overal zit een verhaal achter.*
[146] Interview Alex van Stipriaan and Gundy van Dijk (Amsterdam, May 2, 2013).
[147] Tropenmuseum, *De prijs van suiker.*
[148] Ibid.

these recent events and processes, the first parts of the exhibition can be interpreted as tracing back the roots of present-day communities in colonial and Dutch societies. 'The price of sugar' gives the impression of a progressive narrative: although slavery first passed over into indentured labour, it was eventually abolished with the exhibition ending on a more positive note regarding the cultural legacies of this history. By emphasising the links between the past and the present, this narrative plotline attributes significance to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, emphasising its temporal proximity.

This idea of searching for roots is also presented in the exhibition on a more individual level, which is not as strongly present in the English exhibitions studied. One of the exhibits presents visitors with the project 'Back to the roots', which was conducted from 2006 to 2008, in which a group of Dutch-African youngsters investigated their 'roots' based on genealogical DNA research (see *illustration 14*). In the video shown in the exhibit historian Alex van Stipriaan, who was the Latin America & Caribbean curator at the Tropenmuseum at the time, explains that one of the aims was to see 'what happens when you literally set foot on the soil where you believe your ancestors came from.'[149] The group of youngsters, therefore, travelled to Africa to meet with the people they were supposed to be akin to. Van Stipriaan argued that the project showed the dynamics of identity-making, as 'you yourself create a huge part of your roots and your identity.'[150] This project thus emphasised temporal proximity in a very personal manner as it connected the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery to people in the present. The blending of cultures is also accentuated by an art installation by the Surinamese artist Marcel Pinas, which included a huge cabinet filled with African and Surinamese objects, arranged in a gradual transition (see *illustration 14*).

The exhibition trail for school pupils takes a similar approach to Latin America and the Caribbean as the exhibition takes to Surinam. It encourages pupils to explore the history of this continent from the idea that, after the arrival of Columbus and many other Europeans, 'influences from Europe, Africa, Asia and the original inhabitants have now been mixed into new cultures.'[151] One question explicitly embraces this theme, as it asks pupils to name a tradition that coolie labourers brought to Surinam.

> These new labourers also brought their traditions to Surinam. Look in the display case and name one of these traditions.[152]

As is apparent from the description above, the prime geographical focus of the exhibition is on the Netherlands and its former colonies. The involvement of other European

[149] Tropenmuseum, *De prijs van suiker.*
[150] Ibid.
[151] Tropenmuseum, *Onderwijskijktocht V: Latijns-Amerika en de Cariben.*
[152] Ibid., 4.

countries in the transatlantic trade is rarely mentioned, although visitors could pick it up from a few text panels or object descriptions. It is interesting to note that the text panels also mention the contribution of local Dutch cities to the history narrated. The curators, however, did not use the bridging technique of constancy of place or emphasise the role of Amsterdam; the Dutch capital city is not even mentioned at all, and the exhibition only refers to the port city of Middelburg and the people from the province of Zeeland. Regarding the former colonies, the focus lies on Surinam, as the museum indicates that it does not have many objects relating to the Dutch Antilles in its collection.[153] This shows that, when using material relics as a bridging strategy, the inclusion of multiple perspectives is often limited by the scope of the collection. The focus of the exhibition trail is also on Surinam, with the Dutch Antilles not being mentioned at all.[154]

In terms of historical actors, the exhibition presents a fairly balanced narrative, including the point of view of enslaved people, various Europeans (e.g., traders, sailors and plantation owners) and run-away slaves (maroons). Alex van Stipriaan, who was curator from 2005 to 2014 and not involved in the design of the original exhibition, explained that, if he were to redesign the exhibition, he would have included more intangible heritage and exhibition texts written from a black perspective, as the current format relies rather on an 'outsider' point of view.[155] According to Van Stipriaan, the gallery was made at a time when people in the Netherlands thought: 'We don't have anything, so what could we show about slavery?'[156] The sections on transatlantic slavery, therefore, were chiefly developed on the basis of objects in the museum's collection, including a whip and nineteenth century dioramas by the Surinamese artist Gerrit Schouten.

In the Tropenmuseum's exhibition, in conclusion, the history of slavery has been embedded in a broader narrative that coincides with the museum's collection policy and general aim. Their exhibition trail follows the same theme of 'Latin America and the Caribbean', and the programme, therefore, strongly emphasises the experiences of people in the former Dutch colonies. Although this could limit the perspectives that are included in the resource, the Tropenmuseum does refer to various historical actors and geographical levels. However, as the museum itself indicates, the collection includes very few objects from the Dutch Antilles, giving it a bias in favour of Surinam. This demonstrates that using material relics to bridge the past and the present can make it difficult to explore multiple perspectives. While the bridging technique as used at the Tropenmuseum is limited in its ability to bring the past nearby, because of the 'in context' presentation of objects in display

[153] Tropenmuseum, *De prijs van suiker.*
[154] Tropenmuseum, *Onderwijskijktocht V: Latijns-Amerika en de Cariben.*
[155] Interview Alex van Stipriaan and Gundy van Dijk (Amsterdam, May 2, 2013).
[156] Ibid.

cases, some of the questions in the trail attempt to reinforce their experience of temporal proximity by having pupils engage and have a close look at some of these artefacts.

NiNsee (Amsterdam), 'Break the Silence' & 'Child in Chains'

From 2002 to 2012, an office building only a few hundred metres away from the Tropenmuseum housed the National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy (NiNsee). As I explained in the previous section, this institute was established as part of an initiative by the Dutch government to commemorate the history of slavery in a more permanent fashion. Together with the national slavery monument that was established in the Oosterpark as a material marker of this history, NiNsee was meant to stimulate the memory of Dutch slavery and its legacy by facilitating research, discussion and education relating to this particular topic. Developing exhibitions and educational activities was one of the means through which NiNsee intended to fulfil their aims. However, government funding for the institute was cut in 2013, forcing NiNsee to drop a lot of their activities and continue on a project basis.

The institute hosted a permanent exhibition, entitled *Doorbreek de stilte* ('Break the silence') and a temporary gallery, both of which were included in the educational programme. My analysis covers both the permanent exhibition and the temporary gallery *Kind aan de ketting* ('Child in chains'), which ran from March 2009 to August 2010. In the institute's educational programme, pupils visited both exhibitions and the nearby national slavery monument by taking a guided tour.

Legacies and personal connections

The title of the main exhibition, 'Doorbreek de Stilte!' ('Break the Silence!'), referred to the apparent lack of attention paid to the history and the legacy of transatlantic slavery, a gap that the exhibition was meant to fill (see *illustration 16*).[157] Besides providing a comprehensive account of transatlantic slavery, therefore, it strongly focused on the legacies of this history, which was achieved primarily by emphasising people's personal connections with this history. This kind of attribution of significance is part of the main strategy of narrative emplotment to configure temporality and engagement. Several displays dealt with the idea that people today can still trace their roots to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. The last text panel stressed that many of these descendants live in the Netherlands today and that the legacies of slavery are still visible in the classroom, on the streets and in (political and economic) international relations.

[157] NiNsee, *Doorbreek de stilte.*

> Many people living in the Netherlands have ancestors who were born in Surinam or the Antilles during the period of slavery. Today the consequences of the Dutch history of slavery are still evident in the classroom, on the streets and in political and economic world relations. Only now do an increasing number of people feel that the silence that had descended upon this past is uncomfortable. Only now is some awareness beginning to arise about the magnitude of that history's burden. Only now is it starting to become clear that this is not something that only concerns the descendants of enslaved Africans, but that it is a shared history that we have to come to terms with in order for us to have a shared future.
> In short, BREAK THE SILENCE![158]

The exhibition thus actively created a link between the past and the present, emphasising temporal proximity. The focus on people is an important difference compared to Liverpool's International Slavery Museum, which deals with positive and negative cultural legacies in a wider sense. In the NiNsee exhibition, cultural transformations through religious and musical influences, for example, were more embedded in the narrative of how enslaved people resisted their oppressors.

With its interest in the legacies of slavery, the narrative of the exhibition shows the characteristics of a 'zigzag' plot. It narrates how European nations, with a specific focus on the Netherlands, started the triangular trade in enslaved people, the experiences of slaves during the Middle Passage and on plantations and the development of racism during the nineteenth century and the connections of people with this history today. Up to this point, the exhibition presents a declining narrative plot. It is interesting to note that this was also the point of transition of the main exhibition in the temporary gallery. When *Kind aan de ketting* was on display, dealing with historical and modern-day child slavery, therefore, the narrative reinforced this pattern of deterioration and the institute's focus on legacies. The original exhibition ended on a more positive note with a large section on the various ways in which enslaved people resisted and contributed to their own freedom. This section was split off from the first part of the exhibition and was on display on the ground floor.

The institute's emphasis on the legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery was reinforced in its educational programme through the visit to the national slavery monument in the park nearby (see *illustration 15*). As I have mentioned in the previous section, this monument - created by the Surinamese artist Erwin de Vries - was unveiled by Queen Beatrix in 2002. It consists of three parts. In the back, there is a group of slaves chained together, representing the past. The middle section symbolises the present with a freed slave walking through an archway. The future is highlighted by a forceful figure throwing his hands into the air, referring to freedom for everyone. By incorporating the monument into their educational programme, the institute again stresses the importance of commemorating the legacies of slavery. During the visit, the educator gave an overview of

[158] NiNsee, *Doorbreek de stilte.*

how the monument came into being, emphasising that people's attempts to get the history of slavery recognized, garnered political support. Hence, by highlighting the significance newly attributed to this history, she generated temporal proximity. In addition, she also stressed that slavery still exists today.[159]

Similar to the exhibition, furthermore, the educator drew attention to people's personal connections with the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. The fact that she drew on her own experience, describing how an ancestor on her father's side had a child from a female slave in Surinam, may have made this even more concrete for pupils. As a last activity, pupils were asked to go and stand in that section of the monument with which they felt the closest affinity, to stimulate them to think about their own personal connection or disconnection with this history in an open manner without imposing a message. The activity allows pupils to reflect on the moral values and issues raised by the monument. The monument visit ended, however, with the message that the institute wants to communicate: pupils were encouraged to talk about the issues of slavery and share it with others to break the silence.

The horrors of slavery

With their permanent exhibition, the NiNsee primarily used material relics as a bridging technique, part of the second main strategy to configure temporality and engagement, yet their presentation in glass display cases accompanied by a lot of interpretative texts, resembling an 'idea-driven' exhibition emphasised temporal distance more than proximity.[160] Besides the focus on legacies, however, the narrative plot of 'Doorbreek de Stilte' also generated temporal proximity through the way it had included and presented different perspectives. In many sections, the exhibition took the point of view of the African people who were enslaved, aiming to present their experiences on slave ships and plantations. Although it did occasionally refer to the plantation owners' point of view or the role of Europeans in the slave trade economy, it was the slaves' perspective that dominated. This was particularly noticeable in the last section. As its title *Verzetscultuur* ('Culture of resistance') already indicated, it highlighted the role of slaves in emancipating themselves, while the role of European anti-slavery campaigners was given less prominence. This can partly be explained by the fact that an abolition movement was virtually non-existent in the

[159] These observations are based on the research carried out by Geerte Savenije for her PhD Project on students' prior knowledge and their learning experiences during a heritage education project. Savenije recorded two school groups participating in the educational programme of the NiNsee in 2010 on video. See: Savenije, *Sensitive History Under Negotiation*.
[160] Crew and Sims, 'Locating Authenticity', 169.

Netherlands.[161] Through the narrative mode used in the exhibition texts, the NiNsee brought the slaves' experiences closer than the English and the Tropenmuseum exhibitions. The following quote on the Middle Passage, for instance, shows a combination of the present tense with a detailed description, providing visitors with a more immediate and engaging depiction of the life of slaves:

> The crossing
>
> Naked African males, females and children are being brought on board the vessel that will take them to the Americas. Armed sailors stand ready on deck to quell any resistance immediately. Still, the prisoners resist, by cursing or even by jumping overboard. Once in the hold, sailors clamp the Africans in irons. Then they are arranged in the hold, densely packed. A bucket in the corner serves as privy, but in the limited space everyone defecates and urinates on the floor, leaving an unbearable smell. In the morning, all receive a lump of bread, and in the afternoon a handful of beans, rice, peas or groats. Each day, they only get to drink twice.[162]

The focus on the slaves' experience was also evident in the guided tour that the NiNsee provided through the exhibition. The educators delivering these sessions did not necessarily follow the narrative of the exhibition. According to Maria Karg, the institute's education and presentation coordinator at the time, the exhibition was 'inexhaustible' for use in educational programmes, so she had distilled four key themes for the volunteers to guide pupils through the exhibition: the triangular trade, the Middle Passage, family history and punishments / maroon culture. These subjects were primarily based on key objects, such as slave chains and a dugout canoe (see *illustrations 16-17*). The tour guides, however, were at liberty to put their own emphasis on the material, drawing on their personal backgrounds and interests.[163]

One educator, for example, started the narrative of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in the Americas, where the indigenous people worked the plantations for Europeans before these began to trade in enslaved Africans, which is different from the exhibition, which begins in Europe. The educator did, however, communicate the aim of the exhibition and the institute, referring to its title of breaking the silence and introducing the idea of modern-day slavery.[164] Although the tour focused on Dutch involvement in transatlantic slavery, this educator also frequently indicated the role of other European countries in this

[161] Kuitenbrouwer, 'De Nederlandse afschaffing van de slavernij in vergelijkend perspectief', 74; Nimako and Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic*, 46-47.
[162] NiNsee, *Doorbreek de stilte.*
[163] Interview Maria Karg (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
[164] These observations are based on the research carried out by Geerte Savenije for her PhD Project on students' prior knowledge and their learning experiences during a heritage education project. Savenije recorded two school groups participating in the educational programme of the NiNsee in 2010 on video. See: Savenije, *Sensitive History Under Negotiation*.

history. In terms of historical actors, she mentioned the perspective of Europeans (including explorers, traders and plantation owners), but the enslaved people were the prime focus.

It is interesting to note that the educator went into a lot of detail about the horrific experiences of slaves on ships during the Middle Passage and on plantations. Instead of using the material relics on display to bridge the temporal gap between the past and the present, she asked pupils to help her demonstrate practices that were quite common on plantations in the Caribbean in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, hence relying on the bridging technique of 'imitation and replication. She examined a pupil as a slave trader would have done during a slave auction, for example, and requested one pupil to take the position of a slave being whipped. Images on the text panels in the exhibition served as illustrations to these activities. Maria Karg questions this as a learning methodology but argues that it could be a way of stimulating pupils' imagination, referring to the experience of the Middle Passage at the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool as an important emotional trigger to make people aware of this history, something the NiNsee was not able to provide in its exhibition.[165] This strategy of stimulating a first-person perspective reinforces the dominance of the enslaved point of view. The strong focus on the cruelties being inflicted on slaves may generate sympathy and elicit an emotional engagement that makes it difficult to take other perspectives.

Rhyming history

The exhibition gallery *Kind aan de ketting* told the story of children in the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery.[166] Ten panels described different aspects of the lives of enslaved children (see *illustration 18*). In addition, a timeline, spanning an entire corridor, summed up significant events in the history of transatlantic slavery, focusing specifically on those that affected children. Finally, several exhibits explained aspects of the Middle Passage, the life of slaves on plantations and their resistance and liberation. This exhibition did not feature any authentic objects, except for a few beads and shells found in Middelburg in 1987 and dated to around 1800, which would have been used by Europeans to buy slaves in Africa (see *illustration 18*).[167] The display technique of putting these objects into a case contrasted with the arrangement of the rest of the gallery and may, therefore, have emphasised the idea that these beads were authentic. Instead of relying on authentic material relics to bring the past closer, NiNsee employed narrative and visual techniques to connect the past and the present in a direct manner, particularly stimulating emotional and moral engagement. In this

[165] Interview Maria Karg (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
[166] For a description and analysis of this exhibition, see also: Grever, De Bruijn and Van Boxtel, 'Negotiating Historical Distance', 882-884.
[167] NiNsee, *Kind aan de ketting.*

case, the main strategy of narrative emplotment to construct historical distance, thus, features more prominently than that of mnemonic bridging.

Kind aan de ketting not only portrayed the lives of children who were forced to work across the Atlantic or were born into slavery in the past but also included examples of present-day slavery, such as the use of children in the military and in sex-trafficking. For instance, recent developments in the fight against slavery had been included in the chronological timeline. These were interspersed with five small video displays, attached to a replica of the side of a shipping container, presenting excerpts from documentaries, featuring first-person accounts of twenty-first century child slaves (see *illustration 18*). One video, which had been produced by a New York Times journalist, presented the story of the Cambodian girl Long Pross, who was kidnapped when she was thirteen, forced into prostitution and tortured. Another video featured indentured servants in Haiti, known as *restaveks*.[168] Most of this footage could have been very confronting to visitors. A news ticker displaying newspaper headlines about child slavery indicated the urgency of this topic. Moreover, the introductory section presented visitors with modern and historical definitions of the words 'child' and 'slave'. In addition, children could measure their length to determine whether slave traders from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would have considered them a child.[169]

The integration of modern-day child slavery into the narrative was also very apparent on the ten panels. Each panel focused on one aspect of the life of slaves - such as 'born', 'fed' and 'abused' - providing descriptions of the experiences of child slaves 'then' and 'now', which were visually clearly separated from each other (see *illustration 19*).[170] This distinction was reinforced by differences in the mode of narration. Whereas historical events were narrated in the *past tense*, recent developments were told in the *present tense*. The present-day sections, moreover, featured more personal accounts of child slaves; these parts, therefore, included more first-person quotations than the historical sections, which were principally narrated in the third person. The historical sections rarely mentioned the experience of specific individuals, except for a few, such as a boy named Cupid, who ended up on a British naval ship.

Although these differences in narrative mode generated some detachment, the exhibition appeared to aim to bridge the time gap and to create opportunities for identification. By synchronically comparing past and present events on each panel that dealt with a single theme, the narrative highlighted analogies between 'parallel' situations, instead of differences. Here NiNsee had constructed what Zerubavel calls a rhyming narrative plot,

[168] NiNsee, *Kind aan de ketting.*
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.

implying that the past and the present are represented as clearly distinct but nonetheless fundamentally similar from an epistemological perspective, to the point of evoking a sense of what Zerubavel calls *there we go again*.[171] Following Zerubavel, the physical resemblance between the images of enslaved children and child soldiers may compensate for the lack of actual physical contact with the past and consequently invoke a powerful *iconic connectedness*.[172]

The present-day sections provided a more intimate account than the less personal historical descriptions: they may have generated feelings of injustice and may have made the representations of child slavery in the past more comprehensible. Although the introductory panel said that 'every story of a child in slavery is unique', the accounts of modern-day child slaves seem primarily to have been included to bring transatlantic slavery *closer* rather than to discuss its particularities.[173] The emotional video fragments also indicate that this exhibition communicated a moral message. In addition, framing examples of modern-day slavery in a narrative on children in the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery attributed significance to these present-day narrations.

Clearly, the exhibition's main focus was on the enslaved people, but it also invoked other perspectives, such as that of a Surinamese plantation administrator, who was cited as complaining about slaves raising children on the plantation, as these would only have any use once they reached the age of fifteen. Furthermore, one of the models – displaying a plantation – was overlooked by an up-scaled illustration of a plantation owner who had the visitor's point of view, a technique that puts the visitor into the overseer's perspective.[174] These few references to planters and traders, however, had all been encapsulated into a narrative that dealt with the horrific experiences of enslaved children and were, therefore, just meant to support this perspective. The narrative, however, did not present the enslaved as people who passively accepted their fate but heavily emphasised the slaves' resistance. For example, one exhibit, which consisted of a panel that could be folded up like a comic book, featured a graphic story on a female slave who was hanged for poisoning her master to death.[175]

NiNsee did not offer any educational resources to be used in the exhibition. The information in *Kind aan de ketting* was mediated through a guided tour. The institute did, however, have other resources available. Teachers were provided with a booklet and a guide they could use for a lesson preparing and/or reviewing the museum visit. This educational resource, more so than the exhibition, expressed a mission to encourage users

[171] Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 25.
[172] Ibid., 45.
[173] NiNsee, *Kind aan de ketting.*
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.

to take action against modern slavery. While the exhibition only drew attention to the urgency of the topic through its news ticker, the educational booklet explicitly related the narrative of transatlantic and modern slavery to the work of charities.[176] This kind of moral engagement limits opportunities for detached reflection and exploring multiple perspectives.

To conclude, the NiNsee is a product of recent developments in Dutch collective memory in which an increasingly dominant migrant community from the former colonies started to garner attention for the history of slavery. This contextual background seeped into the exhibition and its educational programme as a strong focus on the legacies of slavery and the perspective of enslaved people. Much more so than the Tropenmuseum, therefore, the activities of the NiNsee stimulate temporal proximity and emotional or moral engagement, which makes the exploration of other perspectives difficult. The analysis, however, also shows that these kinds of one-sided heritage presentations can be used to open up other points of view. The monument visit, for instance, allows pupils to reflect on the message this memorial conveys and on their own personal interest in this history. The moral message of the *Kind aan de ketting* exhibition, furthermore, is so manifest that it can easily be discussed and debated. Because of its mission, however, the NiNsee did not provide these activities itself and left it up to teachers to reflect on these issues back in the classroom.

2.5 Conclusion

The heritage educational resources studied in this Chapter display strategies and techniques to construct historical distance. Regarding the main strategy of mnemonic bridging, all institutes use material relics to bridge the gap between the past and the present, but their approaches vary greatly. While the use of authentic objects can stimulate temporal proximity, the strategy of presenting them in display cases behind a glass panel adds a layer of distance. The analysis, however, shows how various educational activities mediate this bridging technique in different ways: while often the objects only serve an illustrative purpose, some resources also use them as evidence or engage pupils to reproduce parts of objects or find out about the origin, material or specific details of objects. As these latter activities emphasise the realness of the material relics on display, they are more likely to instil a feeling of temporal proximity. The two English museums take it even further by adding the sense of touch through a collection of handling replicas.

[176] Mok, *Kind aan de ketting*, 22-23.

Although the bridging technique of imitation and replication features through reconstructions and simulacra in, primarily, the exhibition of the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, this strategy is not mediated in the museum's educational resources. This probably has to do with the sensitivities associated with the history of transatlantic slavery: some people may regard an immersive re-enactment of the experiences of slaves as too horrific and gruesome.

The heritage educational resources studied in this Chapter also show different ways of constructing historical distance through narrative emplotment. It is with this strategy particularly that we see the influence of the institutional and (trans)national contextual background of remembering, teaching and presenting the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery on the heritage educational resources analysed. In the Netherlands, collective memories of slavery had been non-existent for a long time; in Britain, it originally could be characterised by an abolitionist narrative, emphasising the positive end of this history and the involvement of white British anti-slavery campaigners. Due to a growing migrant population from the former colonies, these existing and non-existing narratives started to change, with communities increasingly seeking recognition of the history of transatlantic slavery and the perspective of the enslaved people involved in it. This process led to the establishment of several memorials and exhibitions and the inclusion of new perspectives. In this way, the cultural heritage of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery has been opened up to multiple perspectives, which were then incorporated into educational programmes for school pupils. However, a one-sided focus on the slave perspectives, which came to the fore with these migrant communities, can also result in unbalanced accounts preventing pupils from properly reflecting on the issues related to this history.

The British National Maritime Museum and Dutch Tropenmuseum reflect a more traditional approach. The exhibition at the NMM, incorporating the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery into a broader maritime history, takes a European perspective, with a focus on economic and trade aspects. It creates temporal distance through its diachronic and multi-layered approach, but generates temporal proximity by indicating the significance of history for Britain in the present. The Tropenmuseum, with its background as a colonial institute, approaches the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery from a Surinamese perspective and explores the links with European countries, particularly the Netherlands, which became involved in the Caribbean because of its plantations. Through a combination of diachronic and synchronic approaches it blends temporal distance and proximity by presenting a chorological narrative ending in a section that highlights continuity between the past and the present.

The International Slavery Museum in Liverpool and NiNsee in Amsterdam, on the other hand, can be seen as products of the shifting historical culture. Processes of

globalisation and the arrival of large groups of migrants from the former colonies resulted in the formation of specific mnemonic groups that criticised the dominant national narratives in both countries. These developments have been translated into exhibitions emphasising the legacies of slavery and the African perspective. The heritage educational resources of both institutes heavily rely on the point of view of the enslaved people to teach about the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery.

Comparing England and the Netherlands, it is interesting to observe that the Dutch institutes focused much more on the personal legacies of the slave trade, emphasising how people today still feel related to this history, while the English institutes took a broader approach, with particularly the ISM highlighting the cultural legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in general. This difference may stem from the process of community consultation that many museums in England opted for, as I explained in the first section of this Chapter, in which several curators expressed uneasiness about implementing a 'people-driven' focus into the exhibitions. The choice to focus on cultural legacies in general appears to offer some more balance between a 'people-driven' and 'object-driven' approach.

Although the institutes thus seem to favour particular points of view, the heritage educational resources show strategies of adding other perspectives as well, generating more multiperspectivity. Both British museums use replicas in some of their sessions to add certain perspectives and to overcome the limitations of their collections. In addition, several institutes show how specific activities relating to one-sided exhibits can help to open up other points of view. However, it is important for heritage institutes to be aware of the strategies they employ in their presentations to stimulate temporal proximity and engagement and what this could mean for history learning. The strong moral messages and emotional engagement instigated by emphasising the slaves' perspective in the activities of the NiNsee and ISM, for instance, can limit opportunities for open reflection and exploring multiple perspectives. Because of their overtness, on the other hand, these configurations of historical distance easily lend themselves to post-activities in the classroom to discuss the issues involved in the history and memory of transatlantic slavery.

In the next Chapter, I will continue to analyse heritage educational resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade, while focusing on how *local* traces of this history are used to construct historical distance.

3 *Local Slave Trade Connections*

Walking through British and Dutch towns or cities, one does not immediately envision images of slaves being captured in the African interior or working on Caribbean sugar plantations. Names of streets and areas, such as West India Quay in London, Suikerbakkersteeg ('Sugar baker Alley') in Amsterdam and Jamaica Street in Liverpool, however, indicate that there are still many references to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in both countries. Some heritage institutes capitalise on these local connections to indicate the relevance of studying this history today and to provide pupils with a more immediate experience. As I explained in Chapter 1, people advocating the use of cultural heritage in education have stressed the importance of highlighting references in pupils' direct environment as it would show them the significance of the history under study, stimulating their historical consciousness and engaging them into history learning. Others, however, have also pointed to problems and risks associated with focusing on local heritage, as it may limit the exploration of other perspectives and take attention away from broader, and global historical processes and international events.

This Chapter, therefore, studies how local traces of the Transatlantic Slave Trade are used in heritage educational resources to configure temporality and engagement and how that impacts the exploration of multiple perspectives. As local traces of the history of the slave trade can often be found physically in the urban landscape, an important way in which they are integrated into educational practices is in the form of a city trail. For this Chapter, therefore, I have selected two slavery trails, through Bristol and Middelburg, which have specifically been designed for use by school groups. The comparison between these English and Dutch city trails will show different approaches in dealing with local slavery heritage, which can be explained from the different contexts of remembrance and commemoration. Furthermore, the educational programme of the Museum of London Docklands was also chosen to reflect on the use of a more local perspective in a museum setting. Because there are few museums in the Netherlands that offer exhibitions and educational programmes on the history of slavery, as I explained in the previous Chapter, I unfortunately was not able to include a Dutch counterpart of this museum in my analysis.

Before presenting the results of my analysis, I will first explore the ways in which the Transatlantic Slave Trade has been commemorated in various localities. It will become clear that the stronger tradition of memorialising this history in England, compared to the

Netherlands, has generated a more dominant presence of these commemorative practices on a local level as well.

3.1 English Port Cities in the Triangle

As British memories of the slave trade revolved for a long time around the abolitionist narrative, the first physical memorials indicating local links with this history also focused on this perspective. When visiting Westminster Abbey in London today, one can find five memorials that represent an explicit connection to the abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. These are the monuments of the famous British anti-slavery campaigners Granville Sharp, Charles James Fox, William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay and Thomas Fowell Buxton. Most of these memorials were financed by groups of private investors or organisations, such as the African Institution of London. Other abolitionist monuments in London were erected in the late nineteenth century, all in the vicinity of Parliament Square.[1] Although these monuments were not governmental initiatives, their location near places of parliamentary importance may have given them a national flavour.

It is interesting to note that a statue of the leading abolitionist campaigner Thomas Clarkson is not present at Westminster Abbey. Only in 1996 was a commemorative plaque added near the Wilberforce monument.[2] This initiative resulted from a long campaign by the town of Wisbech in the East of England, which was hoping to gain more national recognition of its locally born abolitionist campaigner.[3] Both Wisbech and Hull, which was the birthplace of William Wilberforce, have been important in the development of local commemorative activities.

A monument of Wilberforce was already constructed in Hull in 1835. The year 1906 saw the official opening of the Wilberforce House museum, and a life-size statue of Wilberforce, which was originally presented to the city in 1883, has been in front of the building since 1912. According to John Oldfield, the figure of Wilberforce has been important in the construction of Hull's identity as a city. Recently, there have been attempts to include Wilberforce House on the UNESCO World Heritage list, and the Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation was established at the University of Hull.[4]

Thomas Clarkson has been commemorated in Wisbech since the nineteenth century and has been important in the making of the town's public image. A monument in his memory was established at the churchyard in Playford in 1857, and a similar memorial was

[1] Dresser, 'Set in Stone?', 175-186.
[2] Ibid., 189.
[3] Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*, 64-65.
[4] Ibid., 71-72.

constructed in Wadesmill twelve years later. Clarkson spent part of his youth in both villages, which are both located near Wisbech. Wisbech itself gained its reputation as Clarkson's town through the construction of a large memorial close to the market square in 1881. Today, besides this monument, which shows Clarkson standing above the other white British abolitionists, blue plaques also indicate Clarkson's birthplace and grammar schools, while displays in the Wisbech and Fenland Museum tell us more about his life and anti-slavery campaign.[5]

As I described in the previous Chapter, the abolitionist narrative was eventually challenged by a growing public awareness of black agency and the actual Transatlantic Slave Trade itself, instead of solely its abolition. This development also manifested itself materially on a local level through memorials that explicitly commemorate the experience of black people in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, such as Pero's Bridge in Bristol, remembering the black servant of a British slave trader who resided in Bristol. The story of Pero, who was born on the Island of Nevis, but spent most of his adult life in Bristol, came to the forefront when an action group, composed of university academics, museum and library professionals, members of the black community and a city council member, explored the ways in which the slave trade and its legacy in Bristol could be acknowledged.[6] In Lancaster in 2005, the so-called 'Captured Africans' memorial was established, symbolising the Middle Passage.[7]

It is interesting to observe that most of the local accounts of this history tend to focus on maritime aspects, symbolised by the fact that most museums providing exhibitions on the Transatlantic Slave Trade are located in former slave ports. When slavery itself comes into focus, Oldfield argues, it is represented as a remote, colonial activity.[8] It has taken a while before commemorative activities relating to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade started to pop up in these port cities. As their history was one of involvement in the trade of slave-produced goods, they could not rely on telling an easy story about the end of the slave trade, glorifying a local anti-slavery campaigner. As the group of people from African-Caribbean descent in these cities grew, the memory of slavery has increasingly been brought to the fore. In Liverpool, this happened in the early 1990s with the development of a first exhibit, as I showed in the previous Chapter. In Bristol, concern for this history among

[5] Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*, 72-78.
[6] The story of Pero is connected to that of plantation owner and merchant John Pinney, whose house was preserved as an example of a late 18th century townhouse and opened for the public as The Georgian House Museum. Only recently a small wall display on Pero and slavery was installed in the house, after a group of visiting African American actors had attempted to dramatize his story on site in a guerrilla theatre performance to draw attention to the enslaved perspective. See: Wallace, *The British Slave Trade & Public Memory*, 48-50
[7] Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*, 79-81.
[8] Ibid., 135.

migrant communities also grew with race-related riots and conflicts that occurred since the 1980s. In addition, new historical research on the African presence in eighteenth-century Bristol and the city's economic involvement in the slave trade fuelled organised protests against the intellectual silencing of Bristol's slave past.[9]

It was not until the mid-1990s, however, that Bristol began to commemorate its historical significance in the slave trade. This took material form in 1997 with a small plaque in honour of enslaved people, which was installed in the docks.[10] A year later, historian Madge Dresser and community activists Caletta Jordan and Doreen Taylor published a city trail pointing out locations related to the slave trade, a project commissioned by the city council.[11] The year 1998 also saw the opening of a temporary exhibition on the subject at the City Museum and Art Gallery, which was later moved to the Bristol Industrial Museum, in 2011 re-opened as M Shed.[12] The aforementioned 'Pero's Bridge' was officially opened in 1999. According to Madge Dresser, the fact that a Labour MP opened both the bridge and the exhibition symbolises the importance of a political agenda behind these activities of stimulating a new sense of 'Britishness'.[13] This idea reflects the notion that governments often regard heritage as a good vehicle to stimulate social cohesion, as I explained in Chapter 1.

These new commemorative activities did not necessarily create a feeling of shared understanding, however. In Bristol, tension mostly revolved around the figure of Edward Colston: a local merchant who supported many of Bristol's churches and charities. His effigy and name, therefore, can be seen all around Bristol in the form of statues, street names and venues, such as a concert hall (Colston Hall), an office building (Colston Tower) and a school (Colston's School). Since the late 1990s, however, many Bristolians have also become familiar with Colston's background in the trade of slave-produced sugar, sparking roaring debates in the press and besmirching his name in the city. These debates were particularly pronounced in the years leading up to the bicentenary commemorations,[14] when organised black communities began to criticise the commemorative year's focus on the abolition of the slave trade, distrusting the motivations of the local and national governments. This led to an increasing effort of Bristol's City Council to let these communities participate in the development of commemorative activities. At the same time, other Bristolians also voiced their concern about ideas of emphasising Colston's involvement in the slave trade. Some also expressed a feeling of 'slavery fatigue', lamenting the amount of public money

[9] Dresser, 'Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol', 228-229.
[10] Ibid., 229.
[11] Wallace, *The British Slave Trade & Public Memory*, 26.
[12] See: http://mshed.org
[13] Dresser, 'Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol', 229-230.
[14] Ibid., 223.

being spent on making people feel guilty about Bristol's role in the slave trade.[15]

Local traces related to the Transatlantic Slave Trade were not only preserved in the landscape, but also made their way into museum exhibitions. Drawing from research on exhibitions created for the bicentenary year, Geoffrey Cubitt concludes that many exhibitions used various strategies to introduce a local perspective. Even nationally-oriented institutes such as the National Maritime Museum, the International Slavery Museum and (the now closed) British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol brought up this local point of view to some extent.[16] Cubitt distinguishes three types of strategies that are used to attribute local significance to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: (1) emphasising particular, personal or collective local connections to this history (often abolitionists, but also slave owners and traders); (2) presenting the slave trade as a revelation of something that had been suppressed for a long time, uncovering a 'hidden history'; (3) inviting the voice of present-day local communities who felt related to the history of transatlantic slavery into the design of the exhibition.[17] The Museum of London Docklands, which I will analyse in the next section, appears to present a mix of all these three strategies.

Heritage institutes in Britain thus have ample opportunities to use local heritage on the slave trade in educational resources. In the next section, I will analyse how two institutes use this local perspective to configure temporality and engagement, and how this relates to the exploration of other points of view.

3.2 Tangible Sensitivities

Victoria County History, 'Bristol Slavery Trail'

The city of Bristol is located in southwest England near a major inlet known as the Bristol Channel. It is built around the River Avon, which provides the city with direct access to the channel. Until the late twentieth century, Bristol had a lively harbour area, called the Bristol City Docks, very near the city centre. This harbour saw its last commercial activity in 1991. Today, the city's port activities solely take place outside the city, and its historic harbour has been redeveloped into a cultural area with lots of galleries, restaurants and bars.

As one of Britain's major port cities, Bristol has been an important hub for the trade in slave-produced goods and, therefore, contains many signs and places that can be related to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. In 1998, therefore, as I explained in the previous

[15] Dresser, 'Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol', 231-238.
[16] Cubitt, 'Bringing It Home', 260.
[17] Ibid., 262-272.

section, Bristol's city council commissioned the creation of a slavery trail to point out these references. This resulted in the pamphlet *Slave Trade Trail Around Central Bristol*, created by historian Madge Dresser and community activists Caletta Jordan and Doreen Taylor.[18] A few years later, this pamphlet formed the basis for a special slavery trail for school pupils.

In 2001, the Victoria County History Project started to develop three historical city trails for school pupils, under the umbrella name *History Footsteps*. Victoria County History was launched as a programme in 1899 at the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London. Since its institution, it has focused on creating 'an encyclopaedic record of England's places and people from earliest times to the present day'.[19] *History Footsteps* was Victoria County History's first attempt to target a school audience.[20] Since 2001, the three city trails have been available as an interactive website. Students could navigate through the website themselves and use it as a digital resource.[21] In 2011, the trails were revised and added to a newly created Schools Learning Zone section on the Victoria County History website as downloadable teacher packs, including some of the texts and activities of the former website.[22]

The *Bristol Slavery Trail* teacher pack consists of three types of documents, which teachers can use to support their teachings on the Transatlantic Slave Trade with local history. The first type of document, called 'teacher notes', can be regarded as a travel guide. It describes the actual trail through Bristol, highlighting forty-two places in and around the city centre that can be linked to Britain's colonial history. Short historical descriptions of all forty-two sites have been divided over six themes: the docks, power, wealth, campaigns, trade and legacy. Users can visit the places from these themes consecutively.[23]

The second category of documents comprises four activities for teachers to use in their classroom. Each activity explores one theme related to transatlantic slavery, using a variety of primary sources: the docks, the middle passage, symbolism in the city and the treatment of black people in Bristol.[24]

The last set of documents contains several transcripts of historical sources, some of which have also been provided as audio-visual files with an actor impersonating the historical agent who wrote the source.[25] According to Dean Smart, Senior Lecturer in History and Citizenship Education at the University of the West of England and as an educationalist involved in the making of the trail, the idea always was to allow teachers to edit specific

[18] Dresser, Jordan and Taylor, *Slave Trade Trail Around Central Bristol*.
[19] www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/ (12 January, 2011).
[20] www.historyfootsteps.net/ (12 January, 2011).
[21] www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/englandpast/education/bristol_index.html (12 January, 2011).
[22] www.englandspastforeveryone.org.uk/schools/projects/slavery-trail-bristol (29 March, 2011).
[23] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Teacher Notes.*
[24] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Activities.*
[25] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Resources.*

sections of the trail or only use chunks of it. Although he would recommend physically walking the trail, if possible, it can also be used as a virtual resource. Smart thinks that teachers who do use it to go out into the city probably only do a part of it, as 'it's quite a stretch to do it all'.[26] The trail is about 5 kilometres (3 miles) in length.

Constancy of place and narrative emplotment

As with most historic city trails, the *Bristol Slavery Trail* uses the technique of emphasising constancy of place as part of the main strategy of mnemonic bridging to construct a temporal relation between the past and the present. Although the resource sometimes indicates what has changed since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there are many buildings and signs that reveal the city's connections to history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. The Bristol Slavery Trail has been designed to point out that 'there is a lot of evidence still visible to show how Bristol and Britain are linked to the people of Africa, the Caribbean and the Americas'.[27] Many references, therefore, point out the continuity between the past and the present. For example (see *illustration 20*):

> Number 29 Queen Square has not changed much since it was built in 1709. It was built for Alderman Nathaniel Day, who owned shares in several slave ships and who later became Bristol's Mayor in 1737. Sharing the ownership of ships was a deliberate insurance against loss. If a ship sank, which was not uncommon, or a voyage was unprofitable, then a single owner could face a huge loss. If the value and risk was shared then the loss was shared.[28]

What this quote also illustrates is the resource's clear focus on people. More often than stressing the former function of a place in Bristol, it draws attention to people who used, lived in, founded or paid for buildings or other structures in Bristol. Sometimes it refers to people in general, such as merchants, traders and sailors, but frequently – as the example above illustrates – the trail points to specific individuals. This is also the case with sites or streets that are named after actors that were involved in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, such as Pero's Bridge and Colston Hall. Dean Smart thinks this was probably a deliberate choice because 'to demonstrate quite how many people and at different levels were involved is important in terms of understanding its [the Transatlantic Slave Trade's] reach'.[29]

This use of the bridging technique of constancy of place thus brings the past closer on several levels: by emphasising continuity, focusing on people and pointing out individuals. As the resource primarily employs these strategies from the perspective of traders, merchants or sailors, it encourages moral engagement. By stressing how a lot of

[26] Interview Dean Smart (Bristol, November 20, 2013).
[27] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Teacher Notes*, 19.
[28] Ibid., 7.
[29] Interview Dean Smart (Bristol, November 20, 2013).

