

COMMUNITY USES OF MARITIME HERITAGE IN BERMUDA:
A HERITAGE ETHNOGRAPHY WITH MUSEUM IMPLICATIONS



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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

This dissertation was written for the sole purpose of fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is based on original and independent research undertaken while a doctoral candidate in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge. This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

Statement of Length

This dissertation does not exceed the limit of 80,000 words (or 350 pages) plus a 20,000 word extension, stipulated and approved by the Archaeology and Anthropology Degree Committee and the Board of Graduate Studies at the University of Cambridge.

Acknowledgments

Although positioned in this preface, it is preferable for the acknowledgments that follow to be read after the dissertation. I say this as a spoiler warning for forthcoming discussions of my positioning and because it is the research itself that, I hope, reflects all that has been so generously given to me by those acknowledged below. These gifts include significant time and effort on the part of many people as well as their trust, flexibility and patience. For me, this project was not simply about ‘getting a PhD’ but about making the most of my graduate and research experiences, optimising the opportunity to listen, think and explore. What I have had the luxury to learn about heritage and museums, Bermuda and ‘her people’, and myself during this long but worthwhile sabbatical goes far beyond the contents of this dissertation. It is an understanding I will carry for the remainder of my life and career that I hope will positively impact others, including those to whom I extend my sincere thanks here.

This sort of research is dependent on plural perspectives and thus only possible thanks to the willingness of many people to participate and share their lives with a researcher. Although all mistakes or ‘misinterpretation’ are entirely my own and I am the one who receives a doctorate and other credit for this work, this dissertation certainly reflects a collaborative effort. While each informant and contributor deserves to be named and I have a long exact list of everyone, concerns about revealing identities and omitting anyone preclude me from doing so. I would nonetheless like to extend a most grateful thank you to each and every person who has assisted me in my research design, fieldwork and subsequent writing up. Your support has been tremendous and I will always be indebted. Besides my informants and other supportive members of the Bermuda and Cambridge communities, I could not have completed this journey without the invaluable support of the following select group of people and institutions to whom I owe a very special thanks.

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Cambridge has been an incredible experience, mostly due to the people I have met there. I will treasure the friendships I have made in Archaeology and other departments, Hughes Hall and other colleges, ‘the Rutherford’ and other homes away from home, and my lovely office in the Mond building. I would also like to thank the unsung administrators who have made my Cambridge life easier, especially Sarah Pickard at BoGS, Mark Rogers in the Mond, and staff in Archaeology and at Hughes.

Shifting back to Bermuda, I would like staff, trustees, volunteers, and other supporters of Bermuda Maritime Museum (now the National Museum of Bermuda) to know that their spoken and silent support of my academic endeavours has not gone unnoticed. I have deeply appreciated this support, and in particular that of Jane Downing, Rosemary Jones, Dr. Clarence Maxwell, Paul Shapiro and Elena Strong. I am also grateful for the assistance and guidance of many other local heritage practitioners and advocates in addition to various Bermuda scholars, activists and artists, all of whom I was so pleased to connect with either again or for the first time through this project. Above all at BMM and in the local heritage sector, I owe the most ardent of thanks to my mentor Dr. Edward Harris. Without the amazing opportunities and steadfast support he has given me, I surely would not have found such a fulfilling new passion in museums and heritage and pursued my graduate degrees, let alone stayed their course. If only all young Bermudians could have such an inspirational figure and trusted friend to guide them.

Although it reflects only a tiny portion of Bank of Bermuda Foundation's support of the island's heritage and wider community, I was extremely fortunate and humbled to receive the Sir John W. Cox University Scholarship for Postgraduate Studies. This generous award not only made my graduate work possible, but also reminded me that I had both Bermuda's backing and my responsibilities to the community. My sense of privilege continues and I intend to match the generosity I have been shown in some manner in future, perhaps by supporting or creating similar opportunities for Bermudians. I also appreciate travel grants from Bermuda Maritime Museum and Hughes Hall, which helped me to attend stimulating academic and professional conferences.

To my wonderfully supportive family and friends in Bermuda and elsewhere, words cannot express how much your support and love means to me. In particular, I have been kept afloat by Felicité and Ian's unconditional love. My 'brothers' Tim and Sami have also been great bastions of support. The jewels of my life are my two sisters, one of whom serendipitously attended Cambridge with me. Thank you Laura for lighting up my time at school and my life in general. Meredith was further away but my daily touchstone. Thank you Mere for always being there for me, listening and encouraging without fail. I could not ask for a better friend. Just as this thesis argues heritage is renewable, my parents have ever renewed their faith in me as I have embarked on new chapters in my life and in writing this dissertation. Those who know Bill and Dawn know they always put us their girls first, making every sacrifice so we may pursue our dreams. I know this and any achievement I've ever made, few as they may yet be, are entirely due to your love and support.

Finally, I turn to the one who has always been by my side despite the many times we were apart, who was my rock to cling to during this sometimes turbulent journey, who married me along the way and has been my very best friend at every turn. To my husband, Andrew, everything is thanks to you and thank you for being my everything. I love you babe and cannot wait to start our next chapter together.

Abstract

This research contributes to the fields of heritage and museum studies with a three-fold objective: conceptualise heritage as a process, using an appropriate research method, with implications for museums. The work correspondingly helps to redress the undertheorisation of heritage, the inadequacy of methods for grasping heritage as an ethnographic object of study, and the disconnection between communities and their museums – and, underlying and linking these issues, the widespread incorrect and damaging presumption that individuals, or the communities they constitute, are heritage deficient. In doing so, the presumption of public heritage deficiency underlying and linking these theoretical, methodological and museological ‘problems’ is challenged and countered.

Drawing on my heritage ethnography of maritime Bermuda, I examine how and why people of this mid-Atlantic island use maritimity to formulate identity and community, and thereby generate maritime heritage. This contextualised case study engages with current thinking and key debates about heritage and museums to conceptualise heritage cross-culturally. Introductory chapters review heritage and museums across the relevant scholarly, maritime, and Bermuda scales and reflect upon my methodological choices during the research design, fieldwork and analysis. Five chapters of ethnographic analysis subsequently interpret community uses of heritage in terms of Bermudian relationships with the sea. Specifically, this analysis identifies and explores maritime heritage as: relationships with past and present maritimes; negotiations of ‘race’ and its legacies; beliefs in authenticity; curatorial practices of community museology; and aspirational remedies to social crisis.

With this rich ethnographic yet analytic account of maritime heritage in Bermuda, I expand the framework for understanding heritage as a phenomena and concept, offer a heritage model to museums – and maritime and Bermuda’s museums specifically – so they may better connect with their communities, and utilise and innovate heritage ethnography as a specialised method for heritage research, museum curation and wider community use.

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Note on Figures

Permissions

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- All persons depicted in images or captions have consented to being identified.

Style

- Images are captioned in the dissertation text only (and not a List of Figures in this Preface) in order to illustrate specific phenomena and points.
- Images with captions are always below their in-text mention, e.g. (Figure 1.1).
- Most collage images are captioned clockwise from the top left.
- Title page design and vector map of Bermuda by Sami Lill (samilill.com).

Abbreviations and Annotations

Abbreviations are explained with initial in-text use, but most are also listed here for quick reference:

ADHT	African Diaspora Heritage Trail
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse (after Smith 2006)
BMM	Bermuda Maritime Museum
BNT	Bermuda National Trust
BRRI	Bermuda Race Relations Initiative
BSF	Bermuda Sloop Foundation
Cultural Affairs	(Bermuda Government) Department of Community and Cultural Affairs
CURE	Commission for Unity and Racial Equality
Tourism	(Bermuda Government) Department of Tourism
ICMM	International Congress of Maritime Museums
NMB	National Museum of Bermuda (formerly/incorporating BMM)
PLP	Progressive Labour Party (Government)
RBYC	Royal Bermuda Yacht Club
<i>Spirit</i>	(Bermuda Sloop Foundation's) <i>Spirit of Bermuda</i>
UCH	Underwater Cultural Heritage
UBP	United Bermuda Party (Opposition)

In-text annotations referencing other chapter sections:

(1.1) See Chapter 1, Section 1 (page number unspecified)

In-text annotations identifying Bermudian informants:

BM / BF	black male / black female
WM / WF	white male / white female
OM/OF	other male / other female (identifies outside the black-white binary)
UI	unidentified informant (did not self-identify or otherwise unidentified)
20s, 30s...	aged 20-29, 30-39 and so on.

- My use of the racialised terms 'black', 'white' and 'other' is further contextualised and justified in the dissertation text.
- Sample key: BBM50s = black Bermudian male aged 50-60; WBF20s = white Bermudian female aged 20-30, UI = unidentified informant.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research aims and significance

Object and context of study

This dissertation is an academic analysis of social meaning, tells one important story belonging to one remarkable community, and reflects my personal journey as its author. The overall aim of these aspects has been to achieve a more complex understanding of heritage as a specific cultural phenomenon that is best introduced as a process. As the qualification of being a process implies, such heritage is lived and intangible; it is ‘something people do’ (Smith 2006b:192), a ‘communicative practice’ (Dicks 2000) or way of ‘being-in-the-world’ (Ingold 2000). Such heritage involves various subprocesses but is primarily about identity and community formation; personal and cultural work that is always temporally and culturally contextualised.

Temporally, this meaning making resides entirely in the present. Heritage is thus ‘omnipresent’ or perpetually happening ‘in the here and now – whenever and wherever that *here* and *now* happens to be’ (Harvey 2001, 2008:19-20). Culturally, heritage refuses a universal or abstract ‘view from nowhere’ (Weiss 2007:415). Being a phenomena only understood through the lens of specific communities this dissertation about heritage is ethnographically derived; it examines the perspectives of individuals constituting a community, for whom heritage may be a deeply defining and transformative process. This research takes place in Bermuda (Figure 1.1) in the early 21st Century present as Bermudians¹ negotiate significant changes and challenges, as one imagines they always have since British settlement of this North Atlantic archipelago 400 years ago.²

¹ I use ‘Bermudian’ (and ‘local’, ‘resident’ etc.) in an inclusive liberal manner, versus restricting the term(s) to those with citizenship or other validated kinds of ‘status’. This use reflects Bermuda’s multicultural, dynamic character and underscores that this sort of study is concerned with the ways people self-identify and connect to this place, its culture and history, and one another, all of which are not necessarily precluded – and indeed may be supported – by a lack of roots, residency, etc.

² At the time of writing, Bermuda was ‘Celebrating 400 Years’ of continuous habitation (1609-2009) with a year-long series of heritage and cultural events and initiatives.

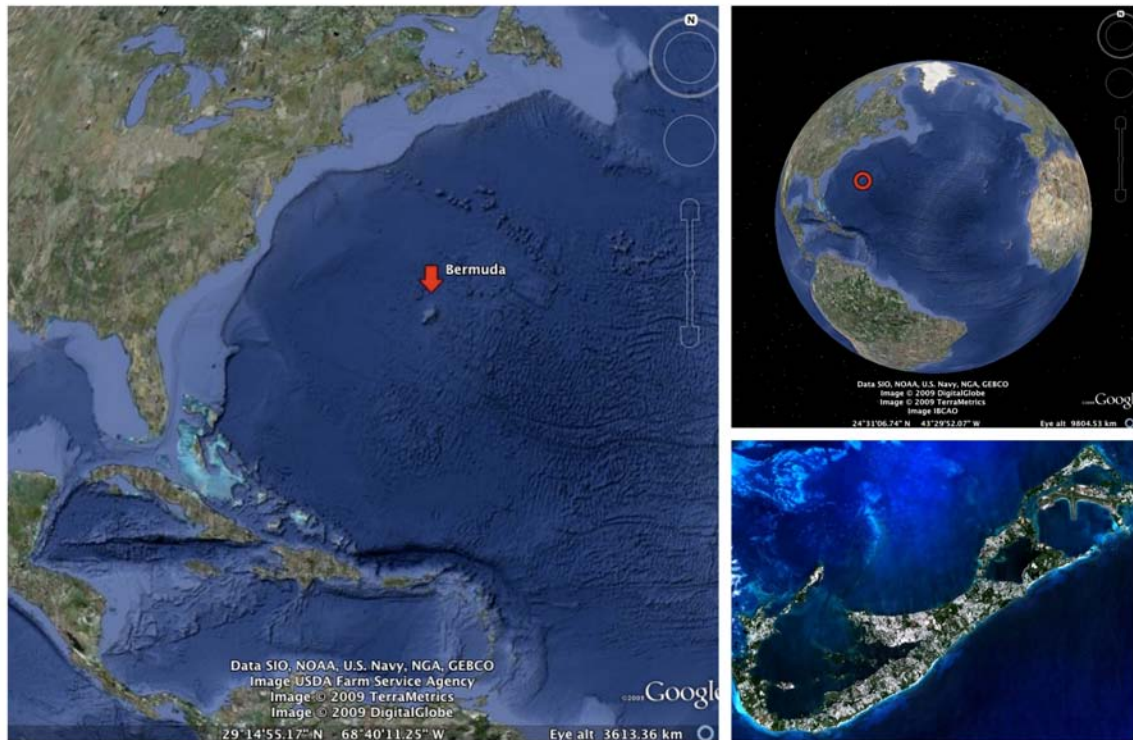


Figure 1.1: Google Earth screenshots highlighting Bermuda off the US east coast; (bottom right) NASA satellite image of Bermuda (all courtesy online open use).

The ‘island’³ is a paradoxical place, as suggested by the oft-heard phrase ‘Bermuda is another world’⁴ used to idealise and separate this ‘unique’ world and to highlight the distinctiveness of local life and the notion of ‘two Bermudas’ that is manifest in several local idiosyncrasies: as a statistically small and remote⁵ yet cosmopolitan, commodified and conservative society that is sophisticated in many ways that debunk the myth of isolated island culture, yet, in other ways, is parochial, unsure of itself or like a developing country; as one of the world’s most affluent places that nonetheless has high levels of deprivation; as polished outward images of a pristine tourist getaway and acclaimed business centre alongside social exclusion, flawed education, environmental degradation and the sobering realities of daily life; as one of the few remaining ‘British Overseas Territories’ having twice refused independence that is autonomous and postcolonial in many respects but not enough for those Bermudians

³ Although consisting of approximately 138 separate islands, the seven largest of which are bridged, Bermuda is referred to in the singular as ‘the island’, a convention I follow.

⁴ The title and chorus to the Calypso classic (Smith 1969) that serves as the island’s unofficial national anthem. One accordingly tends to ‘sing’ the phrase.

⁵ Bermuda is one of the earths smallest (21 square-miles), most densely populated (66,000 residents) and most isolated places (located alone 600 miles east of the US and 1000 miles northeast of the Caribbean) (Bermuda Government 2002, anon. 2009b, Forbes 2009).

seeking sovereignty;⁶ as the racial divide and tensions between the ‘black’ and ‘white’ communities who comprise Bermuda’s statistical majority and minority,⁷ and which are somewhat represented and exacerbated by social and political splits; and finally, reflecting many of the above dualities and most relevant to this study, as the disconnection between the local heritage sector – largely comprised of museums – and the wider local or ‘immediate’ community, despite the significant need and potential for them to better link or sync.

My concentration on maritime heritage further specifies the study and reflects Bermuda’s ‘maritime hard-wiring’ (Jarvis 2009) due to a conducive history, geography and culture. The special relationship between people and the sea – what I call *maritimity* (after Day and Lunn 2003, 2004, Stefanou 2008a) – is transcendent of time and place, however, expanding this study’s relevance. I do not mean maritimity is a universally-applicable monolithic concept; relationships with the sea are always context-specific and plural, encompassing diverse understandings even within single communities like Bermuda. For that reason, and as a cultural construct in its own right that interacts with heritage – as do myriad others – maritimity provides a useful heuristic tool. In my careful language of either ‘maritimity’ or ‘maritime heritage’ throughout this dissertation, I too maintain ‘the identification of both ‘maritime’ and ‘heritage’ in an attempt to open up some of the inherent boundaries between these two words’ (Day and Lunn 2003:290). Such separation enables an understanding of how and why these cultural processes and concepts marry; how the sea and its narratives, representations, materialities and so on exert a pull or ‘affect’ on Bermudians and their heritage uses, and in turn how Bermudians use heritage to build or repair their personal and collective maritime bonds. This interactive permeable view of maritimity allows for mutually-transformative relations between people and the sea while treating heritage as a specific cultural process.

⁶ Among the 14 remaining British Overseas Territories (Baldacchino and Milne 2000), Bermuda is the largest by population and the oldest (settled 1612). It is self-governing in virtually all senses and yet independence was rejected in 1995 and 2000 referendums, despite the independence debate having raged since the 1970s (Bermuda Government 2005, Warren forthcoming).

⁷ Bermuda’s racial composition is approximately 60% ‘black’ and 40% ‘white’ (Bermuda Government 2002). These sweeping statistics and generalised terms conceal and exclude mixed-race and other racial, ethnic, cultural and hybrid identities in this society largely born of ‘African, European and Amerindian ancestry’ (Dismont-Robinson 2006:6) and characterised by immigration and miscegenation. The Portuguese (especially from Madeira and the Azores)(Mudd 1991) and West Indian communities (especially from St. Kitts and Jamaica), each established in the 19th Century, and a growing Asian (especially Filipino) community, are important groups outside the black-white binary (Jones 2004a).

This contextualised study is thus entirely about maritimity and Bermuda, in their discrete and combined states. Contemporary Bermudian perspectives are the source of all the data interpreted in the main analysis, which never strays from the maritime theme (except to contextualise and support it). Ultimately, however, my objective is wider and three-fold: *to expand the conceptualisation of heritage as a cultural process, with implications for museums, using an appropriate research method* (Figure 1.2).

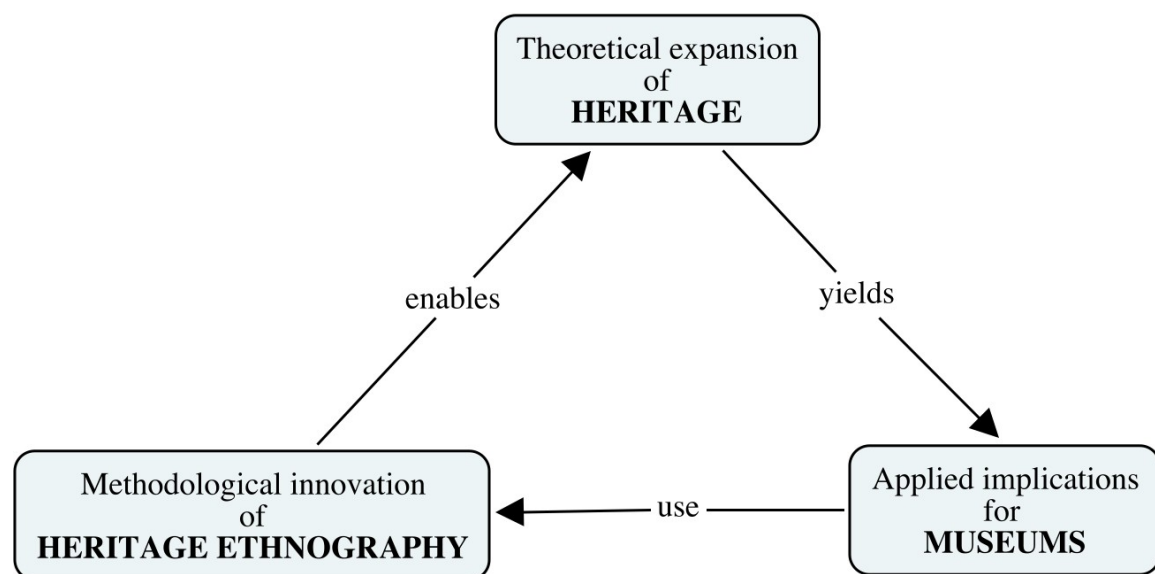


Figure 1.2: Concept map of this study's three-part objective (offering another sort of 'Bermuda Triangle').

My research correspondingly asks:

1. *How does the ethnographic conceptualisation of heritage expand understanding of the phenomena?*
2. *By what ethnographic methods is heritage as a specific cultural process effectively and rigorously explored?*
3. *How does such expanded understanding of heritage enhance museums and their curatorial practices specifically?*

This first chapter sets out to explain why I am asking these questions, how they link together, and why heritage as a process is my object of study in the first place.

Fields and scales traversed

Heritage *as a process* is a relatively specific object of study considering the ‘ubiquitous nature’ of the wider phenomenon and concept (Edson 2004:334). As a term, ‘heritage’ is so readily used, so flexible and ambiguous, it ‘subsume[s] widely divergent phenomena into the same field of discourse’ (Merriman 1996:382) and ‘seem[s] to be virtually limitless, even something of a floating signifier’⁸ (Weiss 2007:414) or a ‘meta-signifier’ (Laurier 1998:25). This encompassing language reflects the ‘heritage age’ (Fowler 1992) and ‘world-wide upsurge in memory’ (Nora 2002) that has occurred from at least the 19th Century (Lowenthal 1996), and certainly since the end of the Second World War. A vast heritage ‘industry’ has developed within this wider history culture and the span of living memory, in close conjunction with tourism and chiefly driven by museums and other professional bodies. Yet, it is arguably beyond ‘the more formal, orthodox sites of heritage’ (Atkinson 2008:382) and commodified marketplace – what I refer to as *official* heritage and museums – and instead among the everyday lives of individuals and communities – or on an *unofficial* level – where heritage has flourished most. Chronocentric as this view from the present may be and omnipresent as heritage may be, heritage has proliferated enormously over the last half century and today has an undeniable unprecedented reach.

Amid this widespread ‘heritagisation’ (Graburn 2007, Bendix 2008) the academic fields of heritage and museum studies have rapidly emerged. Each has carved out a niche as a university subject, with museum studies or museology⁹ having a head start in the 1960s and heritage studies¹⁰ finding its footing in the 1980s. Dedicated departments, conferences, publications are now the norm, not only at the Euro-American forefront,¹¹ but truly internationally. Kindred disciplines such as history and historiography, archaeology, geography and anthropology along with specialised studies of tourism, memory, material and visual culture, and landscapes

⁸ Hall (1997) coined the ‘floating signifier’ to argue that race is a discursive construct, a prominent issue in this and other postcolonial studies.

⁹ Museum studies, as a more theoretical field concerned with museum practice (or praxis), is sometimes distinguished from *museology*, traditionally defined as the quasi-scientific study of museum techniques, although the term museology is now largely reconfigured for the kind of broad use I make.

¹⁰ ‘Heritology’ (Sola 1997) has never caught on.

¹¹ Heritage and museum studies and practice are especially strong in the UK, where the University of Leicester Department of Museum Studies, Museums Association, English Heritage, and the International Journal of Heritage Studies (with many UK-based editors) are especially influential.

have either instigated and incorporated, or resisted and isolated, heritage and museum studies as either separate or conjoined subjects.

As fields firmly focused on the present yet intimately tied to the past and its remains or located at the intersection of history, materiality, identity and community, heritage and museum studies fill important disciplinary gaps. The literature on museums and heritage is vast and wide-ranging, yet reflects a keenly focused area of scholarship inviting significant new energy that swiftly expands the discourse. Moreover, these are critical disciplines, having moved from questions of ‘how?’ to questions of ‘why?’. It is to these burgeoning linked fields that this dissertation aims to contribute: to heritage studies directly and primarily, and to museum studies in a more applied manner, but hopefully, no less valuably.

This contribution naturally extends to the maritime sub-fields of heritage and museums. Related to the treatment of maritimity as peripheral to the mainstream, maritime heritage – including maritime history, archaeology and museums – is often marginalised or overlooked (Butler and Littlewood 1998:xiii, Gould 2000, Day and Lunn 2003:289), especially as ‘other’ to the normative terrestrial (Witcomb 2003, Tuddenham 2008). The irony of this slight is not lost on maritime scholars who defensively emphasise the geographic, historical, and cultural scope of human relationships with the sea.¹² Despite this academic marginalisation, maritime heritage is a world-force on official and unofficial levels.

Without denying the significant work of non-museum groups, maritime museums undoubtedly have the greatest impact on maritime heritage at the official level (Figure 1.3). They number in the thousands worldwide and vary enormously in size, setting, collections, style, form and purpose (Davies 1996, 2006). With ‘an infinite variety for a variety of publics’ (Genin 1997:4), there is no typical maritime museum.¹³ Rather, a diversity of institutions either self-identify or classify as such, whether or not they use the ‘maritime’ moniker. With constituents who may have more in common with non-maritime museums than one another, this typology and its professional associations¹⁴ have a problematic basis of unification and comparison.

¹² Such expressions include ‘70% of the world’s surface is covered by water’ (Ransley 2005:628) or ‘why aren’t most museums maritime museums?’ (Cossons 2007:2).

¹³ Maritime museums proliferate predictably in Europe, North America and Australasia, but also across South America, Africa and Asia. Besides online directories (Smith 2009, W2O 2009), they have extended to online-only maritime museums and/or electronic (e-)collections.

¹⁴ Including the International Congress of Maritime Museums (ICMM 2009), Council of American Maritime Museums (CAMM 2009), Association of European Maritime Museums, and regional groups.

This diversity reflects a healthy individualism but also makes meaningful change across the genre slow and difficult, a problematic lethargy at this time when maritime museums face significant challenges.

Yet, these museums continue to adopt and share a maritime identity. It is notable that maritimity has a museum counterpart at all considering such a dedicated museum ‘type’, though a current trend, is not the case for many other cultural themes. Furthermore, Cossons (1996) and Hicks (2000, 2001) are among those arguing maritime museums have distinctive attributes that make them more definitive in mission and potent for identity and community work.



Figure 1.3: Some of the maritime museums I visited during this project, (left to right) Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney; Malta Maritime Museum, Birgu (historically Vittoriosa); Barcelona Maritime Museum, Spain.

Bermuda is no exception to the maritime trend, with a variety of museums and other heritage groups adequately, if not unmistakably, fitting the category. This speaks to the meaning of the sea in this island community but also the scope and disjuncture of the local heritage sector (Figure 1.4).

Of Bermuda's 400 registered charities, roughly fifty are affiliated with heritage and ten are museums – extraordinary numbers for a place so small (Bermuda Government 2010).¹⁵ These museums and other official heritage groups are found throughout the island spanning the seven parishes,¹⁶ with major players located in the 'three poles' (Tunbridge 2002) of the heritage tourism east and west ends boasting a World Heritage Site and a former Royal Naval Dockyard,¹⁷ and centrally in and around the political-financial-retail capital of Hamilton. This geographic distribution reflects a thriving dynamic sector but also one that is fragmented and collectively weak. Bermuda has no centralised or 'national' heritage authority or network, unlike *larger* or more dispersed islands and archipelagos.¹⁸ Nor is there any overall plan guiding local heritage management and museum practice. Rather, a diversity of museums and other heritage groups follow autonomous mandates and compete over funding, staff, programming, and collections when applicable. This competitive sector reflects the capitalist culture in which it is set and poses challenges and opportunities, particularly in engendering territorialism and innovation.

This dissertation nonetheless envisions Bermuda's heritage sector as a single entity. It can be thought of as a 'sphere of government – that is, the vast array of cultural institutions, public and private, that are involved in the cultural shaping and regulating of the population' (Witcomb 2007:134, citing Bennett 1998:195), though this dissertation asserts the population ought to equally, or even predominantly, 'shape and regulate' the heritage sector. The holistic view taken is supported by the island's small size and high interconnectivity and held by practitioners and others desiring better cohesion in the sector, especially among its museums.

¹⁵ Not counting the significant and increasing heritage work of different parts of the Bermuda Government civil service and many fledgling and unofficial groups, discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁶ St. George's, Hamilton (Parish), Smith's, Devonshire, Pembroke, Paget, Warwick, Southampton, Sandys.

¹⁷ St. George's and its related fortifications gained World Heritage status in 2000 (St. George's Foundation 1999). The Dockyard (in operation 1809-1959 and decommissioned in 1995) has been redeveloped for tourism and other commercial uses, and is, in my view, also worthy of inclusion on UNESCO's list of universal value.

¹⁸ Such as Malta, the Bahamas and the Seychelles.

Figure 1.4: Bermuda ‘handy reference map’ locating the island’s museums, fortifications, parks, shipwrecks and other heritage attractions, with Dockyard shown top left of main map and insets of Hamilton and St. George’s (courtesy Bermuda Department of Tourism)

I make an exception to this holistic treatment of the local heritage sector with my reference throughout this dissertation to Bermuda Maritime Museum (BMM), which, as of December 2009, is the first National Museum of Bermuda (NMB), bringing this British territory in line with various independent Caribbean states (Cummins 2004).¹⁹ My special attention to BMM might appear to contradict calls I later make for more partnership in the sector, but is valid being based in the ways informants used BMM to construct and express heritage meanings related to this maritime study.

Besides this data and the influence of my professional attachments – which I reveal in Chapter 3 – I single out BMM (Figure 1.5) because it is arguably the island's most sizable, mature and ambitious museum and heritage group, besides being the most obvious and developed local maritime museum.²⁰ BMM states that 'by any standard, the Museum has been a major heritage success story and many from all sectors of the community see the institution as a national one in which they take great pride' (2007b). This self-promotion and claim to 'national' status, now realised as NMB, is justified by BMM's remarkable record of growth and accomplishment since its grassroots establishment in 1975 and the scope and diversity of its cultural heritage research, curation, and advocacy – a history and remit made all the more impressive considering the limited resources behind them. The enthusiastic and sustained support of key stakeholders is perhaps the best indicator of BMM's success.

Yet, my interest in BMM and the wider heritage sector is at least as much for the challenges they face, especially regarding those in the community not yet connected with, whose voices are notably absent from the support they receive. It is precisely because BMM and the local sector have achieved so much that I later take a critical stance with respect to them, reflecting not only my views but also those of my informants. By including these perspectives, this dissertation attempts to help realise

¹⁹ Due to this development occurring towards the end of this research project and this study's focus on *maritime* heritage and museums, I refer to BMM (not NMB) throughout most of this dissertation.

²⁰ I base this on the combination of the following approximate factors for BMM: visitors (65,000 paying annually), collections (50,000 catalogued in 10 main categories with 90-95% maritime related), exhibitions (100,000 square feet covering 50 topics), physical site size (the nearly 10-acre historic Keep), publications (20 titles, the annual peer-reviewed Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History since 1989, regular members' magazine *Maritimes* and its predecessors), breadth of research and interests (curatorial and conservation, documentary and oral history, terrain and underwater archaeology), capacity (ten full-time staff supplemented by volunteers), capital (\$25-million invested so far, with a \$2-million endowment and \$1-million operational budget) and immeasurable influence on the heritage sector and wider local heritage (BMM 2007a, 2009, also Maréchal 1998). Bermuda National Trust (BNT), established 1970 (1937 forerunner) is in many respects equally large, multi-faceted and influential (2009). Heritage work spread across different Bermuda Government departments is also significant, as is the work of several other heritage, culture and arts groups.

the significant potential of BMM, and the heritage sector in which it plays a major role, to connect with Bermudians more meaningfully than they do already.



Figure 1.5: BMM occupying the Keep of the Old Royal Naval Dockyard at Bermuda's westernmost tip (courtesy NMB).

Thus, the aims of this heritage research traverse BMM as a local maritime museum, Bermuda as a local heritage sector, maritime heritage and museums as a specialised genre, and heritage and museums as fields of study and practice. These scales are distinctive but also nest within one another being as they all use and generate heritage. Below I selectively draw on these different scales in order to unpack the problems underlying my three-part objective to conceptualise heritage using effective methods and to enhance museums. Because these three strands are linked yet somewhat autonomous, I now take each in turn followed by a proposal of what connects them.

1.2 Problem and rationale

Theoretical cavity

Despite the growth of heritage and museum studies and practice – or indeed because this growth has made the phenomena and concept of heritage infinitely more complex – there is little guiding framework for conceptualising heritage, a well-noted paradox:

Cultural heritage is today a rubric of ever-expanding scope...Yet the concept of cultural heritage remains vastly under-theorized. It has lacked an academic disciplinary base;

has generated only a attenuated theoretical literature; and has generally left the bearers of cultural heritage out of the discussion (Kurin 2004).

The term 'heritage' has, in recent times, taken on a currency in popular policy and academic discourse that verges on the promiscuous. Despite the increasing usage of the term, we do not believe that there is either a clear sense of what the term might mean or anything resembling a solid understanding of the social and cultural work heritage discourses actually do (Waterton et al. 2006:339).

Lacking any standard or predictable theoretical model, there is an excitement and intellectual freedom of working in the 'undiscipline' of heritage studies (Merriman 1996:382). But as the current concerted effort to gain a more precise understanding of heritage indicates, heritage theory as it stands is inadequate for framing this important widespread phenomena. It is not only the concept of heritage that loses out in this conceptual shortcoming, but also an array of cultural contexts and practices that might benefit from its explanatory power. This theoretical cavity provides the overall motive for this heritage research – to gain a 'useful sense of what heritage *is* and *does*' (Smith 2006b:308) – and gives it timely significance.

This under-theorisation relates to the ontological instability of heritage as a complex shifting process that is 'notoriously difficult to define' (Merriman 1996). Heritage is also bound up with other cultural processes that are themselves elusive and from which it is impossible to extricate, either conceptually or culturally. It may be 'common sense now that heritage has everything to do with identity' (Anico and Peralta 2008b:1) but this basic relationship has just started to be unpacked (McLean 2006), as exhibited by recent substantial investigation devoted to the pairing (Graham and Howard 2008b, Anico and Peralta 2008a). Community, belonging and place are other vague yet vital concepts or 'senses' linked with heritage, and habitually referred to in the literature. Memory and history are also significant, yet somewhat prescriptive and problematic, associations with the heritage concept. Other concepts, such as performance and embodiment, are newer to the 'conceptual heritage suitcase' (Smith 2006b:45) but also part of that emerging analytic framework.

Because heritage as a *process* is a rather revolutionary idea and emerging awareness, such heritage is often described in terms of what it is *not*. Such inverse definitions often refer to understandings that have long held sway, especially the past, a thing or other notions of authenticity. Such definitions are crucial to understand, not for 'history's sake', but because they still have so much traction. Yet, such a

discursive focus *enables* researchers – in the negative co-dependent sense – to dodge more pressing and compelling questions. So, although I later devote attention to these dominant discourses and authenticity in particular, such discussion may only serve as introduction to this sort of research that strives to think more precisely and constructively about what heritage *is*. This essentially involves thinking about what heritage *does* or how and why people *use* it, to underscore an important overlap for understanding heritage as a process: that using and generating or ‘making’ heritage are the same activity.

What is required is a working definition of what heritage is/does: one that can shift as needed but yields confidence, one that is not generic but is still open, one that is neither controlled by presumption nor forgetful of the evolution of the concept. Contrary to the way working *definition* sounds, what I have in mind recognises that the aim for a single definitive framework is a flawed endeavor. Wary of such consensus, I advocate a conceptualisation based on *many* models, with this maritime Bermuda study offering one. Though understanding heritage always relies on such contextualised cases, the phenomena can still be discussed abstractly. First and foremost, this work is about conceptualising heritage or gaining a more lucid working definition of the cross-cultural phenomena in qualitative yet definitive terms.

My ‘opening up’ the heritage concept is not for the esoteric sake of expansion itself, but because the current framework does not adequately reflect reality or account for all dimensions of the phenomena, in terms of how and why people actually use it. Thus, my critical stance is not mere provocation, but designed to develop sound heritage theory. I nonetheless try to stay self-critical about the possible intellectual and pragmatic consequences of pushing out the boundaries around heritage and the institutions most concerned with it, museums.

Missing methods

I argue that inadequate methodology contributes to the narrow conceptualisation and curation of heritage. Specialised guidance has only recently become available for understanding heritage as a cultural process (Sørensen and Carman 2009a). Conversely, a narrow conception of heritage as an object of study has hindered the development of appropriate methodologies. The aforementioned irony that museums so regularly engage with heritage, but often fail to appreciate and harness the process is partly because they are ill-equipped to do so.

I believe this methodological inadequacy, as well as the theoretical cavity, are maintained by the kind of research being undertaken in heritage and museum studies. Scholarly work remains largely insular and tethered to sites and initiatives that are relatively straightforward, stable, and safe. A content scan of major heritage research journals²¹ corroborates this propensity and indicates a research culture with an aversion to risk. Heritage researchers gravitate to political, intellectual or custodial concerns, with heritage conveying authenticity, consensus and legitimacy being well represented. Studies centring on particular events, conflicts or crises are touted for the way they bring theoretical and/or social issues into relief, but nonetheless reflect only certain – often highly discursive or historicist – understandings of heritage. Identified or valorised tourism, museum, archaeological and historic sites are standard subjects but such established, cohesive and sometimes clichéd narratives delimit research findings. It is still only a slight overgeneralisation to say that ‘heritage research is biased towards formal settings such as museums and galleries, and largely absent in terms of less or non identified and interpreted sites’ (Davies 2006:33). Moreover, the way heritage professionals overinflate heritage, in the sense of constructing or promoting it in certain ways, overshadows the subtleties of everyday understanding. Heritage in people’s lives is a more accrued minutiae versus the explicit and conscious heritage making of official practice. Thus, while the topics and approaches being gravitated to are valid and valuable research interests, they keep the heritage concept deployed in only narrow and familiar ways. They convey the false impression that current heritage scholarship is indicative of the scope of the phenomena; in fact, it remains extremely partial.

There is especially poor pronunciation of the unique methodological issues faced when pursuing heritage as an ethnographic object of study. Such eclipsing of the ways field-based heritage data and theory are crafted handicaps its specialists and holds back advancement of this rising form of anthropological inquiry that is squarely situated within heritage and museum studies and practice.

The ‘rise in ethnographic approaches that aim to understand the nature of heritage and how the past is constituted and utilised in the present’ (Smith 2006b:5) has occurred over the past decade, and is now manifest in an array of work on

²¹ Including the International Journal of Heritage Studies, Cultural Trends, Journal of Material Culture, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, History and Anthropology, Memory Studies, Heritage Management, Museum Management and Curatorship.

identity, memory, place, communication, performance, historicity, archaeology and material culture. The method is also deep-seated in anthropology, particularly studies concerning tradition, ritual, kinship and memory. Social research methods are implicit to much heritage practice, given the 'insistently public nature of archaeological sites and museums' (Meskell and Pels 2005:23) and that 'heritage professionals use ethnography, interviewing and qualitative research on a daily basis to inform their work' (Kersel 2006:17). Within heritage research and practice, ethnographic methods are becoming increasingly central. While it is difficult to discern if conscious and subconscious investigations of heritage are the same enterprise, such conscious study is certainly a product of today, when the idea of heritage is so explicit and popular.

In spite of these methodological predecessors, the development of a specialised ethnographic approach to heritage remains nascent, having not yet grown from a subconscious or standby method to one that breathes independently and is purposefully chosen. Nor has heritage and museum studies reoriented to duly consider such ethnography as a central philosophy and method. Consequently, there remains a need to pronounce the unique methodological issues of exploring heritage as a process. Rather than just another conceptual vista on the anthropological horizon or a supplement to heritage practice, this is a distinct ethnography that demands particular skills, treatments and cautions. In light of this methodological inadequacy, this research innovates heritage ethnography as a specialised method for recognising, investigating and analysing heritage, through the investigation of community uses of maritime heritage in Bermuda.

Why museums?

Heritage theory and methodology is impeded by two related gulfs: between theory and practice, and heritage and museums. Despite moving closer and spanning scholarly and professional paradigms, museum and heritage studies and practice remain fundamentally different in priority and focus. The conceptualisation of heritage has largely emerged and stayed in academia, with relatively few theoretical advances internalised into museum practice (Elliott 2003:4). Conversely, heritage and museum theory remains somewhat impenetrable to practice-oriented ideas. Beyond the usual difficulties of either implementing or unsteading theory, these gulfs underscore the challenges of achieving theoretical relevance and applied adaptability. Yet, ultimately the relationships between heritage and museum studies and practice

are fluid. So, I take liberties to cross and mix these phenomena and fields, thereby bridging them a little.

Further to the above point, I seek to connect theoretical debates with local concerns by integrating my analysis with heritage practice, and within this practice to museums specifically. Though heritage research generally, and my project specifically, are not instrumentalist *per se*, this work turns on a real-world problem outside academia: *the disconnection of museums from their communities*,²² to stress the acquisitive relationship Watson highlights and critiques (2007c). Museums are acutely aware of this irrelevance or isolation, though sometimes only subconsciously, since it lies at the heart of the identity crisis they are experiencing. That this community-museum disconnection and identity crisis spans the international, maritime and Bermuda scales, suggests a pandemic problem, one rooted at the core of what museums do and the model they currently follow.

Maritime museums have an especially strong sense of obsolescence, accentuated by insider expressions they are ‘dying’.²³ There is a collective desperation among their practitioners to solve the riddle of why museums based on such a compelling cultural theme as the sea are largely irrelevant to society. Bermuda’s museums feel similarly moribund, with negligible local audiences²⁴ and limited apparent means for making a solid and sustainable community connection. BMM’s location in the Dockyard at the edge of the island’s west end, which feels ‘so far away’ in spatially inflated or ‘warped’ islander perception, is symbolic of the institution’s marginality to most Bermudians. BMM and other local heritage groups desperately want to matter more to more Bermudians, for their own self-preservation if not a higher purpose, but they are unsure how to go about achieving this social value. In a particularly worrying sign, the relationship between Bermuda’s and maritime museums and their respective communities – which overlap in BMM’s case – *appear* to be ‘characterised by disinterest and distance rather than contestation’ (Elliott 2003:241), or *alienation* versus more promising *dissonance*.

²² Here I define *communities* as those for whom the museum is – or is potentially – most relevant and meaningful, which may – or may not – be ‘source communities’ from which museum collections originate (Peers and Brown 2003), or geographically or culturally proximate ‘immediate communities’ (Karp et al. 1992, Watson 2007b). My use of ‘local’ encompasses these community possibilities.

²³ As per papers and conversations I experienced at ICMM 2007 in Malta.

²⁴ Though no comprehensive surveys of museum users such as Merriman’s UK study (1991) have been carried out in Bermuda, the limited museum evaluation so far (such as BNT and Lyons 2005) suggests negligible Bermudian attendance, versus tourists as the vast majority, as do local practitioner and public views.

The palpable sense of disconnection amongst Bermuda's museums, particularly more established institutions like BMM, is, oddly, notwithstanding their significant achievements and strong connections with parts of the community, suggesting an only partially realised potential. Moreover, when exploring maritime heritage outside and independent of institutions, I found Bermudians deeply interested and connected to Bermuda's heritage sector in terms of regard and dissonance. BMM proved particularly meaningful to Bermudians given the maritime theme of my heritage study and because of the institution's significance locally. I therefore suggest BMM and Bermuda's other museums, and maritime and other international museums, are not altogether alienated or fundamentally flawed but just misguided and in need of a new guiding model.

Key to this community-museum disconnection, as I see it, is a general failure to recognise, explore and incorporate heritage as a cultural process into museum practice, which is utterly surprising given the centrality of heritage to what these institutions do. This omission is conspicuous regardless of whether the heritage being missed occurs in conjunction with museums or more independently in the wider community. While heritage – including maritime heritage – is abundant in their immediate communities, museums only minimally engage with it and instead prioritise other knowledge that is only considered heritage from a narrow institutional viewpoint. So, although many museums²⁵ are ostensibly about heritage and have a significant impact on its conceptualisation and use, they tend to know very little about the process.

Beyond museums confronting *their* problem or realising *their* potential, it is necessary and ethical to question why one might focus on museums. Today, museums are only one aspect of the wider heritage industry. They are also constrained by their own structures, attitudes and histories. The establishment, maintenance or support of maritime and other museums can no longer be presumed, as Davies contextualises:

Society has tended, at least since the 1950s, to create museums in a response to some perceived threat rather than because of some well considered 'need'. The preservation movement was based on responding to the threat of 'losing our heritage' rather than any perception of why our heritage was worth keeping. The preservation movement, volunteering and personal enthusiasms have all had a greater impact on the

²⁵ When referring to 'museums' throughout this dissertation, I am referring to social-history museums, a category into which most maritime museums fall. Although my interest is in the unique qualities of museums, I also use 'museum' as a catch-all term for various official heritage groups.

development of independent museums, including many small maritime museums, than either central planning, genuine evaluated 'need' or even demand forces. Relatively few people seem to want or need museums: they just happen (1996:19).

Perhaps now more than ever, museums must demonstrate their social value with tenacity and innovation. While museum studies often presumes the social value of museums, using or conceptualising heritage rarely concerns museums. This heritage research need not involve museums because it does not depend on them as a museological study does.

And yet this study seeks to have consequence for museums, with the implications of my findings tuned specifically to maritime and Bermuda's museums, especially BMM. Rather than abandon museums, my approach underscores they are 'unique and valuable social institutions that have no suitable replacement' (Janes 2009:18) with 'unrealized potential' (ibid.:14), particularly in terms of their capacity to use/make heritage. Essentially, museums matter because heritage matters.

So, although my research does not explore practice itself and primarily aims to expand heritage theory, I am keenly interested in how museums might sustain a heritage-oriented way of thinking and working within the curatorial work that is at the heart of what these institutions do everyday. I am nonetheless realistic about the inevitable institutional and practical constraints bearing on such an objective. I have therefore attempted to balance the implications of my findings with a realistic sense of the impact they can have.

If this 'progressive practice and activating theory' (Littler 2005:2) can be achieved, museums might better utilise the heritage within their practices and the communities they serve. The problem of museum-community disconnection is thereby addressed, following McLean's assertion that 'an increased understanding of the processes and outcomes of identity work in heritage can only enhance the relationship between heritage and the public' (2006:6). Consequently, my work is similar to that of Crooke, who 'reveals the museum as a powerful tool to achieve the goals of the community, as defined at the grassroots', but does so by exploring the heritage beyond them, undertaking 'the exploration of community to answer the "why museums" question' (2008b:6).

Underlying deficiency presumption

The above three ‘problems’ underlying this study – the under-theorisation of heritage, museum-community disconnection and inadequate heritage research methods – are conjoined by a widespread incorrect and damaging presumption that communities, or the individuals constituting them, are *heritage deficient*. I contend this failure to recognise heritage as a process is the cornerstone of the theoretical cavity and methodological immaturity of heritage studies and the museum-community disconnection at the heart of the current identity crisis of museums.

This public heritage deficiency presumption also affects people’s everyday uses of heritage (Walsh 1992, Janes 2007). A rich range of local and personalised heritage uses go unrecognised in scholarship and delimited in everyday life. With communities disempowered to their own creative and customised heritage uses, heritage becomes a depersonalised process in which generic or stand-in narratives supplied by official heritage discourse or popular culture are deployed. People adapt and express themselves to and through the only heritage seemingly available, versus heritage being adapted to and constructed through their worldview and priorities. While still valid heritage worthy of study, these replacement heritages may supplant or delimit more meaningful heritage. Central to this dissertation’s argument, heritage is not only delimited on official and theoretical levels, or because of this, but also within community heritage which also bears upon heritage theory and ‘management’.

This dissertation, then, is a call for theory, practice and methods that challenge this heritage deficiency presumption. And, in analysing Bermuda’s maritime heritage, the research itself provides a constructive response. The overall premise of this work is the abundance of heritage in any given community, with Bermuda being unexceptional in this regard. Like renewable energy serves as a premise for progressive environmental proposals, renewable heritage is the foundation for the arguments set forth in this dissertation that stands at the cutting edge of heritage and museum studies and practice. Running counter to seeing heritage as finite or diminished, I try to start from and sustain a presumption that people – in this case Bermudians – are rich in heritage, despite their relatively diminished agency over the process at this time. Doing this sort of research helps to explain why heritage is so challenging to see and understand; one realises that it is precisely because the process is so constant, abundant and meaningful that it is taken for granted.

1.3 Summary of Chapters

Research argument and process

Chapter 1, above and now, introduces this heritage research and argues in broad strokes why it, and more of its ethnographic kind, is necessary and valuable. So far, I have introduced the dissertation's aims and significance in terms of the object, context, fields and scales of study. I argued theoretical, museological, methodological inadequacies, linked by a presumption of public heritage deficiency, warrant this research. I now outline the dissertation structure, its logic and key concepts. Together with the next two chapters, this introduction lays the foundation (Chapter 1-3) for the subsequent five chapters analysing maritime heritage in Bermuda (Chapter 4-8), before those findings and implications are further linked and considered (Chapter 9).

Chapter 2, next, reviews the shifting boundaries of heritage and museums. As its title claims, the chapter is 'critical' in asking provocative questions and 'integrative' in traversing theory and practice across three scales. I begin by examining current analytic and museum models and the influence of authenticity on this research and practice. I then scrutinise maritime heritage and museums, highlighting the genre's special constraints and potential, complicating my critique of authenticity with the paradox of its social meaning. Scaling down further and having argued it can be conceived as one entity, I examine the prevailing discourses, inner-workings, key issues and recent developments in Bermuda's heritage sector and its museums, frequently using BMM as my example. While covering much ground, this chapter is more than an audit of literature and practice; the recurring themes across these scales further rationalise and contextualise this research.

Chapter 3 traces my project as it unfolded in order to make my methodology transparent. Though enmeshed and simultaneous in my research experience, for clarity I divide the chapter among three layers, covering much methodological ground. I reflect on my general approaches and ethical concerns for heritage as a contextualised and uncertain object of study. I then reveal my strategies for determining maritime Bermuda as my case study and navigating this field site, introducing my personal positioning here. I also explain the ways I detected and generated data and abstracted its meaning, highlighting interviews, fieldnotes and writing as key analytic opportunities. I use this research journey to propose and develop heritage ethnography as a specialised research method, helping to redress the

methodological inadequacy of heritage studies. As suits an ethnographic method, the methodological issues and claims put forward are further elaborated and substantiated in the subsequent chapters analysing heritage in the case study of maritime Bermuda.

Case study analysis

Chapters (4-8) are delivered in a linear fashion due to the nature of this dissertation text and hard copy, besides the importance of presenting certain aspects of the case study before others – allowing this heritage ethnography’s ‘plot’ to unfold in a particular way. Yet, reflecting maritime heritage in Bermuda, these five analysis chapters are highly interchangeable and link extensively, as indicated by my cross-reference throughout.²⁶ There was no obvious or entirely satisfactory order for the analysis, supporting all the synergy among chapters and their parts. So, I settled on the structure that made most sense contextually for Bermuda and conceptually for heritage, balancing what was salient for Bermudian uses of maritimity with my working framework for heritage as a multi-faceted process with cross-cultural reach.

My hope is that a more holistic and realistic picture of the heritage process, and maritime heritage in Bermuda, emerges at the various scales of analysis: within the ‘microcosm’ of discrete fieldwork moments presented in paragraphs and even sentences; within the sections comprising each chapter which speak to the way the different subprocesses are themselves comprised of different workings; in the ways these sections interrelate – as complementary or conflicting – and combine into each chapter’s overarching narrative; and across the five analysis chapters as a reasonably comprehensive heritage ethnography. My heavy use of images throughout these and other chapters, often presented in collages, is not just decorative but designed to illustrate specific points and evoke a cultural process, one used by and about people.

Chapter 4 opens the analysis and explores direct and indirect Bermudian relationships with the sea. The chapter is structured along temporal lines, reflecting the community’s seemingly separate but related treatments of past and present maritimes, and the resulting space between them. I explore the ways Bermudians remember and imagine the island’s seafaring past, arguing this maritime memory serves as a precious mechanism for national identity. I then try to make sense of the

²⁶ I cross-reference chapter sections with a consistent annotation style (e.g. 2.1), referring to previous and forthcoming sections. These reminders are in lieu of hyperlinks, such as Holtorf provides in his online PhD (2000-2007).

nostalgia Bermudians feel about maritimity by deconstructing their sense of loss and what they blame for this. This nostalgia contrasts with the subsequent exposition of the island's thriving maritime culture. However, all of these temporalised constructions of identity and community strongly evoke senses of place and belonging, linking or conflating Bermuda as a place and Bermudians as a people.

Chapter 5 focuses on Bermudian uses of maritime heritage with respect to the concept of 'race'. I contextualise race relations in Bermuda today before moving onto the maritime data reflecting and impacting that wider social context. I explore how Bermudians more and less constructively engage with the maritime past in terms of negotiating racialised traumatic pasts and their lasting legacies. I look closely at the maritime narratives used in this negotiation and how they serve the needs of different Bermudians. Just as Bermudians do, this chapter uses maritimity to open up the dialectic of remembering and forgetting.

Chapter 6 sets out to capture ways in which Bermudians use maritimity to formulate certain notions of identity and community. I begin by unpacking the particular contours of this value set, which heavily involves localised, masculine and working class identities. I then present a diverse selection of maritime archetypes to which Bermudians attach these values and identities, exploring affective relationships with these people, places, and things including boats. Since what Bermudians view as running counter to these values and identities is equally significant to their heritage meaning and this dissertation seeks to redress community-museum disconnection, I also explore the dissonance between Bermudians and BMM. Together, I argue these maritime notions of identity and community and core and counter values effectively constitute authenticity.

Chapter 7 examines curatorial practices concerning maritimity outside BMM and Bermuda's other official museums. I explore various ways Bermudians preserve, collect and interpret maritime knowledge and material. I then investigate unofficial maritime museums and displays and the particular museological meaning these sites and modes of representation hold for their curators and audiences. I depart into less conventional curation when exploring the performance and representation of maritimity through live interpretation, with a focus on commemoration and other ritual. This chapter hinges on the notion that curation or museology is a distinctive heritage process, but only one in a wider framework though it is often privileged.

Chapter 8 presents the ways Bermudians are using maritimism to address the island's most pressing social issues. Similar and related to my earlier contextualisation of maritime heritage and race, I begin with the wider social crisis Bermuda is facing before exploring why maritimism matters to identity and community formation in this context and to whom it may matter most. I then explore the different maritime youth development initiatives through which the experiential praxis of seafaring helps young Bermudians to actively cope with life and gain a sense of themselves. I also investigate how these initiatives, as an aspirational deployment of certain expectations and values, construct collective identity and community. This high stakes discussion in which heritage earns the most social value appropriately closes this five chapter ethnographic analysis of maritime Bermuda.

Research summary and significance

Chapter 9 extends the conclusions drawn in previous chapters. This overall conclusion synthesises my ethnographic findings and returns to the broad strokes argument of the study's three-fold contribution. Conceptually, I present ways in which this analysis yields a more complex understanding of heritage. Methodologically, I further propose heritage ethnography as a specialised methodology for conceptualising and curating heritage. Museologically, I speculate about the implications this expanded understanding holds for museums generally, of the maritime variety, and locally in Bermuda and especially BMM. Throughout, I self-critically reflect on the study's limitations and pose challenging questions for heritage and museum studies and practice with the same view to understanding and enhancing them that drives this heritage research.

Chapter 2

INTEGRATIVE CRITICAL REVIEW

2.1 Heritage and museums

Reviewing a two-way shift at three scales

As cultural phenomena and analytic concepts, heritage and museums are continuously redefined. Understanding has changed dramatically over the past twenty years, leading to this sort of research. This ongoing paradigm shift is a two-way transition *towards* new understandings, and *away* from others. Such shifts are necessary and ethical because the ways researchers and curators are accustomed to thinking about heritage and museums shape and delimit theory, practice, and wider community uses (Walsh 1992). Weiss reminds of the consequences of framing heritage in certain ways and researchers' choice in allowing this to govern thinking, when she says

we must take seriously what these modes are and what the implications are of them being bracketed...consider carefully the fundamental political rationalities at the hearts of our central concepts if we are to understand more fully what is at stake in choosing them (2007:413).

Parts of this chapter therefore take up what we are distancing ourselves from because this still significantly determines the boundaries around heritage and museums. Some of what follows may seem outmoded from a theoretical standpoint, but we remain caught between old and new ways of conceptualising and curating heritage, somewhat mid-shift. Detaching heritage from convention feels dangerous at this time; we fear the free fall of the heritage process into wider culture that might steal a sense of the phenomena's distinctiveness and make its conceptualisation even more difficult.

Such traction is marked at the maritime and Bermuda scales, where reluctance to the new and resilience of the old is high, where 'innovation is not present, or is at least less obvious' (Elliott 2003:6). This chapter's later review of maritime heritage and museums and Bermuda's heritage sector and its museums, with BMM crossing over into both discussions, seemingly abrades my call for more risk and autonomy in heritage research (1.2). These contexts appear to not break new ground, merely treading territory more cutting-edge fields and sectors have already.

Being ‘behind the times’ is not always bad, however, particularly given the meteoric rise and saturated nature of heritage and museums in this ‘heritage age’ (1.1). Such retrograde contexts give space to alternative ideas that may paradoxically permit a kind of ‘quantum leap’. And in constituting the vast majority of official heritage and museums worldwide, such sectors provide a more representative barometer of current conditions than the typical large-scale, urban or avant-garde focus. When scaling down to the applied local level as this chapter does, the scholarly discourse of having bypassed or replaced outmoded philosophies and practices, as Davis deploys, becomes misleading:

It should of course now be questioned if new museology or community museology are still novel ideas; many of the demands identified in the early 1970s have been met, traditional barriers have been broken, and new working practices instituted in museums worldwide (2008a:400).

Still, my *towards* and *away* review in each of this chapter’s three sections is not intended to suggest either sharp change or stasis outside it. The shifts discussed are gradual, intermittent and ongoing, unsettling the heritage concept in ways that confound ‘progressive’ notions. Even the more upbeat aspects of this review remain cautionary, suggesting an only partial shift at this ‘remedial stage’ (Smith 2008:162) when resilient frameworks remain intact and are being worked against. So, this chapter reviews the largely unspoken but powerful rules around heritage and museums, the ways these rules are being broken, but also the limits of this change. In doing so, I attempt to locate the current boundaries around heritage and museums, arguing this research is positioned at their edge and helps to push them out.

The sway of authenticity

The ‘authorised heritage discourse’

Postmodern theorists and movements, often fuelled by a sense of social justice or emancipatory ideals, expose and disrupt the ideological nature of heritage and museums, especially as constructed by the modern West. I identify with this criticism,²⁷ but not altogether uncritically. In a widely-cited such development, Smith identifies an ‘authorised heritage discourse’ (AHD) that validates certain heritages while repressing others or ‘works to construct what heritage is – and is not’ (2006b:6). This intervention and the narrow heritage it constructs, Smith argues, is disguised as

²⁷ Most of the scholarship cited in this review reflects these critical progressive perspectives.

inevitable and immutable or beyond reproach. Smith's AHD valuably synthesises various discursive processes and provides a platform for moving beyond them. Her work nonetheless builds on a longer critical tradition in heritage and museum studies identifying heritage as a hegemonic construct. So, while I do not mean to trivialise Smith's contribution, hereafter 'AHD' refers to the object of this broader critical discourse.

The AHD privileges heritage regarded as old, tangible, monumental and aesthetically pleasing. Herein lies the misleading yet compelling concept of authenticity, that heritage has immutable qualities or intrinsic value. Authenticity is heavily predicated on the idea of an actual past, isolated and untouchable from the present, and this being materially evidenced. More than being a defining criteria for heritage, critical scholars argue this past-material bias delimits or conceals other heritage uses. Just as heritage is defined by authenticity, so too is authenticity validated as heritage, as Hall's (2000) identification of 'The Heritage' underscores.

The relationship between history and heritage stands at the centre of authenticity debates. Extremists like Hewison 'who vociferously attacked heritage in the 1980s, and who in the process mistook the AHD for the process itself, defining their target in this narrow sense, and hence tarring all heritage with one brush' (Dicks 2007:58) denigrate heritage. They view history as directly linked to and restrained by the actual past, but heritage as a subjective enterprise that can be 'anything you want' (Hewison 1987:139) is seen as a dangerous threat that debases or distorts history with fabricated alternatives easily tainted by consumerism or popular culture.²⁸ Correspondingly, the field of history is treated as a formal interrogation of the past whereas heritage studies, especially as 'popular history', may not be afforded the same seriousness, precision and social value. With heritage treated as a suspect concept, heritage studies often retreats into a defensive position while museum studies maintains a safe distance from heritage.

The slow uptake of heritage as a *process* since the idea's introduction (Lowenthal 1996, Merriman 1996) and ongoing emphasis on the phenomena's 'present-centredness' (Graham and Howard 2008) paradoxically highlight how much heritage remains conceived as a relationship with the past (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995). This definition is so prevailing and embedded it is rarely questioned and even

²⁸ Refers to Hewison's infamous use of Lord Charteris' quote.

viewed as ‘intrinsically reflective’ (Harvey 2008:20). It is self-fulfilling that heritage is defined as ‘the use of the past in the present’ when this is the dominant way researchers and practitioners construct it. One is hard-pressed to find theorists who do not presuppose heritage as being either primarily or exclusively a relationship with the past, even among those recognising it as a process (Walsh 1992, Merriman 1996, Holtorf 2005, Smith 2006b). Moreover, the use of the past under authenticity is a particular one that obscures or delimits alternative or more nuanced uses of the past.

The material bias in heritage and museums is intimately connected to the past orientation and no less delimiting. The long equation of heritage with a thing has mistaken the *form* of heritage for the process itself. It is predominantly through material culture and visual representation that historical authenticity is believed to be evidenced, embodied, aestheticised. A Eurocentric focus on the ‘historic artefact’ including objects, monuments, sites, and to a lesser degree landscapes, has skewed thinking about what constitutes heritage.

This past-material bias is buttressed by heritage’s Anglophone namesake, inheritance. Fastening heritage to transmission relegates present generations and contexts to mere receivers of past meaning or material. Though heritage is increasingly seen to project backwards and forwards as ‘our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass onto future generations’ (UNESCO 2005) heritage remains overly defined by linear time and passive receipt.

Heritage ‘management’

Smith and others argue that the AHD is not autonomous but the tool of practitioners and institutions who assume the power to define and generate heritage through selection, interpretation and other standardised methods.

Museums are prime sites for the AHD because of their power over identity and community construction and representation, especially through their attention to the past and its remains. Museums often frame their purpose around the ‘real thing’, original or other objects evoking the ‘aura’ of history as per Benjamin’s influential theory on art and collections (1936), yet with limited understanding of the affective nature of material relationships (Van Schepen 2007). Authentic notions of heritage underpin preservation and representation as a museum’s primary roles, with the traditional exhibition maintained as the chief means of communicating with the public and generating heritage.

Best practice in heritage management and museum curation is accordingly well developed in the literature, including sophisticated understandings of value for ‘resource’ assessment and museum interpretation. Though complicated by critical debate (Mathers et al. 2005), it is along these lines of codified policy and ethics, which tend to be enacted on a ‘recognised, designated and self-conscious’ level (Howard 2003:148), that heritage *has* received reasonable attention. This management canon falls outside my research interests because it is well-covered terrain and because it cultivates authenticity and related expectations for consistency and clarity that constrain heritage. The ‘preservation and reconstruction of cultural heritage’ locates heritage somewhere outside those management processes. The focus on *selection* among a range of pasts (Ashworth 1994), sites or artefacts implies there is a ‘right’ choice and maintains objective notions of value and the authority of the heritage practitioner to dictate these. Statements like Garden’s are true, but only in the highly prescribed terms of the AHD, which her concentration on tangible official sites supports:

After two decades of focused investigations into the phenomena of heritage, the field of heritage studies is firmly established within the academy and, now, comes with a recognised and solid theoretical foundation (2006:394).

While Smith’s thesis is broadly accepted and she argues the AHD is mutable, her focus on practitioner power and self-interest is seen as somewhat militant. There is debate over how conscious and intentional practitioners are in controlling heritage, can be relegated to an ‘expert’ identity, or have agency to either comply or resist in institutional settings (Dicks 2007, Stottman 2009). Moreover, the community is also involved in construction of the AHD and not a passive ‘consumer’. Smith clearly recognises and promotes this capacity yet limits it with her power-laden argument.

Certainly in museums, the relationship between institution and its practitioners complicates a clear-cut official-unofficial dichotomy. The institution imposes, yet museums are not ‘some sort of super-agent which is itself responsible for its own actions’ but are always comprised of individuals (Elliott 2003:2), who are often from the local community themselves and engaged in their own identity and community work. Such practitioners may seek to change their institutions from within, but may face challenges, as there may be

widespread disconnection between individuals who work in a museum and the manner in which the museum functions as an organisation. Individual staff members can be

insightful and innovative, yet these qualities may never be translated into institutional reality (Janes 2009:19).

Still, museums are not outside their communities but important components of them, not only in being run and supported by local people or as identity and community spaces, but also ‘as institutions that actually *produce* notions of community and culture’ (Witcomb 2007:134, citing Bennett 1998), which I interpret to heavily include heritage. This dissertation, then, is partly an attempt to expose and disturb museum convention, following Smith, while also viewing the relationship between communities and their museums as entwined or reciprocal, and thus potential-rich.

Old versus ‘new’ museology

Among the critical work preceding and contributing to Smith’s identification of the AHD, are critical museum studies since the 1960s that crystallised in the 1990s into the ‘new museology’, a movement promoting socially relevant and responsive museums (Hauenschild 1988, Vergo 1989). An aspect of the new museology that upholds the historical mindfulness and reflexivity of postmodernism is its historiographical critique of the evolution of the heritage discourse within museums (Bennett 1990, 1995, Hooper-Greenhill 1992, Pearce 1992, Walsh 1992, Knell 2007b). The language of ‘reinvention’ and ‘revolution’ that describes museums today, and stimulates the ‘new’ in new museology, infers distinction from and discrediting of past models, making this self-critical discourse a kind of ‘dissonant’ heritage itself (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996). While many 21st Century museums are either ostensibly or truly different, their historical predecessors still frame practice and theory, whether serving as archetype or antithesis.

This polarising of old and new museums is problematic in overstating the change so far, treating the evolution of heritage and museums as revolutionary rather than gradual and ongoing. It overlooks the community orientation of earlier models or demonises museums so they cannot escape their past (Witcomb 2003, Watson 2007c). The focus on unsettling discourse also limits ‘reimagination’ of heritage and museums. So, while this backwards glance helps transform museology from a field of standardised methods into a critical one that examines its purposes – from asking questions of ‘how?’ to questions of ‘why?’ (1.1) – it is also retards thinking, especially when unaccompanied by alternative models, to reiterate my call for strategy alongside theory.

It is still crucial to understand the modernist museum with which the new museology breaks, precisely because this model remains so prevalent. Born in Europe and North America in the late 19th Century as nationalist ideologies arose, the modernist museum is an colonial-state-elite agent of social control often masked as civic reform (Bennett 1995). Hicks situates the origins of the maritime museum and its key collections in this moment (2000, 2001). Just a fraction of maritime museums²⁹ and Bermuda's museums trace that far, with most in both respects established in the late 20th Century, the 1975 establishment of BMM being typical. And yet many of these museums essentially incarnate the modernist museum, infused as they are with the AHD and authenticity. Before examining this in the maritime and Bermuda contexts, I make good on my promise to highlight more progressive shifts in conceptualising heritage and reinventing museums. I nonetheless also highlight the limits of this change, mainly in terms of how authenticity – as the main grip on the slippery heritage concept – is proving extremely difficult to abandon.

Towards heritage as a process

Heritage and history

Developments in the authenticity debate are central to retheorising heritage and the new museology. Hewison and other 'heritage baiters' as Samuel labels them (1994) are debunked as the idea of a heritage *process* gains ground and 'one 'true' and objective history' is dismissed (Davies 2006:27, citing Lowenthal 1996). The elitist cynical tone of pro-authenticity arguments, along with the tendency to base them on commoditised romanticised examples and a simplistic critique of postmodern relativity, also serves to weaken them.