Bristol's wealth and splendour was generated by the slave trade, the trail might elicit responses of indignation or outrage. It is important to note, however, that the resource does not judge these activities and only provides such details as factual information. A good example is the so-called Georgian House: a historic home that is now used as a museum (see *illustration 22*). The information the trail provides on this location is quite similar to what is on the plaque outside the house:

> The Georgian House is now part of the Bristol city Museum and Art Gallery, but was once the home to the Pinney family. Built for John Pinney (1740-1818), the house was paid for with monies gained from the sugar plantations on the island of Nevis.[30]

The resource could have aimed for a different form of engagement by also including the perspective of Pero, the aforementioned black servant of John Pinney, to whom the city council has also dedicated a bridge (see *illustration 23*). According to Dean Smart, they tried hard to do justice to various voices and perspectives. He does not think the trail ended up carrying a perpetrator theme, as it not only mentions the celebrations in Bristol when pro-slavery campaigners originally won the vote but also highlights the anti-slavery campaign with a big focus on Thomas Clarkson (see *illustration 21*).[31]

Most educational activities that have been provided with the resource do not explicitly relate to the historical sites visited in the trail, but they are more of an extension to the places and traces found in Bristol, relying on archival source materials.[32] Few of these activities, therefore, mediate the temporal proximity provided by the bridging technique of constancy of place. Dean Smart points out that this was a deliberate decision, as it is difficult to do a good learning activity on site due to practical concerns. On the trail, it is important to focus pupils by telling them a story, asking them to write down something or maybe make a little sketch, but 'the tradition is not strong about that being deep learning'.[33]

Examining how the *Bristol Slavery Trail* constructs historical distance through narrative emplotment, it becomes clear that the plotline of the resource is not evident. One could argue that the actual walking route presents a progressive plotline, as the trail starts at the docks in the lower southern part of the city, where the trade started, and winds up to the upper north, where the effects of the wealth generated by the slave trade become visible (see *illustration 22*). This would then create a link between the past and the present, as it connects the more historical sections on the Transatlantic Slave Trade to its legacies visible in the city today, generating a moral engagement similar through a bit of a perpetrator

[30] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Teacher Notes,* 18.
[31] Interview Dean Smart (Bristol, November 20, 2013).
[32] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Activities.*
[33] Interview Dean Smart (Bristol, November 20, 2013).

theme. Thematically, however, the trail presents more of a zigzag narrative. It mixes information about traces of trading in Bristol with evidence of the wealth that the slave trade brought to the city and with knowledge of anti-slavery campaigns. The trail ends with a meta-perspective on the legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, considering how present-day residents of Bristol remember the slave trade and how the vast amount of wealth generated by the trade has left its marks on the city. In addition, teachers are encouraged to select specific themes, which undermines the idea of a potential overarching narrative.

One of the classroom activities mentions the fact that 'there are millions of people in modern forms of slavery'.[34] This statement fosters moral engagement, allowing discussions on human rights: people forcing others into slave labour is not only a problem of the past, but it is also a problem of the present. This way, the trail creates a connection between the past and the present. As I explained above, however, most school groups will probably not walk the entire trail and get acquainted with the whole of its narrative; they will pick out specific chunks, which the resource facilitates by dividing it up over several themes.

Perspectives on heritage

Overall, the trail rarely takes the point of view of enslaved people. A notable exception is the reconstructed first-person account of a run-away female slave, who had been sent back to plantations in Jamaica after having served a plantation owner in Bristol. Dean Smart indicates that he tried to incorporate some black agency into the narrative, but in the end there is not a lot of evidence that allowed him to use this perspective. According to Smart it is a difficult decision to make as 'it would be nice to have that [black agency], but then it might not be historically accurate because you privilege a particular voice when there's less evidence of that'.[35] Hence, it is the strong local focus of the trail that puts constraints on the variety of historical actors whose perspectives are included.

The trail solely focuses on the role Bristol and its inhabitants played in the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Sometimes Britain as a whole is brought up in relation to the slave trade, but other European countries are not referred to at all. This emphasis on the locality of this history contributes to the fact that the perspectives of traders, merchants and abolitionists dominate. Smart argues that the resource's local focus would probably make it a good supplement to history textbooks, as it would act as a case study to these textbooks in which historical events and processes are presented in a homogenised manner.[36]

The resource's focus on Bristolians is especially apparent in the activity document on the middle passage. Instead of describing the circumstances of the enslaved people during

[34] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Activities*, 'Justice? The Treatment of Black People in Bristol', 1.
[35] Interview Dean Smart (Bristol, November 20, 2013).
[36] Ibid.

this journey, as most resources do, the *Bristol Slavery Trail* provides teachers with sources highlighting the life of sailors on slave trade ships.[37] The resource introduces other historical actors that are often not dealt with in educational resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade. In the activity sheets on the docks, for example, pupils are requested to think about the life of ship builders in the eighteenth century.[38] Furthermore, the trail visits several sites related to the Quakers, who were first involved as traders in the slave trade but later decided to actively campaign against it because of their beliefs.[39] By introducing new historical actors, the resource thus presents multiple perspectives without mentioning some key actors due to its emphasis on the local aspects of this history.

These perspectives are also made concrete through a series of video files in which actors, impersonating the authors of historical sources, read a monologue derived from this evidence, thus adding an extra layer of temporal proximity. Smart thinks these so-called 'talking heads' are important to have for today's multi-ethnic school groups, in which some pupils struggle with literacy. In addition, they are more and more used to modern technology, so the use of audio-visual material may help to engage them more easily. Smart does not think that people acting out these source fragments is an issue, as 'everything is an act of choice or interpretation', and teachers are also likely to put in their own emphasis and interpretation when working with the original sources.[40]

The resource does not explicitly present teachers and pupils with historiographical perspectives and actual debates between historians, yet sometimes it indicates that history is written through analysis and interpretation of different sources. The most explicit example of this idea is the observation that 'historians still argue over how much wealth the slave trade, and trade in slave-produced goods, brought to England'.[41] In addition, the resource presents a case that illustrates the notion that heritage sites sometimes carry a singular perspective. In the legacy section, the trail visits the statue of Edward Colston, a merchant who lived in Bristol in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and who is praised for his financial contributions to the city, as I explained in the first section of this Chapter (see *illustration 24*). The trail, however, also emphasises that the nineteenth-century Bristolians who erected the statue did not mention the fact that a large portion of his wealth was based on slave labour.[42]

It is interesting to note that, in the 2001 version of the *Bristol Slavery Trail*, this idea was elaborated to a much greater extent, saying that the many streets and venues in Bristol

[37] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Activities*, 'The Middle Passage'.
[38] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Activities*, 'The Docks'.
[39] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Teacher Notes*, 5, 16, 18.
[40] Interview Dean Smart (Bristol, November 20, 2013).
[41] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Teacher Notes,* 13.
[42] Ibid., 16.

that are named after Colston also sparked controversy, especially around the time of the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade. One of the activities, therefore, presented this recent debate to students and asked them to express their own opinion on this matter.[43] By way of this activity, therefore, the old slavery trail – compared to the new version – made students much more aware of the significance of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the present-day plurality of perspectives on this history. According to Smart, it was not a 'particular political decision' to leave it out of the new version, but it was cut in an attempt to slim down the resource. In fact, he has used the activity as an example in international workshops as it can be used in debates on heritage preservation in all countries.[44]

As the educational activities rarely involve the actual historical sites that have been included in the trail, most of them revolve around historical sources, which are approached in various ways, balancing between temporal distance and proximity, engagement and detachment. For example, some activities emphasise the fact that historians create historical narratives and have to judge the value and reliability of specific sources, generating temporal distance and detachment.

> Historians do not know what happened to Harry Harper. [an imprisoned African in Newgate Prison, Bristol]
> Write down what you think happened to Harper after Harry Gandy tried to intervene.
>
> What types of historical documents could you use to check if you were right about what happened to Harry Harper?[45]

However, other activities stimulate more temporal proximity and engagement, by encouraging pupils to take the perspective of individual historical actors. For instance:

> If Jane Triscott [the widow of a sailor who died on duty] had met Mr Blacke [the captain of the slave ship], what do you think she might have said? Use this sentence to start the conversation.[46]
>
> Look closely at this picture of the shipyard. Based on the picture, which of these words describe the life of shipbuilders in Bristol in the 1760s? [Active, awful, entertaining, noisy, smelly, sweaty, thought provoking, etcetera][47]

According to Dean Smart, such activities, which fall into the category of the much-debated concept of historical empathy, are good as long as they encourage pupils to 'understand the values of the time'. In the case of the exercise about the shipyard, he argues that it is not so

[43] www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/englandpast/education/bristol_index.html (12 January, 2011).
[44] Interview Dean Smart (Bristol, November 20, 2013).
[45] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Activities*, 'Justice? The Treatment of Black People in Bristol', 4-5.
[46] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Activities*, 'The Middle Passage', 6.
[47] Smart, *Bristol Slavery Trail: Activities*, 'The Docks', 2.

much about eliciting an emotional response but rather about ‘trying to think about surroundings and circumstances’: ‘what can you hear, smell, see, what is happening around you’.[48]

To conclude, the Bristol Slavery Trail primarily employs the local point of view through the bridging technique of 'constancy of place'. The combination of this technique with a strong local perspective has led to a relative absence of other perspectives: the points of view that have been included are limited to those connected to physical traces that are still visible in the city today and those that are related to sources from the local archives. The Bristol Slavery Trail, however, shows that multiple perspectives can also be opened up through a single, one-sided heritage object, such as the contested statue of Edward Colston. The physical experience of walking the trail and the resource's focus on people, however, elicit temporal proximity and can easily allow one perspective to overshadow others, which may communicate a moral or emotional engagement in the form of a celebratory or perpetrator narrative. The makers of the resource appear to have taken great care to avoid such issues by dividing the narrative over different themes and marketing it as a local case study to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

Museum of London Docklands, 'Slavery Study Day'

In the shadow of many big glass and concrete skyscrapers, a characteristic feature of London’s Canary Wharf business district, one can find a row of nineteenth-century warehouses that are part of a complex known as the West India Docks. One of these buildings houses the Museum of London Docklands. Since 2003, this branch location of the Museum of London has presented the history of London as a port city. In 2007, it opened a new exhibition gallery called *London, Sugar and Slavery*, which was one of the last contributions to the commemoration of the abolition of the slave trade.[49] Contrary to many other activities, though, *London, Sugar and Slavery* was meant to be a permanent gallery and, therefore, still exists today. Development of the gallery began in 2005, when the museum's management thought it important – in view of the upcoming bicentenary – to better incorporate the history of the slave trade into their exhibitions, particularly because of its unique location, for the West India Docks and the warehouse in which the museum is located played an important part in the nineteenth-century sugar trade.[50]

In the development of this gallery, the museum opted for community consultation, which led to the formulation of a number of objectives that were considered to be important. Aside from providing a narrative about the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the consultative

[48] Interview Dean Smart (Bristol, November 20, 2013).
[49] Morrison, 'Slavery Days'.
[50] Spence, 'Making the London, Sugar and Slavery Gallery at the Museum of London Docklands', 150.

groups stressed that the exhibition should also deal with the history of black people in Britain. In addition, it should also cover the resistance of enslaved Africans, the contributions of women to the abolition movement and the anti-slavery campaign conducted in Parliament. *London, Sugar and Slavery* set out to address these issues in the context of London's involvement in the history of transatlantic slavery.[51]

On several specified dates, the museum organises educational events relating to the gallery in which schools can take part. The museum offers two educational programmes on the Transatlantic Slave Trade. One programme, entitled *Slavery: London and beyond,* is a collaboration with the nearby National Maritime Museum (NMM) in which the Museum of London Docklands facilitates a talk about London's local connections with the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the historical significance of the museum building. After a self-directed visit to the exhibition gallery, students will then participate in the NMM's object handling and gallery session. In this Chapter, however, I will focus on the museum's other educational programme, called *Slavery Study Day,* which provides more of an overview of the Transatlantic Slave Trade with a specific emphasis on London's role in it.

The *Slavery Study Day* consists of several activities that cover different aspects of this history: a drama session on the abolition; a creative writing workshop, focusing on the perspective of the enslaved; and a visit to the gallery.[52] In 2013, the programme was changed to include an introductory drama, introducing pupils to some of the issues involved and an object handling session in which they get to work with replicas related to the Transatlantic Slave Trade. The original idea of the programme was to focus particularly on abolition and legacy, as many other museums already focused on the triangular trade and the experiences of enslavement.[53]

Local and global perspectives

In its exhibition gallery, the Museum of London Docklands focuses on London's involvement in the history of the slave trade and, hence, uses a geographical perspective to bring the past closer through narrative emplotment. According to David Spence, who was the director of the museum when it opened, one of the aims was to 'help Londoners from all backgrounds understand their own heritage and identity better'.[54] This approach is clearly visible in the exhibition. For example, it deals extensively with the African presence in London then and now. In addition, when describing the history of the triangular trade, the

[51] Spence, 'Making the London, Sugar and Slavery Gallery at the Museum of London Docklands', 156.
[52] Museum of London Docklands, *Slavery Study Day: KS3 Support Materials*, 5-6.
[53] Interview Kirsty Sullivan (London, November 25, 2013).
[54] Museum in Docklands, *London, Sugar and Slavery: Museum in Docklands Revealing Our City's Untold History*, 1.

system of slavery and its eventual abolition, London's involvement is often mentioned, while other cities or countries are rarely referred to at all. Moreover, several sections of the gallery mention that this museum is based in a building that, as a sugar warehouse, played a role in the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade itself, alluding to the mnemonic bridging technique of constancy of place. This contributes to the visitors' understanding that London was a big factor in this trade. The authenticity of the location is frequently emphasised, as the West India Docks are depicted as 'the physical manifestation of London's corner of the Triangle Trade'.[55] It is the museum's mission to tell the history of London, but another argument supporting the gallery's focus on this city can be found in its accompanying booklet, which says that 'for decades the extent of London's role in the slave trade has been overlooked'.[56]

Contrasting the focus on London, Britain and its colonies, the gallery also includes a more global approach with a large section on Africa as a continent before European contact. It is interesting to note that this part of the gallery is presented in a straightforward corridor which leads up to a much more open space in which the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade is told (see *illustration 26*). This presentation technique ensures that visitors do not immediately get an idea of how the narrative has been structured. Moreover, it may reinforce the theme that London was very much involved in the slave trade, as stories about London and British colonies are all mixed together in one open space.

The educational programme, however, does not emphasise the 'constancy of place' the museum can provide and rarely invokes or mediates the local perspective. Instead, it primarily relies on the bridging techniques of material relics and imitation and replication to construct historical distance, which strongly influence the perspectives that are included and excluded.

Manipulating and observing objects

One of the bridging techniques that the educational programme of the Museum of London Docklands uses to emphasise temporal proximity is the experience of physical objects. Similar to the NMM and the International Slavery Museum, which I studied in the previous Chapter, the museum offers an object handling session featuring replicas related to various aspects of the history of transatlantic slavery. There are objects that represent African culture before the Transatlantic Slave Trade, such as a bronze leopard, and drums and gourd rattles that show how this culture translated into the Caribbean. Other replicas refer to the actual trade in the form of tobacco and cigar boxes and items related to sugar. The handling collection also contains manacles, images of punishments, manillas that were used

[55] Museum of London Docklands, *London, Sugar and Slavery.*
[56] Bressey, Wareham and Prescod (eds.), *Reading the London Sugar & Slavery Gallery*, 24.

as currency in Africa and other things.[57] Just like the object handling collections from the museums studied in Chapter 2, the replicas thus cover different facets of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and relate to various points of view, although they are still derived from the museum's own collection.

According to Kirsty Sullivan, the museum's schools programme manager, the introduction of an object handling session was important as schools expect to be able to work with artefacts when coming to the museum. Sullivan argues that this element of touch is important because:

> You can look at a picture of a slave manacle and it doesn't tell you anything other than that it looks silvery and it got some writing on it, it could be pretty uncomfortable. But as soon as you pick that up and manipulate it and hold it in your hands, not wear it, cause that's inappropriate, but feel the weight of it and how it's not ergonomic and it's not going to be comfortable and you're wearing, wearing this would be a constant reminder of the fact that you are owned by somebody else. It's not something you can get from a picture.[58]

Pupils are guided through a list of questions that stimulate them to engage with the object. For instance, they have to think about what the object was used for, what it feels like, what it is made of or what it would have been like to wear or touch it.[59] It is because of this tactile experience that Sullivan argues that it does not matter that they are replicas.[60]

Pupils get the experience of authentic objects in a visit to the exhibition gallery, which is also part of the educational programme. In the 2013 version of the programme, however, the visit to the gallery is, according to Sullivan, the element that most schools are most likely to miss out on due to time constraints. Therefore, the new activities relating to the exhibition have been constructed much more freely: pupils are invited to develop their own question, which they answer by collecting evidence using their mobile phones in the gallery.[61] The museum, however, also offers activity sheets that have changed considerably in the revised programme.

The old activity sheets focused on the workings of the trade and enslavement, highlighting how Britain and London depended on it.[62] These activities presented a mix of strategies of temporal distance, proximity, engagement and detachment. Several times they indicated that history is a science in which there can be debate among historians, who base their narratives on different types of evidence, generating temporal distance and detachment. In the following activity, however, pupils were still encouraged to engage with

[57] Interview Kirsty Sullivan (London, November 25, 2013).
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Museum of London Docklands, *London, Sugar and Slavery: Gallery Activity Sheets*.

the objects on display, with the different questions actually mediating the material relic as a bridging strategy.

> Africa's History
>
> Perhaps, in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none, or very little: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa." Hugh Trevor-Roper (1965), The Rise of Christian Europe.
> Find evidence that proves this historian **wrong**. Quickly sketch the object:
>
> What is it?
> Where does it come from?
> What was it used for?
> When was it made?
> What is it made of?
> How do you think it was made?
> What does it show about the place it came from and the people who might have owned it?[63]

One of the assignments also asked pupils about stereotypes or prejudices behind depictions of people of African origin, in effect pointing out that images, objects and sources always carry the author's perspective. Again, however, they are also stimulated to closely look at the object and derive evidence from it.

> Images
>
> Choose an image from the gallery of a person of African origin.
> Quickly sketch the image.
>
> Now label it, pointing out any stereotypes or prejudices it uses.
> Add labels, showing anything positive about the image.
> How did its maker intend this image to be used?[64]

The new activity sheets have primarily been slimmed down, with the assignments providing a similar approach in that they stimulate pupils to engage with the objects, but without the more detached context of reflecting on the creator's perspective or that of different historians. Sullivan argues that it is better to give pupils fewer things to do, so they will be more focused: 'I want them looking at things, I want them questioning what's in front of them, I want them exploring a gallery and a space and try and answer some, try and find out what they actually want to know, what they think, not what they think their teacher wants to know'.[65] Therefore, the new resource only contains four activities, three of which link back to the other sessions in the programme. The first assignment asks pupils to choose their

[63] Museum of London Docklands, *London, Sugar and Slavery: Gallery Activity Sheets*, 1.
[64] Museum of London Docklands, *London, Sugar and Slavery: Gallery Activity Sheets*, 6.
[65] Interview Kirsty Sullivan (London, November 25, 2013).

favourite object in the section on Africa before the Transatlantic Slave Trade and encourages them to look at it closely (see *illustration 27*):

> At the start of the London, Sugar and Slavery gallery is a case containing Yoruba and Benin bronzes. Choose your favourite piece and quickly sketch it below, then fill in the boxes to help you extend your knowledge.
>
> What is it?
> Where does it come from?
> What was it used for?
> When was it made?
> What is it made of?
> How do you think it was made?
> What does it show about the place it came from and the people who might have made it?[66]

Then there is a similar activity regarding the displays on resistance and abolition. In addition, they have to find a poem in the gallery and discuss its meaning.[67] These exercises link back to the abolition drama and to the creative writing workshop. Lastly, an assignment asks pupils to sketch a painting depicting the African presence in London, and reflect on what they would like to know about these people's lives.[68] Sullivan hopes this relates to the pupils' own personal experience, which is reinforced by a few questions at the end of the activity sheets about people coming to London today and the pupils' own relation to the city.

Historical empathy and first-person perspectives

Some exhibits in the gallery also use the bridging technique of replicating the past in a cognitive manner, encouraging pupils to experience history in a first-person perspective and triggering their imagination.[69] The use of this technique, which renders the past closer to visitors, is most apparent in the gallery's audio-visual installation in which viewers are stimulated to take the role of the enslaved. Here they are addressed in the second person whilst standing in front of a projection screen that has been erected behind the authentic table on which the slavery abolition bill was signed (see *illustration 28*). An Englishman's voice is heard to say things like: 'You will be taken from your family'; 'You will not keep your real name'; 'You will be sold as property'; and 'You will be violated'.[70] Because of the tone of voice and the verb form used, you are encouraged as a visitor to think about what people went through when they were captured and enslaved. Eventually, another voice is heard

[66] Museum of London Docklands*, Slavery Study Day: London, Sugar and Slavery Gallery: Teacher's Notes - Key Stage 3 and 4*, 2.
[67] Ibid., 3, 5.
[68] Ibid., 4.
[69] Spock, 'Imagination', 126-127.
[70] Museum of London Docklands, *London, Sugar and Slavery.*

who responds to the Englishman's commands, again emphasising the idea that the enslaved often resisted oppression, which eventually led to freedom for all. The idea behind this exhibit was to also convey a strong unapologetic message about the horrors of this history, without it interfering with the visitors' need for reflection and contemplation of the topic.[71]

The idea of perspective-taking and thinking about experiences of people in the past is extended in several sessions of the *Slavery Study Day* that are based on historical empathy as a method of learning. The introductory drama sets the scene by focusing on the legacy of the slave trade. Two actors play a pupil who has not done his homework, and a teacher who finds out and gets cross with him. The pupil then explains that he did not know enough to complete his assignments and instead asked his grandfather, who turns out to be an immigrant from the Caribbean in the 1950s and who told his grandson about his ancestors' experiences on the plantations and the Middle Passage.[72] Hence, this session creates temporal proximity on a variety of levels. It relates to pupils' personal experience by drawing them in through a familiar situation. In addition, it shows that people today still feel directly connected to the history of transatlantic slavery. Finally, it stimulates proximity on a geographical level by showing how people from Britain's former colonies ended up in London.

The second drama session, which fittingly takes place in the Wilberforce Theatre just like the introduction, focuses on the abolition. Here they learn not only about white abolitionists, such as William Wilberforce, but also about black anti-slavery campaigners and rebellion leaders, such as Mary Prince, Olaudah Equiano and Toussaint Louverture. The museum has thus managed to include various perspectives within this subtopic of the history of transatlantic slavery. This session, much more so than the introduction, is about historical empathy, in the sense that pupils also take a first-person perspective. They do not impersonate a historical actor, but, instead, they get to choose what they would like to abolish, for example, the school uniform. Hence, this activity does not bring the past any closer, but it gives pupils a more immediate understanding of the actions of historical actors through their imagination in a first-person perspective. Sullivan argues that it is about 'getting the point across rather than making it all about something they don't necessarily understand. So that they get the idea of abolition, they get the idea of fighting to abolish something, they get the idea of stating a problem and then what they can do about it'.[73] Although the session has included white and black perspectives, it does not mention the role of pro-slavery

[71] Spence, 'Making the London, Sugar and Slavery Gallery at the Museum of London Docklands', 158.
[72] Interview Kirsty Sullivan (London, November 25, 2013).
[73] Ibid.

campaigners. This immediate experience of the abolition, therefore, may give it a somewhat celebratory undertone.

In the creative writing session, pupils empathise with the enslaved rather than with the abolitionists. This workshop is also set up in a manner different from the drama session. The workshop consists of three main parts. First, the group of pupils is divided into smaller groups, one of which is given the task of preventing the other groups from communicating a message to each other. Second, they discuss a poem by Jamaica-born Lorna Goodison, which tells the story of a mother who carved statues of all the children that were taken away from her. Finally, pupils are asked to write a poem themselves about the things that would still define their identity if they were forced to abandon their current lives. All the activities in this workshop revolve around the idea that enslaved people could and did resist their oppressors.[74] In this way, pupils are once more encouraged to discover the past from a first-person perspective, which relates to the mnemonic bridging technique of imitation and replication to configure temporality and engagement. As in the drama workshop, they are indirectly made to think about the thoughts and feelings of a group of historical actors. In this case, the point of view is limited to that of resisting slaves.

Neither workshop presents a classic approach to historical empathy. The idea of re-imagining thoughts of historical actors has been much debated by educationalists, who, often drawing their insights from Collingwood's re-enactment theory, have shown that it is extremely complicated to enter into the thought processes of people with a completely different mindset. This idea of empathy, therefore, may easily result in anachronism.[75] In the empathy sessions of the Museum of London Docklands' slavery programme, however, pupils do not directly rethink the thought processes of historical actors. Instead, they are given a glimpse of what it would mean to campaign against issues they find important or how it would feel if they were forced to leave their home and what they could do to resist such enforcements. The question is whether this form of empathy may also result in anachronism, as pupils' thoughts in the present are still related to historical events in the past. Canadian educationalist Stéphane Lévesque has argued that pupils should both reconstruct the ideas of historical actors and explicate their own moral framework in order to avoid anachronism and achieve full empathic understanding.[76] According to Sullivan it is all about providing the right context and allowing pupils not to playact but to imagine 'based on reading people's real experiences whether they are the real experiences recreated in a poem or whether they

[74] Museum in Docklands, *London, Sugar and Slavery: Creative Writing Session Plan & Resources*, 3-10.
[75] See for example, Ashby and Lee, 'Children's Concepts of Empathy and Understanding History', 62-88; Lévesque, *Thinking Historically;* Davis Jr., Yeager and Foster, *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies*.
[76] Lévesque, *Thinking Historically*, 146-154.

are imaginative activities from holding, not trying on, a slave manacle or seeing images that have been recreated'.[77]

To sum up, within its local framework, the Museum of London Docklands particularly uses material relics to bridge the past and the present. Just like the National Maritime Museum and International Slavery Museum studied in the previous Chapter, the museum has been able to overcome the limits that this bridging strategy puts on multiple perspective-taking by introducing replica objects that can represent other points of view. The Museum of London Docklands, however, also uses the bridging technique of replicating the past to emphasise temporal proximity, which makes constructing multiperspecitvity more difficult as it involves taking a first-person perspective. In these exhibits and empathy workshops, the perspective of abolitionists and resisting slaves, therefore, starts to dominate. This approach is reinforced in the gallery visit, which aims to relate to pupil's personal experiences by focusing on similar themes, in addition to London's involvement and the significance of this history for the city today.

3.3 Monuments and Commemorations in the Netherlands

The year 2013, which marked the fact that slavery was officially abolished in the Dutch colonies 150 years ago, saw a tremendous rise in commemorative activities related to the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Netherlands. These activities included theatre plays, debates, temporary exhibitions and commemorations. A more permanent memorial was revealed in the city of Rotterdam in the form of a monument, which was erected on the waterfront in the so-called Lloydkwartier, a former quayside area that is being redeveloped into a residential district. This spot was chosen as it embodies the past, the present and the future of the Rotterdam harbour. The sculpture represents a stylised ship, resembling a clef, with four dancing figures on top and, according to the artist, the monument symbolises the emancipation of enslaved people.[78] A foundation of collaborating migrant organisations and municipal institutions also produced a leaflet on Rotterdam's involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

Compared to the other major slave ports in the Netherlands, Rotterdam was relatively late in officially recognising its role in the transatlantic trade in the form of a memorial. In 2004, the mayor of Amsterdam decided to have a commemorative plaque placed on his official residence, after he had discovered that a merchant involved in the slave trade had

[77] Interview Kirsty Sullivan (London, November 25, 2013).
[78] http://www.rotterdam.nl/slavernijmonumentlloydpier (December 23, 2013).

formerly owned it.[79] As I described in the previous Chapter, in 2001 a national monument was established in a park in eastern Amsterdam, which is also the location of the official annual commemoration day on July 1st, harking back to the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. However, there had already been organised local commemorative activities in Amsterdam in earlier years. According to historian Kees Ribbens, the summer of 1963 saw a demonstrative procession to commemorate the centenary of the abolition of slavery in parallel with similar events in Surinam.[80] Since 1993, a group of Afro-Surinamese people have taken the initiative to organise a remembrance day on the Surinameplein in Amsterdam to commemorate the Dutch involvement in the Atlantic World and the abolition of slavery.[81] The year 2003 marked the inauguration of a monument on this square, which was also an initiative of the committee organising these annual commemorations.[82] According to sociologist Kwame Nimako and Glenn Willemsen, former director of the NiNsee, the committee was named after the National Committee for 4 and 5 May, which organises the annual Remembrance Day and the national celebration of the liberation of the Netherlands after World War II, communicating the message that slavery is equally important in Dutch collective memory.[83]

This same foundation produced a z-card leaflet, developed and written by historian Alex van Stipriaan, mapping out several locations in Amsterdam that refer to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, such as the first headquarters of the Dutch West Indian Company, the eighteenth-century city theatre where plays were performed that critically reflected on the slave trade, and the Jewish graveyard, the burial place of former slaves that had been taken to Amsterdam by Portuguese-Jewish plantation owners.[84] Waag Society, an institute dedicated to digital media projects, created a similar trail in a virtual format, as a website and as recordings accessible by mobile phone while on location, in collaboration with the Royal Tropical Institute and NiNsee. This project was named Madretsma (Amsterdam in reverse), referring to the idea that slaves needing a new surname after their emancipation often used the name of a town in reverse.[85] Neither of these slavery trails provided specific resources for schools. Before the government budget cuts, the NiNsee offered guided tours on slavery through the city.

Despite Utrecht's minor role in the slave trade, several collaborating organisations also produced a slavery trail through this city, both in paper format and as a mobile app. It was published in 2011, in the run-up to the 300-year commemoration of the Treaty of Utrecht

[79] Oostindie, 'The Slippery Paths of Commemoration and Heritage Tourism', 60.
[80] Ribbens, 'Ruimte voor multiculturaliteit', 93-94.
[81] Balkenhol, 'The Changing Aesthetics of Savagery, 77.
[82] Balkenhol, 'Emplacing Slavery', 136.
[83] Nimako and Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic*, 161-162.
[84] Van Stipriaan, A*msterdam en de slavernij.*
[85] http://madretsma.net (December 23, 2013).

and the 150-year remembrance of the abolition of slavery. The Treaty of Utrecht, which contributed to the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, was linked to the slave trade in the sense that the treaty also arranged that the monopoly right on the trade in slaves diverted from Spain to Britain. The trail particularly highlights the former houses of slave traders and people who campaigned against the slave trade.[86] Just like the Amsterdam trails, this slavery route did not include a special educational resource.

The Zeeuws Archief (Zeeland Archives) in the city of Middelburg, which was the major Dutch contributor to the Transatlantic Slave Trade system, did produce a slavery trail that was solely meant for educational use. I will analyse this resource in the next section. The Middelburg connection was embodied in a slavery monument, established in 2005, for Zeeland, the south-western province in the Netherlands whose capital is Middelburg.[87] The monument was established in a historic square very close to the city centre and consists of two white and two black columns, representing people who are not repressed but connected, held together by a red vein running down to the core and surrounded by a broken white and black circle.[88] The monument refers to the ancestors, the community and the future. In the next section I will show how local traces such as these that refer to the involvement of the Dutch in the slave trade are used in a city trail for school pupils.

3.4 Walking the Past

Zeeuws Archief, 'Enthralled by Zeeland's History of Slavery'

The Zeeuws Archief (Zeeland Archives) has developed several trails through the city of Middelburg in which pupils are guided past locations that refer or can be related to specific historical events. One of these trails deals with Middelburg's involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade and was developed in 2004 in the context of the province of Zeeland's commemorative year of slavery. The archive also designed a small exhibition based on the archives of the Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie ('Middelburg Commercial Company'), which received UNESCO World Heritage status in 2011. A similar exhibition was put on display in 2013 as part of the 150-year commemoration of the abolition of slavery.[89] In that same year, the archive launched an interactive website following the day-to-day voyage of a slave ship called *d'Eenigheid* ('The Unity') based on archival materials.

[86] http://www.sporenvanslavernijutrecht.nl (December 23, 2013).
[87] Jones, 'De slavernij is *onze* geschiedenis (niet)', 67.
[88] http://www.stichtingmonumentmiddelburg.nl (retrieved, December 23, 2013).
[89] Interview Anneke van Waarden-Koets (Middelburg, 9 January, 2014).

The slavery trail is entitled *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden* ('Enthralled by Zeeland's history of slavery'). According to Anneke van Waarden-Koets, education and exhibition coordinator at the archive, recent insights have led to the realisation that this title is technically incorrect in the sense that there are only references to the slave *trade* and not to slavery itself in the archive and city of Middelburg.[90] Teachers can buy the slavery trail from the archive and hand them out to pupils. Van Waarden-Koets adds that, ideally, the trail is combined with an introduction at the archive, including a visit to the depots or the aforementioned exhibition, in order to provide for more contextual information that would make walking the trail even more meaningful, but in the end it is up to individual teachers to decide how they want to use it.[91]

Pupils can use the trail independently using an eight-page document containing the actual route description, historical information on places they visit and several questions that they are required to answer.

Searching constancy of place

The trail starts off and ends at the entrance of the archive and is divided into ten steps. An illustrated character called the 'little bead guy', a reference to beads being used to buy slaves, guides pupils through the city.[92] The trail does not follow a coherent narrative but visits destinations on what was the best possible route; Van Waarden-Koets explains that she did try to follow a more or less chronological narrative, but that the route was ultimately guided by practical decisions.[93] In this case, the narrative plotline, thus, does not seem to impact the construction of historical distance.

Just like the *Bristol Slavery Trail*, the Middelburg trail accentuates the mnemonic bridging technique of constancy of place through time and guides pupils past particular spots in the city that can be linked to the history of the slave trade. This sometimes includes material evidence, such as historical references on old warehouses (see *illustration 31*) or memorial plaques, but signs indicating the history of particular sites are often completely lacking. For example, the resource mentions that, in a certain alley, one could find a building with a glass furnace where glass beads were made in the seventeenth century (see *illustration 32*). Today, however, no seventeenth-century houses can be found in this alley anymore.[94] Another example is the offices of the West Indian Company, now replaced by a

[90] Interview Anneke van Waarden-Koets (Middelburg, 9 January, 2014).
[91] Ibid.
[92] Zeeuws Archief, *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden.*
[93] Interview Anneke van Waarden-Koets (Middelburg, 9 January, 2014).
[94] Zeeuws Archief, *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden*, 2.

modern shop (see *illustration 32*), or the company's docks area, now an empty grass field (see *illustration 30*).[95]

The use of constancy of place in this resource, therefore, renders the past both closer and more distant, as it accentuates both remains of the past and changes through time. The resource's main aim, however, appears to be to give a new historical meaning to what are familiar places to these pupils. When no material remnants or other historical references are present at a site, the resource provides illustrations from the archive so pupils can compare the current situation with what it looked like in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Furthermore, it sometimes explains the meaning of street names when no other evidence is present; the street leading up to the aforementioned grass field, for example, is called Dokstraat ('Dock street').[96] Anneke van Waarden-Koets argues that as long as such illustrations are provided, these sites may still have the ability to trigger pupils' imagination, encouraging them to look differently at every-day places. New mobile app technologies could provide for an even better experience because they make it possible to show a historical scene as a layer over the present-day situation.[97]

The trail through Middelburg is quite descriptive and, contrary to the *Bristol Slavery Trail,* rarely zooms in on a personal level. It primarily describes triangular trade processes by focusing on institutions, such as the trading companies and the church. When it does recount the story of individuals, it evokes the perspective of Europeans, such as a captain from Rotterdam.[98] Anneke van Waarden-Koets clarifies that this is all a matter of choice, explaining that it would be possible to design a new trail about places where, for instance, slave traders used to live. In this case, the archive has opted to make a trail about the places that remind us of the history of the slave trade but not of the people that are related to it. Van Waarden-Koets does think that a trail about people might make history more vivid: 'You come closer to the individual and the more you come close to the individual, the more you might feel engaged, that is, more than by looking at places and buildings'.[99]

A few questions in the resource attempt to mediate the experience of constancy of place by drawing pupils' attention to the historical background of places or to traces that reveal something about the city's past.

> Which store is located at the site where in the 17th and 18th century the West-Indian House stood?
>
> Walk through Sint Janstraat.

[95] Zeeuws Archief, *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden*, 6-7.
[96] Ibid., 7.
[97] Interview Anneke van Waarden-Koets (Middelburg, 9 January, 2014).
[98] Zeeuws Archief, *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden*, 8.
[99] Interview Anneke van Waarden-Koets (Middelburg, 9 January, 2014).

> Meanwhile look closely at the names of houses. The WIC also traded in gold. Write down three names of houses that include the word 'gold'.
>
> Who lay the first stone of this warehouse and in what year?[100]

Most questions, however, are not directly linked to the sites visited, but stem from the contextual information provided by the resource. According to Van Waarden-Koets, the assignments in the archive's city trails have been designed to involve a mix of thinking, comparing and doing (counting or drawing) skills, so there is something to attract all pupils.[101] Some questions, however, also use a different bridging technique, as they refer to the significance the history of the slave trade has today, thus linking the past and the present through analogy. For example, pupils are asked to think of an example of human trafficking 'in our time' and to give their opinion on this kind of trade and slavery, stimulating moral engagement:

> Give an example of human trafficking in our day and age.
>
> What is your opinion of human trafficking and slavery?[102]

Van Waarden-Koets thinks for these kinds of histories it is important that pupils 'think about the idea that it is not something of the past, but that it still happens today and that human trafficking still exists and that there is still slavery'.[103] The trail also guides pupils past the slavery monument in Middelburg (see *illustration 29*). This memorial refers to the different communities involved in the history of slavery, the ancestors and the children of the future.

Local descriptions

Although the resource mainly focuses on the local level, it shows more plurality than the *Bristol Slavery Trail* in terms of geographical scale. While it explicitly mentions the involvement of the local Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie ('Middelburg Commercial Company') in the triangular trade, which is still visible in the city with several surviving warehouses and an office building, it also describes the important role of the more national West Indian Company, which also had offices in the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Groningen. Furthermore, the resource does not limit the perpetrator role to the inhabitants of Middelburg or the Netherlands but explains that 'Europeans bought people from Africa'.[104] Although the resource thus displays more geographical plurality than the

[100] Zeeuws Archief, *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden*, 6.
[101] Interview Anneke van Waarden-Koets (Middelburg, 9 January, 2014).
[102] Zeeuws Archief, *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden*, 7.
[103] Interview Anneke van Waarden-Koets (Middelburg, 9 January, 2014).
[104] Zeeuws Archief, *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden*, 2.

Bristol trail, it rarely crosses the ocean to change its narrative perspective to an African country or former colony. Just like the *Bristol Slavery Trail*, the Middelburg resource focuses on slave trade activities in the city itself and does not describe, for example, the trade overseas and the activities on plantations though it does briefly depict the passage across the Atlantic Ocean.

What is also notable is that the enslaved people as historical actors are mostly mentioned in passive voice phrases, such as 'The Africans *were* enslaved' and 'In Africa, people *were* bought from African traders'.[105] The use of such passive verb forms fits into a narrative as told from a European perspective. The resource does not portray the enslaved as active agents, which is probably a result of the trail's focus on the trade aspects of this history, which, in its turn, is due to the archive only having documents related to traders and sailors in its collection. Van Waarden-Koets does not think this is a problem, as long as people know about it. She argues that it would not be feasible to implement this perspective into the trail because the archive does not have any evidence to reconstruct it and would have to rely on other sources to do it justice. Van Waarden-Koets, therefore, recommends a guest lesson from the Stichting Monument Middelburg to compliment the trail with this point of view, which in 2014 has been offered several times as a package together with a visit to the exhibition.[106]

Due to its focus on the local level, the resource does not take the perspective of many different kinds of historical actors. When specific perspectives are invoked, they are primarily those of European traders and inhabitants of Middelburg in particular. The resource does, however, occasionally show multiple perspectives within these categories of historical agents, as when it points out that there were clergymen who used the Bible to justify the slave trade and those who used the Bible to denounce it. Just like the *Bristol Slavery Trail*, this resource shows the limitations of constructing multiperspectivity when combining the bridging technique of 'constancy of place' with a local point of view. Because it does not focus on individual people, however, the Middelburg resource may provide more room for detached reflection whereas the Bristol trail better stimulates the experience provided by visiting historically significant places.

3.5 Conclusion

In both England and the Netherlands, there are still many places and physical traces related to the Transatlantic Slave Trade that can be used in heritage educational resources to

[105] Zeeuws Archief, *Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden*, 2, 7.
[106] Interview Anneke van Waarden-Koets (Middelburg, 9 January, 2014).

stimulate the proximity of the past on a local level. This Chapter shows that this can be done in many different ways, impacting how history is received and whether multiple perspectives can be explored.

The two slavery trails both use constancy of place as a bridging technique, but still show interesting differences in how historical distance is constructed. Whereas the Bristol resource strongly focuses on Bristolians who founded, lived in, paid for or used specific sites, emphasising temporal proximity and engagement by highlighting connections with people, the Dutch trail rather indicates the former function of sites, offering more detachment. Although the approach of the Bristol resource may engage pupils more actively into history learning, its emphasis on people in combination with a local approach (imposing a limit on the number of perspectives) may also generate a moral engagement that stresses the city's wrong-doings in the past. This would potentially make the Dutch trail a better candidate for combining the experience of heritage sites with the exploration of multiple perspectives. Due to its distanced approach, however, one may wonder to what extent this resource introduces pupils to the significance of this history for today and engages them into history learning.

The Museum of London Docklands combines a more locally centred approach with multiple perspectives through replica objects. Their gallery, however, by combining a local point of view with a strong emphasis on connections between the past and the present, like the Bristol Slavery Trail, could evoke a moral engagement that limits the opportunities for exploring multiple perspectives. Furthermore, their empathy workshops, designed to evoke temporal proximity, are also confined to only a few points of view due to their use of a first-person perspective.