The boundaries of history and heritage are blurred by heritage scholars including Merriman (1991, 1996), Samuel (1994) and Harvey (2001, 2008) who view history and heritage as communicative interpretive social acts that are *never* outside their activation in the present. Such conceptualisation has helped to release heritage from the past-material bias bound with authenticity. Meanwhile, more and more historians and archaeologists view their fields as contemporary engagements with the past, and thus inherently biased. But with heritage scholars preoccupied with boosting

²⁹ Maritime museums are a recent phenomena, with several notable exceptions including France's National Navy Museum established 1827, the UK's National Maritime Museum established 1934, and the Peabody Essex Museum established 1799 and Mystic Seaport established 1929, both in the US.

the credibility and attention heritage is afforded and little robust debate between their respective thinkers, a more sophisticated relationship between history and heritage has remained somewhat undeveloped.

Between extremes of heritage as inauthentic and history and heritage as blurred, we find Lowenthal who criticises their frequent linking or equation (1998), but from a different perspective than Hewison that is important for gaining a nuanced understanding of authenticity. Lowenthal argues, not that history is *actually* more authentic than heritage, ‘neither enterprise is value-free’ he recognises (1996:123), but rather in terms of history being motivated by the *belief* that an objective, accessible past as a ‘foreign country’ is possible, whereas heritage utilises bias to become ‘familiar’ and ‘constructive of identity’ (ibid:139). Lowenthal’s insight that authenticity is a *belief* versus a *truth* restores credibility to heritage and carves out a disciplinary space for heritage studies. This upholds history or archaeology as fields and objects of study distinctive from and yet valuable to heritage understanding and use. It also invalidates the point, often deployed in pro-authenticity arguments, that mixing these disciplines denies their rigour. Empiricism is, I believe, just as applicable to heritage as an object of study as it is to disciplines interested in the past as the past. Separating history and heritage also enables understanding of how and why these concepts marry and supports interdisciplinarity. Lowenthal’s view also permits us to recognise that while authenticity is not intrinsic to heritage nor its only kind of process, it is a crucial subprocess in the conceptualisation and use of heritage *at this time*, when the belief in the past dwelling in and acting on the present, particularly through its material remains, is so strong. I suggest authenticity is a kind of holdover that may diminish with time and the kind of disruption to and expansion beyond the AHD this study advocates.

Companion to these departures from historical authenticity is a rethinking of material relationships. Using the AHD as a departure point and moving past the impasse of the tangible-intangible dichotomy (Andrews et al. 2007), Smith and others controversially but convincingly argue that all heritage is intangible (2006b, and Akagawa 2008). This idea builds on earlier acknowledgments of the abstract value of heritage (Lowenthal 1996, Harvey 2001) and takes recognition of intangible forms of heritage (UNESCO 2003, 2005) to another level. It also reflects technological developments that are turning photographs, books and other material culture into *virtual* culture. The turn to intangible heritage has been pivotal to expanding the

heritage concept and seems long overdue or far too young a realisation. It reflects ‘a completely different tradition of thinking about what constitutes an object’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2009), in not solely seeing meaning in the object itself but in the meaning it embodies and stimulates. This shift has been influenced by and influences the new museology, moving (western) museums ‘from an inward concentration on collections to a newly articulated outward concentration on the various publics and communities they serve’ (Weil 2004:284).

Recognition of intangible heritage is increasing. However, heritage is still very often either synonymous with things or materially manifest heritage receives disproportionate attention. It is a presumption that appears even in recent work that *does* recognise heritage as a process, where theorists still resort to a material framing and language (Anico and Peralta 2008b). This extends to museum and other heritage practice, where repository, inventory and display remain underlying logics. Moreover, the intangible turn has hardened the tangible-intangible dichotomy. The shift towards heritage as a process has been somewhat misinterpreted as an attack on materiality that might silence objects, sparking a protectionism that has seen materiality gaining even greater ground. Museums hold ever more steadfastly onto their collections and stewardship role, a defensiveness reflected in Laurier’s concerns regarding maritime heritage and relationships with ships specifically, although he quite rightly confers agency on both things and people:

Although Merriman (1996) is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that more attention needs to be paid to processes of heritage, they are normally processes that combine things and people, a sense of agency on either part may be lost as a result of becoming overly process oriented (1998:22).

This angst is beginning to dissolve with growing understanding that the intangibility of heritage and power of things are not mutually exclusive; that although heritage is an entirely intangible process it nonetheless makes heavy use of the material world. This more sophisticated understanding of materiality segues to the radical rethinking of museums under the new museology.

New museum models

As expressed by the volume title, *Museum revolutions: How museums change and are changed* (Knell et al. 2007), external factors induce museum shifts towards community heritage. Political and social awakenings after the Second World War,

including the rise of post-colonial nationhood, indigenous re-determination and fights for civil rights prompted fierce scrutiny of museum convention. Local and source communities questioned the legitimacy of museums to possess their cultural property and knowledge and speak on their behalf, leading to increased museum repatriation and accountability and official curation by communities themselves (Simpson 1996, McMullen 2008). Struggles for social justice and community development combine with public policy and political agendas to impact heritage and museum studies and practice, with concerns about social exclusion³⁰ being influential (Sandell 1998, 2002, 2003, Newman and McLean 1998, 2006).

Museologists, and sometimes the communities they serve, have accordingly devised more relevant and responsive museum models. A new generation of alternative museums decentralise the traditional museum's control over heritage. Cameron's 'forum' (1971:68), Clifford's 'contact zone' (1997a), Hooper-Greenhill's 'post-museum' (2000:152-3), and Crooke's 'intersecting spaces' (2008b) all imagine the museum as an open, collaborative place for exchange and experimentation, a heterotopia of identities and views. These models move beyond material culture and representation – or things and exhibitions – to encourage new forms of communication.

The museum is now a flexible mobile concept that is 'not limited to its own walls, but moves a set of processes into the spaces, the concerns and the ambitions of communities' (Hooper-Greenhill 2000:152). The ecomuseum concept (Davis 1999, 2005, 2008a) is influential for situating the museum in the community's physical and cultural landscape. What constitutes museums or curation has been further 'liberated' and 'complicated' by recognition of community museology, particularly in non-western settings (Simpson 1996, Kreps 2003, 2005, Chua 2008). Kreps (2008) has taken this a step further with an 'appropriate museology' that, like 'ethical tourism' (ICOM 2000), strives to benefit local settings. These models all promote the idea that heritage not only exists outside the museum, but is primarily sited there.

Museum-centrism

Yet, these museum alternatives are extreme or rare, with shifts within the traditional fixed-site museum better reflecting many communities. Democratising museums

³⁰ The concept of social exclusion came to prominence in UK domestic social policy, especially as a tenet of the former Labour Government's political philosophy.

since the early 1990s has centred on expanding audiences, more inclusive representation, and public ‘outreach’, ‘consultation’ or ‘education’. Effective and well-intentioned as these efforts are, there are limits on this turn to the public. This is partly because engaging with communities is so intensive and museum resources are so limited.

It is also because understanding community heritage is precluded from the start by presuming a community-museum relationship. Much of this work begins with the patronising self-serving premise that museums exist to inform the public, to give them cultural capital (Bourdieu 1973) or help them reclaim history or culture, which they may not feel they have *lost*. This outreach discourse justifies the role of museums and stimulates programmes designed to compensate for public heritage deficiency. Notions of ‘public’ heritage construct a vague, communal entity to which people can only passively relate. Heritage tends to be treated as something that is realised or validated through preservation and representation, versus seeing these museological processes as partial interpretative acts. Heritage is seen as something communities acquires thanks to museums, heritage sites, school programmes, public archaeology and so on, rather than already being present in individual and collective lives. Moreover, this deficiency presumption is accompanied by the presumption museums matter to people, as if authentic themselves, when they actually seem quite peripheral, even to the personal lives of heritage and museum practitioners.

Operating under this deficiency presumption, museums focus on their priorities and use outreach to maintain an institutional status quo (Peers and Brown 2003), reinforcing the deficiency presumption in a damaging cycle. Such outreach rarely involves research into the community, missing an opportunity to build curatorial capacity and curiosity for investigating heritage. When it does, it is often from the point of view of ‘integrating community needs into museum development, planning and policy’ (Crooke 2008b:5). The self-congratulation and publicity often associated with outreach is often necessary but may communicate or be interpreted as a less-than-sincere effort, a disingenuous pitch that furthers community-museum disconnection. Even the exploration of community museology is museum-centric in its concern with museum-like processes. Such upholding a ‘centre/periphery model’ with respect to museum/community is associated with a reluctance to give up power and control, as Young (and Witcomb 2003, Lynch 2008) critiques and highlights:

Promoting inclusion in the sense that I am most comfortable with means that institutions have to find ways of abandoning linear notions of control, thinking instead in terms of a network with no centre: the cultural objectives and outputs driven by negotiated policies and strategies worked on in partnership with strands of the web. If institutions continue to see themselves as the only bodies able to hold the centre, this implies that ‘others’ have to come to them and the balance of power has not shifted (2002:210).

Thus, museum outreach – despite its significant contributions and investments – has not necessarily opened up to community heritage, because discourses of public deficiency and authenticity have stayed intact.

Authenticity, and the museum-centrism it supports, is challenged by greater understanding of the social role of museums (Silverman 2009, Golding 2009), which is increasingly based on a better gauge of social value (Jones 2004b, citing Johnston 1994). Though notions of social value originate from public sector and other political spheres, the criteria for museum evaluation and accountability is now moving beyond rhetorical displays, fiscal valuation and results-based benchmarks and towards public need and social meaning outside institutional terms (Kelly et al. 2002, Scott and Soren 2009, citing Moore 1995). Researchers and practitioners are looking to new measures of value, especially what matters to those communities who have a higher stake or vested interest in museums (Weinburg and Lewis 2009). Some go further to suggest the social value of museums is beyond measure, due to the incremental and complex ways these institutions help build identity and community (Watson 2007c).

It is in the wake of these museum shifts that this dissertation joins a new and growing wave of scholarship analysing heritage outside the usual spaces, among those for whom it perhaps holds the most social value and thus offers greater conceptual and applied yield to heritage theory and museum practice. This is an opening up to where ‘heritage is used at an individual, personal and everyday level and is as much to do with immediate social groups and family context as with larger national frameworks and public, institutional practices’ (Mason and Baveystock 2008:17).

Harvey captures the main aspects of these ‘emerging new terrains of heritage’ (Atkinson 2008), both of which are reflected in my analysis of maritime Bermuda:

we should not forget the importance of personal and local heritage – ‘small heritages’ if you like...As well as being alternative or ‘subaltern’ or actively resisting authority, these small heritages can also be everyday and even banal...it is towards such small

heritages that much attention, policy and practice is focused at present; as confidence in meta-narratives of heritage purpose is being questioned, it is through such small heritages that an answer may be at hand (2008:20).

Aspects of this dissertation and much recent research focus on heritage excluded from the AHD. This activist recouping of subaltern heritage highlights the unseen costs of narrowly constructing heritage and museums. Whereas the interpretative nature of heritage is minimised under authenticity, these movements promote subjective plural perspectives. Similar to my earlier contextualisation of the new museology within wider political change, this relates to wider social movements and scholarship about coming to terms with the past. Specifically, the postcolonial postmodern project is concerned with redressing the exploitative legacies of dominant white elites. It includes the movements and studies of indigenous 'First People', post-conflict and genocide with the Holocaust being particularly influential, and highly relevant to Bermuda, the atrocities of the Atlantic Slave Trade and its legacies of slavery, segregation and racism. These are joined by debates and action on repatriation, restitution and reparation following unjust appropriation, especially of land and cultural objects, with sacred places and material such as human remains at their forefront (Lowenthal et al. 2006, Soderland 2006). Social development, empowerment and inclusion initiatives for disenfranchised groups, often focused on education and culture, are also part of this restorative genre. While a great deal of this work takes place outside official heritage and museums, research and practice is increasingly attuned to these important and complex issues.

Attention to personal everyday heritage, moves heritage research into more subtle territory. The language of 'small' and 'mundane' heritages might diminish their importance and complexity by implicitly comparing them to more striking heritages. However, the intention is to highlight and support the presence of heritage in daily lives, reflecting wider social theory's interest in the familiar and commonplace. This often entails a shift towards that which 'interacts more readily with identity at a local rather than a national scale' (Robertson 2008:144), where communities and individuals are perhaps more invested. It is in this qualitative sense of identity and community that this grassroots orientation yields deeper levels of authenticity and new museology, one that makes conceptualising and curating heritage more well-rounded.

2.2 Maritime heritage and museums

Compelling closure

If there is a museum type that typifies the modernist museum and upholds the AHD, it is the maritime museum. Many existing ones fail to transition to the new museology, and even recent additions accept a traditional outlook (Leffler 2004). This inertia is linked to, what Hicks – who, tellingly, provides one of the few critical surveys of maritime museums to-date – describes as a lack of ‘introspection’ (2001:159). This is corroborated by others who ‘suggest that a more critical evaluation of this field is overdue and that this would offer something to broader heritage debates’ (Day and Lunn 2003:292, citing Butler and Littlewood 1998). This uncritical approach is evident in the congratulatory style of scholarship, such as that found among maritime-dedicated UNESCO volumes (1996, 1997) and ICMM’s biannual proceedings (Figure 2.1). Such attempts to buoy professionals facing significant challenges nonetheless fail to address the maritime museum identity crisis head on and further coalesce an insular culture that makes the few outspoken critics feel like ‘outcasts’.³¹ Although there are some vocal practitioners, more critical review of maritime museums has come from academia, reflecting the theory-practice heritage-museums gulfs (1.2).



Figure 2.1: ICMM 2007 in Malta (left) proceedings; (right) Valetta Harbour welcome tour.

³¹ Delegate remark at ICMM 2007.

The exclusivity Lowenthal observes being attached to heritage (1996) and the way people utilise museums to construct identity (Newman and McLean 2006, McLean 2008, Anico 2008, O'Neill 2006), come together with particular force in maritime heritage and museums given the way maritimity stimulates identity (Hicks 2000, 2001) and, as I argue, community. This and prior maritime studies suggest looking beyond straightforward exclusion, to see this particular kind of heritage and museums facilitating a powerful form of *inclusion*. The 'magic of the maritime' (Cossons 2007:13) or the 'pull' of maritimity that makes maritime heritage and museums so compelling for some people is precisely what makes them so alienating for others and thus restricted to the relative few. I use the alliteration 'compelling closure', for lack of an equally active term, to describe this combination of authenticity and exclusion.

Compelling closure creates certain expectations for maritime heritage that work to keep it narrowly used and conceptualised. Tuddenham's (2008) application of the *method* of Actor Network Theory (Latour 2005b, and Callon and Law) to his Norwegian study of underwater cultural heritage (UCH) management is useful for understanding how maritimity is constructed as stable and pure, an essentialisation that disavows more pluralist presentist workings. Awareness of maritimity's marginality (1.1) is rarely seized to question and depart from the AHD and indeed contributes to compelling closure in that 'maritime heritage often occupies a place on the edge of society, and is often only engaged with by those with a long term interest in an often quite specific, aspect of it' (Davies 2006:117). Such isolation of the maritime, often under the banner of 'distinctiveness', is indicative of a highly bounded heritage, versus the oft-seen integration among other heritage types. Johnson and Potts similarly observe 'we "expect" to find the sea represented in a variety of guises based on how it has been experienced by others' (2002:43). Maritime museums are thus prone to repeating certain practices and representations. The expectations for maritimity are not merely institutional or academic but involve complicity between communities and their maritime museums, as Cossons highlights:

So, why aren't most museums maritime museums? Why have we separated out a slice of history, termed it maritime, and by so doing diminished its importance and relevance and simultaneously marginalised the great stories of human history in which oceans played such a crucial role? The answer of course is that in the main maritime museums were set up to deal with ships and their technology, seafaring and seafarers. This is what their audiences expect of them. This is what the 'maritime' defines in their minds.

The complicity in this contract between museums and their audiences is that this is what maritime museums expect of themselves too (2007).

Maintaining maritime museums as modernist institutions is clearly insufficient to address their community disconnection. Yet, recognition of the authenticity or compelling closure bearing on this heritage and its museums suggests we need a conceptual expansion and museological solutions that do not lose the distinctive qualities of maritimity.

Maritimity delimited

Non-maritime societies

Maritime museums reinforce authenticity and exclusion in their representations, practices, structures and cultures. Before detailing these, I want to examine a more rhetorical way this compelling closure plays out. The obsolescence of maritime museums is frequently attributed to a wider phenomenon beyond their control: *the shift from maritime to non-maritime societies*. The logic deployed is that as communities become more disconnected from the sea, maritime museums become more irrelevant.

A sense of decline permeates the maritime discourse, that contemporary relationships with the sea are diminished especially compared to past maritimes. In a manner suspiciously bound to authenticity, only direct experience or actual recall is presupposed as valid and the loss of maritimity is blamed. This non-maritime rhetoric casts a pessimism over maritime studies and practice, one that leaves little room for seeing the widespread continuous use and generation of maritime heritage among communities. My own cautious optimism and sense of needing to shore up maritime museums reflects this low morale and suggests their crisis of confidence is related to the way presumptions of heritage deficiency and authenticity constrain optimism.

This non-maritime focus is ironic considering most maritime museums are a recent phenomena and thus isolated from the maritime past; tourists – whom maritime museums orient to – rarely have direct experience with the maritimity they encounter in maritime museums (Day and Lunn 2003); and the engagement of maritime museums with history, archaeology and other disciplines seeking to (re)construct maritime pasts. Moreover, this sense of decline contrasts with the wealth of maritime heritage in official and unofficial heritage and museums. One need only look to maritime archaeology and history to see how a passion for maritime culture, and ships

often, can be newly generated among researchers and practitioners. More than just presuming heritage deficiency, it is also a failure to see the way maritimity – as an oblique referent, metaphor, expression and way of ‘being-in-the-world’ – readily serves identity and community. Publics are treated as deficient in existing maritime heritage or without the capacity to forge new relationships with the sea, despite the paucity of research backing these presumptions.

Notwithstanding and simultaneous to this sense of decline and low disciplinary and institutional morale, this non-maritime discourse activates the maritime museum as a mechanism to halt if not reverse this decline, as Mulhearn intimates when describing ‘the retreat of a city’s collective cogniscance of its own maritime history, unless, of course, something corrects this’ (2008). Maritime museums play the role of ‘getting the maritime message across’ and ‘stimulating maritime awareness’ amongst a deficient public, according to the abstract for the 2009 ICM. This AHD treats maritimity as authentic, intrinsically qualified as heritage and thus deserving in itself of institutional or practitioner attention. This pessimistic outlook precludes seeing maritime heritage in the wider community, inhibiting the potential to realise the ‘sustainable, engaging and healthy maritime museum’ (Washburn 2007:1).

Maritime authenticity

Being history and/or archaeology museums in the main (Hicks 2000, 2001), maritime museums primarily concern themselves with the ‘factual’ reconstruction and representation of the maritime past (Lunn and Day 2008). Practice and research is geared towards expanding historical knowledge, with other dimensions of maritime heritage often framed outside or straying from this norm. While questions such as ‘what can these collections tell us about the stories of past seafarers and their communities?’ (Beneki et al. 2009) stimulate valid research they tend to be asked alone, rather than alongside ‘to whom and why does this matter today?’. All too often the maritime past is constructed as self-explanatory or intrinsically valuable, ‘carried out with reference to history rather than an understanding of the conceptual nature of heritage’ (Davies 2006:43), let alone as community heritage or based in social value.

Maritime museums take the object-orientation of museums to another level with their relationship to the ship and its technology. They not only represent the ship

in multiple scales and forms³² but also tend to make it the central element of their work, though not always with *quite* the enthusiasm of La Prairie: ‘And above all the Ship, because it is this which is the link between man and the sea! It is the ship...which provides the cornerstone of the maritime museum’ (1981:185). Scholars challenge this boat ‘fetish’ for the way it dominates and delimits maritime heritage and museums and symbolically supports and naturalises power relations (Neill 1990, Davies 1996, Hicks 2001, Leffler 2004, Peralta 2008).

The ship is further embedded by maritime archaeology, which dominates maritime heritage and museums (Cossons 1996, 2007, Flatman 2003, Ransley 2006b) in line with archaeology’s wider preeminence (2.1). Maritime heritage is usually equated ‘solely with shipwrecks’ (Ransley 2006a:226), partly because looting threats (UNESCO 2001, ratified 2009) and media attention (Sperry 2008a, 2008b) have raised up that aspect. Just as UCH is ‘environmentally confined’ (Forrest 2002, cited by Davies 2006), it is only part of a much wider phenomena, and yet takes the spotlight. Moreover, UCH seems not to be the maritimity communities – beyond the enthusiast who tends to fall into the polarised categories of archaeologists or salver – use most. Certainly, my findings for this and prior studies (Andrews 2005a, 2007b) suggest Bermudian connections to the UCH are relatively low compared to a spectrum of other maritime attachments. Yet, maritime archaeology dominates many maritime museums, including BMM.

Sometimes in conjunction with maritime archaeology, the curation and/or restoration of historic vessels (Figure 2.2) is an assumed role and fundamental ethos for many maritime museums (Easthope 2001). It is one founded on authenticity, built as it often is on the goal to return a craft to its original state according to ‘museum standards’ (ICMM 1993). The historical and/or aesthetic significance of the ship itself often rationalises the rallying cry to ‘Save the [insert vessel name here]!’ usually at vast expense (Carr 1981). This upholds an unquestioned preservationist culture of ‘saving the maritime heritage’ (Genin 1996:7) versus evaluation based on the institutional and wider ‘costs’ of such expensive priorities and the heritage and social value generated.

³² The ship is found in maritime museums as: the life-size restored or replica vessel; archaeological remains; deconstructed parts and ephemera; and penultimately, the floating or seaworthy collection; in miniature as ships models or depicted in maritime art or exhibition imagery; or less literally invoked by the museum and exhibition architecture, historic surroundings such as Dockyards, and the museums language, structure, programmes and marketing.



Figure 2.2: Small boats previously (left) or being restored by Sydney Heritage Fleet at Wharf 7 in Darling Harbour, Australia, September 2007.

The technical nature of maritime heritage as it is constructed by maritime museums (Davies 2006), through maritime archaeology and ship restoration especially, is another authentic yet alienating practice. It is a highly specialised and scientific discourse that exudes empiricism and masculinity, particularly in concentrating on vessel construction and function (Witcomb 2003, Ransley 2005). The authenticity of such historicist curation transfers authenticity to the institution, and so these pursuits are practically rites of passage for any self-respecting maritime museum. Conversely, maritime museums without ships or shipwrecks are considered to be lacking, betraying their character.

Authenticity also plays out in maritime heritage and museums and the literature about them through an emphasis on place. Beyond the ship itself, places related or proximate to the ship and/or water frequently recur: from more naturalised seascapes, waterways, coastlines to more cultural coastal and harbour communities and even industrial sites including ports and their ‘cities’. Reflecting the AHD’s past-material orientation, this pertains to historically significant and materially-rich sites, especially with historic ships, with Dockyards epitomising this authenticity. There is a preoccupation with waterfront redevelopment projects since the 1990s which often feature maritime museums (Washburn 2007), such as Bermuda’s still emerging

Dockyard instigated by BMM's establishment (Tunbridge 2002). The historical and experiential affect these places have upon visitors and their related value as heritage tourism attractions is highlighted (Mulhearn 2008), as is their revitalisation of disused maritime sites.

Such emphasis on place delivers a sense of an inherently valuable yet culturally and fiscally renewable maritime heritage, which assuages senses of declining maritime societies and the associated irrelevance of maritime museums. Place serves to materially and spatially fix and legitimate maritime heritage and further demarcate the maritime from non-maritime, and thus museum from community. Such reliance on authenticity delimits maritimity as a process-oriented concept that takes advantage of the fluidity, mobility, plurality and other contemporary social meaning so readily and widely associated with it.

Exclusive narratives and culture

Much of the relatively small amount of maritime museum literature scrutinises their retention of ideologies of superiority that conflict with postmodern principles of democracy and diversity fundamental to the new museology.

Echoing similar attentions in heritage and museum studies (Meskell 1998, Evans 1999, Witcomb 2003) and anthropology (Anderson 1983 (1936), Herzfeld 1997), much of this maritime museum criticism examines gravitation to nationalist narratives (Butler and Littlewood 1998, Day and Lunn 2003, Duncan 2003, Leffler 2004, Stefanou 2008b). The sea, the ship, the mariner and other maritime elements that have long symbolised the patriotic and victorious nation are consistently reaffirmed by the representations and structures of maritime museums. Maritime heritage (and especially archaeology), as Firth glibly says, is 'more often wrapped in the flag than not' (2008), servicing 'right-wing, broadly nationalistic agendas' (Flatman 2003:150) and further entrenches the association of museums with the state, where museums serve 'as one of the main ideological mechanisms that create national imagination, promote national rhetoric as well as notions of cultural homogeneity and continuity' (Stefanou 2008b:463).

A 'Navy and Nation' discourse buttresses this conservative collective identity work (Ransley 2008) with military or civilian maritime museums alike promoting sea-borne conflict, military supremacy and the expansion of empire, usually via epic and geopolitical narratives (Genin 1996:6, Witcomb 2003:44, Beneki et al. 2009) or,

simply put, about ‘big ships and deep water’ (Jarvis 2009). Admiral Lord Nelson, his flagship HMS *Victory* and the Battle of Trafalgar are the quintessential oft-repeated icons of such naval might and national heroism (Day and Lunn 2003, Watson 2006). This is unsurprising considering the British dominance and ‘particularly English outlook’ of heritage and museums (Merriman 1996:383) which prevails forcibly in the maritime milieu.

Furthermore, the androcentric construction of heritage (Smith 2008) so often supported by museums (Levin forthcoming) is particularly strong when mixed with maritimetry’s gendered history and culture, especially its military and colonial associations (McClintock 1995, Flood et al. 2007:270). Maritime museums regularly exclude female and non-heteronormative experience in their masculine narratives and audiences (Stanley 2000, Leffler 2004, Ransley 2005).

Though theorists and new initiatives challenge these totalising, elitist and celebratory approaches to the maritime past, particularly for their exclusion of diverse and dissonant maritime identities (Hicks 2001, Day and Lunn 2003, 2008, Leffler 2004, Stefanou 2008a), this uneven treatment continues in many maritime museums. This failure to engage with more diverse, difficult and contemporary narratives is ironic and unfortunate considering maritimetry is so deeply implicated with past and present social conflict and struggle (Littler 2008).

The exclusive narratives and past-material orientation of maritime museums contribute to and reflect the compelling closure among the people who inhabit them. Maritime museums cultivate an insular culture that uncritically supports the AHD. It is one Hicks says ‘originated to foster hero worship and antiquarianism or scholarship based on construction of chronologies or expositions of arcana for other like-minded scholars’ (2001:160). It is primarily collections and the skills required to manage them that dictate the maritime museum workforce. The intensive requirements for historic vessels or maritime archaeological remains often dominate this capacity. The modernist museum’s appeal to specialists is certainly alive and well within this museum type where curator, audiences and other stakeholders, including valuable volunteers (Figure 2.3), are maritime enthusiasts or connoisseurs (Davies 1996).



Figure 2.3: Volunteer ship model repairers and makers working in public view at Barcelona Maritime Museum, Spain, 2008.

Though some ‘new blood’ is replacing the old guard running maritime museums, there remains a deep presumption you must be connected to maritime history and culture to interpret or appreciate it. The urging I received to visit maritime museums for this project tells of this emphasis on maritime exposure, especially to boats. The departure away from the authoritative curator that is a prominent part of the new museology has been slow to shift in maritime museums, an inertia related to presumptions of authenticity and public heritage deficiency.

Renewing maritimity

The inclusive sea

Maritime museums have far from realised the social value they hold for their communities, whether or not those communities qualify as ‘maritime societies’ in the narrow sense dominating the specialised museum genre. However, I now give due attention to the progressive change taking place in the genre and the literature about it, while still questioning the extent to which these shifts actually realise the social value of maritime heritage and museums.

Picking up from where I just left off and because it is the most obvious shift, I begin with the way maritime museums are making their narratives and representations

more inclusive, which reflects an opening up of their insular culture. Informed by the French *Annales* school of social history and the radical civic and intellectual movements of the 1960s (Atkinson 2008) and reflecting many of the same democratic precepts as the new museology, the new social history has dramatically expanded the narratives promoted by maritime historians, archaeologists and curators. This sociological approach to the maritime past tells ‘history from below’ or the stories of ordinary people. This ‘flowering of micro-history involves the intensive study of small communities and single events’ (Connerton 2008:66) yielding extensive bibliographies of niche maritime subjects. It is a shift in scale and time from big metanarratives and historical events towards personal, everyday, recent and present-centred heritages (Cossons 1996:26).

Reflecting the postmodern postcolonial recouping of subaltern identities (2.1), particular attention goes to minorities obscured by narratives of the more powerful (Chronis 2006:293, citing Crew and Sims 1991). Some of this attention comes from curators of more ‘diverse’ backgrounds themselves, reflecting greater workforce diversity in maritime museums. The move towards maritime leisure and recreation that Davies notes (2006:46) also opens up maritime heritage to a greater cross-section of people. Attention to gender and sexual identity is proving a valuable part of this ‘outsider history’ not only because it broadens the repertory of museum narratives but also because it so effectively ‘queers’ its naturalised masculine counterparts (Ransley 2005), with Stanley’s travelling exhibition ‘Hello Sailor: Gay Life on the Ocean Wave’ frequently noted.³³ By tackling gender, immigration, poverty, slavery and so on, maritime museum curators and audiences are confronting rather than skirting ‘hot’ issues (Leffler 2004).

Scholars outside (Waterton and Wilson 2009) and inside the maritime genre (Lunn and Day 2008:4) nonetheless question the extent to which this narrative inclusion fundamentally changes the exclusivity of heritage and museums. Symbolically, spatially, promotionally or otherwise, these alternative or difficult histories tend to be kept marginal to more mainstream celebratory narratives. The treatment of the sea as an ‘exceptional’ space supports subaltern identities, but reinforces a terrain-as-normative sea-as-marginal dichotomy. More contemporary narratives are likewise separated from the historical, a disjuncture reflecting the

³³ This exhibition is cited in the literature in a similar groundbreaking way to the controversial 1989-1990 exhibition ‘Into the Heart of Africa’ at Canada’s Royal Ontario Museum.

uneven value museums ascribe to old and new. Like affirmative action or tokenistic representations, this narrative inclusion is an activist approach or reactionary treatment rather than stemming from a deeper curiosity to understand identity and its relationship with heritage. It is notable that while social history is interested in the small scale and stories of individuals, this has not always extended to seeing contemporary communities and their heritage uses as worthy of study, with their embedded everyday relationships with the sea being particularly difficult to see.

Making maritimity relevant

Paralleling wider museum trends, maritime museums are shifting to social value and uses of heritage *outside* the museum. Practitioners and scholars engage with the transformative potential of maritime museums for communities, seeing curation as a creative artform calling for new kinds of expression and experimentation (Stara 2006, Scott and Soren 2009). New ‘folksonomic’ and other collaborative 2.0 technologies are enabling maritime and other museums to invite source, local or other communities to create and reinterpret content and collections in an aggregate and dynamic manner, or ‘idiosyncratic rather than systematic’ ways (Pink 2005).

Still, many of these shifts are slow to take hold due to the hierarchical and sometimes staid culture of maritime museums, as particularly insular and conservative networks of people. When even museums of popular culture are considered to be ‘dusty’ or ‘lame’ by audiences, there is a real pressure on maritime museums as a more retrograde museum type to open up to different and younger perspectives. There is a lack of appreciation that following needs-based models would not only be a theoretical gain, but also could translate to maritime or other museums being more meaningfully valued by the community, and from the all-important pragmatic or operational perspective, the extent to which communities support their museums, either personally or through their Government or private structures. Such shifts to social value are potentially tantamount to real funding, infrastructure and jobs, and thus real sustainable change *inside* maritime museums, certainly beyond that which more museum-centric models have permitted.

A popular strategy among museums to become more socially relevant is to engage with more recent history and contemporary topics. Maritime museums are shifting their attention from ‘the ‘old’ [to] the ‘new’ sea’ (Butler and Littlewood

1998:xvi), releasing themselves from authenticity's grasp and presumptions of public heritage deficiency or 'non-maritime' communities.

In particular, maritime museums are following the trend to focus on global environmental issues, especially climate change given its urgent global threat (Janes 2009) and the marine environment and its unique conservation issues (Johnson 1996, 2002). Whether this is genuine or simply 'greenwashing'³⁴ is debatable and seems to matter little when such popular topics increase visitor numbers. Such topics also seem more participatory than traditional maritime concerns in engendering marine awareness, stewardship and citizenship, for instance encouraging publics to 'go green' in their daily lives. With this environmental orientation some maritime museums are morphing into natural history museums or 'science centres' with an 'edutainment' feel, going so far as to trade out historic displays and collections for more interactive contemporary exhibitions. This is judged an acceptable reason to turn away from history and collections, on which such replacement exhibitions are less dependent.

Despite the importance of such topics, this orientation seems a soft option in terms of challenging museums and their audiences to engage more socially and politically, and with one another. The relatively neutral decontextualised nature of such topics avoids asking more uncomfortable, ethical, and interesting questions as more cultural, historical, political and local narratives might. These could include reflection on issues of privilege and complicity, which do not lend themselves to 'solutions' or 'answers', but are just as vital and immediate to global and local issues. This environmental orientation and similar 'feel-good' programmes can be placating and condescending to communities, but are only acceptable due to presumptions of public heritage deficiency. Much like I have argued abandoning museums fails to utilise and improve them, abandoning more contested or dissonant aspects of maritimity, including the 'hotter' aspects of global environmental issues, does little to expose or disrupt the AHD and wider issues facing communities.

In this and other ways, maritime museums remain highly international or transcultural (Genin 1996:6, Witcomb 2003:44, Beneki et al. 2009). The universality of maritimity is stressed, both as a phenomena found all over the world and as one

³⁴ Refers to the ideological and/or fiscal capitalisation of environmentalism and its popularity.

that forges connections between people, yielding ‘common cultures’ or a sense of diaspora, especially among geographically and culturally proximate regions.³⁵

This outlook stems from and reinforces the inordinate attention paid to large, national, urban maritime museums. Most celebrated are maritime museums that can claim ‘truly international status’ (Davies 1996:13), which are held up as counterparts to the increasingly adopted yet controversial concept of the ‘universal museum’ (Cossons 2007). The UK’s National Maritime Museum receives particular attention in the (Anglophone western) literature in reflection of the British dominance of the maritime realm (Davies 1996, Day and Lunn 2003, Potts 2000, Johnson and Potts 2002) and heritage and museums generally (2.1).

However, the vast majority of maritime museums are ‘small and highly localised’ (Davies 1996:14). While BMM is arguably the largest museum in Bermuda (1.1), it nonetheless represents the ‘middle-sized’ maritime museum that is vulnerable to operational instability (Cossons 1996). Recalling the possibility to make a ‘quantum leap’, such smaller maritime museums may have higher potential to connect with their immediate communities, thereby offering the troubled genre a sense of ‘ingenuity’ (Roberts 2007) that may boost morale and increase social value.

Framing (maritime) heritage

A growing body of maritime work explores heritage as a process. An increasing amount of this examines the local level and small scale, highlighting that maritime heritage is not merely a product of maritime museums and other official heritage but a widespread phenomena and interdisciplinary concept. Reviewing these ‘small heritages’ of the sea here allows me to elaborate more precise concepts framing heritage and its relationships with identity, community and museums. Waiting until now to unpack this ‘conceptual heritage suitcase’ as Smith does (2006b) brings together the general and maritime literature, highlighting the current analytic framework for heritage and the contribution of maritime studies to that specialised conceptualisation.

It follows from authenticity’s sway in heritage and museums but also its belief by communities, that the past and materiality feature in current heritage theory. While I argue this should only be insofar as heritage can be defined and not delimited to this,

³⁵ Including Baltic, Mediterranean and Atlantic maritime heritage/museum groups.

clearly the past is and will continue to be crucial to heritage as a cultural process. Merriman's (1991) sociological study of public relationships with the past, based on a national postal-survey in Britain, remains important for highlighting heritage as a wider community process that is shaped by personal positioning and experience, an understanding he argues might open up museums. Recent work, such as by York University's Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past (IPUP), is continuing to expand the use of the past as a central aspect of heritage.

Memory studies, as an explicit field or part of heritage and museum studies, complicates understanding heritage as relationship with the past. Building on the relatively early work of Nora (1989), Connerton (1989), Halbwachs (1992) and Samuel (1994) there is much investigation into collective and personal memory. Static, inherited and unitary conceptions of memory are being replaced by more dynamic engagements, not only with the past but also with contemporary issues and experiences. Boat ethnography, conducted about boats and sometimes by-boat, seeks to inform archaeological and historical interpretation of past maritime societies, thereby bringing anthropological and archaeological methods, and thus history and heritage, closer together (McCall Howard and Wickham-Jones 2009, McCall Howard forthcoming, Ransley 2010).

Forgetting recently gained attention as a twinned process to remembering (Connerton 2008, Misztal 2008). Some forgetting entails actively silencing and naturalising the past, especially contested pasts. Thus, forgetting is a particularly useful concept for exposing heritage as a discursive process. Peralta's (2008) ethnographic study of the memory of cod fishing in northern Portugal, simultaneously explores relationships between remembering and forgetting, official and unofficial heritage and museums, and identity construction at national and local scales, stressing the resonances and dissonances between all of these. Critical analysis of the 2007 Bicentennial of the British abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade,³⁶ and which raised the profile of maritime heritage and museums, interrogates the role forgetting played in that anniversary (Cumberbatch 2008, Owen 2008, IPUP 2009).

Closely related to memory, and forgetting especially, is the concept of dissonance. Work analysing the inherently contested nature of heritage (Ashworth and

³⁶ That was commemorated extensively in the UK, especially in one-time trade centers and port cities such as Liverpool and Bristol, and less so elsewhere in the African Diaspora including Bermuda, due in part to the rather insular nature of the UK commemoration.

Tunbridge 1996, Lowenthal 1996, Graham et al. 2000) is fundamental to understanding heritage as always political and plural. This includes conflicting views and experiences of landscapes (Bender 1998, Bender and Winer 2001), museum representation and interpretation (Uzzell 1989, Uzzell and Ballantyne 1998), other management or curatorial processes of assigning value (Carman 1996, Jones 2004b), and negotiating historical injustices and their ongoing legacies (Littler and Naidoo 2005, Macdonald 2009). By ‘mapping controversies’ (Latour 2005b, Phillips 2009) or looking at the discordance among different heritage uses, a more holistic picture of heritage emerges. It moves heritage beyond the celebratory and regulated, to that which can be dynamic, unpredictable, and disruptive when control is imposed upon it. The contentious identity politics of UCH are perhaps the most obvious area of maritime dissonance (Andrews 2005a, 2007b, Ransley 2006a). But, beyond the preeminence of underwater archaeology and the polarisation of salvage and archaeology and their relatively small interest groups, there are other ‘mismatches’ generating maritime heritage. These are found in Nadel-Klein’s (2003) ethnographic exploration of the tensions between tourism and local identities in the fishing communities of coastal Scotland and Davies’ (2006) analysis of conflict between heritage management and community uses of New Zealand’s maritime landscape.

Awareness of the power dynamics and identity politics of heritage is a major development because it encourages researchers and practitioners to ‘look both ways’ at the various fallouts of heritage. Holtorf has brought a valuable perspective in questioning archaeological authenticity and the related premise that the past is a non-renewable resource, going so far as to argue that even the destruction of heritage (like forgetting) generates heritage (2005). Diametrically opposed to such destruction yet equally intangible and meaningful is the recycling of things, history, identity and place such as Laviolette presents in his study of nautical recyclia in coastal Cornwall (2006). Whereas Laviolette attributes the ‘fresh and salient cultural vibrancy’ (ibid:88) of maritime heritage to its marginality and metaphor, Davies stresses its mobility and conflict (2006), and Laurier its performative and sensory capacities (1998). Though concerning different concepts and case studies, such work explores and promotes the renewal of maritime heritage and disrupts compelling closure.

Within such process-oriented conceptualisations of heritage, a more nuanced understanding of human-material relations in producing identity and heritage is developing. The ‘return to things’ in heritage and museums benefits and borrows from

the longstanding interdisciplinary body of material culture work. It reflects the 'agentive turn' in social theory, in which Gell (1998) and Latour (2005b) have been influential on and among other scholars (Appadurai 1986, Buchli 2002, Miller 2005, Henare et al. 2007). Processes of 'affect' in which the vitality, immediacy and other material qualities of things allow them to 'text their context' (Thomas 2009) are underscored as much as the ways people possess and transform objects. This mutuality between people and things is similar to that between past and present, although the latter is rarely described as 'affect'. Laurier's analysis of historic ship replication and restoration is among maritime studies moving beyond the past-material bias to interpret social practices 'which fabricate heritage objects and understandings of those objects' (1998:21), while retaining the evocative power of materiality and especially boats.

Besides highlighting non-human agency generally, Latour's conception of the museum as a 'ding' in which people and things assemble to speak (2005a) supports the museum as an important and appropriate space for exploring and generating this productive mutuality between the social and material. Others exploring museum engagements with the material world (Knell 2007a) open up not only materiality but also identity and community. While there is still a strong focus on collecting and materiality among maritime museums, as suggested by Cossons statement 'museums are about objects and for people' (2007), there are moves towards the intangible. Day and Lunn observe the incorporation of oral history into maritime museum collections and narratives, and further suggest this translates to more inclusive and diverse notions of maritime heritage, and is thus an ideological shift (Day and Lunn 2004). And though there is still inordinate focus on the ship, maritime museums are exploring and representing its social, cultural and historical significance in new ways (Davies 2006).

Another important research area explores senses of place and belonging (Basso and Feld 1996, Hayden 1997, English Heritage 2000), often through the affect of geography and landscape (Bender 1993, Moore and Whelan 2009) or through community-based work highlighting local identity (Smith et al. 2003, Waterton 2005). Jones' (2004b, 2005) investigation of the Pictish Hilton of Cadboll Stone is an important ethnographic study of local and place identity, that only analyses materiality and archaeology insofar as they hold social value for their immediate Scottish community. It is not only most maritime museums that are situated in

specific contexts (Anico and Peralta 2008c), but also maritime heritage as a process that tends to reside in and/or between places. Watson's Yarmouth study shows how community identity coalesces around the changing histories of a place, in this case through changing relationships with the sea in this coastal town, and how this sense of place is borne out in aspirations for the local maritime museum (2007a). Though Atkinson (2002, 2007, 2008) is primarily interested in highlighting the mundane everyday nature of heritage, his focus on maritime places, including British port cities, observes, like Watson, that the power of place lies in its renewability as a locus for plural and new heritage uses.

The way senses of place and belonging build identity and community in a situated but lived fashion connects with the embodiment and performance of heritage. This experiential aspect of heritage has received less attention but opens up a particularly subtle yet prolific heritage use beyond the fixed-site museum and traditional exhibition. It is a dimension of heritage with which maritimity has great resonance. Laurier's exploration of the performance of masculinity through the use of ships and the maritime past, conveys the tension between more conscious 'authentic' 'heritage' and the experiential qualities of maritimity. Kershaw's (2002) account of live performances aboard the SS *Great Britain* analyses how audiences embody and materialise maritime memory through the ship and gain identity and community.

These above concepts of are used to frame (maritime) heritage as a multi-faceted phenomena. However, one sometimes senses these concepts being deployed somewhat automatically, giving them the appearance of fossilised idioms that merely describe and cap over what heritage actually does. In the forthcoming analysis (Chapters 4-8), I try to only use these concepts or offer new ones insofar as Bermudian uses of maritimity permit.

2.3 Bermuda's heritage sector and its museums

Reflexivity and radical change

In Bermuda, the inertia in moving towards the new museology and heritage as a process is proportional to the traction the AHD and modernist museum have on the island. This indicates the cross-cultural proliferation and tendency of practitioners to consciously adopt or uncritically accept these paradigms and Euro-American discourse in general, especially under pressures to 'professionalise' and keep apace

with accepted ‘best practice’. Being a maritime museum, and thus subject to some of the above issues (2.2), adds further weight to BMM’s conventional leanings. By the same logic, progressive models like the new museology ought to be as readily espoused but face difficulties being implemented due to the unique features of the island’s heritage sector.

It is with respect to these regressive tendencies and other issues effected by scale that I must emphasise how *small* Bermuda, its heritage sector and museums all are. Size correlates to speed in the paradoxical terms of a slow rate of sector-wide change. Long as it has taken me to complete this research and notwithstanding various institutional developments, I have observed few fundamental shifts in local practice over that period.

This inertia reflects the realities of local life and everyday work and the formidable challenges of keeping museums afloat, much less radically overhauling them, even in a society as sophisticated and wealthy as Bermuda. Local heritage practitioners are understandably focused on more immediate goals and measurable outputs, such as fundraising and exhibitions. The sense of achievement these projects and the demanding yet satisfying nature of museum work in general yield, nonetheless preclude practitioners from engaging critically and addressing questions of social value.

Beyond this being a small place with the big task of better connecting the community with their museums, the sector’s inertia is maintained by a lack of ‘self-critical thought [that] is now an essential survival skill, however reluctant the museum establishment may be to concede that necessity’ (Janes 2007:135). As a recent critical report about the Bermuda Archives (Bermuda Ombudsman 2009) and my ethnographic data both suggest, practitioner and wider concerns about the sector may be well-formulated and privately communicated, yet never are constructively addressed. Indicative of this inveterate reality, this is the first holistic critical review of Bermuda’s heritage sector.³⁷

Seemingly contrary, but actually contributing to the sector’s inertia, is a desire for immediate results. Such impatience is evident in the frustrated urgent efforts to overhaul public education in Bermuda (Hopkins et al. 2007) – with social studies and other curricula increasingly linked with heritage and museums, though ideally, much

³⁷ To my knowledge and notwithstanding the considerable prior historical, archaeological and anthropological research and heritage management and policy initiatives on Bermuda.

more so. Whether regarding education or heritage, the speed at which recommendations are made too often compromises their substance, curtailing their effectiveness and sustainability. While some scholars warn radical museum reform is unconstructive rhetoric (Witcomb 2003), others advocate that which

requires a total change in circumstances, as well as philosophy and organization, for museums to become fully integrated with and driven by their communities. Perhaps it is no surprise that such circumstances [are] more likely to occur in rural locations with a strong sense of identity (Davis 2008b:72).

Hence, and reflecting an idealistic but tenable local rhetoric, small-scale societies and retrograde sectors like Bermuda's have high potential to achieve fundamental change and, in doing so, paradoxically make a 'quantum leap' to serve as cross-cultural models. Moreover, the heritage sector and its museums have potential to be a model within Bermuda, among the nonprofit 'third sector'³⁸ if not to the island overall.

Such potentials make the current challenges especially unfortunate but also encourage this review to go beyond the generic kind examining only statistical or superficial indicators (although these too are lacking in this context), to instead grapple with key issues. This is not a literature review nor a history of the heritage sector (which is beyond my scope here and awaits authorship), but an attempt to highlight what usually goes unspoken, yet is so decisive or prevalent in Bermuda's heritage and museums. By saying the things that I think need to be said, while (perhaps all too) aware of the risks that come with being so forthright, I aim to help realise more of the sector's social value.

While this chapter's previous sections primarily reported on secondary sources in a manner typical of a literature review, this local review required original research due to the paucity of prior studies, besides the necessity of obtaining first-hand perspectives and up-to-date information. Contrary to the forthcoming main analysis based on 'grassroots' perspectives (Chapters 4-8), but with those views also informing this account, this review – though still ethnographically-derived – primarily reflects 'elite' interviews (Marshall and Rossman 1995⁸³, Bong 2002) of influential and well-informed museum staff, volunteers and other key stakeholders, whom I refer to with the blanket term 'practitioners', whom the quotes below belong and whom are also part of the community. This provocative island-wide account also introduces pivotal local issues and conditions arising later in the main analysis.

³⁸ Term used by the Centre on Philanthropy, a support organisation for Bermuda nonprofits.

It is precisely because of the need for radical change and the current lack of reflexivity that I take a polemical tone. Such hard-hitting critique and matching recommendations may be unconventional for this sort of review and run the risk of appearing to dismiss the impressive work achieved locally by a dedicated few over many years. I also risk ‘tarring all heritage with one brush’ as Hewison and other 1980s ‘heritage baiters’ and more recent critical scholars, including Smith with the AHD, have been accused (2.1). Neither is my intention. I know that heritage and museums exist in real-time and places where progressive models are difficult to implement and threats to continuity are a valid concern. Yet, my critical fervour is arguably less damaging than leaving the status quo undisturbed. By making this review a manifesto of sorts, I practise the ‘embedded ethics’ (Meskell and Pels 2005) demanded by heritage and museums, and which accordingly feature in my methodological reflection (4.1). Still, the fact I can be so forthright attests to Bermuda’s openness.

I wish to unpack and disrupt the prevailing discourses contributing to community-museum disconnection in Bermuda and a lack of local ownership over heritage and museums. I explore what my interview and other field data suggest is impeding the island’s official heritage and museums from more broadly and meaningfully connecting with Bermudians. Many of these barriers relate strikingly to linked presumptions of heritage authenticity and deficiency, which I seek to discredit.

Barriers to Bermudian ownership

Island faultlines

The sector’s problematic fragmentation and presumptions are reflected in and reinforced by several territorial faultlines. The first of these is a public-private split, as a lack of ownership over heritage ‘starts’, contend practitioners and others, at the national or political level. Though the Bermuda Government supports heritage via donations and grants to cultural nonprofits, its regulative role through legislation, and policy and initiatives across several Ministries (Figure 2.4), this translates to a single-digit percentage in the \$1 billion-plus annual budget and just a handful of civil servants in one of the world’s largest *per capita* bureaucracies.³⁹ Within Bermuda’s

³⁹ As of 2009, Government’s full-time heritage positions are: Archivist in the Archives; Folklife Officer in Community & Cultural Affairs; Custodian of Historic Wrecks in Conservation Services (as per Bermuda Government 2001, 2004); Parks Planner (charged with fortifications management) in

civil service, heritage competes for attention in the wider remits and annual budgets of departments with notoriously poor intra-cooperation, reflecting the wider heritage sector's territorialism. Within and beyond Government, heritage receives relatively paltry public support, especially compared to huge grants recently earmarked for sport and tourism,⁴⁰ with the latter rarely conceived as heritage tourism as I explore below.

There is strong practitioner and public opinion that Government ought to support heritage more, although not necessarily in a way that exerts more operational involvement or ideological control. Judgments of heritage as bureaucratic, mismanaged and politicised under Government are frequent, even among civil servants striving to change the system from within.⁴¹ The response 'an election must be coming' (120b:WM60s) to the sight of some overdue built heritage restoration is typically cynical. While influenced by the public heritage deficiency presumption and misconception that heritage practice is objective – which views I subscribe to contend it can *never* be – such criticisms still underscore the perceived lack of political will for cultural heritage and a belief this trickles down to apathetic community attitudes.

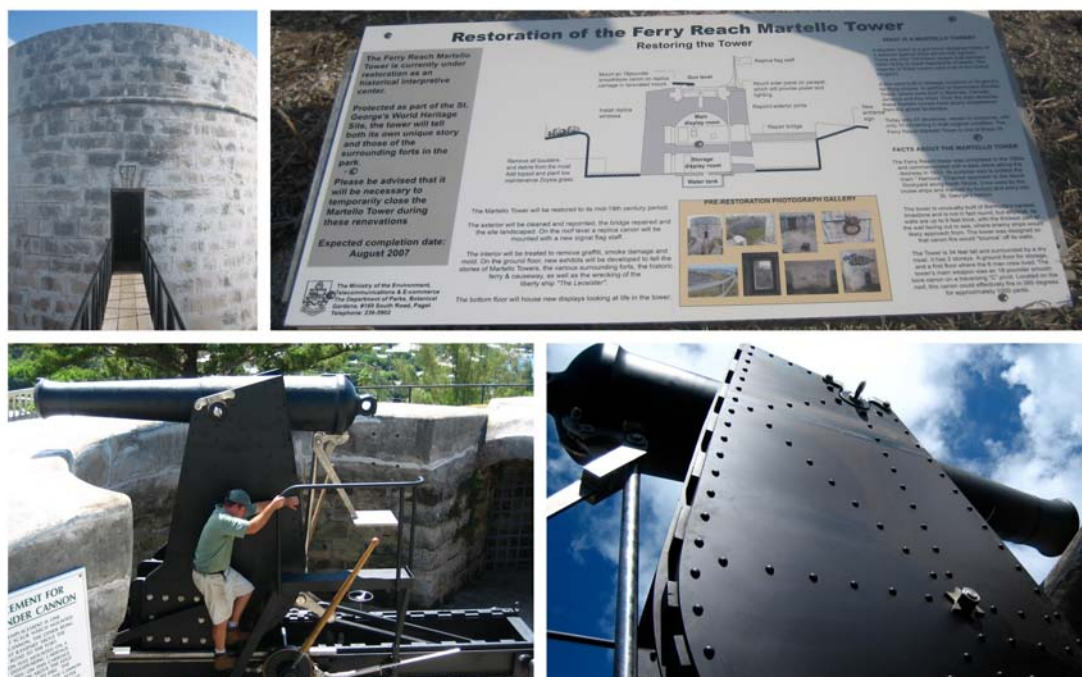


Figure 2.4: (Top) Martello Tower at Ferry Reach; and (bottom) Fort Scaur's 'Disappearing Gun' in Sandys, are among fortifications and artillery recently restored by the Government Department of Parks but among many others requiring such management (Harris 1997, 2003).

Parks; Heritage Officer managing listed buildings and the St. George's World Heritage site in Planning. Notably, there are no dedicated heritage positions in Tourism (DOT) or Education (MoED).

⁴⁰ In 2006, Government announced \$36-million football and \$11-million cricket grants. In 2009, a \$28-million 2-year tourism contract was renewed, without tender, to an American marketing firm.

⁴¹ Although usually directed to the incumbent Progressive Labour Party (PLP) some such complaints extend back prior to the PLP taking power from the United Bermuda Party (UBP) in 1998.

Due partly to the lack of national or political agenda but echoing Bermuda's capitalist ethos and long history of privatisation (Craven 1990), non-governmental nonprofits have led the way in official heritage and museums. They have done so with an entrepreneurial independent spirit inhibiting sectoral cohesion and collaboration. Even groups in close proximity, as found in St. George's and Dockyard,⁴² hardly represent partnership models, either in themselves or as united geographic extremities and heritage tourism nodes. There are a few key individuals who drive the heritage sector and without whom its current infrastructure would not exist. Though working by committee is an admirable aim espoused by new museology, this sector testifies to the value of strong leaders, with BMM's Executive Director Dr. Edward Harris chief among these in cultural (but not natural) heritage. Such passionate figureheads nonetheless reinforce institutional territorialism and tend to be viewed as the 'sole arbiter[s]' or 'gate-keepers' of local heritage and museums (Bermuda Ombudsman 2009:17).

Though partnered projects are on the rise, collaborations tend to be short-term, superficial and informal. Such efforts can be more rhetorical than genuine, with a politically-correct discourse of collaboration masking a lack of commitment or even cynicism and distrust among practitioners, that one detects in defensive statements and tacit attacks such as '*we don't have any insecurities*' (194:WM60s). Combination memberships and other streamlining attempts, such as the 'Heritage Passport' multi-ticket, often fail because they are based in fiscal values or tourist satisfaction instead of a synergy based in long-term sector-wide goals and their social value. Collaboration rarely involves addressing pre-existing tensions, leaving them unresolved. With little successful precedent to look upon, appreciation of the benefits of collaboration, even out of self-interest, is limited at best.

In another faultline, Bermuda suffers an artificial but naturalised split between natural and cultural heritage that is common to many sectors (Lowenthal 2005:81, Lowenthal and Olwig 2006, Howard and Papayannis 2008). Overlapping management issues tend to become contentious either/or fights – either skinks⁴³ or

⁴² St. George's heritage groups include BNT, Bermudian Heritage Museum, St. George's Foundation, St. George's Historical Society. Dockyard heritage groups include BMM, the Bermuda Sloop Foundation and the West End Development Corporation (WEDCo.).

⁴³ Skinks are lizards endemic to Bermuda. I am referring to past accusations that fortifications restoration and archaeology altered or destroyed skink habitats.

fortifications, either coral reefs or shipwrecks, either ecological habitats or traditional skills. Though lately more mutual work is happening, one sometimes senses a strategy to take advantage of the momentum of natural heritage.⁴⁴ Even the Bermuda National Trust (BNT), which bridges natural and cultural heritage the most locally,⁴⁵ has a split personality in keeping them separate and arguably privileging the former (Figure 2.5).



Figure 2.5: Ceremonial planting and donor list unveiling for 2.86 acres at Long Bay, Sandys on 23 April 2007, part of BNT's 'Buy Back Bermuda' campaign to purchase greenfield spaces in the public trust or, following BNT's motto, 'for everyone forever'.

This natural-cultural heritage discrepancy plays out strongly with respect to Bermuda's underwater heritage, as I have noted elsewhere (Andrews 2005a, 2007b). Bermudians and even natural and cultural heritage practitioners treat the marine environment as sacrosanct but cultural remains and land-seascapes as less important, if not salvageable. Aming's (2007) film calling for urgent ocean conservation alongside light jokes about 'treasure hunting' is one widely disseminated example. This differential consciousness is irrespective of the now staunch legal protection of the UCH (Bermuda Government 2001, 2004) and considerable maritime archaeology and curatorial policy by BMM, the Government-based Custodian of Historic Wrecks and others, including community divers increasingly (Azevedo-Grout 2006).

⁴⁴ Since the US-led environmental movement of the 1970s, numerous natural conservation statutes have passed and have been surrounded by robust public policy and educational initiatives in Bermuda.

⁴⁵ BNT's heritage conservation, education and advocacy spans historic buildings, museums, archaeology, nature reserves and open spaces.

Such inconsistent treatment of natural and cultural heritage reflects a gravitation to the politically neutral and an aversion to the complexities of culture and identity, which in turn reflects tensions between the local and global.

Outside-in identity

Bermuda's incumbent and first Government-based Folklife Officer, whose role in the Government Department of Cultural Affairs (CA) resembles but is framed in contrast to the official 'gatekeepers' mentioned above, argues this orientation to the wider world is part of the island's cultural identity, while encouraging Bermudians to instead formulate their identities from the 'inside-out':

Bermuda has often viewed itself from the outside-in. Ever dependent upon the whims of a foreign market, Bermudians have been conditioned to examine our environment in a manner that takes the form of an external measurement. We are far more likely to ask "what might an Other think of this?" than to ask "what do I think of this?" Such a fundamental point of perspective greatly affects how we view the world as well as how, when and if we choose to express ourselves' (Dismont-Robinson 2006:5).

Such external formations of identity are at work in the local heritage sector, insulating and separating it away from more localised, presentist and pluralist processes and priorities with higher social value.

The natural, global and uncritical approaches of official heritage and museums in Bermuda certainly tie to tourism, long the island's economic and cultural lifeblood (McDowall 1999, Rothwell 2004). Tourism today evokes nostalgia because of its serious decline (Figure 2.6);⁴⁶ Bermudians are perhaps, ironically, constructing identity through tourism more than ever. Yet, many view heritage and museums as 'a good thing for tourism' but mostly irrelevant to their own lives, an outlook buttressed by the way local heritage groups, and especially museums as 'visitor attractions', define their relevance via tourism. Practitioners tend to focus on tourist audiences, sometimes as a means to tacitly express their frustration with Bermudians' apparent 'apathy', a frustration rooted in a presumption the community is heritage deficient.

⁴⁶ The decline of tourism since the mid-1980s highpoint is blamed on numerous factors, including Bermuda's high cost image or perceived lack of value for money and sub-tropical seasonal status. Efforts to resuscitate tourism are now desperate, as suggested by subservience to low value cruise tourism and contested debate over introducing gambling to the island.



Figure 2.6: Bermuda remains reliant on cruise tourism: (top) ships passing along North Shore channels and passengers on deck; (bottom) ship at King's Wharf, Dockyard in 2007, prior to major extensions in front of BMM (right of stern), with Casemates now NMB (left of bow).

The sector's orientation to tourism is despite minimal promotion and investment in cultural heritage by the Government-run Department of Tourism (DOT), underscoring the lack of political will for heritage.⁴⁷ DOT relies on the long-sold natural beauty, picture-postcard image of the island – one that is 'green, clean and serene'⁴⁸ – versus promoting Bermuda as richly and uniquely culturally endowed, contributing to incongruous attitudes to natural and cultural heritage. The few heritage tourism initiatives, such as the African Diaspora Heritage Trail (ADHT),⁴⁹ fail to realise their full social value by being so heavily weighted to tourism and focusing on 'products' and tourist numbers more than the cultural content, and the local community and heritage sector generating it (Andrews 2009b). DOT spends incredible amounts on marketing,⁵⁰ often by overseas firms no less, versus investing in on-island

⁴⁷ Tourism as a Government-run department is fiercely contested, with calls for it to be privatised (Archer 1995, Bermuda First 2009), including UBP proposals that were abandoned when the PLP came to power in November 1998. The heritage sector engages little with this debate, however.

⁴⁸ Overseas delegates at the ADHT conference held in Bermuda in July 2008 coined this phrase, with Bermudians subsequently repeating it.

⁴⁹ This cross-border cultural tourism initiative is part of UNESCO's Slave Route project and was originated and largely developed by Bermuda's DOT. The extent to which ADHT remains an uncritical tourism exercise is problematic in my view (Andrews 2009b). And despite having the appearance of an ecomuseum, it does not sufficiently reflect a place-based community philosophy (Corsane et al. 2007).

⁵⁰ (Note 39).

infrastructure, including DOT staff dedicated to cultural heritage and tourist amenities like museums. Much like the term ‘sustainable development’, increasingly used in Bermuda (Bermuda Government 2006), links two concepts with considerable tension (Sørensen 2007), the limited extent to which there is a marriage between heritage and tourism is dysfunctional.

It is therefore surprising that Bermuda’s museums are not re-orienting more in the manner of the Barbados Museum, where ‘local community is the first focus, then tourists’ (Cummins 2005). Instead, an uncritical ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry 2002 (1990)) leaves the heritage sector and its museums inconsequential to most Bermudians and stalls innovative solutions to connect with the community. Contrary to giving heritage tourism an ethical basis (ICOM 2000) yet similar to the way many heritage and tourism studies are devoted to the tourist’s perspective, little attention is paid to the ways tourism – in quintessential colonial style – is relatively unconcerned, at odds with or altogether overrides local needs. The tension between ‘the museum as a tourist attraction and a resource for local communities’, that Mulhearn (2008) notes about maritime museums, is key to Bermuda’s community-museum disconnection and low local heritage and museum ownership.

The sector’s uncritical approach and external orientation reflects a conservative ‘polite’ society, a character often attributed to Bermuda’s small island culture and Anglo-Saxon puritan values, and conspicuously less often to residues of colonialism and racism. Informants blame the scarcity of ‘spaces of debate’ beyond the political arena on the lack of local infrastructure⁵¹ but also on a more entrenched cultural attitude, that ‘Bermudians assume conflict is a bad thing’ and avoid civic engagement. Scholarly discourse is seen as endangered, with the frequent call for the ‘couched objectivity’ of the academic emphasising just how much this is so.

Given this void, there is real need for museums to take on the role of cultural analyst or ‘forum’. Though efforts are made to draw practitioners together, such as curator and director gatherings,⁵² spaces of debate largely remain outside the sector.⁵³ Within the sector, controversial topics are avoided and museums rarely ask

⁵¹ Bermuda has no university, only the junior Bermuda College currently working towards offering four-year degrees, nonprofit research institutes and museums, floundering initiatives such as the Foundation for Bermuda Studies, and pockets of intellectual, artistic and political subculture.

⁵² Refers specifically to meetings of local museum curators, now defunct, and a recent panel discussion with local and overseas museum directors (at the Bermuda National Gallery on 29 January 2010).

⁵³ Including the daily print and broadcast media, and increasingly blogs, social networking sites and other technologies, though call-in radio shows remain some of the most important spaces of debate.

provocative questions. Heritage management is largely maintained as clear-cut uncontested priorities or management-type decisions. The sector's political engagement is basically restricted to heritage advocacy, with institutions accused of lacking 'teeth' and consistent unified stands in even this watchdog dimension. Instances of a practitioner warning me to avoid vitriolic case studies and a rare live community discussion about heritage noting 'and remember, no politics!' (Mallorey 2009) are indicative of this apolitical attitude. Local museums could lead the way in independent critical thinking, but have not yet seized the opportunity. This failure relates to the sector's allegiance to authenticity and low levels of capacity and diversity.

Authenticity and exclusion

In line with wider heritage and museum discourse, many relations with cultural heritage in Bermuda take a past-material approach. Much local heritage work is driven by historical value and aims to expand the record of the past. That a good deal of this effort focuses on early Bermuda and/or the island's role in the Atlantic world arises from the significance of that history, the wealth of archival or archaeological material, and high interest among local and overseas scholars, but also reflects an aversion to more recent, local, political topics. Moves towards what or who is under-represented reflect a desire to develop more inclusive narratives but still orient to history in an isolated sense. A similar obligation to the past is evident in practitioner views that curatorial processes are empirical and impartial, as evident in the claim 'people want to distort history. Of course, I don't. I want it to be authentic' (190:WM70s).

Material values again about historical values within the confines of authenticity. The rich diversity of Bermuda's archival, archaeological, architectural and other cultural collections, due in part to the way islands 'trap artefacts', help direct attention to tangible heritage. But it is beyond material pride that many local practitioners assume material stewardship to be the premise of their practice, one museologist saying 'being a museum, which primarily means dealing with the material remains of the past, my notions obviously take a hard artefactual form' (4:WM60s). Like maritime museums can be unquestionably subservient to boats (2.2), the high costs and trade-offs of managing tangible heritage are rarely questioned, again demonstrating an uncritical sector.

What is more, the tangible focus is less than it might be given the aforementioned low levels of institutional collaboration, heritage tourism, political will and community ownership. Considering Bermuda's material heritage faces serious threats, this is not a case of the tangible being entirely well-managed and simply adding on the intangible (UNESCO 2003). Topping my imaginary local list of 'heritage in danger' (UNESCO 2009) are shipwrecks and other UCH (Smith 2006b, Smith and Akagawa 2008) and Dockyard's built heritage (Figure 2.7) and archaeology (Andrews 2005c) despite significant efforts by BMM, BNT, and other heritage groups on behalf of both.



Figure 2.7: Faith Tabernacle, one of many historic Dockyard sites subject to (less than) 'benign' neglect and threatened with demolition and redevelopment, displaying plans in 2009.

The preeminence of archaeology in Bermuda's heritage sector has produced an impressive terrain and submerged record and collection over the last three decades, to which BMM's Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History and other resulting publications attest (Fortenberry and Brown III forthcoming, Harris and Watts forthcoming).⁵⁴ Additional social value spins off this work, particularly via public history and public archaeology (Figure 2.8). Archaeology, history, and other

⁵⁴ BNT and BMM are the island's main archaeological institutions, with terrain, and terrain and underwater programmes, respectively. In lieu of a university, national or professionalised archaeological unit, they rely on staff, volunteers and visiting university fieldschools and scholars.

established disciplines struggle themselves and certainly deserve continued growth, especially given high Bermudian interest and the knowledge and material they provide to museums.



Figure 2.8: BNT archaeologists share with the public archaeological finds, the site itself and mapping from excavations at St. Peter's Church, St. George's, August 2008.

The pressing need to develop heritage research and curatorial processes to an equal level as archaeology and history may involve such established historical disciplines temporarily losing prioritisation, or at least require more integrative interdisciplinary designs of them so as to better serve official and unofficial heritage. The sector's past-material orientation poses challenges but indeed also presents opportunities, especially for making a 'quantum leap' to the entirely presentist and intangible conceptualisations new to heritage theory (2.1).

The sector's past-material bias and other notions of authenticity are linked to its particular network and culture. Beyond local heritage groups and museums being established in years past by certain strands of the community, some Bermudians see them maintained as a 'cartel of specific interests', a commentary on 'how the identity of those determining the value of [heritage] determines what is valued, managed and protected' (Smith et al. 2010:19, citing Altschul 2010). The observation that these are 'white' institutions is so prevalent, it is openly made by their practitioners – many of

whom are white – indicating the need and readiness for change. While it is not just the heritage sector trying to shake off the stereotype of whiteness, if not make real change to the realities behind it,⁵⁵ this is especially needed due to the social value of heritage and museums and their potential to bridge the racial divide in the sector and wider Bermuda.

While race is extremely important to the community-museum disconnection and *ostensibly* trumps class, the underlying condition is socio-economic. Wealth or lack thereof, in an extremely subtle yet real sense, grants or bars access to Bermuda's official heritage and museums. Often perceived as apathy and promoted as impartiality, maintaining the sector's *status quo* strategically insulates socio-economic power, albeit inextricably tied to racial legacies. Such an interpretation does not deny the extent to which Bermuda's stratification is ultimately 'a race problem not a class one, because class distinctions are rooted in whiteness' (Anico and Peralta 2008b:9, citing Gable 2008), but rather highlights the social centrality and complexity of the race-class dynamic.

The sector also suffers a generation gap. When younger people are represented in official heritage and museums it is usually because their parents or peers are connected. Thus, the same socio-economic exclusivity is perpetuated to the limited extent there is inter-generational transmission among stakeholders. This age gap is marked in the natural-cultural heritage split, with natural heritage capturing younger audiences with its future associations, social relevance and civic consciousness, while cultural heritage clings to its reliable '40-plus' demographic and is assigned negative retarding connotations.

It comes down to money in a pragmatic sense that an echelon of Bermudians feel more included, comfortable and represented in official heritage. Because self-sufficiency is negligible,⁵⁶ Bermuda's museums rely on private donations, and to a lesser degree Government grants, to maintain operations, build endowments, and underwrite capital projects. The heritage sector, and wider third sector, have fed extremely well off the corporate sector,⁵⁷ with BMM's fundraising success garnering

⁵⁵ Churches, private schools, community groups and political parties are also attempting to do so.

⁵⁶ Via admission receipts, membership dues, publications, facility and site rentals, etc.

⁵⁷ Over the last 25 years, Bermuda has emerged as a leading international business centre, particularly for reinsurance, due to a sophisticated stable infrastructure and favourable regulatory or tax framework.

special mention.⁵⁸ The rush of sophisticated campaigns over the past decade – including St. George’s Foundation’s World Heritage Centre (Figure 2.9) – has created a competitive and dynamic heritage climate.⁵⁹ Under normal non-profit conditions, but especially in this buoyant yet increasingly vulnerable economy,⁶⁰ the sector is entrepreneurial and aggressive yet cautious and strategic. Efforts to cater to or aggrandise donors,⁶¹ trustees and other key stakeholders – who often overlap – are proportional to fears of disenfranchising them and reflect the control a narrow strand of society claims and/or is handed over local heritage.



Figure 2.9: Official opening and dedication of the World Heritage Centre, St. George’s, by Governor Sir Richard Gozney (left) on 28 July 2009, during Bermuda’s 400th Anniversary.

By association, projects tend to be seen in a ‘value for money’ light that leans towards measurable outputs, with heritage managed and evaluated in economic pragmatic terms. Practitioners tend to look to visitor benchmarks or base strategic plans on models that reflect the business acumen of key stakeholders and the island’s corporate culture. The extent to which managing cultural phenomena on this basis is uncritically accepted was highlighted during the recent global economic crisis, when the

⁵⁸ In an important area of regard that nonetheless contributes to community-museum disconnection, practitioners and others frequently cite BMM as the prime success story of corporate and other fundraising, particularly in terms of endowments. This is often attributed to the skill of Director Dr. Edward Harris, highlighting the personal political nature of fundraising and heritage work generally.

⁵⁹ Similar to the UK Heritage Lottery Fund boom and Euro-American exhibition and architectural culture, but on a smaller scale.

⁶⁰ The global economic crisis since late 2008 places Bermuda in a vulnerable position, resulting in strategies being proposed for keeping the economy solvent (Bermuda First 2009).

⁶¹ This refers to financial donors primarily, but also non-monetary donors, especially to collections.

opportunity to pause and re-evaluate priorities resulted in doubling-down on such fiscal values in the limited streamlining and reprioritising that did take place. Just as the pressures tourism applies to heritage are mostly unidentified and unquestioned, the consequences of this focus on product over process is downplayed or obscured.

A major challenge lies in the way fiscal values steer heritage and museum work and measure its success, making community heritage and other social value subordinate. 'Heritage value differs from economic value, which assesses worth relative to other things as indicated by financial price tag, not in relation to preferences and satisfaction associated with the moral and ethical sphere' (Smith et al. 2010:15). Local heritage practitioners face the same problem Bermudians and museums do on a wider level, that it is extremely difficult to argue with the bottom line, particularly in such a capitalist setting. Tunbridge, renown for his work on heritage and dissonance (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996) which is relevant to community-museum disconnection, wryly observed in his Bermuda research 'there are no echoes of Castro's Cuba here' (Tunbridge 2002:49).

I do not mean, however, that local museums are 'bought' in a corrupt or even commodified sense. Besides donor-relations being precious and meaningful in their own right, museums cannot afford to dismiss or risk them. It is accepted practice to nurture stakeholder interest and '*de rigueur* to acknowledge sponsors and donors' (Janes 2009:80), let alone prudent for operational stability and maintaining the significant social value the sector already generates.

It is the more subtle disenfranchising effects of these fiscal values and the sector's above cultural contours that I mean to highlight. I do so because practitioners find these so hard to recognise day-to-day and as they accrue over time. This special inclusion of some Bermudians refracts a subtle exclusion onto others, turning heritage into a kind of 'luxury good'. As a function of authenticity, this compelling closure is not limited to the maritime genre (2.2), Bermuda or even official heritage and museums, but is a widespread heritage use. Moreover, expressions such as 'those Bermudians who care were there tonight' and 'if you're not a member you don't know about it' (UI) may speak more to the community's heightened sensitivities than they do to the heritage sector's actual intentions and actions. However, such community perception really is everything when it comes to community-museum disconnection and a lack of local ownership over heritage and museums.

Low capacity and diversity

The above fiscal values and social exclusion play out in this island heritage sector's workforce capacity and diversity, or lack thereof. Human capacity is deficient in the few groups with paid staff, whose senior management, curatorial and support staff numbers⁶² and expertise pale in comparison to corporate entities and even other nonprofits, besides comparable heritage sectors elsewhere. This is despite heritage and museum work demanding so much intellectually, creatively and even physically of its practitioners, especially in terms of 'wearing many hats' (Janes 2009).

These demands on capacity are exacerbated by a material bias for museum 'products', especially physical 'bricks and mortar' facilities and traditional exhibitions. These provide the sexiest 'sell' not only to donors, but also to staff, trustees, and other museum supporters with the enthusiasm to push them. Quick or sometimes unrealistic turn-around times – often prescribed by donors, anniversaries, or other factors external to curation – satisfy short-term and maintain momentum so necessary for the nonprofit donor-reliant museum. But, hustling from project to project, Bermuda's practitioners miss research and outreach opportunities and rarely formally evaluate or otherwise reflect on their work. Isolating production largely within staff curtails opportunities to engage with the community and create robust products and programming that sustain well past ribbon-cuttings. Catering to product over process thus has consequences for workforce capacity.

Prioritising immediate or capital projects and outsourcing museum work is perhaps necessary for short-term goals, but does little to develop infrastructure in the way deepening human capacity would. Prohibitive as salary and training costs are, such investment is needed to strengthen and sustain the sector. Though there is no substitute for the hands-on learning of daily museum practice, there are currently no on-island training programmes for museum and other heritage practitioners.⁶³ Staff and volunteers instead undertake development or education in a piecemeal fashion – myself as a full-time scholarship-supported student being a rare fortunate exception.

Following the logic that museums are the people who inhabit them (Elliott 2003), human capacity is the basis of strengthening museum-community connections. While we may easily agree with the idea of increased local capacity or

⁶² As of 2010, by my estimate, there are no more than 50 full-time heritage professionals in Bermuda, across various groups and their private-public, natural-cultural, heritage-culture-arts faultlines.

⁶³ However, local scholarships are available, including Atlantic Philanthropies Cummings V. Zuill Leadership Award promoting training and development of individuals in Bermuda's third sector.

Bermudianisation,⁶⁴ knowing what capacities and skills are needed for heritage and museums and actually developing them is a far more difficult challenge. It is one requiring concerted attention, though individual institutions and the sector on the whole have so far not given it this.

A companion to the above race-class dynamic of inclusion-exclusion and low local capacity is the global element, linking with my above discussions of identity politics and tourism. The heritage sector, and by extension Bermuda at large, benefits greatly from non-Bermudian donors, trustees, staff, volunteers, scholars, and consultants, reflecting the island's reliance on foreign expertise and labour. Local heritage groups have good international links and overseas fundraising arms,⁶⁵ inserting themselves in larger geographic, academic or professional networks. This international outlook and connections are extremely valuable to the sector, besides recalling Bermuda's longstanding international relations, particularly with the US and UK (Godet and Harris 1991, Slayton 2009, Spurling 2009).

Yet, this is not met by equal attention to more localised themes and views, especially those that may engage more intimately and critically with the community's social and environmental needs. Just as the issue of 'Bermudianisation' is hotly debated and involves reciprocal resentments of Bermudians and guest workers, so too must the global influences on the sector or their prioritisation under limited resources not only be appreciated but also problematised. To be clear, practitioners like myself do not argue this from a xenophobic standpoint, but out of a concern for the way this maintains an exclusive culture in the sector and displaces Bermudian capacity and wider local needs.

This does not deny the significant opportunities Bermudians have due to Bermudianisation, the island's small size and other 'locals-only' privileges. Nor do I mean to suggest non-Bermudians or local consultants do not satisfy different needs, as they often bring specialised expertise, academic rigour, and valuable skills and perspectives to the local and/or institutional table. Moreover, just as the expertise of overseas workers is not inalienable from being unfairly discounted, Bermudian practitioners and institutions are not inalienable from being held accountable, as the

⁶⁴ Bermudianisation is the promotion of local capacity and opportunity, particularly in employment. The Bermudianisation debate's perennial tension is the fair or preferential hiring of Bermudians without compromising the quality human resources that need to meet global professional standards. The difficulty in striking this balance is partly because of the failing public education system and lack of local critical mass to produce sufficient numbers of sufficiently educated and trained Bermudians.

⁶⁵ Including the US-based Friends of BMM Inc. and the UK-based BMM Trust.

investigation into the Bermuda Archives' barriers to access has set a precedent for (Bermuda Ombudsman 2009).

It is not foreign capacity, however, that is consistently devalued and stigmatised, nor the capacity that potentially means more to local development and sustainability, which must be the chief concern in any community but especially such a small and retrograde yet potential-rich one. Contrary to other kinds of in-group reciprocity, devaluing local capacity often comes from Bermudians themselves, as typified by one local practitioner's statement: 'If I could do it again I'd want a curator with no Bermuda experience. With a Bermudian...they place too narrow and too preconceived a view on the project' (201:WF50s).

Such sabotage denies the existing or potential superior capacity of Bermudians. Local practitioners arguably possess more local knowledge, experience, and face more intense pressures and long-term accountability, but such local acumen is rarely highlighted. My overall reading is a lack of agency among Bermuda's heritage professionals, whether in terms of the aforementioned adoption of 'best practice', institutionalised mindsets, insufficient infrastructure, hierarchical structures, and top-down demands. The 'laboratory approach' one practitioner suggests is needed to shore up or newly develop skills and confidence is a vital kind of experimentation for official heritage and museums if not other employment sectors on the island.

More than a mere add-on to this capacity deficiency is the issue of workforce diversity, the main issue of which is racial imbalance, with whites disproportionately represented, especially in senior positions, in this predominantly black or 'majority-minority' community. Beyond the heritage sector's racialised history and culture, this reflects Bermuda's wider educational, employment, and social imbalances and those within heritage and museum sectors elsewhere (Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008). Beyond following hiring guidelines⁶⁶ and resting on democratic principles, deepening black Bermudian or other non-white local capacity (Sandell 2000) has so far been limited in the local heritage sector. This (non-)position effectively denies the long history and ongoing advantages of white affirmative action and other 'skin privilege', much less 'celebrates diversity' and the added value it offers heritage and museums.

⁶⁶ Recently introduced workforce equity/diversity schemes or guidelines and related discussions (CURE 2004/05, Riley and De Shields 2008, Winfield 2009) may be followed by policy and legislation (Bermuda Government 2007), though some argue such affirmative action can be counterproductive (Dyer 2007).

At issue beyond workforce diversity itself and concerning who provides the interpretative ‘voice’ in curation specifically, is what this lack of representation means for the trust and engagement of the wider community. Like Government might in its arguments for Bermudianisation and black empowerment, the heritage sector could provide a local model for workforce capacity and diversity, with this gaining extra meaning in a sector so concerned with identity and community. These diversity and capacity issues not only delimit relationships between the community and their museums, but also – from a less museum-centric perspective – delimit community heritage.

Lowering the barriers to community heritage

Inclusion and intangibility

It is precisely because the above consequences are so damaging yet go largely unrecognised and unquestioned that I have been so critical in the preceding aspects of this review. Bermuda’s heritage sector and its museums, or the practitioners behind them, do, however, deserve acknowledgement of the independent and concerted ways they are lowering the barriers between themselves and the community and thus facilitating wider local ownership over heritage and museums.

Museums are making a significant attempt to connect with a wider cross-section of people, and especially to non-white and/or younger Bermudians so as to bridge the ‘racial divide’ and ‘age gap’. More inclusive representation and broadening audiences are the usual strategies to do so. The high extent to which this is a self-conscious exercise is evident in the relief practitioners express when they locate storylines or collections they think achieve this. Concerns about narrow demographics, such as being ‘too white and male’, suggest a differential value being applied not only to narratives but also to audiences, not unlike affirmative action relevant to workforce diversity.

Examples of this narrative inclusion (Figure 2.10) include exhibitions installed in the restored Commissioner’s House since 1999. Few of these originated from BMM’s existing collections and most departed from a maritime focus, in a move that generated some community dissonance, and thus maritime heritage. These exhibitions instead reflect an attempt to give visibility to hitherto unrepresented cultures and histories (Andrews 2005b), with no major exhibition about the historic house curated there to-date. Among more recent local narrative redevelopments, interpretation at

Verdmont has shifted ‘from architectural to human heritage’, with BNT presenting the stories of former occupants including slaves, and utilising if not directing on-site archaeology for these inclusive purposes. These stances against the unspoken ways these historic houses embody social inequities recalls Smith’s (2006b) analysis of the English country house and other local sites implicated with racism, some of which remain publicly inaccessible and elite-white owned.



Figure 2.10: Commissioner’s House at BMM in Dockyard; and BNT’s Verdmont in Smith’s.

While these museum developments have broadened narratives, they often stop short in terms of more comprehensively or substantively representing Bermudians. And, by and large, this representatio nal inclusion has not translated into more local visitors, including the sought-after young family,⁶⁷ let alone sustainable community connections. Sometimes a lack of museum follow up with co-curators and other local stakeholders makes more inclusive representations and the collaborative curatorial efforts behind them appear tokenistic and disingenuous, furthering community-museum disconnection. These shortcomings speak to the inadequacy of the traditional exhibition as the primary means to interact with the community and the external constraints being imposed on curation.

Inclusive historical narratives are increasingly found outside the museum. Jones’ (2004a) history book is held up as a key development, with ‘Bermuda: Five Centuries’ arguably having reached more Bermudians, and qualitatively *reached them more*, than museum exhibitions due to its accessibility, with the original and textbook versions (2009) distributed to schools. McDowall echoes others in his praise of Jones’ temporally and culturally encompassing content and forthright tackling of the

⁶⁷ The Bermuda Aquarium, Museum & Zoo (BAMZ) is widely recognised for attracting young families.

exclusivity that has framed the history or the perspectives from which it has been written (2004). The way he goes on to say ‘we encounter history in its fullest dimension – combining documentary, oral and material evidence’ (ibid:143) highlights the link between social inclusion-exclusion and tangible-intangible heritage. The way Bermuda’s heritage sector is increasingly attuned to intangible heritage is not simply an adoption of heritage theory or new museology but a political shift responding to local needs, including the need for the heritage sector and its museums to be more inclusive and representative.

Although heritage groups including BMM (Burchall 2002) and Bermudian writers and artists have long recognised and generated oral histories and ‘folklife’, it was Bermuda’s participation in the Smithsonian Folklife Festival (SFF)⁶⁸ that brought intangible heritage into the mainstream. Partly as follow-up to the SFF and unencumbered by collections, Cultural Affairs – which is playing an increasing role in heritage under the PLP and raising profile of the public sector and non-white heritage – and other local heritage groups are taking a more intangible and collaborative approach, though still using landscape, monumental and material heritage (Figure 2.11). Furthermore, ‘in its role as the vanguard of Bermuda’s cultural heritage and artistic expressions’ (Morris 2006:2), Cultural Affairs as well as others are blurring boundaries between heritage-arts-culture, partly out of discomfort with the elitist connotations of heritage, which one practitioner describes as ‘too stuffy’.

⁶⁸ Bermuda Connections was one of three themes in the 2001 Smithsonian Folklife Festival, an annual ‘exposition’ (versus ‘exhibition’) of living cultural heritage on the U.S. National Mall in Washington, D.C. curated by the Smithsonian Institutions Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, which inspired the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Heritage (2003). Reversing tourism but echoing the glocalisation and cultural concretisation that Bethel (2000Junkanoo Chapter) exposes in her analysis of the Bahamas 1994 participation in the SFF, Bermudian practitioners, researchers and tradition bearers travelled to Washington to create a mini-Bermuda. This showcase of Bermudian culture and identity was divided into the Arts of: Celebration, Family & Community, Building, Sport & Play, Music & Performance, Hospitality (Tourism), the Kitchen or Foodways, the Land, and most relevant to this research, the Sea. Reflecting SFF’s ethical stance to impact back home, a Bermuda Homecoming was restaged in 2002, at the 65th Annual Exhibition. The publicly accessible archive of interviews, researcher reports and educational materials are held by Cultural Affairs.



Figure 2.11: Cultural Affairs and BNT ‘Historical Heartbeats’ tour of the Long Island and Dockyard cemeteries and other sites, 14 July 2007.

Local shifts to the intangible, contemporary and inclusive are happening, often while maintaining past-material if not traditional and conservative interests and identities. *Heritage Matters* by Dr. Edward Harris, writing independently of BMM as his by-line apolitically states, perhaps best illustrates this opening up to new heritages alongside a retention of authenticity. Although billed as ‘Essays on the History of Bermuda’, this series mixes tangible and intangible forms as well as historical, curatorial and ethnographic information into compact, accessible, widely-disseminated narratives, which stimulate community heritage that may then feature in new essays, demonstrating heritage’s renewability (Harris 2005-2009, 2007, 2008 and forthcoming).

Other local and overseas practitioners, scholars, writers, artists, news and media groups cover heritage less explicitly, but still generate a tremendous amount of pertinent content that circulates within and beyond the local community. However, unless it originates from museums or their practitioners (and even this is limited), little of this heritage content or material is copied to or pursued by local museums for their curation and research. The 400th Anniversary of permanent settlement, for which little lasting legacy has resulted from the myriad events filling 2009, highlights that this loss is particularly acute in the immediate moments of generating heritage, the equivalent of an archaeologist being ‘at the trowel’s edge’ (Hodder 1999). The SFF

‘Bermuda Connections’ archive reflects an instance where recording did occur for the sake of collection, although there has been little use or analysis of this archive to-date.⁶⁹ Such documentation for its own sake is reminiscent of the lack of strategy in museum collecting now being challenged with arguments for proactive acquisition and de-accessioning (Merriman 2008, Russell 2010), in an unsettling of the once-incontrovertible ethics of removing objects from museum collections or declining available material.

Beyond such major, timely, one-off initiatives, which can be somewhat clichéd or contrived, the meanings and outcomes of daily heritage and museum work go uncollected, unanalysed, unrecognised. This effectively denies the existing social value of the heritage sector and its museums, and delimits the community connections and the sustainable support they potentially offer.

Reinventing the museum

Bermudians are founding new heritage groups, and making museums especially, in another progressive development but perhaps the clearest indicator that the sector is not meeting community needs.⁷⁰ Whereas practitioners and other Bermudians construct the community’s relationship to heritage and museums as a passive or apathetic alienation, such as by focusing on the lack of local museum visitors, these new groups instead display active community engagement with heritage and dissonance with existing museums.

This activity is a ‘reinvention’ because these start-ups do not utilise the sector’s existing infrastructure, capacity and resources, disavowing the significant money, time and energy already invested. Non-museum and emerging groups that take a less past-material and proprietary approach to heritage are encouraging this reinvention, whereas established groups are less enthusiastic but have more to lose and offer to them.

Certainly, all the established heritage groups and museums had grassroots beginnings, as their practitioners and promotional materials tend to highlight. Among these, the Bermuda Underwater Exploration Institute (BUEI) provides the classic

⁶⁹ Except for general essays (Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage 2003) and my study of the Maritime Arts archive for this research.

⁷⁰ This parallels recent political developments, specifically the founding of the Bermuda Democratic Alliance (BDA) in late 2009, primarily by a group of UBP defectors, as a third party alternative to the ruling PLP and opposition UBP, the most successful such attempt to-date.

example of reinvention. As the salvage-sympathetic counterpart to archaeologically-orthodox BMM, BUEI was forged from specialised maritime interests among particular Bermudians and contestation over rights to UCH, illustrating how dissonance generates heritage. BUEI also serves as a cautionary tale in that the community's enthusiasm has waned to disillusionment. Criticisms centre on style over substance, that despite millions of dollars invested in interactive exhibitions and other custom-built facilities (Figure 2.12), BUEI does not live up to expectations for a research 'institute' or maritime museum, though some BUEI staff prefer the 'science centre' label increasingly adopted by maritime museums (2.2).

BUEI is not alone, with other museums also suffering public and practitioner criticism. This criticism often targets exhibitions or other front-of-house spaces usually out of concern for the quality of tourist experiences, though increasingly it is social (ir)relevance that is judged or lauded, with 'education' often presumed to be the best way to grow community connections and social value.



Figure 2.12: BUEI exterior; founder/donor list; 'Shipwreck Gallery' and other exhibits, Hamilton, 2008.

Such criticisms of existing institutions do little to impede community will to 'make museums' on official and unofficial levels, which Chapter 8 argues constitutes a key aspect of curation as a particular heritage process. Challenged with building their own critical mass (Hodges and Watson 2000), this museum reinvention appears to

underestimate the investment required to develop a museum, yet may attest to local desire for ownership over museums and the heritage they curate and stimulate.

These community museums and other unofficial heritage uses apply pressure on existing groups to be more relevant and collaborative. The sector's territorial, proprietary and exclusive attitudes, especially over control of materiality, history and memory (Fouseki 2007, Peralta 2008) – that are outmoded and inhibit community trust – are now being turned against the sector or place it in a weak position. Community groups seek to control such concerns themselves and protect them from museum appropriation, as reflected in the response regarding BMM, 'it's none of the museum's business' (UI).

Much as shifts external to museums induced the new museology (2.1), so too is Bermuda's heritage sector being forced to reach out to the community in new ways. Such shifts have great meaning in such a small but thriving heritage sector and community like Bermuda, where resources are scarce, prioritisation is essential, and relationships are entwined. Clearly, the mushrooming of the sector is meaningful beyond dissonance, as a testament to the renewability of heritage and Bermuda's social and cultural vitality.

Realising a sector's social value

Considering the above challenges, one envisions a functional united heritage sector that reinvents itself from the 'inside-out' and pools capacity, resources and infrastructure. Perhaps this will occur through BMM as the first National Museum of Bermuda (NMB). Although the acquisition of Casemates Barracks (Figure 2.13) into BMM's portfolio of Dockyard sites served as NMB's catalyst, the challenges and potentials explored in this chapter undoubtedly also lay behind it. 'NMB *incorporating* BMM' raises the roles and boundaries of maritime heritage and museums (2.2), but more importantly suggests the possibility of a more holistic strategy for Bermuda's heritage and museums. Whether or not a singular or national agency is the way forward, an island-wide heritage and museums strategy, along the lines developed for other local sectors and issues,⁷¹ is certainly overdue.

⁷¹ Including education (Hopkins et al. 2007), health (Attride-Stirling 2008), and the economy (Bermuda First 2009).



Figure 2.13: Dockyard aerial (courtesy NMB) showing BMM (now NMB) in the Keep (top) and Casemates Barracks (bottom); Commissioner's House (top right); looking across the Keep's lower grounds and maritime exhibit halls (middle); towards Casemates (bottom right).

The next few years could be a milestone moment in the history of Bermuda's heritage sector and its museums. The conditions I have described make this context ripe for such change, which might demonstrate the kind of quantum leap I have speculated is possible in this local and retrograde sort of context. Bermuda's heritage practitioners and museum curators need only trust in the meaning and renewability of maritime and other heritages used by Bermudians; Bermudians who may already appreciate the social value of heritage and BMM's, the wider heritage sector's, and their own potential to generate and curate the cultural process. As comprehensive as this review has been, any regional review is inevitably *partial*, in incomplete and prejudiced senses, but especially concerning a sector as dynamic and fragmented as Bermuda's. It nonetheless takes an initial step toward recognising and realising the existing and potential social value of this heritage sector and its museums.

Chapter conclusion

Redefining heritage and museums

This chapter has reviewed a two-way shift at three scales: the distancing from the AHD and modernist museum and opening up to more presentist pluralist heritage uses that are scholarly or theoretical drawing on heritage and museum studies, culturally

thematic drawing on the maritime genre, and localised drawing on the Bermuda case.

The extent to which I have built my critical argument around authenticity does not overstate the case, but, in my view, duly emphasises the constraints authenticity imposes on heritage and museums. The crux of the issue is the link between presumptions of authenticity and public heritage deficiency; disrupting authenticity is therefore essential to recognising, supporting and harnessing community heritage. I have argued against authenticity with the caveat that it remains influential and meaningful across official and unofficial levels, and therefore must be recognised as a necessary and legitimate component of thinking about and working in heritage and museums at this time. It is also with respect to authenticity and the uneven treatment of history over heritage that I have highlighted the positioning of heritage in relation to other disciplines, especially those oriented to the past and/or materiality. Doing so gives heritage its own space, but equally stresses the value of its interdisciplinarity. The more retrograde yet realistic contexts represented by maritime and Bermuda's museums likewise highlight the tension between practical realities and theoretical visions. These balances are important for museums in utilising their prior strengths but also in enabling more conceptually holistic and socially relevant approaches to heritage in their daily practice.

The more positive or progressive side of my argument has focused on the significant yet ongoing shift towards conceptualising and curating heritage as a cultural process. I have stressed the importance and excitement of the current moment in the development of heritage and museum studies when this new understanding presses against and forces open heritage theory and museum practice. Although one senses the understanding that heritage is intangible, omnipresent, multi-faceted and otherwise renewable will soon be commonplace, this appreciation of a lived process with social value revolutionises how heritage is conceived academically and professionally with this official level influencing and influenced by unofficial or grassroots levels. Presuming community heritage carries on – due to its social value – irrespective of this important realisation is the basis of this ethnographic research that stands with the latest heritage frameworks and museum models. Some of the specialised methods and approaches required to grasp and harness this cultural process and its social value are not only described but also innovated in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

HERITAGE ETHNOGRAPHY AS METHODOLOGY

3.1 Heritage as an ethnographic object of study

Hatching a methodology

Given the burgeoning field of heritage studies does not yet offer a set of established methodologies to choose from, researchers are challenged, but also free, to employ novel lines of inquiry to achieve a more complex understanding of heritage. I therefore imposed a distinct course upon this research, and, by way of this experience, gleaned insight into the pursuit of heritage as an ethnographic object of study. This chapter (and Andrews 2009a) draws on my research journey in order to explicate this method, which I suggest be called ‘heritage ethnography’.

That this, or another term with the same idea behind it, has not previously been coined (beyond casual mentions including Merriman 1996, Smith 2006b), attests as much to the immaturity of the method as it does to heritage’s complexity. My coining heritage ethnography may appear to be a semantic staking out of methodological territory, however my intention is to suggest a divergence from other ethnographies and to foster an explicit consistent language and collective research identity for the area of study. Still, the following methodological reflection is intended to be purposive not prescriptive, suggesting approaches and skills distinct to heritage ethnography without assigning it a restrictive and counterproductive paradigm. I aim to show that heritage ethnography is not a mechanistic or replicable method but a specialised research attitude and sensibility – indeed, a kind of craft.

My undertaking heritage ethnography was nonetheless a matter of synthesising existing approaches, borrowing from broader anthropological methods and social theory. Particularly in light of the immaturity of heritage ethnography, these outlooks are helpful to its customisation. Furthermore, the various methods borrowed were themselves shaped by being posited within heritage ethnography. Though exhibiting the replicatory tendencies among the social sciences (Strathern 2009), this borrowing was not an uncritical adoption or a predetermined path, but a careful application to heritage, like Message asserts:

Being interdisciplinary is not about casually incorporating elements ‘pick and mix’

style, and it requires engaging with a field in a way that is discursively defensible. An interdisciplinary researcher is cognizant of the practices of multiple fields and can confidently employ certain tools, strategies and approaches on the grounds that they are best suited to their subject matter or because they might provide a way in which to extend or challenge the normalized boundaries of the discipline with which the researcher primarily identifies and to which they seek to contribute (2009:125).

I hatched a methodology that ‘worked’ for me, in the double sense of playing the intended instrumental role of answering my research questions but also responding to the unpredictable perplexing realities of heritage research. This chapter was thus written retrospectively, unlike researchers who determine their methodology beforehand. I hope this reflection on my choices, in addition to the later analysis chapters, demonstrates that I heeded advice given to me early on from a fellow heritage researcher, that ‘a good methodology is one that allows you to tell your story, and tell it well’ (Bounhiss 2007).

Grassroots ethnography

With the hard distinction between quantitative and qualitative research healthily worn down, and qualitative work matured to the extent it has an orthodoxy of its own, this study needs no defence as wholly qualitative (Crang 2002, Denzin and Lincoln 2005, Maxwell 2005). My overall approach to generating and analysing data was not only qualitative, but also ethnographic. My concentration on heritage reflects the ever-expanding scope of ethnography and its recent focus on specific abstract objects of study, but contrasts with traditional ethnographies claiming comprehensive study of a culture.

This qualitative-ethnographic mode of study, entailing fieldwork to closely observe people in their social worlds and employing corresponding modes of analysis and writing (Baszanger and Dodier 1997), responds to heritage being temporally and culturally situated (1.1). It enables a focus on meaning and ‘careful interrogation of the data’ (Richards 2005:94) that reflects and respects heritage as a contextualised and complex cultural process. This approach shifts the gaze from the academic to the actual, from heritage as an intellectual concept to how it exists among ‘people as they actually are, rather than to an idealised projection of how they should be’ (O’Neill 2006:45, cited by McLean 2006:4). It facilitates an exploratory endeavour that seeks a deep and sensitive understanding of the phenomena for generating new theory. Rather

than relying upon representative samples, statistical measurement or hypo-deductive proof, I examined relatively few samples in pursuit of intimacy, detail and nuance. Given this work seeks to be of consequence for museums, it is appropriate that this ethnographic approach reflects everyday curatorial work in which anthropological knowledge, and heritage meanings preeminently, are used and generated.

Redressing the problematic orientation to official heritage, the AHD and ‘tethered’ research topics, this grassroots heritage ethnography works:

from the ground up and determin[ing] the markers and substances of heritage from grassroots priorities and values...it is quite possible that a community will have a much more comprehensive and integrated sense of the connections between past and present (Chambers 2004:204).

from the bottom-up (from direct contact with those who engage with it) rather than from the ‘top down’, in terms of evaluating how heritage related to and is controlled by larger, abstract entities like ‘the state’ and/or the ‘nation’ (McClanahan 2004:8-9).

Though the intention is to give unofficial heritage the attention it deserves, I do not mean to perpetuate a simplistic unofficial-official dichotomy that implies that the former is more authentic and the latter is ‘tainted’ or ideologically-driven (Herzfeld 1997:3). Such heritage uses are highly integrated, especially given the influential role of academic and professional discourse in defining, creating and promoting heritage. Official and unofficial are not absolute categories, but flexible and overlapping, as Peralta highlights:

This is not to say that the private versions are at odds with the official representations or that they provide a bottom-up alternative representation. There are a lot of voices that can be heard privately. Some of them find resonance with the public sphere. Others do not (2008:113).

Certainly, my ‘bottom-up’ data consistently challenged my desire to preserve and isolate a more ‘organic’ state of heritage. Any search for unadulterated heritage irrevocably alters it and reflects a misguided concern with authenticity that denies the constructed nature of all heritage. Though the work gives space to unofficial heritage, the qualification of heritage was ultimately mine, affirming the power and necessity of the heritage researcher and practitioner. This work distinguishes grassroots heritage but does not falsely or dangerously separate it from its broader context.

This integrative approach to unofficial and official heritage enables a more accurate theorisation of heritage and is more constructive for practice. Both a genuine

humanistic curiosity for community heritage-making and acknowledgment of the capacity of the dedicated heritage professional are needed to develop the necessary skill or ‘artistry’ for heritage ethnography (Schön 1983). This applied dimension is not about justifying the authorised positions of museums, as museum outreach or heritage research sometimes does (2.1). Rather, it is about trying to strengthen and empower museums through conceptualising and curating community heritage, an effort validated when one informant said to me, ‘what you’re doing is so very relevant...[museums] are becoming more people centred...rather than ideas and things’ (58:BM40s).

Heritage ‘evidence’

The question of what constitutes heritage as a cultural process remains one of the most significant tensions within the heritage paradigm, and is central to establishing heritage ethnography as a method. The premise of the specialised ethnography highlighted here is that heritage is a ‘knowable reality (Knell 2007b:1) or concrete credible data that can be detected and interrogated via fieldwork. As an exercise in assemblage, heritage ethnography uses an archaeological kind of sensibility to pick up, contextualise and juxtapose fragments of heritage in order to conceptually model the phenomena.

As a heritage researcher within an archaeology department,⁷² I benefit from association with fields concerned with the veracity of the past itself and intimately tied to materiality. The post-processual critique of positivism (Hodder 1986, Shanks and Tilley 1987), the subsequent development of ‘public archaeology’ (Merriman 2004, Shackel and Chambers 2004), feminist critiques of the objectivity of archaeology using gender theory (Gero and Conkey 1991, Wylie 1992, Sørensen 2000), and experimental forms of archaeological analysis and writing (Thomas 2000), besides external political and social factors have all pushed archaeology to be increasingly self-conscious and energised by its presentist, political and creative character.

And yet, archaeology remains powerfully empirical, committed to scientific process and the affect, if not truth, of an actual past. Historical research is likewise still highly structured by rules as to what is considered valid scholarship. Though I

⁷² Especially one so strongly oriented to prehistory and deep time (Smith 2004).

suggest we recognise authenticity as *belief* but challenge it as *truth*, and though archaeology and history remain too dominant in heritage theory and practice (2.1), adoption of their evidential treatments nonetheless lends heritage ethnography stability and rigour. Even the ways archaeology and history do not harmoniously interact with heritage ethnography are constructive because they help distinguish and strengthen these different pursuits, and the respective identities of their researchers. It is in this sense that heritage ethnography is as archaeological-historical as it is anthropological and social-constructivist, as empirical as it is existential.

Still, the method is highly subjective. Heritage ethnography involves inter-bedding real-world ‘evidence’ with conceptual creativity towards ‘a practical middle ground between a theory-laden view of the world and an unfettered empiricism’ (Suddaby 2006:635). The work does not make absolute claims about heritage, but much like post-processual practices of archaeology and history, makes inferences about evidence that is often ambiguous or piecemeal. Heritage data may be empirical but it is not simply ‘given’ or ‘taken’; it is ‘capta’ in being actively sought after and determined (Chippindale 2000:1). Just as my analysis originates from heritage, so too does heritage emerge from ethnography ‘as a kind of improvisation conducted in real time’ (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007:5).

This subjectivity is demanded by ethnography as a unique interaction between researcher and subjects who ‘co-construct the world’ (Davies 1999) and as a textual artefact used to answer academic questions and explore concepts (Clifford 1998). The subjective nature of the work is owed in equal measure to the intangibility and renewability of heritage. Labelling this heritage research an *ethnography* stresses the basis of the work in reality but does not deny its creative political nature or analytic intention. While heritage meanings may be considered dubious from historical or other standpoints external to the ethnographic present, a heritage study recognises the very existence of those meanings is ‘evidence’ enough.

Because ethnographic knowledge based on real life experience often sits uneasily with theory that is framed with conceptual categories, my challenge has been to attend to my richly textured and often messy field-based data while imposing an explanatory framework (Merriman 1996). This dialectic between data and theory ultimately hinges on interpretation, or ‘the clarification of meaning and achievement of a sense of understanding’ (Shanks and Hodder 2007:150). It is a hermeneutical approach that stresses the creative and generative nature of this research while

requiring hard and fast choices for analytic focus and depth. It requires being open and exploratory yet decisive and conclusive. The work is not about drawing generalisations from a range of experiences, nor melting down into relativism, but about distilling down to the essential meanings and gaining a certain quality of understanding about heritage as a process.

‘Embedding ethics’

Heritage ethnography is a context- and time-specific intervention. It intercedes the constant reformulation of heritage in order to extract fragments of ‘evidence’ so as to study their meaning. The method therefore demands high ethical awareness and discipline that goes beyond relying on external codes and disciplinary proxies, although I adhere to accepted principles.⁷³ Rather, it is a sustained effort to ‘embed’ my choices and analysis in ‘specific histories and cultural circumstances’ and to resist adjudicating or neutralising my duties (Meskell and Pels 2005). These duties include careful assessment of the research objectives and the expectations these gives rise to; sensitive and strategic decision making that is mindful of the consequences of this knowledge production; and fighting the tendency to idealise the research process, while admitting the limits of achieving this ethical rigour (Fine 1993).

An ‘embedded ethics’ was also an awareness of the deeply subjective nature of such ethnographic research, which is its strength. Integral to this study’s design, data and findings are my perspectives, attitudes and agendas. This involves monitoring and rendering as unambiguous as possible my vantage point, research choices and politics (Shanks 2005).⁷⁴ When integrating my voice into my writing, I resist tendencies that obscure my positionality and authorship (Van Maanen 1988). ‘Acknowledging oneself and one’s position...in the course of writing is key to approaching the partiality (in both senses of bias or incompleteness and provisionality) of the “truths” that we portray’ (Nadel-Klein 2003:5, citing Clifford 1986, Rosaldo 1993). Rather than suggesting a collapse of ethics, this constructivist post-modern approach reflects the ‘reflexive turn’ away from positivist attempts to separate the researcher from the object of study and minimise their interference, effects and bias.

⁷³ Including major professional codes of ethics (AAA 1998, ICOM 2004, MA 2002).

⁷⁴ My politics are generally anti-essentialist, postmodernist and feminist. Such a liberal perspective is susceptible, however, to rhetoric that fails to acknowledge deficiencies and slips into its own conservative or fundamentalist attitudes.

Deconstructing the myth of the non-involved objective observer is like shaking off a heavy burden: instead, our research now requires us to be conscious of the ways we are involved and engaged with our research participants, and to find strategies for ethically managing that engagement (Colic-Peisker 2004:85).

Proportionally, my interactions forced me to step outside myself, to engage in a kind of method acting where I internalised the understandings and experiences of my subjects. The thesis is not wholly personal but mediated by the knowledge and experiences of others. The subjectivity of the researcher should not entirely determine the understandings achieved nor drown the writing in an overly-indulgent voice (Bickman and Rog 1998). The reflexivity I employed has therefore been carefully measured, so as to allow both my personal experience and my 'evidence' to determine the heritage emerging through this ethnography. Following Laurier's reflection of his own work, this thesis is 'written in a style which reveals something of the materials and processes of its construction without that reflexive something becoming everything' (1998:21) but, equally, is about '[a]ctivities not just of making maritime heritage but also of making an ethnography of making maritime heritage' (ibid:22).

A final ethical issue concerns my applied objective to offer museum implications. Keeping practice intact in the work harnesses the social value of museums rather than abandoning them and also hones the theory produced and ethics practised (Rabinow 2008). Relating to the apolitical nature and low capacity of local heritage sectors like Bermuda's (2.3), we need heritage researchers and curators who are more politically and personally engaged and unapologetically transparent about this, not less so as critiques of bias and emotion contend.

Yet, importantly, the methodology and object of study are not over-determined by practice. Knowledge production and insight become the intention, rather than pursuing 'solutions' to the museological problem partly motivating this research. With the working heritage practitioner in mind who often lacks the contemplative luxuries of pure research and usually must give way to daily demands and the next project, this work seeks to demonstrate the value, and indeed ethics, of finding 'the space to reflect, and explore in depth...the space to rethink and to interrogate their policy and practices, and to see the value of engaging with theory and abstraction' (Young 2002:207).

3.2 Framing the field

Homework in Bermuda

Boundedness is crucial to successful ethnographic work, especially within a prescribed timescale like this PhD and more so in the constraints of museum practice. Like most social researchers, I used a case study to circumscribe my unit of analysis to a workable scale and purposeful data sample (VanWynsberghe and Khan 2007). Given ethnography is primarily a ‘craft of place’ (Geertz 1983:167, cited by Nadel-Klein 2003:3) and heritage is always context-specific, my first step was to focus on Bermuda as my community of interest. My study was custom-fit to the island, versus the traditional model of identifying a case based on its assumed theoretical relevance.

Though case study often implies comparison, I approached the island as a single case, confining myself to Bermuda’s physical and cultural landscape. This avoided juxtaposition with ostensibly ‘similar’ regions, such as Caribbean states, that would spread the research too thin or invite inappropriate interpretation. This provides another contrast to history as a discipline, that, despite its turn towards local and individual narratives, still often demands comparative validation or transnational scope (Jarvis 2009). I sacrificed the transnational range of a multi-local approach (Marcus 1995, 1999) and bucked the trend of looking at heritage in terms of processes of globalization (Karp et al. 2006) in order to explore one ‘national-cultural imaginary’ (Appadurai 1996) in which heritage is domesticated and experienced. Following Daniel, but with a heritage focus, the idea is exemplification, ‘not merely to show the manner in which a reality is culturally and historically constituted, but how deeply so’ (1996:14).

Moreover, although not cross-cultural in a global sense, the study reveals the complexity and layering of this society, often expressed with the ‘Bermuda onion’ metaphor.⁷⁵ This single-community approach reflects my argument for community focus in heritage research, besides happily aligning with local opinion that Bermuda is a place not easily compared. Just as Bermuda is not a supracultural illustration suggesting a universal meaning set for heritage, neither is it a unique example that melts into relativism (Flyvbjerg 2006). In relation to this being a project that turns on

⁷⁵ Onions are celebrated as one of Bermuda’s few ever exports, peaking during the 19th Century agricultural boom during the wider industrial revolution and supported by imported labourers, especially those who founded the Portuguese-Bermudian community (Mudd 1991, Jones 2004a). Bermudians are referred to as onions and varieties of the heirloom continue to be grown locally.

a combined theoretical-applied-methodological ‘problem’ (1.2), the Bermuda case has wider implications. The Rev. Alexander Ewing’s 1784 assessment of Bermuda is apt: ‘Small though this spot is, a great deal of the world can be seen in it’ (Hallett 1993:i).

My interest in Bermuda is neither arbitrary nor solely academic, but logical and also personal. Being Bermudian gives me an intimate relationship with my field site, one that is particularly fitting and revealing for grassroots heritage ethnography. I am part of a growing minority of researchers with local knowledge and experience (Colic-Peisker 2004), for whom ‘issues of reflexivity are particularly salient’ (Davies 1999:4), with benefits and barriers arising from my heightened familiarity, partiality, and sentiment in this home setting. As a ‘native anthropologist’ (Jones 1970) I have no ‘inherent authority’ beyond the non-native researcher. Mine is a ‘differential authority’ (Clifford 1997a:79) that distinguishes the research and counters the unhealthy depreciation of local capacity within the heritage fields, especially in small-scale societies like Bermuda (2.3). To declare my intimacy with Bermuda is not ethnocentric, but equitably empowers insider ethnography. It is also conceptually valuable given ‘the vast bulk of work on heritage has consisted of outsider analyses of productions of the past by the detached critic’ (Merriman 1996:384).

Still, to inflate my familiarity or neutrality belies the island’s pocketed make-up and my hybrid positioning, which subverted any inclination to think of myself as objective or non-involved (Colic-Peisker 2004), as Clifford advises:

No one can be an insider to all sectors of a community. How the shifting locations are managed, how affiliation, discretion, and critical perspective are sustained, have been and will remain matters of tactical improvisation as much as of formal methodology (1997a:86).

The most significant ‘shifting locations’ for me are three-fold: being a Bermudian researcher arbitrating home concerns with a necessary analytical detachment, through what Jeganathan calls an ‘epistemological ethic of disciplined affect’ (2005:151); being a white Bermudian in the statistical minority, moving slowly into greater consciousness of my ‘unearned skin privilege’, a position I carefully reflect on in Chapter 5; and being a local heritage practitioner, which I attend to now.

Beyond the museum, for the museum

Despite the upshot for local capacity and empowerment as well as academic accountability and demystification, the voice of the ‘motivated, interested, located,

strategizing' local heritage researcher and practitioner is seldom heard (Shanks 2005). When it does speak, it tends to emanate from large, urban, public institutions and jurisdictions with high infrastructural, fiscal and human resources. Part of the reason why few theoretical advances are internalised into practice (1.2) is because 'little of this literature is led by practising museum curators' (Elliott 2003:4). The struggle to keep theory in practice and practice in theory is illustrated by the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*' (2009) instructions for authors, which read: 'The editor wishes to encourage articles which are of a more speculative nature, and especially those from practitioners in the field, often precluded from producing detailed research articles'.

However, this research provides one such perspective. The critical yet sympathetic tone of my review of the local heritage sector (2.3), reflects my embedded positioning as a Bermudian heritage researcher and practitioner. The personal attachment to BMM I alluded to earlier but have waited until now to reveal – thereby granting my sectoral review some independence – was my role of Curator there. From 1999 until 2004, I engaged in curatorial research, exhibition production, collections management, public outreach, fundraising and strategic planning. My graduate studies are an extended unpaid leave of absence, with a future return to BMM (now NMB) being my hope and intention but not a presumption.

With an affiliation to a potential-rich but pressurised and retrograde institution and setting, I'm arguably well-placed to conduct research with implications for smaller-scale museums and heritage sectors. But this particular research edge has only been sustained by intentionally structuring my research outside BMM, thereby keeping the influence of my professional priorities, interests and obligations in check. I initially proposed a major BMM exhibition redevelopment as my research platform. It provided a vehicle to conduct heritage research while satisfying BMM's foremost priorities, thus maintaining my professional position and power. However, this strategy soon proved unviable and unethical. The exhibition logistics and infrastructural limitations promised to overpower the research schedule and ambitions and operating entirely 'inside' the museum was problematic for understanding community heritage. I realised that a museum-based strategy hindered open-mindedness for engaging with my case study and object of study and questioning my own attitudes.

Instead, I came to trust the value of affording informants and myself knowledge construction relatively independent from museological and institutional

prescription. In this way, the PhD became an opportunity to engage with Bermudians and their uses of heritage in a different and more complex manner than my work at the BMM alone would have facilitated, paradoxically providing more valuable implications for BMM and other local museums and heritage groups. Furthermore, this fieldwork provided the opportunity – so rare in everyday working practice – to meet with people across the local heritage sector, expanding my perspective and network and enriching my intended future work, besides incorporating their perspectives into my sectoral review (2.3). Despite this independence being entirely my choice, I sometimes struggled with being so distant from BMM, which I think reflected my desire to stay involved but also the sector's compelling closure which extends to practitioners and the publics they serve.

With my reference to BMM and the local heritage sector running throughout this dissertation, I walk a fine line between constructive criticism and stepping into 'engaged disloyalty' or 'destructive analysis' (Clifford 1997a88) that might harm hard-earned reputations, not to mention my own career. This is especially in terms of confronting the AHD with which I was often engaged and supportive of during my tenure at BMM and which I have argued is widespread in the heritage sector (2.3). Being a dissident researcher who is critical of the institution is not my intentional role. Rather, a sense of wider responsibility, linked to my investment and accountability as a local researcher, drives me and mitigates my attachments to BMM.⁷⁶ For instance, my efforts to share the research while it was in process with BMM stakeholders (Andrews 2006, 2007a), reaching other Bermudians too, were driven as much by my obligation and attachment to that network as my desire to open it up to new understandings of heritage and museums. Clearly, my applied objective to enhance museums rather than abandoning them is harder when researchers and practitioners have a stake in them, but arguably to the greater credibility of the research.

Revelation of the maritime theme

Heritage in Bermuda proved to be so rich a topic that I required a second case study interface in addition to my focus on the island. I assumed this theme would be straightforward for me to identify, but my local knowledge and vested interest offered

⁷⁶ That my PhD (and MPhil) was not funded by BMM but an independent scholarship helps ensure my intellectual autonomy. I am nonetheless aware that my sponsor, Bank of Bermuda Foundation, is one of the most significant donors to BMM and other local heritage groups, and therefore extremely influential in the heritage sector – especially given its fiscal values (2.3) – and the wider third sector.

many possible paths, urged me to address wider social issues, and stressed the import of this choice for research that itself could come to constitute heritage. Ironically, my tenure at BMM only minimally suggested the maritime theme, and its closeness to museum priorities kept me wary. My limited knowledge of maritime history and culture, puzzlement about the obscure nature of maritime museums, and a sense that the topic was detached from contemporary Bermuda all enhanced my distrust. Although my MPhil dissertation explored local attitudes to Bermuda's UCH (Andrews 2005a, Andrews 2007b), it was largely concerned with the contestation between salvage and archaeology and their polarised interest groups who represent only a fraction of the Bermuda community, thus reflecting narrow museum-centric maritime heritage. So it was only after considerable debate, false starts and reluctance that maritimity emerged as the frontrunner.

With the start of fieldwork, however, my reservations dissolved and the appropriateness and efficacy of the maritime theme became self-evident. Any residual ambivalence I retained was due not to an insecurity about maritimity but to an enthusiasm for heritage ethnography in other thematic areas. My revelation that Bermudian associations with the sea could be a viable and compelling research platform coalesced around several attributes that were nonetheless accompanied by certain challenges.

Maritimity resonates with Bermuda's diverse community, distinctive environment and half-millennium of history. There was no lack of people, events or material to engage with, nor any contriving of the theme by myself, the local heritage sector or maritime museums. Maritime heritage and culture is a reality in Bermuda, as they are in island, coastal and other communities worldwide. Informants affirmed this by saying 'Bermudians haven't examined their relationship with the sea' and that the research 'made sense' to them (59:WBF40s).

Furthermore, maritimity offers access to a heterogeneous cross-section of Bermuda's diverse racial, socio-economic, and generational mix of people in contrast with the paucity of social research traversing the island's conventionally represented demographics. As a local, this was not a path of least resistance, but promoted my contact with people, environments and spaces with which I am more and less familiar. Unsurprisingly, in light of my earlier review of maritime heritage and museums (2.2), gender is the maritime theme's representative caveat, one which Bermuda-Atlantic maritime historian Dr. Michael Jarvis warned me about:

These are almost exclusively male stories/activities focused upon, and maritime history generally has an overwhelmingly male audience/appeal. What do Bermudian women get out of it in terms of either a celebratory or relevant past?...Even if you don't have a more positive/gender inclusive alternative to 'maritime heritage' to offer/consider, keep in mind how embracing maritime heritage implicitly excludes (or fails to appeal) to a broad segment of the population in both the identity and cultural tourism versions of 'heritage' audiences (2006).

However, the analytic value of the masculine trumped my representative concerns, besides constructively agitating my feminist assumptions. I learned to embrace the highly masculine nature of this world rather than resisting it, especially as a female researcher. This tension raises the question of whether researchers should avoid exclusionary topics that do not fit with their politics, or whether such avoidance actually contravenes one's ideals more than engagement does.

Despite its demographic skewing towards masculinity, maritimity is relatively neutral and inclusive compared to more divisive or exploitative local themes⁷⁷ that close down communication of heritage meanings, are subsumed by local dominant discourses, inhibit dissemination of the project, or overwhelm my confidence as a local researcher and practitioner with heightened accountability. This theme invites participation, openness and transparency, and in doing so provided access to pressing local issues and key social conditions. The fact that maritimity was a relatively comfortable space for me was conducive to practising 'embedded ethics' on one level, but also questionable in terms of the degree to which heritage ethnographers ought to be challenged or uncomfortable. I have at least come to recognise this point.

Maritimity applies to both local and global heritage management and museum practice, primarily through maritime museums. It still offers a less-obvious, less-conscious type of heritage than heritage researchers and practitioners usually gravitate to, one *relatively* untouched by popular, authorised or commoditised influences. It allowed me to glean heritage meanings more obliquely and disrupt more established disciplinary perceptions of heritage – including dichotomies of natural-cultural, tangible-intangible, landscape-seascape. Maritimity encompasses an array of heritage phenomena and forms that require an open mindset about its scope. The way the Bermuda and maritime case study interfaces shift between being independent,

⁷⁷ In an early research proposal, I sought to explore Bermudian heritage uses with respect to slavery and race exclusively, but worried about pursuing this topic directly so as to force the heritage research, and worse still, risk (further) exploitation of Bermudian informants, especially black Bermudians.

interdependent and interchangeable also furnished a dynamic field site and valuable strand of data.

Maritimity as an ‘arbitrary location’

Despite bounding the Bermuda case study with the maritime theme, I was overcome in the field by my topic’s enormity, particularly so in terms of the diversity of maritime sub-themes – what I call *loci*. Conversations spiralled around, meanings became attached to, and recurrences chimed with these influential and ascendant areas of local maritimity. While there may not be an infinite variety of maritime loci in Bermuda, there was an incredible variety in constant flux. As soon as I mapped the field, other loci would arise. The fieldwork felt messy, sprawling and incomplete. I was often frustrated by time constraints or missed opportunities. My decision to pursue one locus over another seemed inconsistent and unscientific. Despite the ubiquity of maritimity and my local knowledge, I was never sure if a particular locus would yield data that could be classified as heritage, especially given I had no preconceived consistent criteria for such a designation. While these uncertainties are characteristic of ethnographic experience in general, especially in conflicting with the tendency to bring an idealised idea of fieldwork into the field, I suggest this lack of compass is particularly endemic to heritage ethnography.

My instinct was to hem in the maritime theme, focusing on just one or two loci. I thought, if, for instance, I only explore *fishing* or *sailing*, then I might achieve holistic coverage and a sense of totality. As I began fieldwork, I realised few informants or events related to such singular loci or provided contained data, nor could I predict what maritime associations would arise. This was especially so given the inseparable or ‘all-around’ nature of many mariners and maritime histories, cultures, and networks. A field site so sprawling, discordant and overlapping is certainly unmanageable for research seeking comprehensive coverage.

However, the objective of conceptualising heritage actually demanded such a scattershot approach to the field, one analogous to Candea’s heuristic device of the ‘arbitrary location’.

The arbitrary location is the actually existing instance, whose messiness, contingency, and lack of an overarching coherence or meaning serve as a ‘control’ for a broader abstract object of study. It is ‘arbitrary’ insofar as it bears no *necessary* relation to the wider object of study...the arbitrary location allows one to rethink conceptual entities, to

challenge their coherence and their totalizing aspirations...the arbitrary location is space which cuts through meaning...The decision to bound off a site for the study of 'something else', with all the blind spots and limitations which this implies, is a productive form of methodological asceticism (2007:180).

Therefore in order to keep my focus on heritage as an abstract concept and phenomena, I cast a wide net over maritime Bermuda. I travelled 'unexpected trajectories' and crossed domains following stories, debates, ideas, people, objects, and boats. Inside Bermuda, I emulated Marcus' multi-sited ethnography (1995, 1999) and Clifford's 'routes' (1997a, 1997b). The idea was not to cover everything nor overwhelm with a cacophony of maritime elements, but to experience maritime heritage as it is experienced by Bermudians: as a fragmentary, uncontained, unpredictable process. My collage-like approach mirrored the narratives of previous exhibitions, films and more on Bermuda's maritime heritage, suggesting others have had a similar inclination with his topic.

Like the metaphorical rhizome (Deleuze and Guattari 1980), the territory I traveled was 'infinitely variegated, fractal, undergoing continuous generation' and thus had to be 'perceived kinesthetically' (Ingold 2008), or through movement. This recalls sea-going or by-boat ethnographies belonging to the growing body of maritime heritage research (2.2) that are 'subject to the same forces and rhythms that influence those that live and work on the sea' (McCall Howard forthcoming). Mirroring the 'memoryscape', a heritage trail based on experimental art concepts of 'fluxus' and situationalism (Butler 2006) and other unplanned experimental research journeys (Maspero 1994), I worked randomly, as I encountered informants and information, following interviews and events whose timing was often beyond my control. I came to embrace unexpected fieldwork events and sources, including serendipitous ones such as the theming of the 2007 Heritage Month 'Bermuda's Maritime Connections'.⁷⁸ This diverse and unforeseeable world countered my unhealthy readiness, especially as a museum curator and academic researcher, to break up or consolidate heritage into neat 'manageable units' (Nakanishi et al. 2003). The maritime loci I encountered were more or less perceptible to me in their possible relationship with heritage, with this perceptibility indicated by my corresponding levels of feeling 'hesitation or non-

⁷⁸ Heritage Month, during May, is an annual series of events produced by Cultural Affairs (2.3).

hesitation⁷⁹ that reflected my preconceptions of heritage and the extent I followed or broke with these.

These loci were not arbitrary, interchangeable illustrations onto which meaning is imprinted or attached. Rather, they were contextualised, carefully positioned elements that sustain – in consensual and contested ways – a unique cultural logic. They were anchors in a fluid and intricate ‘network with no centre’ (Young 2002) that shifted me away from a museum-centric outlook. Taking a page from recent work that considers the affective power of objects, monuments and landscapes (2.2), I understood these heritage sites and markers as ‘*sui generis* meaning’ themselves (Henare et al. 2007:3). Each is a freestanding entity that does not simply ‘carry’ the meaning invested by heritage users, but emits its own energy.

Autonomous as they may be, these loci also operate in relation to one other, as a web of connections and a set of local social meanings that demand the multi-sited approach taken to my fieldwork. Just as a textile’s composite texture differs from the individual strands of which it is composed, I experienced a highly integrated field site that is more than the sum of its parts. Much like historians and archaeologists look beyond discrete sites and events, this field site speaks to broader heritage processes. It also speaks to Bermuda’s broader identity politics that are so familiar and fixed, issues that lie beyond maritimism and heritage yet are central to their combined use. The ‘coherent and convincing entity’ I was paradoxically able to conceive out of a fragmented field site reflects, at once, Garden’s ‘heritagescape’ as a ‘means of interpreting and analysing heritage sites as unique social spaces’ (2006:397); the ecomuseum as a series of sites within a cultural landscape (Davis 2008a)(2.3); and the hermeneutic circle as the interrelationship of the whole and its parts (Gadamer 1975a, 1975b).

Although my non-comparative approach means I cannot support this with data from elsewhere, I believe this inter-connectivity is intensified in small-scale communities like Bermuda, and especially islands. Like the diversity of maritime museums despite their shared identity (1.1), small islands may have more in common with other small-scale places than larger islands, and islands themselves differ enormously. Islands are nonetheless ‘particular socio-geographic phenomena’ (Pace

⁷⁹ Prof. Dame Marilyn Strathern used this phrase in a 2008 writing-up seminar in the Cambridge Department of Anthropology I attended. Though she was referring to ethnography generally, this struck a chord for my heritage ethnography.

2006:7) that impact upon heritage to perhaps tell ‘an island story’ (Davies 2006:8). Moreover, this may occur in ways transcending or inverting the ‘tourist gaze’ (2.3), insularity and parochialism stereotypical of islands. Instead, distinctive social worlds yield and reinforce heritage within island communities. Many communities, even if not ‘islands’ in the literal geographic sense, are bounded worlds unto themselves that engage with globalisation and boundaries in a particular manner with particular heritage uses. Moreover, this interconnectivity may be especially so for maritime heritage as a topic closely tied to the geophysical and social realities and histories of islands, though not all islanders have a relationship with the sea. While maritimism provided me with an ‘arbitrary location’ to study heritage in the Bermuda context, maritimism was not arbitrary in constructing identity and community.

My sense of interconnection and coherence conceived as a ‘heritagescape’ would seem to contradict my experience of the field as a partial and fragmented ‘arbitrary location’ that is ‘perpetually *deferring* closure’ (Candea 2007:179). Yet, these qualities co-existed and mutually supported each other in my fieldwork. I collected and collated observations, gaining an increasing understanding of the site, whilst pursuing ever more new ‘chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations’ (Marcus 1998:90). The contradictions and complexities I experienced in situating maritimism in Bermuda demonstrate that the field site in which we conduct heritage ethnography is more than a decorative backdrop that simply puts things into ‘context’. Such a ‘heritagescape’ – and Bermuda is many kinds including that of an ‘landscape’⁸⁰ – actively reveals and constitutes heritage and ought to influence the field practice and textual production of this specialised ethnography. It is determined by the ‘routes’ gravitated toward, often in connection with personal positioning, but also affected by the field site composition. This research recognises that the conceptualisation of heritage begins with the way we travel and determine a field site, which I have tried to take responsibility for in my field encounters and subsequent analysis and writing.

⁸⁰ I use this term throughout this dissertation to stress certain heritage uses, meanings and identities especially those concerning landscape, geography, place and space.

3.3 Handling heritage data

Making choices and mixing methods

Whereas the previous section was more panoramic vista, this section zooms in on the ways I identified and qualified heritage as data. Once I recognised my field site as ‘an explicitly “partial” and incomplete window onto complexity’, I began to see how I was in fact practising ‘bounding, selection, and choice – processes which any ethnographer has to undergo to reduce the initial indeterminacy of field experience into a meaningful account’ (Candea 2007:167-169). Throughout my nine months of ‘homework’, I questioned and qualified what data was prudent to collect and analyse. This entailed readjusting my gaze to locate heritage as a presentist intangible phenomena and trusting unexpected sources as heritage-rich. I isolated and defined the heritage data I was looking for, and excluded the irrelevant or superfluous. Some potential data simply did not make the cut. Either the maritime connection was too weak or obscure, or there was no perceptible relationship with heritage. In my daily choices of inclusion and exclusion, I was mirroring the museum curator’s value judgments and consequential rulings, only I was doing so more in tune with community heritage and less dictated by institutional demands and conventional museology. I had the space and time to be more reflexive about these choices, a luxurious position compared to the often fierce constraints of museum practice.

Constructing a heritage ethnography through immersion in a few people’s daily lives, in the hopes of catching their uses of maritime heritage, was neither practical nor culturally appropriate in Bermuda. Instead, I employed methods that gave me a fast-track into Bermudian relationships with the sea: one-on-one or small-group *interviews*; and participant (or non-participant) *observation* at community events. These complementary methods allowed me to tap the experiential, performative, verbalised, discursive and intuitive aspects of heritage. I accessed what people do, say, think, and care about – which may or may not be identical or linked.

In total, I conducted 120 formal interviews with 135 people.⁸¹ This represents a fraction of the island’s population, even in terms of much smaller numbers of identifiable maritime heritage users, but an enormous amount of qualitative data. Interview duration was dependent on conservation energy, speed, coverage and saturation. I met informants at sites familiar and meaningful to them, such as their

⁸¹ My in-text annotations (e.g. 168:BM40s) indicate higher informant numbers because they include informal interviews and other field encounters.

home, family homestead, neighbourhood, workshop, maritime club, dock – locations where they might access places, boats and other things (Figure 3.1). Some informants preferred to meet at my oceanside cottage, a stimulating venue for maritime heritage.



Figure 3.1: Interview locations at docks; boat workshops; maritime clubs; aboard boats.

As there can be valuable data in what people say and how they say it, I encouraged informants to use their own words, style and expressions. And because heritage is often expressed nonverbally, I encouraged communication in other ways than words, with body language, mapping, drawing, visiting, showing, demonstrating (Figure 3.2).

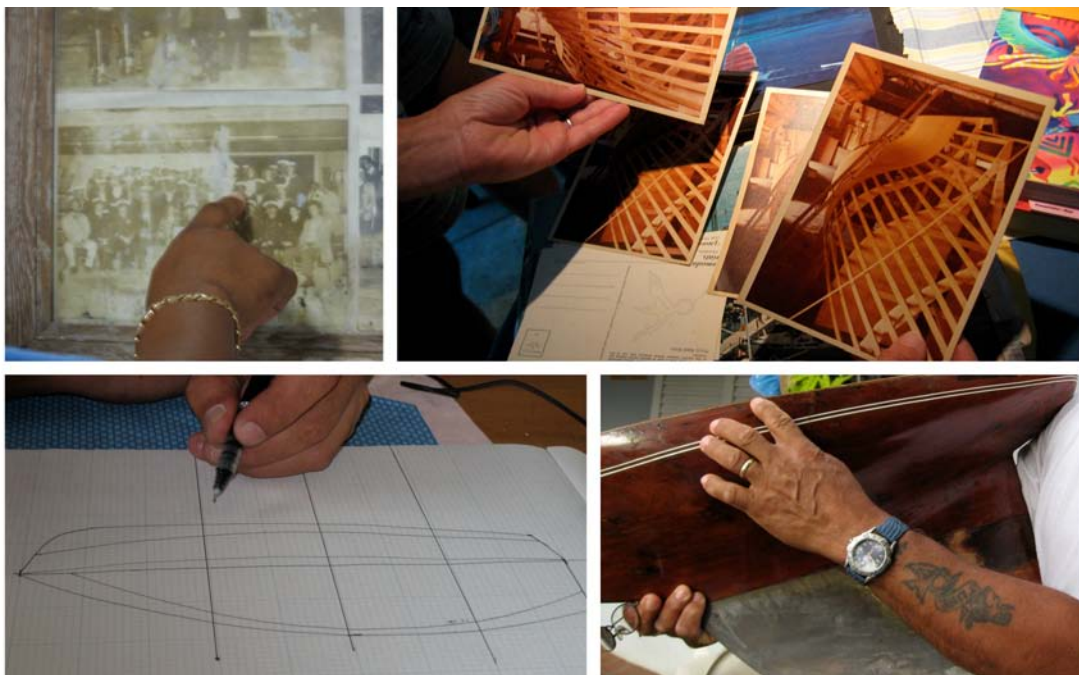


Figure 3.2: Informant drawing, reference to images, and object handling.

My participant observation proved far more extensive than anticipated, with about fifty maritime events attended by the close of fieldwork. Observation did not merely supplement my interviews, but was a major aspect of data collection that enhanced the quality of my interpretation. These field engagements required a different skill set than interviews, including navigating the unspoken rules and etiquettes of different social networks; practising quiet observation and contemplation; staging strategic interventions; and conducting short informal interviews. The events I attended ranged from the obvious to the hidden, some with easy access or clear relevance and others rife with hurdles and mystery in terms of gaining access to or knowledge about them. Boat races and prize-givings, public commemorations, film screenings, religious and secular services, ventures and voyages aboard vessels and random acts of seafaring all fell into my observational mix (Figure 3.3). Observation and interviews occasionally merged, such as memorable days I accompanied mariners in their duties aboard and/or ashore.



Figure 3.3: Observation during fieldwork included that of a church service devoted to seafarers; maritime club prize-giving for sailing; maritime club fishing tournament; harbour tour by boat.