The question is to what extent these limitations on multiperspectivity are problematic when working with local heritage. Designers of educational resources largely have to depend on sites that have already been interpreted in relation to the Transatlantic Slave Trade, which impacts opportunities for using multiple perspectives. This also relates to the context of commemorating this history, which goes back on a longer and more extensive tradition in Britain than in the Netherlands. British memories already had a strong local presence rooted in the commemoration of anti-slavery campaigners in places where they were born or stayed for part of their lives. It is this celebratory narrative that may have contributed to tensions about the memory of slavery and, hence, an earlier recognition of local links to the slave trade in port cities like Bristol, Liverpool and London. In the Netherlands, local initiatives coincided with a growing national interest in the topic in the early twenty-first century due to migrant groups seeking to break the previous silence about this history. It received a major boost, however, with the 150-year commemoration of the Dutch abolition of slavery in 2013. It remains to be seen to what extent these activities will be permanent. In Britain there is,

thus, a richer pool of (re)interpreted heritage to draw upon. Similar to some activities analysed in the previous Chapter, the Bristol Slavery Trail also shows that one-sided heritage objects can be used to trigger multiple points of view.

When working with local heritage, it is important to be aware that using such places and traces to emphasise temporal proximity may affect the possibility of exploring multiple perspectives and the moral and emotional engagement this can potentially generate. Particularly when studying a sensitive history, such as that of transatlantic slavery, local heritage can create tensions that may be used in history learning but that can also thwart it. The analysis shows that heritage institutes can use the local traces and references to this history in various ways, with some activities mediating the experience of temporal proximity they can provide and highlighting the significance of the slave trade for the present. Regarding the risks of the potential limitations on multiperspectivity when focusing on local heritage, which some authors have pointed to, the analysis reveals that, while often the local perspective dominates, it can also easily be transcended through specific activities that trigger multiple points of view or by connecting the local to the national and the global. If done consistently and on a structural basis, the experience of local heritage can also be translated into a more powerful learning experience.

In the next two Chapters, I will explore the issue of historical distance in relation to multiperspectivity in the context of heritage educational resources on World War II and the Holocaust. It will become clear that there are several important similarities in the way these resources construct historical distance, compared with their slavery counterparts, but that the ways in which these histories are commemorated also produce some significant differences.

Illustration 1: Exterior of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London. The museum is based in the former Royal Hospital School. (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 21, 2010*)

Illustration 2: The gallery *Atlantic Worlds* that features in the educational programme of the National Maritime Museum. (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 24, 2010*)

Illustration 3: Objects on display in the slavery section of the *Atlantic Worlds* gallery of the National Maritime Museum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 24, 2010*)

Illustration 4: The NMM's *Transatlantic Slavery Study Day* includes an object handling session with replica objects from the museum's collection (Photo: *National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London; http://collections.rmg.co.uk, objects: leg-irons [E9106], single-head drum [F7396-001], spatula [F2513]*)

Illustration 5: Exterior of the International Slavery Museum at the Albert Dock in Liverpool (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 27, 2011*)

Illustration 6: Reconstruction of an Igbo Compound on display in the 'Life in West Africa' section of the International Slavery Museum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 27, 2011*)

Illustration 7: Punishment collar and branding iron on display in the 'Life in the Americas' section of the International Slavery Museum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 27, 2011*)

Illustration 8: Model of a sugar plantation on display in the 'Life in the Americas' section of the International Slavery Museum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 27, 2011*)

Illustration 9: Vodou flags and 'Shrine to the Ancestors' on display in the legacy section of the International Slavery Museum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 27, 2011*)

Illustration 10: Exterior of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam (Photo: www.tropenmuseum.nl)

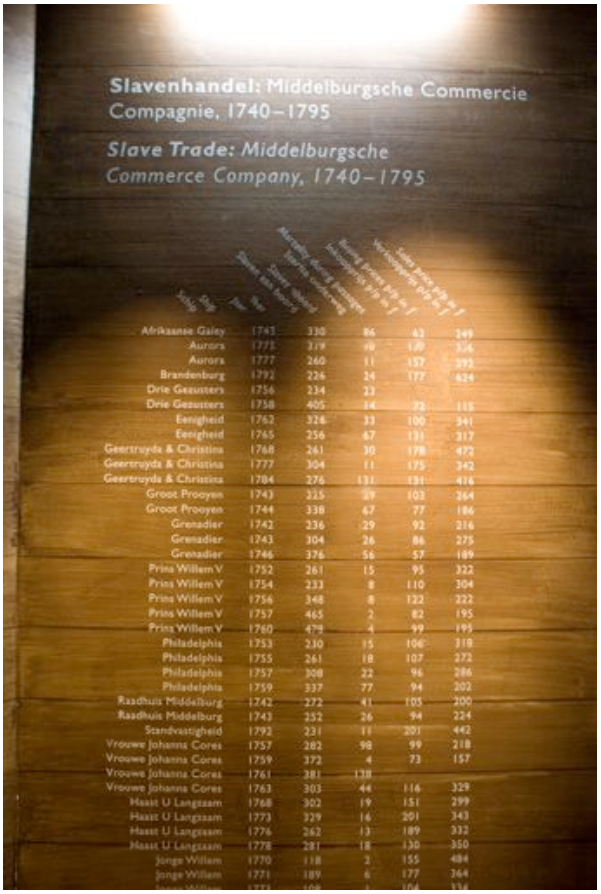

Illustration 11: Entrance to and interior of the exhibit 'The Price of Sugar' at the Tropenmuseum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, September 7, 2010*)

Illustration 12: Diorama of the Merveille Plantation by Gerrit Schouten on display at the Tropenmuseum (Photo: *Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. Coll.nr. 3290-281*)

Illustration 13: Shawl commemorating the centenary of the abolition of slavery on display at the Tropenmuseum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, September 7, 2010*)

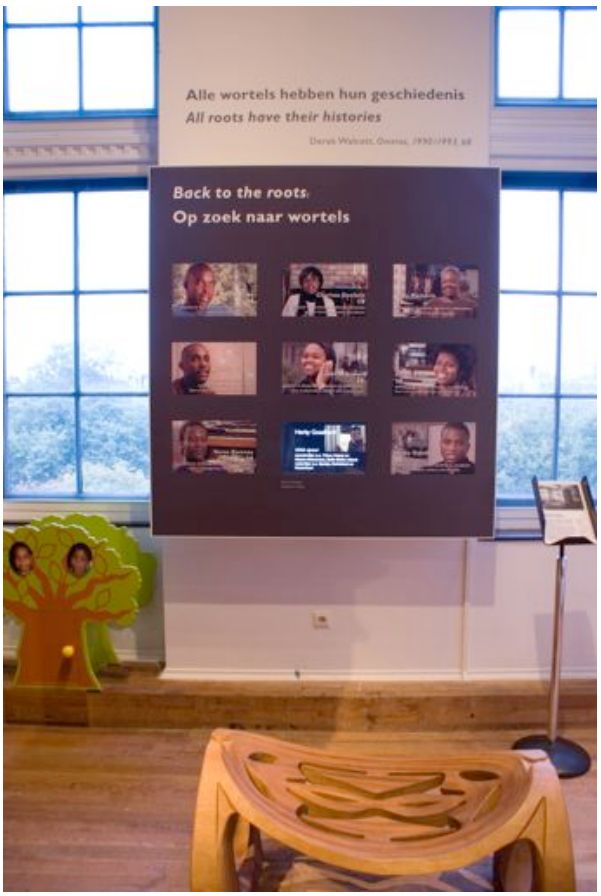

Illustration 14: 'Reconnecting Africa' and 'Back to the Roots' exhibits at the Tropenmuseum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, September 7, 2010*)

Illustration 15: National Slavery Monument at the Oosterpak in Amsterdam (Photo: *Geerte Savenije, January, 29, 2014*)

Illustration 16: The main exhibition *Doorbreek de Stilte* at the National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy (NiNsee) (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, August 18, 2011*)

Illustration 17: Objects on punishment and the Middle Passage on display at the main exhibition of the NiNsee (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, August 18, 2011*)

Illustration 18: The temporary exhibition *Child in Chains* at the NiNsee
(Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, August 26, 2010*)

Illustration 19: The panel 'Fed' in the temporary exhibition 'Child in Chains' at the NiNsee, showing the juxtaposition between the past and the present (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, August 26, 2010*)

Illustration 20: Number 29 Queen Square in Bristol, former home of slave ship owner and mayor Nathaniel Day (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 19, 2013*)

Illustration 21: Plaque attached to the Seven Stars Pub where abolitionist Thomas Clarkson stayed in 1787 for research on the transportation of slaves (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 19, 2013*)

Illustration 22: The Georgian House built for plantation owner John Pinney and Wills Memorial Building, showing the splendor of Bristol's upper parts (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 21, 2013*)

Illustration 23: Bristol Harbour with in the background Pero's Bridge, named after a black servant (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 19, 2013*)

Illustration 24: Statue of Edward Colston in the City Centre of Bristol
(Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 19, 2013*)

Illustration 25: Exterior of the Museum of London Docklands in Canary Wharf
(Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 23, 2010*)

Illustration 26: The *London, Sugar and Slavery* gallery on display at the Museum of London Docklands (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 19, 2010*)

Illustration 27: Benin bronze objects on display at the Museum of London Docklands
(Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 19, 2010*)

Illustration 28: Audio-visual installation with in the front Thomas Fowell Buxton's table on which the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery was signed (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 19, 2010*)

Illustration 29: National Slavery Monument in Middelburg (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, February 10, 2011)*

Illustration 30: Location in Middelburg where formerly the docks of the West Indian Company were located: at the end of Dokstraat (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, February 10, 2011)*

Illustration 31: Former warehouse in Middelburg (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, February 10, 2011)*

Illustration 32: Alley where glass beads would have been made and the former location of the offices of the West Indian Company (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, February 10, 2011)*

4 *Experiencing the Battles and Bombings of World War II*

In 1990 the Imperial War Museum in London opened the 'Blitz experience': an interactive exhibit about the bombing of Britain's capital city by the German Air Force in World War II. This exhibit, consisting of a reconstructed air raid shelter and a bombed London street combined with audio-visual effects and a character actor, was also part of the museum's educational programme, providing pupils with an experience of what it must have been like to live through this historical event.[1] Today many museums and other heritage institutes in Britain offer these kinds of 'Blitz Experiences' to immerse visitors in a reconstruction of the historical reality of World War II. According to historian Lucy Noakes such experiences reinforce the idea of a unified Britain during the war, supporting a national identity by offering 'a sanitized version of a minority experience presented as a majority experience'.[2] In these kinds of exhibits, war-related emotions such as fear of death and destruction are often subordinate to the sentiment of national belonging.[3] While Dutch museums on World War II increasingly use digital and interactive technologies, according to historian Erik Somers most of them are cautious in implementing experience-based presentation strategies because of the sensitivities associated with this history in Dutch society.[4]

Types of museum presentation that focus on immersing people in a reconstruction of historical reality are not restricted to the history of World War II. According to cultural sociologist Bella Dicks, the increasing interest in such modes of display relates to the growing presence of digital media in today's society, which requires that the authentic aura of original material relics is supplemented by reconstructed and simulated environments.[5] Some studies suggest that these kinds of display stimulate visitors' imagination and can leave them with in-depth knowledge of the history presented.[6] As I have argued in Chapter 1, however, several scholars have also noted that cultural heritage with its focus on experiences and emotions can result in one-sided (nostalgic) accounts of the past, pointing to risks of exclusion.[7] Similar to the ideas from cultural heritage scholars, history teaching

[1] Winter, 'Museums and the Representation of War', 154.
[2] Noakes, 'Making Histories', 96-98.
[3] Ibid., 96-98.
[4] Somers, *De oorlog in het museum*, 298-301.
[5] Dicks, *Culture on Display*, 20-21.
[6] E.g., Bagnall, 'Consuming the Past', 244-245; Dicks, *Culture on Display*, 166.
[7] Ribbens, 'De vaderlandse canon voorbij?', 500-503; Grever, 'Geschiedenis per decreet', 385; Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 28.

methodology theories have indicated that it is important to maintain a balance between engaging pupils into learning about history and allowing enough room for reflection and learning. For instance, narratives that emphasise individuals have often been regarded as useful tools to trigger pupils' interest and prior experience. These should not draw attention away, however, from larger historical structures and processes.[8] Theorists have also stressed the importance of providing multiple perspectives in order to offer pupils a richer account of historical events and to teach them how to adequately assess historical information.[9]

This Chapter focuses on heritage educational resources on military and civilian experiences in England and the Netherlands during World War II. In both these countries, the military aspects of World War II have been memorialised primarily through a national framework and, therefore, have different characteristics that also affect the treatment of this history in heritage educational resources. With the Netherlands having been occupied by the Germans, the memorial landscape and the perspectives for studying the history of World War II are fundamentally different from those in Britain, which particularly emphasises its military sufferings and its role in the liberation of Europe. As I will elaborate in the next Chapter, these different contexts have also influenced how both countries have dealt with the history of the Holocaust.

The analysis will reveal that many heritage institutes use experience-centred modes of display to present the history of World War II. This Chapter will, therefore, particularly reflect on the effect of these kinds of exhibits on the potential for exploring multiple perspectives. I will first examine the major developments in how the military aspects of World War II have been remembered and memorialised in the UK and the Netherlands, as the heritage institutes studied in this Chapter act within this context, shaping the heritage educational resources they develop on the subject. Next, I will present my analyses of four heritage educational resources on World War II. For both England and the Netherlands, I have selected one resource that specifically focuses on a military campaign in which the resource country was involved: the D-Day Museum in Portsmouth provides an exhibition and educational programme on Operation Overlord, whereas the Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein' in Oosterbeek offers materials on Operation Market Garden. In addition, with Newhaven Fort and the OorlogsVerzetsMuseum in Rotterdam, I have chosen two resources of institutes that particularly look into English or Dutch domestic experiences during the war.

The analysis will show how the main strategies of constructing historical distance - narrative emplotment and mnemonic bridging - are used in heritage educational resources on World War II, with a particular emphasis on the techniques that are used in exhibitions to

[8] Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, 150-151.
[9] Seixas, 'Who Needs a Canon?', 20-22; Van Drie and Van Boxtel, 'Historical Reasoning', 94.

evoke immersive experiences of the war, revealing various ways in how educational resources approach these exhibits. In addition, I will reflect on the impact these diverse strategies have on the inclusion of multiple perspectives.

4.1 Blitz, Battle and Ration: Fear and Nostalgia in the UK

The history of Britain's military experiences during World War II and the home front has acquired a strong presence as a nostalgic touchstone in society. After seventy years, this history still features in a wide range of media and has often been commodified in the form of mugs, bags or replica clothing often carrying slogans or terms related to the war.[10] A nationalistic image of wartime Britain, in which civilians stood together, has been popularised through films, posters, songs and fiction. Events such as Dunkirk, the Blitz, D-Day and VE Day are firmly embedded in Britain's memory of the war.[11] According to military historian Mark Connelly, these events already acquired mythological status during the war. Both the government and participants in the war constructed interpretations that were based on existing templates from British military history, and these reconstructions later informed popular understandings of the war, shaping the British myth. This myth is based on the theme that, being an island nation, Britain stood alone, fought against the odds and was caught in a lot of trouble at the beginning.[12]

The actions of the British in the Battle of Dunkirk became known as the 'Dunkirk Spirit'. Although Dunkirk meant a less than smooth retreat of British troops, the event was portrayed as a heroic and glorious spectacle both in popular and political culture.[13] The image of small civilian vessels evacuating troops became an important symbol of Dunkirk. These ships did not have a huge impact on the evacuation but fitted a heroic narrative in which ordinary people supported their country. In addition, it alluded to earlier British maritime war efforts, for instance, in the sixteenth century.[14] Mark Connelly attributes the imprinting of Dunkirk on British war memories to a scarcity of visual evidence of this event, causing the same images and video footage, therefore, to be used over and over again.[15] These images have, hence, become iconic of Britain's experiences in World War II.[16]

The failure of Operation Market Garden has similarly become a key event in Britain's narrative of World War II. This Allied military operation, featuring both airborne and ground

[10] Noakes and Pattinson, 'Introduction', 2.
[11] Rose, *Which People's War?*, 1-2.
[12] Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, 8-15.
[13] Ibid., 58-71.
[14] Ibid., 72-76.
[15] Ibid., 84.
[16] Kleppe, *Canonieke icoonfoto's*, 20-45.

forces, was meant to liberate the eastern region of the Netherlands in order to create an entry point into Germany, but the resistance of the German forces proved too strong, and the operation failed. Both campaigns were represented similarly to Dunkirk as a 'glorious defeat', again reflecting other moments in British history, such as the English Armada of 1589 directed against Spain.[17]

Two other military campaigns that did result in a victory for Britain also gained wide recognition in the British memory of World War II.[18] British and Commonwealth forces fought against the Germans and Italians in Egypt and Libya in the so-called Western Desert campaign. According to Connelly, this operation was perceived as a war in which both sides respected each other as rivals, conferring to British sportsmanship.[19] Operation Overlord, starting with the Normandy landings, better known as D-Day, heralded the liberation of Western Europe. At the time, this event was already interpreted as the last act of a grand drama in which Britain would show its fierceness as a nation.[20]

After the war, the history of D-Day featured in films, such as *The Longest Day* (1962) and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998). Although this latter example focuses on the American point of view, according to Connelly *Saving Private Ryan* 'had a deep impact in Britain, reminding people of the sacrifices a previous generation had made in order to liberate Europe and bring peace to the world'.[21] This kind of glorification of sacrifice was also a feature of the forty- and fifty-year commemorations of D-Day in 1984 and 1994, respectively.[22] Historian Janet Watson, however, also signals a shift in how these military events were commemorated: instead of primarily focusing on the veterans of World War II, the experiences of civilians have increasingly been included.[23] This development is also evident from the growing range of commemorative souvenirs related to the war, with the military angle having gradually been replaced by a civilian perspective.[24]

The increasing interest in civilian World War II experiences relates to two other key events in the memory of this history: the Battle of Britain and the Blitz.[25] The Battle of Britain is the campaign fought by the Royal Air Force against the Luftwaffe in the skies above southern England in the summer of 1940. Campaigns were staged to motivate civilians to invest in the production of Spitfires and Hurricanes, fighter planes that retained their

[17] Connelly, *We Can Take It!,* 220-223. In her research on history school textbooks, Tina van der Vlies has similarly noticed a narrative pattern between the Armada and World War II. See: Van der Vlies, 'Geschiedverhalen en hun eigen dynamiek', 30-35.
[18] Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, 220-223.
[19] Ibid., 206-207.
[20] Ibid., 218.
[21] Ibid., 220.
[22] Ibid., 219.
[23] Watson, 'Total War and Total Anniversary', 176.
[24] Ibid., 184-186.
[25] Rose, *Which People's War?*, 1.

symbolic power after the war.[26] The Blitz refers to a period of strategic bombings of major British cities carried out by the Luftwaffe over nine months from September 1940. Although not everyone in wartime Britain experienced these air attacks, unlike the food rationing for example, the Blitz has often been brought alive in books, films, television programmes and heritage attractions.[27] The visual memory of this event is made up of few images on two themes, which have been etched into people's minds: severely bombed cities, with ordinary people giving aid and assistance amidst the rubble; and the different types of air raid shelters, such as the curved Anderson (outdoor) shelter and the Morrison (indoor table) shelter. Photographs of bombed London and people seeking shelter in underground stations dominate this visual memory, turning this city into the icon of the Blitz.[28] According to educational researcher Keith Crawford, this national 'myth of the Blitz' is also reflected in school textbooks, with the same kind of imagery used and 'national heroes' presented in an uncritical fashion.[29]

Historian Lucy Noakes cites several possible reasons for the dominance of this historical event in the British memory of the war. It is an exciting, dramatic and easily accessible event that affected both women and men. Because of its impact, it is firmly embedded in personal memories of people who experienced the Blitz. Focusing on this event, furthermore, allowed Britain to include itself in the phenomenon of large-scale civilian bombings, a defining feature of the twentieth century. The Blitz, finally, can and has become a key element in the creation of a national identity. Public images and memories related to the event could be used to support the idea that Britain had acted in unison during the war.[30] According to historian Malcolm Smith, the Blitz was interpreted in two different ways after the war based on distinct political ideologies. Whereas the left-wing interpretation stressed the power of the British people and the move towards a welfare state, the right-wing reconstruction emphasised Winston Churchill's leadership and the patriotism amongst the British people as an island nation, which was to become a dominant interpretation after the Thatcher era of the 1980s.[31] Together with the 'spirit of Dunkirk', the term 'Blitz spirit' is still used to frame, interpret or refer to present-day events, such as the 2005 London bombings and the 2009 banking crisis.[32]

The memory of the Blitz emphasises that the war also affected ordinary citizens. Connected to this event are other themes that have gained significance in the memory of the war and are part of what is called the home front. The first theme is that of evacuation, which

[26] Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, 95-125.
[27] Noakes, 'Making Histories', 89.
[28] Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, 131-145.
[29] Crawford, 'Constructing National Memory', 332-337.
[30] Noakes, 'Making Histories', 89-90.
[31] Smith, *Britain and 1940*. 93.
[32] Noakes and Pattinson, 'Introduction', 10-11.

is often dealt with in a nostalgic manner. Most often it focuses on children who were forced to travel to the countryside from cities that were potential targets of air attacks.[33] Secondly, the ration has become a well-known symbol of the war. During the war different kinds of food were only available with coupons provided by the government.[34] With the emergence of gender studies in the 1970s and 1980s, finally, the role of women in the war increasingly found its way into historiography.[35] It was not until the 1990s, however, that this subject began to receive attention in, for instance, school textbooks. The year 2005 saw the establishment of the first official memorial dedicated to the women of World War II.[36] Today's memories tend to emphasise women's contributions to the navy, army and air force in which they formed separate divisions, while their role in industrial manufacture is often neglected. Aside from these military services, the Women's Land Army often receives special attention: a civilian organisation that provided workforces to replace men called up for military duty.[37]

The British landscape still contains many material traces of World War II. In the early post-war period, memorialisation was primarily a local affair and focused on practical forms of commemoration. Whereas some bombed churches were preserved in their ruined state, most funds were committed to urban restoration. Some projects, such as the installation of electric lighting in a church, were made into a 'utilitarian memorial' by a commemorative plaque relating it to World War II.[38] Historian Nick Hewitt cites three reasons for this focus on practical memorials: scepticism about the positively future-oriented nature of more symbolic commemorations; emphasis on civilian contributions to the war effort and the material costs caused by the bombings; and the idea that Britain had played a less important role in this conflict, including fewer casualties, than in the First World War.[39] Only the dates of World War II, therefore, were added to the Cenotaph, a rectangular monument in Whitehall in London commemorating the fallen soldiers of World War I.[40] To a large degree, the remembrance and commemoration of the First World War has shaped and influenced that of World War II: both have also been connected through Remembrance Day (November 11th), which focuses on the commemoration of both conflicts.[41] The Imperial War Graves Commission was commissioned to construct new cemeteries and Memorials to the Missing. British and Allied military forces also funded memorials commemorating sections that had been ignored in World War I monuments.[42]

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[33] Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, 42-43.
[34] Ibid., 157-160.
[35] See for instance: Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*.
[36] Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory,* 145, 164-169.
[37] Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, 173-175.
[38] Hewitt, 'A Sceptical Generation?', 84-89.
[39] Ibid., 82-85.
[40] Ibid., 88.
[41] Schaffer, 'Een angstvallig gekoesterde overwinning', 250.
[42] Hewitt, 'A Sceptical Generation?', 88-90.

The 1980s and 1990s saw a growing interest in symbolic memorials, which can possibly be explained by the aging of the war generation and a growing general interest in World War II.[43] Some of these new memorials are very personal, others aim to educate visitors with historical information about military units, events and operations.[44] The D-Day embarkation sites, from which the soldiers started their journey to the Normandy beaches, were preserved. These sites often served as place for remembrance and commemoration, and several memorials were constructed. At Torquay, for instance, Normandy Veterans every four years commemorate the soldiers of the 77th Infantry Division that embarked here to make their way to Utah Beach.[45] According to archaeologist John Schofield, these kinds of sites are often preserved because of their 'sacredness' and ability to engage visitors, as they are 'associated directly with loss of life, personal tragedy and civic destruction to cultural property'.[46]

The history of World War II has, hence, become an important point of reference in British collective memory, often alluding to a national sense of identification. While the military campaigns were already conceptualised within this national framework, the war has increasingly been framed through a civilian perspective with people's experiences at the home front gaining popularity. In the next Section, I will analyse how two heritage educational resources that deal with the Home Front and Operation Overlord construct historical distance and multiperspectivity within this context of Britain's national memory of World War II.

4.2 The Coast Is Clear

Newhaven Fort, 'The Home Front'

High up on the cliffs of Newhaven lies a fort, overlooking the English Channel and the harbour. During World War II, it garrisoned a large number of Canadian troops. The town of Newhaven also played an important part in the Dieppe Raid, as troops and tanks were shipped from its harbour, and many survivors returned through it. The fort was built mid-nineteenth century in order to defend the harbour. Whilst several private developers tried (and failed) to turn the fort into a holiday camp or leisure centre after World War II, the district council eventually decided in 1988 to run it as a heritage attraction. The casemates of the fort, which were originally used as barracks, provide exhibits that thematically explore the

[43] Hewitt, 'A Sceptical Generation?', 90-91.
[44] Ibid., 93-94.
[45] Schofield, 'Monuments and the Memories of War', 152-153.
[46] Ibid., 156-157.

fort's military history, including the two World Wars. Regarding World War II, there are exhibitions on the Royal Observer Corps, Dieppe and D-Day and the Home Front.[47] As I will analyse a resource on Britain's military experiences during the war in the next section, I will focus here on the country's civilian experiences as they are presented in the Home Front exhibition. This exhibition is housed in the former Quartermaster's store and is the largest at the fort. The fort offers several activity sheets with questions for pupils to guide themselves through the exhibitions: one of these focuses on the Home Front.[48]

Passive reconstructions, immersive experiences

The exhibition employs the mnemonic bridging technique of material relics to bridge the temporal gap between the past and the present, which have been integrated into various types of display. First, material objects and pictures are displayed in display cases, organised and lighted to evoke the feeling of the time. These displays have been arranged by theme, such as evacuation, rationing and air raids. Most object labels do not point out the history of the relics on display but only provide a description of what the objects were used for, making them illustrations in a narrative about World War II. Only one label refers to an object's specific history, mentioning that the burned out incendiary bomb on display 'fell on the bed of Mrs. Betty Ellis whilst she was still in it!' Mrs. Ellis apparently survived the attack: 'Betty escaped without a scratch!'[49] The questions in the worksheets for pupils show a variety of approaches towards the artefacts on display (see *illustration 35*):

> Find the case with the gas masks in it and make a sketch of one.
>
> From these cabinets and the posters on the walls identify three civil defence/ARP jobs.
>
> What was the stirrup pump used for?[50]

While the first two questions stimulate pupils to engage with the objects on display, in order to make a drawing or use them as evidence to find out specific information about World War II, the last question draws attention more to the interpretative texts with the object primarily acting as an illustration.

Second, the exhibition combines the bridging technique of material relics with imitation and replication through 'in situ' types of display that feature replicas, authentic objects and mannequins. For example, visitors can peek at a living room from the 1940s, the interior of a shop, which has rationed foods on display, and a farm shed with a female

[47] http://www.newhavenfort.org.uk/history.htm (13 May, 2014).
[48] Newhaven Fort, *Newhaven Fort, The Home Front: 1939 - 1945 Britain at War*.
[49] Newhaven Fort, *The Home Front.*
[50] Newhaven Fort, *Newhaven Fort, The Home Front: 1939 - 1945 Britain at War*, 2.

mannequin who apparently has joined the land army. Although visitors are still kept at a spatial distance, drawing from nineteenth century diorama-based presentation techniques, these exhibits paint a vivid picture of the past, bringing it temporally closer.[51] Covering specific themes, they can also elicit emotional engagement, such as the scene of a weeping boy and girl with their luggage at the Newhaven railway station, saying farewell to their mother (see *illustration 34*). This exhibit also stimulates geographical proximity through its local perspective. A reconstruction of a first-aid post incorporates this local point of view even more, as it features objects that have been found in the region. Another 'in situ' exhibit at the fort aims for a more immersive experience by adding light and sound effects. The so-called 'bomb site' shows an Anderson and Morrison air-raid shelter amidst the rubble and chaos of a recent bombing (see *illustration 36*). While a person in the Morrison shelter appears to have survived the attack, Air Raid Precautions (ARP) wardens have also recovered a victim from the rubble, who appears to be in severe pain.[52]

The fort also offers a wholly immersive 'Blitz Experience', which, being a simulacrum, does not contain authentic artefacts and, hence, leans even more towards 'imitation and replication' as a bridging strategy.[53] Every hour of the afternoon, a siren alerts visitors that they can join this air raid simulation (see *illustration 35*). They take a seat in a reconstruction of an underground public shelter. A combination of sound and light effects creates the illusion of German planes flying over, dropping their bombs nearby, while anti-aircraft guns attempt to shoot them down. Meanwhile, the voice of an ARP warden can be heard, asking the visitors if they are 'all nice and snuck' and wondering if everyone is okay after the bombing. A narrator describes what is happening and sets the scene by asking questions such as 'did you go the toilet before you came down?' and 'have you brought any pillows and blankets?', thus inviting visitors into a first-person-perspective. The experience ends with the sound of the siren, this time for the 'all clear'.[54] These kinds of exhibits can bring the past close and instil emotional engagement, which sometimes can even be too intimate to the extent that it becomes uncomfortable.[55]

Some questions in the worksheets use these exhibits as illustrations, encouraging pupils to find out historical information from certain objects, text panels or object labels. They are asked, for instance, to describe what kind of services women participating in the Women's Voluntary Service undertook:

[51] De Jong, *De dirigenten van de herinnering*, 111-113.
[52] Newhaven Fort, *The Home Front.*
[53] Lidchi, 'The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures', 174.
[54] Newhaven Fort, *The Home Front.*
[55] Phillips, 'History, Memory and Historical Distance', 91-95; Riegel, 'Into the Heart of Irony', 87.

What is this woman's job?
Write down three of the services that the WVS undertook.
By 1945 how many women were in civilian war work?[56]

Differences between the past and the present are sometimes highlighted in such questions. Regarding the ration, for instance, pupils are asked to compare 1940s prices with those of today and to describe the differences in monetary values.[57] Other questions are designed to reinforce the experience many exhibits aim to provide. The following three examples illustrate different layers of how this sense of immersion is stimulated:

Listen to the radio broadcasts and fill in the blanks:
'Run.....
Run.....
Run, Run, Run'
'Germany.....
Germany.....
Germany.....'

If you stand in the Bomb Site you will get a good idea of the dangers that Elizabeth and James faced.
Make a list of the sounds you can hear.

Write down six words that describe how you felt when the bombs were dropping.[58]

While the first two examples focus on sounds to provide an insight into historical 'reality', with the extent of the reconstruction defining the level of immersion, the last assignment, which refers to the fort's 'Blitz Experience', asks pupils to verbalise their emotions triggered by the elaborate simulacrum.

Emotional perspectives

Regarding the strategy of narrative emplotment, the exhibition overall provides a synchronic account of the history of World War II, considering the various aspects of daily life with little chronological structure. Although the ending of the exhibition, which deals with Victory in Europe Day, suggests a narrative plotline of progress, a text panel mentions that this 'was not the end of the war' and that 'adjusting to peace once more, and rebuilding the country would take a long time...'[59] This re-emphasises the synchronic approach and establishes the temporal distance between the present and the past events narrated. While the exhibition does refer to bombings of other European cities, such as Rotterdam, Cologne and even

[56] Newhaven Fort, *Newhaven Fort, The Home Front: 1939 - 1945 Britain at War*, 2.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 3-4.
[59] Newhaven Fort, *The Home Front.*

German cities, such as Dresden and Hamburg, its main focus is on Britain's experiences during the war, highlighting geographical proximity.

The educational worksheets carry the same thematic approach as the exhibition. They solely focus on the national level and do not refer to other European countries. Besides bringing the past geographically nearer, the worksheets also stimulate emotional engagement through a personal narrative. The questions in the worksheets serve as building blocks to reconstruct the story of Elisabeth and James, two children who lived in Newhaven at the start of the war and who were eventually evacuated.[60] This final act is depicted in the evacuation display mentioned above, which the worksheets use to introduce the topic. Regarding the evacuation of Elisabeth and James, the worksheets add an extra layer of proximity by using the first-person perspective:

> Newhaven was thought to be too dangerous for children. Elizabeth and James were evacuated, that is they were sent to live in another part of the country with strangers.
>
> Examine the display on evacuation and fill in the missing blanks: 'I was put on a train with a ..... on my coat. When we arrived we were lined up in the ..... There was no organisation, people just came along and ..... you out. I was the ..... one left standing there. 'I remember thinking "this is good, because if no one picks me I'm ..... back .....'"[61]

While the exhibit thus already aims for temporal proximity through the bridging technique of imitation and replication by presenting a simulacrum, the educational resource aims to reinforce the experience and adds an extra layer of emotional engagement by relating the scene to a personal story. Combined with the use of a first-person point of view, this approach makes the exploration of multiple points of view more difficult. Due to its national - and often local - focus, other perspectives, such as that of civilians in other bombed cities in Europe or that of German RAF pilots, are not included in the resource. Instead of generating detachment, the educational resource thus mediates the experience of temporal proximity and emotional engagement aimed for by the exhibit, and boosts it by linking it to a personal narrative.

To sum up, Newhaven Fort, reflecting Britain's memory of World War II, seeks to provide an experience of what it was like at the Home Front. It approaches exhibits primarily as illustrations, reinforcing the experience of temporal proximity created by the exhibition's presentation techniques and its synchronic approach. Furthermore, it generates an extra layer of emotional engagement by fitting the assignments into a personal narrative. Since the

[60] Newhaven Fort, *Newhaven Fort, The Home Front: 1939 - 1945 Britain at War*, 1.
[61] Ibid., 4.

educational resource does not transcend, but even builds upon the experience that the exhibits provide, it is difficult to explore multiple perspectives at Newhaven Fort. This heritage educational resource, therefore, reinforces the existing national memories of World War II circulating in society.

D-Day Museum (Portsmouth), 'Exhibition Trail'

Walking along the beach of Southsea, the seaside resort connected to Portsmouth, with a strong breeze coming from the English Channel and waves crashing over the path, one could almost imagine how a huge fleet of landing craft crossed that very same sea almost seventy years ago as part of the Normandy Landings on D-Day. This is where the D-Day Museum is located, only a few hundred metres off the coast. Although this setting provides an opportunity for proximity and engagement by stimulating a constancy of place, the museum has opted not to use the historical significance of its location.

The museum opened in 1984 and was primarily built to provide a home to the Overlord Embroidery, which was commissioned in the 1960s as a 'permanent memorial and tribute to the efforts and sacrifices of the Allies, but above all to the "national teamwork" here in this country which made D-Day possible'.[62] It was meant as a sort of 'reverse Bayeux Tapestry'. While the Bayeux tapestry commemorates the conquest of England by the Normans in the eleventh century, the Overlord Embroidery would remember the invasion of occupied France.[63] Historians of the Ministry of Defence Library, including two war veterans, wrote the script in 1968, while designer and painter Sandra Lawrence created the cartoons, which were then embroidered at the Royal School of Needlework.[64] Originally, the finished embroidery was to be put on display at the Imperial War Museum in London. Due to its size and trouble getting planning permission for a new dedicated museum building, it eventually ended up in Portsmouth. The city council set out to acquire it, after it had been on tour through the United States, Canada and Britain.[65]

The D-Day Museum offers an exhibition that deals with the preparations for Operation Overlord and its execution in chronological order, including a section on the experiences at the home front. In addition, the museum houses the Overlord Embroidery,

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[62] Brooks and Eckstein, *Operation Overlord*, V.
[63] Ibid., 2. This development of the Overlord Embroidery illustrates the process of, what Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney have called, the re-mediation of cultural memory. Drawing from the conceptual framework of media theorists Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, Erll and Rigney argue that historical representations draw on existent media technologies and products and are shaped by earlier mediations. In this case the genre and narrative structure of the Bayeux tapestry would have been re-mediated in the Overlord Embroidery. See: Erll and Rigney, 'Introduction', 3-5.
[64] Brooks and Eckstein, *Operation Overlord*, 4-9. Lieutenant-Colonel Ben Neave-Hill wrote the initial script in collaboration with L.A. Jacketts and Rear-Admiral Peter Buckley. Neave-Hill got injured at the Battle of Dunkirik and served as military historian after the war.
[65] Ibid., 140-142.

which provides a similar narrative in thirty-four panels. The museum is planning a full redevelopment in order to 'bring the D-Day story to the widest possible audience in a meaningful and accessible way relevant to the 21st century',[66] scheduled to be finished in 2019.[67] For secondary schools, the museum currently offers educational activity sheets for pupils to guide themselves through the museum.[68]

Overlord embroidery: national identification

The Overlord Embroidery is housed in a circular building, in the middle of which is a small theatre, showing archival video footage of the Normandy Landings. The embroidery panels have been installed around this theatre in a dimly lit circular gallery (see *illustration 38*). In chronological order, each of the thirty-four panels narrates a chapter of British involvement in World War II, showing how the British prepared for the war, how they suffered massive damage from German air raids during the Blitz and how the military campaign was planned and executed.[69] The visual depiction of British actions during Operation Overlord may create temporal proximity, but the actual experience of the nearness of the past may be limited, as the embroidery only appeals to the sense of sight without carrying the same aura of authenticity as its Bayeux counterpart.

The embroidery is largely a national narrative. It shows how the entire nation – including women – collectively supported the war effort and fought back against the Germans. Regarding the execution phase of the operation, the accompanying text panels refer to the Allied forces, thus including the Americans and Canadians. Furthermore, the panels narrate the experiences of civilians at the frontlines and the home front. The point of view of the Germans is rarely taken. Although the embroidery provides some details on how the Germans planned and executed their strategy, they primarily act as antagonists to the Allied forces.[70]

Through its narrative, therefore, the embroidery fosters a sense of national British identification, which is reinforced by its context as a 'reverse Bayeux Tapestry'. The idea of having two tapestries on display on exactly the opposite sides of the English Channel emphasises Britain as an island nation that was conquered by the Normans but that liberated Europe centuries later. This pattern reflects the overall memory of British military experiences in World War II, often drawing attention to events in which Britain stood alone,

[66] http://www.ddaymuseum.co.uk/d-day/redevelopment-of-the-d-day-museum (24 May, 2013).
[67] Ibid.
[68] Parts of this analysis have been worked into the article 'Engaging Experiences of World War II. Historical Distance in English and Dutch Heritage Educational Resources' submitted for a volume related to the international conference *Tangible Pasts? Questioning Heritage Education* (Rotterdam, June 6-7, 2013).
[69] Brooks and McIlwain (eds.), *The Overlord Embroidery.*
[70] Ibid.

fought against the odds and got caught in a lot of trouble at the beginning.[71] In one text panel, the invasion is called an 'armada', referring to the maritime conflicts between England and Spain in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.[72] This phrasing stresses the importance of maritime events in Britain's national memory. These kinds of templates reinforce the national sense of ideological engagement elicited by the embroidery.

The questions in the educational activity sheets stimulate pupils to look closely at the panels of the Overlord Embroidery, mediating the experience of temporal proximity this visual representation may provide, and reinforcing the ideological engagement by referring to some of the elements in the embroidery that emphasise that the British people and Allied Forces were all involved in this history. For example:

> In Panels 1-4 write down ways in which civilians are shown helping the war effort on the Home Front in Britain.
>
> In Panels 21-25 which nationalities are shown taking part in the fighting on D-Day?[73]

In addition, they not only focus on the Allied perspective but also mention the civilian and German actors shown in the embroidery, without, however, reflecting on the actual experiences or motivations of these other historical actors. Some questions aim to bring the past even closer and trigger emotional engagement through empathy-based activities that stimulate them to imagine what it must have been like in the past, which relates to the mnemonic bridging technique of imitation and replication. Pupils are encouraged, for example, to take the perspective of a French woman or man seen looking out of a window in one of the panels and asked to describe what they would feel:

> In Panel 17 imagine you are the French woman or her husband looking out of the window. Describe what you can see and how you are feeling.[74]

This first-person perspective not only encourages pupils to experience through imagination but also stimulates their affective engagement by having them think of emotions.[75] A similar approach is taken by the question that asks pupils to find out more about the weather conditions on D-Day from the embroidery panels.[76] It tells pupils more about the experiences of the soldiers and the severe circumstances in which they operated.

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[71] Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, 8-15.
[72] Brooks and McIlwain (eds.), *The Overlord Embroidery*, 13.
[73] D-Day Museums and Overlord Embroidery, *D-Day Worksheet: Secondary Schools*, 1-2.
[74] Ibid., 1.
[75] Spock, 'Imagination', 126-127.
[76] D-Day Museums and Overlord Embroidery, *D-Day Worksheet: Secondary Schools*, 1.

Material relics, reconstructions and facts

The main exhibition of the D-Day Museum follows a linear zigzag path, providing no alternative routes and featuring many panels with lots of texts, photos and objects presented in display cases, hence relying on the bridging technique of material relics. The presentation of these artefacts behind glass panels and their encapsulation in interpretative texts, however, emphasises that they have been ripped from their original context, generating temporal distance.[77] The analysis shows that the objects in the D-Day Museum have been primarily integrated into the exhibition as illustrations. Object labels recount the historical events and processes the objects represent, acting as a sort of window into the past. Sometimes the exhibition aims to bring the past closer through first-person narration. For instance, one label, referring to packets of Durex on display (see *illustration 40)*, offers an impersonal description of how they were used, while another recounts a soldier as saying that he was expecting to meet girls on the beach but eventually found that the condom was only to be used 'to put your compass and your watches in ... and put it in your helmet, so when you went ashore ... we wasn't going to get these things wet'.[78] Interpretations of the more descriptive first type, however, dominate the exhibition.

In addition to this 'in context' type of display, the D-Day Museum also combines material relics with the bridging technique of imitation and replication, as several reconstructions have been incorporated into the exhibition, drawing primarily on nineteenth-century presentation techniques, using mannequins, props and original artefacts in recreated environments. For example, the exhibition features a reconstruction of a woman working in a factory, representing the fact that women were employed during the war in order to facilitate the war industry. Another reconstruction shows the Map Room at Southwick House, the building in Portsmouth from where Operation Overlord was coordinated.[79]

Although these displays are intended to provide a more vivid depiction of wartime events or situations and thus stimulate temporal proximity, visitors are still kept at a spatial distance and are only invited to peek at these scenes. However, from the section narrating the start of the invasion of France (announced in a text panel by the phrase ‘OK, let’s go!’) the museum also begins to allow visitors to walk through these reconstructions. They pass through a recreated section of an aircraft carrier and encounter a jeep in ‘a field north of Ranville in Normandy, just before dawn on D-Day’ (see *illustration 40*).[80] These reconstructions should be more immersive but are probably not elaborate enough to be convincing by today's standards.

[77] Lidchi, 'The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures', 173.
[78] D-Day Museum, 'Permanent Exhibition'.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

Similarly to the Overlord Embroidery, the main exhibition focuses on the Allied military perspective but also draws some attention to the civilian and German point of view, including the display of several German military objects. However, as they are encapsulated in a strongly Allied-themed narrative, these recollections primarily indicate the failure of the German strategy, emphasising the victory of the Allied forces. Just like the embroidery, the exhibition also speaks of an 'armada', reflecting Britain's national framing of the history of World War II.[81] Hence, it fosters a similar sense of national identification, making the exploration of other perspectives difficult.

Regarding the main exhibition, the educational activity sheets primarily use the reconstructions and the large pieces of military equipment on display in the vehicle shed to teach pupils more about the history of D-Day. Contrary to what the presentation technique sets out to do, these questions do not mediate an experience but approach the exhibits as evidence for retrieving historical information. From the reconstruction of the Map Room at Southwick House, for instance, pupils only need to derive the date on which D-Day took place and from which three ports the invasion ships sailed (see *illustration 39*):

> Look at the replica of the wall map of the Channel at Southwick House near Portsmouth.
> What was the date of D-Day?
>
> Name three English ports from which invasion ships set sail?[82]

Although such questions implicitly attribute a sense of 'realness' to the reconstructions, they do not really mediate the temporal proximity they convey. Moreover, while the activity sheets mention the ‘authentic wartime landing craft’ that is on display in the vehicle shed, they do not touch upon the experience it can provide by walking into it and looking at video footage of soldiers sailing to France in a similar vessel. Instead, attention is drawn to other vehicles on display, and pupils are asked to describe what function they had.[83] The activity sheets only draw attention to civilian and Allied perspectives, without including the German point of view.

To summarise, although the D-Day Museum does generate a national sense of engagement through its main exhibition and Overlord Embroidery, reflecting the context of World War II memories in Britain, the museum does not mediate that experience in its educational resources. Instead, questions focus on historical fact-finding, which communicates the authority of the museum on the subject. Through these activities, the

[81] Connelly, *We Can Take It!,* 220-223
[82] D-Day Museums and Overlord Embroidery, *D-Day Worksheet: Secondary Schools*, 3.
[83] Ibid., 4.

heritage educational resource, however, does not introduce multiple perspectives, limiting the learning of pupils visiting the museum to the nationally-centred narrative on display.

4.3 Grey, White and Black Narratives in Dutch Memory

In the early post-war years, the memories of World War II in the Netherlands carried a nationalistic and future-oriented tone. Memorials and commemorations emphasised how people had shown courage and sacrifice by resisting their oppressors.[84] These memories aimed to establish national continuity, as did the National Monument on Dam Square in Amsterdam, which was constructed in 1956, emphasising suffering, courage and sacrifice.[85] This interest in resistance fighters and the military continued well into the 1960s.[86] According to anthropologist Rob van Ginkel, the 'resistance myth' created a uniform narrative depicting the war as a battle between good and evil and in which those who had fought for the nation got the most recognition.[87] Unlike in Britain, it was impossible to craft a heroic victor narrative in the Netherlands, but the Dutch memory of World War II was still shaped by a narrative pattern that emphasised the positive contributions Dutch people had made during the war. As it was considered important to look forward rather than back, there were few museums that dealt with the war in the early post-war years, and most of these had a local or regional focus and carried a strong emphasis on military aspects and resistance.[88] According to Van Ginkel, the resistance myth was eventually replaced by a 'victim cult', centralising the Jewish persecution in the Netherlands and carrying a strong moral dimension.[89] From the 1980s onwards, museums began to present a more general narrative on Dutch wartime experiences, paying increasing attention to the Holocaust and the victim perspective.[90] I will elaborate on the memorialisation of the Holocaust in the next Chapter.

Whereas the First World War dominates the memorial landscape in Britain, there are thousands of monuments and memorials related to World War II in the Netherlands. In the early post-war years, such projects were primarily initiated on a local level, their design and commemorative intent often being sober and specifically focusing on the impact of the war on local communities.[91] From 1947, the national government got involved in the coordination and design of World War II monuments, which were often abstract in character,

[84] Van Vree, 'De dynamiek van de herinnering', 22-25.
[85] Ibid., 22-23.
[86] Van Ginkel, *Rondom de stilte*, 726.
[87] Ibid., 730-731.
[88] Ribbens and Captain, *Tonen van de oorlog*, 14-15.
[89] Van Ginkel, *Rondom de stilte*, 733-734.
[90] Ribbens and Captain, *Tonen van de oorlog*, 14-15.
[91] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 257-258.

communicating a national message of what the war had meant for Dutch society as a whole. The approach of these national monuments was often adopted on the local and regional level.[92] In 1956, Queen Juliana officially unveiled the national monument on Dam Square in Amsterdam, which exemplifies the general and abstract approach of remembering World War II representative of the time.[93]

The 1970s and 1980s saw an increase in memorials dedicated to specific groups that had previously been excluded, such as Jewish victims of the Holocaust.[94] From that period onwards, according to historian Hans Blom, the subject of collaboration, which at first only referred to a small group of traitors, was increasingly widened to include economic and administrative elites. Although never escalating into conflict, attempts to reinterpret the memory of World War II met with opposition from former resistance fighters, who saw their perspective challenged by a new generation.[95] Later memorials commemorated prisoners of and soldiers fighting against the Japanese regime in the Dutch East Indies or homosexual concentration camp victims. These groups were commemorated as victims and not as sacrifices, unlike in the former more nationalistic monuments.[96] The year 1975 saw the establishment of a monument in Amsterdam dedicated specifically to the victims of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, which revealed a particular interest in the commemoration of female resistance fighters, as the camp's inmate population was composed of a large number of women.[97] In 1990 a gender perspective on World War II was included in the final examinations for pupils in Dutch secondary schools.[98] According to historians Kees Ribbens and Esther Captain, however, this point of view is still largely underdeveloped in the exhibitions of most museums dealing with World War II.[99]

Besides physical monuments, the war itself also left traces that are still visible in the Dutch landscape today. The eastern region of the Netherlands formed the backdrop to Operation Market Garden. After the war, these events were popularised in films such as *Theirs Is the Glory* (1946) and *A Bridge Too Far* (1977), which was based on the book of the same name. The Arnhem and Nijmegen city region has become a popular destination for (international) tourism,[100] with several memorials in the area commemorating this specific history. There are so-called Airborne monuments in Arnhem and Oosterbeek. Oosterbeek was right in the heart of the Battle of Arnhem, which was an important part of Operation

[92] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 259-260.
[93] Blom, 'Het leed, de vastberadenheid en de mooie vrede', 137-143.
[94] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 254-255.
[95] Blom, 'Het leed, de vastberadenheid en de mooie vrede', 144-145
[96] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 263.
[97] Hogervorst, *Onwrikbare herinnering,* 141.
[98] Grever, '"Pivoting the center"', 65.
[99] Ribbens and Captain, *Tonen van de oorlog*, 28.
[100] Kolen, Van Krieken and Wijdeveld, 'Topografie van de herinnering', 205-206.

Market Garden. During the operation, the British Airborne Division based themselves in Oosterbeek, using the Hartenstein Hotel as their headquarters. Since 1978, this building has housed the Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein'. The official Airborne War Cemetery was also established near Oosterbeek.[101] Each year, there are several commemorative events in this region of the Netherlands. Besides formal ceremonies, these commemorations include re-enactments of the Airborne landings and remembrance marches related to Operation Market Garden.[102]

Military strategic bombings and the occupation of the Netherlands have also left important marks in the Dutch landscape. After the war, these scars had to be treated or erased.[103] The Dutch landscape was mostly cleansed from German architecture, except for structures that could still be of use or were too expensive to demolish.[104] In 1990, remaining German buildings began to gain some interest both from the general public and from the heritage conservation authority.[105] Referring to the framework of Koos Bosma and Cor Wagenaar, archaeologist Jan Kolen argues that the Netherlands saw mainly 'traditionalist' restorations, in which the historical parts of a city were preserved or reconstructed as much as possible. The ruined medieval city centre of Middelburg, for example, was rebuilt. Whilst preserving its original historical atmosphere, improvements were made regarding infrastructure and modern-day building standards.[106] Rotterdam was the only city that received a completely different treatment as most parts of this city were rebuilt in a modern style. Certain structures and patterns, however, were maintained as people should still be able to recognise the city as Rotterdam. Both approaches, therefore, emphasised continuity instead of considering World War II as a rupture.[107]

Up until the 1980s, commemorative expressions relating to the bombing of Dutch cities were rare, although there are exceptions, such as the monument *De Verwoeste Stad* ('The Destroyed City') by Belarusian-born artist Ossip Zadkine, representing a man with a gaping hole in the centre of his body and his hands raised up in the air, which was erected in Rotterdam in 1953. Since 1988, the construction of memorials related to bombings has received considerably more attention, most of them remembering air attacks executed by the Germans and not the Allied Forces.[108] Commemorations of the Rotterdam city bombing have intensified in the twenty-first century.[109]

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[101] Kolen, Van Krieken and Wijdeveld, 'Topografie van de herinnering', 206.
[102] Ibid., 207-208.
[103] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 230-231.
[104] Ibid., 250-251.
[105] Kolen, Van Krieken and Wijdeveld, 'Topografie van de herinnering', 218.
[106] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 231-233.
[107] Ibid., 235-237.
[108] Van Ginkel, *Rondom de stilte*, 643-645.
[109] Ibid., 675.

The city of Rotterdam is often characterised as a city without a heart, a phrase that was used as the title for a 1966 film about the city and that also features prominently in city development and marketing projects. While some believe that this phrase also relates to the statue by Zadkine, sociologist Willem Schinkel argues that it was the artist's intention rather to represent the pains caused by war in general.[110] Rotterdam is also a good example of how the memory of World War II bombings is biased towards those executed by the German Air Force, as, according to Schinkel, the Allied bombing of the western part of Rotterdam in 1943 has largely been forgotten. A monument was erected to commemorate this event, but most people living in Rotterdam do not seem to know about it, which is why it is often referred to as the 'forgotten bombing'.[111]

While Britain and the Netherlands thus share a national focus on how World War II history has been memorialised and both countries can refer to the fact that they suffered severe damage and losses from strategic bombings of their major cities, their unique historical contexts also impact the narratives and perspectives of this history circulating in Dutch and English society. The point of view of people collaborating with the Germans, for instance, is not as evident in Britain, as German forces never occupied this country, contrary to the Netherlands. This contextual difference influences the way in which multiperspectivity is constructed in heritage educational resources on the subject. In the next Section, I will show how a museum in Rotterdam constructs historical distance and multiperspectivity in a resource on this city's local experiences of World War II, and I will analyse an educational programme relating to the history of Operation Market Garden that has been developed by the Airborne Museum mentioned above.

4.4 Local Experiences, Individual Stories

OorlogsVerzetsmuseum (Rotterdam), 'Question and Answer'

The OorlogsVerzetsmuseum ('War and Resistance Museum') originated in the 1970s as the private collection of Arie Mast, who lived in Rotterdam during the war and put together this collection as a kind of therapy to come to terms with his awful memories of this period. After a few relocations, the museum is now located under a bridge at Coolhaven, outside the city centre. The museum is constantly looking to expand its collection, focusing on objects related to the Rotterdam region during World War II.[112] The museum's permanent exhibition

[110] Schinkel, *Het geheugenverlies van Rotterdam*, 7-8.
[111] Ibid., 12-13.
[112] http://www.ovmrotterdam.nl/museum.php (4 September, 2013).

is built around this collection. The museum is currently planning a full redevelopment in which modern, interactive presentation techniques and a more present-centred approach will be implemented so as to make it more accessible to young people.[113]

Secondary school groups can participate in the regular educational programme *Vraag en Antwoord* ('Question and Answer'), consisting of a teacher's guide for a preparatory and closing lesson and a booklet for pupils to guide themselves through the exhibition. This booklet follows the general thematic setup of the exhibition and also provides some additional information to contextualise the assignments that make up the tour.[114]

Individualised objects

The museum relies primarily on the bridging technique of material relics to bridge the temporal gap between the past and the present. Most of these objects are presented in glass display cases, often underneath or next to several text panels, suggesting that the objects have been encapsulated into the narrative, which points to an idea-driven exhibition.[115] While many of these material relics act as illustrations to or evidence of the events narrated, the exhibition also frequently refers to the cultural biography of the objects. Sometimes it only hints at the history of an object. For instance (see *illustration 42*):

> These cigars were for the German Wehrmacht only. Unfortunately for the occupiers, this box was stolen![116]

Often, however, object labels explicitly refer to specific individuals to which the material relics can be related. The following three quotes are examples of texts that indicate that objects were created, belonged to or were used by a certain historical actor, respectively (see *illustration 43*).

> Henk Salij worked at the dockyard of Piet Smit. There, during the Dutch famine of 1944, he fabricated this stove. He used an old milk churn for this. He probably took the fireproof stones from a ship.
>
> When a family from Rotterdam were forced to move due to the May 1940 bombings and ended up on Noordereiland, they received all kinds of things from their neighbours because they themselves didn't have anything anymore. They received these coffee cups from the Jewish Jacobs family. The Jacobs family didn't return from the deportations.

[113] http://www.ovmrotterdam.nl/nws.php#til (February 5, 2014).
[114] Schmidt, *Vraag en antwoord: voor leerlingen.*
[115] Crew and Sims, 'Locating Authenticity', 169.
[116] OorlogsVerzetsmuseum, 'Main Exhibition'.

> This weapon belonged to the Dutch army; the Rotterdam resistance movement got its hands on it through Van der Sluijs. Van der Sluijs used it in raids and liquidations.[117]

By emphasising how objects are connected to specific individuals, the exhibition brings the past closer. As most of these people live(d) in Rotterdam, the objects often reinforce the narrative's local point of view. Sometimes this is established not by referring to a person, but by pointing out the location where objects were found, for example: 'This [Luftwaffe table] knife was found at Stadionweg in May 1944'.[118] The exhibition also contains many historical pictures of Rotterdam in the wartime period, some of which have been integrated into display cases to form a backdrop to the objects presented. This more 'in situ' type of display is also evident in a few exhibits featuring mannequins, like a Dutch marine and a German parachutist standing against a background picture of a bombed site with crumbled plaques in front of it: a form of display that hints at the bridging technique of imitation and replication (see *illustration 44*).[119]

Most questions in the resource approach the exhibits as illustrations or as evidence for retrieving historical information, drawing attention to the interpretative texts surrounding the objects instead of reinforcing the experience of temporal proximity that these relics can provide.

> Although the Netherlands was in a state of war: people did still fall in love and wanted to marry. Many became creative, because where would you get a wedding dress? You can see one in the exhibition.
> The fabric of this dress was used earlier for something different, what for?
>
> Here you see a large bomb shard in the form of a 'V'. That is also the reason why this shard has been preserved. What did the letter 'V' stand for during the war?[120]

Few assignments mediate the individual stories related to artefacts that are presented on the object labels in the exhibition. The resource does, however, draw attention to the significance that some objects can have for people in general, a strategy that stimulates temporal proximity and can elicit emotional engagement with the tragic history of World War II, for example:

[117] OorlogsVerzetsmuseum, 'Main Exhibition'.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Schmidt, *Vraag en antwoord: voor leerlingen*, 10, 34.

> After the bombings, people went back to the spot where their home had been. Often everything had already gone, all their things, photos, furniture, everything. Still, recognisable things were sometimes found amongst the debris, even if affected by the heat of the fire or broken by fallen down rubble. You can see a number of objects here in the display case; please read the texts on the panel next to the display case.
>
> Why do you think people often kept the few things they found, even though these had become unusable?[121]

Such assignments that indicate the significance of the objects on display for people in the present can trigger temporal proximity and emotional engagement, as these relics are presented as physical links between the past and the present and are related to the stories and feelings of specific individuals. Other questions, pointing out that objects have been preserved and dislodged from their original context, however, are more likely to stimulate detachment.

> On the ground, you see a couple of pieces of sculpted stone. These are remains of bombed buildings. Next to them, you see signs for 'Art Protection'. Take a good look at the fragments. Why do you think they had to be preserved?[122]

Through its focus on the present-day context of these objects and the fact that they have been preserved in a museum environment, this assignment generates temporal distance and detachment.

Rooted in Rotterdam

The museum's main exhibition roughly gives a chronological account of events in Rotterdam during World War II. The narrative is divided into thirteen themes, covering specific events (bombing, liberation), processes (mobilisation, daily life, raids) or places (harbour, barrack 24).[123] The exhibition thus carries a strong local perspective, stimulating geographical proximity. While it mostly narrates events and processes that affected the Netherlands in general, it also draws attention to stories or situations that are specific for Rotterdam. An international or European point of view is only taken a few times in introductory texts to contextualise the narrated events.

The exhibition's main focus is on the bombing of Rotterdam, the resistance movement, the daily life of citizens and how they dealt with (food) shortages. It chiefly narrates these events through the perspective of ordinary civilians. Although the exhibition does mention the NSB (National Socialist Movement in the Netherlands) in its introduction

[121] Schmidt, *Vraag en antwoord: voor leerlingen*, 8.
[122] Ibid., 7.
[123] OorlogsVerzetsmuseum, 'Main Exhibition'.

on how the war started, it does not include any details on how some people collaborated with the German occupiers. In addition, it rarely invokes the perpetrator's point of view. The section on 'De Biesbosch' (a national park near Rotterdam) mentions how Germans tried to flee through this area to the northern parts of the Netherlands. This point of view, however, is frequently mixed with the perspective of resistant fighters who took them prisoner. The exhibition also contains a section on the 'forgotten bombing' of the Western part of the city.[124] By adding this perspective, showing that the Allied forces did risk the lives of innocent civilians in their efforts to win the war, the museum adds an extra layer to this history and is not as selective as the collective memory of the war in general.

The educational resource with its guiding questions roughly follows the same pattern as the exhibition, covering all themes in the exhibition mentioned above. Although it starts off with some general information about the German invasion of the Netherlands and its occupation, the resource particularly emphasises the experiences of people in Rotterdam. Most questions aim to highlight the things that a lot of ordinary Rotterdam citizens went through, but one assignment also invokes the point of view of specific individuals:

> What actions did Marinus van der Stoep and Charles van der Sluis undertake in the resistance movement?[125]

One question in the resource combines this strategy of individualising a perspective with the notion that this history still has significance for people today and for the present in general. Regarding a women who lost a lot of family members because of the Jewish persecution and genocide, the resource asks:

> What happened during the war and can you imagine that Sifra will never forget the war?
>
> Look around and read the texts. Today there are still wars in the world and people being repressed and persecuted, without them being guilty of anything.[126]

In one question, the resource asks pupils to describe the strategy behind the German bombing of Rotterdam, hence asking them to reflect on their actions, but most assignments solely focus on the experiences of Rotterdam citizens (victims and resistance fighters) and do not take the point of view of perpetrators and collaborators.[127] It does, however, include

[124] OorlogsVerzetsmuseum, 'Main Exhibition'.
[125] Schmidt, *Vraag en antwoord: voor leerlingen*, 15.
[126] Ibid., 14.
[127] Ibid., 12.

the 'forgotten bombing', indicating that the Allied forces also risked the lives of innocent civilians.[128]

In conclusion, the OorlogsVerzetsMuseum reflects the original emphasis of museums dealing with World War II by focusing on local and regional histories. The museum primarily relies on the bridging technique of material relics, approaching most objects as illustrations or evidence. In addition, it regularly traces the cultural biography of artefacts (often relating to specific individuals), which emphasises temporal proximity and could stimulate an experience of authenticity. The limited scope of the collection seems to hinder the exploration of other perspectives than that of ordinary civilians: the exhibition pays little attention to collaborators and perpetrators and heavily emphasises a local point of view.

The educational resource of the OorlogsVerzetsMuseum follows the same pattern as the exhibition, covering the same themes and including a similar range of perspectives. Contrary to the exhibition, however, the educational resource rarely points to personal stories of individuals that are connected to some artefacts on display. Instead, it uses objects as illustrations or as evidence for retrieving historical information. In addition, some questions generate proximity by highlighting the significance of preserving them for people today. This activity, however, can also create detachment, as it highlights their dislocation from their original environment.

***Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein' (Oosterbeek)*, 'The Friendship Armband'**

The Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein' is located in the eastern region of the Netherlands, which formed the backdrop to the Allied military Operation Market Garden. Since 1978, the museum has been based in the former Hartenstein Hotel in Oosterbeek, which the British Airborne Division used as their main headquarters. Today the area is quiet and peaceful. The official Airborne War Cemetery was established near Oosterbeek, and several memorials, such as the so-called Airborne monuments, were established at various locations.[129]

Contrary to the English D-Day Museum, the Airborne Museum does emphasise the historical significance of its surroundings, with the building's lower levels featuring several reconstructions of rooms from that period. In the basement, the museum has installed an elaborate simulacrum called the 'Airborne Experience', which is advertised as 'an intense experience' that 'showcases the war in all its intensity' and where 'you will feel the impact of the violence on the young boys who were desperately fighting for their lives'.[130] On the top

[128] Schmidt, *Vraag en antwoord: voor leerlingen*, 12.
[129] Kolen, Van Krieken and Wijdeveld, 'Topografie van de herinnering', 205-206.
[130] http://en.airbornemuseum.nl/museum/airborne-experience (13 May, 2014).

floors, visitors can learn about the history of Operation Market Garden in a more formal exhibition, featuring objects in display cases.

For secondary school groups the museum offers the programme 'De Vriendschapsarmband', which consists of a self-guided exploratory tour through the museum and a pre- and post-plenary session in which this activity is introduced and reflected upon.[131] The analysis is based on the programme's teacher's guide and the activity sheets used in the museum tour.[132]

Immersive experiences, multiple perspectives

The main exhibition of the Airborne Museum features several strategies that emphasise the proximity of the past. As the museum building itself played an important role in the execution of Operation Market Garden, it offers many opportunities to connect the past and the present through the bridging technique of constancy of place. The introductory video, which provides an overview of the battles and fights that took place in Arnhem and its surrounding areas, emphasises that the 'traumatic battles of the Second World War still come to the fore daily here'. These events have left permanent traces, and 'seven kilometres further it is quiet at the Airborne Burial Ground in Oosterbeek'.[133] The exhibition that follows, using material relics as a bridging technique, explores the events that took place in the regional area around the Hartenstein Hotel.

Although the presentation of material relics in glass display cases suggests temporal distance, the exhibition has interwoven them with many blown-up pictures of events that took place in the region and with quotes from German and Allied soldiers and eyewitnesses who give their take on the battles. Video footage of these events is projected onto one of these display cases.[134]

In the educational programme 'The Friendship Armband', pupils get to work on a historical enquiry in which they use the museum's exhibition to reconstruct the story of two young Staff Sergeants, Richard William West and P.J. Allen, who both fought in the Battle of Arnhem. The programme revolves around one object that serves as a 'guide' for pupils to make their way through the exhibition: an armband made of cotton with the Dutch flag and the word 'Orange' stitched on it (see *illustration 46*). This object is related to the story of Allen and West: as a token of their friendship, they tore the armband in half meaning to

[131] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', *Docentenhandleiding: De vriendschapsarmband*, 4.
[132] Parts of this analysis have been worked into the article 'Engaging Experiences of World War II. Historical Distance in English and Dutch Heritage Educational Resources' submitted for a volume related to the international conference *Tangible Pasts? Questioning Heritage Education* (Rotterdam, June 6-7, 2013). On the Airborne Museum, see also Grever, 'Paradoxes of Proximity and Distance in Heritage Education'.
[133] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', 'Main Exhibition'.
[134] Ibid.

reconnect them after the battle. Unfortunately, this never happened as West fell in battle.[135] According to Hester Ketel, the Airborne Museum's education manager, this object was an interesting choice, as an 'audio spot' referring to the object was recently established just outside the museum as part of a heritage trail on World War II in the eastern parts of the Netherlands (the Liberation Route), but essentially any object could have been chosen for the programme.[136] As the museum through the personal story, thus, emphasises the past relationships embodied by the object, this approach may be an important trigger for generating an experience of authenticity, which archaeologist Siân Jones describes as 'a product of the relationships between people and things'.[137]

The questions in the activity sheets encourage pupils to investigate objects, texts, quotes, photos, maps and video interviews in the exhibition to find out historical information, which should be used to decide whether a recreated scene in Allen and West's story actually took place or not.[138] Most questions stimulate temporal proximity by emphasising objects, quotes or photos as evidence, highlighting their authenticity and ability to provide an insight into the past:

> Look at the display case.
> What purpose did the various forms of aid serve in the military retreat?
>
> Look at the display case with the lab coat.
> What information can you find about the armband that is visible here? Make a drawing of the armband and describe it.
>
> Look at the armband from our story in the Hall of Fame on the ground floor.
> What differences/similarities can you find with the armband on the first floor? What makes this armband special? What do you think has happened with to other half?
>
> Look at the wall directly on the left with pictures and quotes from private Sidney Elliot at the top.
> How were the allied forces received in Oosterbeek?
>
> Head to the room 'The battle in pictures' on the second floor.
> Describe the battles that took place shortly after, using the pictures and quotes.[139]

These questions encourage pupils to look closely at the objects and use them to acquire information about the past and get a better image of it. The assignment about the armband points to the specific history of this artefact and the past relationships it embodies. Other questions, however, do not really mediate the temporal proximity generated by the material

[135] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', *Docentenhandleiding: De vriendschapsarmband*, 8.
[136] Interview Hester Ketel (Utrecht, January 30, 2014).
[137] Jones, 'Negotiating Authentic Objects and Authentic Selves', 200.
[138] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', *De vriendschapsarmband: opdrachtenkaart.*
[139] Ibid.

relics, as they draw more attention to the interpretative texts in which objects have been wrapped than to the artefacts themselves.

> Look at the pictures in the room.
> How could the gliders fly all the way from Broadwell in England to the Netherlands?
>
> Head to the panel 'Battles in Oosterbeek' opposite the monitor.
> Where were the emergency hospitals located?
>
> Look at the display case.
> When did the retreat take place?
> How many men were able to retreat?[140]

In such cases the objects and pictures act more as illustrations to the information that can be found on text panels or object labels. The evidence-based approach also stresses the act of 'historical craftsmanship', which may create more detachment due to the emphasis on the interpretative nature of history with historians debating whether specific historical events took place or not.

Besides the bridging technique of 'material relics', the museum also uses that of 'imitation and replication', for the upper floor galleries provide the historical context to more experience-based exhibits on the museum's basement floor, where the stimulus of temporal proximity is taken to higher levels. On the sub-basement level, the museum has installed reconstructions that show how the Hartenstein Hotel was used as headquarters by the Allied troops. On two sides, parts of a brick wall have been removed, allowing visitors to watch two different scenes. One scene combines imitation and replication with the bridging technique of constancy of place and shows visitors the use of Hartenstein as an emergency hospital, with mannequin replicas of militia representing how the World War II wounded were treated on this very spot in the basement of the Hartenstein Hotel. The diorama on the other side of the room shows Major-General Roy Urquhart meeting with some of his officers, a reconstruction involving a sound recording in which Urquhart expresses his concern over how the battle is progressing and devises a new strategy.[141] Similar to the ones at the D-Day Museum, these reconstructions still keep visitors at a spatial distance, reducing their level of immersion.

The basement level aims to offer a more immersive experience, inviting the visitor to step into the footsteps of a British parachutist. This ‘Airborne Experience’ starts off with a video briefing to explain the details of Operation Market Garden. You are surrounded by imaginary soldiers asking questions about the plan. After you have been dismissed, you

[140] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', *De vriendschapsarmband: opdrachtenkaart.*
[141] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', 'Main Exhibition'.

enter the plane, which you exit through the side door as if you are making a parachute jump to find yourself 'in the middle of the battle'. Gigantic projection screens, blown-up pictures, mannequins and reconstructions of houses and military vehicles, with lots of sound effects, reproduce the Battle of Arnhem, hence highlighting a local perspective (see *illustration 48*). A child is hiding in one of the houses: a woman tells her to stay put, as it is not safe outside. Newspaper headlines summarise the events in which visitors are immersed. Visitors can move through the experience at their own pace. It ends with a reconstruction of a swampy field with soldiers wading through. A blown-up picture shows the different people who were involved in this battle, and statistics indicate the number of civilians, Germans and Allied forces that were killed or went missing.[142] Although some of the vehicles included in the experience may be authentic, the museum has not labelled them as such and uses them to support the immersion.

Regarding this immersive 'Airborne Experience' the educational resource uses the same approach of historical enquiry as it does for the exhibition on the upper floors. Pupils have to analyse the experience as a film and write down whether they recognise scenes from Allen and West's story.[143] This activity appears to defuse the experience of temporal proximity that the exhibit aims for, but Hester Ketel argues that it is important to highlight specific aspects of the experience in order to focus pupils, similar to 'having first read a travel guide before you go and visit a country, which allows you not to see less, but more'.[144] Using the experience as evidence gives a sense of authenticity to the simulacrum, without it being discussed as a representation. Ketel explains that reflecting on the constructed nature of the experience takes things too far and would be too complex for pupils. In addition, she argues that the design of the experience is based on thorough historical research and that the information pupils can derive from it is similar to that on text panels in the exhibition, which are also a secondary source.[145]

Personalising and deconstructing narratives

Although the primary focus of the exhibition is on how the Allied forces experienced the battles as part of Operation Market Garden, there are also various references to the German side of the story, most obviously so in the museum's collection of weapons, uniforms and equipment, where the German and Allied objects each take up one half of the room (see *illustration 47*). Germans are also frequently quoted, for instance:

[142] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', 'Main Exhibition'.
[143] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', *De vriendschapsarmband: opdrachtenkaart.*
[144] Interview Hester Ketel (Utrecht, January 30, 2014).
[145] Ibid.

> Wehrmacht High Command
> Wednesday, September 20th, 1944
> Arnhem
>
> The enemy forces that have landed from the air in Arnhem and the surrounding area are being cornered further by concentric attacks in the middle region of the Netherlands. Well-supported by our own hunting squadrons, our troops did a lot of damage to the opponent's people and equipment. Up until now we have made more than 1,700 people prisoner.[146]

One video screen, in addition, shows interviews with German veterans in which they talk about their motivations and their – sometimes emotional – experiences.[147] These interviews give a human voice to the enemy forces, generating temporal proximity and emotional engagement. The exhibition also frequently includes the point of view of civilians who got caught in the battles. In contrast with this approach of multiperspectivity, the experience-based displays on the basement levels, however, mainly focus on the perspective of the Allied forces, and it would be difficult to explore others. This is particularly the case in the 'Airborne Experience'. Due to its first-person perspective, visitors are less likely to detach themselves from the history that is presented to them.

While the educational programme approaches the exhibition as evidence, encouraging pupils to take the detached stance of a historian, on the one hand, it also stimulates emotional engagement by connecting the enquiry to the personal story of Allen and West, on the other. Although the focus on this personal story in itself may already generate emotional engagement, the museum also stimulates it more actively in some questions in the activity sheets they provide for pupils to use in the exhibition, encouraging them to cognitively re-enact the thoughts of historical actors, which hints at the bridging technique of imitation and replication. For example:

> Look at the quotes on the grey bar.
> What would the soldiers have thought when they left Great Britain?[148]

Although the resource revolves around the personal story of the two Allied soldiers, it also draws attention to other perspectives. The activity sheets encourage pupils to explore the experiences of civilians who got caught up in the conflict, and one question asks them to compare a German and Allied account of what happened during the battle. The resource on the 'Airborne Experience' does not attempt to search for multiple perspectives but to create a potential reconstruction of what Sergeant Allan and West might have encountered.[149]

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[146] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', 'Main Exhibition'.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', *De vriendschapsarmband: opdrachtenkaart.*
[149] Ibid.

To sum up, the Airborne Museum uses the bridging techniques of constancy of place, material relics and imitation and replication to stimulate temporal proximity. Compared to the more locally oriented OorlogsVerzetsMuseum, the collection of the Airborne Museum does allow for introducing multiple points view, as the exhibition explores the perspectives of the Allied forces, civilians, and German forces. These points of view are not present in the Allied-centred reconstructions and simulacra, which aim to create an immersive experience of the past.

The Airborne Museum's educational programme reinforces temporal proximity by introducing a personal story related to a single object that may also stimulate emotional engagement, while opting for an educational activity that is based on historical enquiry, which encourages a more detached stance and defuses the immersive nature of the 'Airborne Experience'. Is it actually possible to open up multiperspectivity in an immersive environment that aims to bring the past temporally closer and to foster an emotional engagement with anxiety and fear? The resource opts to point to perspectives that are already present in the exhibition, but the question is whether one can do these points of view justice when emotionally engaged with the personal story of two Allied soldiers.

4.5 Conclusion

Although memories of World War II carried a narrative template of national celebration in both research countries, they have been opened up to new perspectives particularly in the Netherlands. The Dutch Airborne Museum reflects this development through its inclusion of perspectives other than just that of the Allied forces. On the other hand, the OorlogsVerzetsMuseum in Rotterdam narrates the history of World War II through a local perspective, stimulating geographical proximity. As it does not use the bridging technique of ‘constancy of place’, the museum primarily relies on the material objects on display to convey a feeling of temporal proximity. Therefore, it is the restricted scope of the collection that imposes limits on the available perspectives. The D-Day Museum in Portsmouth and Newhaven Fort display a strong national focus while paying little attention to other points of view.

Of the heritage institutes studied in this Chapter, only the Airborne Museum stimulates temporal proximity through ‘constancy of place’. However, just like the other institutes, the museum also heavily relies on a combination of the bridging techniques of 'relics and memorabilia' and 'imitation and replication' to configure temporality and engagement. The degree of distance and engagement depends, however, on the specific museum presentation techniques that have been used and the narrative plot into which the

exhibits have been incorporated. In the case of the D-Day Museum, for instance, it is the narrative pattern that ensures that the embroidery and reconstructions not only bring the past temporally closer but also stimulate a national sense of identification. In the case of Newhaven Fort, it is the exhibition's synchronic approach and the illustrative interpretation of objects that generate a nostalgic account of World War II. The OorlogsVerzetsMuseum highlights the authenticity of objects by referring to their cultural biography and to specific individual owners. The Airborne Museum has embedded most objects in displays of blown-up pictures and quotes from historical actors who participated in the event. All institutes also use ‘in situ’ types of display in various degrees.

How these strategies are mediated to school pupils depends on the educational activities that have been designed around these exhibits. The educational resources of Newhaven Fort and the OorlogsVerzetsMuseum generally reinforce the temporal proximity provided by their exhibits, with the former institute also generating an extra layer of emotional engagement by framing the educational activities in a personal story. The educational resources of the D-Day Museum and the Airborne Museum, on the other hand, rarely stimulate the experience that is provided by their exhibitions. The Portsmouth Museum primarily encourages pupils to learn about facts from the exhibits on display, but it rarely touches upon the authentic aura of objects, and pupils are not encouraged to immerse themselves in the themed reconstructions. The Airborne Museum, on the other hand, reinforces temporal proximity through the connection of a personal story to an object in their exhibition, but most activities amount to a form of historical enquiry, encouraging pupils to take the detached stance of a historian. Even for the immersive 'Airborne Experience', the activity sheets focus on analysis and investigation.

The analysis shows that museum presentation techniques that induce temporal proximity or engagement rarely go hand in hand with multiple perspectives. In the embroidery and exhibition of the D-Day museum, which both generate a national sense of ideological engagement, perspectives other than those of the British and Allied forces are virtually non-existent. The educational resource does not touch upon other points of view either. The Newhaven Fort and OorlogsVerzetsMuseum both present a one-sided account of World War II, which is reinforced through their educational resources. The educational programme of the Airborne Museum draws attention to multiple perspectives that have been implemented in the main exhibition. The museum's 'in situ' displays, however, rely very much on a singular (sometimes first-person) perspective, which the educational activity sheets do not undertake to transcend. Although the activity of historical enquiry, using the exhibit as evidence, generates detachment, the fact that it relates the immersive to the personal story of the Staff Sergeants Allen and West limits the points of view included to that

of the Allied forces. This is probably a good thing, as it might be too difficult to explore and reflect on multiple perspectives in an exhibit that aims for immersion and engagement.

In designing an educational resource that aims to construct and encourage pupils to explore multiple perspectives as part of history learning, it is important to be aware of the strategies and techniques of constructing historical distance that have been used in the existing exhibits and presentations. If an exhibit contains multiple perspectives in itself, it would be best to draw attention to this construction of multiperspectivity through specific activities. On the other hand, if exhibits strongly aim for generating temporal proximity and engagement, it might be better to reinforce these strategies to trigger pupils' imagination and introduce multiple perspectives somewhere else in the programme. In its educational resource, the Airborne Museum has split up the activities in this way, with assignments drawing attention to multiple perspectives included in the main exhibition on the upper floors, but only exploring one point of view with the immersive Airborne Experience. When all exhibits aim for immersion and engagement, such as the national sense of ideological engagement at the D-Day Museum and Overlord Embroidery, the heritage presentation as a whole can act as a vehicle for opening up other points of view by highlighting the perspectivity of the exhibition itself. It would probably be best to reflect on this at another location, for example, at a later moment in the classroom, where there are fewer stimuli of proximity and engagement. This way, heritage education can draw upon the strengths of cultural heritage and at the same time allow for multiperspectivity as an asset of history learning.

5 *Traces and Places of the Holocaust*

A few days before their first match of the 2012 European Football Championship, the Dutch national football team visited the former concentration camps Auschwitz I and Birkenau. This visit generated a lot of press coverage, with journalists wondering whether it would have any effect on the performance of the team in their upcoming match. Would they be able to beat the opponent when their minds were full of the horrific details of this history and the experience this historic site provides? These journalists thus appeared to attribute special properties to places related to the Holocaust, assuming that such historic sites have the ability to provide a tangible insight into this gruesome history. Most heritage institutes also consider this experience to be of value to school pupils learning about the Holocaust, as is evident from the various educational activities they provide.

Historic sites can offer visitors a 'same place' experience, providing people with the feeling that they are standing on the very ground on which important historic events took place.[1] In sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel's breakdown of this 'same place' notion, it appears that such an experience can only occur when certain remains of the past are still present. These are necessary to provide a sense of 'permanence', allowing us 'to virtually "see" the people who once occupied the space we now do.'[2] Yet, as I already demonstrated with the analysis of the slavery trail through Middelburg in Chapter 3, such traces are not always present at historic sites, limiting the opportunities for producers of heritage educational resources to mediate this experience. Moreover, in Britain few places that can be directly related to the Holocaust have been preserved and interpreted. As I will explain in more detail in the next section this has to do with the fact that Britain has not been occupied by Germans and, hence, has only indirect links to the history of the Holocaust, except for the Channel Islands which have been occupied for five years.[3] In the Netherlands, on the other hand, there are much more traces related to this history, as the country was occupied since May 1940, which led to the deportation of over 100,000 Jewish people to concentration and extermination camps.

[1] Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 40-43.
[2] Ibid., 41-42.
[3] The German occupation of the Channel Islands, which was the only part of the British Isles that they managed to acquire, and the fate of the Jewish people who lived there does not feature prominently in the historiography of the Holocaust. This may be explained by the relatively small number of Jews living in this area, as only 17 people were registered as such when the Germans arrived. Fraser, *The Jews of the Channel Islands and the Rule of Law*, 1,6.

The Holocaust is also considered to be a rather sensitive history. It is very alive as a collective memory in many Western countries today, often being explicitly conceptualised as a moral lesson for present and future generations: people ought to learn about the Holocaust for it not to happen again. Historian Ed Jonker has pointed to the moral inherency of this traumatic history, which would make taking a distant and critical approach in educational settings rather difficult.[4] In this context, it is also considered problematic or inappropriate to deal with the perspective of the perpetrator when studying this history. Some have even considered it to be impossible to actually understand the point of view of those involved in engineering the Holocaust.[5] Hence, this poses an interesting challenge for the inclusion and exploration of multiple perspectives in historical representations of the Holocaust. This is even more pressing with regard to heritage educational resources, as cultural heritage can provide a very tangible account of a specific history. Therefore, the dominance or absence of a particular perspective depends on the extent to which it is represented by cultural heritage objects. In order to better reflect on these issues, this Chapter will examine to what extent the main strategies of constructing historical distance have been implemented in heritage educational resources on the Holocaust and how they deal with multiple perspectives.