I supplemented and complemented my interviews and observation with the study of secondary sources. I was initially unsure about mixing live ethnographic data with dated material originally produced outside my fieldwork. While to some extent at

cross-purposes and counterintuitive to a more ‘organic’ sense of grassroots heritage, I could not isolate my interview and observational data from these documentary sources that were also valuable carriers of heritage meaning, in addition to being helpful sources of methodological guidance. For instance, materials from the ‘Bermuda Connections: Maritime Arts’ archive (2.3) and BMM’s exhibitions, collections, and research files were useful for their maritime heritage content and as aids in distinguishing heritage ethnography from oral-historical and museological approaches. As heritage has a natural propensity to be expressed through a variety of sources, this amalgam of data permitted fuller understanding of my ethnographic object of study.

I tracked most informants and events by word of mouth, using my existing local knowledge and networks arising as I travelled the field site. I treated the ways I tracked informants and events as data, while simultaneously being mindful of the ways my interventions reinforced or altered those networks. In an effort to relinquish control over informant selection, I identified some informants by blind recruitment, via an open call in local radio and newspapers (Moniz 2007, Wood 2007). The respondents I had were still vetted, however, as there was a need to be discerning in all my informant selection.

Being local, I worked especially hard to retain this agency, balancing respect for the suggestions I received, with resistance to social pressures and a sense of obligation. Particular difficulty came with the way my research was interpreted as a historical or oral historical study, underscoring the sway of authenticity in the heritage sector and wider community (2.3). It was often suggested that I interview older expert informants with accumulated knowledge or memory. My growing appreciation of authenticity as *belief* as an aspect of heritage and the urgent need in Bermuda for oral history collection battled with my desire to open up my heritage ethnography, especially in terms of obtaining data from younger informants, who are often regarded as deficient in historical knowledge, memory, and heritage. That said, I did not avoid older seasoned informants as they too had a great deal to offer, in themselves and as stimuli for others. The range in my informants’ ages testifies the extent to which an inter-generational study was achieved.⁸²

⁸² As indicated by my in-text annotations (e.g. 63:WM80s, 176:BM20s).

Co-constructing interviews

Before commencing fieldwork, I prepared an interview guide: a script of questions based on normalised idioms on which the current model of heritage is based. The idea was to structure my interviews and analysis, and in so doing to promote accuracy and credibility of data, avoiding ‘distortion’. I also intended to use the guide as an *aide-mémoire* in the intimate, sometimes intimidating atmosphere of interviews, helping retain my focus and flow (Kersel 2006). However, my early interviews constantly deviated from this script. They were messy, non-linear and multi-layered. I had to keep conversations going while making some sense of the heritage meanings that arose. A guide also conflicted with my decision to eschew a hypothetical approach in favour of a person-centred approach. So, early into fieldwork I abandoned the interview guide. Henceforth my interviews were largely improvised, only standardised with guiding questions, like Jones’s approach:

The interview design was deliberately informal and conversational in style, with informants encouraged to use their own language and set their own agendas. At the same time, prompts were used to ensure that certain key themes were always addressed (2004b:8).

This unstructured format does not predetermine so much what will be elicited, nor does it rely on a synthesis across informants. Rather, it allows one ‘to understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry’ (Fontana and Frey 1994:366). My interviews were a shared space of interpretation for me and my informants, with heritage meanings generated in a constructivist manner by the relationship we forged in the interview itself. This created interesting moments when informants came to ‘reveal themselves to themselves and are frequently surprised at the result’ (Tilley 2006:17). Such revelation happened to me too when swept up in the thrill and emotion of interviewing as a communicative practice. It was also a space in which one could suspend assumptions and cynicism and open up to the unknown, a treatment suggested for artefact-oriented anthropologies:

Rather than dismiss informants’ accounts as imaginative ‘interpretations’— elaborate metaphorical accounts of a ‘reality’ that is already given – anthropologists might instead seize on these engagements as opportunities from which novel theoretical understandings can emerge...to show how such moments of ethnographic ‘revelation’ – in which unanticipated, previously inconceivable things become apparent...Too often

the anthropologists immediate reaction is to explain away their own surprise with recourse to more familiar conceptions...What would happen...if this wonderment were held in a state of suspension so as to resist the urge to explain it away? (Henare et al. 2007:1)

Though each of my interviews was unique, this does not mean they lacked boundaries, agenda, or intention. I had to actively determine my heritage criteria, staying attentive to moments of confirmation and resistance by informants. This improvised approach consistently challenged my interviewing skills, heightening my sensitivity. Maritimity provided a helpful conversational boundary, hemming us in from broader life-histories and knowledge. I moved the conversation to pursue my issues of interest, pushing informants to explain things in depth and asking provocative or stealth questions in order to penetrate surface-level understandings. I also directed informants to express everyday heritage use that often goes unarticulated.

My agenda was also realised at an intuitive level, which possibly suggests the level subconscious heritage remains at work even in an explicit heritage study. I often felt a strong sense of ‘microcosm’, a sense that a single encounter spoke to the full range of heritage meaning I would eventually articulate in my writing. This was not a deluded longing for holistic logic, but indicative of the ways even single informants or experiences can reflect the larger field site and a range of heritage processes. I was consistently reminded that the minority view or anomaly can be significant, keeping me restless for new angles and guarding me against trapping myself in conventions of my own making. This sense of microcosm also speaks to the multi-faceted nature of heritage and maritime Bermuda as a unique case study. Again, I believe this interconnectivity and coherence is heightened in small-scale spaces, though not in a way that inhibits complexity. Though Davies’ study of New Zealand’s maritime heritage (2.2) is set in a much bigger country, our studies are similar in ways including his promotion of the analytic value of ‘heritage in microcosm’ (2006:116).

Managing authenticity

Despite the control I had in interviews, the work often felt counterintuitive, especially in terms of preconceptions shaped by my past museum work. I tried to resist these leanings but then sometimes went too far in controlling, censoring or ignoring informants’ expressions that aligned with such official heritage. In this regard, two

areas related to authenticity and the past-material bias (2.1) were particularly challenging.

The first was the attraction to ‘history’, linked to impulses to confine heritage to a relationship with the past and to achieve greater validation for my heritage data. I was often unsure how much historical knowledge to seek, including technical information that strongly features with maritimism. At times I was tempted to compare informant testimony to formal history, but felt such comparison would only discredit my heritage data. I noticed that the desire to support my narrative with historical elements was somewhat proportional to the topic or loci’s time depth, with my feeling a greater need to validate and give vitality to the more distant past. This desire to authenticate or build history was not only mine, but also something assumed and encouraged by informants:

Now, one of my reasons to even talk to you, is I think it’s important that we record history when there are connections and sometimes we substantiate oral history with some archival research, and we get some balance on what actually happened (97:WM50s).

I often had to let history ‘hang’ in the sense of resisting the desire to build a more complete historical narrative into my interviews and analysis, trusting it will be told by historians, archaeologists and others, thereby allowing heritage to rest independently from or precede history in terms of establishing or dominating my interpretation. I nonetheless worried that this dissertation would not stand up to rigorous historical critique, especially with my relatively loose language and interpretive style. However, I realised historical completeness or accuracy is not my objective and therefore this work cannot be held to the same criteria and standards. My research is accurate from the heritage standpoint of interpreting ethnographic data gathered in good faith for understanding this contemporary cultural process. Ideally, the past only bears in my discussion insofar as it is useful and meaningful to my Bermudian informants.

Still, I was careful with how I described my research project, avoiding prescriptive terms like ‘heritage’ and ‘history’, more often calling it an ‘anthropology’. When informants offered to prepare for their interview, trying to get their knowledge ‘right’ to align with their idea of mainstream or formal history, I ignored these statements in order to neither encourage nor discourage this preparation. Sometimes informants wanted me to research and validate their version of history, a

quid pro quo I could not offer. My interviews were often supplemented with historical and documentary sources acquired from the informant or unrelated sources. Though I have been wary not to use them to build a credible history, I recognised how and why informants offered these sources to me, as expressions of heritage. And in my encounters with people, places, boats and objects it was often unclear how much provenance to record, especially when my research intervention seemed to be the main reason such micro-histories came to light.

Not having much prior knowledge of local maritime history kept me curious, and on reflection, facilitated rapport and comfort with some informants. Conversely, at times I was embarrassed by my lack of knowledge, especially with informants who placed high value on this or who insisted I demonstrate it. I did employ oral-historical techniques encouraging storytelling and remembering in interviews, but did not demand full, linear life histories. While my interviews cannot be considered comprehensive oral histories, they go ‘further’ than oral history in generating and analysing heritage.

Also, in doing such a heritage study one cannot help but notice the similarities between history and heritage, and wonder how much the history influences contemporary conceptualisation. It sometimes feels as if the history and research and other elements constructing it have already captured the resulting heritage – renewable as I argue it is – posing a challenge to identify and articulate the extra level of heritage meaning beyond or within this influence of the past. Contrary to carving out such space for heritage, I took cautionary measures in my fieldwork and writing lest my analysis be seen to demean or trivialise history or deny its impact, particularly those histories currently attracting interest or contestation, and thus heritage meaning. So, in my methodology of heritage ethnography I try to let go of authenticity as *truth* but acknowledge it as *belief* (2.1).

Second in the methodological challenges posed by official authenticity, I could not allow objects to be the central elements of my heritage ethnography. This differed from my role as a museum curator where I tended to focus on the object, positioning the informant in relationship to the potential acquisition. By association, I had to resist a collections-based museum-centric urge to encourage people to share or donate objects to BMM, though at times they did seek this option. Yet, I had to allow things to matter in their own right, as they did for my informants. Boats – as living, personalised, and technological entities – were an especially potent material source

for generating maritime heritage meaning that accordingly feature prominently in the forthcoming analysis.

Related to these past-material gravitations but on a more subtle level were other more authorised leanings requiring moderation. I felt it important to probe people's relationships with and attitudes to BMM. I correspondingly had to monitor the extent to which I defended BMM and the amount I took stock of my positioning, taking care of how much play I gave BMM in my conception of maritime heritage in this dissertation.

Additionally, I tried to take stock of my own rather conservative or traditional outlook on heritage, reflecting the outlook of wider culture and society. Though perhaps a factor of my own museological experience and my personality, I think that heritage research and practice has a certain way of aging you and therefore it is especially important in this discipline to maintain a fresh perspective. I therefore resisted a heritage agenda that would put me out of step with contemporary culture; yet did not take a deliberately modern or provocative position that might fail to see how heritage – especially of a more grassroots and everyday nature – functions within the community.

While I resist impulses to confine heritage in the above ways and to a relationship with the past, materiality and museums, these are nonetheless important components of much heritage use in the present and so they are included in my ethnographic analysis. What is crucial, however, is that they are included *because* they are processes used by my informants and are thus found in my data. This is despite the cautionary outlook and treatments I have outlined and my efforts to transcend my museological and other preconceptions about heritage.

Distilling to heritage

I employed several methods to document my ethnographic record, including audio, video, and photography. While somewhat intrusive, this recording formalised interviews, furnished a retrievable record, and captured 'more embodied and wordless forms of knowing and meaning-making' (Meecham 2007:120), complementing my non-discursive interview techniques.

But my most valuable means of annotation were handwritten fieldnotes (Figure 3.4), shorthand accounts of my first-hand impressions (Emerson et al. 1995). Although I did not allow my recording to prevent me from attending to the field

moment, I wrote extensive notes during or just after every conversation or event. I jotted verbatim quotes, casual references, silences, my questions, observations and ideas. I used different writing styles and symbols to differentiate elements (for instance enclosing my thoughts in parentheses). My entries varied in style, detail and legibility depending on the recording circumstances. Encounters that could not be recorded for reasons of practicality or intrusiveness were subsequently captured in fieldnotes. My recall ability improved over the course of fieldwork, though I relied heavily on fieldnotes given my natural (and ironic given my research interests) struggles with memory. Beyond a recording mechanism, writing fieldnotes played an important analytic role. They constituted the real-time *in situ* processing of data, the way I listened with a ‘third ear’, stayed alert to arising concepts, noted the need for further clarification, and came to tentative ideas and conclusions. Fieldnotes helped me capture heritage meaning as it momentarily came into relief.



Figure 3.4: My many books of fieldnotes for this research project; and one set of pages.

Informants were offered identity protection, insofar as possible given Bermuda is one of many ‘worlds in which everything and everything is familiar and interconnected, leaving little room for anonymity’ (Prats 2009:82). However, I felt that event, institution, place, and other names which provide contextual detail deserved to be included in my narrative. Boats seemed especially important to identify, but serve as

an easy way for readers to contextualise them, since Bermudians ‘know’ boats and *who* is connected to them.

Also, because I believe it is appropriate to the interpretation of maritime heritage in Bermuda and heritage as an ethnographic object of study, I have identified informants in terms of race, age and gender.⁸³ This was in line with their often readily doing so themselves, such as one who said ‘I’m 58, white male, Bermudian...whether we like it or not, it defines us to some extent’ (117:WM50s). Most annotations reflect how informants self-identified, but in cases where this was not provided, I identify informants according to my own estimates and assumptions, to better represent the different voices in the text.

There is potential to use my data for other purposes, and such use can lend this research greater accountability and local ownership, and contributes to the local heritage sector. Still, I felt it was detrimental to my analysis and inappropriate to ask informants’ for consent to possible future use at the time of fieldwork. Instead, informants consented to use of the recordings for my research purposes only. This isolated use of data protected against interview distortion, following Smith’s experience, who ‘found that informants were much less willing to talk openly and were less candid on publicly available recordings’ (2004:22). So, although some argue that an open archive better ensures credibility and veracity of data, I contend a closed archive actually does so.

Beyond enhanced informant comfort and openness, this gave me the freedom to express myself in interviews as I needed to, to ask ‘dumb’ questions and seek clarification, to be uncontrolled and ‘grow’ as a researcher. This understanding helped me to suppress my and informant expectations of the work as a finite product and instead supported seeing it as a process of conceptualisation and ongoing learning. ‘I’d like to read that when you finish it’ and similar requests nonetheless reminded me of my responsibilities of disseminating this dissertation in Bermuda, especially among the maritime network and heritage sector who helped me to construct it.

Merriman’s (1996) call for more analysis and less description in heritage research guided me as I transformed my field data into a thesis argument, or moved from mere reporting to extracting meaning. Though it tends to be one of the least transparent areas of methodology, analysis takes place on some level throughout all

⁸³ See annotation key (Preface xiii).

phases of research. I developed and wrestled with research questions, theoretical frameworks and data criteria before, during and after fieldwork.

Still, my analysis in the field was largely preliminary. I did not take a hard line to it, such as a strict interpretation of ‘grounded theory’ that urges constant comparison of data throughout fieldwork (Glaser and Strauss 1967). In reality, it was difficult to think too analytically while I was immersed in live culture and ‘drowning in data’. I was constantly moving in and around my field site, with little time to reflect critically. Though I feared a slippage between fieldwork and analysis, I aimed to remain attentive to the raw data, allowing a gradual and less forced comprehension of maritime heritage in Bermuda. I stayed close to the original reality being investigated, keeping things close to face value before reflecting, translating, and abstracting for my academic purpose. When I drifted into verbalisation of my thinking, it was informants who reminded me to restrain myself, one gently reproached me: ‘I don’t know if people really think about, really analyse it, that way...I’ve never analysed why I’ve done this’ (141:BF50s).

Formal data analysis was thus a distinct stage of my project and occurred once I had physically left the field. This was not post-rationalisation but a systematic review of my recorded and remembered field data and experience. My valuable day-to-day encounters were not wasted or forgotten, but drawn upon in a condensed period of working through my fieldwork archive, and primarily my fieldnotes. Unlike original unedited recordings or full transcripts that do not differentiate their content, and therefore tend not to be fully considered, the succinct nature of my fieldnotes – having sifted away the superfluous – ensured the vast majority of their content was highly purposive. Moreover, my fieldnotes did not forgo the exact context of my recordings because I flagged and paraphrased verbatim quotes for easy retrieval.

The task of transcribing verbal recordings therefore seemed unnecessary, even regressive, an approach backed by claims that it is permissible to compromise lengthy transcripts (Gelsthorpe 2007). By working from my original fieldnotes I return to the complexity of the field encounter, rather than a polished reconstruction that loses the richness of the original material. I nonetheless found it valuable to listen to salient parts of my recordings as this took me back to the live interview moment.

Even without full transcriptions and in spite of being highly selective in the act of writing fieldnotes, I had an enormous amount of data to analyse. It became apparent that I needed a tool to effectively organise and manage my data, and

specifically to code, or attach different ‘hermeneutic units’ or tags to my textual data, so I turned to computer software. I began with just a few interviews and worked diligently to establish their codes, providing an index for further coding that could be followed and improvised upon. My approach to coding was not mechanistic, synthesising across informants or finding patterns or ‘regularities’ but about capturing the salient points. Still, just as the minority view can be highly significant, so too was the redundancy of certain loci, themes or concepts across or within interviews.

For all the helpful tools the software I used offered, I heeded the warning of ‘the pitfall of reifying coding as analysis’ (Bong 2002:1) and ultimately constructed my argument outside this, in the act of writing. I certainly underestimated just how much the process of analysis – especially it seems for such a contextualised but complex object of study as heritage – takes place in the writing process. Debates about ‘writing culture’ have not yet specialised to the nuances of ‘writing heritage’ and so my narrative style necessarily grew from my own experience and capacity. Writing supplied a creative space for me to abstract, speculate, and make analytic leaps. New threads of understanding were spun in the ways my data bridged with existing heritage theory and failed to do so. As it is with respect to previous findings that my claims are academically contextualised and earn credibility, I plugged theory in as an explanatory force for my analysis. But like my unstructured interviews, I did not consciously work up from the kind of conceptual framework scholars such as Smith (2006b) have put forward for other researchers to depart from, as it was necessary for me to discover this analytic structure myself, working from the ‘ground up’. From the ethnographic direction, I re-embedded my observational engagements and select case studies from the field into my writing in an effort to remain faithful to the encounters I had with people and to unpack heritage meaning, rather than flattening it out.

Although I felt great compromise in the process of writing with having to cut so many voices, details and fragments out of my text due to the constraints of length – with what remains still being highly ethnographic – I eventually came to see this research is not an anthology or archive of maritime Bermuda. Like Davies, ‘[t]he aim of this thesis is clearly not to produce a ‘schema’ of maritime heritage’ (2006:64, citing Easthope 2001). Rather it is a kind of distillation process in which I try to boil down to the essence of heritage as a process that is entirely contextualised and highly subjective, and yet has cross-cultural theoretical findings and applied implications.

To a large extent the work is about defamiliarising and laying bare common sense culture, about articulating clear and rather simple ideas about heritage, that which is so present in context it often becomes muted and fails to get recognised, let alone analysed or curated. I consequently fear that much of my analysis will be stating the obvious for the Bermudian reader, precisely because many of the issues captured within my analysis are so familiar and meaningful to them. My hope is that this dissertation nonetheless achieves what one informant expressed, ‘when you point out the obvious and people can look at it like it’s new, that’s powerful’ (147:WM30s).

Chapter conclusion

Heritage ethnography as a specialised method

Reflecting the methodological transparency currently called for by heritage scholars (Sørensen and Carman 2009b), this chapter has testified to the actual engineering and experience of heritage ethnography, one specifically oriented to grassroots heritage. At the macro level, I discussed bounding my case study or field site in less obvious, less comfortable ways that kept heritage – as the abstract object of study – in focus. At the micro level, I examined how I identified and qualified heritage data in the field and the process by which I transformed my unstructured field data into an intelligible account. Though these macro- and micro-ethnographic levels are separated in this chapter for the sake of clarity, I experienced the two as enmeshed and simultaneous.

Throughout this chapter I have emphasised what constitutes heritage is never clear, but subject to the nuances of every ethnographic experience and discovering meaning in context. I have shown that undertaking a heritage ethnography involves a balance of holding down a fleeting, unpredictable and recalcitrant object of study while remaining open-minded about its varied and sometimes unfamiliar uses or subprocesses. I have admitted the uncertainty that accompanied me throughout my project and suggested this sense is to some extent inbuilt into heritage ethnography, particularly at this early stage of its development as a method. But implicit in this discussion is the argument that this sense of uncertainty should be accommodated, rather than suppressed, so as to allow it to become a ‘productive aspect of fieldwork experience’ (Candea 2007:174). I have recalled the way I gradually released my preconceived notions, allowing heritage to confound my expectations and to see the phenomenon more on its own terms.

By explicating and revealing how heritage ethnography is really ‘done’, I have rescued a valuable research memory that is too often lost, withheld or sanitised. This chapter offers my research consolidation and clarity and is therefore part of my methodology and analysis itself. This promotion of heritage ethnography as a specialised method is an attempt to better account for the distinct multi-faceted nature of heritage that makes its conceptualisation so difficult but valuable. I hope to have conveyed the pleasure and privilege of conducting heritage ethnography, particularly in my home community. I also hope to have contributed to current efforts to establish a reliable and effective methodological toolkit for heritage studies, perhaps providing some of the specialised guidance I searched for myself, only to find it lacking.

Chapter 4

USING PAST AND PRESENT MARITIMES

4.1 Remembering a maritime nation

Imagining community

An astonishing new mural at BMM depicts people, places, things, technologies, episodes and eras shaping Bermuda's five-century history in a whimsical surrealist style (Figure 4.1). The significance of maritimity in this temporally and spatially condensed depiction becomes obvious when you are looking for it, like it did during my 2007 Bermuda fieldwork. The mural's seamless juxtaposition, infinite detail and fanciful disorder of so many elements evokes the maritime heritagescape I explored first-hand and analyse over the next five chapters in order to conceptualise heritage.



Figure 4.1: Visitors inside; angled view; and detail (bottom, courtesy BMM) of 'The Hall of History: Bermuda's Story in Art' by Graham Foster (Bermudian, 1970-), Oil on board, commissioned for the Pillared Hall inside Commissioner's House, officially unveiled by Queen Elizabeth II in November 2009 for Bermuda's 400th Anniversary.

Scattered throughout the mural's sweeping chronology are the island's many historical associations with the sea that impress upon Bermudian imagination: shipwrecks, salvage, fortifications, shipbuilding, sailing, fishing, whaling, trade, naval and other military enterprise and conflict, undersea exploration and tourism – to

mention the classic few. Such maritime associations are relevant to this opening analysis chapter, where I explore contemporary Bermudian relationships with the island's past maritimes as well as the sea today.

I begin by examining memory as a heritage process at the intersection of history and identity. In considering how and why Bermudians remember or otherwise relate to the island's maritime past, I reveal formations of collective identity and community. Though Bermudians construct a sense of themselves through various lenses and notwithstanding my research theme and lack of comparison beyond it, my data gave the feeling that maritimity might be the preeminent way they do so. Though such a 'project of nation-building' (Nadel-Klein 2003:43) might typically concern 'grand narratives of formal history' (Atkinson 2008:386), I encountered notions of a maritime people, place or 'nation' on personal levels and in subtle unprescribed ways. The maritime nation provides an accessible metanarrative, one in which Bermudians readily find themselves.

I suggest this maritime nationalism serves in a *de facto* fashion, in lieu of other mechanisms for constructing a distinctive shared identity. Bermuda is a society where identities are in doubt, unclear, awkward, with perennial questions about 'what it is to be Bermudian?' (9:WM50s) and inflexible statements like 'we have no culture' being tell-tale signs of this uncertainty and anxiety. Further to my sectoral review (2.3), local heritage practitioners are among those concerned that Bermudians – youth especially – cannot articulate their identity; practitioners try to 'answer' this with programming, narratives or curricula. Such grassroots efforts and official designs to stabilise identity reflect what Gilroy describes as 'the pathological desire to become absolutely certain as to who we are' (2004). Such closure fails to see and facilitate identity as an ongoing dynamic process that Bermudians already engage in, in these cases using maritimity.

To call Bermuda 'postcolonial' does not refer to the island in the 'chronological sense as referring to societies after the achievement of political independence' (Marschall 2008:348) since Bermuda remains British (Figure 4.2) and, furthermore, was not traditionally colonised having no (known) indigenous population. Bermuda does, however, align with independent states like South Africa and fellow 'territories' in 'dealing with a complicated blend of oppositions' (Cummins 2005) arising from slavery, segregation and other traumatic pasts. It is not

incidental to this maritime nationalism that Bermuda is not *yet* independent.⁸⁴ Bermuda's longstanding yet ever-sharp pre-independence moment is characterised by particular emotions, anxieties and tensions. One suspects that many of the identity questions underlying this maritime nationalism will remain after independence, however, since potential sovereignty is but one component in a collective sense of place and belonging.



Figure 4.2: In one of the few public representations of Bermuda's British status, the Governor attends many heritage events, include the annual Peppercorn ceremony in St. George's, shown in April 2007 with then Governor Sir John Vereker.

Past maritimes are an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983 (1936)) because Bermudians cannot connect to as they wish. This is part natural estrangement since 'members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (ibid:6-7). It is also due to Bermuda's multiple waves of immigration, where 'most people [have] added to heritage from outside...more got off a ship [than not]' (144:BM60s). Mostly, the desire for connection and cohesion stems from the active fissures between Bermudians. The identity politics of postcolonial postmodern

⁸⁴ I want to stress the sense of inevitability that surrounds independence, not only from the postcolonial perspective but in local terms of the lack of compelling arguments against independence, which are as weak as pro-independence arguments – including those of the ruling PLP (2009) which has favoured independence since the party's inception – that have so far failed to mobilise the voting majority (Note 7). If and when it does, independence will likely arrive either by referendum or (less-democratic) parliamentary vote.

Bermuda ensure a straightforward nationalism is impossible, or is at least not straightforward. It is in this context that the maritime nation, perhaps preeminently, reassures Bermudians they share certain histories, cultures and values (Herzfeld 1997) whilst not overwriting their differences. The Bermudian search for ‘sameness’ seeks a united community but not a homogenous identity, something past maritimes seem to achieve better than or in lieu of other place-based metanarratives.

Nationalistic narratives of the sea

Having suggested why past maritimes and the nation they represent are so sought after, I now turn to the narratives Bermudians – and their museums, reflecting the extent they *do* have a relationship (2.3) – use for this nationalistic maritime memory. Before turning to the discrete histories and symbols deployed, I attend to abstract narratives used for the same purpose, which rest on a premise of collective fate.⁸⁵

Bermudians treat the connection between Bermudians and the sea as timeless, paralleling sweeping and popular conceptions of human maritime experience (Cunliffe 2001). Informants refer to local maritimity in primordial terms, ‘Bermudians have always been inextricably tied to the sea’ (22a:WM50s), or suggest a long trajectory, ‘Bermuda has maritime heritage as long as a piece of string’ (97:WM50s). Such continuity is particularly useful when maritimity needs defending, as in the argument that Bermudians have ‘always’ practised ship salvage or ‘wrecking’, now outlawed to protect UCH (2.3).

Such deep-seated notions emphasise that Bermudians’ profound, even spiritual, relationship with the sea. Genetic predispositions or ‘quasi-biological’ connections alluding to a kind of collective DNA are observed elsewhere (Lunn and Day 2004, Davies 2006) but locally contextualised in Bermuda. Rhetorical expressions like ‘Bermudians are a seafaring people...Everybody in Bermuda is a mariner, we’re a race of seaman aren’t we?’ (120a:WM60s) stress an innate character, intuitive knowledge and steadfast lifeway that lends itself to shared identification.

The island’s ‘geophysical reality’ (Leffler 2004) is drawn into this narrative of collective fate. This transcends Bermuda’s geographic scales: a strategic location at the ‘crossroads’ of the Atlantic, the middle of the Sargasso Sea, and role in trade and less historically verified ‘triangles’; a ‘fishhook’ shape (Figure 4.3) with a high ‘ratio

⁸⁵ Recalling Bermuda’s motto ‘*Quo Fata Ferunt*’ which translates to ‘Whither the Fates Carry [Us]’.

of coastline to interior' (59:WF50s) and 'being entirely surrounded by ocean' (Staniforth 1993:216); harbours, bays and other 'places where boats can shelter, and where people can get into the water' (59:WF50s) or, provide maritime interaction, like the landscape tracts of 'tribe roads, [running] sea to sea' (144:BM60s).

This geographic and other maritime memory envisions an idealised, pristine island, where 'people are frequently absent, or at least tend to take second place to landscape, wildlife and material culture' (Merriman 1996:383). Sometimes Bermuda appears beyond culture, unpeopled and unhampered, despite this memory's social construction.⁸⁶ One informant expresses her appreciation of maritime experience in terms of 'actually getting to see what Bermuda looked like before people walked along it...that's a real time-warping moment to see Bermuda like that' (152:WF20s). Other pretercultural visions conceive the sea as an uncontrollable force of nature, albeit so vulnerable in today's global conservation crisis.

Geography nonetheless supports an interaction between people and environment, one that naturalises sea connections, as in 'I guess being an island, water is a part of people's lives forever' (102:WM40s) and 'we become maritime people whether we wanted to or not' (144:BM60s). Informants highlight that awareness and exposure to the sea constructs identity not only over deeper time and on collective levels but also over the lifetimes of individuals. The primordial state of childhood when relationships with the sea are first forged is emphasised (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: Local artworks illustrate the geographic nature of maritime memory: (left) 'Bermuda Memory', 2006, Oil on canvas, by Jon Legere (Bermudian, 1978-) who asked Bermudians of 'different backgrounds' to draw Bermuda from memory; (right) 'Roots: A Bermudian Childhood', 2005, Cotton quilt, by Lynn Morrell (Bermudian, 1951-).

⁸⁶ Like the veiled social constructs Haraway (1991) highlights, including the natural and feminine which bear heavily on maritimity in its cultural and masculine construction.

Whether treated as natural or primordial and despite their social construction, these abstract narratives rely on a *lack* of Bermudian agency. The idea that this people and place are fated to maritimity subtly embeds or cements the identities it represents, placing them ‘beyond reproach’ to echo the maintenance of the AHD (2.1).

Joining these abstract narratives in this nationalistic maritime memory but restoring Bermudian agency are discrete histories and symbols. In these narratives, relationships with the sea are culturally specific and selective, separating maritime and non-maritime cultures, with Bermuda aptly fitting the maritime designation. This ‘cultural ocean’ concerns human relations with the sea and control over it, primarily through seafaring and ships. The sea is contained by a human gaze, mastered with nautical technology and language, and adorned and popularised with romantic metaphor. Maritimity is concretised by such cultural narratives, which maritime museums may adopt or originate. On this flip side of an imagined nature-culture divide, the sea is still emphasised – interplaying with lifeways and livelihoods – but is not the centre of maritimity. Rather, this memory of past *maritimes* traps maritimity in time and place, in Bermuda’s past and Bermudian agency.

Yet, *Sea Venture*⁸⁷ only factored in my 2007 fieldwork and Bermuda’s 400th anniversary in 2009 to a limited extent, despite being Bermuda’s improbable and dramatic origin story and starting point for the island’s inhabited history and significant role in the ‘new world’ in addition to yielding rich history and collections, much of which BMM curates.⁸⁸ The detectable tension with *Sea Venture* concerns its singular exclusive nature, as its momentary (non-)representative detail in Foster’s mural captures (Figure 4.4). It is in light of Bermuda’s all-immigrant history and multicultural makeup that this arrival story of one ship and cultural group fails to represent national identity. Even the limited extent *Sea Venture* featured in the 2009 anniversary (also Figure 4.4), amid umpteen unrelated events, was disclaimed with a discourse to tell ‘many chapters, one story’ rather than this one chapter of British settlement. Bermudians may not consciously compare such narratives, but here *Sea Venture* serves as a preface to the eras and episodes they favour instead.

⁸⁷ In 1609, *Sea Venture*, flagship of the second expedition sent to America by the Virginia Company of London, under the command of Admiral Sir George Somers, wrecked off Bermuda during a violent storm (with first-hand accounts inspiring Shakespeare’s *Tempest*). All 150 passengers survived, who, while stranded, built new vessels and later relieved the struggling colony of Jamestown, Virginia (founded 1607), to which they were originally enroute, before others formally settled Bermuda in 1612.

⁸⁸ After *Sea Venture*’s rediscovery in 1958, archaeology was carried out (Wingood et al. 1986, Adams 1985, 2009) with BMM now holding and exhibiting her record and collections.



Figure 4.4: (left) *Sea Venture* detail from Foster's mural (courtesy BMM, Figure 4.1); (right) reenactment of *Sea Venture*'s landing near Fort St. Catherine (historically Gates' Bay) on 28 July 2009, the 400th Anniversary of the wreck.

Maritime memory in Bermuda usually refers to a certain period, but one that is vague and inclusive enough to accommodate national identity. Most referenced is the island's maiden era, *circa* 1684-1820, when Bermudians successfully relied upon shipbuilding and seafaring.

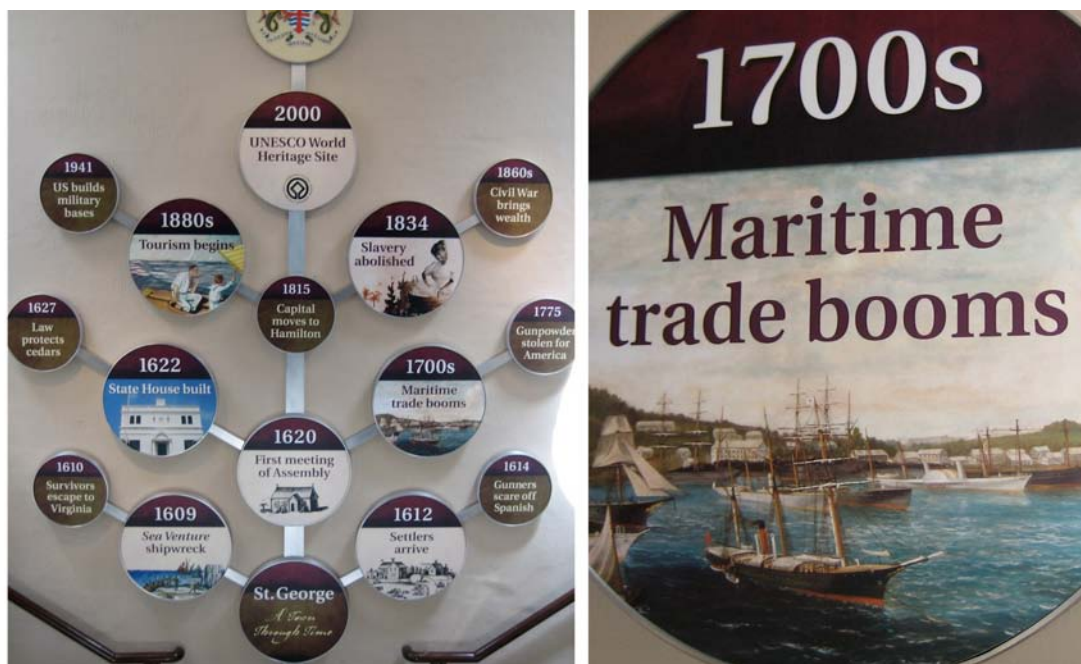


Figure 4.5: Bermuda timeline at the World Heritage Centre (Figure 2.10) depicting major historical episodes and eras, including the sea economy (courtesy St. George's Foundation).

The at least two-century time-depth of this 17-18th Century ‘sea economy’ (Hicks 2001) lends this narrative timeless intrinsic qualities, helping to embed it into collective memory. Without this quintessential age to draw on, it is questionable whether maritime memory would be so vital in Bermuda today, an affect of the actual past that complicates my arguments against authenticity as truth (2.1).

Despite widespread imagining of the sea economy and notwithstanding explorations and representations at BMM and elsewhere, this history is still being established. Conducting fieldwork before such definitive history is produced and disseminated amongst its community was interesting and has implications for heritage ethnography as a method, especially in distinguishing heritage and history (3.3). Not having the past reconstructed and analysed in-depth accentuates the social value of accredited historical research and creates space for Bermudians to imagine and speculate themselves about past maritimes.

By the same token, informants make good use of the available history and generously acknowledge those building it. Historian Dr. Michael Jarvis is credited with ‘reintroducing us to our maritime past’ (146:WM40s) based on his former and anticipated⁸⁹ explorations of Bermuda’s ‘maritime époque’(Jarvis 1992, 1995, 1998, 2002, 2010). Notwithstanding the independent weight of Jarvis’ contributions, I believe his focus on maritimity and the sea economy, as potent identity and community mechanisms, contributes to high local esteem for his work.

As Jarvis and other historians support, the Bermuda sloop (or rig)⁹⁰ is understood as the activity and technology underpinning the island’s past shipbuilding and seafaring. One cannot overstress the sloop’s importance to Bermuda’s maritime and wider heritage. Similar to the above pretercultural maritime Bermuda, informants sometimes seem to put the sloop before people in their remembrance. Yet, a closer look reveals the sloop representing Bermudians, both as a cohesive people and place, or even ‘nation’, and as dynamic individuals. This product and tool is not separate from this people and place, but is imagined as the pivot or essence of the sea economy and maritime nation.

The ease with which this ‘memory locus’ or ‘emblem’ (Hicks 2001:168) is

⁸⁹ During my 2007 fieldwork.

⁹⁰ Bermudians (and historians) often use sloop and rig interchangeably though I use sloop in this dissertation. Sometimes sloop and rig are distinguished, however, deconstructing the vessel into its respective hull-water-naval and rigging-wind-local components, although these are not comprehensive stable dichotomies (e.g. with the hull of sloops being made of endemic cedar wood). Such semantic and other uses of these terms deserve further ethnographic and historical investigation.

represented stimulates remembrance and identity and thus contributes to its heritage use. Informants suggest the sloop's iconic shape – sharply raked masts, long bowsprit, huge triangular sails and low-slung freeboard – help impress it into their mind's eye. An informant demonstrated the way this visual cue works by pointing to a historic image of a Bermuda sloop on his computer screen saver and saying:

The only thing I can do to answer that [what generates his maritime interest] is show you this picture on the computer, and tell you that people were very proud of this, people thought a lot of it, and nobody did it anywhere else in the world. My answer to you is to show the picture and say look at that. Isn't that a fine sight?! (113:WM30s).

Just as informants utilise the available maritime history, so too do they reference the few historic illustrations as well as traditional and modern ships models, marine art, photography, and other renditions like BMM's stylised logo (Figure 4.6).



Figure 4.6: Bermuda sloop representations highlighted by informants, from oldest to newest (moving clockwise from bottom left) early woodcut; 1831 rendition by John Lynn (Note 174); 19th Century photo; 20th Century *Yachting* magazine article; and BMM's logo (courtesy NMB) based on a locally-owned painting of the *Devonshire*, circa 1714, by an unknown artist, but on which, as informants note, she is depicted 'backwards' to her original port tack.

However, the Bermuda sloop is no longer confined to such one-dimensional representation, but is embodied by *Spirit of Bermuda* (hereafter *Spirit* following local abbreviation). Though I save most discussion of this youth sail training vehicle until Chapter 8, this realisation of the historic sloop is highly significant to this maritime

memory. Just as *Spirit* accompanied me as I traveled the islandscape (Figure 4.7), informants communicated her importance as a reminder of maritime Bermuda.



Figure 4.7: (Clockwise from top left) *Spirit of Bermuda* at rest at her permanent berth in Dockyard day; and night; under full-sail in the Great Sound; over the east end *Sea Venture* site on the wreck's 400th Anniversary (Figure 4.4); and cruising at top speed a mile off-shore.

Though she has recharged Bermudian maritime memory, representation of the sea economy and its famed sloop does not start and stop with *Spirit*. Smaller traditional vessels of similar provenance, proportions and aesthetics such as a small jib, big mainsail, low sheer line and kinaesthetics of speed and maneuverability are also granted this representational role. Bermudians distinguish these intra-island or inshore working vessels – including sloops, fitted and unfitted dinghies and pilot gigs – from larger ocean-going sloops – like the naval vessel on which *Spirit* is based (which informants note was ‘technically’ a schooner) – yet stress the former are essentially scaled down versions of the latter. With these visual live representations to more abstract notions of collective fate, Bermudians build a narrative of a maritime nation.

Pride of maritime place

With maritime memory, Bermudians imagine a time when local and global married well, or at least global forces did not quash but met local needs. This contact with the world on Bermudian terms parallels the concept of glocalisation, to ‘think globally and act locally’, especially as a response and resistance to globalisation. The sense

that Bermuda is today at the whim of transnational forces, or they at least easily penetrate and profoundly shape local life, is strategically coupled with a memory of local self-reliance and resilience. Conversely, the mobility, contact and expansiveness of past maritimes combat island insularity. From both directions, the prime mechanism for this ‘glocalisation’ is Bermudian ingenuity.

The island is remembered as hub and hive of maritime activity, a place that draws in interest and generates its own buzz. More than just part of the colonial Atlantic, Bermudians see their island as its nexus. Informants recount how Dr. Michael Jarvis turned an Atlantic map on its side to show Bermuda as central, inverting the American, mainland, terrestrial perspective towards the sea, island, and mariner. This anecdote – featuring a respected historian and visual representation – and others are used to underscore the island’s centrality and ‘pull’.

Inverting this nexus, Bermudians promote Bermuda’s stamp on the world, with the island impacting and even directing global processes (Robertson 1995, Appadurai 1996). Informants describe Bermuda as a base from which local mariners set out to and returned from adventure and opportunity. It is a memory of local knowledge, skill and culture extending beyond the island, a Pan-Bermudian identity based in local agency to foray into the world and seize opportunity using the sea.⁹¹ This vision goes beyond mere local achievements to privilege global exposure and experience with Bermudians competing on the world stage, a recurring issue in current debates about Bermudianisation relating to the heritage sector’s capacity and diversity issues (2.3).

Bermuda’s relationship with the Turks Islands⁹² is perhaps the strongest narrative of glocalisation, reflecting its dominance in official heritage. This narrative is particularly useful because Bermudians are the protagonists and do not share ingenuity with others. The island’s exploitation of resources from elsewhere, the production and trade of salt in the Turks’ case, redresses the corresponding lack of local capacity. Among heritage projects that have used this narrative was a *Spirit* ‘pilgrimage voyage’ to the Turks in 2008, which I was regrettably unable to join having already ‘cut-off’ my fieldwork (3.3). Arising out of that voyage and attesting to the considerable interest in the ‘intense and intertwined maritime histories’ between

⁹¹ This Bermudian maritime diaspora heavily involving enslaved and free blacks contrasts markedly with the African Diaspora based in the theft and denial of black agency through the forced maritime experiences of the Atlantic Slave Trade, as Chapter 5 explores.

⁹² Using their sloops, Bermudians carried large quantities of salt produced on the Turks Islands to North American markets throughout the 18-19th Centuries, having established effective control over the Turks in the 1780s (Harriott 1996, Harris and Brown III 1990s, Cooke 2003, Jones 2004a).

Atlantic islands was the proposal for a Caribbean Maritime Heritage Research Centre (Ross 2008), though my data speaks to more local internal uses of this glocalisation.

The *Spirit* pilgrimage voyage segues back to the Bermuda sloop, the main metaphor for glocalisation due to its ability to be both local and global. The sloop is promoted as a figure of international importance, with informants highlighting Bermuda's role in global affairs via the vessel. The island's involvement in the British-American Revolutionary War (Kerr 1986), War of 1812 and the internal American Civil War (Diechmann 2003, Foster 2007) are the most prominent histories, perhaps reflecting the connection and encroachment Bermudians feel with respect to American culture in particular.

Yet, the sloop is distinctively local. Key to this attribution is the combination of being built in Bermuda, by Bermudians and made of local organic materials. The involvement of slaves and free black Bermudians in this building is rarely overlooked, due to the relationship between maritime heritage and race explored in Chapter 5. Cedar, Bermuda's native wood, is also key to this localisation. As material technology integrating with design, cedar yields the sloop's special capacities of durability, speed and windward sailing. Though these narratives may stem from formal history and physical materiality, there is no obligation outside present social meaning demanding their citation. Bermudians use maritime Bermuda and its greatest product, the sloop, to gain a sense of local pride I interpret as national identity.

Though the 17-18th Century maritime era is especially remembered, it is not the only historical period Bermudians see demonstrating glocalisation. This maiden era is merely the first in a series of socio-economic waves, 'a succession of adept adjustments to the world beyond' (McDowall 2004:142). Informants express the idea that 'Bermuda reinvents itself each century' (Jarvis 2010:460) in the less concise terms of constructing forwards or backwards chronologies or selecting and juxtaposing different eras. Subsequent to the maritime era, these 'reinventions' are: the 19-20th Century British and American military installations; the 20th-21st Century now-suffering but once-flourishing tourism industry; and today's international business which either employs or indirectly supports most Bermudians. There is also projection of waves to come,⁹³ somewhat in response to socio-economic uncertainty but also to communicate ingenuity as a fundamental and enduring Bermudian

⁹³ Including reinvigorated tourism and proposals to establish a third economic pillar beyond international business and tourism (Bermuda First 2009).

characteristic. That the island has not only survived but also repeatedly carved a niche for itself in the Atlantic world and an increasingly globalised world is not just historical record or economic necessity, but a major source of national pride.

The sea economy nonetheless has pride of place in this memory of Bermudian ingenuity. Both being the first wave and about maritimity are important to the sea economy's superior positioning. Though prompted by my study, informants explicitly credit Bermuda's maritime capacity and culture for local ability to transcend local constraints. 'Bermuda. It's name isn't bigger than a fly dropping. So why isn't Bermuda like other islands? There's only one constant denominator, ships and the sea' (164:WM70s). The sea is remembered as Bermuda's chief or sole conduit to the outside world and means of economic sovereignty. It is no coincidence this mirrors the 'single-pillar' international business economy of today, that is vulnerable itself but especially with the 'second pillar' of tourism being so precarious. Stressing the island's dependence on the sea, which is a geographically particular narrative that seems detached from human agency, paradoxically promotes Bermudian ingenuity.

Linked to being the first wave and early in Bermuda's history, Bermudians stress the island's early and quick adoption of maritime lifeways and practices, often in comparison to elsewhere. Themes of precedence and speed are common, especially in the transition from agriculture to seafaring 'within 50 years...[when] Bermudians eyes went from land to water' (Panatel VDS Ltd. 2009),⁹⁴ and within the sea economy the shift from local to global is often represented by the shift from small to large vessels. Other ingenuity narratives promote local foresight, such as the 'Bermuda rig is a technological innovation 250 years ahead of its time' (14:WM40s). Precedence, speed and foresight combine in this informant's memory of Bermuda's environmental consciousness:

Presumably you are familiar we had the western world's first conservation legislation to protect turtles? To me, that's amazing that in the 1600s you had that. It just goes to show how fast things can happen on an island (42:WF50s).

Picking up on this early quick timing and Bermudian claims to indigenuity and roots, this nationalistic memory often uses notions of origins and evolution, specifically in placing the Bermuda sloop at the forefront of global sail technology. As the basis of modern sailing that has 'transformed forever the ways boats are sailed' (Harris 2006),

⁹⁴ Film quote from Malcolm Kirkland, Founder and Executive Director of BSF, an important figure in maritime Bermuda.

the Bermuda sloop is not only seen as the origins but the ‘missing link’ in sailing’s development. Such origins and evolution gain additional meaning by being set within the continuing use of Bermudian design and innovation up and into the present.

Informants use technological analogies to stress this maritime epistemology and local ingenuity, as in ‘ships, particularly Bermuda ships, were their internet of their era...[they were] hugely important communication tools’ (167:WM50s). Representations are likewise used to bridge scale and time, calling to mind two field encounters at the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club (RBYC)(Figure 4.8). Looking at RBYC’s marina, one informant said ‘there you go, there’s the evolution of sailing in Bermuda right in front of you, the sloop [*Spirit*], *Shamrock* [a restored small working sloop] and the Optimists [small dinghies for youth sailing] all lined up, you should take a photo of that!’ (9:WM50s). Separately, RBYC’s curator pointed out a display of half models he arranged according to subtle changes in hull shape to represent the ‘evolution of sailing’ from the Bermuda sloop as their ‘common ancestor’ because ‘what Bermuda did was effect the world’ (101:OM50s). In such instances, Bermudians lay claim to much more than the sloop, to a bigger maritime picture and even human progress on the broadest of scales.



Figure 4.8: (Left) Sail training vessel *Spirit* (rear right, three masts), the sloop *Shamrock* (left, wooden mast) and Optimist dinghies (foreground, sails up) at RBYC during the Festival of Sail, 12 October 2008; (right) half-models in RBYC’s ‘model room’.

Ingenuity is also promoted in terms of the consistently intangible nature of Bermuda's changing economy, with Bermudians surviving and thriving despite not having the stability of 'products' since the early failure of agriculture. Pride in an intellectual-service economy extends to the island's military and business eras and the hospitality ethos of tourism but seems most fervently located in the sea economy, irrespective of the endemic-organic materiality of cedar and thus the Bermuda sloop.

Narratives of glocalisation battle against insular island stereotypes (Pace 2006). Fears of diseconomy associated with Bermuda's lack of economic diversification and external dependency over its various waves are juxtaposed with Bermuda's diminutiveness and isolation to throw local ingenuity into relief, as in 'we've always punched above our weight, done more than our size and population' (50:WM50s) and 'this is a world place versus some rinky dinky island' (170:BM40s).

Moreover, this ingenuity often takes a stab at modern *entitlement*, that is an important theme in this dissertation, such as in this implicit comparison to the present: 'Well, of course they built boats because that was the only way they were going to get one' (63:WM80s). Conversely, those interrupting entitlement are themselves raised up through their historical appreciation, such as an admirer of the experimentation or trial-and-error learning of past mariners:

They probably tried every kind of variation. We like to think there's a Bermuda design of boat but in fact there's a lot of variation. I want to see what was middle of the road, and on either side of the road. I want to see what things they thought of (113:WM30s).

This praise of ingenuity and judgment of entitlement is also evident in a reverting to basics, especially in terms of 'survival'. While Bermuda continues to be the envy of the world in many respects, especially in taking advantage of globalisation through international business and (formerly and now to a lesser degree) tourism, informants stress the sea economy was a subsistence economy. They strip away the sophistication, modernisation and 'first-world-ness' of contemporary Bermuda so that anything beyond fundamental needs and core values is superfluous. It is in this resourceful self-sufficient state by virtue of being the product of necessity, that Bermudian ingenuity is boosted and past maritimes gain great presentist meaning. Rather than steal agency, this necessity highlights how Bermudians took advantage of situations; they – or 'we' (to echo informants identifying language) were innovative, entrepreneurial and skilled because they – or 'we' – had to be.

I encountered many adamant claims that the sloop was a Bermudian innovation.

This is despite and counters the historical ambiguity on the matter, that, as one of Harris' Heritage Matters articles states (2.3), 'the evidence, archaeological and otherwise, for the Bermuda Rig being of local invention is almost entirely circumstantial' (2006). Just as loss activates heritage so too does this uncertainty provoke more impassioned and staunch views.

Although it may seem a simplistic interpretation, I think the consistent or nearly unfaltering description of the *Bermuda* sloop (or rig, or pilot gigs, dinghies etc.), as Harris' above, goes beyond being a necessary specification to stake Bermuda's claim in these technologies. This granting of cultural ownership to Bermudians yields a nationalistic sense of place but also a more personal local pride. Similarly, informants cited references to the sloop, and performed other 'proofs' of its Bermudian origins. As did my informant who complained 'it doesn't register' locally that the sloop is Bermudian (185:WM50s), informants also contest when this ingenuity is not claimed, desiring that all Bermudians appreciate the social value of this identity and community formation as they do.

There is nonetheless a counter discourse that critiques Bermuda's claims to ingenuity yet constructs national identity in its own way, perhaps more deeply. Such expressions suggest Bermudians take more credit for the sloop than they are due, that it is 'not unique to Bermuda'. This pragmatic authenticity-laden attitude, recalling the 'heritage-baiting' that demeans heritage (2.1), argues that such Bermudian 'ego' is undeserved. This especially relates to debates over the Bermuda rig being of Dutch origins, which infers Bermudians merely adapted the design and are taking credit for someone else's innovation, thereby invalidating much of the ingenuity on which pride in Bermuda's glocalisation is based. Such cynics not only contend that Bermuda was not as influential as is claimed, but that it is highly permeable to outside forces, 'everybody influenced us, we haven't influenced anybody' (36:WM60s).

In a further nuance, there is a counter to this counter discourse, even among the same informants as just above in their attempt to strike a balance between legitimate claims and undeserved boasting. This rebuttal to attacks on the promotion of Bermuda's maritime contribution suggests that a legitimate pride lies in Bermudians advantageously reshaping the global for local needs, using the sloop as a remaking of international designs as a key example. Such rebuttals take care not to inflate Bermuda's contribution and to maintain authenticity and humility in their accounts. They wish to show they understand the true extent of Bermuda's contribution,

guarding against unlicensed claims while not going so far as to undermine the senses of identity, community and place that maritime memory provides. Such efforts to keep Bermudian claims deserved (versus entitled) bring a balance that is somewhat missing in this highly nationalistic account of past maritimes, and to heritage generally and especially on collective levels as often celebratory and aspirational uses. It has nonetheless been important to present and explore this pride of place, because this national identity is valuable in itself and because it lays the foundation for much of the forthcoming analysis, including the nostalgia explored next.

4.2 Maritime nostalgia

Nostalgia in itself

As this chapter does at this intermediate juncture, Bermudians make meaning in the space between maritime memory (4.1) and experience (4.3). In the disjuncture between past and present maritimes Bermudians feel and express a combination of loss and longing. This nostalgia is neither merely an outcome nor just points to meanings elsewhere, but emerges as heritage itself and thus part of Bermuda's maritime heritage.

There is predictably high use of the past in this maritime nostalgia, with what is perceived to be lost and thus longed for bearing heavily. What follows and the above nationalistic maritime memory (4.1) accordingly overlap. However, as this mid-section's juxtaposition with that largely proud memory is intended to underscore, nostalgia entails a dissonant relationship with the past; it is a different kind of identification and heritage use demanding separate attention. This nuanced treatment helps diversify heritage as the use of the past in the present beyond dominant monolithic constructions while furthering the increasing inclusion of dissonance in a fuller conceptualisation of heritage.

Moreover, I found this maritime nostalgia to be as much about the present and future as the past. This understanding helped quell concerns that I was focusing on too simplistic and superficial a phenomena and reinforcing heritage clichés. This authenticity-laden fear was augmented by the pejorative treatments to which the concept of nostalgia is prone. But I did not find this heritage use to be the rose-tinted and frozen version of past 'times' that 'nostalgia' so readily conjures. My ethnographic data allowed me to peel back scepticism regarding nostalgia (including

my own) to explore its complex workings and meanings and situate it conceptually and in this chapter between memory and experience.

I explore nostalgia along two lines apparent in my data: *what Bermudians feel they have lost*, and *what they blame this on*. When looking first at what is lost, my aim is to highlight a qualitative loss, that a certain quality of identity and community is either already lost or at stake. I touch on the way experiential knowledge features in this, introducing the extent to which presentist experience and live embodiment bears on maritime heritage in Bermuda, particularly the live culture discussed next (4.3). I argue this nostalgia is also a loss of and longing for community in terms of connections between Bermudians, with quality applying as much to this sense of community as it does to personal and collective national identity or senses of place.

When looking secondly at what is blamed, I primarily want to show that – similar to the relationship between nostalgia and memory – blame does not merely accompany loss, but provides an equally effective mechanism for generating heritage. Specifically, blame exposes the loss of maritimity as an ‘unspoken humiliation’ (Peralta 2008:112) for Bermudians and the island at large. Furthermore, the contours of this humiliation and the way it is masked as blame make it easy to characterise as an emasculation, highlighting the close relationship between maritimity and masculinity in this and other contexts.

Despite my separation below, feeling loss and assigning blame were inextricably linked as two sides of nostalgia. These dimensions were correspondingly difficult to tease out in my conceptualisation of this heritage subprocess, being that I was working against the propensity of informants to mix or even fuse these dimensions. This combination of loss and blame underscores that the losing and longing for maritimity is about much more and a meaningful process in itself. Nostalgia *is* a heritage process, and thus an aspect of the multi-faceted phenomena and its conceptual framework. Nostalgia is not simply a means to another end, though this additional use is not precluded.

Losing identity and community

The past only featured in Bermudian maritime nostalgia to a limited extent, or at least in more subtle ways than I had anticipated. It is in recognising more indeterminate yet affective expressions of nostalgia, that one notices the absence of the more concrete and precise narratives featuring in maritime memory, as if reserving them for those

nationalistic purposes (4.1). Yet, nostalgia no less constructs collective identity or senses of place and community, it just does so in more abstract and emotive terms that allow more qualitative meanings to shine through.

Nostalgic informants tended to treat maritimity as an authentic identity, fundamental ethos or core value set. It is in these more abstract notions of identity that an authentic maritime Bermuda or Bermudian mariner is constructed and drawn on. They imagine a highly localised identity, an idealised version of what this place and people 'should be'. This was encapsulated within an informant's lamenting of 'the real Bermudian' (164:WM70s) who is largely located in the past and has few contemporary embodiments. While this authenticity may originate in or is contoured by the maritime past, it is an identity that transcends time and stays available for identity and community needs, even as it is abandoned or more naturally degrades.

Notions of degradation, departure, decline or decay are indeed strong in this maritime nostalgia. The sea economy, when 'we were booming 150 to 200 years ago' (104:WM20s), is treated as the island's high point, within and beyond maritimity. It is unmatched by prior and subsequent versions of this people and place, and is most out of line with the present. This sense of attrition is plainly expressed in statements about how maritimity has diminished over time, '300 years ago Bermuda [was] a seafaring nation by any standards...for 125 years or more Bermuda has distanced itself from the ocean' (92:WM40s). This parallels and is perhaps influenced by treatments of heritage as vulnerable and non-renewable due to authenticity's sway (2.2) quite contrary to the sense that maritimity is innate or enduring (4.1). In their nostalgia, Bermudians present maritimity as fragile and finite, something easily diluted, displaced or diminished, requiring active attention and cultivation.

Bermudian maritime nostalgia recalls 'management' discourses that Davies describes as 'reactionary' whereby 'heritage is a term usually only applied once a practise, site or artefact is seen to be at risk' (2006:118). The threat to heritage stimulates preservation and other curatorial care, simultaneously stimulating practitioner identities and proprietary attitudes (2.1). More to the point, the threat to maritimity and the urgency to combat this seems proportional to the level of nostalgia.

The meaning of the identity and community lost and longed for is reflected in the perceptible dissatisfaction and even sadness of responses such as 'we are no longer Bermudians as we once were, we're completely different creatures now' (36:WM50s) and 'I think people have almost a longing, [for] something we've lost in

our modern life...an older way of life' (77b:WF60s). The magnitude of this loss is underscored by expressions of collapse suggesting: outright loss or total change; inevitability, that this loss is unstoppable, especially in the global sense that 'Bermuda is not alone' (96:WM50s); resignation, as detected in this reference to model boat building, 'that's another tradition that's dying' (85:WM40s); and of a 'last threshold', as when a sail maker remarked 'what we do here is really the last of maritime heritage' (55:WM50s).

It follows from this combination of urgency and quality that I found nostalgia to be at its highest, not concerning an isolated past but maritimity that continues yet is considered endangered, if not on the brink of collapse. Very often, informants directed my attention to what they pessimistically describe as 'dying' practices, assigning them to a purgatorial place between living and dead maritimes. Bermudians readily share their desire and efforts to rescue and sustain these practices: 'I worked to pass [boat building] on *because* there's an urgent need for it' and 'I think it is a track that should be taught in school...*because* I'm concerned it is a dying trade' (105:BM60s, my emphasis).

In a telling contrast and contradiction, I found little nostalgia attached to practices that are altogether lost, with their demise viewed as a natural outcome of changing times. In the case of long-banned practices of whaling or turtling, this abandonment undoubtedly relates to the way these practices clash with eco-consciousness, in addition to their rebirth as eco-tourism, conservation or research enterprises.⁹⁵ Dead practices are nonetheless less 'missed' since the threat and finality of 'the craft once it goes' (92:WM40s) is precisely what gives nostalgia for dying practices its meaning. And though healthy practices are also meaningful, they obviously do not invoke nostalgia to the same degree, instead calling upon different values that are harder to conceive as heritage but which, I later contend, certainly are (4.3). That dying maritime practices are valued above, or at least differently than, better adapted and dead practices, underscores that heritage occurs in the very feeling and expression of nostalgia.

No maritime practice is more lamented than boat building, or shipwrighting to use the more antiquated yet oft-heard term. Boat building and other 'traditions', 'trades', or 'crafts' for which there is the greatest concern tend to be associated with

⁹⁵ Including whale and turtle watching and species research and rehabilitation (BAMZ and CCC 2008, Stevenson 2009).

the past, whether relating to the sea economy or more recent maritimes. Informants still stress the gravity of the practice's potential loss to them personally and to Bermuda culturally when they say 'boat building is essential' (105:BM60s), the loss of the shipwright is devastating' (46a:WM50s) and 'anything I can do to interest kids in boat building' (63:WM80s). This fundamental treatment is related to the way boat building – despite being land-based – is not isolated but bound to other practices, sailing especially. The loss of this one practice signals the collapse of maritimity on the whole. Though such interdependence of maritime practices arises elsewhere in this study, it is perhaps highest when the loss of one practice is seen to pull down others, or craftsmanship and seamanship in general. By linking these practices informants ironically contribute to their vulnerability and decline.

Fishing is another key local maritime practice considered to be 'dying' and made more meaningful through its endangered treatment. While some of these concerns involve romantic notions of tradition and preservation such as attached to boat building, fishing is more oriented to present and future concerns over cultural and economic sustainability. The politics of local fishing are too complex to unpack here,⁹⁶ but suffice to say there is high contestation among (and between) commercial and recreational fishermen over the research, rights and regulations pertaining to marine resources. Commercial fishermen⁹⁷ are among local mariners who fear they will be 'the last generation' and feel they are 'going against the tide' in their day-to-day efforts to make a living. Pragmatic worries, especially economic viability, dominate this nostalgia, making it more culture-oriented, and thus less recognisable as heritage but perhaps more socially valuable.

Much of this maritime nostalgia centres on the loss of full-time careers. The loss of stable employment and especially the ability to employ oneself signals an erosion of the ingenuity represented by past maritimes and counter to the dictates of globalisation (4.1). Ironically, this loss of livelihood is strongest among Bermuda's still sea-related professionals who include ferry, tug, and larger ship (branch) pilots, engineers and crew, commercial fishermen, and white-collar ports and shipping management. They and other informants imagine a sharp break, when the island turned from maritime professions to recreation, thereby dramatising the loss of

⁹⁶ Which other authors have looked at from more statistical or scientific (or less anthropological) standpoints (Barrett 1990, Glasspool 2000, Faiella 2003).

⁹⁷ Commercial fishermen in Bermuda numbered 326 in 2006 (Department of Fisheries).

maritimity: 'We have a maritime museum, there were seafarers here, but there aren't anymore. Bermudians were years ago...but not today' (91:WM50s). The rarity of full-time mariners today helps construct their value noting 'very few who are seafarers in the sense you are' and that it is 'more local or part-time mariners now' (UI). Contrary to the increasing exploration of maritime leisure practices in maritime museums, often in an effort to democratise them, Bermudians often use maritime professions as the pinnacle of maritimity.

Particularly in relation to practices and livelihoods but also on the wider maritime level, this nostalgia laments the loss of experiential knowledge. The intangible, sensory, material qualities of the leisure and work worlds of mariners are drawn on and together in this loss and longing. Bermudians mourn the loss of specific skills like celestial navigation, that 'you don't have to know the guts of navigating by stars today' (91:WM50s), irrespective of their now being unnecessary thanks to high-tech navigation aids. Experiential nostalgia also operates in a discourse of lost investment, that the slow and subtle experiential exposure or 'osmosis', the ways it 'takes time to develop that knowledge' and 'you learned things you didn't even realise...you don't even know you're picking up little things it takes to be on water' (153:WF50s). Just as humiliation-emasculatation is intensified by departure from past maritimes, emasculatation is intensified by the loss of maritimity's experiential qualities.

Divorce from materiality and/or the environment closely relates to this experiential loss via skill and embodiment, as in the 'craftsmanship [is] dying out' (2:WM50s) and 'there's a big disconnect from nature and things natural' (125b:WF50s). Changing landscapes and materials are emphasised, such as the populating of relatively rural and remote areas of the island with new housing or the transition from wooden to fibreglass boats. When one informant exclaimed with exasperation 'I may as well burn my boat!' (14:WM50s) due to degradation of the marine environment and restrictive policies responding to it, he was expressing the value of the connection with the water and sense of space and territory it gives him, recalling Aming's (2007) aforementioned film about his relationship with the ocean cleverly titled 'My Backyard' (2.3).

Linking with these experiential losses, Bermudians long to slow down. Recalling the international 'slow movement' (Honoré 2004) and other responses to modernity and globalisation, there is a desire to decelerate within nostalgia for an

earlier Bermuda with a slower pace, one in which maritimity factors prominently and regulates speed. There is strong nostalgia for intra-island maritime transport, especially for the vessels that facilitated it, such as small ferries and workboats. Such transport is seen to largely determine the pace of an earlier simpler Bermuda, much like motorised traffic is a defining feature of hectic island life today. There is frequent comparison of contemporary land-based and past sea-borne way-making, with the post-war period's introduction of cars to the island generally being the temporal cut-off for this maritime nostalgia, though this can be reignited by the sight of small traditional vessels today, especially if *moving* across the islandscape. Such non-motorised, pre-industrial and mobile maritime technologies enable sensory, kinesthetic and intimate environmental and material relationships deprived by more 'perambulatory' transport (36:WM50s), allowing Bermudians to imagine moving through space and time versus merely passing by. Such nostalgic maritime narratives focus on journeys versus destinations, privileging process over product in a way needed more in the local heritage sector (2.3). Connections enabled by a slower pace extend to people and community, in terms of Bermudians being patient with themselves and one another. In this way the nostalgia for slowness connects to the loss of community among Bermudians struggling to connect and achieve a shared sense of place and identity (4.1).

Because they are such important sites for maritimity and community, nostalgia is high regarding Bermuda's private maritime clubs.⁹⁸ Bermudians remember the way these clubs once were and are worried about where they are heading, with both temporal aspects hinging on maritimity and the way it constitutes community. Reminiscent of creative strategies local museums use to stay operational and the dominance of fiscal values in the local heritage sector (2.3), some maritime clubs, struggling to make ends meet and with a view to 'running it like a business' (UI), have resorted to opening up their memberships and facilities, including, as frequently noted, their bars. It is notwithstanding the necessity of staying afloat, that some members, who are usually older and/or mariners, express the damage this does to their club's maritime mission and character. They feel the club is compromised, even debased, and use the destructive vice of alcohol to strengthen their argument. They say they watch the makeup of the membership change with an influx of non-mariners,

⁹⁸ These clubs are sailing/yacht clubs and/or fishing/angling clubs, although they are used for a range of maritime and non-maritime activities.

whom they distinguish from mariners and others who have the club's interests at heart. They note that the maritime is not predominant but in competition with other sporting activities unrelated to the sea. A return to the maritime is thus frequently pitched, 'quite frankly we need to put the boat back in the boat club!' (154:OM40s).

While this nostalgia's obvious emphasis is maritimism, the underlying concern is community. The social importance Manning (1973) argued decades ago with respect to the island's black workmen's clubs applies as forcefully today, and especially these clubs benefitting from maritimism's compelling closure (2.2). Those opening up the maritime clubs argue these changes enable social inclusion, that 'you don't have to be a sailor' (UI) to join now. They fend off criticism by pointing to the support of maritime programmes these changes provide and, in the ultimate success story, occasions when non-mariners become mariners. Despite such general and maritime benefits, detractors contend the club's community is compromised, arguing the quality of associations within and beyond the membership is dependent on keeping maritimism central.

This sense of community is to do with these clubs providing a sense of place. Located throughout the island and intimately connected to sublocal areas, these fixed gathering spaces are like other sea-adjacent sites in the islandscape – boat slips, bays, beaches and other watering holes – in which people commune with the marine environment and one another. This connection to place and space becomes increasingly important as clan areas and neighbourhoods become more transient or erode, and the extended kinship networks and 'tribal association between people' (53:WM60s) they support buckle as Bermuda hits a critical mass of population, development, traffic, speed, stress and so on. Even as Bermudians move away from these spaces and each other, it is not uncommon to maintain area and club loyalties, thereby maintaining place-based sub-community maritime ties. While such clubs may substitute for other forms of community, other spaces do not necessarily adequately substitute for the community of maritime clubs.

Bermuda blaming Bermuda

I now shift attention to what Bermudians blame for maritimism's loss, in an attempt to understand how this blame functions as part of nostalgia. In expressing and masking humiliation and emasculation, blame provides an outlet for the disappointment, frustration and even anger Bermudians feel, in a kind of 'lashing out' against other

Bermudians or Bermuda on the whole. This judgment is captured well by one informant's remark that he had 'never met a nation of people more polite to the outside world and more hard on each other than Bermudians' (101:OM50s), recalling the self-sabotage of local capacity in the heritage sector (2.3).

This blame primarily critiques entitlement, an undeserved expectation and loss of integrity that is as antithetical to or an abandonment of the authentic identity and core values maritimism represents. Bermudians are judged for taking maritimism for granted, that they are not longer motivated enough to uphold it or are altogether oblivious or ignorant of its value.

Companion or even integral to this entitlement critique is a critique of modernity. As introduced earlier, Bermudians view the island's economic waves subsequent to the sea economy as diminished holdovers of that global era (4.1). This erosion not only makes use of linear time but also refers to qualitative notions of identity, community and nation. Beyond being simply diminished, informants treat the economic waves subsequent to the sea economy as antithetical to the maritime nation and the innovation and self-reliance it represents. Tourism, in particular, is viewed as a false identity, a detour from the maritime nation.

I think the spirit of Bermudian tradition, up until age of tourism, was a spirit of innovation out of necessity. That got sort of turned inwards with tourism...and the claim that Bermuda was polite. Bermudians weren't all that polite prior to that, they were a rough tough bunch of people (101:OM50s).

Tourism is an 'easy target' in terms of its traditionally unhealthy interplay between local and global, a trope I perhaps overly rely upon in my critique of the local heritage sector (2.3). It is easy to speculate that this distrust of tourism contributes to local community-museum dissonance, including that with BMM explored later (6.3). And yet, tourism – even or especially as a dependency upon or subservience to others – constructs Bermudian identity in important ways. It is thus used strategically to ostensibly cast blame elsewhere, while hitting hard at what maritimism means and why its loss is so lamented. Equally if not more dominant in this nostalgia, now that international business has largely replaced tourism as the island's central economic pillar, is a blame on fiscal or capitalist values: 'Bermuda is a freight train at high speed chasing economic development...I believe our economic growth has sucked us into a false existence' (42:WF50s).

As orientations to tourism and fiscal values suggest, this blame very much involves a discourse of an original or true Bermudian identity being distorted by imposed forces. Tensions are apparent between local and global, or ‘inside-out’ versus ‘outside-in’ (Dismont-Robinson 2006), or ‘real versus implanted’ (42:WF50s) formulations of identity introduced earlier with respect to the heritage sector (2.3). Globalisation often features in this blame. In a combination on laying blame elsewhere and on themselves, Bermudians point to transnational forces and Bermuda’s weakness in managing or resisting them. The permeable nature of this island society and culture is often emphasised, as in ‘we get diluted by outside influences’ (125b:WF50s). Some go so far as to suggest that it is now globalisation that largely answers questions of identity.

Contrary to formulating identity from the ‘inside-out’ and to more assuaging notions that the island is ‘not alone’, informants tend to express and emphasise their humiliation by comparing Bermuda to elsewhere. An informant referring to maritime heritage initiatives in the Turks and Caicos,⁹⁹ said ‘they know more about Bermuda boats than we do...they actually still race them down there...[they] still do what we did 100 years ago when it comes to sloops and boat[s]’ (113:WM30s). Just as the above instance is made more stinging by knowledge of Bermuda’s former total authority over the Turks (4.1), so too is loss heightened by the knowledge that Bermuda is not a maritime nation *anymore*, of once having had strong relationships with the sea but today feeling ‘we are no longer a maritime nation’ (22a:WM50s). Whereas the sea economy and the nationalism it evokes is treated as beyond comparison (4.1), informants compare the island to its former self in order to underscore the qualitative dissonance between maritime and non-maritime identity and what maritimity means to them personally and collectively.

A temporal double standard is evident in the way the past is afforded a more favourable treatment whereas the present is not given the same allowance. For instance, while there is esteem for the pragmatic constraints on past practices (4.1), this does not hold for present practices which garner little sympathy for changed circumstances. A couple of boatbuilders contextualised the past in terms of necessity and survival, but saw ‘the problem is we don’t really build boats anymore’ as a preventable failure. This was notwithstanding their own evaluation that the ‘cost and

⁹⁹ Including those of Turks and Caicos Island Maritime Heritage Federation.

labour is too intensive' (108a&b:both WM50s) to be anything other than pragmatic about the practice, least of all romantic about it. By disadvantaging the present and highlighting Bermuda's abandonment of certain identities and values, informants express they uphold these themselves. Whereas maritime identities, especially in relation to the past are seen as authentic, the present is seen as a false time in which Bermudians are not being true to themselves or their authentic identity, akin to something taken from the wild and being falsely acclimatised.

This critique of modern entitlement is often attributed to an abuse of privilege and commodified culture of multitude 'diversities' and 'instant gratification', that lacks an appreciation of things, technologies and environment. On the flip side of loss and longing for a slower pace are regular complaints of island life today, that 'no one has time' (88:OM60s), whether for maritime practices or the clubs that support them. This directly links the speed of modern life to the collapse of community, that such moves away from maritimity entail 'interrelationships between individuals collapse also' (164:WM70s).

The dependencies of today are viewed as weaknesses, testimony to a lack of personal and local agency. Bermudians criticise this dependence on two levels, for the dependence itself and for taking this dependence for granted in an entitled manner. Informants often highlight the extent to which the island is still dependent on the sea, shipping and mariners as 'a very essential part of our society' (128:BM60s). The reliance on goods imported by sea (Figure 4.9), and especially food, '90% of Bermudians don't realise where our food comes from' (120b:WM60s), brings nostalgia down to the same basic level of 'survival' found in maritime memory (4.1).



Figure 4.9: Vehicle cargo ship *Cosmos Ace* entering Hamilton Harbour, November 2009.

Blame on Bermudians was particularly evident in the dismay over low levels of Bermudianisation, recalling the heritage sector (2.3). Informants highlighted the local makeup of maritime practices in the past and the high proportion of non-Bermudians today. Lack of local participation was a prominent topic among Bermuda fitted dinghy sailors from different maritime clubs I accompanied while racing one another (Figure 4.10). Crews expressed their difficulty finding and maintaining sailors. Though practices may continue and sustaining them takes priority, informants view the lack of Bermudian participation as highly damaging, if not tantamount to the outright loss of the practice in a qualitative sense. Much like local heritage practitioners carefully qualify their concerns for Bermudian capacity (including me in 2.3), Bermudians in these crews stress they are not xenophobic and praise ‘expats’ for filling the void. By contrast, Bermudians are blamed for failing to sustain Bermuda fitted dinghy racing as a uniquely-local pastime (Arnell 1982, McCreary 2002), among other local ‘dying’ maritime practices.



Figure 4.10: Bermuda fitted dinghy racing at Granaway Deep in the Great Sound, June 2007.

In the typical heritage terms of inheritance and relating to the discourse of ‘dying’ practices, Bermudians squarely blame the loss of maritimity on a breakdown of transmission. They complain the intergenerational channel is no longer intact, or is at

least badly ruptured. In alignment with age-biased presumptions of heritage deficiency (2.1), this is mostly viewed as a one-way transmission from old to young, with the lack of youth uptake primarily blamed. Older informants position maritimity as the norm from which younger Bermudians deviate, as one fisherman implied: 'I have a son and always wanted him to come into the profession, but he's inclined to do other things...I thought it would be a natural progression' (128:BM60s). Like the local heritage sector (2.3), there is an absence of youth, 'everyone [is] age 50-plus' (88:OM60s) or 'it's just a few older people passing around amongst themselves' (113:WM30s). Informants lament how rare apprenticeship or other forms of direct, experiential and especially intra-male transmission are today, underscoring this with failed cases or highlighting the hypocrisy of this blame in admitting they themselves do not have the time or willingness to mentor.

Playing out the critique of modern entitlement, youth disinterest or deviation is widely interpreted as a loss of respect for elders, mariners, boats, the sea and the values they represent. This fallen respect is distinguished from the attitudes of past or older mariners, but, of course, often comes from their perspective. When I approached younger executive members of a maritime club for interviews, they instead arranged for me to meet with a group of club elders, who, despite enthusiasm to share the club's history and community role, resented being put forward for the interview. They saw this as a disingenuous sign of respect while being excluded from daily and strategic management, especially non-maritime priorities. Their blame is an outlet for feeling disenfranchised from the maritime club they innovated and built.

Still, at times younger Bermudians receive sympathy, as a kind of lost generation lacking certain benefits, particularly in missing rites of passage, environmental connections, and childhood trust and freedom. However, this is usually overshadowed by a critique of youth entitlement. Informants feel maritimity goes unappreciated, one saying it is 'hard to find young Bermudians to train up...they don't realise the benefits...so many opportunities in this business' (55:WM50s). Some throw this into relief by highlighting their own appreciation and integrity, 'if I was young and coming up that's the kind of job I would have' (13:BM70s). Judgments about the work ethic or passion of young people are rife, 'your average Bermudian youth do[es]n't want to work...no get up and go' (55:WM50s), though comments like 'it's tough to find young crew who want to fish, or work!' (100:WM20s) show these do not come from older Bermudians exclusively.

In the first of many references in this dissertation to the tension between the academic and experiential and reiterating nostalgia for material and environmental connections, some informants see the rise in professional standards and qualifications for mariners as a loss of experiential maritime knowledge and skill. That such qualifications often involve meeting international standards and/or ‘going away’ (113:WM30s), reflects blame on globalisation and adds to the skepticism of academic learning. While some see academic learning as a valid replacement or complementary knowledge, others see it as inferior to the experiential, despite both being components of mariners’ professional development today.

This blame, especially its condescension, is ironic considering the way it defers responsibility or misdirects attention away from those assigning it. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the entitlement critique, which defers responsibility similarly to the entitlement being judged. Although ostensibly about finding fault elsewhere, much of this blame is ultimately thrown back onto Bermudians themselves, suggesting awareness of their role in the loss of maritimacy, or wider identity and community. At times informants use blame to humble themselves and disrupt their own sense of entitlement. Blame and shame are thus quietly but closely related.

Blame is even constructive. As an engagement with loss and its causes, blame actively manages, reconciles or even reclaims maritimacy. Contrary to and interrupting entitlement, blame takes action and refuses resignation. This need to account is not simply about closure but highlights and heightens maritimacy’s loss, and thus disavows relinquishing the value set it represents. Even the culpability underpinning blame suggests agency, that Bermudians are ultimately in control even if they have temporarily forsaken this. Judgments that maritimacy ‘has been allowed to lapse’ (103:WM40s) imply collective neglect. While the loss of agency the sea economy represents is lamented this is reclaimed through the blame in nostalgia, by performing and restoring a sense that maritimacy matters to Bermudians.

Blame and thus nostalgia suggest hope, a belief in the possibility of change. This cynicism and attack is strategic, not pointless complaining. An informant remarked ‘maritimacy is diminished ‘in the present world in which we live’ but went on to say ‘I think Bermuda will continue to have a close affinity to the sea’ (95:WM50s). Such contradiction shows how this nostalgia views maritimacy as an fundamental and enduring relationship for this people and place. A commentary on

the loss of instinct captures humiliation-emasculaton and a belief in authenticity, ‘Bermudians don’t know anything about the sea...If it were in our culture we would know instinctively...Bermudians today are instinctively ignorant’ (164:WM70s). Informants imply maritimity is always available, needing only Bermudian will to resurrect it. Thus, blame is agency in engaging with maritimity and what it stands for, which aligns with the motivations explored next as an active open process of heritage.

4.3 Live maritime culture

The muted presence of the sea

Alongside memory and nostalgia Bermudians maintain and originate manifold relationships with the sea. Maritime pursuits and professions were so prolific I asked myself ‘was Bermuda not still a maritime society?’; my ethnographic data responding with a resounding ‘Yes!’. This section reflects the maritime recovery happening in Bermuda, filling the gulf between past and present maritimes. Like my informants, I highlight the scope and vibrancy of this aspect of contemporary Bermudian culture, to show maritimity not only survives but *thrives* on the island today.

Similar to analysing loss and blame as linked workings of nostalgia (4.2), here I look at another subtle but perceptible split in my data, between maritimity simply *being* relevant and present versus more actively *making* it so, or between relationships with the sea that seemed more naturally occurring or less forced and more conscious or strategic maritime efforts. Whereas the former suggests authenticity the latter demonstrates agency and ingenuity and counters passive notions of entitlement and heritage deficiency. Together, these aspects bring into relief what is perhaps the hardest dimension of maritime Bermuda to recognise *as heritage*.

Heritage researchers and practitioners, the heritage sector and museums they constitute, and the wider community all struggle to see this presentist, everyday experience as culture, let alone heritage. It is the muted presence of maritimity, its mundane and subtle permeation of personal and collective lives that results in it being taken for granted. It is with this sense of omnipresence and social value that I argue, more than simply being on par with other workings such as memory and nostalgia, this live culture constitutes the heart of Bermuda’s maritime heritage and the conceptual framework for the heritage concept.

Maritimality being relevant

Among the seemingly more natural or less forced ways maritimality is used and constructed as Bermudian culture, is in its apparent continuity across space and time. Spatially, I encountered an identifiable ‘maritime’ network or culture that can be differentiated from other social groups and cultural layers and unsettles nostalgia for or presumed deficiency of such community connections (4.2). The good health of this network is evident in the ease with which I obtained contacts and gained access to people, knowledge and practices. Generally, recommendations were plentiful and shared without hesitation, whether or not I solicited them. Comments referring to my research like ‘only in Bermuda you could do this kind of thing’ (145:WM60s) suggest is not just maritimality but the community that is conducive to these connections and the shared senses of place, identity and community they provide. How different this dissertation would be had it included the insights of the many informants and events I did not reach is, of course, unknown, but the recommendations themselves speak to the existence and accessibility of a definable maritime network and culture.

This spatial or social continuity was met by a continuity among practices. Converse to the way dying maritime practices pull one another down (4.2), healthy maritime practices are mutually supportive. Bermudians use and conceptualise maritimality in an open manner versus isolated ‘scapes’ (Cobb and Ransley 2009). This reciprocity is most pronounced between boat building and sailing (or other vessel handling). This is supported by the memory of local maritime history in which these practices are entwined (4.1), but also through the embodied experience of these practices and by virtue of boats being their key intermediary in the past and present. Informants argue a boat’s design and build informs on-the-water experience, ‘I think building your boat most definitely enhances your interest in sailing or any other form of boating for that matter’ (63:WM80s). Equally, the way a boat moves or ‘behaves’ can influence design and build in a kind of ‘reverse engineering’, one informant remarking ‘through an understanding of water you soon get appreciation of hull shape and form’ (89:WM50s). Within conversations, these relationships often came full circle, such as in this loop from visualisation to experience and to conceptualisation as one Bermudian ‘transition[s] from what was in his mind, [to] the physical experience of the boat on the water, transformed into [the] building of the boat’ (125b:WM50s). Competitive sailing boat classes for whom being built locally is or was prominent – including Comets, Bermuda fitted dinghies, seagulls, and 505s – gain extra value and

Bermudianisation, as an informant demonstrated when saying ‘it’s an important [sailing] race to me because I used to help with building [Comet] boats’ (62:BM60s).

Bermudians also imagine and express maritime continuity in temporal terms. Some of this is as plain and simple as merely staying with or hanging onto connections with the sea, recalling the island’s collective fate as a maritime nation (4.1). Informants, including non-mariners, express that Bermudians or Bermuda are ‘still’ a maritime people and place, or ‘nation’. While the simple act of continuity is highlighted, there is also pride in this as perseverance, as an enduring characteristic of Bermudian identity. This perseverance is often framed by a discourse of sustaining maritimity despite other options and pressures, a stick-to-it-ness that presents maritimity as a resistant and iconoclastic identity and culture, one that meshes well with the pride in glocal ingenuity and reinvention over the island’s changing history (4.1). Maritimity is compared to the possibility of it not being the case or its absence so as to highlight its vulnerability and resilience. Contemporary maritime practices gain value in their not being expected to continue, but continuing nonetheless.

Appreciation of the continuity of practices is particularly high for livelihoods because they represent maritimity, and the identity and community it represents, in a way leisure or other less valued engagements with the sea cannot. Informants raised the island’s maritime professions as a kind of ‘proof’ that maritimity survives locally and is not consigned to the past. One informant, of another profession, half-jokingly says he writes ‘merchant’ in his passport, in a tribute to and mark of continuation of the maritime occupations of his ancestors and the wider island (97:WM50s). In light of such instances of prolonging maritime connections and the nostalgia expressed for livelihood (4.2), I was surprised to find so many maritime occupations on the island. This was especially due to my being an outsider, layperson and a white woman, given many of these occupations are taken for granted as maritime culture, are hands-on, working class, technical or more localised trades outside the capitalist and globalised norm, and are filled by male Bermudians, including many black and ‘other’ men.¹⁰⁰

Continuity is also constructed through the ongoing risk faced by mariners, especially full-time career professionals. Risk is a good example of a mundane yet extraordinary aspect of contemporary relationships with the sea. Informants contend

¹⁰⁰ Many of Bermuda’s full time mariners are employed by the Department of Marine & Ports, encompassing the Dockyard-based tug tender and aids and navigation services, Hamilton-based ferry service, and St. George’s-based pilot service – considered different ‘families’. Bermuda’s commercial fishermen are another major group of dedicated professional mariners.

this risk demands respect not solely because it is something that is undertaken ‘on a regular basis’ by mariners or because of Bermuda’s continuing dependence on the sea, though both are underscored, but because that respect itself promotes identity and community. Subscription to such core values is something some informants expect of other Bermudians and themselves, one saying ‘I’ve developed real respect for anyone going to sea’ (18:BM60s) and another ‘I think that [this risk] should be taught and it should be understood, so we do have an appreciation of this’ (64:WM50s).

In this risk and other aspects of live maritime experience, there is a continuity in the quiet presence of maritimity that goes unspoken, unnoticed, unappreciated. This continuity nonetheless came into relief in fieldwork moments of realisation, when informant (and my) consciousness and appreciation was awakened. The epiphany of one maritime professional, while somewhat dramatised in the intimacy of the interview setting and thus not particularly subtle or ‘natural’, still speaks to maritimity’s identity and community work:

I had absolutely taken for granted that I was born on an island in the middle of nowhere. And the maritime links and heritage of that island were not particularly consequential...If you get up every morning and can see the sea from inside your house, you, as much as you’re looking across a field or hillside, take it for granted. The history of it. I was really proud I suppose. I thought it was neat how Bermuda became a British colony and how island life is separated, except by maritime links. And I wouldn’t have gone about to think of that in any way particularly special because it’s a practicality. You can’t get mail or provisions unless a ship brings it...anything that happened in Bermuda, before air travel, happened by sea...you begin to realise the magnificence of the significance of being isolated like that...it’s significance develops...I could have continued taking it for granted and never had any consideration if it was significant or not, unless I had been taught it...that’s why I thought what you’re doing is particularly a neat idea, because it makes sense of the fact that you need to know these things about your background, about the past (64:WM50s).

This lengthy interview excerpt speaks for itself, especially as an immediate ‘trowel’s edge’ moment of generating heritage via heritage ethnography (3.3), and potentially museum curation. Yet, it is worth highlighting the mechanisms for continuity this informant hits upon amid his awakening to the omnipresence of maritimity, including his sense of: embodiment of the islandscape, or experience of landscape as a lived process; history as a measures of time and progress and more enduring place and belonging; the significance of ‘practicality’ as a mundane requirement that embeds

maritimity and heightens its social value; and in revealing himself to himself (3.3), a privilege or indebtedness that battles entitlement which elevates him above others and yields authenticity.

It is as if to recycle and sustain a precious resource that Bermudians rechannel maritimity. They willingly transform old maritime interests and practices into new ones, despite this adaptation sometimes significantly transforming social meaning and value. This rechanneling signals a release from authenticity as truth, allowing culture and identity to be dynamic.

The marine environment is an important aspect of this maritime adaptation, sometimes rechanneling old practices and others being altogether new. This ecological focus reflects the natural-cultural split and associated generation gap identified in local heritage and museums (2.3). Despite being culturally constructed, these eco-conscious initiatives and/or practices are conceived as natural heritage, usually with a stewardship orientation geared to preserving and protecting finite resources, often from other people or those blamed (4.2). There is a masculine feel to much of this interest in the marine environment, especially through its embodied and material relationships, which is not only exclusive but also inclusive or offers high compelling closure. It is also attractive as activism, allowing Bermudians, especially younger and/or white Bermudians (though they are not the only demographics participating), to engage politically but relatively more comfortably and accessibly than culture (especially constrained by race-class). Through such issues, Bermudians additionally promote the island's glocalisation, both in terms of the impact on Bermuda and the power of local contributions and solutions to wider problems, oceans, ecosystems and so on. Recent eco-initiatives, such as those dedicated to eradicating the invasive species of Lionfish (Figure 4.11),¹⁰¹ may reinvent more established heritage groups, but also seem more accessible, particularly in being more like popular culture and less like conventional out-of-touch heritage.

¹⁰¹ The invasive Lionfish has few natural predators and is decimating many species on Bermuda's reef system, seriously impacting biocultural diversity, as it has irreparably in the Bahamas.



Figure 4.11: Marine eco-consciousness on display at the Groundswell/Reefspect Lionfish tournament at Dockyard, August 2009.

I also encountered more personal maritime rechanneling, over the lifetimes of individuals, recalling the way maritimity transcends collective and personal histories (4.1). This applies to shifts in the attitudes of individuals to contested maritime issues. Continuing the ecological focus and suggesting the sweeping and rapid cultural turn to environmental protection, the 1990 fish pot ban is perhaps the quintessential example of enforced change among local mariners, and especially commercial fisherman whom it has affected most. Despite fierce resistance in years past, in 2007 I invariably found commercial fishermen and other informants supporting the ban. They clarify any problem that had was not with the ban itself but the manner in which it was carried out, suggesting they have always agreed with its fundamental principles but not its politics, which they frame as objective and subjective, respectively.

Other necessary life transitions are made while continuing maritime associations. For instance, a lifelong crewmember of passenger ships calling at Bermuda spoke to the challenge but necessity of his moving on from ‘a life at sea’ which he described, using maritime parlance, as ‘swallowing the anchor’ and ‘going ashore’ (68:WM60s). While he continued what seemed to be more passive and less satisfactory maritime interests, others more effectively rechanneled maritimity, such as a late black Bermudian branch pilot who informants admired for transitioning from

that livelihood into another by later developing his own charter sailing business, and, for leisure, racing competitively. On collective and personal levels, such rechanneling provides constructive examples for maritime museums like BMM needing to harness the renewability of maritime heritage, especially as they move the 'old to new sea', and beyond the sea altogether to that which is ostensibly non-maritime yet remains socially and locally relevant.

Various maritime practices may be 'new' yet informants emphasise their continuity with past maritimes. Like theorists, they treat maritimity as a broad enduring cultural construct into which their current maritime interests fit, joining existing maritime history and culture versus standing separate from it. With reference to his young yachting business that relates to maritimity and service-oriented tourism, a young entrepreneur says 'we do feel there's a tradition we're carrying on' (138:WM40s). Likewise, the eco-conscious globalised (via conservation and/or tourism) incarnations of the long-banned practices of whaling and turtling appear to relate very little to their more localised cultural predecessors. Yet, as their antithesis, today's incarnations have an intimate connection to those historic practices, though this connection is conspicuously silent, underscoring forgetting is just as active as remembering (2.2).

Practices that are altogether new are also mushrooming. Informants are quick to argue how this innovation disrupts nostalgic notions that Bermudian ingenuity is only located in past maritimes (4.1). Moreover, new practices are quickly brought into the fold of existing maritime culture. Despite only being established in 1997 and struggling to the extent organisers offer monetary incentives to participating boats and cancelled the 2008 event due to 'dropping' entries, the usually-annual Bermuda Christmas Boat Parade (Figure 4.12) is already considered a 'tradition'. That is by enthusiastic participants I spoke with in 2007 putting huge effort into decorating and lighting their vessels for the night-time procession, which also serves as one of the performances of maritimity I later qualify as curation or museology (8.3).



Figure 4.12: Various boats in the 2009 Christmas Boat Parade in Hamilton Harbour.

I was indeed struck by the motivation of so many Bermudians to pursue so many maritime practices. This motivation was most obvious in their physical effort and endurance, which expressed masculinity well. I observed this embodied dedication and masculinity among male and female Bermuda fitted dinghy and Comet sailors whilst preparing, handling and dismantling their respective vessel types, sometimes to the point of exhaustion, as part of their regular if not weekly commitment in their respective sailing seasons.

This embodiment of motivation and masculinity readily carries over to the competition that is such a motivating factor among such mariners. Competition seems especially intense among small interconnected communities and sublocal networks where people and their positioning are highly identifiable. Status based in competitive achievement is reinforced at social events like maritime club prizegivings, where trophies and other collectively-owned yet personalised (such as via name engraving) material culture is presented publicly but within tight maritime networks.

Also marked by an extensive public prizegiving yet taken less seriously is the Round the Island Seagull Race (Figure 4.13). There was a marked decline in sobriety among some participants between the start and finish of their 42-mile circumnavigation of the island ‘powered only’ by 4-6 horsepower outboard motors. While ostensibly ‘not about winning but about finishing and having a good time’

(192:WM40s), this friendly rivalry belies fierce competition, evident in the ways participants and spectators analyse this annual race's rules and etiquette. Such sporting endeavours are no mere whimsy, but reflect the passion and dedication of individuals and the seafaring crews, clans, clubs and wider sublocal communities to which they belong.



Figure 4.13: Boats participating in the Round the Island Seagull Race, 23 June 2007, from (top) traditional boats with traditional seagull engines, to (middle) traditional boats with modern seagull engines, to (bottom) modern boats with modern seagull engines.

Like the glocalisation featuring in maritime memory (4.1), this competition readily extends overseas, placing Bermudian capacity on the world stage. Sailing is, again, at the forefront of this activity with many classes, including Optimists, Comets and Lasers, competing internationally at high levels. One informant clarifies just how unrestrained or serious this competition is by saying the ambition is to be ‘the best small sailing nation that people actually fear us in the sport’ (101:OM50s). Intra-island competition perhaps means as much, especially through place-based rivalries such as in the geographically dispersed maritime clubs.¹⁰² Just as senses of place and competition can be divisive, so too can they be unifying. In stimulating and reinforcing the commitment of those who participate or are included, competition reflects the compelling closure of maritimity and heritage (2.2).

¹⁰² Recalling more serious and increasingly violent clashes among the island's territorial gangs.

Motivation is also evident in the way commitments of time and energy are made freely, especially for community purposes, such as an informant who shared: ‘For the 400th Anniversary I decided it would be great to put together the sailing rig for one of the gigs so I spent three weeks leave and some other time to build and shape the spars, re-cut and sew the sails, install a rowing keel and to rig her’ (89:WM50s). Beyond such activity, I was struck by the lack of expectation for compensation for it, though I sensed this humility provided its own kind of ‘payback’. Voluntary efforts were especially notable in this fervently capitalist and expensive setting, where time and money are at a premium. It is notwithstanding that practices such as restoring or maintaining boats place a heavy economic and energy strain on some informants, that they explicitly stated or tacitly demonstrated their willingness to absorb this through their commitment to certain projects, recalling the heritage sector’s passionate and dedicated practitioners (2.3). Beyond those with more vested interests, the patience and sacrifice of their families or communities, who do not share the same level of personal reward or acknowledgment but are nonetheless supportive of such maritime ‘labours of love’, demonstrates even higher willingness.¹⁰³

I nonetheless found that some highly motivated informants were not as passionate, myopic or obsessed as one might assume based on their willing and usually uncompensated efforts. Even self-described ‘anoraks’ have a controlled maritime perspective. It seems Bermudians are motivated by a variety of reasons and to varying degrees. They incorporate maritimity into their lives and the community in balanced and mundane ways, disrupting notions of compelling closure.

This balance is reflected in the social character of much live maritime culture that is significant to individual and collective motivations to engage with it. Wednesday Night Racing in Hamilton Harbour (Figure 4.14)¹⁰⁴ is a preferred example among informants due to the routine, popularity and ‘low-key fun character of this weekly regatta (RHADC 2009). The accessibility of this activity beyond Bermudians to expatriates is highlighted, and particularly newcomers to the island who are ‘suddenly absorbed into Bermuda society’ (147:WM30s) through participating in this highly regular, visible and social maritime practice.

¹⁰³ Recalling Bermuda’s male-dominated sea economy and the island’s matriarchy left behind (4.1).

¹⁰⁴ Organised by the Bermuda Royal Hamilton Amateur Dinghy Club and open to many boat classes.



Figure 4.14: Wednesday night racing in Hamilton Harbour.

In light of these more mundane characteristics of live maritime culture, I perhaps ought not to be so ‘struck’ by the motivation Bermudians exhibit, which perhaps testifies to my own presumptions of public heritage deficiency. Such understanding of the more mundane may enable researchers and practitioners to move beyond more dramatic and extreme tethered notions of heritage and towards that which is more prevalent and just as worthy of heritage designation, and which occurs irrespective of such official understanding and recognition.

Making maritimity relevant

I now move onto examples of Bermudians more actively or consciously creating and recovering maritime identity, community and culture. This effort or intervention suggests desire and willingness to regain or prove a relationship with the sea. A vulnerability and desperation frames many of these efforts, recalling yet also countering the loss and blame of Bermudian maritime nostalgia (4.2).

I often heard a discourse of revival among informants, that Bermuda is experiencing a kind of maritime renaissance. Far from affirming the loss of maritime nostalgia (4.2), there is a pervasive sense that maritimity is building on the island, in an up-and-coming fashion. Rather than being a natural development, involved Bermudians suggest this revival has been a conscious design: ‘This idea of making Bermuda of sailing nation again...redeveloping it, modernising it...is really a 20 year project. We’re at year 10 and we’re doing okay. We’ve had a few dips’ (101:OM50s). I was certainly struck by the breath of maritimity that bore out in serendipitous fieldwork opportunities and a plethora of informants and events to engage with.

However, this revival discourse does not merely report on the island's maritime culture, but actively supports it.

I think the whole Bermuda maritime thing...it's all building, the awareness...it's definitely building. It was diminishing...[but] the *Spirit* has made a huge [impact], and [BSF Director] Malcolm [Kirkland]'s interest, and [maritime historian Dr. Michael] Jarvis, and you and this thing. I am really excited about it and how it could take off. And we might help rejuvenate this little classic boat thing...the Henson rowboats, somebody has an old Geary Pitcher [boat], [someone else] has a little motor launch he fixed up years ago that's built of cedar. There are all these little pockets and if we could come together, it could be [inaudible positive remark] (167:WM50s).

Such acknowledgment of key initiatives and individuals duly recognises their actual influence, but also indicates belief in the idea that one person or project can provide the spark to reignite maritimity on the broad local level. As above, BSF's relatively young programme using *Spirit* and its leaders are credited most with reinvigorating maritime Bermuda, such as the comment, alluding to the reciprocity of maritime practices, that boat building is 'kind of making its way back via the Bermuda sloop' (UI). BMM hardly features in the discourse, due to the community-museum disconnection based in a museum-maritime disconnection analysed later (7.3).

Tourism is another way Bermudians attempt to make maritimity more socially relevant or valuable. While seemingly inconsistent with my earlier arguments that Bermudians treat tourism as a false identity (4.2), tourism is not only prone to attack but also readily deployed as a constructive solution, with these conflicting uses reflecting tourism being a reliable if not habitual way Bermudians construct identity and community. By extension, informants promote maritime tourism, including visiting yachts and passenger shipping, and criticise the extent they feel is it under-utilised, especially by DOT as the national tourism authority and recalling my critique of the lack of heritage tourism (2.3). Informants parallel and link the declining or threatened nature of tourism and maritimity in order to revive both; maritimity is seen as a last resort for tourism and the sea as 'our biggest resource' in general and 'for tourism definitely' (104:WM20s).

The democratisation of maritime activities and the spaces hosting them is an important aspect of making maritimity relevant. At this point, such inclusion is generally accepted and expected, and there is a strong sense regarding any spaces not yet opened up that they should be accessible. And yet, at the present timescale that is

still on the cusp of social change, this is not to the extent that inclusion is a given. It is as if to appreciate now being able to take social inclusion close to for granted that informants issue judgments upon the past, as in ‘gone are the days of sailing just for the elites’ (18:BM60s) and ‘amazing how few boats there were on the water in those days...it’s good now more people can use the water, in those days it was very limited (145:WM60s).

Much like the local heritage sector (2.3), there is a realisation among the maritime network that an arrogant expectation of community interest and participation can no longer be assumed. This also interrupts a presumption of youth deficiency or sense that younger Bermudians, and especially the disenfranchised, *ought* to engage with maritimity more. The opening up of maritime practices to women is another important area of democratisation that sees female mariners both utilising masculinity and bringing new sensibilities into maritime culture.

As it did with nostalgia (4.2), this democratisation extends to materiality and technology, which can reflect and alter social relations. For instance, fibreglass, while not without its detractors and often positioned in contrast to wood, is celebrated by some Bermudians for the way it has stimulated local boat building and use, thereby giving more people access to the water, as one sailor says ‘beauty part about [fibreglass boats is] everyone’s got them’ (90:OM40s). In another example, changes to technological criteria in competition rules allow new boat classes and thus participants, especially younger Bermudians, into regattas and other boat races. The Round the Island and other seagull races now permit boat types encompassing traditional Bermuda dinghies and long narrow plywood designs purpose-built for speed and, more importantly – because they are the defining characteristic and namesake of seagulls – new engine types such as covered and thus less exposed ‘spaghetti engines’, with the numerous classes and trophies reflecting growing number of possible boat-engine combinations (Figure 4.13). Such democratisation can be thought of as a kind of affirmative action creating access and generating interest, reflecting the increasing social inclusion in the heritage sector and across Bermuda generally (2.3).

Beyond such affirmative inclusive efforts, there is an empowerment among their beneficiaries, those outside the boundaries of the maritime network who are too often presumed to be deficient in maritime heritage. Much like the burgeoning local heritage scene where new groups are ‘reinventing’ museums on their terms (2.3),

Bermudians are making maritimity their own. It follows that this agency or space making is often a dissonant act, spurred on by the sense of difference to the expected conventional norm. It is a breaking the rules or breaking with tradition by virtue of working against its inertia and high levels of nostalgia presuming deficiency. The formality and conservative tradition of the maritime clubs is, for instance, being challenged, as when one informant teases another (84a&b:both WM30s) about not wearing tie and shorts with shirt, although this teasing suggests the power tradition still holds, as one member's comment illustrates: 'It's now a 'just is' club. Now the doors are really open as long as you behave yourself' (124:BM50s).

The agency of younger informants broke down presumptions of youth deficiency and also illustrates *making* maritimity relevant. My earlier discussion of the blame on the breakdown in transmission (4.2) was geared towards the perspective of conventional heritage and older informants. Such a bias did not go unchallenged in the field, so nor can it go unchallenged in this chapter. Younger informants contend the breakdown in transmission goes both ways. They resent and reject the inflexibility of older mariners. Speaking about his father, a young Bermudian said 'he has his own way of doing it...he's old school, stuck in his ways...I take on some of his ways...but to each his own', and later, about his family's fishing legacy, after speaking to his pride in it he says unapologetically, 'but that's going to stop with me...I do feel a bit pressured but I've told him ["no"]' (69:WM20s). The space I sometimes sensed I needed to offer younger informants, granting them privacy away from family and/or mentors in order for them to more freely express themselves in interviews, is regularly carved out by young Bermudians themselves in their active relationships with the sea.

Highlighting the mundane everyday presence and social value of maritimity also claims space and identity in the maritime heritagescape. Some younger Bermudian mariners concede it is merely a job for them, whereas it may be a passion or way of life for older mariners. Equally, other young informants argued they are more passionate than their elders. A young branch pilot shared his disappointment about a lack of 'brotherhood' in the pilot service and identified a 'division between junior and senior pilots' who he, respectively, saw as 'hungry for knowledge and making a better service' and intimidating and threatened by the education and higher skill sets and who 'support us to our face, but' ultimately 'against us' in an effort to retain 'power and control' (151:BM20s). He painted the young pilots as free thinking,

with new ideas, as a breath of fresh air in a staid, insular culture reminiscent of maritime museums (2.2). Though I have focused on the agency of younger Bermudians in today's live maritime culture, my overall point is that a rising number of Bermudians are empowered to make or remake maritimity on their terms, with all these possibilities potentially qualifying as heritage.

Chapter Conclusion

Giving Bermuda's maritime heritage its scope

This chapter has been deliberately ambitious in its scope. It has traversed the temporal relationships of contemporary Bermudians, by examining their relationships with maritimes past and present, and the dissonance they perceive to be between them. The future is not explicitly discussed but is tacitly present in all three dimensions of memory, nostalgia and experience. Recognising these are all presentist processes usefully disrupts the separation of past and present, or 'discrepant temporalities' (Van Den Bosch 2007:506) so often represented by official heritage and museums, especially social history museums like maritime and Bermuda's museums, like BMM.

At the same time, my data suggests memory, nostalgia and experience function somewhat independently or even in contradiction being as they serve different identity and community needs or perhaps serve the same needs differently. Either way, these heritage processes (and the parts of this chapter examining them), are linked in the present through the individuals, sub-communities and wider community using them. However, as renewable heritage meanings and social value, these simultaneous heritage uses do not cancel each other out.

Moreover, this chapter has attempted to capture and interrogate not only the relationship and space between past and present maritimes, but also that between heritage and culture. Whereas memory and nostalgia are perhaps all too easily seen as heritage and thus not unpacked in the way they deserve, culture is an area difficult to conceptualise as heritage but one crucial for accurately and adequately theorising the phenomena. This aspect also has implications for museums in their desire to relate to the past while playing a more relevant role in their communities and thus gaining greater social value.

The chapter's scope also pertains to the way it traverses the collective and personal. Much of this chapter has centred on a sense of place and people, how

Bermuda and Bermudians are conceived by individuals and groups. This chapter is strong on collective memory and identification, especially through a sense of place. I nonetheless hope to have shown how personal place-national identity can be, lending a more plural and dynamic perspective to such unifying metanarratives. This chapter conversely demonstrates that the place, nation or community of Bermuda is constructed through the perspectives of individual Bermudians, in the creative, personal manner that Hall suggests: 'Though strangers to one another, we form an 'imagined' community' because we share an idea of the nation and what it stands for, which we can 'imagine in our mind's eye' (2005:24, citing Anderson 1983 (1936)).

It is on this small personal scale that the scope of this chapter has also played out in its multi-sited detail, with the practices and perspectives analysed serving as real-life real-time examples. My intention has not been to create a narrative overwrought with detail but to showcase the vibrancy of maritime heritage in Bermuda today, whether through lenses pointed at the past or present and whether through proud, frustrated, routine or contrived interpretations. All these aspects give a sense of the scope of heritage in maritime Bermuda, laying the foundation for me to explore other key dimensions of maritime Bermuda and, through that ethnographic lens, the heritage concept. All five analysis chapters strive to illustrate the renewability of a phenomena that I have argued is far from adequately recognised at this time and has delimiting consequences for the museums and communities using it.

Chapter 5

MARITIME REMEMORY AND RACIAL RECONCILIATION

5.1 Bermuda in black and white

The inescapability of race

Race is Bermuda's central discourse and most evident social divider.¹⁰⁵ Some see this as overbearing and symptomatic of an unhealthy society. Beyond being 'the issue through which all issues are constructed', a black Bermudian observed 'Bermuda remains tenaciously racist' with a 'rigid caste system' (168:BM40s). Whites are perhaps fastest to comment that the issue of race feels 'inescapable' assuming it should not be an everyday burden, despite its unceasing presence in black experience. An informant breaks this mould by inferring the proportional relationship between such privileged attitudes and the perpetual nature of the racial discourse:

Race is an undercurrent or overture to every single thing in Bermuda. It's a sick and dysfunctional preoccupation that goes on and on and on. And white people are the ones majorly at fault, because *their* heads are in the sand. *We* are not willing to take the first step (97:WM50s, my emphasis).¹⁰⁶

Others see the centrality of race as entirely natural given the short dramatic timeline of race relations in Bermuda (CURE Undated), the shock of which the community is *still* absorbing. To make a point about timescale crucial to this chapter's argument, it is *only* ten years since political representation for blacks became evident under the PLP,¹⁰⁷ thirty years since constitutional reform recognised equal voting rights for all Bermudians, fifty years since official desegregation, 170 years since the emancipation of Bermuda's slaves, and 200 years since British abolition of the slave trade (Figure 5.1), with all this falling within the island's 400 years of inhabited history.

¹⁰⁵ Notwithstanding that, in Bermuda, race and class are entwined and class may trump race (2.3).

¹⁰⁶ The way this informant first distinguishes and then aligns himself with other whites suggests the kind of identity conflicts white Bermudians are experiencing, explored more below.

¹⁰⁷ Although the UBP undeniably represented black Bermudians while in power (1968-1999), I base this on the broad consensus – even among whites and/or UBP supporters – that the PLP's 1998 election was a good thing for black political representation, notwithstanding the achievements and criticisms of the PLP's ongoing tenure as the ruling party.



Figure 5.1: Bermudians attend an event marking the 200th Anniversary of the British Abolition of the Slave Trade, primarily organised by Government's Commission for Unity and Racial Equality (CURE) held at BMM's Commissioner's House on 25 March 2007.

Some Bermudians view the present as a reactionary phase of heightened emotion and tension as slavery, segregation and their legacies emerge in heritage discourse and wider identity politics. They suggest it is a period Bermudians must pass through before the racial discourse begins to diminish, buying into the 'liberal myth of gradual yet seamless progress' (Littler 2008:96). More widely, the present is seen as a precious threshold for race relations, but with views ranging between whether this opportunity is being seized or missed. Others see the attention to race as a healthy sign in a country it feels premature to speak of as 'postcolonial', less so in terms of political independence given the island's British status than regarding the gulf between black and white culture and opportunity, especially in racism's surviving mutually-supportive ideological constructs and institutional structures. Anti-racists argue that race must become more central still, if not made perpetually present. From any perspective, then, the vicissitudes of race are central to Bermuda's sociology.

As maritime heritage is no exception to the spectrum of local life that race infuses, I do not consign race to the margins of this dissertation. Doing so would connote the patronising tokenism of official heritage initiatives like the US-originated 'Black History Month', which is also celebrated every February locally but is problematic for the way it constructs black narratives as peripheral rather than mainstream, especially in this predominantly black or 'majority-minority' community. Rather, race permeates all my chapters in an approach similar to Jarvis, who 'resisted topically segregating [slavery] in order to integrate its maritime

manifestations through all the chapters' of his highly anticipated social history of maritime Bermuda (2010:7).

I additionally dedicate this chapter to exploring how and why Bermudians use maritimity in their negotiation of the discourse, politics and legacies of 'race'. While the relationship between race and heritage could be the sole focus of this dissertation, this chapter allows me to explore community and identity formation in relation to this particular dialectic. This analysis chapter offers a new perspective to the growing discussion of the relationship between heritage and race (Shackel 2003, Littler and Naidoo 2005, Littler 2008, Gable 2008), which includes perspectives from archaeology (Jones 1997, 1999, Shackel and Little 2007, McDavid 2007), but needs more contributions like this based in real community politics and personal sentiment, and interpreted from local and/or practitioner perspectives like mine (3.2).

Under the banner of 'rememory and reconciliation', I examine how Bermudians use maritime heritage to remember and forget, twinned processes that are always in tension (Connerton 1989, 2008). To say black rememory works against white forgetting is both true and a racially essentialising generalisation. While Bermudians may self-identify on their own terms and the perspectives of categorically different Bermudians are not always so different, the island's binary culture¹⁰⁸ generally ensures those on either side of the racial divide experience heritage very differently. This chapter accordingly provides space for blacks that is not dependent on whites.¹⁰⁹ Equally, I attend to white perspectives that deserve critical scrutiny but also fair consideration and representation, if not carefully mitigated sympathy given the current political climate.

¹⁰⁸ My perpetuation of the black-white binary in this chapter requires further justification (Note 7). While exclusive and reinforcing of the widely discredited category of race, Bermudians nonetheless 'live with the remnants, the husk and the fallout of [those] legacies' (Littler 2005:2), and consequently black and white reflect Bermuda's binary culture and accepted lexicon. Alternatives such as Afro- or African Bermudian or European-Bermudian, although less racialised, are infrequently used and problematic for subsuming identities in their own way. Moreover, black – as an all-embracing term used to refer to those who have non-white makeup following the one-drop rule also applied in the US – is not only co-opted by racist ideology but also reclaimed as proud self-identification, reappropriating derogatory terms in the manner of third-wave feminism and other reverse discourse (Foucault 1984). To discard these racial categories would inaccurately represent Bermuda and trivialise history, whereas using them may paradoxically help to identify their weaknesses, break them down and move towards terms that better reflect ethnicity and culture and give greater space to hybridity and self-identification.

¹⁰⁹ Recalling the Bermudian Heritage Museum (Figure 6.8), established in 1998 in the Samaritans Lodge in St. George's to represent the accomplishments of black Bermudians under the motto 'Our History – Our Heritage' (Andrews 2003) and overseas plans for the Smithsonian National Museum of African American Culture and History and a museum of slavery in Charleston, South Carolina, an area with which Bermuda has historical maritime links.

Dissident ‘free radicals’ who traverse the racial divide and defy their own demographic boundaries (and my identifying annotations) nonetheless infiltrate this narrative. They highlight the exclusive nature of the black/white binary and all those it fails to represent adequately if at all, as well as the heterogeneous groups these monolithic categories stand for. Such discrepancies valuably remind that Bermuda’s highly racialised worldview is by no means inescapable if confronted in the right way. Following the lead of informants and other Bermudians, I too want to constructively complicate racial discourse with maritimism. I must first speak to the wider local context in which Bermudians and my research are situated, so the maritime heritage concerning race explored later can be more fully understood.

Rememory and the PLP

I think ‘rememory’¹¹⁰ accurately describes the reclamation of black identity and community happening in Bermuda today in the wake of the historically incomparable phenomena of slavery and segregation because the term suggests a distinct and singular heritage process. Rememory affirms identity like any other memory, but also recovers the suppressed and subaltern, those lost but only temporarily so. It implies an activism for social justice, reviving and revising heritage with a heavy bias, which may extend to the restorative justice of reparations. As a ‘politics of recognition’ (Weiss 2007, Macdonald 2008), rememory is highly possessive and selective, acting on behalf of those who choose to remember, and discerning carefully what they do. This bias is often made explicit because it, and emphasising it, is so meaningful.

To overly attribute Bermuda’s current rememory work to the PLP Government discounts the wider social landscape and more grassroots heritage uses. Yet, the PLP’s influence on racial discourse over the past decade – since coming to power on the promise of a ‘new Bermuda’¹¹¹ that proposed a break with the past and its legacies, but crucially, not forgetting them – is extremely significant. Had I conducted this study prior to the PLP’s ascendancy, I imagine this chapter would be quite different, perhaps missing altogether. In contrast to the deliberately ‘de-

¹¹⁰ I first encountered this term in Morrison’s influential novel *Beloved* (1987) about the psychological impact of slavery, but heard it again at the 2008 ADHT conference in Bermuda (Andrews 2009b).

¹¹¹ With a platform echoing the new South Africa (McEachern 2008 (1998)) and in a moment supporters described as another ‘emancipation’ (Andrews 1999, Simons 1999), in November 1998 the PLP broke the UBP’s continuous rule since Bermuda’s first general election in 1968, and has maintained power in the two elections since (in 2003 and 2007).

racialised' approach of ANC-led post-apartheid South Africa (Weiss 2007:418),¹¹² the unclear objectives of the flailing Opposition UBP and burgeoning third party,¹¹³ the PLP has an unequivocal 'black empowerment agenda' targeting the Bermudian majority, and as detractors cynically imply, their vote. Racial equity is not a peripheral issue for the PLP, but the core of their platform. From some Bermudian perspectives, the PLP is too heavy on racial rhetoric and is accused of playing the 'race card' for their own aggrandisement, to stir racial resentments, or to deflect attention away from other issues. Others credit the PLP with taking action to rectify the island's race-based structural inequalities via legislation, policy and initiatives. From either perspective, it is clear that the way much of this rememory work is undeniably 'heritage-like' is conscious and strategic.

'Come and be a part of the Big Conversation' invited the advertisement for what is more formally titled the Bermuda Race Relations Initiative (BRRI), a major public forum on race under the PLP (Durrell 2009).¹¹⁴ While only a small proportion of Bermudians have attended the Big Conversation – evident in the recurring faces at its various events – it has brought the racial discourse further to the forefront and arguably opened up its interlaced emotive issues, generating substantial support and criticism. Despite seemingly having little to do with heritage, I found myself attending BRRI events during my fieldwork, including an emotionally-charged visit to Tucker's Town (Figure 5.2),¹¹⁵ a potent narrative of racial displacement raising questions of (in)sensitive stewardship and reparations. This chapter, having been shaped by the Big Conversation's debates, is one testimony to its impact.

¹¹² The African National Congress has been the ruling party of post-apartheid South Africa since 1994 when Nelson Mandela became the country's first democratically-elected President.

¹¹³ Bermuda Democratic Alliance (BDA)(Note 69).

¹¹⁴ Produced by the Commission for Unity and Racial Equality (CURE), established 1994 under the UBP and dismantled in 2010, and the Premier's race relations consultant, established 2006.

¹¹⁵ This predominantly black working class community was displaced through compulsory land sales for tourism purposes in the 1920s and remains a largely elite white expatriate enclave today.



Figure 5.2: BRRI participants visit Tucker's Town, hosted by Tucker's Town Historical Society.

Within and beyond the BRRI, the PLP produces or supports various heritage initiatives, with much of this explicitly intended and/or publicly interpreted as the promotion of black Bermudian and/or Afro-Caribbean heritage. Reflecting its growing heritage role inside and outside the civil service, much of this programming is curated by Cultural Affairs (2.3), sometimes in collaboration with other departments including Tourism and CURE, and community groups like CURB.¹¹⁶

Lowenthal's statement, 'history is still mostly written by the winners. But heritage increasingly belongs to the losers' (1998:78) stigmatises the 'losers' problematically and is based on power assumptions that are flipped in Bermuda where it is the statistical and political majority reclaiming their heritage. It nonetheless suggests the way black heritage is being affirmed in Bermuda, as does the remark 'it's more the black side that's heritage. I never worry with the white side' (157:BF50s). Hall's oft-cited observation about heritage also speaks to this shift and thus bears repeating:

Heritage as a discursive activity inevitably reflects the governing assumptions of its time and context. It is always inflicted by the power and authority of those whose versions of history matter. These assumptions and co-ordinates of power are inhabited as natural – given, timeless, true and inevitable. But it only takes the passage of time, the shift of circumstances, the reversals of history, to reveal those assumptions as time- and context-bound, historically specific, and thus open to contestation, and revision

¹¹⁶ Citizens for Uprooting Racism in Bermuda (CURB), CURE's grassroots sibling, established 1998.

(2000, 2005).

Bermudians may have engaged with rememory before the PLP's rule, but are undoubtedly doing so much more under it, whether they do so willingly or not.

Forgetting and whiteness

Perhaps most of all, rememory refuses the *will* to forget. As the terms 'disremembering' (Morrison 1987) or 'selective historical amnesia' (Hall 2000) and Nora's concept of '*lieux de mémoire*' (1989) all suggest, forgetting is not passive, but intentional and strategic, whether conscious or not. Forgetting is always an act of meaning-making, however subtle or concealed it may be. It is precisely because racism – and racial reconciliation to some extent – utilises forgetting so readily that I make it explicit. Not doing so would not only be inaccurate, but also indulgent of white privilege, including mine.

My being a white Bermudian is relevant to mention again (4.2). This narrative filters a variety of black and white voices but ultimately reflects my personal perspective and learning curve of seeing Bermuda through a white lens. Just as this research is a process of coming to see heritage, so too is it about coming to see my 'whiteness', a perhaps lifelong process. My white perspective comes with the possibility to misconstrue meaning like any other, but demands an extra level of reflexivity and caution.

I also offer a rare perspective at this time when white voices are understudied and somewhat hushed. It is also valuable because Bermuda remains highly segregated, albeit unofficially. My in-view into the white community informs this account, as it is based not only on my academic research but social life. I am not speaking on behalf of the white community, however, as reflected by my language of 'they', versus a presumptuous and homogenising 'us'.

Yet, my reference to white Bermudians *especially*, applies pressure where it is needed most. Though I believe the argument that because racism is a white 'invention' blacks cannot hold racist attitudes is flawed, clearly greater onus to absorb and participate in the racial discourse lies with white Bermudians who continue to benefit from white privilege, yet often remain simultaneously supportive and oblivious of it. Under this double standard, white Bermudians are having to cope with race in unfamiliar unsettling ways, and rightly so.

The affirmation of black heritage through rememory involves subduing and disrupting white heritage. After so long in control and notwithstanding the significant privilege they retain, white Bermudians are now a kind of silent minority. This is imposed by rememory in its reclaiming of black identity and refusal to forget past wrongs. It is also self-imposed by white Bermudians, corresponding to ‘forgetting as humiliated silence’, one of Connerton’s seven types of forgetting in his preliminary taxonomy of the phenomena:

It is manifest in a widespread pattern of behavior in civil society, and it is covert, unmarked and unacknowledged. Its most salient feature is humiliated silence...few things are more eloquent than a massive silence. And in the collusive silence brought on by a particular kind of collective shame there is detectable both a desire to forget and sometimes the actual effect of forgetting (2008:67).

While it is possible whites are expressing their shame and even apology through this silence, it is also a defense mechanism when they are no longer being tacitly reassured of their identity and heritage. This silence contrasts and reacts to an emerging focus on ‘whiteness’ in the anti-racist discourse (Dyer 1997, Wise 2005, Byrne 2006) – heavily utilised by the PLP and BRRI – that exposes the hidden and anachronistic phenomena of racism and white privilege. This silence reflects white Bermudians’ inability to cope with, or refusal to accept, the identity disturbance they are undergoing and the reasons for it. Within the current political and social minefield, some whites utilise this silence to retain power and retreat further still.

Yet, it is not that whites are not reacting, far from it. Racial frustration and antipathy is expressed in private, safe, insulated white-on-white spaces, and to a much more tempered extent at public racially-mixed spaces like the BRRI, among the relatively few whites attending. Rather than seeing rememory as a necessary fallout of racism, some white Bermudians resent and fear this process. They interpret rememory as the erasure or overwriting of white heritage, black empowerment as white disempowerment, black identity claims as a trespass on theirs – which to a sobering degree they *are*. Indeed, the disenfranchisement or ‘political irrelevance’ (Hayward 2009) of white Bermudians is not altogether a defensive imagining, but to some extent a reality, if not the intention of more militant politicians and activists whose extreme positions stand out among more moderate Bermudians.

Particularly contested is the PLP's renaming of places, institutions and cultural symbols including national holidays (Figure 5.3).¹¹⁷ Such claims over space and narrative are meaningful as reclamations, but also disturb ingrained senses of ownership and entitlement (Alderman 2008), as well as associated past-material notions of authenticity espoused by the heritage sector (2.3). Some whites view this and other rememory as affirmative action, yet do not see them as counters to the white affirmative action that has long determined Bermudian opportunity, identity and heritage – including place and narrative *naming*. This double standard leads to other double standards that serve to and sometimes seek to alienate whites. This includes the feeling among some whites they are being 'pushed away', given no direction or told they are paternalistic while simultaneously being asked to be conscious and participate, despite the genuine or ostensible encouragement of the BRRI and more.



Figure 5.3: Renamed by the PLP, Warren Simmons Community Field after the Somerset cricketer, formerly Royal Naval Field; L.F. Wade International Airport after the late PLP leader (1985-1996), formerly Bermuda International Airport (photo by Meredith Andrews); and, in a maritime example, the *E. M. Stowe* tug/rescue vessel after the late pilot, formerly the *Larry G. Dahl*, a name unrelated to Bermuda.

¹¹⁷ Including renaming the airport, sports fields, and schools. Often, place names are replaced with Bermudian heroes or legends, including PLP politicians and supporters, a practice the UBP and others have decried as partisan. This establishment of National Heroes Day, with the inaugural 2008 (and 2009 and 2010) commemorations honouring late PLP and civil rights leader Dame Lois Browne-Evans, stimulated enough protest that Government reversed decisions about the holiday (Cooper 2009).

Apology is another aspect of the PLP and wider rememory discourse¹¹⁸ which some white Bermudians adamantly contest. In doing so they display the kind of ‘moral panic’ Littler describes ‘in which imperialist legacies were overwhelmingly denied, repeated and acted out, rather than worked through’ (2008:93, citing Schwarz 2005:224-225). Whites often evacuate themselves emotionally, intellectually or even physically. I often hear empty but counterproductive threats of ‘leaving the island’ or the comment ‘Bermuda is becoming like Zimbabwe’.¹¹⁹ These may be overreactions, ‘an exaggerated and unsubstantiated fear’ (Miller 2002:245), but they are also a ‘form of survival’ (Connerton 2008:68) reflecting deeper anxieties of actual displacement and reparation – the proverbial ‘elephant in the room’. Refusal to apologise or accept meaningful social responsibility is linked to these fears, lest it open whites up to such material claims that impinge on inalienable capitalist and democratic rights that enable a comfortable and problematic ‘post-racial’ view of society today. This logic, incidentally, works along the same lines as arguments refusing the repatriation of material heritage,¹²⁰ and unsurprisingly so given the extent the AHD and authenticity is implicated with colonialism and white privilege.

White Bermudians employ various tools to insulate themselves, only a few of which I have space to mention. Passive-aggressive attitudes, linked to a ‘polite’ society that avoids self-scrutiny and conflict (2.3), sees whites failing to participate themselves while labelling blacks as ‘militant’, thereby avoiding responsibility and treating black sentiment as unfounded and unproductive, rather than justified or necessary. White defensiveness of being historically uprooted and politically disenfranchised under the PLP serves to deflect blame and attention away from confronting racism, with this sense of alienation and ‘resisting displacement’ (Jones 2005) itself an indulgence of white privilege. Great energy goes to criticising the PLP racial discourse and its rememory component, enabling whites to close off and become more entrenched in their positioning. The vitriolic discourse about the ‘divisive’ rhetoric and actions of certain politicians¹²¹ may be accurate but also serves as a means for some whites to scapegoat the roles they themselves either already

¹¹⁸ Including apologies for slavery by Bermuda’s Anglican Church and Parliament and the UK Labour Government during the 2007 Bicentennial (Note 25).

¹¹⁹ Refers to incumbent President Robert Mugabe’s compulsory land redistribution from whites to blacks in the failed African state of Zimbabwe (Fund for Peace 2009).

¹²⁰ A prominent interest in heritage and museum studies, especially the ongoing contention between Greece and the British Museum over the Parthenon/Elgin Marbles.

¹²¹ Incumbent Premier Dr. Ewart Brown (2006-) stands at the forefront of this discourse.

unconstructively play or may constructively play in race relations. Usually posited against the social justice model of the PLP and anti-racists, is a conservative but ostensibly unifying discourse utilising Bermuda's best interests and common goals. It is found in the remark made by a Bermudian *visiting* South Africa,¹²² where 'the emphasis is all on reconciliation, and forgetting about the past in order to build a positive future for the betterment of all', to which he added 'Bermuda has a lot to learn' (193:WM60s).

White Bermudians have had a short timescale to adjust to the profoundly changed social climate under the PLP over the past decade. But the newness of this situation is not altogether why whites are failing to come to terms with the past and present as quickly or constructively as they are being asked or *told* to do so. White exasperation with rememory and impatience for reconciliation often utilises 'the trope of moving on' and other notions that 'soothe' remembering traumatic pasts and other new responsibilities (Waterton 2008, Waterton and Wilson 2009). This desire to be unencumbered by past grievances comes at a point when rememory has only just begun. Connerton's analysis of the destruction of German cities during the Second World War captures this impatience perfectly:

'this desire to forget was most effectively at work in the determination and hectic pace with which the reconstruction...was undertaken...the literal covering over, the physical effacement, of all these visible signs of emotional destruction' (2008:68).

In an ironic twist, a similar impatience is projected back onto white Bermudians, in terms of the pace they are being expected to confront the past and absorb change including rememory. Yet, this is logical given the double standards, structural inequities and different heritage experiences among black and white Bermudians.

The analysis that follows argues that maritime heritage provides a rememory and reconciliation tool that is different to – but nonetheless works in close relation with – the rememory proposed and imposed by the PLP, which I interpret as a 'social justice' model (Amadiume and Abdullahi 2000). Maritime rememory is an alternative that goes largely unnoticed but is perhaps depended on more than public partisan rememory, similar to my argument that community heritage far exceeds official heritage and museums in scope and meaning. My data suggests maritime rememory is

¹²² Illustrating Weiss' point about how tourism or public culture mandates heritage and identity in South Africa (2007), besides other work on heritage uses there since the fall of apartheid in 1994 (Nuttall and Coetzee 1998, Coombes 2003, Crooke 2005, Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008).

equally if not more effective at reclaiming black identity, community and heritage and dismantling racism and white privilege than the social justice model.

Specifically, I see maritime heritage as a kind of shock absorber. It cushions blacks and whites as they cope with traumatic pasts and residual inequity. Below, I explore how Bermudians use maritime heritage to manage the inherent tension between remembering and forgetting – or rememory and reconciliation, grievance and forgiveness, pride and prejudice, celebration and shame, justice and healing. I seek to not only understand how and why maritime heritage is used, but also to problematise this with respect to the wider context and complex issues raised above. This chapter asks if maritime heritage is a healthy and brave approach for Bermudians to cope and connect with the past, the present and one another.

5.2 (Dis)honouring trauma

Maritime historical consciousness

As the recovery of elided black and other non-white histories, maritime and wider rememory is a process infused with authenticity, which I argue heritage researchers must acknowledge and explore as *belief*, while simultaneously guarding against as *truth* (2.1). With this distinction in mind, I heard great concern about the community's, and especially young people's, 'historical illiteracy' as a dangerous 'ignorance' of cultural identity: 'We need a major emphasis on Bermuda history! They need pride in their country! They have no idea who they are! They're more American than Bermudian!' (BF40s).¹²³

Amidst the current education crisis, school curricula is blamed for its lack of inclusion and depth. Informants refer to their own experience as students, regardless of their age and recent developments,¹²⁴ to stress that history as a taught subject is not Bermudianised in terms of local history and culture. It is not difficult to discern that *Bermudian* history is often a euphemism for *black* history in a place where the national narrative 'didn't involve blacks to any level of dignity' (144:BM60s). Though educators are making headway, the extent to which the heritage sector is either asked or offers to contribute to curricula development is limited, and certainly

¹²³ Audience remark at a public meeting on education reform (Hopkins et al. 2007).

¹²⁴ Government's Ministry of Education (MoED) has redeveloped social studies curricula in the desperate bid to resuscitate public schools and address social exclusion, following trends to revise and diversify textbooks and other classroom materials (Ahonen 2001) and locally (Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage 2003, Jones 2004a, 2009, Faiella and Scott 2008).

does not utilise the resources of the heritage sector and its museums, underscoring the private-public split and heritage-education disconnection (2.3).

It is not just because of their maritime associations, that black and white informants quickly extend their concerns to maritime history. They do so because they know black Bermudian history is so intimately tied to the sea. Bermuda's seafaring enslaved and free blacks are key to the collective identity of Bermuda as a maritime nation, so much so that it felt inappropriate to have not raised this more when analysing maritime memory (5.1). Black Bermudian maritime experience is by no means confined to slavery, but slavery is at the forefront of rememory, and thus so is the sea, as BMM's exhibit on local slavery represents (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4: Bermudian mother and daughter in the Commissioner's House exhibit 'Slavery in Bermuda', opened in 2000, with Bermuda sloop model by Deryck Foster (British, 1924).

It is partly because of this slavery focus that concerns with seeing black maritime history 'raised up' (18:BM50s) centre on the idea of recovery. Generally, there is an optimism – perhaps to counter the sense of loss – that a total Bermuda history is out there, waiting. The past is treated as a conservable artefact, that can be put back together by 'filling the gaps' (144:BM60s) and building up 'a more inclusive view of the past' (Peralta 2008:115). This possibility for recovery takes on a greater optimism with respect to the maritime past, as a vibrant positive and therefore less easily suppressed memory that is still valuably linked with slavery.

Recovery of the role black Bermudians played in maritime history is primarily assigned or credited to historians and other academics. This regard extends to informants themselves, as they increasingly conduct their own ‘actual historical research’ (38:BM50s) of their family and genealogy or Bermuda broader. Whether professional or amateur, it is *historians* who provide the authoritative evidence or ‘real threads’ (141:BF50s) back through time to construct a trustworthy narrative. This is despite: the community’s disconnection from the heritage sector and BMM, where such scholarship is largely located and celebrated; the Eurocentric colonial background of formal literate history that shuts down the possibility for plural interpretation; and the responsive rise of oral, folk and local histories in Bermuda (2.3) and the wider African Diaspora.¹²⁵ But this historicism is logical given the desire to afford black history the same authenticity as ‘white pristine heritage’ (182:BF50s). Statements such as ‘the fact that whites were forbidden in going in large numbers on ships, so the majority of sailors were black, in some cases up to 80-90% of the sailors were black’ (18:BM50s), use authenticity to fight authenticity in statements such as:

Do you know the book *Bermuda Through the Camera* by James Heyl? I was looking at it yesterday and there was a quote there. [Heyl] said that in 1860, or thereabouts, there were 400 mariners in Bermuda...Today [that] would be a fantastic number, but 400 then, that were composed of seaman, pilot, navigators, etc...of which 100 were black. So, according to things we’ve been reading in the paper, it was only black seafarers. But obviously that wasn’t the case, unless Heyl has got his facts wrong...[It is] incorrect information. The history is being distorted (103:WM40s, referring to Godfrey 1951).

However, this valorisation of authenticity and formal history, is not simply the AHD bearing on Bermudians. Rather, black and white informants’ recognition of scholarly work in our interviews and presumably their wider lives, helps reconstruct black history and heritage. Bermudians cite historical works as objective sources of authority in order to transpose their credibility onto emerging black narratives and themselves as storytellers. They are fighting what they judge ‘watered down’ history (177:WM20s) – perhaps constructed through racism – with their concern for the whole, objective story. Specifically cited for revealing ‘the black contribution to maritime history’ and considered ‘mandatory reading’ (18:BM50s) are seminal classics by black Bermudians Packwood (1975) (Figure 5.5) and Robinson (1979) as

¹²⁵ Drawing on the Afro-Caribbean concept of Griot, ‘bards who function by adjusting the content of their histories to fit the present’ (Bethel 2002:239), which incidentally evokes heritage as a process.

well as Maxwell (1998, 2000), white Bermudians Smith (1976, 2006a) and Jones (2004a), and white Americans Bernhard (1999) and Jarvis (1998, 2002, 2010). ‘Black Atlantic’ maritime histories that reveal and complicate the experience of black seafarers (Gilroy 1993, Bolster 1997) are also widely read and recommended. The importance, even prerequisite, of my knowing these works was clear. One day when caught out in my historical knowledge (4.3), I was told in no uncertain terms: ‘You’ve got some reading to do!’ (97:WM50s).