First I will explore the context of remembering and commemorating the Holocaust in Britain as a background in which heritage educational resources have been developed. Next, I will analyse two educational activities that are provided by the Holocaust Centre in Laxton and the Imperial War Museum (IWM North) in Manchester. The Holocaust Centre is a private institute, dedicated to commemorating this history only. IWM North, on the other hand, is a national museum that is primarily funded by the government and that deals with wars in general. The last two sections of this Chapter cover the Dutch part of this case study and follow a format similar to those on the English side of this study. After some contextual background, I will show how the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam and *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork deal with historical distance and multiperspectivity in their cultural heritage presentations and related educational resources. Both institutes aim to deliver a 'same place' experience, yet work in very different settings that force or allow them to use a diverse range of strategies and techniques to construct historical distance.

5.1 Between Britain's Heroic Victory and Human Catastrophe

As I described in the previous Chapter, for a long time, Britain's memory of the war was primarily a military and nation-oriented affair: Britain saw itself as victor of World War II; it

[4] Jonker, *Ordentelijke geschiedenis,* 17.
[5] Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 287.

had both won its own battle against Germany and had liberated Europe. Memories, therefore, emphasised glory and triumph,[6] and the Holocaust did not occupy a prominent place in this memory. Partly due to delays in the release of government papers, it took several decades for historians to study the role of Britain and the United States in the Holocaust in depth.[7] It was not until the 1970s and 1980s that scholarship emerged dealing with British refugee policies during World War II and the years leading up to this conflict. In his *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933-1939,* A.J. Sherman examined British migration policies during the 1930s, such as the so-called *Kindertransport*.[8] During this rescue mission, approximately 10,000 mainly Jewish children migrated from Eastern Europe to the United Kingdom. Since 1980, more attention has been paid to the (lack of) governmental response to the Holocaust.[9]

The fact that Britain-related aspects of the Holocaust have only lately received attention from scholars may explain why this history rarely found its way into museums and educational practices up until the 1990s.[10] In the first half of this decade, the British memory of the Holocaust focused primarily on the liberation of Nazi concentration camp Bergen-Belsen and on the Nuremberg Trials.[11] These events both fitted into a heroic narrative, featuring Britain as a liberator and the victor of a 'just war' against evil Nazi Germany.[12] In 1991, the Imperial War Museum in London – established in 1917 to document the British participation in various wars in the twentieth century[13] – added a small display on the liberation of Bergen-Belsen to their permanent exhibition on World War II.[14] Although there had been a number of campaigns to establish a museum on the Holocaust (particularly in London), none of them had the desired result.[15]

The early 1990s, however, did see the Holocaust being recognised as an important topic in history education, as it was included as a compulsory topic to be studied and assessed in the revision of the National Curriculum.[16] In 1995, furthermore, Stephen and James Smith established memorial centre Beth Shalom (or Holocaust Centre) near Laxton, a little village in the middle of rural Nottinghamshire.[17] In June 2000, the Imperial War Museum in London also opened a permanent exhibition on the Holocaust, clearly separated

[6] Schaffer, 'Een angstvallig gekoesterde overwinning', 248-249.
[7] Kushner, 'Britain, the United States and the Holocaust', 258-260.
[8] Ibid., 260.
[9] Ibid., 265-269.
[10] Cesarani, 'Lacking in Convictions', 28.
[11] Ibid., 28.
[12] Salmons, 'Teaching or Preaching?', 139.
[13] Malvern, 'War, Memory and Museums', 177.
[14] Kushner, 'The Holocaust and the Museum World in Britain', 17.
[15] Cooke, 'Beth Shalom', 36.
[16] Hector, 'Teaching the Holocaust in England', 106.
[17] Smith, *Making Memory.*

from the other galleries.[18] It was funded by private sponsorship and a shared museum grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. The only other museum in England that has a permanent exhibition on the Holocaust on display is the Jewish Museum London.[19] Their exhibition has linked the Holocaust to Britain by narrating this history through the eyes of a British-born Auschwitz survivor.

As the Holocaust has increasingly become a global memory, it is also more often being conceptualised as a lesson for today in Britain. This is evident, for example, from the message underlying the annual Holocaust Memorial Day, which not only draws attention to the unique aspects of the Holocaust but is also used in educational settings to explore more general issues of genocide.[20] Labour MP Andrew Dismore had already proposed a bill to establish an annual commemoration day for the Holocaust in 1999, as he found it to be a unique event in history.[21] Following the European Stockholm conference on the Holocaust in 2001, this event was officially put on Britain's commemorative calendar.[22] Attributing special significance to the Holocaust is not a universally accepted concept: leaders of British Muslim organisations have criticised the fact that this historical event is singled out compared to other genocides; others have argued that the focus on Jewish victimhood imposes a sense of guilt on society. In 1999, art critic Brian Sewell, for example, campaigned against a plan of the Imperial War Museum North and the Shoah Centre in Manchester to establish a Holocaust memorial in that city.[23]

The present-day relevance of the Holocaust has also found its way into history education. In the current National Curriculum for England, the Holocaust is explicitly mentioned as a topic of study, aside from 'the two World Wars.'[24] Besides the above-mentioned museums and memorial centres, organisations such as the British Friends of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Educational Trust and the Anne Frank Trust UK also started developing educational resources to support the teaching of the Holocaust.[25] It is important to note that teaching the Holocaust is not restricted to the subject of History but that it is also used as a context for study in subjects related to citizenship and religious education, in which it often acts as a lesson about prejudice and discrimination.[26] In a 2009 survey, many history teachers also indicated that they taught the Holocaust as a lesson about racism and

[18] Salmons, 'Teaching or Preaching?', 139.
[19] Pettigrew, Foster, Howson, Salmons, Lenga and Andrews, *Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*, 12.
[20] Schaffer, 'Een angstvallig gekoesterde overwinning', 253.
[21] Bloxham, 'Britain's Holocaust Memorial Days', 43.
[22] Schaffer, 'Een angstvallig gekoesterde overwinning', 253.
[23] Ibid., 254-256.
[24] Department for Education, *National Curriculum in England*, 4.
[25] Pettigrew, Foster, Howson, Salmons, Lenga and Andrews, *Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*, 11-12.
[26] Hector, 'Teaching the Holocaust in England', 105-106.

respect for diversity.[27] The majority of teachers primarily appeared to focus on the actions the perpetrators carried out against victims, emphasising persecutions during the 1930s and proceedings at Auschwitz-Birkenau.[28]

With a lot of teachers attributing a moral present-day significance to the Holocaust, it is interesting to note that Keith Crawford and Stuart Foster, based on an analysis of 61 German and English history textbooks, concluded that although some textbooks draw direct parallels between the Holocaust and contemporary issues of human rights, such links between the past and the present are mostly absent.[29] Overall, these textbooks present an account of the Holocaust in which the Nazis are the perpetrators, with a strong focus on Hitler. Most include graphic explanations of what went on in the concentration camps, from the perspectives of prisoners and guards. Explanations of why the event occurred are multi-facetted, taking into account historical, socio-economic and political contexts.[30]

The difference between history teachers' approach in their lessons and school textbooks may be explained by the fact that many British teachers also rely on other sources as educational materials. A 1999 survey revealed that history teachers used a varied range of resources to teach the Holocaust, including basic texts and feature films like *Schindler's List* and *Escape from Sobibor*.[31] Forty-three per cent of the teachers interviewed in the 2009 survey indicated they were likely to use museum resource packs on the Holocaust. However, only twenty-eight per cent testified a willingness to visit museums, memorial sites or research centres in the UK related to the topic.[32] This may stem from the aforementioned observation that the Holocaust does not have as big a presence in the British cultural heritage landscape as other historical topics, such as the military aspects of World War II, which stems from the fact that Britain has had little direct experience in the transportation of Jews to concentration and extermination camps in Eastern Europe.

In the next section I will show how two heritage institutes do provide a tangible experience of the Holocaust and I will elaborate how the strategies they use to construct historical distance relate to the inclusion and exclusion of multiple perspectives. It will become clear that these heritage educational resources in different ways reflect the recent context of conceptualising this history as a moral message for the present.

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[27] Pettigrew, Foster, Howson, Salmons, Lenga and Andrews, *Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*, 71-72.
[28] Ibid., 40-41.
[29] Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*, 35.
[30] Ibid., 28-32.
[31] Hector, 'Teaching the Holocaust in England', 108.
[32] Pettigrew, Foster, Howson, Salmons, Lenga and Andrews, *Teaching About the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*, 45-47.

5.2 Moral and Emotional Engagement

The Holocaust Centre (Laxton), 'Learning About the Holocaust'[33]

The Holocaust Centre is a memorial centre based in the middle of the countryside of the English East Midlands. It was established by Stephen and James Smith, two brothers from Nottinghamshire, who thought it was 'vitally important for British society be confronted with the meaning and the challenge of the Holocaust.'[34] Born and raised in a Christian family, Stephen Smith in particular had become interested in Judaism. As he and his brother found themselves increasingly concerned and engaged with the history of the Jewish community, they 'wanted to make the experience of the Holocaust less distant', particularly in Britain, where it would have been very easy not to confront these issues head on.[35] Therefore, they decided to establish a memorial centre in the former farmhouse-turned-Christian-conference-centre they had inherited from their parents.

Although the site was chosen for practical reasons, the landscape in which it is located is still an important part of the Centre. The Centre is situated near Laxton, which has gained recognition as the last open field village in England. It is a very peaceful, rural setting, evoking a feeling of England and Englishness.[36] The memory of the Holocaust contrasts sharply with this nostalgic experience of historical England, and the establishment of a Holocaust Centre in this landscape connects these contradictory memories. Nevertheless, the Centre also misses out on an opportunity to reinforce this connection. According to legend, King Edward I visited Laxton just before he issued an edict expelling the Jewish people from England in 1290. In their exhibition, the Holocaust Centre does not relate this history to the anti-Jewish measures taken in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s.[37] The main exhibition was constructed in the early 1990s and has only been slightly altered since. In 2008, the Centre developed a special exhibition on the *Kindertransports* specifically for primary school children. The memorial gardens surrounding the building contain various memorials, dedicated to war victims, resistance fighters and people who suffered from the Nazi regime.

The Centre offers a half-day educational programme for secondary schools consisting of five activities. In the introductory session, firstly, which takes place in the Centre's memorial hall, the educator outlines the aims of the visit and shows a video that provides a brief overview of the Holocaust. After this session, pupils spread out in groups for

[33] Parts of this analysis have also been published in the article, De Bruijn, 'The Holocaust and Historical Distance', 204-213.
[34] Smith, *Making Memory*, 26.
[35] Ibid., 40-42.
[36] Cooke, 'Beth Shalom', 38.
[37] Ibid., 37-38.

the second and third session of the programme in which they visit the main exhibition and the memorial gardens. Pupils guide themselves past the exhibits and memorials using activity sheets. Fourthly, they participate in a talk by a Holocaust survivor and the programme is wrapped up, lastly, by a closing session.

Emotional windows on the past

The Centre's main exhibition does not feature many material relics, except for a few items, such as a section of a Torah scroll and a prisoner's jacket from a concentration camp. Therefore, it primarily relies on the bridging technique of imitation and replication to construct historical distance: the past is particularly brought alive through pictures, video fragments and other exhibition techniques. Projection screens at the start of the exhibition, for instance, display authentic video footage of daily life before the war in countries such as Hungary and the Netherlands. This footage is accompanied by a slow piano piece and Hungarian folk music, playing to emotions of sadness. Moreover, several zones feature 'in situ' types of display. For example, a ghetto has been 'recreated' by presenting a pavement, streetlights and walls with barbed wire on top (see *illustration 51*). This section also contains a railway track: visitors enter the next zone through the door of a railway carriage. The staging of the ghetto, intended to provide visitors with an immediate experience, is contextualised, however, in a text panel that says: 'We could not create the sound, smell or sight of a diseased and dying population. There are no starving people here. This is not the ghetto.'[38] This detached statement is the only example in the exhibition that explicitly emphasises the constructed character of the representation.

The memorials and sculptures in the memorial garden create proximity as they indicate the significance of the Holocaust for people today. In combination with its peaceful and tranquil atmosphere, a walk through the garden may induce emotional engagement in visitors. General memorials commemorate the children murdered during the Holocaust, deaf and disabled people who suffered from the Nazi regime and people who were imprisoned or killed because of their sexuality. Several memorials provide even more opportunities for engagement, as they are dedicated to individuals or are related to people's personal memories. For instance, victims' relatives can plant a rose in dedication to their loved one(s), and large beds of roses thus line the footpaths leading up to the Centre. British sculptor Naomi Blake has constructed a memorial called 'Abandoned', which is 'dedicated to my family and friends that never returned, For their courage and dignity.'[39] The first memorial that people encounter when walking up to the Centre uniquely employs the bridging

[38] The Holocaust Centre, 'Main Exhibition and Memorial Gardens'.
[39] Ibid.

technique of constancy of place: according to its plaque, this pillar, bearing the names of six death camps inscribed upon it, is built on soil from each of these camps.[40]

The educational activity sheets related to the exhibits show a similar mix of strategies. Most questions reinforce the temporal proximity of the past created by the exhibits by employing them as evidence to illustrate the history under study. For instance, assignments ask pupils to find depictions of everyday Jewish life in Europe before the war or caricature portraits by anti-Semites.

> The exhibition begins with images of Jewish life in Europe. Give some examples of everyday life and events.
>
> How were Jews portrayed by anti-Semites in the 19th and early 20th centuries?[41]

Such assignments underline the impression that the objects and pictures displayed in the exhibition are 'windows' on the past. All questions related to the memorial garden stimulate engagement, by encouraging pupils to empathise with the people to whom the memorials are dedicated. Pupils should remember the victims and resistance fighters of the Holocaust because that way they show they 'care' and 'if we care we show there is hope.'[42] They are invited, for instance, to add a stone to a huge pile built in remembrance of 'children murdered during the Sho'ah' (see *illustration 50*).

> Go to the Children's Memorial. Each stone has been placed there in memory of one child – how many stones do you think there are? Lay a stone in memory of one of the 1.5 million Jewish children who were murdered.[43]

Sometimes, though, the activity sheets create more detachment by emphasising the exhibition's narrative character. One assignment, for instance, asks pupils to explain why the exhibition would begin with images of Jewish life in Europe.[44] Such questions point out that the exhibition makers have made specific choices in how to present the history of the Holocaust, aiming for particular effects. The exhibition opens with a lot of family pictures of Jewish people before the war, and a few walls feature portraits of Jewish artists and scholars, emphasising that the exhibit is all about the Jews: 'this exhibit is about them. [...] It is also for them.'[45] This theme appears to be important in the memory of the Holocaust, as it is also featured in the exhibition of the Imperial War Museum. Initially, the Imperial War Museum decided not to include Jewish life and culture from before the Holocaust, as they

[40] The Holocaust Centre, 'Main Exhibition and Memorial Gardens'.
[41] The Holocaust Centre, *Learning about the Holocaust*, 1.
[42] Ibid., 12.
[43] Ibid., 11.
[44] Ibid., 1.
[45] The Holocaust Centre, 'Main Exhibition and Memorial Gardens'.

did not think the museum was a museum of ethnography, but historical advisors and people who funded the project advised against this decision.[46]

Moral engagement, intimate perspectives

The exhibition and memorial gardens mainly focus on the point of view of the victims (Jews in particular). However, the activity sheets add to the heritage on display, trying to explain the actions of the Nazis by emphasising the context of nationalism and Social Darwinism, or encouraging pupils to think of reasons why ordinary Germans supported the Nazis.[47] The introductory session also presents the point of view of victims, bystanders and perpetrators. While this construction of multiperspectivity may generate detachment, the resources present these perspectives in a very concrete manner, which may also stimulate engagement. For instance, when the introductory video presents a photo of the day after the *Kristallnacht*, the narrator draws attention to bystanders overlooking a man whose belongings are scattered all over the street: 'Do they all read what's happened? Or are they just not courageous enough to help him?' The educator also zooms in on the perpetrators, showing pictures of Nazi concentration camp guards resting, having a picnic or joking with each other, to illustrate that those who participated in the mass killings were ordinary people. These photographs were taken from ss-Obersturmführer Karl Höcker's album, which was donated to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in 2007.[48] The exhibition personalises the victim perspective through a vast collection of photographs, quotations and biographies of Holocaust survivors (see *illustration 52*).[49] The activity sheets make clear that these victims also took opportunities to resist against the Nazi regime, which is illustrated by individual stories.[50]

A prominent feature of the educational programme is a strong moral engagement. During the introductory presentation, which I was able to observe in 2011, the educator used the bridging technique of historical analogy by drawing parallels between the Holocaust and recent mass killings, such as the 1994 Rwandan genocide. This way, he bridged the past and the present and emphasised that studying the Holocaust is relevant for the world today. The video that was shown next encouraged pupils to consider 'what lessons might be learned and how we might bear these in mind in the future.' It ended by drawing attention to a phrase that can be seen in the memorial hall: 'He who saves a single life ... saves the world entire.' Pupils were thus encouraged to act for themselves in order to make the world a better place, which alludes to the moral dimension of engagement: they are called upon their

[46] Kushner, 'The Holocaust and the Museum World in Britain', 23-24.
[47] The Holocaust Centre, *Learning about the Holocaust*, 2-3.
[48] Van der Laarse, 'Kunst, kampen en landschappen', 175-176.
[49] The Holocaust Centre, 'Main Exhibition and Memorial Gardens'.
[50] The Holocaust Centre, *Learning about the Holocaust*, 6, 9.

civic responsibility. As this message is presented as an aim for studying the Holocaust in the sessions that follow, this introduction frames the educational programme in a moral form of engagement.

The set-up of the exhibition reinforces the framing of the Holocaust through a present-day perspective. After the introduction, pupils go through a door and descend to the exhibition via a spiral staircase. Intentionally or not, this gives the impression of going down into the depths of history. The exhibition takes a thematic and diachronic approach, which is also visible in its physical structure as a meandering walk through time without any alternative ways to go from one zone to another. Combined with the flatness of the displays, this structure gives the impression that the knowledge presented is thoroughly understood and well known.[51] At the end of the gallery, visitors emerge via a staircase into the memorial Centre and its surrounding gardens where it is apparent that the Holocaust is still commemorated in the present. Although clearly separated, the past and the present are thus also physically linked to each other.

During their visit to the memorial gardens, pupils are stimulated to go along with the moral message the educational programme communicates and make this ethical framework their own, as they are asked what can be learned from the stories behind the memorials, alluding to the moral engagement presented earlier in the introductory session.[52] The visit to the memorial garden creates empathy with those who suffered or resisted. Important in the programme are the presentations by Holocaust survivors telling about their experiences. Since the educational programme does not provide any reflection, this survivor testimony also stimulates emotional engagement. In the closing session, pupils relate all they have learned to their own situation. A diagram helps them to describe what choices people should make in order to either ‘build an inclusive society based on understanding and respect or slip ever deeper into intolerance and hate' and they are asked to write down what they have learned and how they will act in the future.

> My Courage to Care
>
> My Understanding! Today I have learned: .....
>
> My Action! What is it I will do to prevent others from suffering: .....[53]

The educational programme thus strongly emphasises that lessons for the present and the future can be learned from the Holocaust. This moral dimension of historical distance may overshadow the strategies of constructing detachment and multiperspectivity.

[51] Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, 137-139.
[52] The Holocaust Centre, *Learning about the Holocaust*, 12.
[53] Ibid., 14-15.

In conclusion, the main exhibition of the Holocaust Centre, thus, mainly uses the bridging technique of imitation and replication through pictures, video fragments and reconstructions to bring the past to life. Paradoxically, however, several assignments in the educational activity sheets create distance by drawing attention to the constructed nature of the exhibition. Furthermore, the institute emphasises the significance of commemorating this history for people today through its concept of a memorial centre in a peaceful and tranquil setting. Several physical memorials reinforce this idea. While the victims' perspective dominates in the exhibition of the Holocaust Centre, the educational programme introduces the points of view of multiple historical actors through additional teaching materials. While this construction may generate detachment, the Holocaust Centre encourages temporal proximity by personalising perspectives. Although this strategy could easily evoke emotional engagement, the Centre creates a balance by personalising all points of view. However, touching on an important trope of today's memory of the Holocaust, the institute imbues its programme with a strong moral message, which could overshadow the exploration of these multiple perspectives.

IWM North (Manchester), 'Holocaust Trail'

In contrast with the Holocaust Centre, the educational resources of the Imperial War Museum North (IWM North) are not framed in a strong moral message. This national museum is situated in the newly developed media district along the river in the busy city of Manchester. This location makes for a stark contrast with the peaceful rural setting of Laxton where the relatively small Holocaust Centre is located. The IWM North was opened in 2002 and is the youngest of the five IWM branches in England. The large and modern purpose-built museum building was designed by Daniel Libeskind, who is best known for designing the Jewish Museum in Berlin. The building represents a shattered globe with three large fragments having been reconnected; the three shards represent earth, air and water, referring to the battles of the twentieth century that were fought by land, sky and sea.[54]

The galleries are located on the first floor of the museum with a permanent exhibition in the museum's 'main exhibition space', which contains different displays on war in general, and a separate 'special exhibitions gallery'. The 'main exhibition space' has four types of displays. Around the perimeter runs a timeline that covers wars from 1914 to the present. Six 'silos' approach the same topic thematically. Scattered between the timeline and the silos are 'Action Stations' and 'TimeStacks'. These provide hands-on activities and themed trays of objects that can be handled during the day.[55] The museum thus presents both diachronic and synchronic approaches, which is immediately visible through the distinct exhibition

[54] http://daniel-libeskind.com/projects/imperial-war-museum-north (7 January, 2013).
[55] IWM North, 'Main Exhibition Space'.

techniques. As both types of displays have been assembled in the same, large exhibition space, however, the museum's overall presentation is more synchronic, a museum presentation strategy that communicates the idea that wars are happening all the time. In contrast with the Holocaust Centre, however, it does not present history as a linear process, which could provide more of a feeling that history is based on interpretation, with the knowledge being presented more as a proposition.[56]

In their educational programme, the museum offers two resources on the Holocaust: a workshop on the ghetto of Lodz and activity sheets for teachers to guide pupils through the displays in the 'main exhibition space' that are relevant for learning about the Holocaust. These can be found in the timeline, in one Holocaust-themed 'TimeStack' and in the silos that focus on children in armed conflicts and the legacy of wars. In contrast with the educational programme of the Holocaust Centre, which acts as a replacement for history classes on the topic, these resources are only meant to *support* teaching on the Holocaust.[57] According to Victoria Howarth, the museum's Formal Learning Manager, the trail is not necessarily meant as a worksheet and probably works best when used as a guide by teachers, providing room for discussion in the gallery.[58]

Individualised objects

The museum's exhibits on the Holocaust bridge the past and the present through many authentic objects and some historical images. The way these objects are displayed, ripped from their context, preserved in a museum environment and presented behind a glass panel emphasises temporal distance and generates detachment. The museum, however, also offers an audio-visual experience in their so-called 'Big Picture Shows', which render the past closer both on the levels of temporality and engagement. These shows, which are projected on the walls of the silos, approach the history of wars through different themes (see *illustration 54*). According to the narrator, they immerse visitors 'in the sights, sounds and experiences of war'. The self-directed Holocaust resources recommend viewing the show called 'Children and war', which contains testimonies of Holocaust survivors.[59] Its combination of pictures and sounds is designed to engage visitors emotionally. According to Victoria Howarth, seeing this film is meant more as an add-on than as a fundamental part of the visit, since the Holocaust is only a part of this film and the Big Picture Shows also get changed a lot, making it difficult to make them an integral part of the resource.[60]

[56] Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections.* 137-139.
[57] Imperial War Museum North, *Self-Directed Resources for Teachers Visiting IWM North*, 2.
[58] Interview Victoria Howarth (Manchester, December 3, 2013).
[59] Imperial War Museum North, *Self-Directed Resources for Teachers Visiting IWM North*, 1.
[60] Interview Victoria Howarth (Manchester, December 3, 2013).

Some questions in the activity sheets use objects to illustrate historical events or processes, drawing attention more to the interpretative texts than to the artefacts on display. For example, a Hitler Youth dagger triggers questions on the operation of this organisation in German society (see *illustration 56*).

> Find the Hitler Youth dagger Object number 12
> It is in the second case of the 1919 - 1939 section the Timeline
>
> Why was the Hitler Youth important to the Nazi regime?
>
> Why might children have wanted to join this organisation?[61]

Other questions encourage pupils to engage with the objects on display. For instance, they have to read a letter that was sent to Celia Horwitz, a German-Jewish girl who was one of the children who migrated to Britain just before the war as part of the *Kindertransport*, a rescue mission set up by private welfare organisations (see *illustration 55*).[62] Another question encourages pupils to look differently at the objects on display, asking them which object would be the most dangerous. Answers can range from a pistol or dagger to anti-Jewish propaganda posters or a copy of *Mein Kampf*.[63]

Victoria Howarth argues that the specific objects were chosen, partly to stimulate pupils to get around the museum, but also because of their potential ability to speak to young people. For instance, according to Howarth, the Hitler Youth Dagger was chosen 'because we thought students might understand the attraction of being given a knife and make a personal link to perhaps being in an organisation such as the scouts, of course the Hitler Youth Dagger has a darker connotation linked to the indoctrination of children, in a sense the artefacts are used as a 'way in' to a topic.' The story of Celia Horwitz similarly represents the experiences of a young person, potentially making it easier for pupils to identify with.[64]

Multiple perspectives, personal framing

The trail aims to acquaint pupils with multiple perspectives. In terms of geographical scales, the resource focuses on the growth of fascism not only in Germany but also in Italy and Britain. Regarding historical actors, the perspective of the victims (particularly the Jews) dominates, but the resource also introduces bystanders and perpetrators. The resource, thus, combines the bridging technique of material relics with a multiperspective approach. Pupils are, however, not expected to actually take the historical perspective of the

[61] Imperial War Museum North, *IWM North Holocaust Trail*, 1.
[62] Ibid., 3.
[63] Imperial War Museum North, *IWM North: Holocaust Trail Teacher's Notes*, 2.
[64] Interview Victoria Howarth (Manchester, December 3, 2013).

perpetrators, probably for pedagogical reasons. When the resource refers to the Nazis, they only give an overview of their actions. This is different for the bystanders and the victims, as when a resource refers to the Hitler Youth and ponders the question why children might have been attracted to such an organisation. Furthermore, it draws attention to a video of one of Hitler's speeches and asks why the crowd in this footage reacts as it does.[65]

While the introduction of multiple points of view may generate detachment, the resource also aims to engage visitors by personalising some perspectives. With regard to bystanders, for example, the trail refers to a sound clip in which Henry Mettelmann describes why he joined the Hitler Youth, and the section on the *Kindertransport* focuses on Celia Horwitz, providing pupils with photographs and audio testimonies and asking them to read a letter that was written by Celia's foster parents in Britain.[66] Although the museum had wanted to employ the same personal approach in the exhibits on the eventual genocide, most objects in this section could not be traced back to specific individuals. Therefore, several objects represent the perspective of (Jewish) victims in general, such as holiday snaps, a bowl from Auschwitz-Birkenau and a prisoner's jacket from Majdanek.[67] The resource invokes an individual perspective through sound clips narrated from the memoires of Primo Levi. In addition, the display contains a letter from Celia's father, who was put to death in Minsk.[68] Following Celia Horwitz's personal narrative and eventually finding out about her father's fate gives this history an emotional charge.

According to Victoria Howarth, approaching history through personal stories is part of the museum's approach and is not used only for Holocaust learning. In its original version, the trail, therefore, attempted to connect personal stories to objects on display that had a thematic, but not direct, link to them. Recently, however, the museum has acquired new objects for display in the genocide case of which the origins are known, allowing for a personal connection to a specific individual. A new touchscreen display provides information on the background of these objects and the people to which they can be related. It is, therefore, likely that these new objects will be included, should the trail in the future be re-designed. Howarth argues that this personal approach is meant to allow pupils 'to empathise, but not to the point of being distraught. It's good to have something that's easily identified with.[69]

Just like the Holocaust Centre, IWM North uses the technique of personalising the perspective of historical actors to stimulate engagement and bring the past temporally closer. Whereas the Holocaust Centre uses this strategy for all perspectives, although the

[65] Imperial War Museum North, *IWM North Holocaust Trail*.
[66] Ibid., 2-3.
[67] IWM North, 'Main Exhibition Space'.
[68] Imperial War Museum North, *IWM North Holocaust Trail*, 5-6.
[69] Interview Victoria Howarth (Manchester, December 3, 2013).

framing of their educational programme as a moral lesson may overshadow the potential balance of engagement, the IWM North primarily employs it for the victims' point of view. By personalising this perspective only, the museum loads the historical narration with emotion, stimulating empathy with people in the past. The dominance of the victim perspective is also apparent from several questions that trigger the pupils' empathy with historical actors. Pupils are asked what things they have brought with them, before being told how inmates of concentration camps were stripped of all their possessions after arrival. One question also favours the perspective of the victims by asking what is wrong with an organisation such as the Hitler Youth.[70] Although this hints at a moral point of view, the resource does not present a strong message like the Holocaust Centre.

To sum up, the IWM North focuses on material relics as a bridging strategy. Their educational resources highlight these as illustrations and encourage pupils to engage with them. Furthermore, this museum has included the *Kindertransport* rescue missions into their educational resources, highlighting British connections with the history of the Holocaust. Furthermore, the physical structure of the IWM North, with its reconnected shards referring to the wars of the twentieth century, encapsulates the history of the Holocaust in the national memory of the British Empire. Similar to the Holocaust Centre, the exhibition of the IWM North primarily relies on the victims' perspective, but the museum introduces other points of view through its educational resources. However, contrary to the Holocaust Centre, IWM North stimulates emotional engagement by using the technique of personalising perspectives only for that of victim. This is reinforced by the narrative structure of the educational assignments (which also follow a personal story) and the audio-visual experience of the Big Picture Show.

5.3 Traumatic or Peaceful Landscapes in the Netherlands?

Due to the Nazi-occupation of the Netherlands between 1940 and 1945, more places that can be directly related to the Holocaust have been preserved and interpreted in this country than in England. Several of the concentration camps, for instance, which the Germans established during their regime, have been memorialised. During the early post-war years, the memories of World War II carried a similar nationalistic and future-oriented tone as in Britain. Memorials and commemorations emphasised how people had shown courage and sacrifice by resisting their oppressors.[71] The historiography of the war was categorised in terms of oppression versus resistance, and good versus evil. According to historian Ido de

[70] Imperial War Museum North, *IWM North Holocaust Trail*, 1, 6.
[71] Van Vree, 'De dynamiek van de herinnering', 22-25.

Haan, this perspective was a product of the close relationship between historiography and jurisdiction, relating to resistance and collaboration, during that period.[72]

Only since the 1980s have historians begun to transcend this rigid framework. Particularly Hans Blom in 1983 suggested a research agenda based on three themes: developments in the people's mood during the war years; international comparisons with other countries; and the significance of World War II with respect to later developments in the twentieth century.[73] In recent years, historians have increasingly begun to explore the lives of victims of the Holocaust. Initially, they mainly emphasised the Jewish perspective. From the 1990s onwards, however, other groups of victims gained recognition, such as homosexuals and people who had suffered during the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies.[74] The memory of the war thus shifted from national pride about how people had resisted the oppressor to compassion for various groups of victims of the Holocaust.[75] Moreover, people increasingly tended to interpret this history as a moral lesson for the present and the future.[76]

Developments in history education on the Holocaust show similar trends. In the 1960s, the Second World War made its way into history learning with a prime focus on international relations.[77] The 1970s and 1980s saw a growing attention for the Holocaust, which translated into a growing demand for eyewitnesses to tell their story at schools.[78] The broadcast of the world-renowned *Holocaust* series in the Netherlands appears to have nurtured a growth in teaching materials related to the Holocaust. As in all countries that developed a 'Holocaust Education' theme, these first materials dealt with the history of the Holocaust in general, with a more national emphasis developing later.[79] A 2006 overview shows that current history textbooks always deal with the Holocaust, in both the German and the Dutch context. Many of these textbooks relate the history of World War II to present-day events, while some only mention Remembrance Day and Liberation Day: the Dutch annual commemorations of the war on 4 and 5 May. Others also stress the value of living in peace or make comparisons with genocides in different periods.[80]

The current landscape of heritage institutes reflects these developments in the memory of the war. The few World War II museums that opened in the post-war years mainly showed the military aspects of the war and the role of resistance movements in the

[72] De Haan, 'Breuklijnen in de geschiedschrijving van de Jodenvervolging', 32.
[73] Cited in De Haan, 'Breuklijnen in de geschiedschrijving van de Jodenvervolging', 32.
[74] De Haan, 'Breuklijnen in de geschiedschrijving van de Jodenvervolging', 56-60.
[75] Ribbens and Captain, *Tonen van de oorlog*, 6.
[76] Van Vree, 'De dynamiek van de herinnering', 32-35.
[77] Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 127-128.
[78] Ibid., 133.
[79] Ibid., 145-146.
[80] Beker, Noordink and Lodeweges, *Aanreiken en (aan)raken*, 122-124.

Netherlands. In Overloon, a 'Museum of War and Resistance' opened that acquired national status in 1960.[81] In the 1980s, several other 'resistance museums' opened which – despite the name – presented a general history of the wartime Netherlands.[82] The growing concern with victims of the Holocaust increased people's interest in preserving places related to this history.[83]

In the early post-war years, survivors often obstructed the memorialisation of concentration camp sites. Referring to the work of Sybil Milton, Jan Kolen argues that this tendency can be explained by the fact that Jewish survivors did not want to be confronted with these painful memories, yet in some cases Jews also saw the monumentalisation of camps as a desecration and would rather have an entire site preserved than only a few parts of it.[84] After the war, most former concentration camp sites in the Netherlands were used as internment camps for people who had collaborated with the Germans. For several decades, people from the Dutch East Indies who had fought in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army found a home in several of the camps. Most of the inventory of the camps was sold.[85] The sites were thus reused and not preserved in their original state.

It was not until the 1980s that the former camp sites were memorialised. In 1970, a national monument was established at Westerbork, which had operated as a transit camp to the concentration and destruction camps in Eastern Europe during the war. However, after this monument had been revealed, the remains of the former camp were demolished.[86] A memorial centre opened in 1983. In 1990, Herzogenbusch concentration camp – better known as camp Vught – was opened to the public and was designated a national monument. A decade later, in 2002, this site received a major overhaul, converting the camp site, through extensive reconstruction and restoration works, to how it would have looked in 1944.[87] Camp Amersfoort, which had also received national monument status in 2000, was renovated in the same year. Most of this camp's structures had been demolished in the 1960s and 1970s, and it reopened in 2002 with a few memorials, an original watchtower and the remains of a small mortuary. The camp's tower bell and an authentic barrack wall containing paintings from a Hungarian Jew who had lived in the camp are on display in a small exhibition.[88] The development of such sites as tourist attractions is not uncontested. British historian Tim Cole, for example, has argued that the current setting of the Auschwitz

[81] Ribbens and Captain, *Tonen van de oorlog*, 15.
[82] Ibid., 15.
[83] Ibid., 16.
[84] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 271.
[85] Hijink, 'De musealisering van de kampen', 135-136.
[86] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 269.
[87] Ibid., 276-277.
[88] Kolen, *De biografie van het landschap*, 275-276.

concentration camp embodies more post-war memories than historical realities.[89] The next section will shed some more light on this issue, as it examines how Westerbork conceptualises the history of the Holocaust.

Whereas these former concentration camp sites are often located in quite remote rural areas, some places or buildings in urban settings were also preserved. In Amsterdam, the early 1990s saw the public re-opening of theatre the Hollandsche Schouwburg, which the Germans had used as a deportation centre for Jews to concentration camps.[90] World-renowned is the Anne Frank House, where the Frank family and a few of their friends lived in a secret annex to hide from the German authorities in the war. The house and its related history gained fame through the diary of Anne Frank, who had died in a concentration camp. Initially, publishers were hesitant to pick it up, and so it had a low first print run of 1,500 in 1947. In Britain and the United States, the story of Anne Frank did not fit well into the existing memory of World War II as the tragedy of the Jews could not easily be integrated in a narrative focussing on national (military) experiences.[91] From the late 1950s onwards, however, the diary became a global bestseller, and by the end of the twentieth century it had sold more than 25 million copies worldwide.[92] Anne Frank became a universal symbol of the victims of the Holocaust. Continental Europe, Japan and the United States in particular endorsed the diary. For Americans, Anne represented the liberal ideal, as she was portrayed as a hopeful individual who pursued happiness in the future,[93] an image that was quickly popularised globally through Hollywood and Broadway.[94] The worldwide success of the diary also explains the popularity of the site today.

Anne Frank has become an important symbol in the Dutch memory of the Holocaust today. When the chestnut tree in the back garden of the Anne Frank House was infected with mould, there was a big argument whether this tree, which Anne had written about in her diary, should be cut down or not. Despite several attempts to rescue it, a storm eventually blew it down. Similar consternation arose about a barrack that was used in Veendam as a storage barn; when it caught fire in 2009, it became clear that Anne Frank and her sister had once worked in this barrack as it originated from Westerbork, and the media were quick to baptise it the 'Anne Frank barrack'.[95] The above-mentioned 2006 overview of history textbooks shows that most textbooks today mention both the Westerbork transit camp and Anne Frank. Within the context of this symbolic significance, the next section examines how the Westerbork memorial centre and the Anne Frank House stimulate an immediate

[89] Cole, *Selling the Holocaust*, 110.
[90] Ribbens and Captain, *Tonen van de oorlog*, 16.
[91] Kushner, "I Want to Go on Living After My Death", 8-9.
[92] Ibid., 7.
[93] Ibid., 11-13.
[94] Ibid., 11-13.
[95] Van der Laarse, *De oorlog als beleving*, 26-35.

experience of the history of the Holocaust and to what extent they construct multiperspectivity.[96]

5.4 Personal Stories and Experience

Anne Frank House, 'The World of Anne Frank'

The Anne Frank House is located on the Prinsengracht canal in Amsterdam. Before the war, this building housed Otto Frank's business, called Opekta, which manufactured spices and pectin for people to produce homemade jam. From 1942 onwards, the Frank family and their friends Fritz Pfeffer and the Van Pels family lived in the building's secret annex, with a bookcase concealing the entrance to their hiding place. Otto Frank's (former) employees, Miep Gies, Johannes Kleiman, Victor Kugler and Bep Voskuijl helped the people in hiding by supplying them with food and other necessities. However, in 1944 the people in hiding were found, arrested and deported to concentration camps. After the war, Otto Frank was the only survivor of the eight people who had hid in the annex. For financial reasons, he was forced to sell the house to a textile company who wanted to replace it with a new factory building.

However, the publication of the first American edition of Anne Frank's diary in 1952 had generated an increasing demand of American tourists who wanted to visit the secret annex.[97] After the premiere of a Dutch version of the American Broadway play about Anne Frank, some prominent people from Amsterdam protested against the demolition of the house, and five of them founded the Anne Frank Foundation in 1957.[98] They acquired both the Anne Frank House and its adjacent buildings, which were thought to be essential to maintain the original atmosphere.[99] The house opened to the general public in 1960.[100] The rooms were left in the empty and desolate state in which Otto Frank had found them after the war to symbolise the fate of the people who had lived there.[101]

The early 1990s saw the buildings next to the Anne Frank House being replaced by a brand-new extension providing visitor facilities and some exhibition space. It was decided to leave the rooms in the secret annex empty, as Otto Frank had envisaged it. The windows were all blinded in order to create a dark and confined atmosphere similar to that during the war, but the rooms were not reconstructed with original objects and props, as the Anne

[96] Beker, Noordink and Lodeweges, *Aanreiken en (aan)raken*, 122-124.
[97] Van der Lans and Vuijsje, *Het Anne Frank Huis*, 56.
[98] Ibid., 65-76.
[99] Ibid., 65-76.
[100] Ibid., 93.
[101] Ibid., 96.

Frank House was considered to be an 'experience museum' that should address people's emotions rather than an 'object museum'.[102] Two models of the building gave visitors an idea of how it would have looked during the war. Since then, the Anne Frank Foundation has toned down its political and missionary agenda, becoming more of a museum. This was formally confirmed in the late 1990s. In 2001, a special department was established dedicated to managing the collection.[103]

Today, the Anne Frank House offers a variety of educational programmes for primary and secondary schools. Secondary schools mostly participate in the programme called 'The World of Anne Frank', which consists of an introduction by the educator, group work using activity sheets and a self-guided tour through the house. These activities are meant to provide the historical context and background information necessary to make the actual visit to the house a meaningful experience, which is reflected upon in a closing session back in the education room. This wrap-up activity is based on responses and inputs from pupils and often includes a discussion on human rights, which relates to the multimedia-installation Free2Choose on which I will elaborate in the next section.[104]

Re-imagining empty spaces

The Anne Frank House primarily relies on the 'same place' bridging technique to bring the past closer to visitors. As indicated in the introduction of this Chapter, according to Zerubavel's theory, certain remains of the past are required on site to stimulate such an experience. The Anne Frank House, however, only has a few items on display, which are intended to trigger people's imagination.[105] The former Opekta storage areas and grinder rooms have been decorated with various props, such as barrels, crates and equipment, and visitors can also smell nutmeg as one the spices that were ground in these rooms.[106] The Anne Frank House thus aims to engage different senses, which, according to D. Lynn McRainey would be important to engage children cognitively, physically, and emotionally.[107]

In contrast with the storage rooms, the offices and the secret annex feature authentic objects, hence using material relics as a bridging strategy. A display containing Miep Gies's typewriter hints at the experiences of the former employees who helped the people in hiding. The rooms in the secret annex have been decorated with period wallpaper, including some original pieces with posters and pictures that Anne attached to them (see *illustration 59*). Each room also contains at least one object that refers to the person occupying it; Peter van

[102] Van der Lans and Vuijsje, *Het Anne Frank Huis*, 203-204.
[103] Ibid., 197-205.
[104] Interview Jurmet Huitema-De Waal (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
[105] Van der Lans and Vuijsje, *Het Anne Frank Huis*, 204-205.
[106] Anne Frank House, 'Main Exhibition'.
[107] McRainey, 'A Sense of the Past'?, 162.