Additional trust and respect is afforded black scholars. Black Bermudians are first and foremost, followed by non-Bermudian blacks, especially African-Americans as the most culturally and ideologically akin and influential. In no way is this assertion intended as a condescending affirmative action that diminishes the actual or expected rigour of black scholarship, either on my informants’ part or mine. And white scholars are not necessarily distrusted, as demonstrated by the high esteem and anticipation for Jarvis’ work, which I argue is valued in itself but enhanced by his maritime focus (5.1). Instead, the additional credibility afforded black scholarship speaks to interpretation and representation and the meaning of black ‘voices’, relating to the heritage sector’s issues of curatorial authority and workforce diversity (2.3).

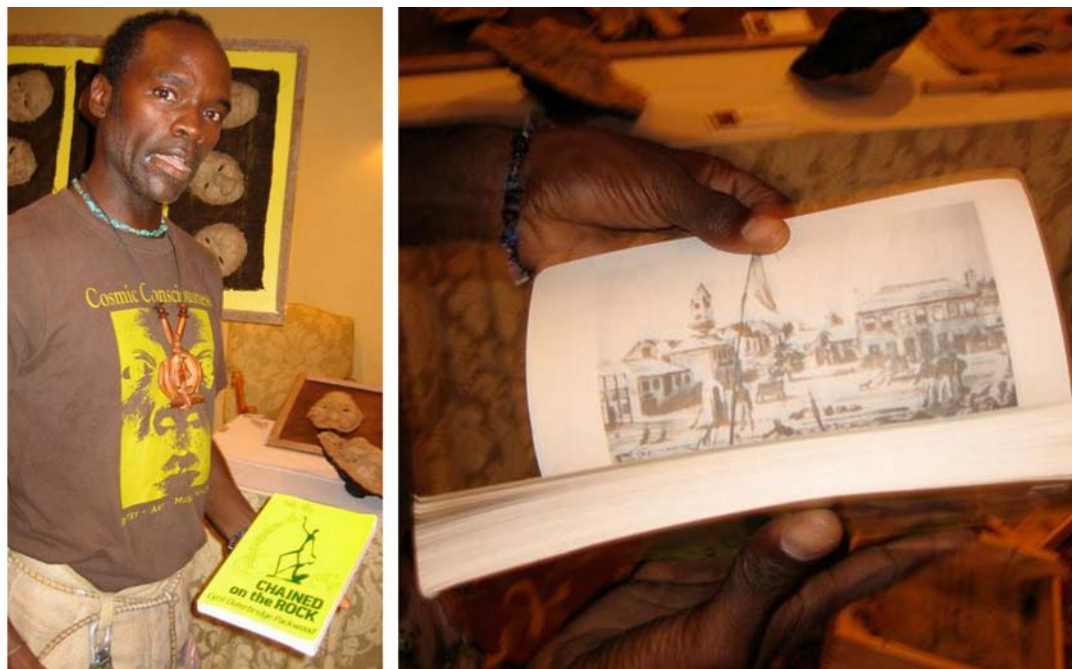


Figure 5.5: Bermudian artist Trevor Todd referencing his prized and well-worn copy of Packwood’s *Chained on the Rock* (1975) at his exhibit at the ADHT conference, July 2008.

Bermudians perform their historical awareness and appreciation of black history, including maritimism in this narrative. By ‘writing blacks into history’ (178:BF60s)

they recover a more even historical record or recalibrate history. Black Bermudians deserve first mention because of the extra meaning this rememory holds for them:

I will never forget reading those books...it changed my life...the way I feel about my history...the way I feel about Bermuda, and our contribution. It can help to build a sense of pride knowing our ancestors made a contribution. And no one ever told us that. I guess unless you're black, you can never really understand the feeling that you came out of slavery, and that you never made a contribution other than you were allowed to make. And you grow up with that and it's very difficult to overcome it (18:BM50s).

White Bermudians are also participating in this consciousness of black maritime history, sometimes constructively and sometimes in ways that indulge forgetting and white privilege. In such heritage processes, they either reinforce their existing white identity, or gain a different less rigid one especially by virtue of *participating*.

Making maritime slavery distinctive

More specifically, Bermudians distinguish American and Caribbean plantocracies from slavery in Bermuda *on the maritime basis*. So too do historians like Jarvis who writes: 'Making full use of slave labour to build and man their sloops, Bermudians also pioneered a maritime slavery that materially differed from the plantation slave system' (2010:5). I am interested in how and why Bermudians highlight this distinctiveness, not from a historical perspective, but in terms of what it means for rememory and reconciliation today. Some stress the island's maritime slavery is so distinctive it cannot be compared as a defense against unfair interpretation, particularly from the plantation perspective. Demanding maritime slavery be treated on its own terms honours the trauma of black Bermudians past and present by disavowing forgetting or trivialising their experience. One informant stresses the importance of this distinctiveness to black identity, and thus the value of guarding it:

There was a comparative freedom of Bermuda maritime slavery, but there's huge pressure right now to avoid diminishing or making it benign. It's about giving it its own character, making its own story. We had our own uniqueness and I think we need to be selfish about how we protect and present that (38:BM50s).

Despite the valorisation of formal history, there is fierce reaction to scholarship or other narratives that imply Bermuda's brand of maritime slavery is 'located at one end of the spectrum' of wider black experience, the diversity of which is still coming to light, especially through new social history (2.2). Ironically, the PLP's increasing attacks on what they dub the 'plantation rhetoric' of white Bermudians and/or the

UBP, defer to plantocracy and in doing so seem to suggest that maritime slavery was somehow not brutal enough, or that it is at least not as politically advantageous today. In contrast to such maritime-terrestrial conflation, the distinction of maritime slavery is illustrated spatially at BMM in a PLP-sponsored exhibit, where representation of the Atlantic slave trade and American-Caribbean plantocracies is deliberately separated from slavery in Bermuda, so as to avoid their juxtaposition (Figure 5.6).¹²⁶



Figure 5.6: Paired exhibits (top) ‘The Slave Trade’ and (bottom) ‘Slavery in Bermuda’, mounted in 2000, in the front rooms of Commissioner’s House at BMM.¹²⁷

This local distinctiveness conflicts somewhat with Pan-African or Afro-centric identities that rest in notions of transposable black experience and shared trauma. Without trivialising the valuable senses of identity and belonging that diaspora provides, I speculate that the sense of local distinction stemming from maritime slavery is partly why – combined with other senses of difference and isolation relating to Bermuda’s geographic, economic, political, and cultural isolation¹²⁸ – some black Bermudians are so drawn to such concepts of reconnection and reunification. This

¹²⁶ I know this as I curated these exhibits, in collaboration with historian Dr. Clarence Maxwell and other BMM staff/volunteers, consultants Brimstone Media Ltd., and community members. Indeed, all curation is by specific people with subjective perspectives, despite museum tendencies to anonise this.

¹²⁷ During my BMM tenure and 2007 fieldwork, I heard critiques of the location of these exhibits from white and black Bermudians, with most not opposed to the exhibits existence but some not understanding why they have to be ‘at the front’ of Commissioners House (UI).

¹²⁸ Especially with regard to political independence, and/or in comparison to the Caribbean.

grassroots heritage may stimulate and/or respond to the PLP's promotion of diaspora in its political discourse and support of initiatives like the ADHT (Figure 5.7).¹²⁹



Figure 5.7: ADHT sites, among others,¹³⁰ (left) Cobb's Hill Methodist Church; and in St. George's: the Bermudian Heritage Museum; (centre) Joseph Rainey exhibit at BNT's Tucker House Museum; (right) St. George's Historical Society Museum; St. Peter's Church.

While most Bermudians distinguished local slavery so it is not diminished, others went further to stress how damaging it was by virtue of its maritime character. I heard blacks and whites alike argue that, far from maritime slavery being less traumatising for the black community, it was, and as an ongoing legacy is, more so.

It alludes to the type of slavery that was in Bermuda, and the different psychological impact of slavery here. It's similar in ways but also different from slavery in other parts of the world. And I don't think it's different in a more benign sense. I actually disagree with that. [It was] more psychologically warped. I just can't imagine it, these skilled maritime seamen, so depended upon and so needed out on the ocean, and then you get back to land and you're still owned, you're still property (37:WF20s).

This perspective disrupts the 'liberating experience' of going to sea, a pervasive narrative among Bermudians and maritime museums. The notion that slaves gained some freedom only to return 'to one of the most restrictive systems' (168:BM40s) and

¹²⁹ Others include the controversial Ashay Rites of Passage Afro-centric school curriculum; welcoming and promotion of the historic replica of the Freedom Schooner *Amistad* of the 1839 slave rebellion; and performances by local Gombey troupes and the Bermuda African Dance Company.

¹³⁰ Including Verdmont (3.3), Commissioners House and its slavery exhibits (Figure 5.7), Barr's Park, port of the American slave ship *Enterprise* (Figure 5.9, Note 131), Pilot Jemmy Darrell's house (Figure 5.14). and the Figurehead memorial (8.3).

that this return was all the more disempowering for blacks, is a sophisticated understanding that actively counters comparative and trivialising treatments. It works against statements such as, 'I was always struck by the fact that Bermudian sailors came home' made by a visiting academic (WM40s), which indulge the fantasy of freedom at sea and deny the attachment and commitment of enslaved and free blacks to family, community and nation. So, while some Bermudians perpetuate notions that maritime slavery was less injurious, others passionately and proactively resist them. Though these arguments often involve imagining actual black experience in the past, they link with contemporary issues and attitudes, reflecting more of a *heritage* and less of a *history* mindset, which I view as a progressive move away from authenticity.

This notion of psychological trauma is vital to understanding Bermuda's current race relations and social stratification and exclusion. It suggests the criteria for trauma is not only the physical brutality and confinement of slavery itself that derives predominantly from a non-local, terrestrial plantocracy perspective. Rather, trauma is the deep and lasting damage to the black community's self-esteem. From a more obvious standpoint, this trauma results from the imposition of slavery, segregation and other mechanisms of the ideology of racism. From a more subtle standpoint, there is the immense and underestimated impact of internalised racism, a phenomena where blacks 'buy into' racism with self-destructive thinking and behaviour including 'turning on themselves' (Hodgson 2008) in a kind of collective self-sabotage. DeGruy Leary who lectures on 'post-traumatic slave syndrome' in Bermuda, argues the toxic ongoing consequences of slavery affect whites and blacks, but not equally with blacks suffering and internalising this most (2005). On imposed and internalised counts, Bermuda's brand of racism was and continues to be and to be seen as especially insidious, a kind of 'invisible apartheid' that is all the more difficult to disrupt. This nuanced understanding of past and present black experience is one of the many counter-narratives being utilised by Bermudians in daily discourse in an attempt to repair the damage done and to determine and articulate their own politics and identity.

At the risk of reifying authenticity and contradicting my own argument, I should underscore that this rememory is not necessarily reflective of the *actual* past, which is never fully known. With this caveat in mind and considering the above perspectives, the noticeable lack of trauma, especially physical brutality or violence, in the rememory of maritime slavery is no longer so striking. What's more, I found Bermudians celebrating maritime slavery – absolutely not in terms of *slavery*, but in

terms of *maritimity*. In this celebration, maritimity as a positive association does not seem inhibited by slavery's trauma, which maritimity seems to effectively neutralise.

On the surface, this celebratory treatment appears not totally unlike the kinds of glorifying narratives maritime museums are susceptible to promote (2.2). But with closer inspection, one sees this neutral or positive treatment of maritime slavery is strategic. Just as maritimity allowed me to approach race more obliquely (3.2), it does for Bermudians. This is especially valuable to black Bermudians, since rememory can further injure or exploit black identity, along the lines Filippucci highlights:

Memory can also sometimes be an obstacle to self-identification, in cases when negative, destructive experiences or events inflict 'trauma' that hinders the normal course of remembrance and forgetting and may lead to identity disturbances, both at individual and collective levels (2004:58).

Faced with so much emotional and social destruction, parts of the black community emphasise the need to let go, or at least to remember gradually, with one informant capturing this by saying the 'brain needs to forget' (170:BM40s).¹³¹ Maritimity facilitates this by containing trauma, or helps Bermudians to resist the inclination or expectation to 'dwell' on it. This forgetting frees black Bermudians to memorise maritime slavery on their terms, perhaps in ways more meaningful to repairing and empowering black identity, and less vulnerable to imposed and internalised racism.

This celebration of black Bermudian maritimes, especially in the deeper maritime past, is a recouping of maritimity. Black Bermudians are seen as intimately connected to the sea well through the end of the maritime revolution and Emancipation in the 19th Century. But then there is an awareness of a transference of blacks away from the sea, especially in the 20th Century before and after official desegregation in 1959. Maritime slavery and other early black history offer a maritime relationship that more recent history under official and unofficial segregation does not. This helps explain why slavery, despite being *slavery*, is so strong in this rememory. And while this rememory is about the loss of maritimity, it extends to the black community's wider and perhaps more unspoken or unknown social and cultural losses. This sense of maritime loss is meaningful to the recovery of black identity and community, whether communicated by blacks or whites:

¹³¹ Refers to Bermuda's participation in the Middle Passage Monument Project established in 1999 in the US, involving symbolic burial of a monument in the Atlantic (Sheller 2003:207).

Certainly in the white culture there's a greater [maritime] awareness...But I think the *Spirit of Bermuda*, that whole thing is a kind of reawakening of what has been dormant...A maritime pride in black Bermuda has been reawakened (101:WM40s).

A notable maritime exception to this containment within slavery is the *Enterprise* 'incident',¹³² sometimes referred to as 'Bermuda's *Amistad*'. The high incidence of *Enterprise* representations and other heritage uses (Figure 5.8), many of which concern the living descendents and genealogies of the slaves aboard,¹³³ relates to the way the narrative highlights Bermuda's relatively progressive history¹³⁴ and links to the African Diaspora. The *Enterprise* also highlights the mutual support among black Bermudians,¹³⁵ a proud and timely heritage given imposed and internalised racism.



Figure 5.8: (Clockwise from top left) Barr's Park, port of the *Enterprise*, part of the ADHT; The *Enterprise* Saga, by Bermudian Joy Wilson-Tucker and performed by the Friendly Societies in 2007 as part of the annual Emancipation commemoration every Cup Match; a descendent references her copy of Musson's *Children of the Enterprise* (1979); DOT *Enterprise* float promoting the ADHT at the 2007 Bermuda Heritage Day Parade (8.3).

¹³² In 1835, a year after emancipation in Bermuda, the American ship *Enterprise*, carrying 78 slaves – many of whom were children – was forced to call at the island after being driven off course by a storm. At Bermuda, customs officials refused to let the ship sail again until the Governor ruled on the disposition of the slaves aboard, who he allowed to choose between staying in Bermuda as free or return to the US as slaves, where Emancipation did not occur until 1865. All but six stayed.

¹³³ Including exhibits at the Bermudian Heritage Museum and BMM.

¹³⁴ Particularly compared to the US, given the dominant US-Bermuda relationship.

¹³⁵ Pre- and post-emancipation, black Bermudians constructed an infrastructure of Friendly Societies, libraries, and schools to provided for the social and economic well-being of the black community. Continuing friendly Societies and the Bermudian Heritage Museum located in the Samaritans Lodge (Wilson-Tucker 1997, Andrews 2003) dedicate considerable attention to this topic and it is a regular part of the annual commemoration of Emancipation every Cup Match.

Though outwardly neutral or positive, these maritime narratives do not *forget* the traumatic past and its lingering effects. Rather, they subtly testify to it, and the strength of black Bermudians past and present to absorb and overcome it. So, expressions of trauma, and associated feelings of resentment and anger, are not necessarily absent or denied in this rememory, but just channeled differently with maritimity. While more explicit racial discourse in the social justice vein may not acknowledge or even welcome these narratives, Bermudians hint they understand their power by failing to explain or defend them. This forgetting must nonetheless be distinguished from the persistent and damaging ‘forced forgetting’ (170:BM40s) of past wrongs as a means to protect white privilege and ignore inequity.

Shared lives

Another aspect of making maritime slavery distinctive goes a step further still into positive territory. Informants highlight that maritime slavery was ‘co-racial’ in terms of closer relations between blacks and whites, slaves and slaveholders. The activities of early maritime Bermuda – primarily boat building and sailing – are envisioned not only as experiences blacks and whites had in common, nor simply shared, but also as collaborative. Racial distance is narrowed through these physically intensive and economically enterprising activities that are seen as uniquely and absolutely *Bermudian*. Blacks and whites are united in ambition and purpose, as in the following school curricula proposal:

it should be engrained in every student’s mind...knowing our history, how going to sea was the first break down of the racial divide...the first real sign of equal rights...and the things they accomplished...it should be absolutely mandatory in schools...adventure, independence, equality! (104:WM20s)

In separate conversations, two Bermudians describe the maritime collaboration of their ancestors with enthusiasm. The way the white Bermudian highlights this collaboration is predictable, given the comfort of this narrative compared to the PLP and anti-racist social justice model that challenges whites to be *uncomfortable*. Much less expected was the black Bermudian’s assertion that ‘we were co-conspirators in piracy...[we] have a common heritage’ (38:BM50s), going so far as to highlight how the white Captain, ancestors of the white Bermudian, would split his profits with the enslaved and free black crew, his ancestors. Here, the logics of white and black participation differ but both serve identity and community formation.

Certain maritime metaphors were deployed in this memory of shared experience. The power of these symbols lies in their being easily understood and shared, which is facilitated by their visual and physical or embodied character. I heard innumerable times that ‘the ocean is a great equalizer’, as the experience of going to sea is believed to efface social distinctions, especially those of race and class. Seeing maritime space as an egalitarian space evens out the playing field in a Bermuda with lasting inequities, but is all too reminiscent of the maritime museum where

the past which is represented articulates cultural and social differences on the basis of a common, highly depoliticised, standpoint: that of a common lifestyle...By forging an egalitarian representation of the community’s past, the display also fashions the contours of a horizontal community (Peralta 2008:111, citing Dicks 2003).

The ship is another important metaphor for racial reconciliation, which recalls traditional authorised uses of this primary maritime object as a means to efface difference and conceal power, especially by maritime museums (2.2). Shipboard relations become a microcosm for Bermuda, with the spatial and social dynamics aboard so frequently described by informants that I found myself imagining these crews at sea. Interacting with the ship metaphor due to the requirements of sailing, is the notion of ‘teamwork’. This inter-reliance is dependent on self-reliance, on everyone participating and playing a vital role. ‘Survival’ was another common theme that informants used to stress mutuality, with social division nullified by the sea’s irrefutable demands. Overall, this positive co-racial rememory imagines black and white Bermudians going to sea and facing risk and hardship side-by-side.

Ironically, this shared maritime heritage often involves memory of deep time extending into the heart of slavery. Informants may not always make slavery explicit, but it is implicit given that the maritime revolution was largely over by Emancipation in 1834. So, the timeline is broken but under repair; it recalls being together in deep past, apart in more recent, and coming together again; it is not that Bermudians were never connected, but that we came off track, and thus may reconnect. Shared relations in deep time help Bermudians bridge the present racial divide, to communicate with one another and display mutual respect, whether in reality or only in their separate spaces and imaginations. Referring to *Spirit*, one white Bermudian said:

And indeed what the sloop can do, if positioned properly, is take us back to a time when we as a community worked together, as opposed to a divided community now.

And by the way I think that divide is lessening today for all sorts of reasons (50:WM50s).

Another white informant drew on the ship metaphor, referring to the early pilot gigs:

It's a very positive aspect of Bermuda's history...nowadays there's racial conflict...in the old days, they had to get along in that boat (113:WM30s).

Despite being during or close to slavery, deep time is easier to come to terms with than the recent past. This is in part because maritimity, although still multivalent and dynamic, is generally a positive association that Bermudians use to soften slavery. Using the more distant past also frames the racial discourse and social divisions as contemporary constructions. By focusing on slavery, slavery is contained in time, separated away from its lasting consequences. This brings to mind Hodgson's critique of the focus on slavery, rather than *racism* in the racial discourse and historical literature concerning Bermuda (2008). So, paradoxically, the focus on the deep maritime past is a way to simultaneously break with the past and avoid the present.

Where this becomes problematic is when whites appropriate this narrative to forget. This perspective ignores that 'sailors [were] both perpetrator and victims' (UI), and by extension Bermudians today being descendents of slaves and slaveholders, or who are in the very least the victims and beneficiaries of white privilege. Such temporal distancing and isolation is linked to the fear and refusal to apologise because it serves the common perception that white Bermudians are being asked to apologise for the *past*, versus seeing apology as a presentist issue. By dislocating slavery in time and making it something over which whites have no direct experience or 'control', they impose a statute of limitations, thereby absolving themselves of responsibility. Rememory of shared maritime experience in the distant past may be a well-intentioned and quite genuine attempt at racial reconciliation, but it is also an oblivion, an indulgence of white privilege.

That the more recent phenomena of segregation is far less explicit in maritime rememory, and the wider racial discourse,¹³⁶ indicates how acutely aware Bermudians are of it, and the reminder of community loss and separation it provides. Official segregation is not only in living memory for some older Bermudians, but also continues to unofficially defines the island's contemporary social landscape. Unofficial segregation pervades maritime culture, much to the dismay of black and

¹³⁶ There is a paucity of work concerning the experience of segregation in Bermuda, though there are exceptions (Harries Hunter 1993, Hodgson 1997, Burchall 2007).

white informants. Much like the island's schools, churches and sports clubs and teams, the memberships and activities of the maritime clubs (4.2) still reflect the racial divide Manning observed in other local clubs decades ago (1973). The club's proud racing traditions of Comet sailboats and Bermuda fitted dinghies provide the quintessential example of this unofficial segregation and lack of crossover, with virtually all-black and all-white (with expatriate) crews respectively (Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9: Comet (left) and Bermuda fitted dinghy crews, racing separately in June 2007.

Clubs traditionally considered to be white elite enclaves are consciously expanding their memberships. The 2008 election of the first black Commodore in RBYC's 162-year history (Trimingham 1996) was big news due the decreasing but still appreciable extent to which Bermudians identify the club with white privilege.¹³⁷

Conversely, a fairly equal number of other maritime clubs, many of a more working class nature, remain predominantly black. Their members express a sense of exclusion, but also great pride of their institutional founding, survival and support of black maritime tradition despite racial barriers. This separation and pride is expressed in a film proudly produced and disseminated by the Blue Water Anglers Club (2002) about the history of black fishermen outside and within this close-knit institution. These clubs represent the wider experience of segregation, where maritimism is

¹³⁷ And female exclusion, with RBYC's first female Commodore elected 2004 and remaining male-only member spaces, reflecting the island's other all-male clubs.

meaningful but also a mechanism for identity and community. Through his pride in Comet building-sailing-racing and his maritime club supporting the popular practice, an informant spoke to the pain of experiencing, and pride of overcoming, segregation:

I want to observe [the Comets] because it's a very important part of my family and black history. I'm interested in [fitted dinghies] but not as much as Comets. I think it's definitely related to our sense of separation, exclusion. There were very few connections between black and white, from a casual...activities point of view. The island was separated. Blacks, they just came up with their own...It's a black thing. I'm proud that this is something they did and that we're sustaining it. People don't even know how it started, but it's just a sense of pride. I look at it as a way for these people to say 'we don't need to be involved in your activities, we have our own' (141:BF40s).

Race *appears* to trump class here, but some of the separation between black and white comes down to socioeconomic opportunity. The disparate fiscal or physical infrastructure of maritime clubs reflects racial legacies and associated inequities. The modest makeshift conditions of some black maritime clubs barely compare to the refined facilities of traditionally white clubs like the RBYC (Figure 5.10). Sharing material resources is thus an important component of efforts for greater integration among the maritime clubs. Sharing fleets of boats is an especially meaningful and measurable reparation, representing real opportunities versus reconciliation rhetoric.



Figure 5.10: RBYC and its marina, Albuoy's Point, Hamilton (photo by Meredith Andrews).

Black and white informants alike stress racial integration within maritime clubs and their activities, highlighting that this is primarily happening through youth

programmes. Youth provides an added opportunity for integration on top of the access maritimity provides to Bermudians, one saying, ‘if it weren’t for maritime part of it I wouldn’t be so involved...because of it I’m able to live on both sides, with both the black and white communities’ (18:BM50s). With these developments, doors are opening and black Bermudians continue to integrate into white spaces, with some expressing their inclusion in spaces once identified with black exclusion and white privilege means a great deal to them.

Conversely, black clubs proud of their black heritage yet open to white members feel this invitation is largely rejected. My fieldwork experience of being one of the few if not the only white person within the black clubs I visited told of the lack of white integration into these and other black spaces, indicative of ‘white flight’ and explaining the increasing onus on whites to change their insular behavior. The especially warm welcomes I received at some clubs clearly related to my being white and willing to visit, and were offered quite irrespective of informants knowing my research agenda and thus less genuine reasons for being there.

It is in this context of ongoing segregation but increasing integration that maritime heritage provides a precious space for imagining and realising racial reconciliation. The idea that racial integration ‘cannot be forced’ (WF30s) is at the heart of why maritime activity in the past and present – as seemingly *naturally* shared collaborative spaces – are so meaningful to Bermudians. This issue of being genuine, in terms of the unforced participation of white and black Bermudians in rememory and reconciliation, is important and one I return to slightly later, but not before exploring rememory of black mariners in further detail, using this chapter’s structure to demonstrate the primary responsibility we have to black rememory, to remember.

5.3 Remembering pride and prejudice

The embodiment of achievement

A powerful figure emerges out of this maritime rememory, the skilled black Bermudian mariner. I heard him revered throughout my fieldwork, on public and personal levels, in explicit and subtle ways. He is a positive icon, who, above all, embodies *achievement*.

It was the local blacks, on everything from pilot boats to the sloops...who were perhaps the most experienced. They had the knowledge. They were the men who worked on the

water, just as I worked on the water all my life. They were the ones who had what it took (36:WM50s).

Skill is strongly attended to in this achievement narrative. While the black mariner's 'sweat equity' is duly acknowledged, his capacity goes far beyond mere labour, pushing past restrictive plantocracy narratives. His maritime knowledge and ability elevates him above other Bermudians and is certainly linked, and often explicitly by informants, to the artisanal, specialised character of maritime slavery. While white Bermudians are seen to have controlled and participated in the maritime slave economy, their involvement is not to anything like the same extent as black mariners, who are viewed as its backbone.

This reverence was illustrated at Mosaic performances.¹³⁸ At a Black History Month Mosaic, the players' lamented the absence and erasure of black identities and voices in Bermuda history due to slavery and racism, but restored this void with tales highlighting 'the familiarity and skill' of black seafarers. Another Mosaic at the 2008 ADHT conference introduced black maritime history with 'we all know that many of our slaves in Bermuda were skilled boatbuilders, pilots and seamen'. Though Bermudian capacity generally and the strengths of black people in a Pan-African sense are suggested by such narratives, this skilled mariner testifies preeminently to the exceptional qualities of *black Bermudians*, with shipwrighting and seamanship specifically often elevating them.

The skilled black mariner is also an entrepreneur. Because he is additionally constrained by slavery and racism, he amplifies the self-reliant, innovative and resourceful character attributed to past and present Bermudian seafarers (4.1). As such a strong memory locus (4.1), the Bermuda sloop is often the centre of this entrepreneurial spirit, crediting this locally innovated but globally influential technology to black Bermudians either in part or on the whole. One informant explained, 'they had to figure out how to get...from east up to the west. So this lateen rig, which was Dutch, was innovated basically by indentured servants and slaves' (9:WM50s). Despite his skin-disadvantage, the skilled black mariner 'takes advantage' of opportunity and outsmarts his circumstances.

¹³⁸ Mosaic is a long-running performance series by black Bermudian troupe Ruth Thomas and Company. Each Mosaic is 'a compilation of various aspects of Bermuda's history, folkways, traditions, stories and even gossip; but the major objective...is to disseminate historical information' (Stovell 2005).

It seems this achievement narrative seeks to empower contemporary Bermudians faced with imposed and internalised racism to do the same. Presumptions about the nature of maritime slavery and the diminished agency of black Bermudians are again confounded, and informants take pleasure in disrupting such expectations. The skilled black mariner's story is one of *self-determination*, which is, or is promoted as that which *ought* to be, at the heart of maritime slavery as distinctively local, and thus unavailable for comparison and trivialisation.

That this self-determination is achieved via capitalism fits nicely with the island's conservative neoliberal values. Oddly, this capitalist ethic does not seem to clash with the strong sense of community, if not socialist ethic, upheld by many black Bermudians, either actively or nostalgically. Linking to my exploration of the loss of community and place (4.2), such nostalgia is especially strong with regard to the infrastructure building, civil rights advancement and intra-black partnerships in the immediate aftermath of slavery and throughout segregation.¹³⁹ The loss of these partnerships and the clan areas or neighbourhoods that cultivated them is viewed as central to the island's social crisis, especially for the black community, examined in Chapter 8. This communal or socialist ethic additionally resonates in the original labour-based philosophy of the PLP, though arguably departed from (Andrews 1999). For all this, the black capitalist, especially as the black mariner, is venerated.

Historical research complicating the 'capitalism-at-sea and feudalism-on-land divide' by arguing that enslaved and free black Bermudians extended their sea-bourne agency back ashore, often clandestinely, is only recent (Maxwell 2009). Bermudians nonetheless emphasised that black mariners' had ownership over their own labour, again notwithstanding the constraints imposed by their enslavement. Recalling maritime heritage studies seeking to bridge or neutralise the terrestrial-maritime binary (2.2), informants represent this experience as seamless across land and sea. This often involves connecting, or at least not distinguishing between, land-based shipwrighting and the sea-based sailing, privateering and trading – effectively treating these practices as one activity. It is widely assumed that black mariners participated heavily in both occupations. While white mariners – following the above co-racial collaborative visions – are also seen to do so, their versatility, and ability in general, is not highlighted nearly as much as black shipwrights-sailors. Boats, and usually

¹³⁹ (Note 133).

Bermuda sloops, are the constant among or segue between these practices. This rememory reflects the reciprocal interaction of the on-land construction and on-water use of boats in contemporary Bermuda (4.3).

Much as the land-sea divide can be made seamless, the sea is a portal to the wider world. The rememory of the skilled black mariner, especially during Bermuda's maritime revolution and slavery, pictures a global seafarer with an 'international reputation' (166:WF30s) who 'definitely optimised his circle of influence, through maritime adventure' (9:WM50s). Unconfined by island culture and space, his outlook is anything but insular. Yet, the black mariner becomes all the more *Bermudian* for this. This is especially in the sense of his contribution to the island, predominantly in an economic sense. He is the local capacity that makes Bermuda transnational and so much more influential than its small size, embodying the glocalisation central to the memory of past maritimes and the nationalism they support (4.1). In turn, he speaks to the island's ability to produce worldly accomplished mariners *and* individuals. Past and present respect for this global seafarer come together in this informant's view:

There were also blacks who, when you think about it, were really admired and respected and were critical in our economy, and how its functioned. They were shipwrights, and pilots, and skilled people...And indeed these black crewmembers who would leave Bermuda and go off, they were the modern day news broadcasters because they would go off to the East Coast or West Indies and other parts of the world and would come back and they were respected because of that...It just increased their stature (50:WM50s).

As the unwavering gendered language of many informants and my writing implies, the skilled black mariner is emphatically male. What is so far known of history certainly bears upon this rememory, with Bermudians repeating the well-established divide between enslaved or free black males and females, who were maritime or other artisans and domestic workers. The lives of Bermudian men, enslaved or otherwise, are active and known and respected. Conversely, the lives of Bermudian women are hidden, confined to domestic local spaces and largely unstudied and unrepresented (Lincoln 2005). Women nonetheless embody stability and continuity, whether via the notion of a self-reliant matriarchy left behind on land in the mobile sea economy (5.1), or the feminine bedrock of Bermudian society today especially as the single mother who crosses the racial divide but is disproportionately black.

After that [maritime era] it really was sort of the beginning of politicization of Bermuda. And that's when the black man got systematically neutered...I say men because women, their world, may not have been *as* dismantled...If you're looking for a black hero, he was probably back then before we got to age of politics (9:WM50s).

Here again is the idea that the skilled black mariner and his masculinity can only be found in deeper time, before the black community's loss of maritimity. Bermudians imagine the skilled black mariner's masculinity in his mastery of pre-industrial technologies such as the Bermuda sloop or pilot gig; in his physical and sensory connections to the environment and material world of water, boats, wood (cedar especially), wind, currents and so on; in his mobility, claims over space and sense of 'being-in-the-world', and hence, in Bermuda. Skilled black males dominate the narrative of local slavery because that narrative seeks out their masculinity, which results from their known and imagined maritime lives. This masculine-maritime story is resonant given the vulnerability of Bermuda's young black males, many of whom are struggling to find an identity and community, but often do so in self-destructive ways partly due to imposed and internalised racism. Later, Chapter 8 presents how Bermudians are using maritimity to respond to this crisis of masculinity, relating to and utilising these achievement narratives.

Pilot 'Jemmy' Darrell

The skilled black Bermudian mariner is usually an abstract presence, without concrete personalised representation. This is partly because of the lack of specific figures to draw on due to editing blacks out of a history controlled and dominated by white elites, besides the burgeoning nature of Bermuda history and Bermudianised curricula which is still producing new local icons. Pilot 'Jemmy' Darrell is a rare exception as one of the few skilled black mariners rescued from the oblivion of history.¹⁴⁰ The characteristics described above are brought together within this 18th Century slave pilot self-manumitted due to his navigational skill. 'Jemmy accomplished a nautical

¹⁴⁰ Among other skilled black Bermudian mariners figuring in Bermudian historical memory are Charles Roach-Ratteray (1799-1872) and Darrell's pilot peers, whose remembrance is supported by kinship or genealogical associations being made on sublocal and personal levels (Ratteray 2003) and surviving portraits in rare cases, unlike Darrell and many other slaves or free blacks.

feat that made him a legend in his own time, and that would be remembered for centuries to come' (Kawaley-Lathan 2007:2).¹⁴¹

Bermudians singled out Darrell throughout my fieldwork, but commemorated him publicly for the first time on 12 April 2007, 192 years to the day he died (Figure 5.11). Politicians and dignitaries, working and retired pilots, teenage Sea Cadets and their adult Officers, living descendents,¹⁴² and others including me, came together in Darrell's hometown of St. George's. The commemoration began in St. Peter's Church, where Darrell was paid tribute in speeches, sermon, hymn and song. His biography was read aloud from a souvenir booklet distributed to the audience (Kawaley-Lathan 2007), with reproduction of his 'actual' manumission pointed out and later publicly exhibited.¹⁴³ The gathering proceeded outside to the segregated enslaved and free black cemetery for the unveiling of Darrell's headstone, newly restored by BMM. Next we proceeded to *Spirit* dockside to witness the christening of the *Pilot Darrell*, one of two new tender boats custom-built locally for the sail training ship. The crowd then drifted over to the new fast ferry greeted by pilots and Sea Cadets at attention. As the ferry departed, the pre-election PLP agenda was made explicit in acknowledging the commemoration collaborators.¹⁴⁴ Aboard I informally interviewed Darrell's descendents, some of whom still live at his original homestead, located near St. Peter's Church and now part of the ADHT and World Heritage Site. With a select group, I observed a symbolic wreath-laying to Darrell off the ferry's bow by branch pilots as a pilot boat stood by, in one of several commemorations at sea during my fieldwork examined in this dissertation.

¹⁴¹ Darrell successfully piloted the 74-gun flagship HMS *Resolution* carrying Vice Admiral Sir George Murray through a new passage (now known as Murray's Anchorage) leading into St. George's in 1795, for which Murray subsequently manumitted Darrell and appointed him one of the first King's Pilots.

¹⁴² Over 100 descendents of Pilot Darrell held a reunion in Bermuda in April 2009 and attended his commemoration, now an annual event.

¹⁴³ Shown at the Bermuda Archives (2008), followed by the 2009 Archives' exhibition of Bermuda's original slave-registers (1831/33/34) after the investigation into barriers to access there (Bermuda Ombudsman 2009).

¹⁴⁴ Including DOT, Cultural Affairs, Marine & Ports, St. Peter's Church and community members.



Figure 5.11: The inaugural commemoration of Pilot 'Jemmy' Darrell in St. George's, 12 April 2007. (Clockwise from top left) ceremony inside St. Peter's Church; Darrell's headstone in the segregated slave and free black cemetery of St. Peter's restored by BMM with Revs. Dr. Erskine Simmons and David Rath; attending branch pilots in uniform; *Spirit's* tender boat *Pilot Jemmy Darrell*; wreath for Darrell laid off the bow of the fast ferry *Warbaby Fox*; a pilot boat waits in the distance during the wreath-laying.

Darrell's significance also comes from his being multi-faceted, a slave-mariner-citizen composite that allows plural interpretations and connections. The commemoration exalted his skill, knowledge and determination as a ship's pilot that resulted in him becoming among the first of the prestigious 'King's Pilots' gaining his freedom. It equally lauded his subsequent achievements as one of Bermuda's first black home-owners and as a community activist who fought for the rights of blacks and black pilots. Yet, for many informants, these aspects of Darrell's identity do not sit on an equal footing; one takes precedence depending on the heritage user's needs.

Mariners, especially pilots, predictably see Darrell primarily as a mariner, stressing his navigational skill. The recognition of this 'forefather' translates to pilots feeling recognised themselves, often to counter the lack of respect they feel as contemporary professional mariners. Though some pilots knew little of Darrell prior to the commemoration, and though he lived two centuries ago, they make a fast and easy connection:

My connection with Darrell is purely from a piloting side of things, a connection to the sea...the important thing to me is that he gained freedom through his knowledge of the

sea (137:BM40s); It was a worthwhile commemoration for one of our own. For him to earn freedom by nautical skills, I cannot say how proud I am to be a pilot (128:BM60s); There is so much emanating around this gentleman...I could relate. I went back in my mind to the act that he did. I went back in time, that's how deep I went (118:BM40s). It is unsurprising that Darrell is a pilot given their social value, with his narrative reinforcing the premiere position of pilots in Bermuda's maritime hierarchy (4.3).

Other informants focused on Darrell as a slave, or his changed status to non-slave by his own agency and ability, with informants seeing his and other black Bermudians' seafaring as a means to an end: 'One out of two blacks in St. George's, and one in three island-wide, bought their freedom. And [it was] primarily through maritime trades and arts that they did it' (9:WM50s). Equally admired are Darrell's roles, subsequent to his self-manumission, as community activist and successful home-owner (Figure 5.12), an admiration related to current attempts to restore such community values and the difficulty for many Bermudians to own 'a piece of the rock'.



Figure 5.12: (left) Darrell's home, still lived in by his descendents; (top right) ADHT tour group led by Ruth Thomas (centre) standing on the newly paved and named Pilot Darrell Square adjacent to his homestead; (blue) World Heritage and (bronze) ADHT site markers.

Bermudians nonetheless try to keep Darrell's achievement in the perspective of its own time, as when an informant used incredulous gestures and comparison to nearby historic white merchant houses to underscore the significance of Darrell owning a

house ‘forty years prior to emancipation’ (54:BM60s). Sometimes Darrell is made less remarkable so as to keep him accessible, as when the singer performing at the April 2007 commemoration explained her choice to forgo a maritime theme so she might express Darrell’s role ‘as a slave and ordinary person who did great things’ (BF40s).

Such non-maritime perspectives broaden Darrell’s identity beyond the celebrated elevated mariner, moving away from the black capitalist towards the socialist ethic that remains strong in the black community. This then broadens access to Bermudians without maritime connections, calling to mind the compelling closure of maritime museums (2.2), perhaps suggesting they curate such hybrid narratives. Darrell is celebrated as an individual who transcended the extreme social constraints of his time. That he did so by his navigational skill is somewhat incidental in this non-maritime focus, in contrast to maritime prioritisation above. Yet, Darrell’s being self-manumitted is far from incidental, especially for black Bermudians. As a slave that freed himself, Darrell means more than narratives portraying blacks as passive in their emancipation and wider lives.¹⁴⁵ This skilled black mariner is positive *and* empowered, providing the kind of icon and agency many black Bermudians are searching for, while also providing a more accessible heritage to white Bermudians, encouraging their participation more than other rememory.

Uneven consciousness

In order to to further distinguish and explore maritime rememory, I want to briefly compare Darrell’s commemoration to another recent PLP rememory product, the Sally Bassett monument (Figure 5.13). This towering bronze of an 18th Century Bermudian bondswoman being burned alive at the stake is non-maritime but slavery-related, and much more evidently so. The juxtaposition of Bassett’s hands bound at her back with her head held high amidst her violent death, evokes the physical brutality of slavery alongside personal strength. Strategically located in the Cabinet Office grounds, this monument inserts black trauma and resistance, and the PLP itself, into a space long associated with white political power and social exclusion. The insertion of a female figure into this traditionally male space is also significant.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Featuring prominently in the 2007 Bicentennial (Note 25).

¹⁴⁶ The Cabinet Office grounds, featuring wartime memorials and located on Front Street, Hamilton, was long associated with a white male oligarchy, colloquially and cynically called the ‘Forty Thieves’.



Figure 5.13: Official unveiling of the Sally Bassett monument by Carlos Dowling (Bermudian, 1948-) at the Cabinet Office, Hamilton, on 9 February 2009.

Both Darrell and Bassett are part of the PLP's growing repertoire of rememory products, and among the many that are biographical, focusing on individuals.¹⁴⁷ Yet, I contend they are different kinds of rememory serving different Bermudian needs. Bassett's traumatic narrative and graphic depiction stands in stark contrast to the skilled black mariner including Darrell, who is celebrated for what he achieved, rather than what he endured. The solemn atmosphere at the Bassett monument unveiling and similar events contrasts with the celebratory inclusive atmosphere of the Darrell commemoration and heritage and museum events that are altogether different from rememory. Darrell is constructed as a largely positive, uncontested, politically conservative figure. Statements describing Darrell as 'less in your face' (UI:WM30s) and 'a nice ordinary member of the community who didn't have to be radical' (54:BM60s) alludes to PLP rememory and/or more militant politics of black empowerment that infuse the party's philosophy and took hold in 1970s Bermuda (Swan 2009). The Bassett monument, on the other hand, generates contestation

¹⁴⁷ Reflecting the concentration on biography, or the identification and reclamation of individuals and heroes, happening under PLP rememory, wider heritage discourse in Bermuda generally (Ebbin 2009a, 2009b) and the wider African Diaspora in which Bermudian slave-turned-abolitionist Mary Prince incidentally serves as a rare autobiographical narrative.

whether in terms of the monument's concept, form or location, with the artist himself at odds with how the monument has been politically framed by the PLP.

Bassett's 'permanent' monument serves as 'a constant reminder of an unsettling past, one that is not easily manipulated and fashioned into a positive self-identity' (McLean 2006:4). In future, Darrell may be memorialised in tangible forms besides his headstone. Bassett also takes less tangible forms including Maxwell's historical research (2000) and Dismont-Robinson's 'work of historical fiction' (2008) contributing to the current prominence of her story. But I think the highly material, visual and visceral representation of Bassett's immolation reflects the urgency of PLP rememory and anti-racism to codify and naturalise narratives that unsettle if not overwrite traditional exclusive heritages. This speaks to the way trauma tends to be managed through representation. It seems Darrell, who is embodied or represented in less literal, yet no less evocative, maritime forms including boats, his homestead, land-seascapes and living pilots, can remain intangible in a way that Bassett cannot.

I suggest much of the distinction between these models has to do with Bermuda's *timing* and Bermudian *readiness*. The underlying message of the PLP rememory and racial equity work is that all Bermudians must remember and should do so *now*. This is not unlike the way museums often assume the power to decide what is displayed and when, imposing this on communities with whom they may or may not have consulted, with the Commissioner's House slavery exhibits at BMM exemplifying limited community consultation. More than just 'breaking the taboo of (historical) amnesia' (Connerton 2008:69), such anti-racist discourse challenges white privilege in a way that maritime memory does not.

Playing on Du Bois' (1903) term 'double consciousness' that refers to the split identity of blacks, there is an uneven consciousness among Bermudians as a heterogeneous community coming to grips with race and the associated past according to their personal will and capacity rather than in any uniform way. The reality is 'that some aspects of the relationship between heritage and 'race' are moving forward, some back and some are in flux' (Littler 2008:96-97). Maritime rememory is more permissive of individual timing for confronting the racialised past and present. It allows Bermudians to be individualistic in their rememory, thereby defying stereotypes, activists speaking on their behalf or other elements imposed by the public racial discourse. Adding to this is the matter of local readiness versus global pressures. Much as Bermuda is part of the wider world, Bermudians manage

issues in their own ways and time, sometimes in tension with or vulnerable to outside views of how and when things should be addressed.¹⁴⁸

Yet, this question of readiness is complicated by the double standards at this time, when whites arguably *need and deserve* pressure to constructively participate in the racial discourse, but perhaps even more so, blacks *need and deserve* agency over how and when remembering and forgetting should start and end. The notion of timing is altogether muddled by the possibility that rememory is an indefinite process with no amnesty for white Bermudians, at least until their expectations for fast and easy reconciliation are worked through or disabled.

Such timing and readiness is also complicated by the heterogeneity within the black and white communities themselves, where there are significant political, cultural and generational fractures and clashes. While seemingly paradoxical, it is for instance argued that older black Bermudians who lived through or closer to segregation, are often less assertive and resentful than younger black Bermudians because they manage imposed and internalised racism differently. Meanwhile, the privileged and conservative attitudes of older white Bermudians may actually be less entrenched than among younger white Bermudians, or conversely much more so not only from an expected generational assumption but also in response to younger whites with liberal and sometimes self-righteous outlooks.

It is not only blacks who venerate the skilled black mariner, but also whites. I say this not to 'prove' this and credit whites, but to underscore their *participation* in this narrative, in terms of *willingness* and feeling *allowed* to engage in this rememory. Whites much more frequently acknowledged black mariners than white mariners. While the skilled white mariner is simply not an icon in the same way, and is always tainted by the possibility of his being a slaveholder or otherwise exploiting white privilege, the engagement of white Bermudians in maritime rememory is important to recognise as an effort in racial reconciliation. Maritime rememory is undoubtedly and problematically a softer option in terms of whites keeping comfortable. Yet, it sees less of a closing off and oblivion that further indulges and fails to disrupt white privilege. If a major objective of the PLP rememory work is *truly* to have whites to participate in the racial discourse, as it ostensibly is, perhaps maritime rememory is

¹⁴⁸ Refers to overseas influence, especially American, on Bermuda's racial discourse, especially under the PLP. BRRI's moderation by American anti-racist scholars/activists (Singley 2002, Jensen 2005, Wise 2005) reflects local dependence on overseas capacity in benefitting from specialised expertise that is less hindered by local pressures but also somewhat inadequately locally informed and sensitised.

some step towards a brave, genuine and humanistic approach of the kind one informant describes and demonstrates:

We may not apologise or take pride in [slavery], but we should damn well know about it...because these things are important to others in the community. It's an extension of your humanity, your ability to understand other people. For white people slavery is an academic thing, for black people it is more immediate, more sensitive (172:WM50s).

The issue of being genuine is crucial for white participation in terms of timing and readiness. There is a strong sense among black and white Bermudians that it is better not to participate, than to do so disingenuously. With respect to contestation about the lack of white attendance at the June 2007 funeral of the late civil rights pioneer and PLP stalwart Dame Lois Browne-Evans, which I attended mainly for research purposes, one woman said: 'You don't want nobody coming if their heart is not in it' (157:BF70s). Conversely, at the Bassett monument unveiling a white Bermudian confided: 'At first I felt like an intruder, but then people could see that I kept attending, they can see I have authenticity' (196:WM30s). Maritime rememory, as a less forced engagement contrasting with PLP rememory, provides a platform for more genuine participation by white Bermudians, perhaps including apologies and other reparations. It may provide a more sustained way to work through and dismantle white privilege, one involving constant reflection on their choices and failings, or recognising the ever renewing opportunities to change attitudes and behavior, changes that can result in and from letting go of privileged expectations for closure, comfort and forgiveness.

However, my argument does not suggest PLP rememory is not a successful model. In my opinion, which is by no means shared by everyone, the PLP's Big Conversation and rememory work has made an important beneficial impact on Bermuda's racial discourse, even in generating dissonance. Nor, despite what my somewhat politicised tone may suggest, am I suggesting maritime and other softer rememory is a *better* alternative. Both kinds of rememory are empowering and necessary for black and white Bermudians today. Rather, my point is that the skilled black Bermudian mariner and other achievement narratives provide *different* tools for building identity and community. These tools are logical and valuable for rememory and reconciliation – or remembering and forgetting – as proportional processes, and thus are just as important to recognise as other rememory happening in Bermuda.

Chapter conclusion

Maritime heritage and race in Bermuda

I hope the examples of maritime rememory and racial reconciliation presented above have complicated Bermuda's racial discourse and the relationship between heritage and race in a constructive manner. I have sought to demonstrate these maritime heritage uses are important in themselves, but also function as alternatives to the PLP's anti-racist social justice model. Maritime rememory offers Bermudians a way to reclaim black identity and community in ways that honour the traumatic past and its ongoing legacies but without dwelling on it in a disempowering manner. Bermudians use achievement narratives to identify personally and collectively and to take on imposed and internalised racism. I have also explored and problematised how maritime rememory is used for racial reconciliation, analysing the logic behind this desire and its vulnerability as a relatively soft option for confronting the past that indulges white privilege and the associated will to forget. I argue that reconciliation and rememory are proportional processes, that the former is utterly dependent on the latter, and that their relationship helps to qualify these processes as heritage.

My findings suggest Bermudians negotiate race in a plurality of ways and according to their individual and group needs, willingness and capacity. They are the ways black Bermudians are reclaiming identity and heritage, and rebuilding the black community. They are also the ways whites are participating and even engaging in symbolic or more measurable reparations, or conversely, choose to reinforce or raise barriers against constructive change. These are not homogenous racial categories, but individuals and groups coming to grips with the past in their own ways and timing.

In this chapter I hope to have shown that understanding community heritage is especially relevant for the everyday processes that accrue with consequences for both racism and reconciliation, and yet often lay outside or are generally unacknowledged by the dominant racial and heritage discourses. Maritime rememory and reconciliation are distinctive and important yet also commonplace examples of the myriad ways black and white Bermudians negotiate the discourse of 'race' while forming identity and community and thus using heritage. Perhaps the above discussion of maritime heritage will encourage research in other local areas, which in turn may help to better show the extent to which maritimity and/or heritage merely filters the identity politics

of race in Bermuda, or indeed just how much those processes matter to local rememory and reconciliation.

This chapter has also raised various questions and implications for museums, including Bermuda's and BMM specifically. These include the question of curatorial authority and interpretive voice, of *who* produces heritage with special reference to workforce diversity (2.3). I also raise questions of *when* curation is appropriate and how this is determined, which I propose heritage ethnography within or outside the museum might play a greater role in. This discussion has also highlighted the perpetual nature of rememory, as traumatic pasts and their legacies continue to play out and are constantly reformulated and reinterpreted in the present. This underscores the opportunity of museums to study, collect and again reinterpret this heritage, perhaps in ways that can take an active stance in interrupting racism and white privilege. It is only by seeing such engagements as an opportunity to question entrenched personal and institutional assumptions that museums might play a more meaningful role in their communities, perhaps helping them to cope with the enduring legacies of race specifically.

Chapter 6

BERMUDIAN AUTHENTICITY AND MARITIME AFFECT

6.1 Authenticity as belief

The contours of maritime Bermuda

Prior chapters have alluded to certain identities and values being attached to maritimity by Bermudians. This chapter interprets and explores this as the use of authenticity, which I have argued, although not intrinsic to heritage, remains a key heritage process *at this time* (2.1). This is influenced by the problematic sway of authenticity *as truth*, especially as generated by official heritage and museums and therefore overlaps with that level of discourse. It is also due to the *belief* in authenticity being a valid heritage use that freely departs from official influences. Whether such authenticity is diminishing or increasing remains to be seen and does not discount the high extent to which authenticity currently features in this context.

Maritime Bermuda is especially conducive to this authenticity. Though this ethnography conceptualises heritage through a maritime lens, this authenticity seems to work on a broader level and I suspect other Bermuda heritage research would have similar findings. And the way this analysis generalises the perspectives of different informants reflects the coherent character of this authenticity, that it is a personal yet widespread heritage use among Bermudians. This chapter offers a fine-grained account since the detail of this authenticity is important. However, I also try to evoke this authenticity's overall contours, which if not to unique to Bermuda, certainly feel that way to Bermudians.

This maritime authenticity is highly *Bermudianised* – to use the local term chiefly deployed in the discourse concerning local capacity (2.3). The belief that maritimity acts 'a Bermudianising force' (3:WM30s), is evident in comments like 'those with [an] attachment to sea makes them Bermudian' (UI) and 'because it's something that's basically Bermudian, being in and of the maritimes' (24a:BF30s). The defensiveness of local identity that often accompanies this localised authenticity, with informants contending they are 'absolutely Bermudian' (123:WM30s) or 'I'm Bermudian, very much so' (63:WM80s), is more than a knee-jerk reaction defensively claiming identity but reflects an intimate relationship with place and community.

This maritime authenticity also indexes working class and gendered identities, which are mutually supportive or overlap significantly with each other and senses of place and belonging. Masculinity gains ground or is at least well protected under maritime authenticity. Despite (or possibly reacting to) the growing inclusion of women in maritimity within and beyond Bermuda, meaning it is no longer such a gender-restricted culture, such maritime worlds remain highly masculine, as previously raised when discussing my methodology (3.2). This cross-cultural reach seems largely attributable to the symmetry between maritimity and masculinity, and principally the experiential or embodied and sensory qualities common to both.

Due to the specific histories, cultures and identities associated with the sea, maritimity has long, widely and readily represented working class identities. This working class orientation speaks to the way in which wider social issues are drawn into the cultural process of heritage generally, and to the ways Bermuda's socio-economic stratification is filtered through local relationships with the sea. But the decidedly proletarian character of maritime Bermuda also reflects a heavy bias or politicisation towards the subaltern, labouring and experiential.

The interaction with the racial discourse (5.1) is subtle yet active in this working class promotion, especially in terms of class being utilised to trump, neutralise or even subvert race because of its dominance, complexity and current threats to ideologies of racism and white privilege. Yet, this working class authenticity also functions independently of race and other social issues, reflecting the core functions of class in this fervently capitalist yet iconoclastic island society fiercely resistant to notions of socio-economic control.

Much of this chapter elaborates these Bermudianised, masculine and working class contours in *positive* terms, that is in the conclusive and affirmative relationships and attachments Bermudians form to support this authenticity – highlighting the link between authenticity and celebratory, apolitical and other 'tethered' heritage (2.1). However, this authenticity is also born out of that which informants see as running counter to it. Such counter values are inextricable components of the processes describe throughout this chapter. There is a pronounced yet often tacit comparison or judgment in this authenticity, one that reflects the widespread and somewhat generic understanding of identity being about senses of individuality and difference. By contrasting their outlooks and behaviour with those of others, informants underscore incommensurate values and identities and their own relative authenticity. The

authenticity explored in this chapter is thus a matter of both core (and counter) values and identities, or being (and not being) Bermudian, working class and/or masculine – either in powerful combination or as more discrete qualities. My combining these positive and contrasting associations in the analysis that follows reflects their conjoined use, save for the latter discussion of community-museum dissonance which works primarily from the standpoint of counter values and identities.

Earning maritimity, countering entitlement

Bermudians made use of interviews and other communicative social spaces encountered in my fieldwork to display this authenticity. I observed ardent if not conscious efforts among informants to perform or ‘prove’ certain values and identities, to others and themselves. This display reflects the personal and collective motivations I was so struck by in Bermuda’s thriving live maritime culture (4.3). This authenticity also involves a subservience to maritimity as a kind of collective code, morality, or assumed knowledge. Informants construct maritimity as unique and pivotal to local identity or inherently ‘right’ for the Bermuda context, thereby retaining its high social value and the compelling closure around it.

On both base and meta levels – of generating heritage in their lives and their reflections or expressions of these in our fieldwork encounters – informants actively *earn* maritimity. The main counter against which this engaged or active process works is an undeserved modern sense of entitlement, one highly linked to dependence and commodification. The authenticity associated with maritimity is thus not expected but deserved or even hard-won, with the performance of this authenticity in and beyond my fieldwork encounters being key to doing so.

In examining some of the ways informants earn maritimity and counter entitlement, one notices a kind of wholesale adoption of authenticity. Rather than a partial engagement or subscription, maritimity overrides one’s whole identity, pervading all they are or do. The way informants reference ‘livelihood’, in either explicit or implicit terms, suggests they feel career or full-time relationships with the sea communicate authenticity more effectively or fundamentally than more partial engagements. Notwithstanding the high valorisation of livelihood, this authenticity enables informants to transcend class, to the extent they may adopt and express working class-ness irrespective of their actually being working class. Recreational mariners can embody this authenticity just as strongly as professional ones, given the

high agency displayed in their voluntary, personal and thus less-vested maritimity. Moreover, this authenticity may transcend livelihood altogether, as in the case of a young Bermudian judging his peers for their less serious and more social maritime practices, notwithstanding that he too is privileged. Speaking of himself in the third person and to a quality of experience that recalls the nostalgia for slowness (4.2) but also the experiential meanings I explore shortly, he said ‘when you go out, it’s not for cocktails in the [Great] Sound, but you go out to do something...to make use of your precious free time and money’ (33:WM20s).

Another trope of authenticity that trumps livelihood specifically and class generally is ‘lifestyle’. This recalls livelihood in terms of committing to a maritime way of life, but may trump the authenticity of livelihood in not being determined by or contingent upon professional demands. You may have a non-maritime ‘day job’ but your real identity, or identity of choice, is a maritime one. Recreational mariners in particular tend to juxtapose or differentiate their maritime relationships and especially leisure practices or ‘playtime’ with their non-maritime work or labour. By placing maritime and non-maritime aspects of one’s identity in relation to one another, the meaning of maritimity balances against that over which Bermudians have less freedom, passion and agency, which is especially useful in highlighting the practical or economic necessity of non-maritime work, or, conversely, disguising more ‘inauthentic’ motivations such as money. Lifestyle also facilitates inclusion within maritime networks, enabling social interaction and a sense of community, and often a sense of fraternity due to the predominance of male bonding in maritime Bermuda.

So as to emphasise maritimity’s pervasiveness in their lives, informants often symbolically and materially display their relationships with the sea. Examples include a couple whose ‘wedding list was all maritime items and not china, cutlery, etc.’ (168b:WF60s), a boatbuilder who explained, that while he had respect for the history of a vessel he restored, he nonetheless changed her name to one that ‘fits my lifestyle, fits Bermuda’(104:WM20s), and, in an especially personal and permanent form of visual representation and embodiment, maritime tattoos (Figure 6.1).



Figure 6.1: A young mariner's forearm tattoo of Bermuda with compass rose; leg tattoo of the British Seagull Outboard Engine logo at the 2007 Round the Island Seagull Race.

Informants use maritimity to be iconoclastic, to set themselves apart or mark their difference or individuality. Some play the role of the anorak, with the generic definition of 'a person, usually male, who has a very strong interest, perhaps obsessive, in niche subjects (anon. 2009a) being particularly apropos to the masculine, material and technical nature of much maritimity, and heritage and museums given similarities to collectors and curators. They use maritimity to distinguish and even isolate themselves away from mainstream society and even the maritime network. A builder of full-size and model boats expresses his value and positioning: 'I don't see anybody championing this cause...maybe I see something others don't see. [We are] crazy people...I don't see anybody else willing. But I'm willing to do it' (113:WM30s).

There is a strong anti-authoritarian discourse and pride in being hard to manage, as opposed to being institutionalised and controlled. Some informants enjoyed recounting their clashes with protocol and tradition, in a display of their passion, sacrifice or risk, though this at times contradicted their other judgments of youth and change. On a more collective level as a community of individuals, this iconoclasm recalled the maritime memory of Bermuda's glocalisation, of a small, island nation changing the world (4.1). Past or primordial identities are often utilised to support this iconoclasm, as in 'the most distinctive thing, besides architecture, is

our attitude...it comes from seafaring...that ‘god damn’ attitude! (66:WF40s).

Subaltern and especially working class identity is also constructed through the way Bermudians play the underdog, particularly in relation to competitive maritime activity. One young sailor reminisced: ‘We took a lot of pride in it because we’re a smaller boat club. We enjoyed being from the other side of tracks. It helped shape us into better sailors’ (104:WM20s). A more indirect critique of capitalism comes in the way informants highlight rivalry between mariners but also its ultimately ‘friendly’ and ‘healthy’ nature that preserves and promotes community and fraternity, such as through the ‘smack talk’ heard at the Round the Island Seagull Race and other competitive seaborne events.

The ideal of the work ethic, with all the dedication and selflessness it implies, is also frequently used by Bermudians to demark authenticity. This strategically draws upon notions, or expectations, of pulling one’s own weight in a small society and the widespread (and sometimes colonial-racist) stereotype of a poor work ethic amongst Bermudians. Such tropes of authenticity enable informants to gain a sense of personal integrity and individuality, separating themselves out from mainstream society and culture but without doing so in an entitled manner.

Humility and credibility

Exhibited alongside the above more explicit displays of authenticity, including the wholesale adoption of maritimacy and sense of proud difference, is a humility – both genuine and false. Without wanting to trivialise the extent to which one informant’s personal religious beliefs guided his undertaking a major boat building project, the way he said ‘sometimes we’re not aware of our destiny...it was something I had to do, not personal ambition’ (125a:WM60s), illustrates well the kind of individual subservience to the greater good or collective cause I regularly encountered. It is likewise without mocking cynicism that I note the irony of one informant’s self-promotion when she said, ‘I’m a low-key person who doesn’t promote myself, because that’s what my culture is’ (66:WF40s). By citing references to themselves made by others, informants strategically preserve their humility while sharing their ability or achievements, as in ‘I used to sail whenever I could...I sailed thousands of miles...I guess I was considered competitive...[a famous boat designer] always said to me you are responsible for me designing J24 [a ‘one design’ boat type]’ (63:WM80s). These examples highlight the way, contrary to logic, such humility and immodesty

are *not* mutually exclusive but work together to earn maritimity and counter entitlement, and thereby demonstrate and constitute authenticity.

While it is undoubtedly not only regarding maritimity that Bermudians deploy such humility, maritimity is, I think, particularly conducive to displaying a certain respect. Informants use humility to demonstrate they do not take maritimity for granted and are deserving of associating with the values and identities it represents. By contending their maritime activity and achievements are ‘not about bragging rights’ (60b:WM30s), they underscore more genuine motivations or valid connections. This sometimes took the form of a more explicit comparison between the informant and other mariners, with the former often expressing a combination of admiration and humility. Relevant examples include ‘[he’s] done more wooden boat regattas than I have. He brings a lot to it’ (186a:WM50s) and ‘there is a lot of honesty in it. It’s a lot more honest than the thing I’ve done...the guy has put a lot of himself in it’ (113:WM30s). In such tributes informants underscore their own accomplishments, abilities and values, yet use an affective performance of respect to maintain a modesty associated with class and locality. It is notwithstanding that such comments come from women as well as men that this humility speaks to masculinity as a particular performance of authenticity.

This humility is also born out in the way informants express their indebtedness. This may be a debt of gratitude to specific people, especially mentors, or to the larger maritime network or island overall as a community, place or (is)landscape, especially in providing exposure to water, especially during childhood.

Sailing and the water [was] an integral part of how we lived. As you get older you recognise how important the sea is, Bermuda is. I owe Bermuda a lot. I need to say thank you...it’s been good to us. I don’t have children, [but it is] not about my children.

[I do not remember] never not feeling this way’ (153:WF50s).

Such early or lifelong connections came into greater relief when informants highlighted they are not simply a ‘given’ for everyone. Indeed, some mariners emphasise they were only exposed to the maritime world as adults or through lucky happenstance. It is precisely in spite of a personal lack of exposure, privilege or expectation – a lack of entitlement – that some informants displayed their passion for or depth of relationship with maritimity, thereby maintaining their humility.

The humility described above was also evident in statements like ‘we realised how much we had to learn’ (186b:WF60s), ‘everyday is a learning day’ (55:WM50s),

and ‘in boat building you spend your whole life learning. It’s a non-stop learning curve. [There is] no set programme’ (108a:WM50s). Such comments stress the perpetual demands and motivation and curiosity required of mariners.

Just as it is about never being satisfied there is an emphasis on how knowledge and experience is accrued over time, promoting patience as a core value. While often to do with the complexity and dynamic nature of the sea and the high risk, experiential, technical and skilled character of maritime practices, the strength of an informant’s personal character was also displayed. A boatbuilder and his partnering friend and his supportive wife spoke not only to the ‘magnitude of [his] project’ but also less explicitly to their collective patience when saying, ‘we have a kindred spirit because we understand. I definitely have a longer fuse [than other people]. There are months where nothing changes. You’re adding a millimeter of fibreglass a day. But then there’s a big moment’ (84a:WM30s) when it is ‘finally coming together and it gets exciting’ (84c:WF30s). Such patience stands in contrast to the culture of instant gratification that informants see negatively characterising contemporary Bermuda. The assumed knowledge that was such a feature in this maritime heritagescape and in maritime museums is an appreciation and connoisseurship gained over time and through commitment. Towards the latter stages of the personal restoration project mentioned just above, one of the same boatbuilders said: ‘I used to look at a boat as a boat. But now I can see the boats. Right away I can appreciate something...a nicely built boat, a certain style...[especially] nice, older traditional styles’ (84c:WF30s).

This experiential knowledge and the emphasis on ‘seatime’ specifically was, incidentally, often expected of me as a maritime heritage curator and researcher. I sensed, or was plainly told, such as in the reference to *Spirit* ‘you really should do a voyage on the sloop’, that an academic arm-chair approach would not suffice. The special relationships with boats and childhood combined in informant questions to me such as ‘did you come up in boats?’ (108a:WM50s). Actual maritime experience gave me the most credibility among informants, such as the ‘sea cred’ I gained through my seasickness on a commercial fishing boat, the value of which outweighed my inability to take notes that day. Such experiences helped me to understand that this experiential credibility is not only in the eyes of others or through an indirect gaze, but also from one’s own perspective in enabling a direct and intimate relationship with oneself. It was through my own fieldwork that I came to realise the importance of maritimity as

an experience, and that therein lies much of its authenticity, insofar as Bermudians (myself included) utilise it.

My appreciation of experiential skill and knowledge also grew through observation of mariners. Standing out in my fieldwork was sharing the vantage of pilots navigating enormous yet soon-to-be-obsolete cruise ships along Bermuda's main channels along the North Shore and narrow harbour passages such as Two Rock and Town Cut (Figure 6.2). I watched the pilot silently analyse between each command he gives to the foreign crew which he temporarily directs in local waters, drawing on the assortment of skills and knowledge that he later described to me, such as: adapting to this ship, to changing conditions; applying principles of small boat-handling to this large scale; using his knowledge of the channels, reefs and currents; relying heavily on his own sight, prediction and sensitivity, and less on the technology at his fingertips; seeing 'a picture of the route in his head' and matching what happens to that picture; feeling the ship 'the old-fashioned way'; assuming nothing is routine, remaining 'ever-vigilant', and carrying a contingency plan; embracing the 'big responsibility' in what 'has always been a risky occupation'; using his 'intestinal fortitude' and 'nerve to carry through' the theory of piloting in action; shouldering the unforgiving and exposed nature of work in which 'you are not supposed to make mistakes' and where 'once trust is lost, you don't get it back' (137:BM40s).

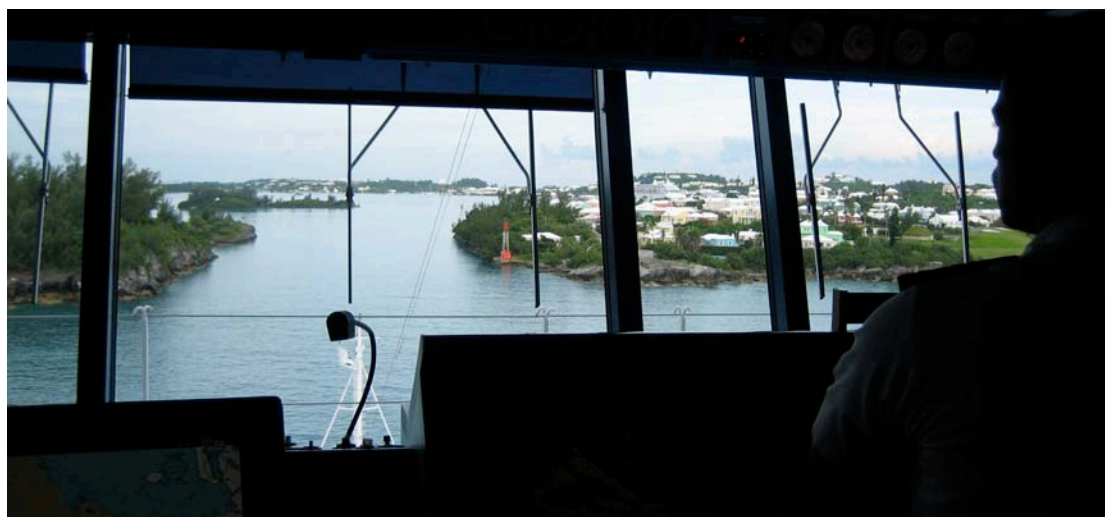


Figure 6.2: Branch pilot's vantage from cruise ship helm as he approaches Town Cut passage into St. George's Harbour, August 2007.

Informants accordingly stress that there is no *a priori* experiential knowledge on the water, in contrast to a more hypothetical academic or approach to the world based on 'proven' strategies or codified knowledge. Instead they emphasise 'theory' or the

creativity of the individual to adapt to present circumstances. One informant laments there ‘ain’t too many boat people left in Bermuda. [Today] everybody’s textbook boat. They learn in school instead of learning by practical...[But] I learned the old-fashioned way’ (135:BM30s). The stress upon being self-taught aligns with notions of natural ability and aptitude but also passion and dedication.

Informants exhibit a ‘do it yourself’ attitude to stress their invention out of necessity, their desire versus privilege, such as an informant who ‘built [his] first boat at 12, another boat at 14...because [he] couldn’t afford to buy one’ (63:WM80s). The literal resourcefulness of reusing maritime material, versus dependence upon modern technologies, helps to stress this ingenuity. In particular, informants underscore the adaptive reuse of materials in boats, such as a sink from the now defunct Bermuda railway and wood from the now demolished Watford Bridge being installed in the wooden schooner *Chicane* painstakingly restored by professional shipwrights for a local family’s use on the water in Bermuda and abroad.

These aspects of humility introduce the experiential dimension of this authenticity that I explore in depth in Chapter 9 with respect to using maritimity as a social remedy. Having elucidated some of the more abstract values and identities that shape maritime Bermuda and how these are posited as counters to entitlement, I now move onto more specific representations of this authenticity.

6.2 Archetypes and their affect

The ‘real Bermudians’

Certain people, places, and things, including boats, stood out in this heritagescape and my fieldwork by epitomising maritimity and authenticity, particularly as potent Bermudian, masculine and working class representations. I now attempt to capture the two-way relationship between Bermudians and these maritime archetypes – the simultaneous gravitation by Bermudians to these archetypes and pull by these archetypes upon Bermudians – thereby exploring *affect*. The symbolic and social meaning invested in and carried by these archetypes also leads to a discussion of representation. While concepts of affect and representation are most often associated with materiality, which these archetypes accommodate and is especially relevant to museums, their diversity also enables a broader deeper consideration of authenticity.

Before getting to archetypes pertaining to *what* and *where*, I want to look at *who* Bermudians view as epitomising maritimity. For this first archetypal category and linked to how I identified interviewees and other data sources (3.3), contact recommendations were especially telling of who Bermudians valorise. Such leads were not only helpful to my fieldwork but also a means for informants to signal and support the authenticity of others and themselves. By pointing to ‘the real Bermudian[s]’ (164:WM70s) informants construct the maritime network and join its ranks, even in subtle and humble ways. This person-centred authenticity thus operates on two linked levels: those being epitomised and those doing so, reflecting how heritage is used on base- and meta-levels.

While it is primarily what these diverse maritime archetypes represent that qualifies them for mention by informants and inclusion here, their high incidence of recurrence across and within interviews and other data sources is also important. These maritime archetypes are touchstones, referenced time and again in a strategy of identity and community building. Because each archetype is independently meaningful or unique, they tend to be grouped so as to mutually boost one another, as a conjoined set and discrete representations. That I manage to cover a good number (though not all) of Bermuda’s maritime archetypes below is because this recurrence strategically delimits them. This is yet another incidence of the paradoxical compelling closure that I have argued characterises maritimity and heritage separately and in conjunction (2.2). By being repeatedly tread, these epitomes carve paths of least resistance through the heritagescape. This recurrence – seeing certain epitomes used by so many so often – indicates the renewability of heritage.

This recurrence and the compelling closure it cultivates were, again, evident in informants’ contact recommendations. Certain key individuals had an exceptionally high rate of recurrence, becoming almost irrefutable. Although I generally anonise informants in this dissertation, it only feels right to ‘name names’ with respect to such highly and positively cited individuals. Late Bermudians Geary Pitcher (1904-1998) and Albert ‘Bert’ Darrell (1905-1983) are among the most valorised of Bermuda’s mariners. Despite having passed away over one and two decades ago, and being celebrated in their own lifetimes and thus to some extent aware of their own social value, the presence and status of Darrell and Pitcher is quite undiminished today and, if anything, growing. They consequently recur throughout this analysis of maritime archetypes, helping me illustrate the links between people, places, boats and other

things. Just as affect transcends materiality, affective relationships permeate the diversity of Bermuda's maritime archetypes.

In my research and my informants keeping to 'those of like mind' (125b:WF50s), 'kindred spirits' (84b:WM30s), 'maritime people' (141:BF50s), maritimity and its authenticity were delimited and strengthened. Comments such as 'everybody's interconnected' (28a:BM40s), 'you see the same people, like a family' (90:OM40s) and the joke the 'sailing community is an incestuous group' (5:WM50s) pointed to the insularity and inaccessibility of this network but also the sense of privilege among those within it. I took on the sense of obligation evident in directions like 'you need to see [contact name]' or 'go speak with him' in being guided by the importance of reaching certain informants and anxieties about missing others. Though I tried never to disclose who my informants were, this became challenging when other informants asked if I had spoken with certain individuals, seeking to satisfy their obligation to the maritime network. I thus remain aware of not interviewing certain Bermudians, and suspect this will – in a regretful sense – stay with me more than those I did reach.

Beyond making explicit recommendations, informants name-dropped as if making necessary citations. But because many informants were mariners or otherwise have relationships with the sea themselves, citing others was not always necessary. It was more than a mere convenience or arrogance, however, that informants themselves served as the maritime epitome or 'heroic self' (Laurier 1998). Some informants balanced humility and self-citation in the contradictory manner of speaking in the third person so as to highlight their own social value. Others offered little pretense of false humility, such as a mariner who said 'I am very well known throughout the island' (105:BM60s) and another who responded to my call for interviewees 'because I actively participated in interesting part of Bermuda's maritime history' (68:WM60s). Interviews of current or former mariners sometimes became life or career histories, recalling their step-by-step progression in skill, knowledge, rank and so on. Some saw themselves as the elder or rare mariner as in 'I'm the only original crew member left' (154:OM40s) or an informant expressing his desire to produce and disseminate his maritime memoirs. In such ways, informants realise and express their authenticity.

Whether more or less humbly and whether projected onto self or others, informants recommended or cited seasoned mariners and other Bermudians with the

most memory or experiential knowledge. Though statements like ‘the fishermen who would give you the most are the older fishermen’ (123:WM30s) and ‘you’ll probably learn more tonight talking to older folks’ (154:OM40s) were somewhat predictable, this valorisation of a ‘real generation’ (6:WM50s) was more than just intergenerational contrast and respect. The urgency accompanying many of these recommendations to reach certain Bermudians ‘before they slip their moorings’ (142:WM60s) recalls the urgency attached to oral history and other collecting among official heritage and museums (2.3), but perhaps better understands *why* this should be done. In cases where individuals had passed away or were otherwise unavailable, those with the next closest connection were recommended, suggesting authenticity is transferable through (and sometimes *only* through) direct contact, experiential knowledge or time spent together, particularly ‘on the water’.

The emphasis on the founders or originators of traditions, such as ‘grandfathers of charter sport-fishing’ (91:WM50s) or ‘the father figure of seagulling’ (59:WF50s) taps not only age but also experiential knowledge and ingenuity. Linking to concerns for ‘dying’ practices (4.2), informants hold up those with first-hand experience, such as ‘[he] used to take [sailboats] through Watford Bridge and sail down to Castle Harbour. He actually did this’ (90:OM40s).

However, in a sign of the vibrancy of live maritime culture and successful modes or positive interpretations of intergenerational transmission (4.3), embodying tradition and continuity or authenticity generally is not restricted to older mariners. It is attributed to young Bermudians too, as when an informant said of one family, ‘that’s the history of fishing right there’ (87:OM40s). The desire to associate with (or be) the ‘real McCoy’ or ‘genuine article’ is so strong it overrides presumptions of heritage deficiency and breaks in intergenerational transmission specifically. Overall, informants recommended those who could give me a ‘deep response’ (UI) or a certain quality of data, in part to display their quality or authenticity.

Suggesting the vibrancy and primacy of Bermuda’s live maritime culture and the way this can trump uses of the maritime past (4.3), the majority of recommendations were of practising mariners or maritime craftsmen, versus Bermudians with genealogical or historical connections to the sea. This proved a self-fulfilling cycle with a ‘domino-effect’ as mariners recommended mariners, reifying one another and keeping the network tight-knit and exclusive. Beyond building the maritime network, livelihood had a strong affect of its own, serving as a defining

criteria for maritimity. The valorisation and even romanticisation of full-time mariners was to the extent I wondered why these particular individuals should be so raised up, especially when many Bermudians train long and hard for their chosen profession and contribute to the community. This is, of course, because maritime trades represent something more, that they are authentic in a way that few other careers can be. In recommending dedicated mariners, such as a young fisherman who suggested to me ‘full-time people you want to hit [to interview]’ (69:WM20s), informants steal or earn some of this gravitas for themselves.

As if topping an unspoken point system, pilots are the most valorised of Bermuda’s full-time mariners, which is much to do with their experiential knowledge as ‘such skilled, skilled people’ (UI:BF40s) discussed previously with respect to the rememory of Pilot Darrell and other black Bermudian pilots (5.3). Commercial fishermen are also recognised for their skill, but equally for their passion and hardiness in the ‘hardest living ever, in support of a working class-ness. There are few boatbuilders who actually make their living from the practice but their valorisation echoes the nostalgia for the ‘dying’ pivotal practice (4.2).

Incidentally, the distinction between the terms boatbuilder and shipwright is not incidental. While such practices are generally associated with the past as in the comment, ‘Bermudians stopped building good boats a long time back’ (36:WM60s), the shipwright invokes traditional knowledge and is thus reserved a higher position in a hierarchy of social value. Illustrating this distinction besides displaying respect and humility, one of two boatbuilders I interviewed together declared that the other deserves the shipwright title while he remains a mere boatbuilder.

Darrell and Pitcher are primarily renown as shipwrights because of the authenticity the term evokes, but their versatility as all-around mariners – supported by the synergy between maritime practices and particularly that of boat building and sailing (4.1) – is also key to their social value. Edward ‘Teddy’ Tucker, another venerated mariner but ‘living legend’, is often referred to as a ‘genius’ in terms of his breadth of oceanic experiential knowledge, with his underwater and deepwater exploration expanding this knowledge ‘to the whole sea’ (La Prairie 1981), as some maritime museums are reinventing themselves (2.2) including Bermuda’s BUEI

which the Tucker family helped found and continue to run (2.3).¹⁴⁹ Such versatile mariners are privileged because of the more holistic perspective they possess, contrary to the specialised mariner's blinkered view.

Solo and global mariners – who are sometimes the same – embody the passion and experiential knowledge so valued in this community. Solitary habits are highlighted with admiration, '[he] dives rain, blow or shine...by himself all the time' (60b:WM30s). Informants stress such non-social activity and attitudes to underscore the mariner's intimate unadulterated relationship with the sea and an iconoclasm that makes him authentic. Upholding a working class ethos, the 'single-handed' mariner is viewed as pragmatic, resourceful, economical. He is romanticised precisely because he does not indulge in such romantic notions himself, and masculine because he is romanticised without compromising his masculinity.

Global mariners also tend to be described as solitary creatures who depart from the mainstream, partly because they are seen as separate from Bermuda's insularity and conformity. The profound commitment and connection to the sea these nomadic seafarers embody is sometimes underscored using a career trajectory and port-by-port style narrative. International experience and significance overrides attachments to the island and puts global seafarers at the top of the local maritime hierarchy, sometimes above pilots. However, global mariners are also somewhat outside that hierarchy, an alienation manifest in their and others' detectable resentment of the valorisation of pilots or other skilled local mariners which is often framed by a critique of relatively low levels of international interaction. And yet, echoing Bermuda's past maritime glocalisation (4.1), global mariners are often held up for their representation of Bermuda, for placing the exceptional yet natural maritimity of this people and place on the world stage. Gaining special mention among informants are high ranking seafarers, with such rank sometimes translated into ship capacity and tonnage, and record breaking mariners and former Olympians.¹⁵⁰ While this celebrity treatment of the global mariner stands out most,

¹⁴⁹ Tucker's versatility is often stressed to *me* because of my affiliation with BMM and our common stance against treasure hunting, of which Tucker is the undisputed father in Bermuda if not the Atlantic (New England Aquarium and BUEI 2004, anon. 2009c).

¹⁵⁰ Including Alan Paris as the first Bermudian to sail around the world alone in 2002-2003, and Bobby Doe who motored from Bermuda to Newport alone in an 18-foot skiff in 2008. Sailing is Bermuda's most represented event ever at the Olympics with Eugene Penny Simmons, Peter Bromby, Kirk Cooper and Paula Lewin among the island's multiple Olympians. This history supports current efforts to make sailing Bermuda's national sport.

the value of international experience was also evident in more informal remarks about mariners who ‘went overseas’ for training or work (139:BM70s).

Finally, authenticity was evident in this network’s hierarchy, or the order in which informants positioned and revealed mariners. The way I was exposed to the network was important to informants: only a particular fieldwork route or interview chain was correct. One informant asked ‘are you going to talk to Teddy Tucker?’ before adding, ‘maybe talk to my uncle first...he could modulate your introduction’ (172:WM50s). Equally, concern was expressed when this hierarchy was not maintained, such as when I inadvertently broke protocol by speaking with younger, lower ranking mariners first. Though some such concerns were institutionalised and bureaucratic, they still displayed social inclusion within a particular network of people as a valuable source of authenticity and thus identity and community.

Maritimity ‘sits in places’

Had I tracked my fieldwork movements with GPS,¹⁵¹ the resulting map would depict the inordinate time I spent in Bermuda’s west and east ends. But perhaps this is exaggerated in my mind due to the way informants highlight the island’s extremities, and other local places, quite irrespective of our being *in situ*. They did so primarily on the basis of such places essentially being ‘more maritime’ (17:BM20s), comparing to elsewhere on or beyond the island considered less so. This unevenly distributes maritimity across the island so it ‘sits in [certain] places’ (Basso 1996) thereby concentrating, embedding, and reinforcing the authenticity it evokes.

The way informants introduce people and places together illustrates how place is used to contextualise and constitute maritime and other identity. For instance, being a St. David’s Islander certainly contributes to Pitcher’s mystique, while individuals enhance the meaning and maritimity of their associated place. Being that places *are* people, much like museums are comprised by individuals (1.1), St. David’s certainly cannot be reduced only to ‘place’ when St. David’s Islanders are essential to why the area matters so much locally. The extent to which maritimity, and the individuals representing it, figure into conceptions of St. David’s is evident at the area or sublocal museum, St. David’s Historical Society’s Carter House (*circa* 1640), where most

¹⁵¹ Global Positioning System is an aid to navigation and map-making technology Bermudian mariners use practically and creatively to mark and claim territory and space and to archive their activity and achievements (recalling Horst and Miller 2006).

exhibits are maritime-related and highly personalised, as illustrated by portraits displayed there and at more unofficial maritime museums (Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.3: Portraits of St. David's Islanders, mostly mariners, by Rebecca Wardrop, *circa* 1980s, at Carter House, museum of St. David's Historical Society, St. David's.

If one place in Bermuda epitomises maritimity and Bermudian authenticity wider, it is unquestionably St. David's – so much so I considered studying this 'sea community' exclusively (18:BM50s). However, I realised much of the belief in this east end area as 'the Mecca of maritime culture' (9:WM50s) exists among broader perspectives. While the authenticity of this place may be more potent and accessible for its residents or relations, other connections are not precluded, such as those of a central parish resident with distant ties who said 'it's just kind of neat to have a connection to St. David's...being from St. David's is viewed as very Bermudian' (145:WM60s). When in the field and subsequently reviewing recordings made there, I encountered my own desire to identify with this place in the ways I used my family connections to St. David's, and to piloting.¹⁵² Such Bermudian invocations of genealogical and other

¹⁵² I am a descendent (a proud one, it seems) of the (evidently white) Haywards of St. David's including my great-great-great grandfather Captain Andrew Cochrane Hayward (1806–1873), Warden of Queen's Pilots.

connections, also evident in the qualifying remarks ‘my grandfather [was] a true St. David’s Islander’ (159a:BM40s) or ‘[we have] family enough in early maritime history of St. David’s’ (95:WM50s), speak to how this place association yields incontrovertible senses of indigeneity, rootedness and authenticity at large.

The wider significance or accessibility of St. David’s is partly and paradoxically because it is so contained in the Bermudian imagination. As reflected in the film title, ‘St. David’s: An Island Near Bermuda’ (Spurling 2004) and memory of ‘there being no bridges or land links between St. David’s and the rest of Bermuda’ (139:OM70s), this community is not viewed as contiguous with the rest of the island in geographical, social or cultural terms, but as a place and people ‘very unto themselves’ (145:WM60s). Such isolation supports authenticity, as captured in the remark made to me, ‘you’re going down¹⁵³ to the real fishing village then’ (171:BM30s). Despite today’s motorised transport, and indeed in ways separate from actual distance and travel requirements, such authentic places remain characterised by remoteness. Informants grant the east and west ends, and geographic and social sublocal places like St. David’s, an affinity based on the distance they have in common from certain values and identities, and, conversely, their closeness to more authentic others. They are considered physically and psychologically *away* from the modernity, commodification and contestation of the island’s political-business and tourism centres, including Hamilton as ‘the seat of power’ (36:WM60s) and the beach- and hotel-lined South Shore.

Corresponding to this isolation, such maritime places are associated with the past and tradition. ‘When I think of old Bermuda I think of east and west’ (147:WM30s). ‘I would love to know more of history, but where is it? I’m not about to go knocking on doors in St. David’s!’ (151:BM20s). Informants visit places in the islandscape to imagine the experience of their seafaring ancestors, or failing that, past maritimes in more open and accessible terms, particularly places that ‘haven’t changed much’ (95:WM50s) offering senses of constancy or continuity. This association with the past is cause and consequence of the ways these areas are associated with heritage on the more official level due to their histories, surviving built and archaeological heritage, and related cultural tourism. This supports the

¹⁵³ Bermudians still travel ‘up’ and ‘down’ to the west and east ends, in a linguistic throwback to the prevailing winds encountered when sailing between them and the intra-island maritime transport for which there is much nostalgia (4.2).

affinity among such places, especially Dockyard and St. George's as the island's key heritage sites (2.3), as illustrated by a BMM advertisement celebrating the 2009 opening of the World Heritage Centre reading 'heritage in the west salutes heritage in the east'. But clearly it is more than heritagisation (2.1) that makes these places feel more authentic or 'maritime' to Bermudians.

The qualities of such places are better understood as the coexistence of the traditional and iconoclastic, recalling trends marrying historical techniques to a punk or anarchic ethos. St. David's, and the east and west ends, are constructed as sub- or counter-cultures that resist the change to which the rest of Bermuda, especially the 'agrarian centre' (14:WM40s), more readily succumbs. Bermudians imagine each 'as a "place on the margin" where ordinary routines, behaviours and societal norms are suppressed, creating an environment in which other behaviours and standards are more accepted' (Davies 2006:37, citing Shields 1991). Such places resist mainstream Bermuda itself, particularly as commodified, gentrified, Americanised, homogenous. In an example of the ways informants draw on maritime archetypes to serve their immediate needs, a young branch pilot, who had expressed he was struggling to assert himself in the traditional hierarchy of mariners and overcome presumptions of youth deficiency and other generational fractures (4.2), used this place-based iconoclasm:

I picture someone extremely proud. I picture someone who is not afraid to speak up. I picture like St. David's Islanders. You know, they're not shy by any means. I sort of picture someone standing there, with their chin up and chest out...They just have their own character. They're different than anyone else in Bermuda (151:BM20s).

This mixture of tradition and iconoclasm is also evident in the discourse about the retention of traditions 'quite unique to certain areas' (24a:BF30s), especially St. David's. While non-maritime traditions are also celebrated, there is high valorisation of maritime practices and the skill, masculinity or 'prowess' these sustain. St. David's is associated with shark oil barometers, the seasonal catching of mullet and curing its edible roe, other net fishing, traditional boat building, past whaling, and piloting:

I'm particularly proud of piloting history especially regarding [the] east end, and St. David's in particular...the history, the simplicity, the community still means a lot here...and in particular to how pilotage is connected to it...we need to get more St. David's Islanders in piloting' (98:BM40s).

As the last outposts of such distinctive and traditional maritime lifeways, such places and people are conceived as vulnerable. Much like there is a high awareness of

Bermuda's receding 'greenfield' spaces under the island's rapid and seemingly unstoppable development, informants locate maritimity on the basis of its original purity and resistance to imposing threats. Concentrating maritimity in certain places protect them from loss, contamination or a kind of cultural 'copyright' infringement (189:BM50s). The anxiety regarding St. David's arises from memory of what has been lost already, particularly in terms of visible changes to the islandscape such as the bridging of this once-isolated community, the imposed development of the US baselands, and more recent gentrification, urbanisation, or even 'ghettoisation' with an influx of 'incomers' or 'invaders' building homes (189:BM50s). The tight-knit nature of St. David's perhaps decreasingly exists in reality as change occurs, but increasingly in local imagination given this place so strongly represents Bermudian authenticity. Such places comes into relief when they are lost, particularly when that loss results from what is interpreted as willful neglect or unmitigated destruction.

Akin to the way informants group epitomes to compound their meaning, places are nested within places. St. David's boosts the authenticity of the east end, and vice versa. Particular St. David's sites are distinguished, including the lighthouse, boat slips and workshops including Pitcher's, old whaling and piloting stations and related gig landings (Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4: St. David's Islander Harold Millett pointing out the old pilot station in St. David's (top right) from the current St. George's station inside Fort George (1788, bottom right) with Bermuda Radio, that manages the island's vessel approaches and departures.

Though St. David's is one of the most invested maritime places, it represents many others in which Bermudians invest high authenticity and social value, and which feature elsewhere in the analysis chapters. Beyond such specific places, Bermuda overall is treated as an archetype and a special place in itself and in the world, particularly through the island's or community's close relationships with the sea. With these maritime epitomes, I hope to have shown the relationship between people and place is affective and agency-rich for Bermudians. The way my data suggests place is important to maritimity yet also associated with mobility and the sea is intriguing. It seems the focus on place is a way for Bermudians to claim maritimity and its authenticity, to embed it in the places they inhabit, and thus their everyday lives.

Boats and other maritime materiality

Place and materiality dovetail due to the mobility and provenance of things and the contextualising and encompassing nature of place. But Bermuda's and perhaps other maritime worlds do so at a relatively high level due to their experiential, fluid nature and with boats as their key representations. Despite consciously trying not to fetishise them as maritime museums do (2.2), boats were undeniable archetypes to which I gravitated with my informants. Fieldwork allowed me to tap into the motivations and meanings behind Bermudians' special connections to boats. Beyond better understanding this affect, this helped to explain and justify the maritime museum boat-fetish, while also making the paucity of analysis about such material relationships even more perplexing.

Bermudian relationships with boats often had a quiet or unspoken quality, as if so meaningful they need not be outwardly expressed, suggesting subtlety goes beyond humility. The presence of boats in the islandscape – from active working boats like *Spirit*, fast ferries, tug and pilot boats to the visible remains of wrecks and other past vessels (Figure 6.5) – was similarly constant and muted. This recalls the sparse interpretation of vessels at BMM and other maritime museums that may seek to allow the evocative power of these distinctive objects to speak.



Figure 6.5: Wrecks visible from land include (top) Black Bay wrecks as seen from Middle Road, Southampton; the *Vixen* off Daniels' Head, Sandys (bottom left); Convict Bay wrecks, St. George's (bottom right).

Informants directed me to go see boats that ranged from the working, pristine and cared for to the abandoned, damaged or beyond repair, some in some out of the water. Informants often accompanied me, using our excursions to demonstrate their ability to reveal and interpret vessels, as if their knowledge and interest provided the key to unlocking these mysteries. Accompanied or not, it was clearly important to informants that I know certain vessels, in terms of visiting them and/or knowing their histories. I accordingly became attached to some boats, although in only a fraction of the way informants do and from a more museological perspective. Contacts were recommended based on their relationship with a particular vessel, such as '[he] will give you [her] history' (UI). Boats were the central concern and catalyst, relegating people to a supporting role.

But boats also took me to or represented people. Darrell and Pitcher's vessels were often cited, especially those surviving such as Darrell's Bermuda fitted dinghies *Contest*, *HDC II* and *Elizabeth* on display at BMM and more so those still active such as the 'early Pitcher dinghy' *Legless* now used for seagull racing (Figure 6.6).



Figure 6.6: (top) *Contest* and *HDC II* built by Bert Darrell on display in BMM's Boat Loft; (right) *Legless* built by Geary Pitcher in the 2007 Round the Island Seagull Race.

Small, traditional, working, inshore boats, of the same ilk drawn upon in the proud memory of past maritimes (4.1) and nostalgia for early maritime transport (4.2), are especially prized (Figure 6.7). They are afforded more authenticity than leisure, larger or non-local vessels, in another tacit comparison. They are important representations of Bermudian and working class identities through their small-scale, localised and non-leisure use or at least associated with non-elites, as in the memory of their being 'raced by ordinary working people for entertainment...not by the people who would inhabit yacht clubs nowadays' (113:WM30s). The experiential often non-motorised nature of such vessels is important to their authenticity, particularly in demanding physically intensive, highly skilled and somewhat locally distinctive practices such as rowing or sculling. There is also awareness of the rarity of these vessels, as Bermudians underscore when pointing them out in the islandscape.



Figure 6.7: Working boats (centre) the restored *Shamrock* a rare prime example of a small Bermuda sloop; (right) 24' 4 oared replica pilot gig the *Memory II*; (bottom left) the Beetle Cat *Fresh Runner of the Western Blue*; and the three aforementioned vessels sailing together.

Related to valorisation of these working boats and the all-around mariner is valorisation of versatile vessels. This all-in-one capacity is epitomised by the dinghy, which ‘has to do all three things well...rowing, sailing, and motoring’ (125a:WM60s). Informants quickly extend this versatility to the mariner handling such a vessel, showcasing his abilities in one boat. It is celebrated as a vernacular design that stands the test of time, ‘a boat you’re not going to get tired of, you’d be loath to get rid of it (84a:WM30s). This multi-purpose boat is nonetheless praised for its simplicity, associating with tradition but not wealth, as in the remark ‘it was all the money they had, so they’d build a simple dinghy’ (107:BM40s). Whereas such boats are customised, as in by being ‘fitted’ for sailing and racing, versatile vessels do not alter or compromise their utilitarian character and working class identity.

Taking scale to a more extreme level, miniature model boats were no less compelling than life-size versions to Bermudians (Figure 6.8). These boat relationships involved carrying on the local tradition of sailing and racing model boats, as the East End Mini Yacht Club is named for. They also demonstrate a fascination with boat design and capacity, including seaworthiness and interaction with the environment, irrespective of the lack of direct first-person seafaring, and a model’s potential to be used ‘for constructing full-size boats’(180:WM30s).

Joining these relationships on the basis of scale may seem simplistic, but speaks to the constant meaning boats hold for informants, and how smaller, more portable versions provide different means to express the same authenticity.



Figure 6.8: Model motorboat building and racing at ‘the Track’ in St. David’s.

A fascinating aspect of Bermudian relationships with boats – big or small – was the different attitudes to wood and fibreglass. Rarely did I come across an informant who valorised and worked with both or did not care; an *either* wood *or* fibreglass preference was required. Though irreconcilable, these symbolic materials exist in tension, with the wood/fibreglass dichotomy generally representing old/new, past/present, tradition/technology, loss/innovation. I encountered more conventional views that these tensions are good/bad, that fibreglass is a debasement of boats, encapsulated by an informant sarcastically yelling ‘don’t say the ‘f’ word!’ (85:WM40s). Others upset this dichotomy by praising fibreglass for its practical ‘forgiving’ nature in boat building, handling and maintenance, with this high use helping to democratise boats and maritimety (4.3).

Being lightweight is perhaps the most important attribute of fibreglass because this equates to speed, which enables pushing a vessel and crew to its maximum potential and competitive level. This contrasts to maritime nostalgia (4.2), with speed compensating for traditional authenticity, as evident in the view that there is ‘no loss to being fibreglass, only thing lost would be the weight’ (105:BM60s). The

straightforward technical advantage of speed, positioned at the meeting point of boat design and performance, greatly enhances the meaning of fibreglass and other fast archetypal vessels, the historic Bermuda sloop being chief among these. One informant speaks to the meaning of speed to his relationship with a boat he restored and ‘changed her speed potential, like taking the brakes off...I remember she went like the blazes’ (89:WM50s).

Bermudians also celebrate wood’s aesthetic and kinesthetic qualities that connect mariner and environment. How a wooden boat looks, moves and feels with emphasis on its shape or ‘lines’ and weight often in terms of ‘moving through water a lot easier’ (142:WM60s). The literal flexibility of wood is stressed, a ‘wooden boat [is] a better sea boat. It gives with the sea. Like a ribbed ship [is] better than a welded ship. Metal [is] one solid thing’ (UI). This experiential affect extends to craftsmanship, the feeling of working with wood, and the creativity and skill of the shipwright, who in turn respects and invests in this material. Informants highlight the sensuality of cedar – its scent, feel, movement and ‘prettiness’, like similar views of boats. Though more subtle and nuanced than the misogynist expression to ‘lay some cedar’ on a woman, this sensuality also expresses masculinity, irrespective of most local mariners and my informants being male.

Past-material associations are strong with respect to wood and especially cedar. Wood and the past are connected in statements like ‘I feel that wooden boats are a history of my people and I try to keep it in effect’ (158:BM50s) or the material links time, with ‘wood playing a big role in Bermuda past and present’ (Cyril Packwood interview in McKay 2007). Cedar is granted an abstract antiquity in long being used in local boats, as in ‘looking back boats built of cedar...goes back way beyond my time’ (105:BM60s). This past-wood association is also supported by more concrete maritime history, and the association of cedar with the Bermuda sloop and the global sea economy the sloop underpinned (4.1). Cedar is widely credited as the source of the speed, maneuverability and durability that made Bermuda’s sloops so effective and prized. The material properties of cedar – being lightweight or low density, durable or high strength, rot and pest resistant – are stressed for enabling sloop seaworthiness. It is strange these material properties are so invoked today beyond any equivalent presentist use, but Bermudians partly epitomise cedar because they feel indebted to what it achieved for the island (4.1). With cedar, a powerful

combination of past and material affect is at work; cedar's material properties and historic uses lend themselves to valorisation.

Cedar's meaning as a key maritime (and non-maritime) Bermudian archetype goes beyond relationships with the past. Despite the easy blurring of the maritime/non-maritime boundary under such a powerful archetype, cedar maritime heritage has different and additional meaning than cedar heritage broader, one often born out of relationships with boats. Cedar is used to describe, qualify and distinguish things, but boats especially. If cedar is present in a boat, it is inevitably mentioned, because the presence of this material adds value to a vessel and those associated with it. Perhaps connected to a sense of historical indebtedness, informants express a material obligation to cedar, even in lighthearted remarks like 'dinghies, of course they will have some...trim, knees, breast plate. You got to kind of have some!' (120b:WM60s). This valorisation is to the extent that cedar's value can outweigh that of boats, such as when an informant spoke of his intention to dismantle and thereby destroy a vessel for its salvageable cedar parts, which he argued would provide (along with the original design) an authentic basis for a replica. Cedar represents local identity and core values and the way they are earned through a certain quality of experience and culture, that 'those who appreciate it, appreciate it' (107:BM40s), versus being taken for granted in another tacit critique of entitlement.

This Bermudianisation of this material is central to its authenticity and consequent valorisation. Much like the actual past affects heritage, cedar's endemic status – apparent in its botanical name *Juniperus bermudiana* – is conducive to imagining this wood and the things it comprises – in whole or part – as 'uniquely local' (113:WM30s). Being Bermuda grown, and one of the few if not most useful products to ever originate from the island,¹⁵⁴ supports reverence of cedar's unique organic material properties. Reflecting archetype grouping, the height of cedar's authenticity is when it combines with other factors, such as being 'made in Bermuda, by a Bermudian, of Bermuda cedar. Three hits!' (120b:WM60s) or 'built here, raced here, built of Bermuda produce, by Bermudians...all Bermuda, Bermuda, Bermuda!' (77a:WM60s). Boats built elsewhere can nonetheless become Bermudian or 'get status' (46b:WF50s) if cedar is added to them, this native wood again outweighing the boat and other materials in it. Though *Spirit* was built overseas, a point of contention

¹⁵⁴ Besides Bermuda limestone, onions and other limited agricultural crops.

raised later (8.2), she was effectively Bermudianised by extensively using cedar in her interiors and transom (Figure 6.9). Informants stress this cedar was sourced from heirloom logs donated by local families, emphasising a collaborative process and material presence with symbolic and monetary value:

The boat has cedar all over the place. All the cedar is Bermuda cedar, was donated...because its like the evocative power of an innate object. It's powerful. It's like the Shroud of Turin. So cedar tells the story of Bermuda's technology, using resources...Most people can't believe it's Bermuda cedar. There were 37 logs probably worth \$110,000 dollars (9:WM50s).



Figure 6.9: *Spirit's* cedar transom.

Such attachments to cedar can make other material unacceptable, one informant commenting 'a plywood transom is offensive...[*Spirit's*] is built of cedar...if built of mahogany it wouldn't be the same' (77a:WM60s). Cedar's romanticisation and differential value is evident when cedar is 'no compromise' or retained but other elements are viewed as disposable or replaceable. Cedar stands out from other material and even other wood, partly through a treatment as subaltern and iconoclastic, like St. David's. Some informants temper the cedar fetish by indicating other wood or material preferences, making themselves iconoclastic, as if cedar has become too mainstream. Still, it is by virtue of its materiality that cedar is so present

in Bermudian lives and culture. Though it is not only present in maritime spaces, cedar seems to acquire extra meaning and relevance there.

Much as there are other people and places beyond those above following informant valorisation, so too are other things included in this selective collection of Bermudian archetypes. The diverse archetypes presented above are by no means exhaustive of maritime Bermuda, but have highlighted some of the significance and workings of affective Bermudian relationships with the(ir) maritime world.

6.3 Community-museum dissonance

Great expectations and curatorial critiques

These affective relationships include those with BMM as the island's chief maritime museum and player in official heritage and museums. Waiting until now to examine this community-museum relationship underscores BMM is part of my grassroots heritage ethnography, but one that cannot be privileged over the other uses of maritime heritage explored in this dissertation.

Here I focus on dissonance partly because this reflects the majority of sentiment I encountered about BMM; positive associations were relatively sparse. This may reflect 'human nature' to be more negative than constructive, particularly in small contentious contexts like Bermuda. Although reiterating that negativity here may seem harsh, unfair or damaging to BMM, the data demands this attention as does the museum's institutional accountability. Positive kudos also feel less compelling and flatter, whereas dissonance works on multiple levels and stands out as heritage data.

Moreover, I contend understanding this dissonance paradoxically supports BMM, in that such local expectations and resentments actually translate into the museum's existing and potential social value. Such value is impossible when there is outright alienation, when a museum is simply inconsequential to its community. Finally, this discussion of dissonance contrasts with uncritical treatments of heritage and museums critiqued in Chapter 2 and provides a better platform for enhancing museum practice, using heritage to do so.

While BMM's key role in Bermuda's heritage sector is important, this community-museum dissonance primarily revolves around BMM's identity and role as a maritime museum, or lack thereof. The ways BMM is seen to be succeeding or failing in this maritime mission is central to the dissonant expressions below. This is

pretty ironic for a maritime museum and considering the abundance of maritime heritage showcased in this dissertation. Whereas other studies note numerous maritime museums in one sector (Davies 2006, Stefanou 2008a) and notwithstanding uses of maritime heritage by other local heritage groups, a point explored more below, BMM's status as Bermuda's *only* maritime museum by title and identity is not incidental. Simply being a maritime museum, moreover, gives rise to certain community attachments and expectations.

So, while ostensibly about BMM and maritime museums, this dissonance also reveals the meaning of maritimity to Bermudians. This recalls Watson's Yarmouth study where 'locals were anxious to discuss [the maritime museum], which they disliked. In their view, it did not do justice to the importance of the herring fishing industry in particular to the story of the town' (2007a:163). Though a private nonprofit, BMM's public accountability is no less than Government or other publicly-funded groups given its reliance on donations coming from a finite donor purse and its existing and potential social value (2.3). But more than any kind of fiscal or institutional value, my (maritime-oriented) informants primarily hold BMM accountable on the maritime basis, as a particular value set or notions of identity and community to which they hold the institution accountable.

This community-museum dissonance therefore reveals the authenticity I argue maritimity represents and cultivates. This dissonance is not solely about maritimity, nor BMM or other official-unofficial conflicts but a means for Bermudians to realise and express what they value, who they are and connections with one another. It is because this data is not exclusive to BMM and works on multiple levels, that it is particularly significant to this and other maritime museums. This dissonance attests to community-museum relationships in general, but those with maritime museums categorically. It thus gets at the heart of not only the 'why museums' question and the importance of understanding public attitudes to museums, but also why maritime museums as a specific museum type and social institution should exist. This question is timely for BMM as it becomes incorporated into, and perhaps subsumed by, NMB.

Contrary to 'a tradition of museum visiting but of a poverty of expectations' (McLean 2006:4, citing O'Neill 2006), BMM has low visitation but high expectations among Bermudians. Beyond calling into question the efficacy of traditional exhibitions and framing museums as 'attractions' (2.3), informants conflict with BMM precisely because they see its potential as a community museum, and one

representing and generating Bermuda's maritime heritage specifically. Validating my research objective to better understand heritage and apply this understanding to museums, this dissonance suggests Bermudians themselves know that BMM ought to better engage with maritime and other heritage. Bermudian resentments stem from recognition of the deficiency presumption espoused by BMM and the way this delimits the institution's social value.

The emphasis on BMM and maritimity in this dissonant data was undoubtedly stimulated by the maritime research theme and my prior professional association (4.2). Such expression seemed to be encouraged by informants knowing my association with BMM but also my status as an independent researcher. This suggests the value of museum practitioners – versus less invested researchers – seeking out community-museum dissonance in an open-minded non-defensive way. However, informants made clear this did not stimulate a false interest in maritimity or BMM for them, but rather facilitated their expression of pre-existing feelings and opinions.

Sensing the need to back up these claims, so as to better protect and reach BMM and other museums, I first want to give evidence for this community-museum dissonance. Recalling the museum reinvention and institutional territorialism characterising the local heritage sector (2.3), BMM's lack of sole claim on the maritime is evident in the way other heritage and cultural groups encroach upon the theme. As Bermuda's largest maritime museum, and the only one in name, it might be assumed that Bermudians think of BMM as the obvious space for maritime content and collections, especially in such a small community and dense heritage sector. But maritimity is hardly viewed as BMM's exclusive domain. Others display little concern with overstepping into BMM's territory, with many exhibitions and projects, often of a temporary nature, freely utilising maritimity.

Notwithstanding that such infringement is difficult thing to argue against and the perhaps unrealistic desire of practitioners to consolidate and centralise curation, I think this reinvention speaks to BMM's perceived lack of commitment to maritimity. When awareness of this encroachment is detectable among informants, they intimate this is BMM's shortcoming rather than a trespassing by encroaching groups. Even BMM's stakeholders exhibit low levels of protectionism over maritimity.

The way BMM is *not* viewed as a repository for maritime material also indicates dissonance. When I asked for copies of maritime material to pass onto BMM – either directly or subsequent to my research use – some informants were less

than forthcoming, saying they had too few copies or needed to charge me. While perhaps legitimate reasons, they were still strange, especially for material intended primarily for non-commercial cultural purposes. While my interpretation may be contaminated by presumptions of institutional entitlement and material stewardship and though some informants did seek to donate material to BMM (3.3), there was a notable silence surrounding BMM as a repository. Yet, informants often expressed a desire and responsibility to transfer material to others, especially private collectors or individuals with special interests. That when collections are kept out in the community ‘people know where these things are’ (113:WM30s) expresses mistrust of BMM and perceived inaccessibility of its collections. I found myself defending BMM’s donations-only policy¹⁵⁵ when informants said they would consider loaning but not *giving* material to BMM, at least initially. While perhaps equally about sustaining maritime networks between people and with objects, it seems that this community gifting is seen to generate maritime heritage in a way donating to BMM does not. Such informants nonetheless seemed to have an underlying desire to donate to or otherwise connect with BMM.

Complaints about donated collections not being on display or otherwise ‘used’ are more than a generic critique like ‘that’s what I hate about museums, [things] shouldn’t be hidden away’ (89:WM50s). Rather, they express respect or judge disrespect of maritimity. Boats on and off display are especially appreciated or are considered offensive:

When I get this restored I don’t want it to go in the shed, right. And I don’t want it to be put in the water. I want it to go somewhere it’s going to be displayed like a brilliant, great pillar of shining light, a fantastic cultural treasure...I want it to go somewhere and saved for posterity and saved and appreciated by people (113:WM30s).

Informants instead curate independently. When I asked an informant ‘Did you consider talking to [BMM] at all?’, they responded, ‘No, I haven’t got to that point’, in a common defensiveness of knowing the potential to use or connect with the museum, yet not doing so.

¹⁵⁵ Primarily because loans are extremely time-consuming and difficult to manage and without any promise of building BMM’s collections in the tangible permanent sense, based in pragmatic necessity and failure to recognise collections as intangible renewable heritage (2.1).

Maritime departures and displacements

In terms of scale and time, BMM provides informants with a condensed version of the maritime to non-maritime narrative of departure that features among maritime museums in their current crisis of confidence (2.2) and Bermudian uses of maritime nostalgia (4.2). Despite maintaining a maritime title and identification since its 1974 establishment and producing manifold maritime exhibitions, publications, and other projects, it seems this is not enough. Informants feel BMM once had a clear maritime mission but has since ‘lost its way’ (59:WF50s). This notion of straying from an authentic institutional identity treats maritime museums and museums in general as ready-made entities versus peopled and evolving cultural phenomena. It also suggests that communities – and not only their maritime museums – have quite bounded or even fundamentalist ideas about maritimity. Trapped in this framework of compelling closure, BMM loses out on both counts: it is judged as not dedicated or exclusive enough to maritimity, but in being a maritime museum is also precluded from being more widely socially relevant and responsive.

There is high nostalgia for BMM’s early days, especially in being ‘about activity’ (3:WM30s) like the community events on the rise in the local heritage sector (2.3). Such events are seen to generate maritimity, such as ‘an upsurge in sailing’ (89:WM50s), versus merely preserving and/or representing it. While the experiential character of these events is emphasised, the community engagement they involve is more important to this nostalgia. Events taking place in the wider islandscape, such as regattas, are highlighted because they show BMM extending itself beyond its bounded space and priorities. Informants stress the ‘laid back’ uncontrived quality of these events, inviting and marked by the community’s willing participation, versus the kind of institutional solicitation – like membership drives, annual appeals or other fundraising strategies – that is a hallmark of this and other heritage sectors. This is a critique not only of BMM but the community’s lack of engagement and sense of entitlement, which reflects a wider and deeper sense of loss regarding maritimity or identity and community. Consequently, the desire among some informants to revive such events rarely includes BMM, either presuming disinterest or refusing interest on the museum’s behalf, further excluding and alienating the institution from live maritime culture than it already is.

This vision of a grassroots community museum tends to be contained within BMM’s first five years, subtly referencing its professionalisation in 1980 with the

hiring of a salaried Executive Director. Locating BMM's alleged turn away from maritimity in this moment heightens and substantiates informant expectations in that being professionalised increases the museum's institutional responsibility and accountability. The isolation of BMM and other local heritage groups in comments like '[they have] we know better than you, central parish attitudes' (14:WM40s) which strengthen an authorised-grassroots dichotomy besides unofficial heritage and museums see museums being somewhat unfairly disadvantaged by the very community they are trying to serve and connect with.

Hiring Bermudian archaeologist Dr. Edward Harris established a hierarchical structure mirroring many maritime and modernist museums, where much power is vested in the Director at the helm. Certainly, it is difficult to overstate Harris's influence as the sole incumbent over the past 30 years, being 'largely responsible for the overall management, and development of the museum. His personality has had an enormous impact on the museum as a whole' (Bernard 1999:12-13). Harris's influence extends further across the local heritage sector and internationally, being not only BMM's indefatigable leader, but the island's foremost cultural heritage expert. That many Bermudians attribute their involvement with BMM or local heritage and museums to him or conflate them with him, is a credit to Harris's contributions but also suggests his 'cult of personality' and just how personal heritage is, especially at the official level and in a small community (2.3).

Illustrating how the meaning of maritimity, Harris's significant and diverse contributions to BMM and local heritage are quickly outweighed by a characterisation of him as a non-mariner and even someone who 'doesn't like boats' (UI). Beyond social tendencies for the negative to outweigh the positive, this reflects the importance of experiential knowledge and other Bermudianised identities and values. Unlike the maritime museum in Ílhavo, Portugal that Anico and Peralta examine (2008c:196) or BSF's or BUEI's Boards of Directors which are veritable 'who's-who' of local and global maritime networks, there are fewer mariners or individuals with evident maritime backgrounds or interests among BMM's key stakeholders, at least in more recent years, who instead reflect the dominance of fiscal and academic values. That the 'walls of honor' in other local maritime museums (6.2) tend to be donor listings at BMM is telling. Also indicative of this openness or lack of maritime prerequisite was my own lack of pertinent experience prior to becoming Curator at BMM. The few BMM stakeholders with maritime links tend to be oriented to leisurely pursuits, white

collar professions or global interests, versus more full-time, working class, or localised maritime connections. BMM's loss or lack of such stakeholders is seen by some Bermudians as unfortunate or damaging and a capacity that museological expertise cannot compete with or replace.

Informants argue this is not a lack of attention or moving away from maritimity in a passive sense, but BMM actively displacing maritimity with other priorities.

It's not something [BMM] would necessarily take on...I would be pleased if they did...It's not a prejudice, it's not an educated opinion, but my thinking is it's not something they would be interested in...because [BMM] has been occupied with other things (101:WM50s).

Resentments thus concern what BMM has departed into, echoing the blame that accompanies senses of maritime loss and nostalgia (4.2).

At the broadest level, informants blame BMM's increasing remit, seeing the scope of the operation detracting from a maritime focus. The nature of museums as ever-expanding in content and collections – although not necessarily the support to match it and hence needing to prioritise as Merriman contends (2008) – is especially true in Bermuda where there is little holistic heritage and museums strategy (2.3) . This extends down and stems from BMM's lack of coherent maritime curatorial strategy, similar to what Witcomb observes in Sydney:

In some ways, the problem of the [Australian] National Maritime Museum was a lack of a curatorial line. The Museum lacks a strong conceptual focus. It does not attempt, for example, to deal with the theme of the sea as an organizing idea (2003:156).

BMM's wide remit is its strength as a community institution, and now 'national' museum, but its weakness as a maritime museum, again echoing the paradoxical dynamics of compelling closure.

Following my local sectoral review (2.3), BMM's past-material bias largely dictates priorities, thereby concealing the intangible presentist layer that is so prolific in relationships with the sea and helping explain why Bermudians are so nostalgic for BMM's intangible community-based early days. The tangible provides more concrete literal evidence or reminder of non-maritime priorities, whereas maritimity remains largely intangible and unexpressed. Besides archaeology, built heritage initiatives have been central to BMM since its inception given its founding mandate to restore and preserve the Keep and its buildings. Staff, volunteers and donors have spent thirty years transforming the site into a magnificent museum facility and visitor attraction,

while also extending this restoration mandate to other Dockyard sites including the Casemates Barracks, and further afield, especially Bermuda's fortifications.

Bermudians have needed to look no further than inside the Keep at the Commissioner's House restoration for this built heritage prioritisation (Figure 6.10). Of the restoration projects ever undertaken locally, Commissioner's House is the largest and highest profile.¹⁵⁶ Considering this engineering masterpiece¹⁵⁷ faced certain destruction had it been further neglected and that this 'crown jewel' of the Keep has brought new exhibits, collections, revenue, audiences and energy to BMM, the restoration is now quite justified, and applauded by many Bermudians. Informants nonetheless question the maritime trade-offs of the project, viewing the displacement of maritimism as an affront. Much as if BMM had taken on a major vessel restoration project, but perhaps resulting in different community connections, Commissioner's House 'necessarily limited their ability to work in other areas' (Carr 1981:202) or represents a 'strategy [that] is so consumptive of staff and money that there is often little left of either to pursue other activities' (Janes 2007:137).



Figure 6.10: Commissioner's House entrance, verandahs and some of the interior exhibits: on Bermuda tourism; local military corps and war veterans; and Caribbean connections.

¹⁵⁶ Spanning 20-years, costing \$14-million and culminating with its official opening in 2000 as an exhibition and events space (BMM 2007a).

¹⁵⁷ Designed by the Royal Navy's Chief Architect Edward Holl and built by British convicts and lesser numbers of local workers and slaves between 1823-1827, Commissioners House was the first residential building in history to utilise cast-iron framing.

Additionally, the curatorial decision – made privately without community consultation – to install exhibits that were not explicitly maritime – though many were partially or tangentially related and/or reflected a more inclusive strategy (2.3) – meant the maritimity displaced during the restoration was not recovered in display. These views came from Bermudians not part of the network of people that the restoration and its capital campaign embraced and attracted; the Commissioner's House project built different community relationships than a maritime focus. Impatience for BMM to return to maritimity, particularly in its key curatorial practices of preservation and representation, is, from these grassroots perspectives, long accrued and thus highly entitled. News that BMM will restore and develop Casemates Barracks into the NMB (2.3) raises questions about the extent to which maritimity will (re)gain attention or whether tangible restoration (albeit for intangible purposes) and other non-maritime priorities will (again) take precedence.

Clash of values

Having presented counterparts to the human archetypes discussed earlier (6.2), I now look at community-museum dissonance corresponding to authentic places and things. Beyond archetypal correspondences, what follows reflects a more fundamental clash of values in terms of Bermudians utilising BMM to generate their own sense of authenticity. These grassroots purposes suggest this and other museums have little power over such community attitudes, and may as well embrace them as heritage, albeit a difficult one to accept let alone curate.

I have chosen not to take up underwater salvage and archaeology as Bermuda's most obvious community-museum dissonance, despite my considerable relevant data from this and previous research (Andrews 2005a, Andrews 2007b). I instead focus on dissonance that is less discursively contained by the AHD and its heritage management canon (2.1) with more subtle disenfranchising effects that keep museums like BMM disconnected from their local or immediate communities (2.3).

It is argued that location, ideally on the waterfront, is crucial for maritime museums (Washburn 2007). Dockyard is a maritime place by design and history, and still a west end and islandwide maritime epicentre. Many Bermudians and the island's diaspora have strong attachments to Dockyard, often via memory or imagining of Royal Naval activity. Such connections, and the way they are infused within the physical site and built heritage, are evident in the usually privately-expressed outrage

over the neglect of this ‘defunct, yet architecturally outstanding, naval facility’ (as Pinder describes the Royal William Yard, Plymouth in 2003:35), which I previously used to exemplify the threats facing Bermuda’s tangible heritage (2.3).

Equally, however, Bermudians expressed dissonance with Dockyard and BMM’s work restoring, preserving, researching, interpreting and promoting it. This dissonance is buttressed by BMM’s associated commitments to naval, military and fortifications heritage and culture similar to other maritime museums (2.2), including overseas networks attracting ex-naval and other ex-military personnel.¹⁵⁸ The histories and cultures associated with Dockyard clash with more Bermudianised values and identities (6.1). Along with Day and Lunn who note ‘it is the dissonance between the history of a former colonial location, essentially outward-looking, and an emerging local identity’ (2003:304), I too concur with Tunbridge who, applying his work on dissonance to the Bermuda Dockyard, says:

It is within the realms of possibility that the local majority will at some point challenge the symbols of global dependence, seeking to recast the Dockyard in particular as a symbol of oppressive external power and to supplant its heritage symbolisms with others of a distinctly more local/nationalist, if not insurgent, flavour (2002:50).

Tunbridge’s projection of ‘insurgence’ contrasts with the more subtle Dockyard dissonance I encountered, which was usually expressed tacitly as in failing to get mentioned. Other west end places, like Ely’s Harbour or family docks, are mentioned more and thus seem to matter more. Tunbridge’s ‘insurgence’ nonetheless reflects a conflict and connection with BMM versus outright alienation. Related to the colonial tensions, Dockyard is associated with globalisation and power (Smith 2006b), highlighting Britain’s achievements equally or more than Bermuda’s (although these are blurred and Bermudians were highly involved with this space and control it today), whereas places like St. David’s represent the local and subaltern. The latter are also more organic residential communities, whereas Dockyard is purpose-built and highly-engineered, in its military industrialised past and as today’s highly-managed tourism-node (Andrews 2005c). Whereas other maritime places maintain a constant muted presence and authenticity, the Dockyard’s decline and even its limited current tourism resurgence inhibits community connections, as Tunbridge states: ‘It was a major presence in Bermudian perceptions...The Dockyard entered a period of eclipse, however, with the Royal Navy’s virtual withdrawal in 1950’ (2002:44). The

¹⁵⁸ (Note 63).

magnificent built environment and history of this 19th Century Dockyard all too easily reinforces BMM's past-material bias in its actual and perceived priorities.

While Dockyard is a more subtle aspect of this community-museum dissonance, other issues are more explicitly contested and blamed. Given their local meaning including as material archetypes (6.2), boats generate some of the highest dissonance, including in their omission. Counter to expectations for maritime museums (2.2), informants note BMM's lack of a major identifying vessel and/or dedicated vessel conservation space and programming. *Spirit's* revitalising presence in the Dockyard (4.1) brings this dissonance into greater relief but also alleviates it since the desire is not entirely museum-centric but about maritimity and social value.

Informants generally contest what they see as a lack of prioritisation of boats, as displaced by other priorities, or, worse still, as an outright lack of maritime interest. Among boats BMM does curate, the 100-year old *Dainty* is one of the most contested, with my knowledge of her issues extending throughout my BMM tenure and more recent fieldwork. Although BMM, in collaboration with community stakeholders and shipwrights, fundraised for and achieved her for-exhibition (versus seaworthy) restoration in the 1990s, concerns attached to this vessel centre on the partial 'unnatural' way she has since been displayed, in an informal manner with only her hull visible (Figure 6.11), versus audiences being able to appreciate her in entirety including her upper deck and 'beautiful lines' (77a:WM60s).



Figure 6.11: *Dainty* on display at BMM; and print of her under sail by Steven Dews (British, 1949-) given to BMM by her former owners and donors Bermudians Michel and Terril Drew.

Some interpret class bias in BMM's vessel curation, and thereby express their working class identity. That BMM's small craft collection, common to many maritime museums, features a disproportionately high number of Bermuda *fitted* dinghies (Figure 6.12) customised for racing by maritime clubs with showy cedar trim, is seen by some informants as a privileging of elite and leisurely maritimity over more humble local craft, such as the working dinghy *Granma* which some complain has been off display too long, despite BMM working to redress this kind of representative imbalance. Whether concerning class or other social divisions, such dissonance often concerns curatorial representation. Informant concerns suggest that oblique maritime narratives, and boats in particular through their historical and material affect, may achieve inclusion better than more explicit or tokenistic representation such as some Commissioner's House exhibits.



Figure 6.12: On display in BMM's 'Boat Loft' (left) Bermuda fitted dinghies *Victory* and *Victory II*; and (right) working dinghies *Magic* and *Justina* (bottom).

By far the most contested narrative, frequently recounted or intimated during my fieldwork and earlier tenure, is BMM's burning of an unknown (and thus perhaps inflated) number of boats in the 1980s, early in its history but after being professionalised. Although I have not investigated the matter fully partly because of the lack of institutional transparency surrounding it, I know this was a necessary disposal from BMM's standpoint, given the vessels had been abandoned by the

community, were in an irreparable state, and solicitations for public support went unanswered.

This reasoning, to the limited extent it is communicated besides BMM's many efforts for local boats over the years,¹⁵⁹ hardly assuages local resentment on the matter, with one informant pronouncing this boat burning tantamount to cultural genocide by calling it a 'talibanisation' (3:WM30s).¹⁶⁰ Bermudians use this and other descriptions, such as the factitious 'spontaneous combustion' or '[it was] something done very skillfully and a very select few people who knew about it' (UI) to underscore the agency, intention or premeditation and thus culpability of the individuals (especially non-mariners) behind these curatorial choices and BMM, contesting their control over maritime heritage.

It is significant to this episode's contestation that these were wooden working 'indigenous vessels' (113:WM30s), some being 'original' pilot gigs evoking the early freelance era of the practice and wider sea economy (4.1). *Where* these vessels were destroyed in Dockyard is also highlighted as this *landscape*, alien to such living seaworthy vessels, further agitates and embeds this memory and fuels dissonance besides paralleling the general resentment of museums decontextualising objects. Overwriting prior narratives with this destruction, versus positively remembering how these boats were used on the water or their intangible social, meanings, paradoxically ensures the social value of these objects remains intimately tied to their materiality and BMM. Just as informants fail to recognise other and especially immaterial meanings, so too does BMM fail to recognise this dissonance as heritage in protecting itself and obfuscating such curatorial choices and allowing these narratives and the museum's one-time and perhaps changing viewpoint to go unchallenged or unrepresented.

Ironically, at least from an archaeological perspective, some informants who view these destroyed vessels as irreplaceable have permissive attitudes to the (now illegal) salvage of UCH, which BMM staunchly opposes. Criticism of this boat burning is also juxtaposed by the insistence among some informants that boats must be burned rather than face a slow and visible and thus humiliating degradation, one saying 'a lot of people do that with old boats, burning them on the water' (86:WF80s).

¹⁵⁹ As the contents of *Maritimes* and other BMM publications and curatorial archives attest.

¹⁶⁰ Refers to the notorious intentional destruction of Afghanistan's Bamyān Buddhas in 2001 by the Taliban, widely considered an act of cultural genocide.

Such contradictions highlight the community's double standards, recalling those between black and white Bermudians discussed in Chapter 5. By virtue of being a museum and, moreover, a maritime museum, BMM faces higher accountability than the community itself. This to some extent reflects a poor understanding of museum constraints, standards and ethics and how these are locally contextualised, as frequent but problematic comparison to museums elsewhere suggests:

The frustrating thing is so many other maritime museums have served as a catalyst within the community and rekindled the small craft movement, and interest in traditional craft...so individuals can consider restoring, rebuilding or replicating and being able to afford to do so in terms of being able to do it and then keep [the boats] going (89:WM50s).

While museums themselves cultivate these expectations with their focus and claims upon collections, narratives and culture, these expectations also emerge from the social value of maritimism and dissonance. We may thus conclude that maritimism as a cultural phenomena independent of museology helps to construct community expectations and resentments of maritime museums like BMM. On the other hand, this dissonance not only perpetuates maritime meanings, but museum meanings. From both directions this dissonance is a renewable heritage process. Even among the greatest value clashes I have discussed at the risk of disloyalty to BMM, such dissonance is never a closure or giving up on the social institution, but offers the potential to reclaim maritimism and the social value of the community museum.

Informants notice this return to maritimism already happening, using redemptive narratives like 'now they are getting back to it' (14:WM40s), counter to seeing museums and maritimism as predetermined static concepts. Though I focused otherwise, this underscores that even the contentious debate between Bermuda's underwater archaeologists and salvage divers is not a polarised stalemate but an evolving discussion. Dockyard is similarly evolving in its relationship with the community, not only in terms of tourism and museum developments, but in maritime terms, particularly with the growth of maritime communities there that have a distinctive nuclear character similar to the island's other authentic areas. This maritime promise is also observed in BMM's completion of Commissioner's House and redevelopment of exhibition halls in the Keep's lower grounds 'where the Museum began' featuring maritime topics and a renewed attention to boats (Figure 6.13). The extent to which greater connections with the maritime network and wider

community will be restored, upgraded or initiated in these and other curatorial processes remains to be seen, as does maritimism's place in NMB, into which BMM has only recently evolved (3.3).

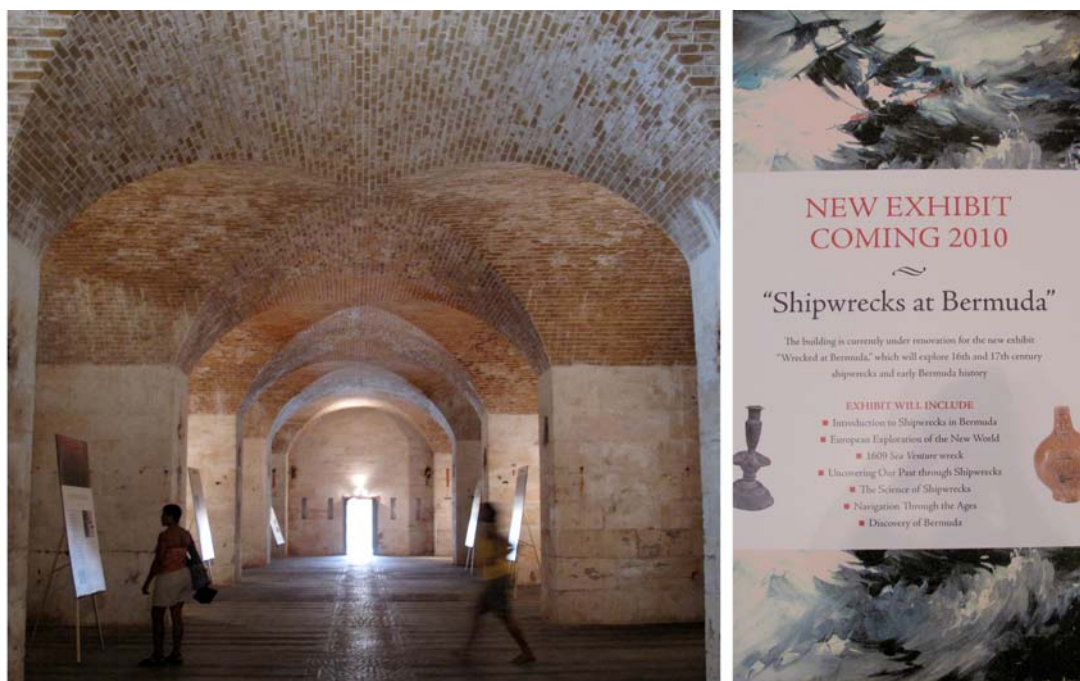


Figure 6.13: An empty Queen's Exhibition Hall (1850 Ordnance Magazine), one of several BMM exhibition halls undergoing built restoration and new maritime exhibition curation.

It is not enough that maritimism is meaningful to Bermudians personally and collectively. They want it to be highly valued by their museums and BMM especially. I hope to have shown this community-museum dissonance paradoxically speaks to the existing and potential social value of BMM as a maritime and community museum.

Chapter conclusion

Making Bermuda's maritime heritage authentic

This chapter has attempted to explicate as a particular heritage process the authenticity Bermudians believe in and use to formulate identity and community. It has examined highly localised, working class, and masculine identities and values supported by affective relationships with maritime archetypes, materiality, and museums embodying, or at variance with, this sense of authenticity. This analysis has sought to highlight an intangible qualitative layer of heritage meaning, despite often using materiality to do so, following my informants' lead. This is illustrated especially well by the experiential knowledge and skill that features so strongly in maritime Bermuda and maritimism wider, and which evokes masculinity.

The focus upon community-museum dissonance has facilitated analysis of dissonance as a key aspect of heritage theory at this time (2.1) but also facilitated this study's applied contribution in directly addressing processes which museums often ignore but which often control and delimit their community relationships. The hints of sympathy for museums found in discussing heritage meanings independent of museum control suggest the extent to which museums are constructed through community perspectives and attitudes. Fortunately for local maritime or social history museums, these community views are subject to change and even anticipate museums fulfilling their fuller community potential, eagerly so in BMM's case.

Elements of this chapter speak to how maritimity traverses meaning and scale, such as the dissonance with BMM also being about maritime and wider social meanings or the ways dichotomies of core and counter values and identities work in tension with one another. The relationship between personal and communal, and grassroots and authorised levels is particularly strong in this aspect of the analysis. The compelling closure I have associated with heritage and maritimity separately, and in combination as maritime heritage, is also strong in this authenticity discussion. By recognising and spanning these aspects of my ethnographic heritage data, I have attempted to move my thinking outside the predictable or clichéd understanding of certain concepts to underscore their diverse contextualised uses. Specifically, I have suggested that masculinity is not entirely confined by gender, that affect may involve relationships with the past and/or materiality, and that authenticity is not solely controlled by official heritage or the AHD.

So, it is not only the quantitative renewability of heritage that is highlighted, such as through dissonance and counter values and identities, but the quality of this renewability and the way distinct meanings exist in ethnographic detail as well in the wider contours of social meaning, and specifically uses of authenticity and affect. This chapter, as I have suggested much tethered heritage research does (1.2), has focused on extremes of core (and counter) values or Bermudian (and non-Bermudian) identities. The outlying maritime relationships and meanings are not presented here and these in-between dimensions are also worthy of consideration. This chapter has nonetheless, I hope, underscored the extent to which maritime heritage in Bermuda, and perhaps other contexts too, is about marking difference and individuality and equally about gaining senses of community, belonging and place.

Chapter 7

MARITIME CURATION AND COMMUNITY MUSEOLOGY

7.1 The logic of museological behaviour

Defining curation ethnographically

With a focus on Bermudian curatorial practices or ‘museological behaviour’ (Kreps 2005) this chapter naturally progresses from the last, furthering previous discussions of affect, representation and community-museum dissonance. Had I stopped at the last chapter, my analysis would be partial and museum-centric in implying Bermudians merely *react* to BMM and other museums. In missing what I interchangeably refer to as ‘curation’ or ‘museology’, I would have overlooked a key aspect of maritime heritage in Bermuda.