Pels's room, for instance, displays a board game that he received for his birthday. The bookcase that provides access to the secret annex is the most iconic object that the Anne Frank House has on display. It has been preserved in its original state, marking the transition between the front part of the house and the secret annex (see *illustration 60*).[108] The Anne Frank House considers the bookcase an important object for the visitors' experience, and so they monitor it closely and have built some extra support in order to maintain it.[109] These authentic objects, in combination with the gloomy atmosphere and the fact that people are standing in a building of historical significance ought to stimulate visitors' imagination and provide a 'same place' experience.[110] According to cultural heritage scholars Kate Gregory and Andrea Witcomb, this kind of 'absence' is necessary in order to evoke an affective response and allow people to 'enter another world'.[111] Instead of immersing visitors in a narrative, emptiness triggers a 'sense of alienation and disorientation', forcing people to use their imagination to fill the gap.[112]

Jurmet Huitema-De Waal, Head of the Group Visit Department of the Anne Frank Foundation, however, notes that the fact that 'there is nothing to be seen' in the rooms of the house is one of the most frequent comments she gets back from pupils. After explaining the message of the rooms, which symbolise the fact that none of the people who had lived in the secret annex returned, they often start to understand, but it may still indicate that pupils need to be focussed a little bit more.[113] In its educational introduction the museum already offers the backstory of Anne Frank as contextual information. In a newly developed educational programme for secondary vocational education, however, pupils are also provided with a booklet containing questions to solve in the museum. These assignments relate to objects on display, which pupils already know from an object handling session they do before the tour through the house. This programme is currently being tested, but Huitema-De Waal argues that if it proves successful, similar educational activity sheets may be developed for other school groups. In their current form they focus more on the information that can be derived from objects, but they could also be re-designed to mediate more of a 'same place'-experience. The Anne Frank House, however, is severely restricted in what they can do within the museum itself, because of practical issues concerning the flow of visitors.[114]

Besides these bridging techniques, the Anne Frank House also attributes significance to studying the history of the Holocaust for the present through narrative emplotment, which generates moral engagement. Upon finishing the tour, visitors return to the entrance hall

[108] Anne Frank House, 'Main Exhibition'.
[109] Van der Lans and Vuijsje, *Het Anne Frank Huis*, 206.
[110] Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 41-42.
[111] Gregory and Witcomb, 'Beyond Nostalgia', section 3.
[112] Ibid., section 4.
[113] Interview Jurmet Huitema-De Waal (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
[114] Ibid.

where they encounter a quote by Otto Frank urging people to fight prejudice: 'The only thing we can do is learn from the past and realise what discrimination and persecution of innocent people means.'[115] In the permanent multimedia installation called 'Free2choose', the Anne Frank House elaborates on this idea, yet, in contrast with the English Holocaust Centre, it only raises this moral message without imposing it. The exhibition introduces visitors to a series of moral dilemmas about freedom rights through a collection of videos, allowing them, after each video, to make their own choice in the dilemma by voting for or against, for instance: should Holocaust denial be removed from Facebook or should concert halls boycott hip-hop artists proclaiming homophobic texts?[116] Visitors are thus literally 'free to choose' in what should be learned from the history of the Holocaust. The 'Free2choose' exhibit is also physically separated from the historical exhibits by a glass door that visitors close behind them. Together with the fact that visitors learn about this moral message at the end of their tour, this physical act underscores that the moral component is detached from the history of the Holocaust. According to Huitema-De Waal, however, this stark separation sometimes unsettles visitors, as they do not expect it or are looking for a place to reflect on the historical narrative.[117]

One of the activity sheets for school pupils also fosters moral engagement in a manner similar to the 'Free2choose' exhibit. In this case, however, it is derived from personal memory of the Holocaust, forging a link between the past and the present. This worksheet provides six quotes made by Otto Frank after the war about the lessons that should be learned from Anne's diary and the history of the Holocaust in general. For instance, Otto said that he wanted to fight for 'human rights in the whole world' and that 'you should know the past to build a future.'[118] Although this moral message is more personal than in the 'Free2choose' exhibit due to its connection with Otto Frank, it is still presented as an open choice and is not imposed on pupils. The activity sheets ask pupils to present and explain their own opinion about Otto's observations.[119] Jurmet Huitema-De Waal argues that Otto Frank's story can be inspiring for pupils, because he managed to stay positive and live on after a very low period in his life.[120]

Personal narrative

The Anne Frank House provides a personal narrative that – as I described in the previous section – gained global recognition. Fragments from Anne Frank's diary are on display

[115] Anne Frank House, 'Main Exhibition'.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Interview Jurmet Huitema-De Waal (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
[118] Anne Frank Stichting, *Otto Frank* (werkblad).
[119] Ibid.
[120] Interview Jurmet Huitema-De Waal (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).

throughout the house, drawing attention to events that took place in the various rooms during the hiding period. In the offices, for example, there are quotes about how the Frank family listened to the radio there at night and how Anne and Otto updated the debtors list together one evening. In these quotes, Anne often talks about her emotions, indicating that she is scared. Anne Frank introduces her role as narrator in one of the first quotes that visitors encounter before entering the Opekta storage rooms: 'The hiding place would be in father's office building. For outsiders that is a little hard to understand, so I will explain it in more detail.'[121] By using Anne Frank as a kind of 'personal guide', the Anne Frank House stimulates visitors to think that they are standing in the same place where Anne once stood, employing the bridging technique of constancy of place to bring the past temporally closer and foster emotional engagement (see *illustration 58*). A 1992 video testimony by Miep Gies about how the offices were organised, adds a similar personal dimension.[122]

Although the Anne Frank House thus emphasises personal experiences, the tour of the house also presents a chronological narrative through its physical structure. Visitors walk from Otto Frank's business in the storage rooms and offices to the hiding place in the secret annex. Through exhibitions, they subsequently learn about the fate of the people in hiding and the post-war story about the publication of the diary. The Anne Frank House highlights this narrative with material relics that bridge the gap between the past and the present, providing contextual background information. Rental records in the storage rooms, for instance, show when Otto Frank and his family left their home. Objects such as a Star of David and a 'Forbidden for Jews' sign contextualise this personal story within the broader narrative context of the growth of fascism in the Netherlands.[123]

The educational programme, which serves as an introduction to the self-guided tour, takes place in the education room and reinforces the personal framing of the history of the Holocaust. It consists of an introduction to Anne Frank's history by the educator followed by group activities using activity sheets. Although the educator introduces Anne as just one example of many victims of the Holocaust, the focus on this personal story rather than a general or abstract one brings the past closer and may evoke emotional engagement. Various pictures displayed on boards in the room support this technique, including family photographs, such as one showing Anne in the arms of her mother Edith. Other visual materials illustrate the specific period concerned, for example, photographs showing people waiting in line for work, the city of Rotterdam after it had been bombed and the *Kristallnacht*. In addition, the educator shows some replicas that make this history more tangible, such as Anne's diary and the letter Anne's sister Margot received, ordering her to report for

[121] Anne Frank House, 'Main Exhibition'.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.

transportation to a labour camp. This strategy, according to Huitema-De Waal, is intended to make this history more insightful, as, for example, 'such a letter, very simple, it's an A4, but if they see that list on there, which is a very small list of things you're allowed to take with you, then it starts to come alive.'[124]

Most group activity sheets expand on this personal narrative, focussing on the victim's perspective. One worksheet asks pupils to look for Anne and Margot Frank in the book *In Memoriam*, which contains the names of all Dutch Jews who were killed during the Nazi occupation.

> In Memoriam
> In this book you can find all the names of Jews from the Netherlands that have been murdered in the Second World War. Look for Anne and Margot in this book.[125]

This activity shows pupils the magnitude of the Holocaust, teaches them that each victim was an individual with his or her own name and that it is important to remember them. Contrary to the self-guided tour, however, the activity sheets also introduce other perspectives besides that of the victims. One worksheet, for example, asks pupils to rate the responsibility of various historical actors, ranging from a concentration camp guard to a Dutchman who volunteered for the German army; from a boy who was a member of the Hitler youth to a railroad engineer responsible for driving trains to the concentration camps.[126] This assignment shows that the distinction between victims, bystanders, collaborators and perpetrators is a blurred one. Pupils are also asked to reflect on a quote by Otto Frank, who said that only people in top positions were guilty.

> Otto Frank on guilt.
> Otto Frank on the reason why he did not file a criminal complaint against Karl Silberbauer:
>
> 'I won't do it, because those who are really guilty, were those in top positions. Punishment doesn't solve anything. What has been wrought cannot be undone.'
>
> Do you think, as Otto, that only people in top positions are guilty? Explain why / why not?[127]

Although it only features in the activity sheets and the programme primarily focuses on the story of the people in hiding and those who helped them, Jurmet Huitema-De Waal considers the introduction of these other perspectives to be important, as otherwise the story

[124] Interview Jurmet Huitema-De Waal (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
[125] Anne Frank Stichting, *In Memoriam* (werkblad).
[126] Anne Frank Stichting, *Collaboratie en Verantwoordelijkheid* (werkblad).
[127] Ibid.

would not be complete. However, it is difficult for the museum, because little is known about who betrayed the people who had hid in the secret annex. This makes the introduction of multiple points of view difficult, as the story of the Anne Frank House is always used as a starting point.[128]

Another worksheet specifically creates some detachment towards the history of the Holocaust by showing pupils the constructed nature of concepts that historians use to make sense of the past. It asks them to evaluate the various phases of the Holocaust and relate them to different stages that have been identified for genocides.[129] According to Huitema-De Waal, however, this assignment for most pupils is too difficult, as it introduces concepts of almost an academic level.[130]

In summation, the Anne Frank House only moderately emphasises the 'same place' bridging strategy through additional presentation techniques. The institute has opted not to fully decorate all rooms but to use only a few props and (authentic) objects to trigger visitors' imagination, stimulating an inquisitive attitude. Yet, the Anne Frank House also generates affective engagement by focussing on a personal narrative. Through her diary, Anne Frank has become a global symbol of the Holocaust, and many visitors, therefore, are probably already familiar with her history. The emphasis on Anne's personal story, both in the self-guided tour and in the educational resources, in combination with the authentic structure of the house brings the past closer and stimulates emotional engagement. This strong personal focus on the victim perspective might overshadow the introduction of multiple points of view in the educational programme. The 'Free2choose' exhibition and some of the educational activity sheets encourage visitors to draw lessons from this history for the future, alluding to the moral dimension of historical distance. However, as it is strictly separated from the more historical narrative and as pupils are allowed to make their own choices regarding certain moral values, this message is only communicated and not imposed.

***Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork*, 'Visiting Westerbork Transit Camp'**

In contrast with the Anne Frank House, *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork is located in a quite remote area, near the site that was once the *Polizeiliches Durchgangslager* Westerbork. From 1942 onwards, more than 100,000 people were transported from this site to concentration and extermination camps in Eastern Europe. After the war, people who had collaborated were interned in the camp, and subsequently refugees from the Dutch East Indies and Moluccan soldiers who had fought in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army found a temporary home at Westerbork. The memorial centre is located at a few kilometres

[128] Interview Jurmet Huitema-De Waal (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
[129] Anne Frank Stichting, *Genocide* (werkblad).
[130] Interview Jurmet Huitema-De Waal (Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).

from the actual site and houses an exhibition that provides some background information on Westerbork and its related history. The centre opened in 1983.[131]

Today, the former site of the Westerbork transit camp is little more than a grassy field in the middle of a forest well connected by cycle- and footpaths. Aside from the national monument, the local council of Westerbork town and the Dutch Forestry Commission, Staatsbosbeheer, who owns the forest surrounding the site, had hoped that the terrain would gradually become a recreational area. They allowed the Netherlands Institute for Radio Astronomy to install huge radio telescopes, which are still present on the site today. However, as the removal of barracks from the site was criticised, several additional memorial signs were constructed in the early 1990s, indicating the historical significance of the terrain.[132]

The memorial centre offers a half-day educational programme that includes an introduction about a Jewish family from the town or village of the visiting school, featuring objects and archival documents, a film in which an older lady tells about her friendship with a Jewish girl, a visit to the exhibition using activity sheets and a guided tour of the former transit camp site. Currently, the memorial centre is developing a new programme in which it seeks to replace the introductory film with a new one that shows a 3D reconstruction of how the camp looked in 1943. In this new programme, the educational activity sheets for use in the exhibition will also be replaced by a mobile application and an assignment that encourages pupils to do research on one object, using the other exhibits and the information in the app as evidence.[133]

Authentic emptiness and significant memorials

Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork can also rely on the bridging technique of constancy of place to configure temporality and engagement, but the terrain of the Westerbork transit camp contains even fewer traces of the Holocaust than the Anne Frank House. The only authentic physical traces left are a potato cellar, a buffer stop for trains, a hidden bunker, a water filter and the former camp commander's house, which is currently in a state of decay.[134] The terrain does contain various reconstructions, which aim to give a better understanding of the size and structure of the camp. The former features of the camp have been made visible through landscaping techniques: several mounds accompanied by a pyramid-like plaque indicate where the ramp was located and where the different barracks once stood; part of the perimeter fence has been reconstructed, as well as the barrier providing access to the camp and a few watchtowers (see *illustration 61*). In contrast with

[131] Hijink, *Voormalige concentratiekampen*, 199-202.
[132] Ibid., 199-202.
[133] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).
[134] Hijink, *Voormalige concentratiekampen*, 201-202.

the personal narrative of the Anne Frank House, the plaques pointing out various places at Westerbork present a more detached approach, indicating the former function of these places in very few words, such as 'school', 'industrial barracks' and 'registration office.' The 'punishment barracks' are an exception. Here the plaque refers to Anne Frank, who lived in one of these barracks, with a pillar providing an audio testimony from a camp survivor. In addition, some historical photographs and prints of letters sent from Westerbork are on display along the main road.[135]

Following Gregory and Witcomb, the sheer emptiness of the site should invite visitors to use their imagination, allowing them to inhabit the space,[136] but the number of physical traces present at the site may be too small for people to transcend their initial affective response of 'alienation and disorientation'. This is particularly understood to be the case with visitors that do not feel related to the Holocaust. Young people in general, but especially specific minority groups, may not be able to connect emotionally and imaginatively with the site as they probably do 'not have the biographies and memories that allow them to connect and identify with what is on offer.'[137] From an analysis of visitor responses at two British heritage sites, cultural sociologist Gaynor Bagnall has argued that the 'bodily consumption' of such sites is important for the visitors' affective and imaginative experience. The fact that she draws attention to the importance of invoking multiple senses suggests that reconstructions may provide a better vehicle for mediating such an experience than the authentic 'emptiness' at Westerbork.[138] According to Christel Tijenk, the centre's education coordinator, the fact that there are few remains of the former camp site is often one of the first things that pupils mention upon arrival and also for regular visitors the current situation is not sufficient. The memorial centre, therefore, is planning to restore the landscape to its original state, which was more of a heathland instead of a forest; reconstruct parts of a barrack using original materials; and install a train locomotive from the period.[139]

Compensating for the lack of physical traces of the past, the *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork can rely on several memorials on the site that indicate the significance of the history of the Holocaust for people today. The Westerbork national monument is probably the best example, as it is still an active site of commemoration where people pay their respects by laying flowers (see *illustration 62*). The memorial, which was erected near the original train buffer, consists of a reconstructed buffer with upwardly bent railway tracks on a gravel path. Behind the buffer there is a wall, and two marble plates on the ground carry

[135] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 'Main Exhibition and Former Camp Terrain'.
[136] Gregory and Witcomb, 'Beyond Nostalgia', section 4.
[137] Bagnall, 'Consuming the Past', 244.
[138] Ibid., 234-235.
[139] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).

a phrase from the Book of Lamentations in the Hebrew Bible.[140] The monument was intended to evoke a feeling of unsettledness: people should almost feel as if there is a train passing by.[141] Another memorial commemorates the Dutch people that were killed in the concentration and death camps in Germany and Poland, with a collection of 102,000 stones symbolising the number of people that were called to this place for roll call (see *illustration 62)*.[142]

Although these memorials already forge a more tangible link between the past and the present, they are still more abstract than the very personal story told at the Anne Frank House. However, in the educational tour of the site, memorial centre guides do emphasise the personal story of individuals who were imprisoned in the camp and show photos, objects and videos on site, using mobile devices, to stimulate emotional engagement and give pupils a more tangible 'same place' experience.[143] When visiting the 102.000 stones memorial, guides often refer back to the Jewish family that was presented in the introduction of the programme, as a couple of these stones actually represent the family members that did not survive the war and were murdered in a concentration camp. In the new programme the information in the tour is linked to the objects that pupils have seen earlier in the introductory film and have studied in the exhibition, which the tour guide will discuss in a more interactive format. Christel Tijenk argues that telling a story is important for the experience, which is why traces like the water filter system and the camp farm are not included in the visit, despite them being authentic. Since pupils' first reaction is often one of disappointment about the lack of physical traces present at the site, Tijenk normally starts the tour by talking about the camp's history after the war, reflecting on the constructed and dynamic nature of such memorial sites.[144]

Material relics, individual victims, emotional engagement

'Place' is also the defining theme of the exhibition at the memorial centre, following the history of Westerbork as a site, including post-war developments (see *illustration 64*). It uses the bridging technique of material relics and, hence, has many authentic objects related to the site on display. While detached from the actual camp terrain, the exhibition thus gives greater depth to the site by using objects that may trigger people's imagination. Although the exhibition is chronologically structured, its synchronic approach dominates, which is also reflected in its general set-up, which is quite open, providing little structure. This strategy may generate temporal distance more than proximity, as it presents the past as a distinct

[140] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 'Main Exhibition and Former Camp Terrain'.
[141] Hijink, *Voormalige concentratiekampen*, 126-129.
[142] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 'Main Exhibition and Former Camp Terrain'.
[143] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, April 3, 2012).
[144] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).

closed-off space in time, separate from the present. Apart from authentic objects, the exhibition also features a reconstruction of the interior of a barrack, showing the circumstances prisoners lived in. This exhibit provides a physical experience, as visitors can walk through it. A model, similar to the models of the Anne Frank House, provides an overview of what the concentration camp site formerly looked like.[145]

Most questions in the activity sheets encourage pupils to engage with the objects and audio-visual materials on display. They are stimulated to read telegrams, letters and magazines, study maps or look closely at other material objects. They need to listen to audio testimonies and watch videos. Such questions encourage pupils to actually engage with the authentic artefacts on display, mediating the experience of temporal proximity they can provide:

> Read the telegram on the gypsies in the display case (directly in front) and fill up the following sentences.
> The above includes all people who on the basis of their ....., their ..... and ..... can be marked as gypsies or 'half blood gypsies', as well as people, who based on ..... of ..... nomadise.[146]
>
> Look at the extra edition of the 'Joodsch weekblad' ('Jewish Weekly'). Most people obeyed the German occupier and let themselves be transported to Westerbork, because:
> - they otherwise would risk getting shot.
> - they otherwise would risk being transported to Mauthausen concentration camp.
> - they otherwise had to go to prison.[147]
>
> Sonja Wagenaar-van Dam and her friends had a dangerous escape plan. Listen to her story.
> With a ..... she and her friends made a hole in ..... and escaped![148]

Though most questions allow pupils to use the objects as evidence for reconstructing general historical information, many emphasise the personal experiences of individuals, as the last question quote above illustrates. Tijenk hopes that the new programme in which pupils have to collect evidence in the exhibition about one object will engage them better into active learning and trigger their curiosity.[149]

The exhibition follows a personal narrative, using historical objects, pictures, video fragments, audio testimonies and quotes that are all related to specific individuals. This focus is already evident when visitors walk through the archway that marks the ‘border’ between the past and the present. Just like the English Holocaust Centre, visitors first

[145] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 'Main Exhibition and Former Camp Terrain'.
[146] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, *Kinderen in kamp Westerbork* (werkblad).
[147] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, *Ontsnappen uit kamp Westerbork* (werkblad)
[148] Ibid.
[149] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).

encounter blown-up pictures of individual Jews. While the Holocaust Centre has embedded these pictures in a narrative on the rise of fascism in Germany, the Westerbork exhibition continues this personal perspective and follows the history of the Holocaust through the eyes of the Jews. Most of the material relics that are used to bridge the past and the present are linked to individuals who were imprisoned in Westerbork. Several suitcases have been scattered around the exhibition area, some acting as display cases, emphasising personal stories attached to the objects. For example, one suitcase contains an alarm clock, with a survivor recounting how it once went off during a roll call.[150] This personal approach frequently fosters emotional engagement, as the introductory section of the exhibition, for instance, contains a cynical comment of a woman named Ida Vos, who remembers how a friend of hers received a low mark for geography. According to Vos, 'she knew exactly where to find Treblinka' one week later as she had been deported. A video giving an overview of the history of the camp starts with a recital of a long list of people that were deported from Westerbork to extermination camps, thus showing a stronger emotional engagement.[151]

Although the exhibition thus communicates an emotional message, it also introduces visitors to the lighter sides of life in the Westerbork transit camp, showing how the SS allowed marriages and childbirth and that there was also a theatre, a school and a library in the camp.[152] According to Christel Tijenk these aspects are primarily meant to emphasise the idea of Westerbork as a camp of 'false hope' in which people were deliberately misled about what was really going on, which is one of the main messages the memorial centre wants to communicate.[153] In addition, prisoners are not depicted as passive victims. There are several references to how they resisted the regime and sometimes escaped their fate. It is interesting to note that, although the section on the post-war camp contains as many pictures as in the first half of the gallery, there are no quotes or other testimonies from imprisoned collaborators or people from the Dutch East Indies.[154]

According to Tijenk, the main aim of the educational programme is not to communicate a moral message of 'something like this should not happen again', but to tell a more personal story of the Holocaust.[155] By focussing on everyday individuals, the memorial centre wants to show that there are also many smaller choices in which people can make a difference, such as in the case of a Jewish chairman of a soccer club and his son who were

[150] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 'Main Exhibition and Former Camp Terrain'.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).
[154] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 'Main Exhibition and Former Camp Terrain'.
[155] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, April 3, 2012).

not allowed to visit a match anymore because of the anti-Jewish measures: people could act indifferently and ignore the situation or make a stance by not going to the match either.[156]

This focus on individuals, therefore, is manifest not only in the exhibition but also in all educational activities. The introductory presentation features archival material on a Jewish family from the visiting school's village, and both the personal narrative and the local approach brings history closer to pupils. Next, a film about a girl who was transported from Westerbork and died in Auschwitz may trigger pupils' emotions, as they are of a similar age and can easily relate to this girl. The activity sheets for pupils to guide themselves in pairs through the exhibition also focus on the victims' perspective. They centre around four different themes: children in Westerbork; the prisoners' daily life; resistance and escape; and the system of the Nazis. Even this last worksheet mainly narrates how prisoners dealt with this system, not how and why the Germans set it up.[157] The new film will feature a fictional story about a school group who is visiting the camp, when one pupil is transported to the past and makes friends with two boys and three girls imprisoned in the camp, who explain how the camp operates before they are being transported. Several scenes in the film contain objects that pupils later encounter in the exhibition.[158]

It is striking to note that the exhibition, the historical site and the educational programme all have a strong focus on the victim's perspective. Only a few assignments in the worksheets on the system of the Nazis draw attention to the actions and experiences of perpetrators and people who collaborated with the regime, for instance:

> Westerbork transit camp played an important role in the disappearing of Jews from the Netherlands. Look at the footage in the display case near the barrier. Here you can see how Jews arrived in Westerbork.
>
> The SS men and Dutch agents were afraid that Jews would escape from the camp. Explain how you can see this.
>
> In order to prevent prisoners from escape, Westerbork transit camp was guarded. Listen to the story of Mr Van den Bogert near 'I guarded the prisoners'.
>
> Mr Van den Bogert was a:
> - SS member
> - Dutch military policeman
> - Farmer from the area
>
> The guards of the camp did / did not have contact with the prisoners. List two examples that demonstrate this.[159]

[156] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).
[157] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork*, Het systeem van de nazi's* (werkblad).
[158] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).
[159] Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork*, Het systeem van de nazi's* (werkblad).

Tijenk explains that during the time that the exhibition and educational programme were made, a focus on the victim perspective was an obvious choice and that only recently the exploration of other perspectives than that of the victims have been considered to be important. This is also made possible by newly acquired material, such as a collection of sixty interviews with bystanders who had lived along the train route of the transports to the east.[160] In addition, the memorial centre is planning to introduce the perpetrator's point of view, as they are currently renovating the former camp commander's residence, a heritage object that provides a tangible perpetrator perspective in a field that contains few references to the victims (see *illustration 63*). This poses an interesting challenge.[161]

In sum, *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork provides an even more restrained 'same place' experience than the Anne Frank House. There are few authentic historical objects on site, and the commemorative signs that indicate its historical significance are factual and detached, rarely invoking a personal perspective. The fact that the terrain, with its various memorials, is still an active site of commemoration, therefore, is probably a more important factor in experiencing the closeness of the past. However, the exhibition at the memorial centre and their educational programme do emphasise a personal narrative, which might engage pupils emotionally and help mediate a 'same place' experience. As most pupils are unlikely to have memories relating to the Holocaust, this introduction would be necessary to stimulate an affective response. A too strong emotional engagement generated by a focus on individualised victims of the Holocaust can, however, limit the opportunity for exploring other perspectives.

5.5 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have shown how English and Dutch heritage educational resources negotiate historical distance by means of narrative emplotment and mnemonic bridging techniques regarding the sensitive history of the Holocaust. Dealing with multiple perspectives in relation to this history is considered to be very difficult or even impossible, and the difficulty is even greater in the context of heritage education when it attempts to provide a more tangible experience of the Holocaust or to stimulate engagement. Depending on whether or not places related to the Holocaust have been preserved and interpreted, the heritage institutes in both countries can employ different strategies to generate temporal proximity or distance and engagement or detachment. The diverse uses and combinations of

[160] Interview Christel Tijenk (Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).
[161] Van der Laarse, 'Kunst, kampen en landschappen', 192-193.

emplotment strategies and bridging techniques impact the way in which heritage educational resources can establish multiperspectivity.

Despite their different contexts, it is interesting to note that there are several similarities in how the English and Dutch institutes examined in this Chapter construct historical distance through their heritage presentations. *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork and the Holocaust Centre in Laxton compare very well, in the sense that they are both memorial centres presenting a peaceful and tranquil atmosphere with markers indicating that people today believe it is important to remember the victims of the Holocaust. The significance of Westerbork as a *historic* site is the only important difference. The Anne Frank House and the IWM North both present an interesting case of how place and authentic material relics interrelate in the construction of historical distance. The objects at the Anne Frank House are meant to stimulate a 'same place' experience, but also derive their significance from the place in which they are presented. At the IWM North, the relics related to the Holocaust are actually 'out of place' but are attributed meaning through the museum building, which embodies the national memory of wars in the British Empire. The incorporation of the memory of the Holocaust into this British narrative alludes to a national sense of identification. Both the Anne Frank House and the IWM North also share a focus on personal stories.

Considering these similarities, it is important to reflect on the obvious difference between the English and Dutch institutes: what does the 'same place' bridging technique actually add to the experience? In the Netherlands, places related to the Holocaust were often reused or dismantled after the war. Both Dutch sites analysed in this Chapter, therefore, contain few traces of this history. I have argued that, although the absence of such traces may evoke an affective and imaginative response, the personal narratives presented at the Anne Frank House and *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork are necessary to trigger this experience. Although both sites present authentic material relics, the fact that they are presented *in situ* at the Anne Frank House (combining trace *and* place) probably helps people to enter into another world. In contrast with Westerbork, the Anne Frank House also engages multiple senses, which might contribute to the visitors' physical experience.

Reflecting the shift towards a more victim-oriented memory culture of the Holocaust, all heritage presentations analysed in this Chapter chiefly emphasise the perspective of the victims to stimulate affective engagement. Through their educational resources, however, most heritage institutes introduce the perspective of multiple historical actors, which might provide a little more emotional detachment. *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork is the only institute that currently rarely attempts to familiarise pupils with multiple perspectives through their exhibition, site or educational resources. As the Anne Frank House introduces such multiple perspectives in their educational introduction, completely separate from the

tour of the house, this may suggest that the heritage presentation of historical sites provides such a powerful experience that it is too sensitive to acquaint pupils with multiple perspectives. Although the IWM North and the Anne Frank House do construct multiperspectivity, they also tip the scale towards engagement by only personalising the victim perspective. The English Holocaust Centre, on the other hand, creates a balance of engagement on the affective level by introducing such personal narratives for all points of view.

While the Holocaust Centre thus seems to balance the visitors' emotional engagement, it is also the only institute in my analysis that aims for a strong moral engagement by framing its entire educational programme as a lesson for the present and the future. This moral dimension is an important trope in today's memory culture of the Holocaust. The Anne Frank House expresses a similar moral message, but has disconnected it from the historical narrative through presentation strategies and allows pupils to make their own moral choice, opening it up for multiple points of view. The resources of the IWM North and *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork only implicitly include a moral message.

All heritage institutes analysed in this Chapter thus aim for various forms of engagement in their presentations on the Holocaust. My analysis, however, shows that the educational resources can sometimes add to this experience or mediate it in a different manner. Specific activities can intensify or deconstruct the experience. Furthermore, resources can add multiple perspectives when a heritage presentation is one-sided. This balancing act between engagement and detachment shows that heritage educational resources provide interesting opportunities for stimulating historical thinking. The powerful experience of the heritage presentation engages pupils, while the educational activities allow for contextualisation and reflection. My comparative analysis, however, also shows that certain moral and affective traits of historical distance that are evoked by heritage presentations may overpower these strategies of detachment and multiperspectivity. Explicit moral messages and the emotional affect generated by personal narratives, intensified when provided at authentic historical sites, may induce a strong form of engagement that is hard to transcend. In order to preserve multiperspectivity as an aspect of history learning, therefore, it is important to balance out the engagement provided by traces and places of the Holocaust.

6 *Conclusion*

In this thesis, I have examined how English and Dutch heritage institutes construct historical distance in their heritage educational resources on the topics of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, the Second World War and the Holocaust, and what the implications are of the various strategies and techniques used for exploring multiperspectivity. Analysing historical distance and multiperspectivity in relation to these three sensitive histories was considered to be relevant because of the identity-centred nature of cultural heritage. In this study, I have chosen to focus on England as one of the constituent countries of the UK. Including Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland would have introduced too many variables, as these countries, for instance, all have a different school curriculum.

This research was based on an analysis of 15 heritage educational resources, aimed at pupils in the age category of 13-15 years, which were selected after creating a survey of the resources that heritage institutes had listed on their websites (see Appendix I). In order to understand these materials in all their complexity, I examined both the educational resources and activities themselves, as well as the heritage presentations (i.e., exhibitions, memorials and historical sites) they referred to. In addition, I conducted a range of semi-structured interviews with educators involved in the design or execution of these resources, in order to better contextualise them. The selected heritage educational resources included 7 on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, 4 on World War II and 4 on the Holocaust. Resources designed specifically for primary education were not included. The sample of heritage educational resources analysed in this study is very diverse, ranging from self-guided exhibition trails to full staff-led educational programmes, which allowed me to explore and map out the field of heritage education in all its complexity and identify a wide range of strategies and techniques to construct historical distance. The comparison between England and the Netherlands proved particularly useful to reflect on the influence of the institutional backgrounds of the heritage educational resources and the (trans)national contexts of museum presentation, history education and commemoration on the way historical distance and multiperspectivity are constructed.

Due to these choices made in the design of this research, it is not possible to draw conclusions that are representative of the entire field of heritage education in England and the Netherlands or of heritage educational resources on the three research topics in general. The qualitative analysis, however, provides for an in-depth look at the workings of strategies

of constructing historical distance, their relationship with multiperspectivity and the interaction between heritage objects, heritage presentations (i.e., exhibitions, historic sites, city trails) and educational resources. By taking into account the institutional backgrounds in which the heritage educational resources have been designed, that have been shaped by developments in English and Dutch historical cultures, some observations can be made on patterns that emerge when comparing resources across the three topics and the two countries.

As I have explained in the first Chapter, this study also aims to contribute to existing theories on historical distance and multiperspectivity to be able to enhance the body of knowledge about designing and educationally mediating museum presentations. Inspired particularly by the studies of Phillips and Zerubavel, we consider historical distance as the configuration of temporality (distant/nearby) and engagement (affective, moral and ideological).[1] Drawing from studies by Seixas, Stradling and Lorenz, I distinguished three components for the concept of multiperspectivity: different viewpoints of creators of historical accounts (historiographical); various points of view of people who witnessed historical events or developments (historical actors); and geographical perspectives (local, regional, national and global).[2] These concepts were operationalised in a scheme of analysis that was used to analyse the heritage educational resources (see Appendix II for an example). By feeding back the results of my empirical research to this theoretical framework, I was able to identify two main strategies that are used to configure temporality and engagement: narrative emplotment, consisting of four elements, and mnemonic bridging, encompassing six techniques.

In this concluding Chapter, I will summarise, compare and synthesise the main findings of my research, while reflecting on the above-mentioned theoretical concepts. In the last section, I will offer some suggestions for further research and provide some general recommendations for designing heritage educational resources based on the results of this study.

[1] Grever, De Bruijn and Van Boxtel, 'Negotiating Historical Distance', 875.
[2] Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching*, 10-18; Seixas, Morton, Colyer and Fornazzari, *The Big Six*, 6; Lorenz, 'Towards a Theoretical Framework for Comparing Historiographies', 36-39.

6.1 Strategies of Historical Distance: Effects on Multiperspectivity

Narrative Emplotment

One of the main strategies through which heritage educational resources can construct historical distance is narrative emplotment. Within this category, I distinguish four features that contribute to the configuration of temporality and engagement, which can occur in various combinations and often overlap with each other. Heritage educational resources, furthermore, regularly comprise multiple narrative plots, such as that of an exhibition and an educational resource, which interact with or sometimes even counter each other.

Firstly, narrative plots can be characterised by a synchronic or a diachronic approach. Most resources used a combination of these approaches, but those on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery leaned more heavily towards a diachronic narrative, while the exhibitions of Newhaven Fort on World War II and *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork on the Holocaust clearly presented a synchronic approach. These synchronic narratives create more temporal distance than the diachronic accounts, as they present the past as a separate, closed-off period in time, free from any connections with the present.

Secondly, I have characterised four ideal-typical plotlines that can be identified in heritage educational resources and contribute to the construction of historical distance. *Progressive* narratives present a scenario in which the present is depicted in a more positive light than the past. The exhibition of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, for example, ended the narrative on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery optimistically with the cultural legacies of this history that are visible in the Netherlands and its former colonies in the present, generating temporal proximity by emphasising the relationship between the past and the present.

Declining narratives similarly highlight this connection but portray the past as better than the present. Probably because of the sensitive, often gruesome, nature of the histories used as context of analysis, this type of plotline did not feature on its own in the heritage educational resources studied. The International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, however, used it alongside a more progressive narrative, as it talked about both the positive *and* negative cultural legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, focusing not only on religion and musical influences, but also on present-day racism, discrimination and global inequalities.

The *zigzag* narrative combines progress and decline plots with a rise-and-fall narrative indicating the multifaceted nature of the past, which emphasises its temporal distance. Heritage educational resources in all three cases used this type of plotline, such as the National Maritime Museum in London with its chronological narrative on the Transatlantic

Slave Trade and Slavery. The NiNsee in Amsterdam was the only institute that presented a clear *rhyming* plotline with the narrative of their exhibition *Kind aan de Ketting* ('Child in Chains') depicting the experiences of child slaves in the present as fundamentally similar to those during the time of transatlantic slavery, generating temporal proximity.

As I indicated above, heritage educational resources often contain multiple narrative plots, which is why it depends on the actual educational activities how these plotlines are mediated to school pupils. The educational programme of the National Maritime Museum, for example, asked pupils to use the exhibition gallery as evidence, requiring them to disentangle the objects from the narrative in which they had originally been emplotted, and allowing them to introduce more perspectives than had originally been included. Another good example is the activity of the NiNsee at the National Slavery Monument. While this monument presents a progress plot of slaves breaking free from their chains, strongly looking forward to the future, the educator distinguished three steps in the memorial, asking pupils to choose the step with which they felt the closest affinity: an activity that effectively countered the plotline inherent in the monument itself.

While these plotlines already define the configuration of temporality and engagement to some extent, the perspectives taken within the narrative plots are an important factor in the construction of historical distance as well, forming the third component of the main strategy of narrative emplotment. It is here that the strategy shows its intimate relation with the concept of multiperspectivity, as a heritage educational resource that presents the past from the perspective of a single group of historical actors can stimulate more temporal proximity and engagement. The NiNsee, the Holocaust Centre in Laxton and *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork, for instance, all presented a clear focus on the point of view of the victims of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and the Holocaust, which was more likely to generate emotional engagement with those who suffered during these periods in time.

Some resources reinforced this technique of highlighting a particular perspective by focusing on specific individuals, something that features particularly in those on the Holocaust. The Imperial War Museum North (IWM North) in Manchester, the Anne Frank Huis in Amsterdam and *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork all provide personal stories from victims of the Holocaust, while the Holocaust Centre combined this with a personalisation of other points of view, including those of perpetrators and bystanders. The potential emotional engagement generated by an exclusive focus on the victim perspective, personalised or not, can limit opportunities for exploring other viewpoints, such as those of bystanders and perpetrators.

Resources can narrate these points of view in various ways. Most frequently institutes opt for external focalisation, in which an anonymous agent outside of the narration

tells the story, which attributes an objective feel to the narrative and, hence, stimulates temporal distance and detachment. Sometimes resources also use character focalisation, taking the perspective of historical actors who participated in the events narrated. This is evident in the use of quotations by, for example, the Airbornemuseum 'Hartenstein' in Oosterbeek, narrating the experiences of several soldiers who were involved in the Battle of Arnhem, and the Anne Frank Huis, which focuses on the diary of one victim of the Holocaust. Temporal proximity and engagement can also be generated by geographical means, for instance by focusing on local experiences related to the history under study. Regarding the Transatlantic Slave Trade, this technique particularly featured in the Bristol Slavery Trail and the city trail by the Zeeland Archives in Middelburg, which highlighted both cities' involvement in this history. Regarding World War II, particularly Newhaven Fort, the OorlogsVerzetsMuseum in Rotterdam and the Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein' in Oosterbeek used this local angle.

The fourth and final feature of constructing historical distance through emplotment is the narrative attribution of significance to the past for the present, by incorporating more recent or modern-day events and processes into exhibitions or educational activities. Regarding the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, this generally revolved around two themes, as already shown in the section on various plotlines: the (positive and negative) cultural legacies of this history across the world and the presence of modern-day slavery in the form of, for instance, sex trafficking or forced labour. If we compare England and the Netherlands, it is interesting to note that Dutch institutes focused much more on the personal connections with this history still felt by people today, whereas the English heritage educational resources focused more on social changes caused by people’s forced and voluntary migrations.

Most Holocaust resources examined in this study stressed the relevance of learning about this history in the present, by framing it in a moral message about democracy and discrimination. The analysis, however, also showed that such a moral message was incorporated in different ways. Whereas the Holocaust Centre in Laxton used it to frame their educational programme as a lesson for the present and the future, by strongly presenting this as an aim in the introductory and closing sessions, the Anne Frank Huis in Amsterdam had disconnected it from the more historical narrative, which was made visible in their exhibition by a glass wall and a door that visitors had to close behind them. The IWM North and *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork only touched upon this dimension in a single assignment or activity. Similar to the emotional engagement stimulated by a focus on the victim perspective, a strong moral engagement can make it difficult to reconstruct the points of view of bystanders or perpetrators involved in these histories.

Narrative emplotment is not the only way of emphasising the significance history has for the present. Sometimes this is established through physical memorials, such as the National Slavery Monument in Amsterdam, which featured in the educational programme of the NiNsee, the Slavery monument in Middelburg, which was included in the city trail of the Zeeland Archives and the memorials in the memorial garden of the Holocaust Centre. This method of physically attributing significance to the past for the present relates to the use of material relics, which is one of the bridging techniques I will elaborate in the next section.

Again, it depends on the educational activities how this significance is translated to school pupils. The Holocaust Centre, for instance, reinforced the emotional or moral engagement elicited by their memorials. The NiNsee communicated a similar moral message as the National Slavery Monument, but also opened it up to pupils, asking them to make their own choice. The Bristol Slavery Trail, on the other hand, with its activity on the nineteenth-century statue of Edward Colston, used this monument to reflect on the debate about this controversial historical figure (who was seen as benefactor of the city but made a lot of his fortune in the slave trade), asking pupils to formulate their own opinion. Besides mediating the significance strategy in this open manner, the activity also showed how heritage is constructed with certain values and intentions, as it implicitly also drew attention to the perspective of the nineteenth-century monument. Through these kinds of activities, heritage objects representing a strong singular perspective can also be used to open up multiperspectivity through dialogue and debate.

Mnemonic Bridging

The second main strategy of constructing historical distance that I have identified is the use of mnemonic bridging techniques, which refers to specific devices that are designed to establish continuity between the past and the present.[3] I have distinguished six of these bridging techniques in the theoretical framework elaborated in the first Chapter. Strategies of emphasising 'same time', which refers to the idea of calendric fusion of the past and the present, and creating a discursive token of 'sameness', however, did not feature in my empirical research. Regarding 'same time' this can be explained by the fact that commemorative events are often tied to specific dates or years. It should be noted that the 150-year commemoration of the abolition of slavery in 2013 may have generated activities in which this bridging technique did feature prominently, as well as the 70th anniversary of D-Day in 2014, which is generating a lot of activities in the UK: none of these, however, have been included in my research, due to the selection of resources having been made between 2009 and 2011. In the following, therefore, I will elaborate on the four mnemonic bridging

[3] Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 40.

techniques that did feature in my research: a sense of place; material relics; imitation and replication; and historical analogy.

Firstly, heritage institutes dealing with the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, World War II and the Holocaust often use a *sense of place* to draw pupils into learning about these topics. This bridging technique of 'constancy of place', however, takes different forms and, hence, comes in various degrees of temporal proximity and engagement. The heritage educational resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade present an interesting difference. Whereas the Bristol Slavery Trail tried to establish continuity by highlighting the evidence of this history that is still visible in the landscape, the Dutch slavery trail through the city of Middelburg focused more on what has changed since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The English resources, furthermore, were more interested in people related to the places featured than in their former function. The Dutch resources on the Holocaust had a similar focus, whereas the heritage institutes in England did not have the opportunity to use 'constancy of place' for this historical topic, as few places can be related to this history or contain traces of the Holocaust that have been preserved, as the country only had indirect links with this history.

While a people-centred focus of 'constancy of place' stimulates an extra sense of immediacy, it may also generate an emotional or moral engagement that makes detached reflection and exploration of multiple perspectives difficult. For instance, the Bristol Slavery Trail's interest in the point of view of slave traders and merchants could easily result in a perpetrator theme, but this resource attempted to balance out various perspectives by also incorporating physical evidence of other points of view. As this bridging strategy often involves physical representations of certain perspectives, there is always a risk of one point of view becoming too dominant. Since places and traces in the landscape are also fixed to their location, it is more difficult to reinterpret them from another perspective than relics that have been dislocated from their original context. Heritage educational resources that use a sense of same place are also often restricted to the local perspective. They may work very well as a specific case study, therefore, but can never cover all the important aspects of the history under study.

The two slavery trails also showed different approaches in mediating this bridging strategy through educational activities. Whereas the Bristol Slavery Trail did not provide any activities to stimulate a same-place experience on site and, instead, relied on assignments based on archival evidence, the Zeeland Archives trail sometimes drew explicit attention to the historical background of the sites included.

One of the most important bridging techniques used in heritage educational resources, secondly, is the use of *material relics*. The analysis, however, reveals many different approaches in dealing with these objects. Most institutes rely on authentic artefacts

to convey a feeling of the proximity of the past, but as these objects are often presented in display cases with a glass panel separating them from the visitor, this bridging strategy can also communicate a sense of the distance of the past. In addition, it underscores the fact that these objects have been taken out of their original context and dislocated from their authentic environment.[4] Many English museums, therefore, use replica objects in their educational programmes to provide pupils with a tactile experience of the past. In this study, the strategy of replica objects only features in the case study on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, but there are also many museums that use them in educational programmes on World War II. IWM North in Manchester, for instance, also offers a session on the Holocaust in which pupils handle artefacts, archival documents and images related to the Lodz ghetto.

Temporal proximity or distance can also be generated through the specific interpretation of these objects given on text panels or object labels, by tour guides and in educational resources or activities. The objects often serve as illustrations of the history narrated, with the educational assignments drawing pupils' attention more to the interpretative texts for contextual information about the objects, rather than to the objects themselves. Such assignments do not really mediate the experience of temporal proximity that the strategy of using material relics can provide and may even generate greater temporal distance, as they highlight that objects have been encapsulated in interpretations and apparently cannot reveal anything about the past on their own.

Specific assignments, however, can also reinforce the potential temporal proximity and engagement generated by the bridging technique. Several institutes, including the International Slavery Museum, Tropenmuseum, Museum of London Docklands, Newhaven Fort, OorlogsVerzetsMuseum, IWM North and *Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork, used a variety of approaches in their educational resources, asking pupils to engage with the objects on display, for instance, by drawing patterns or closely looking for specific details on an artefact. Other questions pointed to the origin of objects, highlighting their original owner, thus pointing to the past relationships embodied in them, which may be important in experiencing their authenticity.[5]

The use of material relics as a bridging strategy greatly affects the possibility of exploring multiple points of view, for the number of perspectives that can be taken largely depends on the objects that are available in a collection. Replica objects, which are often used in England, offer a solution to this problem. This study also provides examples of how multiperspectivity can be triggered by a single object. In their manuscripts session, the National Maritime Museum interprets a document written by a slave-owner as a slave-

[4] Lidchi, 'The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures', 173.
[5] Jones, 'Negotiating Authentic Objects and Authentic Selves', 200.

carried letter. The Tropenmuseum in the Netherlands points to the fact that the diorama of a sugar plantation they have on display is strongly coloured by the artist's perspective, drawing attention to the slave huts that are barely visible in the scene.

Many institutes combine material relics with the third bridging strategy, *imitation and replication*, by using ‘in situ’ types of display, adding an extra layer of temporal proximity. These forms of presentation include reconstructions, featuring original artefacts, and simulacra, which are purely based on simulation and imitation. Such forms of presentation generate temporal proximity and may elicit engagement. The heritage educational resources examined in this study show various approaches to reconstructions and simulacra. The International Slavery Museum, for example, opted not to include an immersive recreation of the Middle Passage in their educational resources, possibly because of the sensitive nature of the subject. The D-Day Museum chose to approach their reconstructions with questions for factual information, not really mediating the immediate experience aimed for by the exhibit. Newhaven Fort, on the other hand, not only mediated the immersive nature of their exhibits but also reinforced it by connecting it to a personal narrative. The Airbornemuseum 'Hartenstein' similarly related their experience to the individual experiences of two historical actors, but instead of stimulating the immediacy of the exhibit, it opted for historical enquiry, generating detachment rather than engagement.

Besides ‘in situ’ types of display, some educational programmes analysed in this study also use other educational activities that rely on the bridging technique of ‘imitation and replication’ to stimulate temporal proximity. Several exhibits and assignments encourage pupils to take a first-person perspective and imagine what life was like in the past. Whether this contributes to history learning rather than an anachronistic approach to history depends on the specific attributes of the exercise. In the empathy sessions of the Museum of London Docklands, for instance, the activities of perspective-taking and imagination are disconnected from the actual history of transatlantic slavery, allowing for more reflection on how these immediate experiences relate to those of people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In terms of multiperspectivity, the analysis shows that the bridging technique of ‘imitation and replication’ limits possibilities for taking multiple points of view. In 'in situ' presentations, the exhibits on these three research topics rarely involved multiple points of view and the educational empathy activities relied specifically on the immediate experience of a perspective: although other perspectives could have been implemented in these specific exhibits or assignments in theory, they did not show in the resources analysed. The temporal proximity and engagement elicited by these strategies can also make the exploration of other points of view difficult, as their purpose is to stimulate identification with a specific historical actor or group of actors.

The fourth bridging technique that features in my analysis of heritage educational resources is that of *historical analogy*, which, being a narrative feature of historical representations, strongly relates to the main strategy of narrative emplotment to construct historical distance. As historical analogy is the linking of past and present events that are considered to be similar, it involves the narrative plotline of rhyming that I described above. It features most prominently in the *Kind aan de Ketting* exhibition of the Dutch NiNsee institute, with its panels narrating the experiences and showing iconic images of child slaves both at the time of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and in the present. Other heritage educational resources, however, use this bridging technique as well, without incorporating it in a rhyming narrative plot. The slavery trail of the Zeeland Archives, for instance, asked pupils to give an example of human trafficking in our day and age, linking these present-day forms of human trade to the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. Regarding the Holocaust, the introductory presentation of the Holocaust Centre in Laxton compared this history with recent mass killings, such as the 1994 Rwandan genocide. These kinds of historical analogies were not present in the heritage educational resources on World War II. In the resources analysed in this study, such historical analogies often seem to be used to attribute significance to learning about the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery or the Holocaust, which, as I have explained in the previous section, generates a moral engagement that makes the exploration of multiple perspectives difficult.

An important outcome of my study is a synthetic overview of strategies and techniques that have been used to construct historical distance in heritage educational resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, World War II and the Holocaust (see page 210-211). This overview is based on empirical research, using the theoretical framework regarding the configuration of temporality and engagement, which I presented in Chapter 1, as a starting point.

Historical Distance in Heritage Educational Resources

Heritage: objects, monuments, oral histories, songs etc.
Exhibitions, city trails, archival presentations
Educational materials / activities

I. Narrative emplotment

1. Synchronic or diachronic approach

- **Synchronic**: synthetic view on the past

  Closed-off period in time, separate from connections with present: more temporal distance

- **Diachronic:** developments through time

  Highlights relationships between points in time and potential connections with present

2. Narrative plotlines

- **Progressive:** present better than past — *Emphasise relationship between the past and the present*
- **Decline:** past better than present
- **Zigzag:** combination decline and progress — *Indicates multifaceted nature of the past*
- **Rhyming:** fusion past and present — *Presents past as fundamentally similar to the present*

Educational materials / activities can counter or interact with plotlines of presentations. E.g.:

- Encourage to disentangling objects from narrative plot
- Approach or divide narrative plot in different stages

3. Perspectives within plots

- **External focalisation:** point of view with anonymous agent outside the text

  Attributes objective feel to narrative, stimulates temporal distance and detachment

- **Character focalisation:** point of view with characters within the text

  Generates temporal proximity, personalisation of perspectives

- **Geographical perspectives:** local, regional, national, global

  Spatial proximity may generate feeling of temporal proximity and vice versa

4. Attribution of significance to the past for the present

- **Physical memorials**
- **Incorporating modern-day events and processes**.

Educational approaches in mediating this technique:

- Reinforce (moral or emotional) engagement
- Opening up (discussing) message of the memorial
- Highlight perspective of the memorial

II. Mnemonic bridging

1. Same place / constancy of place

References to past events or processes in people's physical surroundings.

Analysis revealed different approaches:
- Highlighting of **changes** in landscape - Emphasis on **continuity** (traces, evidence)
- Indicating **former function** of sites - Focus on **people** related to places

Educational approaches in mediating this technique:
- Attribution of historical meaning to site
- Draw attention to historical traces visible in landscape

2. Relics and memorabilia / material relics

Moveable objects that refer to the past.

Presentation technique can influence experience of temporal proximity or distance:
- **'In context' display:** artificiality of collecting and exhibiting
- **Glass display case:** physical barrier
- **'Idea-driven' exhibitions:** texts dominate over objects
- **Emphasis on past experiences** embodied by object
- **Handling replicas** offering the experience of touch

Educational approaches in mediating this technique:
- Objects as illustrations: attention drawn to interpretative texts
- Historical enquiry: judging reliability and perspectivity of objects
- Engaging with, looking closely at or drawing objects
- Asking about origin of objects: highlighting past relationships

3. Imitation and replication

Pseudo-physical contact between past and present.
- **Reconstructions, re-enactments and (invented) traditions**
- **Empathy activities:** cognitive or physical re-enactment of historical actor

This bridging technique relates to 'in situ' types of museum display:
- **Reconstructions:** feature authentic artefacts
  (hence, combination with material relics bridging strategy)
- **Simulacra:** solely rely on imitations and reconstructions

Educational approaches in mediating this technique:
- Engaging, looking or listening closely: immersion
- Exhibits as illustrations: attention drawn to interpretative texts
- Historical enquiry: evaluating exhibit as evidence

4. Historical analogies*

Linking seemingly parallel events in the past and the present.

5. Same time*

Calendric fusion of past and present through anniversaries and commemorations.

6. Discursive token of 'sameness'*

Symbol that creates a bridge between the past and the present.

* Regarding bridging technique 4, the heritage educational resources analysed did not show multiple approaches. This technique is closely linked to the narrative emplotment strategy, in particular the rhyming plotline and the attribution of significance to the past for the present. Bridging techniques 5 and 6 did not feature in the resources analysed.

6.2 Three Cases in Transnational Contexts

As I described in the first Chapter, two important developments can be distinguished that have occurred in Western historical cultures, which are important in the context of this study. Firstly, there is a growing urge to experience the past, which translates into an increasing focus on the visualisation of history and strategies of new media to immerse people into the past and make it tangible for them. In 'in situ' types of museum presentation display specifically, we can identify a transition from exhibits that only allowed visitors to peek at scenes from a distance, based on types of display that originated in the nineteenth century, to more modern reconstructions and simulacra that aim to fully immerse people into a recreated version of the past.

Secondly, the idea that history can play an important role in stimulating a feeling of commonality has gained a lot of traction, particularly in a political context. In history education, this has translated into a strong advocacy for a more traditional history curriculum with a stronger focus on learning facts from national history, rather than on critical thinking skills and a disciplinary approach towards history that has been an important feature of the subject in several countries, including England and the Netherlands. These debates are taking places in the context of historical cultures becoming increasingly diverse, with people having different interests, attitudes and perspectives towards history, which may give rise to frictions or even conflicts, particularly in relation to sensitive histories. Such issues can become even more delicate in the context of cultural heritage, because of its identity-centred nature.

The heritage educational resources analysed in this study have been developed within this context and, to some extent, reflect these two developments. Following the current tendency towards experience and immersion in cultural display, heritage educational resources on all three topics feature modern ‘in situ’ types of museum presentation. As I described above, educational activities can counter these presentational strategies, providing a more distanced and detached approach. It appears that such activities feature more prominently in the English heritage educational resources studied, focusing, for example, on historical enquiry or triggering multiple perspectives, relating to concepts of historical thinking. The resources analysed in this study all deal with three sensitive histories and, therefore, provide more concrete illustrations of the issues of commonality, cultural diversity and the frictions these give rise to. Resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and World War II, for instance, sometimes emphasise people’s shared experiences in these histories, such as the Museum of London Docklands, highlighting the diversity of London, and the D Day Museum, eliciting a national sense of ideological engagement, but in doing so they can limit the introduction of multiple perspectives.

Besides these general contextual developments, heritage educational resources are also strongly shaped by the institutional background of the institutes offering them. In this section, therefore, I will compare how the resources in this study construct historical distance in relation to multiperspectivity, by taking into account these institutional backgrounds, which, in turn, have been shaped by the developments in historical culture.

Perspectives of Enslavement

Although heritage educational resources on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery often use material relics to bridge the gap between the past and the present, it is interesting to note that they are rarely related to individuals or presented with their cultural biography in the interpretations and educational activities. This is probably due to the fact that often little is known about the specific origin of these relatively old artefacts, but it could also be due to the way the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery has developed in England and the Netherlands over the years. Up until recently, this history was either virtually not represented at all or only in a European perspective, which affected the way it was presented in museums and how objects were interpreted.

Both countries, however, have witnessed an increased influx of migrant communities from their former colonies that demanded that 'their' history be recognised and that campaigned against overly Eurocentric narratives. In England, this led to the development of new exhibitions by museums, many of which opted to go through a community consultation process, which led to the implementation of new perspectives, such as black agency, Africa before the transatlantic trade and the legacy of slavery, without ignoring existing themes and narratives. The Netherlands saw the founding of the NiNsee, an institute that was largely established to rectify the lack of awareness of the history of transatlantic slavery, which translated into a stronger focus on the enslaved people in their exhibitions and educational activities. These general developments in the representation of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery have had an effect on the perspectives that were included in the heritage educational resources analysed in this study.

As the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery was framed in an abolitionist narrative, its representations go back on a longer tradition in England, which also meant that new developments found a better footing in English heritage institutes than in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, it is only the Tropenmuseum that provides permanent displays on slavery, while most activities of the NiNsee have been trimmed away due to cuts in government funding. The 150-year commemoration of the abolition of slavery in 2013 led to an increased interest from the heritage sector in this history, yet most of these activities were temporary. Furthermore, while there are several city trails on slavery, for instance in Amsterdam, Utrecht and Middelburg, only few of them provide educational activities for school groups. In

addition, there is less concrete physical evidence in the Dutch built landscape than in England. In England, the commemoration of white abolitionists had already produced a lot of monuments and memorials, which have become contested in recent years.

The differences between England and the Netherlands cannot solely be related to (trans-)national contexts of commemorating the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. As with the Dutch NiNsee, the specific emphasis of English heritage educational resources depends a lot on the institutional background and the context in which the relating exhibitions were developed. For instance, the Museum of London Docklands and International Slavery Museum both strongly relied on community consultation and involved a cross-section of society in the design and development of their exhibitions, which led to a greater interest in black agency, Africa before the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the legacies of slavery. The National Maritime Museum, on the other hand, had embedded this history in a more Europe-centred and maritime-themed narrative. The Tropenmuseum, similarly, has encapsulated the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery into a broader narrative on Latin America and the Caribbean, both in its exhibition and its educational resource, which reflects the background of this institute as an ethnographic museum, originally established to show objects of the Dutch former colonies. Comparing England and the Netherlands, it is also interesting to observe that the Dutch resources much more highlighted people's personal relations to this history, whereas the International Slavery Museum opted to focus on the cultural legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in general. This may have been a result of the process of community consultation that some of the English museums went through, in which curators often expressed uncertainty about implementing a too 'people-centred' focus into the exhibitions.

It is also striking to note some narrative parallels between the exhibitions of the International Slavery Museum and the NiNsee and representations of the Holocaust. In both cases, humans were transported against their will to a 'bad place'. As the stories of these transportations are often made a central feature in both narratives, they appear to emphasise the act of transformation, highlighting the perspective of the victims and in particular the horrors that these people endured. These narrative parallels seem to reflect the present-day context of people comparing the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery with the Holocaust in order to seek recognition for it. With the focus shifting towards the victims of slavery comes a narrative plot that emphasises the horrors of this history in a way that is similar to how other atrocities are often represented.

Reconstructing World War II

'In situ' types of museum display that aim to immerse people in a recreated version of the past are used on a most elaborate scale in heritage educational resources on World War II.

In England, so-called ‘Blitz experiences’ have become a popular way to provide a feeling of the immediacy of the history of World War II. Heritage institutes rarely resort to this type of display for exhibitions on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and the Holocaust, possibly due to the sensitivity of these subjects.

The history of British and Dutch military experiences in both countries in World War II is still strongly interpreted from a national framework. In England, the national sense of ideological engagement and temporal proximity generated by exhibits like the ‘Blitz Experience’ and ‘Overlord Embroidery’ are predicated on a collective memory in which the country's own heroic actions, suffering and other experiences are emphasised. In the Dutch heritage educational resources, such incentives for ideological engagement are not as evident, and the way the history of the Second World War is dealt with is probably more diverse, covering themes like resistance and collaboration, the aerial bombings executed by the Germans and the military operations that took place near the end of the war. The heritage educational resources reflect these various aspects. Hence, the Dutch resources also echo the national narrative, but, by providing multiple perspectives in their accounts, they do not stimulate a feeling of ideological engagement in the same degree.

Significance of the Holocaust

The bridging strategy of highlighting the significance of history for the present primarily features in the case studies on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery and the Holocaust. In the case of slavery, heritage institutes have increasingly sought to increase awareness of the legacies of this history in their exhibitions. In the case of the Holocaust, the internationalisation of its commemoration ensured that it has increasingly been wrapped in a moral message about discrimination, emphasising that it is important to remember the Holocaust for the present and the future. This moral message is present in all heritage educational resources studied in various degrees, sometimes remaining implicit and sometimes acting as a framework.

Despite these rough parallels, there are significant national differences, which particularly ensue from the fact that Britain was never occupied and, hence, compared to the Netherlands, has few physical traces of this history in the built landscape that have been preserved, interpreted and made available to visitors. British heritage institutes, therefore, have to rely on other means, such as material relics or reconstructions, to make studying the Holocaust relevant to pupils.

Although the types of bridging techniques may differ, their implementations often show similarities. For instance, institutes in both countries strongly emphasise personal perspectives of Holocaust victims; the significance of this history for people today is apparent in memorials and monuments. The technique of personalising perspectives is

primarily present in the Holocaust resources and less so in transatlantic slavery resources, possibly because there are few sources related to this history that can personalise the victim perspective. It is interesting to note, however, that the heritage educational resources on the Holocaust do not feature assignments that stimulate pupils to imagine what it would have been like to be a particular historical actor during that time, contrary to those dealing with the military experiences in World War II and the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery. While this is rooted in the sensitivities associated with the history of the Holocaust, it is striking that this is apparently not considered a problem with the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery, as both English and Dutch institutes dealing with this history offer activities that ask pupils to imagine what it was like to be an enslaved African.

The diverse institutional contexts, in sum, generate differences between the heritage educational resources. For the Dutch resources, this relates to the heritage sites on which they are based, as the way these sites have been preserved, determines how they are approached in educational activities. In England, the heritage institute's general aim influences the way it deals with the history of the Holocaust. The IWM North presents objects in display cases that can be related to specific people who were involved in this history. As a national institute, this museum also emphasises aspects like the Kindertransport, allowing it to relate England to the history of the Holocaust. The Holocaust Centre, on the other hand, focuses much more on the importance of remembrance and commemoration, highlighting lessons that can be learned from this history.

6.3 Further Research and Practical Implications

In this study, I have used theories from narrative analysis, museum studies and history teaching methodology to analyse constructions of historical distance and multiperspectivity in heritage educational resources. On the basis of the theories from these various disciplines I developed a theoretical framework and qualitative scheme of analysis. In combination with a sample of heritage educational resources from two countries, this proved to be useful in identifying the various strategies and bridging techniques and has contributed to a refinement of Eviatar Zerubavel’s theoretical framework, including, for instance, the different approaches to material relics and constancy of place. The resulting schematic overview on constructions of historical distance as presented in this last Chapter may be a helpful tool for museum curators and educators to reflect on the use of specific strategies and techniques in heritage educational resources, their effects on multiperspectivity and other concepts of historical thinking.

The scheme of analysis used to analyse the resources was particularly helpful in capturing the textual and narrative elements that contribute to constructions of historical distance and multiperspectivity. Further research could focus more strongly on the visual characteristics of heritage objects in order to study the relationship between the perspectives that appear to be inherent in these objects and those that are conferred upon them by their inclusion in specific exhibition presentations or educational materials. Next, as this study has laid the qualitative groundwork, focusing on three specific sensitive histories and an in-depth analysis of a select number of resources, I would recommend further research to undertake a more quantitative approach. The categories identified in my scheme of analysis can prove to be useful in analysing a larger, more representative sample of one specific type of heritage educational resource, without focusing on a particular research topic or set of topics. As this study has focused on sensitive histories, it would be best for further research on historical distance in heritage educational resources to also take into account other, less complex, histories in which the strategies of configuring temporality and engagement may feature other techniques or take a different form.

In the introductory Chapter, I have shown that heritage education is generally advocated by referring to two types of aims: the importance of teaching pupils to see the value of preserving heritage and the role it can play in stimulating commonality; and the idea that heritage can be used as a means to engage pupils into learning, making it more concrete and stimulating an inquisitive attitude. I have also shown that some scholars have pointed to certain risks of cultural heritage, such as the idea that it presents the past in an anachronistic or presentist perspective and the argument that it often excludes certain perspectives and, hence, particular groups in society who do not feel related to the dominant discourse: elements that are taken to be incompatible with critical thinking strategies in history education. This study shows that heritage educational resources do not necessarily reflect such tendencies and, instead, display a wide range of strategies that have been identified through the concepts of historical distance and multiperspectivity. Some resources combine the motivational power of heritage, described above as one of the aims, with a more reflective and detached approach, for instance through historical enquiry. The examined resources also show that educational activities can counter or reconfigure the bridging strategies used in heritage presentations.

This research, furthermore, reveals several ways in which the experience-based nature of heritage education can be combined with multiperspectivity as an asset of history learning. When multiple perspectives are already present in heritage presentations, educational resources can simply opt to draw attention to these various points of view. Specific activities can also trigger multiperspectivity even if the heritage object or presentation they relate to is one-sided. As the bridging technique of imitation and replication

is often combined with taking a first-person perspective, as in modern simulacra and empathy activities, for instance, this puts limits on multiperspectivity. It is also questionable whether it is possible to open up multiple points of view in these kinds of immersive environments, which often aim to trigger emotional engagement. In such cases, it might be better, therefore, to fully exploit the engagement strategy in educational resources, as it is a unique characteristic of museum presentations and heritage education, and introduce other perspectives later in an environment with fewer stimuli. My analysis also indicates, however, that when strategies that generate moral or emotional engagement are used to frame an educational programme, those that create detachment and multiperspectivity can be overpowered.

When strategies of stimulating temporal proximity and engagement are combined and balanced with distanced and detached approaches, heritage education can rise to its full potential. The act of physically going out of school in order to visit traces, places or reconstructions of historical events already emphasises the importance that people attach to commemorating particular histories today. Museum presentations or educational activities can reinforce this sense of significance by using specific strategies that generate temporal proximity or engagement. While most resources opted to reinforce and stimulate these strategies, it is the actual reflection on them that can make history learning a more powerful experience, as heritage education involves active expressions in today's historical culture and reflection on them can highlight the interpretative nature of history. This way, in short, heritage education can not only stimulate an experience of the past but can also make multiperspectivity more tangible, allowing room for historical thinking.

Illustration 33: Exterior overview of Newhaven Fort up on the cliffs overlooking the English Channel (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 16, 2012)*

Illustration 34: Reconstruction on the evacuations during World War II, showing Elizabeth and James with their mother at the railway station of Newhaven (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 15, 2012)*

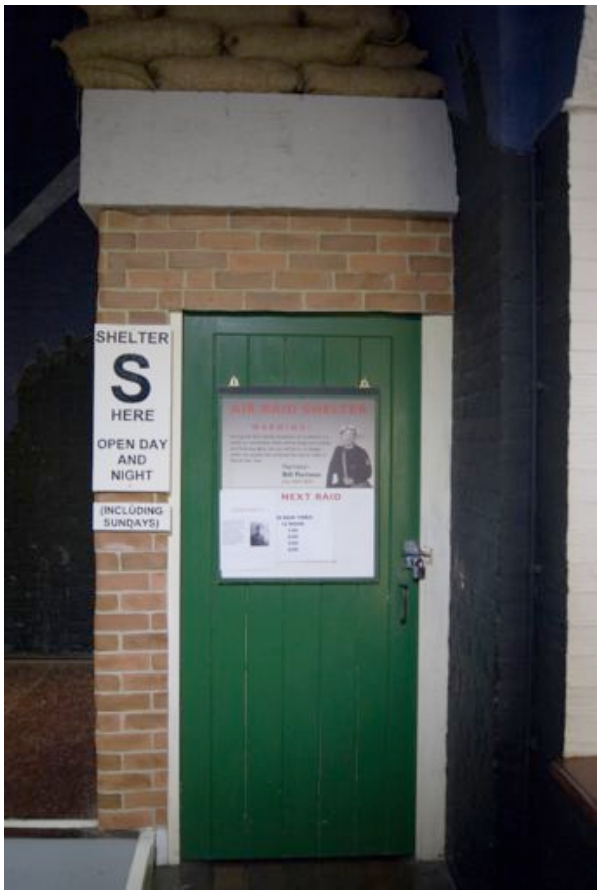

Illustration 35: Entrance to the 'Blitz Experience' and display case regarding air aids in the Home Front exhibition at Newhaven Fort (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 15, 2012)*

Illustration 36: Reconstruction of a 'bomb site' showing an Air Raid Precautions Warden taking care of a wounded man (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 15, 2012)*

Illustration 37: Exterior of the D Day Museum and Overlord Embroidery in Portsmouth
(Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 11, 2012)*

Illustration 38: Visitors in Overlord Embroidery, D-Day Museum (Photo: *Portsmouth City Council, 2014)*

Illustration 39: Reconstruction of the Map Room at Southwick House on display at the D Day Museum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 11, 2012)*

Illustration 40: Packets of Durex on display at the D Day Museum and part of the reconstruction of a jeep near Ranville in Normandy (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 11, 2012)*

Illustration 41: Exterior of the OologsVerzetsMuseum in Rotterdam (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, May 22, 2014)*

Illustration 42: Objects on display at the OorlogsVerzetsMuseum in Rotterdam, including cigars that had been stolen (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, July 11, 2013)*

Illustration 43: The milk churn of dockworker Henk Salij and coffee cups of the Jewish Jacobs-family on display at the OorlogsVerzetsMuseum (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, July 11, 2013)*

Illustration 44: 'In situ' type of display depicting a Dutch marine and German parachutist at a bombed site (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, July 11, 2013)*

Illustration 45: Exterior of the Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein' in Oosterbeek. During World War II the building was used as headquarters for the British Airborne Division (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, March 22, 2012)*

Illustration 46: Objects on display at the Airborne Museum, including the 'Vriendschapsarmband' that features prominently in the museum's educational programme (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, March 22, 2012)*

Illustration 47: Collection of weapons on display at the Airborne Museum, physically showing multiple perspectives (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, March 22, 2012)*

Illustration 48: Section on the Battle of Arnhem in the immersive 'Airborne Experience'
(Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, March 22, 2012)*

Illustration 49: Exterior of the Holocaust Centre, Beth Shalom in Laxton (Nottinghamshire)
(Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 30, 2011)*

Illustration 50: Children's memorial in the memorial garden of the Holocaust Centre
(Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 30, 2011)*

Illustration 51: Section on the Ghetto in the main exhibition of the Holocaust Centre, featuring reconstructed elements (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 30, 2011)*

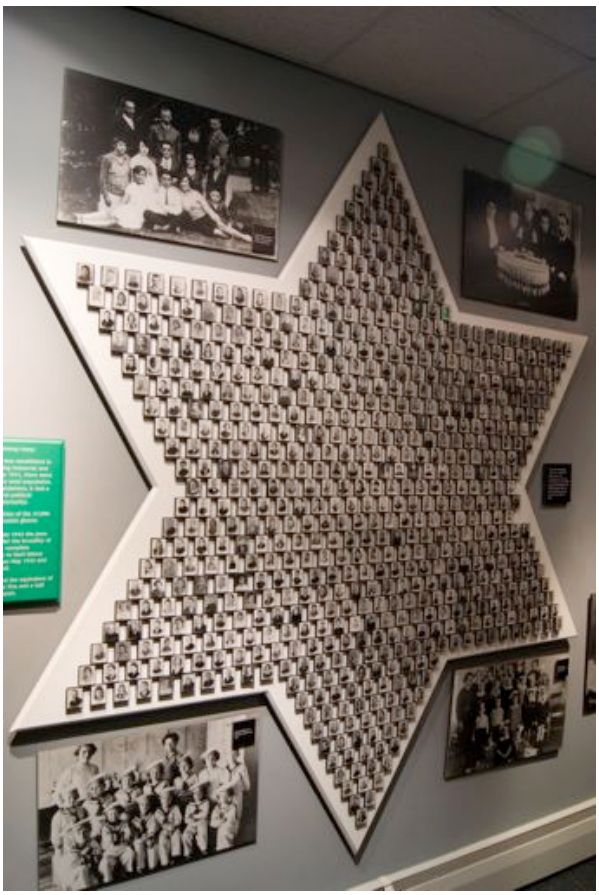

Illustration 52: Introductory section on Jewish life before the Second World War in the main exhibition of the Holocaust Centre (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 30, 2011)*

Illustration 53: Exterior of the Imperial War Museum North in the media district of the city of Manchester (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 26, 2011)*

Illustration 54: The main exhibition space of the IWM North in Manchester, during a showing of a *Big Picture Show* (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 26, 2011)*

Illustration 55: Display in the *Experience of War* silo, including the letter written by Celia Horwitz in the main exhibition space of the IWM North (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 26, 2011)*

Illustration 56: Display case in the section 1919-1939 of the timeline in the main exhibition space, showing the Hitler Youth Dagger (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, November 26, 2011)*

Illustration 57: Exterior of the Anne Frank Huis (Photo: *Juul Hondius, Copyright Anne Frank House, 2011)*

Illustration 58: Opening to the exhibition, showing the focus on the story of Anne Frank
(Photo: *Cris Toala Olivares, Copyright Anne Frank House, 2010)*

Illustration 59: The room of Anne Frank with preserved pieces of authentic wallpaper attached to the walls (Photo: *Cris Toala Olivares, Copyright Anne Frank House, 2010)*

Illustration 60: Front of the Anne Frank House and authentic bookcase, providing access to the secret annex (Photo: *Cris Toala Olivares, Copyright Anne Frank House, 2010)*

Illustration 61: Terrain of the former Transit Camp Westerbork showing reconstructed barbed wire, markings of former barracks and the radio telescopes (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 3, 2012)*

Illustration 62: 102.000 stones memorial and national monument at the former terrain of Westerbork Transit Camp (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 3, 2012)*

Illustration 63: The former residence of Camp Commander Gemmeker, which is currently being renovated and will be opened for the public in the future (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 3, 2012)*

Illustration 64: Entrance to the exhibition on display at *Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork* (Photo: *Pieter de Bruijn, April 3, 2012)*

Appendix I - Overview educational resources by heritage institutes on Transatlantic Slavery and World War II

Last updated: June 29th, 2011

Transatlantic slave trade

The Netherlands

Institute	Location	Title	Type	Level
1. NiNsee	Amsterdam	- Kind aan de ketting - Doorbreek de stilte	Museum	SE
2. Tropenmuseum	Amsterdam	Kijktocht Latijns-Amerika en de Cariben	Museum	SE
3. Zeeuws archief	Middelburg	Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden	In situ	SE

England

Institute	Location	Title	Type	Level
1. Enfield Museum Service	Enfield	Ghana and the Transatlantic Slave Trade	Box (objects)	KS 3
2. Georgian House	Bristol	Learning sessions	In situ / museum	?
3. International Slavery Museum	Liverpool	Various projects	Museum	KS 3 & 4
4. Lancaster Maritime Museum	Lancaster	Trade, people, profits	Museum	KS 2 & 3
5. Museum of London	London	Slavery and abolition in London	At school (drama)	KS 3
6. Museum of London Docklands	London	- Slavery: London and beyond - Slavery Study Day	Museum	KS3
7. National Archives	London	- Slavery - Slavery, Resistance and Rebellion	Archive	KS 3 & 4
8. National Maritime Museum	London	- Transatlantic Slavery Study Day - Slavery: London and Beyond	Museum	KS 3
9. National Portrait Gallery	London	Heroes of abolition	Digital	KS 3

10.	No. 1 Royal Crescent	Bath	Elegance and Exploitation: luxury goods and the slave trade	In situ	KS 3
11.	Revealing histories	Manchester	Several learning cards	Website/Museums	KS 3 & 4
12.	Royal Naval Museum	Portsmouth	- Slavery through objects - The Transatlantic Slave Trade & the Royal Navy	Museum	KS 3 & 4
13.	Victoria County History	Bristol	Bristol Slavery Trail	In situ	KS 2 & 3
14.	Wilberforce House	Hull	Various learning programmes	Museum	SE

World War II

The Netherlands

Institute		Location	Title	Type	Level
1.	Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein'	Oosterbeek	- Koffers vol verhalen - Project	Museum	SE
2.	Anne Frank Huis	Amsterdam	- Free2choose - De zoektocht - De ontdekking - Antisemitisme. Oude en nieuwe vooroordelen - De wereld van Anne Frank - Annes wereld en mijn wereld - Anne en de anderen	In situ / Museum	SE
3.	Bevrijdingsmuseum Zeeland	Nieuwdorp (Borsele)	Programma	Museum	SE
4.	Bunkermuseum	IJmuiden	Rondleiding	In situ / Museum	SE
5.	Crash '40-'45	Aalsmeerderbrug	Speurtocht	Museum	-
6.	Etty Hillesum Centrum	Deventer	Een zoektocht naar Etty Hillesum	Museum	SE
7.	Fort de Bilt	-	De Vredesfabriek	Objects	SE
8.	Gemeentearchief Hoogezand-Sappemeer	Hoogezand	Tweede Wereldoorlog	Archive	SE
9.	Gemeentearchief Rotterdam	Rotterdam	Brandgrens	Archive / In situ	SE
10.	Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork	Hooghalen	- Kijkwijzer - Opgepakt. Verhalen van kinderen in kamp - Westerbork - Hertha. Een meisje in de oorlog	Museum / In situ	

			- Beladen verleden (web / cd-rom) - De oorlog dichtbij huis - Verhaal Centraal (web / cd-rom) - Kamp Schoorl		
11.	Het Indisch Huis	Den Haag	Waarom die vlag toch? De geschiedenis van Indische Nederlanders	Education Pack	SE
12.	Historisch Centrum Overijssel	Zwolle	- Leskisten Tweede Wereldoorlog - De Tweede Wereldoorlog in een circuit	Archive / Box (objects)	SE
13.	Historisch Museum Hengelo	Hengelo	Bommen op Hengelo	Museum	SE
14.	Hollandse Schouwburg	Amsterdam	Kwaad in eigen straat	In situ	SE
15.	Joods Historisch Museum	Amsterdam	Wandeling voormalige joodse buurt	In situ	SE
16.	Kamp Amersfoort	Amersfoort	Kamp Amersfoort in 10 thema's	In situ	SE
17.	Kamp Vught	Vught	- Philips-Kommando (web) - 'Kamp Vught' Gerard van Maasakkers (DVD) - Joodse kinderen in Kamp Vught - Kamp Vught in de klas	In situ	SE
18.	Landschap Erfgoed Utrecht	Amersfoort/Woerden/ Zeist	Tweede Wereldoorlog in Amersfoort / Woerden / Zeist	Various	HAVO/ VWO
19.	Liberty Park	Overloon	Ontdek de vrijheid in Liberty Park	Digital	SE
20.	Markt 12	Aalten	Various projects	Museum	SE
21.	Museon	Den Haag	- Kind in oorlog - Gevangen door Japan (digitaal)	Museum	SE
22.	Museum en tehuis Bronbeek	Arnhem	- Ooggetuigen - Adoptie herdenkingsmonument	Museum / In situ	SE
23.	Museumpark Bevrijdende Vleugels	Best	Education pack	Museum	SE
24.	Nationaal Bevrijdingsmuseum	Groesbeek	Various activities	Museum	SE
25.	Oorlogsgraven-stichting	Rhenen	Daar spraken wij nooit over…	In situ	SE
26.	OorlogsVerzets-museum	Rotterdam	Museumles Vraag en Antwoord	Museum	SE
27.	Regionaal Historisch Centrum	Eindhoven	De meisjes van toen	Archive	SE
28.	Roerdriehoek Museum	Montfort	Oorlog in de Roerdriehoek	School visit	-
29.	Stichting Oorlogs- en Verzetsmateriaal	Groningen	Dwingend drukwerk. Nederlandse propaganda-affiches tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog	Objects	VMBO2,3
30.	Streekmuseum 't Land van Peel en Maas	Helden	Deportatie en bevrijding 1944	Museum	SE
31.	Tresoar	Leeuwarden	Terug naar de bron	Archive / Museum /	SE

32.	Verzetsmuseum	Amsterdam	- Seizoen '40-'45. Voetbal tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog - Onderzoeksopdracht	Library Museum	SE
33.	Verzetsmuseum Friesland	Leeuwarden	- Oorlogsschriften (web) - Teaching packs	Museum	SE
34.	Verzetsmuseum Zuid-Holland	Gouda	Several Activities	Museum	SE
35.	Wings to victory	Krabbendijke	-	Museum	-

England

Institute		Location	Title	Type	Level
1.	Bletchley Park	Milton Keynes	- German signals Command Post - Diplomatic wireless - Home front - Amateur radio - Railways at war - Enigma cinema - D-day – The first objective	In situ / museum	7-14 years
2.	Britain at War Experience	London	Education packs	Museum	KS 2 & 3
3.	Churchill Museum and Cabinet War Rooms	London	Workshops	Museum	KS 3 & 4
4.	Coventry Cathedral	Coventry	World War II History	In situ	KS 3 & 4
5.	D Day Museum	Portsmouth	- Discovering D-Day - The Home Front	Museum	SE / KS 3
6.	Dover Castle	Dover	Secret codes and ciphers	In situ	KS 3
7.	Eden Camp	Malton	Self-guided tour	In situ	7 & older
8.	Holocaust Educational Trust	London	- Recollections: Eyewitnesses remember the Holocaust - The Holocaust: Eyewitnesses remember the Holocuast	Education packs	SE
9.	Imperial War Museum	London	- Home Front 1939-1945 - The Blitz Experience - Holocaust Exhibition	Museum	KS 3 & 4

10.	Imperial War Museum Duxford	Duxford	- The War in the Air 1914-1918 and 1939-194 - The Home Front 1939-1945 - The Battle of Britain	Museum	KS 3 & 4
11.	Imperial War Museum North	Manchester	Learning from Artefacts	Museum	KS 3 & 4
12.	Jewish Museum	London	- Faith and The Holocaust - The Last Goodbye - Never again Auschwitz: The Story of Leon Greenmann - Am I my brother's keeper? - Historical enquiry - Witness the witness - The Holocaust through art, music and poetry	Museum	KS 3
13.	Lancaster City Museum	Lancaster	Life during the Second World War	Museum	KS 2 & 3
14.	Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre	East Kirkby	Education packs (home front)	Museum	KS 3
15.	Liverpool War Museum	Liverpool	Educational visits	Museum	-
16.	Merseyside Maritime Museum	Liverpool	- Evacuation - Second World War - The Piermaster's House	Museum	KS 3, 4 & 5
17.	Museum of technology	Herts	The Great War & WW II	Box (objects)	KS 2 & 3
18.	National Archives	London	- Adolf Hitler - Hitler Assassination Plan - Belsen Concentration Camp - Convincing the Colonies - The Holocaust - The Home Front - Evacuation to Canada - Government Posters	Archive	KS 2, 3 & 4
19.	National Army Museum	London	The Second World War	Museum	SE
20.	Newhaven Fort	Newhaven	The Home Front	Museum / In situ	SE
21.	Pendennis Castle	Falmouth	Home Front: soldiers and sirens!	In situ	KS 3
22.	Royal Air Force Museum	London	- Handling collection - The RAF and the Second World War - Propganda from the skies	Museum	KS 3 & 4
23.	Royal Air Force Museum	Cosford	- Propaganda - Handling collection - Meet the veterans	Museum	KS 3 & 4

24.	Royal Engineers Museum	Gillingham	Two for the price of one	Museum	KS 3
25.	Stockport Air Raid Shelters	Stockport	Educational visits	Museum	-
26.	Streetlife Museum	Hull	WW 2 – Life on the Home Front	Museum	KS 3 & 4
27.	The Keep Military Museum	Dorchester	- Evacuation - Government documents	Museum	KS 3
28.	The Holocaust Centre	Laxton	School visit	Museum	SE
29.	The Tank Museum	Wareham	The Home Front 1939-1945	Museum	KS 2 & 3
30.	Tilbury Fort	Thurrock	Defence and the home front	In situ	KS 3,4,5
31.	U Boat Story	Liverpool	Self-guided tour	In situ	KS 2 & 3

Abbreviations

SE: Secondary Education
KS 2: Key Stage 2, 8-11 year olds
KS 3: Key Stage 3, 11-14 year olds
KS 4: Key Stage 4, 14-16 year olds
havo: Higher General Secondary Education
vwo: Pre-Academic Education

Please note that this list does not claim to be a complete overview of all heritage educational resources available during the research period, but is based on a comprehensive Internet search. Resources designed specifically for primary education have not been listed.

Appendix II - Scheme of Analysis (Holocaust)

A. Historical distance

1. Does the resource refer to people's physical surroundings?

***Exhibition* (texts, objects, pictures, sound)**	**Yes**	**No**

***Education* material & assignments**	**Yes**	**No**

2. Does the resource explicitly employ material relics?

***Exhibition* (texts, objects, pictures, sound)**	**Yes**	**No**

***Education* material & assignments**	**Yes**	**No**

3. Does the resource mention consequences the Holocaust has had on the present?

***Exhibition* (texts, objects, pictures, sound)**	**Yes**	**No**

***Education* material & assignments**	**Yes**	**No**

4. Does the resource *make comparisons* between past and present:

***Exhibition* (texts, objects, pictures, sound)**	**Yes**	**No**
Visual comparison		
As clarification		
To show differences		
To show similarities		
Other		

***Education* material & assignments**	**Yes**	**No**
Visual comparison		
As clarification		
To show differences		

To show similarities		
Other		

5. Does the resource *refer to* the present?

***Exhibition* (texts, objects, pictures, sound)**	**Yes**	**No**
Events and/or processes		
People		
Preservation of heritage		
Other		

***Education* material & assignments**	**Yes**	**No**
Events and/or processes		
People		
Preservation of heritage		
Other		

6. Does the resource encourage people to empathise with the past?

***Exhibition* (texts, objects, pictures, sound)**	**Yes**	**No**

***Education* material & assignments**	**Yes**	**No**

7. Does the resource address people's personal connection to the Transatlantic Slave Trade?

***Exhibition* (texts, objects, pictures, sound)**	**Yes**	**No**
Present-day agents		
Students' identity		
Other		

***Education* material & assignments**	**Yes**	**No**
Present-day agents		
Students' identity		
Other		

B. Plurality

8. Does the resource cover the following historical events and/or processes?

***Exhibition* (texts, objects, pictures, sound)**	**Yes**	**No**
Europe before the war		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
Growth of fascism		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
Kristallnacht		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
Life in ghettos		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
The final solution		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
Transportations of people		
Countries / localities **Actors**		

□ ***External focalisation***
Active voice
Passive voice
□ ***Character focalisation***

	Yes	**No**
Proceedings in camps		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
Resistance and/or revolts		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
After the war		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
Other		

Educational material & assignments	**Yes**	**No**
Europe before the war		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
Growth of fascism		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	No
Kristallnacht		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	No
Life in ghettos		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	No
The final solution		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	No
Transportations of people		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	No
Proceedings in camps		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	No
Resistance and/or revolts		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice*		

□ ***Character focalisation***

	Yes	**No**
After the war		
Countries / localities **Actors** □ ***External focalisation*** *Active voice* *Passive voice* □ ***Character focalisation***		

	Yes	**No**
Other		

10. How is the total number of victims of the Holocaust presented?

11. Does the resource indicate or discuss multiple perspectives of sources/exhibits?

Exhibition (texts, objects, pictures, sound)	**Yes**	**No**

Education material & assignments	**Yes**	**No**

12. Does the resource refer to debates in historiography or differing perspectives among 'producers of history'?

Exhibition (texts, objects, pictures, sound)	**Yes**	**No**

Education material & assignments	**Yes**	**No**

Sources and literature

Heritage Educational Resources

England

National Maritime Museum, London
Transatlantic Slavery Study Day
Type: Museum Visit
Age group: Key Stage 3 (11-14 year olds)
Length: 4 hours
Curriculum: History

International Slavery Museum, Liverpool
Exhibition Trail
Type: Museum Visit
Age group: Key Stage 3 (11-14 year olds)
Length: 90 minutes
Curriculum: History, art, geography, music, citizenship, religious education

Victoria County History, *England's Past for Everyone*, Bristol
Schools Learning Zone: Bristol Slavery Trail
Type: City Trail
Age group: Key Stage 2 & 3 (7-14 year olds)
Length: Variable
Curriculum: Cross-curricular: history, geography and citizenship

Museum of London Docklands, London
Slavery Study Day
Type: Museum Visit
Age group: Key Stage 3 & 4 (11-16 year olds)
Length: 4 hours 30 minutes
Curriculum: History, citizenship

Newhaven Fort, Newhaven
The Home Front
Type: Heritage site, self-guided exhibition tour
Age group: Key Stage 2 & 3 (7-14 year olds)
Length: 3-4 hours
Curriculum: History

D-Day Museum and Overlord Embroidery, Portsmouth
Exhibition Trail
Type: Self-guided tour
Age group: Secondary schools (11-18 year olds)
Length: Unknown
Curriculum: Unspecified

The Holocaust Centre, Laxton
Learning about the Holocaust
Type: Visit memorial centre
Age group: Secondary schools (11-15 year olds)
Length: Variable, up to 4 hours
Curriculum: Unspecified

Imperial War Museum North, Manchester
Holocaust Trail
Type: Museum Visit, self-guided
Age group: Key Stage 3 & 4 (11-16 year olds)
Length: Unknown
Curriculum: Unspecified

The Netherlands

Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam (Museum of the Tropics)
Latijns-Amerika en de Cariben (Latin America and the Carribean)
Type: Museum Visit, self-guided or museum-led
Age group: 12-15 year olds
Length: 60 to 90 minutes
Curriculum: History, geography

NiNsee, Amsterdam (National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy)
Doorbreek de stilte (Break the silence)*, Kind aan de ketting* (Child in chains)
Type: Museum Visit
Age group: 4-18 year olds
Length: 90 minutes
Curriculum: Unknown

Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg (Zealandish Archives)
Geboeid door het Zeeuwse slavernijverleden (Ensnared by Zealand's history of slavery)
Type: City trail
Age group: 7-15 year olds
Length: About 90 minutes
Curriculum: Unknown

OorlogsVerzetsmuseum, Rotterdam
Vraag en Antwoord ('Question and Answer')
Type: Museum Visit
Age group: 10-13 year olds
Length: Variable, up to 3 hours & 45 minutes
Curriculum: Unspecified

Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', Oosterbeek
De vriendschapsarmband
Type: Museum Visit
Age group: 14-16 year olds
Length: 90 minutes
Curriculum: History

Anne Frank House, Amsterdam
De wereld van Anne Frank ('The world of Anne Frank)
Type: Heritage site visit
Age group: 12-18 year olds
Length: 2 hours
Curriculum: Unspecified

***Herinneringscentrum* Kamp Westerbork**
Kamp Westerbork bezoeken ('Visiting Westerbork Transit Camp')
Type: Heritage site visit
Age group: 10-18 year olds
Length: Variable, 90 to 240 minutes
Curriculum: Unspecified

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- Airborne Museum 'Hartenstein', 'Main Exhibition'
  (Oosterbeek, photographed on March 22, 2012).
- Anne Frank House, 'Main Exhibition' (Amsterdam, visited on October 15, 2012).
- 'Bristol Slavery Trail' (photographed on November 19, 2013).
- D-Day Museum, 'Permanent Exhibition' (Portsmouth, photographed on April 11, 2012).
- Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 'Main Exhibition and Former Camp Terrain'
  (Hooghalen, photographed on April 3, 2012).
- International Slavery Museum, 'Permanent Exhibition'
  (Liverpool, photographed on November 27, 2011).
- IWM North, 'Main Exhibition Space' (Manchester, photographed on November 26, 2011).
- Museum of London Docklands, *London, Sugar and Slavery*
  (London, photographed on November 19, 2010).
- National Maritime Museum, *Atlantic Worlds* (London, photographed on November 24, 2010).
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- NiNsee, *Doorbreek de stilte* (Amsterdam, photographed on August 18, 2011).
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- OorlogsVerzetsmuseum, 'Main Exhibition' (Rotterdam, photographed on July 11, 2013).
- 'Slavernijroute Middelburg' (photographed on February 10, 2011).
- The Holocaust Centre, 'Main Exhibition and Memorial Gardens'
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- Huitema-De Waal, Jurmet (Anne Frank Huis, Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
- Karg, Maria (NiNsee, Amsterdam, January 28, 2014).
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- Lenders, Wiel and Cees Pot (Nationaal Bevrijdingsmuseum, Groesbeek, April 12, 2013).*
- Marrow, Jon (International Slavery Museum, Liverpool, November 29, 2013).
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- Salaman, Anna and Lucy Trotman (National Maritime Museum, November 26, 2013).
- Smart, Dean (University of the West of England, Bristol, November 20, 2013).
- Sullivan, Kirsty (Museum of London Docklands, London, November 25, 2013).
- Tijenk, Christel (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, Hooghalen, January 29, 2014).
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- De Jong, Nienke (Landschap Erfgoed Utrecht, Utrecht, October 22, 2009).
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* Conducted together with Maria Grever, who had initiated these interviews for the book *Verlangen naar tastbaar verleden: erfgoed, onderwijs en historisch besef*, co-authored with Carla van Boxtel and to be published in November 2014.

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Summary in Dutch

Bruggen naar het verleden

Historische afstand en multiperspectiviteit
in Engelse en Nederlandse erfgoededucatieve materialen

In de hedendaagse samenleving worden allerlei sporen van het verleden geselecteerd, bewaard en gecultiveerd: van restanten die nog steeds zichtbaar zijn in het landschap, monumenten die refereren aan historische gebeurtenissen of personen en objecten in musea tot mondelinge overleveringen, getuigenissen en liederen. Deze materiële en immateriële cultuur wordt tegenwoordig vaak aangeduid met de term 'erfgoed'. In Nederland, Engeland, België en andere westerse landen is erfgoed ook populair als bron in het onderwijs. Onderwijsactiviteiten die gericht zijn op erfgoed, worden ook wel 'erfgoededucatie' of 'erfgoedonderwijs' genoemd.

Educatieve medewerkers van erfgoedinstellingen en beleidsmakers hebben het belang van erfgoedonderwijs vanuit verschillende doelen bepleit, zoals het bevorderen van gemeenschappelijkheid en respect voor erfgoed in het heden, en het versterken van historisch besef. Wetenschappers, zoals historici en erfgoedspecialisten, hebben echter ook gewezen op de risico's. Erfgoed kan ook een bron zijn van conflicten, zeker in een samenleving die steeds diverser is geworden. Niet alles wordt immers bewaard en sommige perspectieven worden meer benadrukt dan andere waardoor bepaalde groepen juist kunnen worden uitgesloten. Daarnaast constateren sommige auteurs dat erfgoedinstellingen het verleden vaak zo herkenbaar en dichtbij mogelijk proberen voor te stellen. Niet zelden zou dit resulteren in de presentatie van het erfgoed vanuit een anachronistisch of presentistisch perspectief. Deze benaderingen staan haaks op theorieën over historisch denken in het geschiedenisonderwijs waarin de nadruk ligt op actief leren, kritische reflectie en multiperspectiviteit.

De centrale vraag van deze studie is hoe Engelse en Nederlandse erfgoedinstellingen historische afstand construeren in hun erfgoed-educatieve materialen over de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel, de Tweede Wereldoorlog en de Holocaust, en wat de implicaties zijn voor de toepassing van multiperspectiviteit. Historische afstand is in dit onderzoek gedefinieerd als de configuratie van temporaliteit (afstand/nabijheid) en

betrokkenheid (affectief, moreel en ideologisch). Ten aanzien van multiperspectiviteit zijn drie typen perspectieven onderscheiden: van historische actors in de tijd zelf; van de makers van historische verslagen en verhalen (historiografisch); en van uiteenlopende geografische posities (lokaal, regionaal, nationaal en mondiaal). Beide concepten zijn geoperationaliseerd in een analyseschema waarmee ik de erfgoed-educatieve materialen gedetailleerd heb kunnen bestuderen (zie bijlage II). Ten behoeve van de analyse zijn erfgoed-educatieve materialen geselecteerd die geproduceerd zijn door vijftien erfgoedinstellingen in de periode 2009-2011, gericht op leerlingen in de leeftijdsgroep van 13-15 jaar. Om deze materialen in al hun complexiteit te kunnen begrijpen, heb ik niet alleen de educatieve materialen (lesbrieven, kijkwijzers, projecten en programma's) bestudeerd, maar ook de activiteiten (rondleidingen, workshops) en erfgoedpresentaties (tentoonstellingen, gedenktekens, historische sites). Naast Nederland richt mijn onderzoek zich op Engeland als een van de constituerende landen van het Verenigd Koninkrijk. Omdat in Wales, Schotland en Noord-Ierland, bijvoorbeeld, een ander onderwijscurriculum van toepassing is, zou het meerekenen van deze landen teveel extra variabelen met zich mee brengen.

De diversiteit en complexiteit van de erfgoed-educatieve materialen maakten het mogelijk om uiteenlopende constructies van historische afstand en verschillende vormen van multiperspectiviteit te identificeren. Door de gemaakte keuzes in het ontwerp van dit onderzoek is het echter niet mogelijk om conclusies te trekken die representatief zijn voor het gehele veld van erfgoedonderwijs in Engeland en Nederland of voor erfgoed-educatieve materialen over de drie historische casestudies in het algemeen. De kwalitatieve analyse biedt wel voor het eerst inzicht in de verschillende manieren waarop erfgoedinstellingen historische afstand construeren, de effecten voor de toepassing van multiperspectiviteit en de interactie hierbij tussen erfgoedobjecten, erfgoedpresentaties en educatieve materialen. Met inachtneming van de institutionele achtergrond waarin de erfgoed-educatieve materialen zijn ontworpen, kunnen enkele patronen worden waargenomen wanneer materialen over de drie casestudies en de twee landen worden vergeleken. Daarbij spelen twee, meer algemene ontwikkelingen in de historische cultuur een rol: de tendens om het verleden te visualiseren en tot leven te brengen met ervaringsgerichte vormen van presentatie enerzijds, en de aanname, vooral in politieke context, dat erfgoed sociale cohesie kan bevorderen anderzijds. Beide tendensen waren tot op zekere hoogte waarneembaar in de geanalyseerde erfgoed-educatieve materialen. Zo werd er veelvuldig gebruikgemaakt van moderne presentatievormen en was er in sommige materialen aandacht voor gedeelde ervaringen in het verleden, met soms als doel om een nationaal gevoel van ideologische betrokkenheid op te roepen.

Bij de configuratie van temporaliteit en betrokkenheid bleken twee strategieën belangrijk in de constructie van historische afstand: narratieve plots ('narrative emplotment')

en technieken van overbrugging ('mnemonic bridging') (zie bijlage III met alle specificaties en de theoretische literatuur waarop dit schema mede is gebaseerd). De toepassing van deze strategieën is van grote invloed op de mogelijkheden om verschillende perspectieven te laten zien. In het hiernavolgende worden de strategieën en de effecten daarvan op multiperspectiviteit besproken. Steeds wordt hierbij verwezen naar voorbeelden uit de drie historische casestudies en worden deze vergeleken aan de hand van hun specifieke context.

Narratieve plots

De strategie 'narrative emplotment' bestaat uit vier elementen: (1) synchronie en diachronie; (2) ideaaltypische plotlijnen; (3) perspectieven binnen plots; (4) significantie voor het heden.

Narratieve plots worden gekenmerkt door een synchronische of een diachronische benadering van het verleden. De meeste erfgoed-educatieve materialen gebruiken een combinatie van deze benaderingen, maar die over de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel benadrukten vooral een diachronisch narratief, terwijl de tentoonstellingen van Newhaven Fort over de Tweede Wereldoorlog en van Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork over de Holocaust een duidelijk synchronische benadering lieten zien. Deze synchronische narratieven creëren meer temporale afstand dan de diachronische, omdat zij het verleden als een separate, afgesloten periode in de tijd presenteren, los van enige verbinding met het heden.

Daarnaast heb ik vier ideaaltypische plotlijnen geïdentificeerd in erfgoed-educatieve materialen die historische afstand mede construeren. *Vooruitgangsnarratieven* bieden een scenario waarin het heden in een positiever licht wordt afgeschilderd dan het verleden: een techniek die temporele nabijheid genereert doordat de relatie tussen heden en verleden wordt benadrukt. *Dalende narratieven* benadrukken op dezelfde wijze deze verbinding, maar presenteren het verleden als beter dan het heden. Waarschijnlijk door het sensitieve, vaak gruwelijke, karakter van de geschiedenissen die fungeerden als context voor de analyse, kwam deze plotlijn op zichzelf niet voor in de bestudeerde erfgoed-educatieve materialen. Het *zigzag narratief* combineert vooruitgang- en daling-plots. Daarmee wordt het veelzijdige karakter van het verleden onderstreept en temporele afstand benadrukt. Erfgoed-educatieve materialen van alle drie de cases gebruikten dit type plotlijn. Het NiNsee in Amsterdam was het enige instituut dat een *rijmende plotlijn* presenteerde met de tentoonstelling *Kind aan de Ketting*, waarin de ervaringen van kindslaven in het heden als fundamenteel gelijk werden afgeschilderd als die van kinderen in de tijd van trans-Atlantische slavernij: een techniek die

temporele nabijheid genereert. Het hangt af van de educatieve activiteiten hoe leerlingen deze plotlijnen percipiëren.

De perspectieven binnen deze narratieve plots vormen een volgende belangrijke factor in de constructie van historische afstand. Hiermee laat deze strategie ook zijn nauwe relatie zien met het concept multiperspectiviteit: erfgoed-educatieve materialen die het verleden presenteren vanuit het perspectief van een bepaalde groep historische actors kunnen namelijk ook meer temporele nabijheid en betrokkenheid stimuleren. Sommige materialen versterkten deze techniek door te focussen op specifieke individuen, iets dat vooral voorkwam in materialen over de Holocaust. Dit heeft waarschijnlijk te maken met het feit dat er over de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel nog te weinig toegankelijke bronnen zijn om het slachtofferperspectief te personaliseren. De potentiële emotionele betrokkenheid die wordt gegenereerd door een exclusieve focus op het perspectief van de slachtoffers, gepersonaliseerd of niet, kan echter wel het verkennen van andere perspectieven, zoals dat van de omstanders en daders, beperken.

Perspectieven kunnen op verschillende manieren worden opgenomen in educatieve materialen. Meestal kiezen instellingen voor externe focalisatie, waarbij het perspectief ligt bij een anonieme verteller die buiten het verhaal staat: een techniek die een objectieve waarde geeft aan het narratief en temporele afstand en afstandelijkheid stimuleert. Soms hanteren de samenstellers ook karakterfocalisatie, waarbij het perspectief wordt gehanteerd van historische actors die deelnamen aan de gebeurtenissen waarover wordt verhaald, vaak in de vorm van citaten. Temporele nabijheid en betrokkenheid kan ook worden gegenereerd via de geografische weg, bijvoorbeeld door te focussen op lokale historische ervaringen.

Historische afstand kan tenslotte ook worden geconstrueerd door de narratieve toekenning van significantie aan het verleden voor het heden, bijvoorbeeld door het integreren van recentere of hedendaagse gebeurtenissen en processen in tentoonstellingen of educatieve materialen. Soms wordt de significantie van geschiedenis voor het heden ook benadrukt door fysieke gedenktekens of monumenten. Deze techniek kwam vooral voor in erfgoed-educatieve materialen over de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel en de Holocaust. Met betrekking tot het slavernijverleden hebben erfgoedinstellingen in toenemende mate aandacht gevraagd in hun tentoonstellingen voor de (positieve en negatieve) nalatenschap van deze geschiedenis, in de vorm van, bijvoorbeeld, muziek, religie, racisme en discriminatie, en hedendaagse vormen slavernij, zoals vrouwenhandel en dwangarbeid. Het is opvallend dat de Nederlandse instellingen hierin meer aandacht besteden aan de persoonlijke banden die mensen tegenwoordig nog steeds voelen met het slavernijverleden, terwijl de Engelse materialen zich meer richtten op sociale en culturele veranderingen in het algemeen. Mogelijk is dit een resultaat van de consultatie die sommige Engelse musea hebben gevoerd met diverse gemeenschappen in de ontwikkeling van tentoonstellingen

over slavernij, waarin conservators vaak onzekerheid uitspraken over een te 'mens-' in plaats van 'object-georiënteerde' focus. In het geval van de Holocaust heeft de internationalisering van de herinnering ervoor gezorgd dat deze geschiedenis vaak verpakt wordt in een morele boodschap over democratie en discriminatie waarin wordt benadrukt dat het belangrijk is om de Holocaust te herdenken voor het heden en de toekomst.

Ook in dit geval hangt het af van de educatieve activiteiten hoe deze techniek wordt overgebracht aan leerlingen. De analyse laat zien dat erfgoedinstellingen de boodschap kunnen benadrukken of versterken, maar haar juist ook kunnen openen voor dialoog en debat. Dit biedt ruimte voor het creëren van multiperspectiviteit en kan inzicht geven in het feit dat erfgoed in het heden wordt gemaakt met bepaalde waarden en intenties. De erfgoed-educatieve materialen over de Holocaust lieten verschillende vormen zien waarop de morele boodschap kan worden geïntegreerd: waar één instituut het presenteerde als overkoepelend doel van het educatief programma, stipten anderen het slechts aan in een activiteit of koppelden het los van het meer historische verhaal. Een sterke morele betrokkenheid kan het reconstrueren van meerdere perspectieven bemoeilijken.

De vier kenmerken van 'narrative emplotment' kunnen in verschillende combinaties voorkomen en overlappen vaak met elkaar. Erfgoed-educatieve materialen bestaan geregeld uit meerdere narratieve plots - zoals die van een tentoonstelling en het educatief materiaal - die op elkaar inwerken en soms elkaar zelfs tegenwerken.

Overbruggingstechnieken

De tweede strategie om historische afstand te construeren, 'mnemonic bridging' bestaat uit zes technieken die continuïteit creëren tussen heden en verleden: (1) gelijkheid van plaats; (2) materiële objecten; (3) imitatie en replicatie; (4) historische analogie; (5) gelijktijdigheid; (6) discursief teken van gelijkheid.

De eerste techniek van 'mnemonic bridging' is *gelijkheid van plaats* en kan op verschillende manieren worden toegepast. Zo bewerkstelligde een Engelse slavernijroute continuïteit door te benadrukken dat bepaalde sporen van het verleden nog steeds zichtbaar zijn in het landschap, terwijl een Nederlandse route juist accentueerde wat er veranderd is door de jaren heen. De makers van het Engelse materiaal bleken verder meer geïnteresseerd in historische figuren die verbonden zijn met bepaalde plaatsen, terwijl de Nederlandse slavernijroute meer aandacht besteedde aan de voormalige functie van locaties. Hoewel een focus op mensen een extra gevoel van nabijheid kan stimuleren, kan het ook een emotionele of morele betrokkenheid aanmoedigen die afstandelijke reflectie en de verkenning van meerdere perspectieven bemoeilijkt. De verschillen tussen het Engelse

en Nederlandse materiaal hangen wellicht samen met het verschil in context hoe de geschiedenis van slavernij in beide landen is herdacht en herinnerd. In Engeland was er al langere tijd aandacht voor dit verleden, doordat in dit land het accent kon worden gelegd op de rol die Britse abolitionisten hebben gespeeld in de afschaffing van de slavenhandel. Hierdoor zijn er ook meer fysieke sporen van deze geschiedenis in het landschap bewaard gebleven, bijvoorbeeld in de vorm van monumenten en gedenktekens, die in recente jaren vaak ook een bron van frictie vormen.

De Nederlandse materialen over de Holocaust lieten ook een duidelijke nadruk op personen gerelateerd aan bepaalde plekken zien. Erfgoedinstellingen in Engeland, daarentegen, hadden geen mogelijkheid om deze overbruggingsstrategie te gebruiken voor dit onderwerp, aangezien er daar weinig plaatsen zijn die sporen bevatten van de Holocaust of een historische connectie hebben met dit verleden: Engeland was immers enkel indirect betrokken in deze geschiedenis. Engelse erfgoedinstellingen zijn daarom vaak genoodzaakt om op andere overbruggingstechnieken terug te vallen om het leren over de Holocaust relevant te maken voor leerlingen. Desondanks zijn er ook veel overeenkomsten in hoe Nederlandse en Engelse erfgoed-educatieve materialen omgaan met dit verleden. Zo benadrukken instellingen in beide landen vaak het persoonlijke perspectief van slachtoffers van de Holocaust en wordt de significantie van deze geschiedenis voor het heden duidelijk gemaakt in de vorm van gedenktekens en monumenten. De specifieke achtergrond van een instelling is echter vaak bepalend in de manier waarop het educatief materiaal wordt vormgegeven. Voor de geanalyseerde Nederlandse materialen hangt dit samen met de erfgoedsites waarop ze zijn gebaseerd. Het Engelse deel van de casus laat een verschil zien tussen een meer nationale inkadering van dit verleden en een focus op herdenking, herinnering en de lessen die uit deze geschiedenis kunnen worden getrokken.

Omdat deze overbruggingstechniek vaak draait om fysieke representaties van bepaalde perspectieven, is er een risico dat één perspectief te dominant wordt. Daarnaast is het moeilijker om plaatsen en sporen in het landschap te herinterpreteren vanuit een ander perspectief, omdat ze gebonden zijn aan hun locatie. Tot slot zijn erfgoed-educatieve materialen die deze techniek gebruiken vaak beperkt tot het lokale perspectief.

Een tweede belangrijke overbruggingstechniek in erfgoed-educatieve materialen is het gebruik van *materiële objecten*. De meeste instituten gebruiken authentieke artefacten om een gevoel van de nabijheid van het verleden te stimuleren. Omdat veel van deze objecten echter worden gepresenteerd in vitrines, met een glazen paneel dat hen scheidt van de bezoeker, kan deze overbruggingstechniek ook een gevoel van afstand tot het verleden communiceren: het onderstreept het feit dat de objecten uit hun oorspronkelijke context zijn gehaald. Veel Engelse musea gebruiken replica's in hun educatieve programma's om leerlingen toch een tastbare ervaring van het verleden te geven.

Temporele nabijheid of afstand kan ook worden gegenereerd door de specifieke interpretatie van objecten op tekstpanelen, door rondleiders of in educatieve materialen en activiteiten. Vaak fungeren de objecten als illustraties bij de geschiedenis die wordt verteld, waarbij de educatieve opdrachten de aandacht van leerlingen meer vestigen op de interpretatieve teksten dan op de objecten zelf. Dit soort opdrachten stimuleren weinig de ervaring van temporele nabijheid die de overbruggingsstrategie van het materiële object kan bieden en kan zelfs meer temporele afstand generen, omdat ze benadrukken dat de objecten zijn ingekapseld in interpretaties en blijkbaar op zichzelf niets over het verleden kunnen onthullen. Specifieke opdrachten kunnen echter ook de potentiële nabijheid en betrokkenheid van deze overbruggingstechniek versterken. Verschillende instituten vragen leerlingen met de objecten aan de slag te gaan, door bijvoorbeeld patronen over te nemen of goed te kijken voor specifieke details. Andere vragen wijzen op de oorsprong van objecten en de oorspronkelijke eigenaar, en daarmee op de relaties met het verleden die het object belichaamt, wat belangrijk kan zijn in de ervaring van hun authenticiteit.

Erfgoed-educatieve materialen over de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel gebruiken vaak materiële objecten, maar relateren deze zelden aan individuen of de culturele biografie. Dit heeft waarschijnlijk te maken met het feit dat er weinig bekend is over de specifieke oorsprong van deze, relatief oude, artefacten. Het kan echter ook samenhangen met de manier waarop de geschiedenis van de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel zich door de jaren heen heeft ontwikkeld in Engeland en Nederland. Tot voor kort was deze geschiedenis namelijk vrijwel niet vertegenwoordigd of werd het uitsluitend benaderd vanuit een Europees perspectief. Dit heeft de manier waarop dit verleden in musea werd gepresenteerd en hoe objecten werden geïnterpreteerd, sterk beïnvloed. In beide landen is er echter sprake geweest van een sterke groei van migrantengemeenschappen uit de voormalige kolonies die erkenning zochten voor 'hun' geschiedenis en ageerden tegen al te Eurocentrische narratieven. In Engeland heeft dit geleid tot de ontwikkeling van veel nieuwe tentoonstellingen, waarbij verschillende musea opteerden voor consultatie met diverse gemeenschappen. Dit heeft gezorgd voor de implementatie van nieuwe perspectieven, zoals Afrika voor de trans-Atlantische handel, het verzet van slaven en de nalatenschap van slavernij, zonder dat daarbij bestaande thema's, zoals de oorspronkelijke focus op abolitionisme, uit het oog werden verloren. In Nederland werd het NiNsee opgericht om het gebrek aan bewustzijn over het slavernijverleden te herstellen, waarbij ze in hun tentoonstellingen en educatieve activiteiten een sterkere focus op het perspectief van de slaven hanteerden.

Omdat de specifieke inkadering van het slavernijverleden ook samenhangt met de institutionele achtergrond van de instellingen die het erfgoed-educatief materiaal aanbieden, kon er in zowel de Engelse als Nederlandse bronnen ook een onderscheid worden

aangebracht tussen een meer traditionele aanpak en een benadering met meer aandacht voor het perspectief van de slaaf. Sommige van deze tentoonstellingen laten dan ook opvallende parallellen zien met representaties over de Holocaust. In beide gevallen werden mensen getransporteerd tegen hun wil naar een 'slechte plek'. Doordat dit transport vaak een centrale plaats heeft in het narratief, wordt het idee van transformatie en het perspectief van de slachtoffers, in het bijzonder de gruwelen die zij ondergingen, benadrukt. Deze narratieve parallellen weerspiegelen de hedendaagse context van herinnering, waarin de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel vaak met de Holocaust wordt vergeleken ter ondersteuning van verzoeken om meer erkenning voor dit verleden.

Het gebruik van materiële objecten als overbrugginsstrategie beïnvloedt sterk de mogelijkheid voor het verkennen van meerdere perspectieven, aangezien het aantal perspectieven dat kan worden gebruikt voor een groot deel afhangt van de objecten die deel uitmaken van de collectie. Replica's of leningen kunnen een oplossing zijn voor dit probleem. Deze studie biedt ook diverse voorbeelden van hoe meerdere perspectieven kunnen worden geïntroduceerd door een enkel object, bijvoorbeeld door het op een andere manier te interpreteren of door het perspectief van het artefact zelf ter discussie te stellen. Zo benadrukte het Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam dat een diorama van een suikerplantage in Suriname sterk gekleurd was door de achtergrond van de maker en vestigde de aandacht van de bezoeker op de slavenhutten die nauwelijks zichtbaar waren in de verder idyllische voorstelling.

Veel instituten combineren materiële objecten met de derde overbruggingstechniek, *imitatie en replicatie*, door middel van 'in situ' vormen van presentatie die een extra laag van temporele nabijheid en mogelijke betrokkenheid toevoegen. Deze presentatievorm kan voorkomen als reconstructie, waarin authentieke artefacten worden gebruikt, en als simulacrum, waarin uitsluitend gebruik wordt gemaakt van simulatie en imitatie. Sommige instituten kiezen ervoor om deze tentoonstellingsstukken niet te gebruiken in hun educatieve materialen. Anderen benadrukken niet alleen de ervaringsgerichtheid van deze presentatievorm, maar versterken ze ook, bijvoorbeeld door het te koppelen aan een persoonlijk verhaal. Weer andere instituten benaderen deze tentoonstellingsobjecten alleen voor feitelijke informatie of gebruiken ze als bronnen voor een klein historisch onderzoek: activiteiten die niet echt de ervaring van nabijheid stimuleren die deze presentatievorm zou kunnen bieden. Het lijkt erop dat dit soort activiteiten die relateren aan concepten van historisch denken uit geschieddidactische theorieën, meer aanwezig zijn in de geanalyseerde Engelse materialen.

De populariteit van 'in situ' vormen van museumpresentatie relateert aan een sterke drang om het verleden te visualiseren door middel van nieuwe media en een groeiend verlangen naar de mogelijkheid om het verleden te ervaren, als kenmerkend aspect van

westerse historische culturen. Met betrekking tot deze vorm van museumpresentatie is grofweg een verandering waar te nemen van tentoonstellingsobjecten die bezoekers uitsluitend toelieten om van een afstand naar gerecreëerde scenes te kijken, gebaseerd op negentiende-eeuwse presentatietechnieken, naar meer moderne reconstructies en simulacra die als doel hebben om bezoekers volledig onder te dompelen in een gereconstrueerde versie van het verleden. Hoewel deze vorm van presentatie in alle drie de cases voorkomt, wordt hij het meest uitgebreid toegepast in erfgoed-educatieve materialen over de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Het feit dat deze vorm van presentatie minder vaak voorkomt in tentoonstellingen en educatieve activiteiten over de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel en de Holocaust kan hebben te maken met de sensitieve aard van deze onderwerpen. Met name in Engeland zijn de zogenoemde 'Blitz experiences' populair geworden om een directe ervaring te geven van de bombardementen die tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog werden uitgevoerd. De temporele nabijheid en het nationale gevoel van ideologische betrokkenheid die dergelijke tentoonstellingsobjecten genereren, komen voort uit een collectieve herinnering waarin de heroïsche acties en het lijden van Engeland worden benadrukt. Hoewel de Nederlandse herinnering aan de Tweede Wereldoorlog ook een dergelijke nationale inkleuring heeft, zijn dit soort aansporingen tot ideologische betrokkenheid niet op dezelfde manier aanwezig in de erfgoed-educatieve materialen. Daarnaast bieden zij over het algemeen ook meerdere perspectieven in de omgang met dit verleden.

De overbruggingstechniek 'imitatie en replicatie' komt ook voor in de vorm van tentoonstellingsobjecten en educatieve activiteiten die leerlingen aanmoedigen om een eerste-persoonsperspectief in te nemen en in te beelden hoe het in het verleden geweest moet zijn. Of dit bijdraagt aan geschiedenisleren in plaats van een anachronistische benadering van geschiedenis, hangt af van de specifieke kenmerken van een opdracht. Deze studie laat bijvoorbeeld zien dat in sommige opdrachten de activiteit van verbeelding en inleving is losgekoppeld van de geschiedenis die eigenlijk wordt bestudeerd, wat meer ruimte biedt voor reflectie. In termen van multiperspectiviteit laat de analyse zien dat deze overbruggingstechniek het nemen van meerdere perspectieven beperkt. De geanalyseerde tentoonstellingsobjecten die gebruikmaakten van 'in situ' presentaties betrokken zelden meerdere perspectieven en de educatieve inlevingsactiviteiten waren specifiek gericht op de ervaring van een enkel perspectief: hoewel meerdere perspectieven gehanteerd hadden kunnen worden, kwamen ze niet voor in de geanalyseerde materialen. De temporele nabijheid en betrokkenheid die deze technieken uitlokken, kunnen de verkenning van andere perspectieven ook bemoeilijken, aangezien het juist hun doel is om identificatie te stimuleren met een specifieke historische actor of groep van actors.

Het is interessant dat educatieve activiteiten gericht op het verbeelden en inleven in een bepaalde historische actor niet voorkomen in de geanalyseerde erfgoed-educatieve

materialen over de Holocaust. Hoewel dit waarschijnlijk verklaard kan worden door de gevoeligheid van dit verleden, is het opvallend dat dit blijkbaar niet als een probleem wordt gezien bij de geschiedenis van de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel, aangezien zowel Engelse als Nederlandse instellingen activiteiten aanbieden die leerlingen vragen zich in te leven in het perspectief van een tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikaan.

De vierde overbruggingstechniek is die van de *historische analogie* en, aangezien het gaat om een narratief kenmerk van historische representaties, is deze nauw verbonden aan de strategie van 'narrative emplotment', en meer specifiek de plotlijn van 'rijmen', om historische afstand te construeren. Bij deze techniek gaat het om het verbinden van historische en hedendaagse gebeurtenissen die als gelijk aan elkaar worden gezien. In de geanalyseerde materialen worden deze historische analogieën vaak gebruikt om significantie aan het leren over een bepaalde geschiedenis toe te kennen. Dit kan een morele betrokkenheid genereren die het verkennen van meerdere perspectieven bemoeilijkt. Deze overbruggingstechniek kwam alleen voor in de geanalyseerde erfgoed-educatieve materialen over de Trans-Atlantische Slavenhandel en de Holocaust.

Twee andere overbruggingstechnieken, 'gelijktijdigheid' (same time) en 'discursief teken van gelijkheid', kwamen niet voor in het empirisch onderzoek.

Uit deze studie blijkt dat erfgoed-educatieve materialen niet noodzakelijkerwijs het verleden op een eenzijdige manier nabij brengen. In plaats daarvan tonen zij in de drie historische cases die ik heb onderzocht een breed scala aan strategieën en technieken die zijn geïdentificeerd met behulp van de concepten historische afstand en multiperspectiviteit. Sommige materialen combineren de motiverende kracht van erfgoed met een meer afstandelijke, reflectieve benadering, bijvoorbeeld door onderzoeksactiviteiten. De geanalyseerde materialen laten ook verschillende manieren zien waarop educatieve activiteiten de overbruggingsstrategieën gebruikt in erfgoedpresentaties ter discussie kunnen stellen of herconfigureren. Tevens laat het onderzoek verschillende manieren zien waarop het ervaringsgerichte karakter van erfgoedonderwijs kan worden gecombineerd met multiperspectiviteit als een onderdeel van geschiedenisleren.

Wanneer er al meerdere perspectieven aanwezig zijn in een erfgoedpresentatie, kan er voor worden gekozen om hieraan te refereren. Specifieke activiteiten kunnen echter ook meerdere perspectieven introduceren, bijvoorbeeld door de interpretatie van een bepaald object ter discussie te stellen. Aangezien de overbruggingstechniek van 'imitatie en replicatie' vaak wordt gecombineerd met een eerste-persoonsperspectief waarbij een sterke emotionele betrokkenheid wordt opgeroepen, is de mogelijkheid tot het reflecteren op meerdere perspectieven hier beperkt. In dit geval is het dan misschien ook beter om deze techniek volledig te benutten in educatieve materialen als uniek karakteristiek van

museumpresentaties en erfgoedonderwijs, en later andere perspectieven te introduceren. Wanneer strategieën voor het stimuleren van temporele nabijheid en betrokkenheid worden gecombineerd en in evenwicht worden gebracht met afstandelijke, reflectieve benaderingen, kunnen erfgoed-educatieve materialen niet alleen een ervaring van het verleden stimuleren, maar ook multiperspectiviteit tastbaarder maken. Dan biedt het gebruik van erfgoed een unieke kans om historisch denken te bevorderen en vormt het een verrijking van het geschiedenisonderwijs.

About the Author

Pieter de Bruijn (1986) studied History at Erasmus University Rotterdam from 2004 to 2009. He obtained his Master's degree with honours, graduating on a thesis dealing with museums of national history in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, ca. 1800-2008. During his master's he specialised in the field of historical culture and cultural heritage theory. While doing his Bachelor's degree, he also successfully completed the extracurricular, interdisciplinary Erasmus Honours Programme. In 2008-2009 he was research assistant and webmaster at the Centre for Historical Culture.

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