Of the heritage processes examined in this dissertation, curation is the most pertinent to museums being it is what they do and know best. Thus this chapter in particular has museum implications, a core objective of this dissertation. This applicability is suggested by the ease with which such ethnographically-derived ‘museology’ is confused with the academic field studying museums, also known as museum studies (1.1), and my relatively high reference to museums here compared to other chapters. Understanding the social value of curation is not merely relevant to museums but can reinforce their social value, a potentially valuable boost during the identity crisis and community disconnection they currently face (1.2).

It is with a view to boosting the social value of museums and theorising heritage in the broadest possible sense that I treat curation as just one of many heritage processes. This understanding arises from my ethnographic data, in which Bermudians demonstrate the importance of maritime curation specifically and community museology generally to their individual and collective lives, but equally that it is no more important than their other heritage uses, corroborating the complex of heritage processes explored over my five-chapter analysis. It follows that museums should not privilege museology, but see it as part of the multi-faceted phenomena of heritage at the centre of their practice, which I contend they have great potential if not responsibility to support and generate beyond what they do already.

Such balanced understanding is rarely achieved in theory and practice, however. The importance of curation within the conceptual framework of heritage

and everyday practice of museums is instead overstated. Researchers and practitioners vest too much of the social value of museums in their curatorial practices, though arguably not enough in terms of exploring grassroots curation in the wider community as this chapter does. In a progressive move, curation is increasingly qualified as heritage, and intangible heritage (Kreps 2005). It is nonetheless problematic that this happens more readily than for other heritage processes, reflecting the museum-centric, authenticity-laden construction of heritage discourse (2.1). Moreover, the relative ease of exploring museology and qualifying it as heritage does not necessarily mean museology is proportionally well understood and applied, especially in its interaction with other heritage processes.

It is not yet a question of privileging museology at BMM and Bermuda's other museums because even this aspect of heritage goes under-utilised. It is little wonder museums and heritage researchers miss other heritage processes when they fail to explore museology, whether it occurs within official practice or further afield in the community. Yet, curation in particular presents an opportunity for Bermuda's museums to make the kind of 'quantum leap' I speculated might be more available to such small retrograde sectors (2.3); in being less fixed on curation, the local sector may more easily move towards a more balanced and complex understanding and application of heritage.

This chapter consequently explores curatorial practices relating to the sea lying beyond BMM and Bermuda's other official museums. Doing so raises methodological questions about how this layer of heritage meaning is defined and discerned. As an ethnographic response looking at what makes maritime curation valuable to Bermudians, this chapter echoes previous studies of community museology in different parts of the world. Such analysis reaffirms that the museum concept does not just originate from official discourse, but from curation being a means for communities and the individuals constituting them to express and define themselves. By looking at curation on its own terms outside authorised notions, this sort of work decentralises the mainstream museum and highlights museology as a cultural phenomena that official practice not only influences but reflects.

In treating museology as only one dimension of heritage it stands among and equal to the other heritage processes explored in this dissertation and thus is afforded the same explicit bounded analysis. This covers not only geographic but analytic terrain, unpacking curation so as to argue this heritage subprocess is itself multi-

faceted. At the same time as unpacking more precise workings and meanings of maritime curation in Bermuda, I am after what binds together this ‘complex of cultural expressions’ (Kreps 2005:3). Through the diverse examples and ideas that follow, I not only showcase a plurality of Bermudian maritime curation but attempt to understand its logic or why it occurs at all.

Specifically, I argue it is a sense of agency over the island’s social and material world that binds curation and qualifies it as heritage. As an overall logic, this agency not only gives curation definition and distinguishes it from other heritage processes but from wider cultural practices. The dominance of curation in heritage theory and museum practice is not only a function of authorised influences but attributable to the process being agency-rich for community curators, their museums and audiences.

Yet, defining maritime curation ethnographically at the grassroots level or within Bermuda’s ‘unofficial museum sector’ (Crooke 2008b) still involves comparison to official museology. Like scholars have explored the difference and similarities between western and non-western museology (Simpson 1996, Kreps 2003, Chua 2008), I not only seek to expand the museum concept beyond official museology, but to think about how Bermudian maritime curation works in relation to that dominant epistemological framework. While this official-unofficial relationship is sometimes one of symmetry and sometimes one of variance, the agency uniting this museological complex spans both.

Together those symmetries and variances thus provide a valid basis to explore more precise curatorial meanings. They feature throughout the remainder of this chapter and divide the next two parts of this section, as well as the subsequent discussions of unofficial maritime museums and performances of maritimity to a lesser degree. Whether the official influences the unofficial or vice versa in the data being analysed is less interesting besides more difficult (or impossible) to ascertain, than asking *why* these curatorial practices occur from a sociological standpoint. Focusing less on influence and more on meaning, my interpretation strives to move beyond simplistic interpretations that official views and the AHD might gravitate to in a validating ‘best practice’ mode, towards deeper understanding of curation on official and unofficial levels, offering more valuable theoretical findings and museum implications.

Museological symmetries

Being a study of museology in a decidedly western cultural context, this chapter contrasts with the plethora of non-western ‘indigenous’ studies in recent years but aligns with the modern Eurocentric model they disrupt. Standard western definitions of museology centering on preservation and representation, or processes of assemblage and conservation and exhibitionary techniques, are accurate for the island’s official museums as well as the more unofficial maritime curation explore here.

Bermudians gather knowledge and material around maritimity. They also fit knowledge and narratives to the material culture available and generally draw heavily on materiality in curation, analogous to much official museology. As important as I have argued it is to open up heritage and notions of affect beyond materiality (2.1), there is a constant reaffirmation of the object and collection in maritime Bermuda.

The importance of assemblage was evident in informants’ collections consisting of a medley of maritime things, often reflecting the diverse loci in Bermuda’s maritime heritagescape (4.2). This disparity conflicts with the categorisation of objects by museums, especially according to age, materiality and other indices of authenticity, but ultimately reflects the reason they do so, as institutions that bring together and give order to an array of things. The singular compelling theme of maritimity strongly draws and holds diverse collections together, for my Bermudian informants and maritime museums.

The mixed collection united by maritimity was exemplified by one informant who decided, late in our interview after I perhaps gained his trust, to show me a whaling torpedo and pocket watch belonging to his grandfather, a renown local whaler awarded the inscribed watch for rescuing survivors of the munitions carrier *Pollokshield* when she wrecked off Bermuda’s south shore in 1915, today a popular dive site. These heirlooms, he explained, were passed onto him specifically as the family member with the closest relationship to the sea and as a representative of the younger generation. Alongside those objects representing his grandfather’s maritime legacy he shared objects representing his own as a commercial fisherman, maritime enthusiast and marine environmentalist, such as a photographic collage of his personal encounter with a whale shark. His diverse collection (Figure 7.1) thus served as a maritime thread connecting generations of his family but also ensured his own life experience was not overshadowed.



Figure 7.1: Fisherman and all-around mariner Andrew Marshall shares his grandfather's whaling torpedo and pocket watch, and photographic collage of his whale shark encounter.

Converse to such medley were multiple maritime collections consisting of the same types of objects. While ostensibly the same, such duplicates are individually and collectively meaningful. This reflects the duplicity of museum collections under the 'spell' of collecting¹⁶¹ but also how museums and their practitioners draw unique value from collections and their constituent parts. Yet, these grassroots maritime collections stay curated by or otherwise connected to those for whom they hold most meaning and where their original provenance may rest, contrasting with the way museums disassociate objects from contexts thus inhibiting object individuality and new material relationships as heritage. Each cap tally in a Sea Cadet Corps leader's collection represents a different ship, voyage and personal memory and experience. Likewise, each photo in one young Bermudian's personal album marks a unique moment of seafaring during *Spirit's* maiden voyage, and, more important to his identity, his life. These examples of multiple collections retaining their contextualisation and thereby continuing to generate curatorial and other heritage meaning (Figure 7.2) preempt my discussion of local maritime youth development

¹⁶¹ Recalling arguments that multiple objects are identical that are often used by publics contesting control of material culture, including community-museum dissonance regarding Bermuda's UCH and BMM specifically (Andrews 2005a).

groups in Chapter 9, but allow me to highlight the way personal meaning of such objects can outweigh their wider community meaning.



Figure 7.2: (Top) Sea Cadet leader Jason Simons shares his collection of cap tallies; (bottom) Edward Stowe III fishing aboard *Spirit* during her 2006 maiden voyage, with glare from rephotographing his album, which he brought to our interview.

Mixed and multiple collections recall how official museums order and collate information and time, often in typological or linear fashions, or take an aggregation approach to culture and history. Some of the community's maritime collections similarly record maritimity or otherwise keep it in order, such as the mariner who 'has her stack of [Bermuda fitted] dinghy photos...[that are] all organised' (123:WM50s). This ordering preserves the detail of memory and may meet a sense of obligation to the past, as when an informant reassured me he 'may have more details written down someplace' (82:WM50s). In a chance encounter, a fisherman (88:OM50s) showed me his photo album of 'only rockfish¹⁶² with the date and weight of each he has 'ever caught' methodically noted alongside each Polaroid (Figure 7.3). He not only underscored the archetypal status of the elusive endangered species and the meaning of multiple collections, but the importance of keeping his achievements ordered in this more portable version of a trophy case or fish taxidermy so common to maritime museums. Such collections capture and categorise the fleeting, intangible and

¹⁶² Or grouper, so-called for their aggregating habits and which actually encompasses several species.

qualitative, in this case the moments, skills and pride accrued over a lifetime on the water. Immaterial and fluid maritime meaning is concretised and personalised through such curation, yielding a sense of agency over the maritime and material world.



Figure 7.3: Fisherman Aldo Pace's album of every rockfish he has ever caught, with weights and dates noted.

As the above examples suggest, it is not only having collections but interpreting and sharing them that realise curatorial agency. Bermudians engage with the maritime world not only through materiality, but through human inter-relations. It is in such mutuality that display fits Dicks' (2000) definition of heritage as a 'communicative practice' particularly well. Bermudian reliance on traditional exhibitionary practices, using didactic curator-to-audience transmission, is not isolated to official museums. Community curators also rely on simple acts of physical display, despite their seeming so retrograde in the island's (and world's) accelerated media and virtual culture. Display must offer Bermudians a sense of agency, one that perhaps goes beyond the inherent power of making representations.

Still, that authorised sense of control over representation was evident in this dissertation's image use, in a meta-level example from the research process itself. Discerning informants only granted me permission to depict their vessels at their fullest capacity or aesthetic-kinaesthetic best, such as under full sail without any

luffing. While imperceptible to the layman, these mariner curators made a sharp distinction between acceptable and unacceptable images, similar to the interpretive precision and control of many official curators. This recalls and helps explain the trend if not expectation for mariners or other maritime specialists or connoisseurs to control curation in maritime museums (2.2) and the community-museum dissonance that ensues when this capacity is perceived to be lacking, as with BMM (6.3). Though some of this image vetting bordered on intrusive and too time-consuming – reminding me of the realistic limits of community consultation – I realised these representational demands and subtleties were not esoteric indulgence or control for control’s sake. Rather, they communicated a belief in authenticity and awareness that interpretive choice affects meaning, signalling a multi-layered appreciation of curation that informants wished to subtly communicate to me.

Often accompanying such curatorial authenticity was an assignment of blame, similar to the blame attached to nostalgia (5.2) but focused on curation or maritimetry’s loss or damage. I commonly heard frustrated and even fierce judgments of community curation, or the lack thereof since the absence of social practices did not preclude their being criticised and idealised. The critique of entitlement so prevalent in this context is particularly sharp within curatorial judgments such as:

It constantly bugged me the way things that were historically important...were being abused, things of great value were being left on walls where light was shining in...and nothing quite made sense, the story had been all jumbled over (101:OM50s).

Such findings among everyday Bermudians suggest curatorial blame is not restricted to being voiced by official practitioners, among whom it tends to feature privately as a taboo resentment of community conflicting with new museology. Whether amongst professional or lay curators, however, such blame utilises authenticity and presumes heritage deficiency.

The combination of blame and authenticity was evident in Bermudian concerns for the *Deliverance* as she fell into disrepair (Figure 7.4), a status contrary to the respect some felt she deserved, one informant remarking ‘[Bermuda has] got a boat promoting [maritime history] and look at the state of it...I’m a critic’ (189:BM60s). Though a ‘replica’ in only the most liberal sense being built in 1967 for tourism purposes, Bermudians treat this ‘historical boat’ as an authentic artefact. This cannot be dismissed as simple ignorance or a mistaking of her provenance, but must be interpreted as a use of authenticity that supports and conceals this object’s

contemporary meaning. Beyond being a nationalistic historic representation,¹⁶³ *Deliverance* is an important symbol of tourism's significant impact on Bermudian identity and community. Perhaps even more meaningful is her symbolism of education and childhood stemming from Bermudian memories of school fieldtrips to the replica ship.¹⁶⁴ Such a belief in authenticity, and the contemporary meaning it carries, can have tangible consequences that generate additional heritage meaning. Calls for the 'restoration' of *Deliverance* by a 'shipwright' contributed to her being saved from demolition and refurbished by a traditional boatbuilder and installed with multimedia exhibits in 2009,¹⁶⁵ refreshing the maritime landmark for new audiences.



Figure 7.4: The *Deliverance* replica at Ordnance Island, St. George's, adjacent to the cruise ship terminal, before her 2009 'restoration'.

The large visible example above segues into another official-unofficial museological symmetry, the 'public' nature of much maritime curation in Bermuda. There is a self-consciousness surrounding much of this community museology and especially representations as communicative acts and public spectacles. Much of this is explicitly constructed as 'heritage' and treated in a clichéd uncritical manner seeking to meet audience expectations. The performative defined character of these events

¹⁶³ *Deliverance* was one of two ships, the other being *Patience*, built by the survivors of *Sea Venture* (4.1, Note 85) in which they carried provisions to the struggling British colony of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1610.

¹⁶⁴ Similar to childhood memories of BMM, despite BMM never having an education department (2.3).

¹⁶⁵ By St. George's Foundation with boatbuilder Michael Hooper and consultants Brimstone Media Ltd., with support from Bank of Bermuda Foundation.

suggests how some identity and community formation, especially at more collective levels, requires a certain level of public representation and support. Such curatorial activity aligns with official museology yet contrasts with less self-conscious and socially embedded maritime heritage that seems to more-naturally occur, such as live maritime culture (4.3). Within this public alignment of official-unofficial museology lies a private-public tension, that lays behind community-museum disconnection in Bermuda and regarding BMM (6.3). This private-public tension extends to my separation of identity and community, a pairing that features throughout this dissertation as the basis of heritage.

Museological variances

Simultaneous to or even part of the sort of museological symmetries explored above, are variances with official museology. Beyond more overt distinctions and despite the above symmetries, official and unofficial museology do not necessarily share the same motivations and meanings. In unpacking curation in order to get at its more precise workings and overall meaning, I consequently found myself centring on less conventional notions of curation. Specifically, the museological symmetries observed were juxtaposed and balanced by a rejection of heritage as it is defined by authenticity. This rejection was not always total or straightforward, however, but sometimes used alongside authenticity or in a contradictory manner. The examples below suggest an ability to juxtapose and even resolve official and unofficial museology that maintains Bermudian curatorial agency in addition to Bermuda's cultural distinctiveness.

In one such resolution, a pair of informants told me about their collaborative efforts in the early 1990s to develop an archive on local maritime practices, especially fishing. They spoke of how they conducted archival research and interviewed mariners, especially those with direct memory of traditional practices, catering to authenticity and nostalgia (4.2). But alongside stressing their accurate preservation of 'history' and technical detail, they also stressed their non-academic, interdisciplinary and broad approach to maritimity. They additionally expressed a 'desire to make people feel recognised' (59:WF50s), partly in a tacit judgment of official museum curation without such community collaboration and acknowledgment. Such combining of authorised authentic museological notions with more dynamic democratic ones is possible for community curators who are keenly aware of and

utilise the agency of their subaltern independent status, a more difficult combination for the official museum and curator.

Looking below the surface of curatorial activity or how researchers and practitioners might expect to find this museology, it becomes clear that the material focus categorised earlier in this chapter as a museological symmetry is often about curating more intangible heritage. This use of materiality for immaterial knowledge and culture was evident in the case of a sail maker who, invoking nostalgia for dying maritime practices (4.2), connected past and present skill, including his own, through ‘an old sail’ in his possession that he described as ‘handmade, unbelievable’ (55:WM50s). Further to the above point and though heritage is an entirely intangible process (2.1) that nonetheless regularly involves materiality, it is still notable that the curation of some maritime objects was not dependent on their material presence. Remembrance or imagination of things did not only depend upon such actualities and illustrated how far informants’ agency over curation goes, besides contrasting with the object-orientation of museums, including the maritime museum boat ‘fetish’ (2.2). Despite temporal distance or material destruction, Bermudians maintain relationships with things meaningful to their maritime and wider identities and senses of place, belonging and community, such as a branch pilot who recalled: ‘At sixteen, I learned every inch of [a chart of St. George’s Harbour], a real gift to me. Unfortunately I don’t have it today, it just disintegrated...That was my jewel’ (143:BM70s). Though the loss of such objects was often stressed, to the extent loss increases an object’s value, informants also stressed the persistence of material memory or the continuing affect things have on their lives. An ex-seaman, who long worked aboard the famous and locally-meaningful cruise liner said ‘that painting of *Queen of Bermuda* always stuck with me to this day’ (103:WM40s). Even when maritime objects were lost, informants tended to use them as their mainline to past maritimes. When one informant described the way a diver before the advent of SCUBA ‘made his own mask out of wood and double-ply glass’ (63:WM80s), he used the object to evoke the diver’s ingenuity and resourcefulness rather than directly expressing this, despite both this materiality and mariner being confined to memory. Such immaterial extensions of materiality suggest the evocative power of objects.

Another curatorial act that is less a function of memory than imagination is the supposition of maritime things that might still exist. Some informants, especially collectors, expressed a belief in a wealth of material out in the community,

undiscovered and waiting, as in ‘I’m sure sheds in St. David’s are full of these things’ (85:WM40s). Similarly, a couple living at an old whaling station said there were ‘no tools found, only parts of the whale’ (150a:WM60s), as if to extend their collection. This is similar to museum curators, especially in small, readily conceptualised and territorialised communities and (is)landscapes like Bermuda’s, who express a wider sense of stewardship in order to assert their curatorial identity and power. And yet, such imaginings are less available to the official curator who might extend a presumption of public heritage deficiency to curation, seeing the museological behaviour of the wider community as limited, perhaps viewing past-material relationships as particularly finite due to the influence of authenticity. Beyond such proprietary senses, Bermudian maritime material relations were not restricted to personal ownership. Objects belonging to or associated with others were noted as important in themselves and as curated objects. A commercial but eco-conscious fisherman noted another fisherman who fits the profile of the lone full-time mariner perfectly (6.2) and ‘has a log going back to 1960s’ (44:WM40s), an artefact embodying the maritimity and authenticity he admires in his fellow mariner.

Informants also raised objects they felt deserved to be curated or better preserved and/or displayed. One informant said of a particular vessel, ‘she should have a half model in the [maritime] club. That should be there no matter what’ (101:OM50s) referring to and challenging that unofficial maritime museum’s criteria for display. Another Bermudian expressed concerns about the surviving but vulnerable workshop and collections of the late shipwright and maritime epitome Geary Pitcher (6.2):

It’s like the guy just walked out of there. It’s all going to disappear. Somebody has got to go get the moulds...Last time he used [a piece of equipment for steaming planks] it was probably the best boat he built (113:WM30s).

Departing sharply from such museological concerns and the above preservationist and exhibitionary practices and uses of authenticity, some informants exhibited a decided lack of concern about maritime culture and collections. This uncritical and sometimes irreverent attitude makes allowances for or pardons poor or absent curation. Some went further still to judge curation as an extravagance, especially when competing with the practicalities of livelihood and other live culture. A career boat builder remarked that his personal collection of tools and photos ‘would have been useless to keep’ (106:WM70s), precisely because they mattered so much if not only in their

original use. This benign or deliberate neglect extends to a more collective level. Maritime institutions, such as the (Government) Department of Marine & Ports and especially its piloting stations representing the epitomised practice and its place-based associations (6.2), were not expected nor judged for possessing little material legacy, nor for failing to contribute surviving objects and knowledge to local museums or otherwise preserving or displaying them. This contrasts strikingly to the high curatorial expectations and resentments of BMM (6.3) and other official museums.

In some instances, the choice not to collect relates to the meaning of the transience of materiality, which is particularly applicable to maritime objects including boats given their use and the aggressive effects of saltwater. Diminished curation also highlights immaterial skill and achievement, as was the case with a collector of antique boat engines and various boat builders who preferred not to keep an archive of the objects and vessels that passed in and out of their lives. I found these apathetic or defensive curatorial attitudes surprising and refreshing, not only due to my own museological preconceptions, but due to the noticeable absence of blame and judgment of entitlement that usually features so strongly in my data. This lack of curatorial concern and entitlement critique is used to highlight the object's original use and meaning that cannot be recaptured, in a deployment of authenticity that keeps the object ever-relevant and dynamic. So, even in a lack of curation there is agency.

Beyond more obvious rejections of authenticity, certain workings of heritage as a cultural phenomena that can be conceptualised under one theoretical framework came into relief through the contrast between official and unofficial museology. Among these was the way heritage is multi-layered or realised on base- and meta-levels. This came into perhaps greatest relief in terms of curation being a communicative act, that the process consists of the communicative process of museology itself and informant communication of that process to others. The meaning of narratives and objects do not exist in a vacuum but are activated in the curatorial process of being selected, stored, collected, and especially through being told, displayed or otherwise represented. And although curatorial processes are clearly meaningful in themselves, in the moment in which they occur, social value also accrues in their reflection or anticipation.

Whereas official curation can be one-dimensional, with museums sometimes curating without a sense of wider purpose as if for its intrinsic sake, I needed look no further than my fieldwork for the activating or reactivating of meaning via

communication. Informants seized the opportunity to convert interviews into ‘interacting spaces’, communicating their curatorial experiences and attitudes. In doing so, they reminded how the most detailed minutiae and mundane aspects of museum work may be tedious and overlooked in everyday practice but nonetheless generate social value. My own actions during interviews and other fieldwork were telling of this meta-level communication. By recording knowledge and material I was not only gathering data but tacitly communicating my shared curatorial appreciation. This was partly to meet informants’ expectations of me as a local heritage practitioner and museum curator, and partly to validate their role as (co-)curators, redressing the appropriation of grassroots curatorial agency by official curators like me.

Particularly as communication, much of the curation in maritime Bermuda is supported if not entirely motivated by the idea of building or sustaining community. The sense of collaborative curation that can be so enjoyable yet challenging for professional curators was strong among my community informants. Highlight of the collaborative nature or involvement of various people is by no means confined to maritime curation and other activity. It is certainly reminiscent of Bermudian nostalgia for cooperative house building among neighbors and wider clan areas, especially among the black and/or working class community. It also recalls the way museums tout their community outreach under the new museology (2.1). This is not so much about the activity or product but about the process of doing so together, which easily evokes a sense of collective agency, and in turn constructs community, especially among the maritime network. Detail about who participates or ‘helps’ is important, as identifying who is contributing helps build a sense of compelling closure, like acknowledging museum donors. This acknowledgment of others paradoxically builds one’s curatorial identity, in an almost altruistic way or like an extension of the valorisation of human archetypes and the values they represent (6.2).

With such collaborative ‘projects’, there is a coming together of people and material for a singular purpose that the space and dissonance between the authorised and grassroots can sometimes preclude. This collaborative spirit and the aggregation of cultural knowledge and material it generates recalls the community’s enthusiastic response to donate a large amount of cedar wood to *Spirit* (6.2), and, in a non-maritime example, to loan photographs for scanning for the Royal Gazette’s compilations ‘Our Story, Our People’ (2003, 2004, 2005), as well as providing knowledge or material for official heritage initiatives, such as BMM’s exhibits. This

acknowledgment and value of assemblage to the community and as a means of building community is illustrated by Faiella's (2003) book 'Fishing in Bermuda', which Bermudians regard as an important collation and representation of this key local maritime practice.

Similarly, there is an awareness of the collections of others, and the efforts to generate them. This usually refers to material collections as '[he] may have marlin eye socket ashtrays...that white bone, it's different [from this bone]' (47:WM30s), though intangible collections like oral histories are equally if not more highly valued and praised, with instances of mariners collecting from other mariners garnering high attention. This attribution stands in contrast to the lack of acknowledgment by official heritage and museums that generates community-museum dissonance.

Part of this community building paradoxically arises from the dissonance generated by curation. Unsurprisingly, but appropriately, the legacy of race again features in the museological dimension of maritime heritage in Bermuda. Class is more occluded but also present in such racial references, which are often subtle due to the fragile politics surrounding them. Referring to his engagement with other Bermudians in his collection and representation of maritime material, a white informant spoke of a 'slight racial element and reluctance...you really have to prove yourself' (113:WM30s). I related to this having experienced such distrust and suspicion during this research project and my earlier BMM tenure, with the most extreme instance being when I was accused by a local curator of plagiarising material, simply by virtue of studying her exhibits to learn more about a topic for my curatorial and research purposes. The relatively strong desire I had when writing this chapter to acknowledge unofficial curators, through the various textual and visual examples presented, reflects a concern developed from such 'teachable moments' to avoid repeating that kind of official insensitivity and appropriation. Such efforts serve as a kind of counterbalance to community-museum dissonance and distrust, one that might be considered a form of reparation or apology.

Beyond the identity politics of race and class, museology is an aspect of heritage particularly prone to conflict. The sense of ownership or control over heritage, culture and identity, which is often accompanied by proprietary and exclusive attitudes, mainly stems from the agency curation expresses and yields. Dissonance also serves to effectively build the curatorial identities of individuals or groups as it does with respect to other processes of heritage. This agency is thus less

available to heritage sectors and museums, like Bermuda's, that maintain apolitical attitudes and avoid conflict, isolating themselves from such identity and community mechanisms.

The agency over curation also came into relief compared to official museology on the more personal or individual level, with some informants truly making it their own. For all its communication, curation is no less personal a heritage process than others in the sense of its meaning or social value to the curator or audience. The enthusiasm for and personal satisfaction gained from such projects stems from their being interactions with knowledge, content, material and people. Take one informant who told me of his plans to produce a book about

the wooden boats that are here today...not about the history of wooden boats so much, of course that will be part of it, but it is more about the boats that are here now. Whether they were built here or not, those boats and their owners struggle to keep them going and their history (25:WM50s).

He is motivated by community and perhaps some of the same interest and nostalgia guiding researchers who document local maritime practices, especially boat building (Butler forthcoming). Yet, his personal satisfaction was also strong. 'I am just loving walking around boat yards finding old wooden boats and their histories, going around in my boat taking photos at all times of day, and meeting people I have never met who have great stories about these boats and themselves' (25:WM50s). While official and unofficial curators have representational power or interpretive control, the community curator seems to have an extra level of agency. He or she engages in museological behaviour on a purely voluntarily basis or entirely for its own sake without so much institutional dependency, distinct from the vested practitioner.

Whereas numerous Bermudians proactively assemble collections and create displays, others find their curatorial roles thrust upon them, in a lack of agency similar to that among Bermuda's practitioners (2.3) but contrary to the postmodern 'secular' curator who typically enters the field for professional reasons, though more personal attachments may develop. Still, these and other community curators may not only accept, but communicate a respect for and may even wish to earn their stewardship role, not only taking on the responsibility for the heirlooms, sites and other material and knowledge they inherit but explicitly communicating their appreciation, and thus earning the privilege of doing so. So even an apparent lack of agency over curation or museum making is turned into one that is agency-rich.

7.2 Unofficial maritime museums

Private representation

I now dedicate attention to the unofficial maritime museums in which many of the above practices of collecting and display are activated. Recognising such museum making raises official-unofficial tensions and the museum ‘reinvention’ indicating community-museum disconnection in Bermuda (2.3). Yet, here I wish to move beyond interpreting these unofficial museums as competitors or detractors to the official sector to instead duly acknowledge such museum making as a distinctive and key aspect of curation. It is not just due to the dominance of the past-material bias and traditional exhibition that much of what follows echoes official museology. It is because of ‘the importance of objects and collections as a means for a community to represent itself, both to its own members and to those on the outside’ (Crooke 2008:6), which also extends to Bermudians ‘outside’ the maritime network.

I present these unofficial maritime museums and displays in order of their accessibility, moving from private to public, in line with the chapter’s overall structure, with this museum mid-section sandwiched between more private curatorial practices and more public performances. Since accessibility (among other factors) affects a museum’s size and scope, the following examples consist, like Bermuda’s heritage sector (2.3), of ‘a variety of institutions at a variety of scales’ (Crang 2003:256). Most, however, are not as developed as museums highlighted in other studies of community museology, partly because of Bermuda’s small size and partly because they emerge from individual curators or grassroots groups. These museums are no less meaningful to their curators, and audiences if applicable, highlighting a process over product that is too often inverted in the island’s official museums (2.3).

My exposure to the private ways Bermudians preserve, collect and interpret maritime knowledge and material, occurred in the most personal and mundane of spaces, including the home. There, maritime memory and/or ongoing relationships with the sea are regular features in the lives of curators and their immediate relations. Some collections are only displayed privately or are kept in a suspended state of pre-display, suggesting curation is not always so communicative or that audiences are not a prerequisite, unlike official museum reliance on exhibition and visitation.

This privacy did not preclude informants from sharing their collections and displays with me when I entered their personal realms, usually as a stranger. Some

used our interviews like the ‘intersecting spaces’ of contemporary museums (Crooke 2008b)(2.1), communicating knowledge and narratives and handling and displaying objects. Though I encouraged this (3.3), I detected little hesitation no matter how private the space or collection, as if informants were awaiting the opportunity. I am, of course, unaware of what was not shared with me, which I was paradoxically more aware of when illicit collections were a possibility, as regarding UCH.

The aforementioned whaling station (Figure 7.5) was one of several home maritime museums I had opportunity to explore. The resident couple’s curation combined uncontrolled inheritance, community responsibility and personal agency. It also combined landscape and objects, with their maritime museum consisting of the house architecture and grounds including a depression in the ‘bank of rock to one side [that was] a place to throw whales tail’ and a ‘water tank, [which may have had] extra water for whaling’. They also noted more portable artefacts like whale skeletal remains and iron try pots used to extract oil from blubber. It is despite their lack of agency in the first instance and by virtue of the meaning this history and materiality holds for the island, especially as something ‘possibly unique in Bermuda’, that this couple willingly adopts a curatorial role, saying they feel ‘very lucky to have [the] responsibility’. More than just saying so, they actively curate their home. They display whale vertebrae for ‘locals and tourists’ on their dock, prepare for such visitors by studying ‘articles about the history of whaling in Bermuda’, and prevent degradation of their inherited collections by periodically moving them inside, privileging conservation above display as many official curators do.



Figure 7.5: Peter and Diana Beckett of ‘The Whale House’ with try pots used to boil whale blubber, a whale vertebrae and 19th Century image of the Smith’s Island site, August 2007.

Though such curators were male and female and did not remark on it themselves, I could not help but notice how this domestication moves maritimity into traditionally feminine spaces. This contrasts with the gendered memory of past maritimes and the 17-19th Century maritime époque (4.1), when free and enslaved female Bermudians remained ‘on island’ while their male counterparts went to sea or otherwise connected with the islandscape and wider Atlantic world through shipbuilding and seafaring. So, while such history and heritage narrows the racial divide but widens that of gender, the private maritime museum subtly redresses such gender imbalance. The highly stationary and concealed character of such private museums also contrasts with the highly experiential, physical and visible character of much maritimity, in addition to its often large scale nature, especially concerning boats. The presence of this material in everyday life among one’s most intimate relationships and social spaces somehow reclaims patriarchy, and yet retains the masculinity so associated with maritimity. Masculinity is especially evoked by the physical sensory nature of the object and landscape relations such museums provide. It is also found in these being storytelling spaces, thus supporting masculine-maritime tendencies to romanticise and dramatise narratives. Though Bermudian women are perhaps just as likely to be mariners or maritime enthusiasts in today’s post-feminist world, even within machismo-laden islands and Afro-Anglo-Caribbean cultures like Bermuda, the heteronormative home is where men and women share in maritimity, bridging the gender divide and, specifically, its split along private-public lines.

Beyond speculating about the reclamation and balancing of femininity and masculinity, it is clear these private museums offer agency to those who curate them. The one-on-one engagements provided by these private museums and displays, as well as my fieldwork interviews, may be largely absent in the public areas of official museums, but feature heavily in behind-the-scenes curatorial work, though I argue they still go under-utilised.

Semi-private representation

Continuing to move from private to public, I now look at museums and displays that are more accessible but not entirely. These semi-private maritime museums do not so much follow new museology’s tenet of full public access as they do its parallel commitment to privileged access, such as for source communities (Peers and Brown 2003). In contravening notions of public access, community-museum dissonance and

private-public tension was high at this semi-private level. Clearly, the main objective of these unofficial museums and displays is not visitor numbers. This contrasts with many official museums as visitor attractions and public spaces satisfying public demand and operational needs with measurable outputs, especially under the fiscal values that guide Bermuda's heritage sector (2.3).

The upshot of the restriction to these semi-private museums is a compelling closure that restricts quantity but heightens quality. This is often inverted in official museology, and specifically recalls the international UK-led discourse of free admission policies which have successfully expanded museum audiences but generally failed to more meaningful and sustainably connect them with museums. While these and many official maritime museums are ostensibly open so that anyone might gain access, there is a barrier to access in that only those with the will and interest to cross their thresholds do. A maritime connection is required. Certainly, I was only initially driven towards and subsequently permitted into these semi-private spaces by virtue of doing *bona fide* research. In unofficial and official maritime museums (2.2), maritimity subtly but effectively restricts access, curating a specific heritage by and for certain people. Those privy to knowledge about and access to these museums, via and including curators or other gatekeepers who 'have keys, they could let you in' (42:WF50s), thus have a sense of privilege, recalling sacred keeping places and collections restricted to those with privileged rights.¹⁶⁶ This restricted access is also 'locals-only' in terms of requiring insider knowledge and relationships, particularly within the maritime network, in contrast with the tourist orientation of the heritage sector and Bermuda overall (2.3).

The Fishermen's Room illustrates this compelling closure well (Figure 7.6). I visited this unofficial museum for the first time – notably *after* my BMM tenure as an indication of community-museum disconnection – accompanying young Bermudians on a BNT 'History Camp' fieldtrip, one of many utilising the wider islandscape and community curators in the shifts to new museology (2.3). The Coney Island location in the east end near St. David's and adjacent to the Government Fisheries Department, former site of the 'co-op, where fishermen used to meet...go for their weekly pow-wows' (42:WF50s) reflects the ecomuseum philosophy besides contrasting with the individualism, competition and distrust among fishermen today. There is a differential

¹⁶⁶ Especially regarding aboriginal Australia and museums redressing their colonial past, such as the Cambridge University's Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology.

value ascribed to audiences in the desire to ‘take [fishermen] to that room, take them there and inspire them’ (42:WF50s). The stockpile cluttered character of this one-room museum, with traditional fishing equipment and other maritime ephemera ‘all over the walls’, contributes to the value of this assemblage for its curators, contributors and others privy to its existence. The curator’s explanation and demonstration of the equipment’s traditional uses to the young campers and their immediate implementation of this through fishing off the dock and rocks nearby, suggests this museum is not only about remembering traditional or ‘dying’ practices but sustaining and transmitting them, especially intergenerationally and via experiential learning. Informants do so to actively combat nostalgia (4.2) and an entitlement to *not* know and value fishing or other maritime practices and heritage. The long-time, voluntary efforts of certain fisheries officers to curate this museum itself counters entitled attitudes and reflects the grassroots motivation to make museums, besides disrupting bureaucratic stereotypes about civil servants. I suspect the way collections overflow into the offices of these curators is more than surplus, but displays their curatorial role and identity on a daily level in their workplace where they regularly interact with fishermen and others in the maritime network.



Figure 7.6: (Top) Norbert Simmons demonstrates objects from the Fishermen’s Room collection to BNT History Campers, who (bottom), immediately afterwards, fish with the help of Fisheries staff off the Coney Island dock and rocks, July 2007.

The spatial spread of these museums across the islandscape is important to restricting access to certain groups and thus contributes to compelling closure. It might seem remarkable that a 21-square mile island with a population under 70,000 has museums and displays embedded in specific places. Yet, the island's exponential quality is so naturalised it goes quite unnoticed by Bermudians and sees them supporting museum 'reinvention' (3.1). Such museum proliferation is attributable to Bermuda as a small-scale society, with the island's churches, schools, clubs, gangs and so on being similarly prolific. Yet, it is also a function of the stationary nature of museums, limited to their physical location but also bound to such places, which BMM's isolation and embeddedness in Dockyard exemplifies well. This spatial spread of museums is similar on an islandwide level yet contrary on a sublocal level to the desire among practitioners to consolidate heritage and culture, especially its portable material forms. This understanding challenges my proposal for greater consolidation in local heritage and museums, and specifically under BMM now as NMB (2.3).

On a secondary level of restriction, such museums – often due to the small size of their space and/or collections – do not distinguish between 'stage' and 'backstage', so to speak. With everything 'out' on display, the audience has full access. While similar to some of Bermuda's smaller museums which enjoy high community trust via this collections-display transparency, these seamless spaces contrast with Bermuda's more professionalised compartmentalised museums. BMM is chief among these, its curatorial work largely kept private with choosing in isolation what is worthy of display, generating community-museum dissonance (6.3).

Being embedded in distinct parts of the islandscape or clan areas as well as important sites for maritimity and community, and nostalgia and live culture (4.2), it is unsurprising that Bermuda's maritime clubs are important sites of preservation and display, if not maritime museums in their own right. Their restriction continues inside the clubs where – much like the stage-backstage separation in museums like BMM – spaces are set aside for the storage and/or showing of collections. Access to such spaces and displays is sometimes restricted to or among members, and, in rare instances of residual gender-segregation, to men only. At least racial segregation is a thing of the past, notwithstanding unofficial divides between black and white clubs and other local institutions and spaces (5.2). These clubs also tend to separate curatorial from informal spaces, like bars, that may showcase less precious and more informal and non-maritime material.

Although the RBYC's refurbished and recurated 'model room' is located near the club's entrance and easily accessed by members and visitors (Figure 7.7), it intentionally retains an air of formality. This is evident in the way the room's volunteer curator says the space exclusively represents prize-winning sailing vessels and their crews – via trophies, half models, photographs and other objects – and was painted 'a very subtle grey [that] keeps the antiquity of the room from being sucked out' (101:WM50s). Such curatorial spaces embody the ideal combination of access and compelling closure that maritime and other contemporary museums strive for guided by the new museology yet still influenced by authenticity.



Figure 7.7: RBYC's 'model room', newly refurbished and recurated in 2007.

Taking the compelling closure of maritimity to a slightly more public level is an enormous photograph collage covers the walls of Hamilton's Fly, Bridge Tackle fishing store (Figure 7.8). Commercial, recreational, amateur and junior fishermen are pictured with their catch or 'the fish that did not get away' according to the store's owner. He and his staff reel off names and dates and have sorted the photos according to species – rockfish, tuna, lobster, etc. – recalling the knowledge and categorisation of the traditional curator and providing useful comparison for this display of experiential knowledge, skill and masculinity. The collage and the space in which it is installed evoke compelling closure, being it is largely mariners who contribute to or encounter the assemblage. The value of interacting with or being included in this display and the maritime network it represents seemed at times to be above the collections themselves. This is demonstrated by the lack of concern about similar

assemblages, such as the ‘old photos’ and other maritime material at M.R. Onions following the popular bar and restaurant’s closure in 2007.



Figure 7.8: Fishing photograph collage at Fly Bridge Tackle in Hamilton, with owner Bobby Rego and staff Eddie Cook Sr., August 2007.

Though this discussion of unofficial museology moves along a private-public continuum, it is important to distinguish between maritime museums and displays that maintain the compelling closure around maritimity and the network of people it pulls in as above, and others that allow wider, non-maritime access like those below. Identifying both the inclusion and exclusion around such curation is crucial for conceptualising the subprocess accurately as well as the social value of museums.

Public representation

Other individuals and groups resist or release from the compelling closure of maritimity evident in the more private museums and displays. Members of the island’s maritime network take that which is private and make it public, exposing maritimity to greater numbers of people outside the maritime network. This expansion of maritimity outside maritime spaces and museums treats the wider islandscape as an ecomuseum linking public display and collective identity. Although BMM and other local museums currently do so only to a limited extent, this reflects the ways museums are letting go of their commitment to authenticity and connecting more broadly and meaningfully with the community, and yet sometimes going so far as to lose some of the compelling closure of maritimity and/or heritage.

While aligning with the public nature of many official museums, few of the following examples can be considered museums in stationary, spatial or curatorial senses. The subtlety that surrounds many of these displays concerns their being temporary and part of a regular flow of cultural expression and change, or in refusing the notion of museum or display by integrating with the islandscape and community or everyday life. This recalls the temporary and also disparate or mixed character of the 1990 collaborative exhibit ‘The Sea Around Us’ at Bermuda National Gallery and the 2009 Masterworks Museum of Bermuda Art show ‘We Are Sailing’ and their corresponding films (Panatel VDS Ltd. 1990, 2009) conceived and installed by and in art galleries who are blurring boundaries between heritage-arts-culture (2.3).

This distribution or circulation of maritime knowledge and material in the wider islandscape and community is illustrated by a Bermudian who displays his personal collection (Figure 7.9). That he does so at his Hamilton workplace, Butterfield Bank, brings together his personal passion and professional work, like full-time mariners enviably do (6.2). His doing so is supported by the collection itself, a medley of 20th Century maritime and other Bermuda ephemera, including cruise liner and other tourism souvenirs like *Queen of Bermuda* collectables, the same sort popular with BMM and other local museums due to their proliferation and nostalgic or kitsch nature (4.2). This curator publicly shares his collection and curation outside the confines of his home for the benefit of the community and his curatorial identity.



Figure 7.9: Richard Lee with his displayed collection at his Butterfield Bank workplace, Hamilton, November 2007.

In an even more accessible example and following an informant tip, I found delicate hand-made ships models in cedar-accented vitrines inside St. George's Esso (Figure 7.10). Family of Wilfred 'Buster' Hayward, who run this modern full-service gas station, explained the collection was overflow from the prolific model-maker's house, a private museum to which St. David's Islanders have more privileged access due to the area's compelling closure and that of place generally (6.2). Hayward's family stressed the models were not for sale and irreplaceable, especially as embodiments of his skill, yet, in saying 'we just like to have here to show people' and the evident lack of security, they also communicated the value of display. Their juxtaposition with everyday consumable staples like light bulbs and motor oil in such an unpretentious setting refreshingly contrasted with the sanctity and redundancy of ships models in maritime museums (2.2). This routine space undoubtedly sees more people passing through, and certainly more Bermudians, than local museums including Carter House in St. David's, which subsequently displayed the models.



Figure 7.10: (Top left) St. George's Esso gas station with (right) ships models by Wilfred 'Buster' Hayward on display in 2007; and (bottom left) at Carter House in 2008.

The idiosyncrasy of displaying maritimity in such unofficial non-maritime locations goes unmentioned by its curators because the community and the curatorial act of representation are so well served, raising questions about the focus and isolation of maritime and other museums.

Display of Sandys Boat Club's Bermuda fitted dinghy *Challenger* in the arrivals hall of Bermuda's only airport (Figure 7.11) moves a large-scale artefact out of the semi-private maritime club into the most public, multicultural and transient of spaces. Bank of Bermuda Foundation, the sponsor of her display and 1996 restoration, takes advantage of this exposure by showcasing *Challenger* alongside other advertising of their good corporate citizenship. Despite this corporate commodification, the clichéd image of the fitted dinghy, especially for tourism, reclaims material and historic authenticity as this Bermudian-designed 1955-built original greets the island's visitors and residents alike, reinforcing to both, but locals especially, the traditional practice and the clubs and other networks that maintain it.



Figure 7.11: *Challenger* in the arrivals hall of L.F. Wade International Airport, 2007.

It is as recurring mundane public representations and spaces in the wider islandscape that these maritime displays and museums embed themselves in this island community and individual lives, just as I argue heritage as an overarching cultural phenomena does.

7.3 Performing maritimity

Live display

Having examined specific curatorial practices and museum making as a distinct aspect of curation, I now explore Bermudian performances of maritimity contending that these too are museological acts and thus part of Bermuda's maritime heritage. Examining performance moves the chapter into more unfamiliar and uncomfortable territory. Though a firmly established aspect of anthropology, performance is a relatively novel one in heritage and museum studies (Jackson and Kidd 2010), as is embodiment and related intangible heritage concepts. The extent to which the relationship between performance and heritage is explored tends to be through tethered case studies of museums and historic sites (1.2), such as 'museum theatre'. Moreover, performance is rarely associated with curation specifically.

And yet performance-based curatorial practices have strikingly similarities with museums and curation, particularly as communicative acts. Among the similarities explored below is the central relationship between mariner, curator or performer and audience. There is also the public or accessible nature of many performances which allow this section to continue the chapter's private to public narrative. Performance is also an extension of representation and display and thus museum exhibits or other transmission of valued cultural materials and knowledge. Perhaps more than other curatorial practices, such performances are *community* museology not only in the sense of taking place in the community, but in actively constructing community.

Whereas many of maritime Bermuda's unofficial collections, displays and museums are static and passive, others call to mind open-air or living history museums like Colonial Williamsburg (Garden 2000), a growing idea since 'Bermuda Connections' at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival (2.3) but as yet only a temporary phenomena in Bermuda. Such engagements are often about performing and transmitting intangible traditional knowledge and skill, as exemplified by the traditional fishing equipment demonstrations by the curator of the Fishermen's Room's and subsequent live experiential implementation of that learning by his young audience (7.2). Performance also provides a more immediate emotional engagement with maritimity than static representations allow. Their usually intangible temporary nature precludes the kind of proprietary ownership curators tend to feel over more

material and permanent collections and displays. All of this factors into community-museum dissonance, and specifically recalls the high nostalgia Bermudians have for BMM's early boat restoration workshops and the kind of live maritime exhibits numerous informants and practitioners envision for BMM the Dockyard it occupies, in line with maritime experience in general and the historic workings of the naval industrial west end.

Painstaking restoration of the 1926 Mylne cutter *Chicane* (Figure 7.12) by two traditionally-trained shipwrights over many years exemplifies the live maritime exhibit. This is particularly as the maritime epitome of the full-scale needs-to-be-seaworthy vessel (6.2), versus their 1990s restoration of *Dainty* which, intended for museum display at BMM, had different and lesser requirements (6.3). *Chicane's* shipwrights, along with her Bermudian owners who fund her restoration, have an utmost desire to see it finished. Inside Dockyard's one-time repairing shop for iron ships (Cooke 2009), where *Chicane* is appropriately being restored, they have still provided onboard tours to 'literally thousands' of visitors because they 'know that's part of the restoration process'. The value of these interactions is heightened by their being fleeting and unique interruptions in the vessel's restoration, especially prior to her anticipated return to private use on the water in Bermuda and internationally including competitive racing, similar but inverse to the value of visiting degrading vessels like the Swedish warship *Vasa* (2.2). Like the overworked curator who may still provide specialised tours, display is heightened by the precious time and energy to do so. It is not only museums, materiality and curators that gain value through restricted access (7.2), but the moments in which such displays and spaces are revealed, which become extra meaningful and memorable.



Figure 7.12: *Chicane* under restoration in Dockyard's ships repair shop, April 2007.

The above example recalls the past-material bias and stationary nature of museums. It centres on an old grand object, with none being more typical for maritime museums than boats (2.2). It only invites audiences *in* being fixed in space, and only *certain* audiences being a semi-private display dependent on audiences with local knowledge.

However, other more mobile displays and performances venture *out* into the community and islandscape, serving a desire to be seen. The meaning of visibility is elevated in this small interconnected community, where people and their practices and things, including boats, are recognisable and thus have a heightened sense of their own presence, that 'you can see the spectators from a distance' in literal and metaphorical terms. Because senses of alienation and contestation are heightened in a society like Bermuda, maybe *seeing* one another stands in for *knowing* one another, the next best thing to having a more genuine and robust collective identity (4.1). Visibility is therefore not always about communication and connection but often about claiming identity, space, place and belonging or social inclusion.

The roadside sale of fresh fish by commercial fisherman (Figure 7.13) illustrates visible performance and its generation of community well. Bermuda's roadside fish stalls are predictable in their timing and location, and thus a regular part of local experience. Each week, fisherman park their fish-filled vehicles along the island's main arteries on the same day, usually Fridays, as this is 'tradition' but also practical timing for this step in the catching-cleaning-selling regimen of processing

fish. Stalls are consistently located in the same place in the islandscape, close to a fisherman's harbour, home, and most importantly, regular customers in a territorial display and place embeddedness similar to immobile maritime clubs and museums. Whereas other performances such as the Christmas Boat Parade preclude direct interaction between performer and audience, especially over the land-sea divide, fishermen and their customers exchange greetings, requests, recipes and more besides fish and money. These highly communicative performances and the sense of community they build arises from mariners moving into the mundane modern islandscape, unlike the isolation of official museums like BMM.



Figure 7.13: Friday roadside stalls of commercial fishermen, 2007.

Whether repeated periodically like the example above or a 'one-off', the temporary climactic nature of performance is key to its social value in this context. Like transient museums (Crooke 2008b), such performances can be public but also fleeting, access and time being inversely proportional. Little of the material or immaterial culture arising from these performances is thus collected or displayed at local museums, their short life spans precluding being valued at the official level. This recalls how many manifestations of heritage fail to be recorded, studied, preserved and otherwise curated as they do not fit tangible, long-term or other criteria for a museum collection.

Precisely because it is fleeting, live and public and less concrete and literal, performance provides freedom of expression and transgresses social norms. This stands in contrast to apolitical attitudes entrenched in the local heritage sector and

Bermuda at large (2.3), which it seems are more entrenched than the material bias since intangible heritage is increasingly valued and incorporated into practice. Such performances also transgress maritime boundaries in that Bermudians use maritimity to filter other concerns. This is a matter of ‘getting your message across’ not only in literal maritime terms but in metaphorical terms (Holtorf 2010) of communicating deeper non-maritime meanings. This was evident in one informant’s remark that the Christmas Boat Parade (4.3) in the ‘harbour is a bigger viewing area’ than other performances and is a chance for ‘promoting the real meaning of Christmas’ and to make a statement against capitalist greed and entitlement.

At the non-mariner’s race every Cup Match (Figure 7.14) ‘non-mariners’ build and race ‘non-boats’ to win ‘non-trophies’. Beneath the event’s (non-)maritime character, lighthearted humour and boundary crossing – such as across heteronormative gender lines with cross-dressing – lies more serious social critiques in which subaltern identity and community rests in tension with authorised notions, and those of Government in particular. The race’s political satire has been vitriolic under the PLP, especially as a predominantly white, expatriate event, though there is good diversity amongst spectators and increasingly among participants. Beyond mocking or more seriously challenging political choices and discourses, this performance provides a valuable safe yet public space for expression.



Figure 7.14: (Top) Non-mariners race in Mangrove Bay, July 2007; (bottom) spectator boats at the 2009 from the top of the mast of the sailboat *Alice Kay* (photo by Rosy Hall).

It is perhaps partly because they are fleeting that these performances tend to take place predictably. Their ritualistic manner suggests an obligation to or valorisation of an intrinsically valued heritage that suppresses evaluation against other possible priorities and thus change. This predictability reflects the ‘public’ nature of much maritime curation (7.1) as well as the anniversaryism in the official sector, with the island’s 400th Anniversary in 2009 being the most recent major date-based commemoration to take place. Even at the more grassroots level, various heritage performances take place at the same time every year, including maritime performances that may be scheduled according to cultural reasons alone or due to interactions with the natural environment. Annual maritime events I attended during my fieldwork included Seafaring Sunday every Fifth Sunday of Easter, fishing tournaments every summer such as Robinson’s Marina’s, the Big Game Classic, and the Blue Water Angler Club’s, the commemoration of the loss of the pilot gig the *Ocean Queen* II and other mariners lost in Bermuda’s waters with the last cruise ships of the season early each fall, and latest in the year, the Christmas Boat Parade.

The ‘24th of May’ or ‘Bermuda Day’ is the most engrained of dates in the annual local calendar as the crowning national holiday and Heritage Month event.¹⁶⁷ Though not normally associated with maritimity, Heritage Month and Bermuda Day 2007 was a ‘one-off’ exception being themed ‘Bermuda’s Maritime Connections’, serendipitously for my fieldwork (4.2). Bermuda Day starts with the national marathon or ‘Derby’ (Butler 1999), followed by the Heritage Parade (1979-present), and Bermuda fitted dinghy racing. Because these happen simultaneously on land and sea, I, like other Bermudians, was forced to choose between the Parade and dinghies. The marathon is lauded for the diverse participation of runners and those cheering them along Bermuda’s roads (Harries Hunter 1993), whereas the Heritage Parade and fitted dinghy racing are widely interpreted as black and white events, respectively, with the Parade often cited as evidence for ‘white flight’ (5.2). Each year’s Heritage Month and Bermuda Day theme is mainly carried through the Parade’s floats, decorated with natural flora and fauna, whereas the Parade’s other performers, including Gombey dancers, majorettes and multicultural groups, tend to be thematically indifferent and more concerned with representing their talents and/or identity in this important space of representation and social inclusion (and exclusion).

¹⁶⁷ Cultural Affairs sponsors and organises this series of public events each May.

In 2007, floats depicted various vessels, from the modern including the prize-winning Comet the *Kitty Hawk* with East End Mini Yacht Club members using the original sailboat for this public and perhaps her final appearance (Figure 7.15) and the fast ferry the *Sea Express*, to more historical vessels including a miniature pilot gig engaged in whaling and a much larger-scale slave ship *Enterprise* carrying the descendents of this important rememory narrative (5.2). Other floats showcasing Old Bermuda Rum Runners and the Gunpowder Plot evoke Bermuda's transnational iconoclastic past (4.1), and the still glocal present through an agricultural exhibition of Bermuda's Food Exports. Maritime places were also represented via constructions of St. David's Lighthouse from the east end and from the west end Somerset Bridge, the smallest drawbridge that perhaps more importantly is located in the dynamic maritime and clan area of Ely's Harbour. More universal clichéd maritime symbols included an anchor. No different from years past and despite float-making also being considered by its prime 'tradition-bearers' as a 'dying' tradition (4.2), each float's design and detail was remarkable with hours of tedious work going into each, besides float makers' presence all day at the Parade and at float workshops leading up to it. All this being for the floats to be subsequently dismantled if not altogether destroyed, speaks to the transient meaning of this and other public performances.



Figure 7.15: East End Mini Yacht Club's Comet *Kitty Hawk*, one of various traditional floats representing 'Our Maritime Connections' at the 2007 Bermuda Day Heritage Parade, Hamilton.

It is precisely because such performances are temporally contained and predictable that they yield cultural confidence and collective identity. They also invite community participation, similar to other regular but contained volunteer efforts¹⁶⁸ as well as exhibitions and other project-based work in museums, but different to the neverendingness of collections and other aspects of museum curation. Conversely, when this predictability and containment is lacking, such as regular scheduling is unsure or disrupted, there is less of a gathering around maritimity. Such performances may be fleeting and intangible, but they are also structured and controlled like other curation, thus reflecting the agency of curators and their audiences.

Commemoration and loss

A number of these maritime performances were of a commemorative nature in relating to the past, through stimulating memory or evoking history and authenticity. Being commemorative adds weight to the heritage meaning and social value of these performances, at least for those who are involved due to high levels of compelling closure. Contrary to the socially and politically transgressive performances above, many of these commemorations were acts of valorisation, often celebrating past maritimes in positive uncritical ways. That individual mariners are often commemorated reflects the gravitation to biographical narratives as a means of building collective identity (2.3, 6.2), which bears out strongly in the island's official heritage and museums but also Bermuda overall, particularly in the search for national identity (4.1). Such commemorations often 'resurrect' past maritimes and mariners, and thus may be more dependent on narrative than materiality, due to the paucity of surviving material though it is utilised when available.

Thought to be the last American casualty of the War of 1812, the death of US Navy Midshipman Richard Sutherland Dale on 22 February 1815 is commemorated in an annual procession from the site where he died in King's Square, St George's, to his nearby grave in St. Peter's churchyard (Figure 7.16). Dale represents Bermuda's past and present glocalisation (4.1), and the island's ties with the US specifically. This 'Lion and the Mouse' narrative is used by other heritage productions (Slayton 2009, Spurling 2009) and many of BMM's curatorial endeavours and the donor-relations that make them possible. During the ceremony, it was represented explicitly in the ceremony's juxtaposed renditions of the national anthems 'Star-Spangled Banner' and

¹⁶⁸ Including the Bermuda Festival for the Performing Arts or the End-to-End Fundraising Walk.

‘God Save the Queen’ and remarks about the ‘enmity of those times replaced by the trust and amicable relationship of our two people’. This commemoration reflects a positive and politically neutral discourse of connections with other nations, and the US in particular, as Bermuda strives to maintain economic and political stability. Meanwhile, cultural tensions and differences that Bermudians highlight to assert their own sense of identity and culture are less present within this celebratory collaborative event. In a comparison made by Bermudians of two biographic commemorations, Dale’s association with international white heritage contrasts with the localised black heritage of Pilot Darrell (5.3), who rests nearby but is racially segregated from Dale. This discrepancy quickly moves to a concern for audiences, with organisers of Dale’s service noting a ‘majority white’ attendance whereas they say Darrell’s commemoration was ‘more racially proportionate’ (188:WM60s). Both audiences, however, were primarily from ‘the Town [of St. George’s] itself’ and thus representing sublocal place. Respect for the actual past and individual mariner was evoked by the ceremony’s moment of silence, piped in and out by young Sea Cadets using antique bosons’ whistles. This was accompanied by respect for the commemoration history including 1960s services organized by the US Marine Corps and current willingness to continue it, albeit rationalised by the deeper past as in one organiser’s expression ‘we’ve revived ceremony, because a highlight in history’ (144:BM60s). Even if under the guise of maritime history, the commemoration itself is felt and recognised as an act of community building.



Figure 7.16: Mid-Shipman Dale ceremony, St. Peter’s Church, 21 February 2009.

Such detached and glocal remembrance differs from that which connects to more presentist and local sensibilities. 'Figurehead', a memorial to Bermudians lost at sea by Bill 'Mussey' Ming (Figure 7.17) responds to more acute contemporary local needs, and therefore was a major loci in Bermuda's maritime heritagescape. This permanent Government-commissioned monument and 'Bermuda's first piece of public art' appears to depart from the grassroots performances curation explored in this chapter. Some argue the listing of mariners engraved into the base of the monument is incomplete and inaccurate, within and beyond the memorial being dedicated exclusively to Bermudians (versus those lost at sea in Bermuda's waters such as in wartime) and those entirely 'lost' to sea without bodily recovery and landward burial. Moreover, Figurehead is often interpreted racially as a black memorial, particularly as a PLP heritage rememory product (5.1), especially as a tribute to victims of the Atlantic Slave Trade represented by the memorial's African mask profile. Yet, Figurehead is neither a static nor official in its maritime representation or identity politics, but a symbolic performance relying on audience interaction, whether at the monument's St. David's site or as it is referred to elsewhere in space and time. Although accessible to all, Figurehead is undoubtedly most profound for its target audience, the families and descendents of those lost at sea who may visit or imagine this place in lieu of another grave site, channeling their grief and making the intangible tangible. While mariners may mourn fellow mariners at Figurehead, it also reminds others and themselves of the risk they face. This beacon, reminiscent of the Easter Island Moai, looks out to sea in remembrance and protection. The interactions between land and sea, past and present mariners, and loss and risk at Figurehead yields curatorial and wider social agency to Bermudians, inverting and expanding the usual one-way transmission from curator or performer to audience.



Figure 7.17: ‘Figurehead’ memorial to Bermudians lost at sea, 2006, by Bill ‘Mussey’ Ming (Bermudian), bronze, at Great Head Park, St. David’s.

Those maintaining and attending these commemorations express an obligation to do so, as when a young branch pilot said:

I never really stopped to give it any thought. You go to these things, the Sea Sunday, commemorations here or there...I guess [we are] told to attend, but if you don’t show up you won’t get [your] knuckles wrapped...It’s not about earning points (151:BM20s).

Recalling the meta meanings of curation especially as a kind of community participation (7.1), is not only the appreciation or identification with certain values, but the performance of display of the ability and willingness to do so, distinguishing oneself. The loss and nostalgia available to maritimity and the maritime past and non-maritime present is very strong here (4.2), evoking sacrifice versus entitlement.

This obligation arises with respect to the way the 1927 ‘misadventure’ of the pilot gig *Ocean Queen II* and the loss of her six-man crew is commemorated – along with other local and international seafarers who died at sea and on land in Bermuda – by the Guild of Holy Compassion (GOHC) on land and at sea (Figure 7.18). Inside the larger cemetery of St. Peter’s Church is a special cemetery for seafarers lost in Bermuda’s waters, a different kind of segregation from that Pilot Darrell experienced with integration across the racial divide within this seafarers-only space. The physical bounding off of mariners from non-mariners with a fence made from nothing less maritime than ships’ piping, provides a good metaphor for the way maritimity bounds

off this commemoration and unites the mariners it honours, and in turn those remembering and respecting them, in another incidence of compelling closure. It seems this tangible, land-based commemoration is not enough, however, as it is accompanied by an annual GOHC service at sea in collaboration with St. Peter's Church and the Bermuda Pilot Service. Observing this service first-hand in 2007, I watched senior pilots deftly disembark from different ships leaving Bermuda having navigated them out of the east end channel onto the pilot boat the *St. David*. On her stern, prayers, hymns and a solemn service were all performed to honour and perhaps commune with the lost mariners, and the crew of the *Ocean Queen II* in particular, before laying commemorative wreaths into her wake. Details such as location and timing are important to this performance of remembrance, this commemoration taking place not only at sea where performative and live aspects gain embodied meaning but off the key pilot navigational site of Five Fathom Hole and on the last day of the cruise ship season with one of the last vessels of the year slipping away as the ceremony took place. This private largely unknown commemoration demonstrated the obligation these and other Bermudians feel is not personal vested interest or even for the living but to honour past mariners and loss itself, and in doing so reinforcing core values and community.



Figure 7.18: (Top) GOHC service at sea for mariners lost in Bermuda's waters, off Five Fathom Hole, 31 August 2007; (bottom) volunteer curators Henry Hayward and Dr. Derek Tulley at the GOHC mariners' cemetery within St. Peter's cemetery, St. George's, July 2007.

Such performances of remembrance may reflect upon the past and discrete events and individuals, yet the sense of agency, identity and community they facilitate are firmly located in the present.

Risk and protection

The presentist nature of these performances and the way they sustain maritimity or emphasise its continuity is apparent in the extent to which risk features among them.

These performances and especially commemorations of maritimity are ostensibly about honouring past mariners such as pilots who ‘lost their lives in gigs’ (89:WM50s). However, they also highlight those who today regularly place themselves at risk. Full-time, professional mariners again take a leading role here, reaffirming the authenticity attached to them (6.2). The emphasis on risk is also about reminding that Bermuda is *still* a maritime nation (4.X), but in a humanistic sense that points to those mariners who enable this continuity.

Because they are not or do not feel recognised by others, those who themselves represent this risk often highlight their personal understanding and experience of it. Senior branch pilots told me ‘you still have to pay attention, be aware of surroundings’ (143:BM70s) and ‘this impacts our lives more than you[rs] because we’re on the water everyday’ (128:BM60s). More indirect references to this willingness are also made in efforts to preserve humility and counter entitlement, and thus to maintain the balance between acknowledging and absorbing risk. By attending or otherwise supporting or reinforcing performances and commemorations, they perform not only their heightened appreciation of the sacrifices of others, but their identity as mariners willing to face such risk themselves. That Bermudians are still willing to engage directly with the sea, despite its potentially high costs, is not only an individual choice but a collective act of identity and community making.

The maintenance of a sense of risk in these performances means they also act as a symbolic protection of mariners. One senses an anticipation of loss, as if bracing for or guarding against it. The regularity of these ceremonies ensures coverage, an insurance of sorts. This active protection bestows more meaning on commemoration; Bermudians intimately know this risk and loss than more emotionally isolated forms of commemoration as uses of the past may allow. This facilitates a connection not only between past and present but between Bermudians today, building community.

The Blessing of the Boats (Figure 7.19), one of the annual Seafaring Sunday

events, is a maritime commemoration and a symbolic protection of mariners and their vessels as mutually dependent entities. On the seam between land and sea vessels approached a public dock on the east side of St. David's. Reminiscent of the Christmas Boat Parade where each boat gets a 'turn', a customised prayer and a shake of holy water by the attending Reverend was offered to each participant in the morning procession, with this observed by a small, mainly-local crowd. As with the Mid-Shipman Dale ceremony, the commemoration itself is highlighted, with its history tied to the Anglican Church presented in programmes distributed to the crowd. More seasoned spectators remarked how each year sees 'different people, different boats' (149:OM70s) while expressing nostalgia for higher numbers of participating boats in years past. Vessels in the 2007 procession included one of *Spirit's* tenders rowed over from St. George's by teenage Sea Cadets, a pilot tender, hard-worn fishing boats, and pleasure craft one carrying a young family dressed for church, and a small inflatable rowboat from down the shoreline.



Figure 7.19: Blessing of the Boats on a public dock in St. David's on Seafaring Sunday, 6 May 2007.

The temporal scope of maritimity presented in Chapter 4 across memory, loss and live culture, is spanned again by the performances explored in this curatorial dimension of maritime heritage in Bermuda. Yet, performance is transgressive beyond temporal scope in allowing personal and collective expressions other forms of representation do not. Yet, it is also surprisingly subtle in its communication of maritime and non-

maritime meanings. This subtlety relates to the experiential and elusive qualities of performance, that may see this process discounted as curation yet is pivotal to the depth and reach of the heritage meaning and social value being generated.

Chapter conclusion

Curating maritime heritage and museums in Bermuda

This chapter gives additional clarity to a heritage process that is relatively well-defined compared to others but is nonetheless still poorly understood on its own terms. Examining curation paradoxically shows it is no more important a process than other uses of heritage, to Bermudians and thus to study and possibly incorporate into museum practice. And yet this is a particular kind of identity and community making by communities and their museums. Bermudians and this analysis democratise curation beyond museums and open up who qualifies as a curator, working against presumptions of public heritage deficiency which apply with particular force to curation as the heritage process overlapping most with official museology and more authorised definitions of heritage.

I have attempted to highlight the scope of curation in maritime Bermuda through wide-ranging examples of curatorial practices, museums and performances, making a case that museums and performances are special aspects of curation. These differing manifestations of curation have spanned a number of dichotomies or tensions. The chapter has moved from private to public, noting how this differing aperture powerfully reflects and determines the intention, use and meaning of the particular museological behaviour under study, especially in terms of museums and other forms of representation that cultivate relationships between people, and people and things. The relationship between official and unofficial museology, in terms of symmetries and variances, has also framed this curatorial discussion so as to accurately reflect the interrelationships or even seamlessness between authorised and grassroots heritages, particularly in this small interconnected community. The relationship and tension between identity and community is also prominent, at times highlighting a strong emphasis on collective identity and the formation of community and elsewhere stressing the desires and needs of individuals, especially from the community curator's perspective.

With and within this scope, I have examined agency as the common logic behind curation or museology, enabling it to qualify as heritage versus another cultural practice. This agency has borne out in the way certain curatorial workings come into particular relief, more so than they do through other heritage processes. The multi-layered nature of heritage is especially strong with curation, with meaning made on base and meta or literal and metaphorical levels, in the products and processes of curation. Compelling closure and authenticity also figure strongly in this chapter. The strong presence of these aspects, and the agency they reflect, underscores the distinctive nature of curation or museology as a heritage process, as well as its wider social value. It is the social value among different heritage processes that leads to symmetries and variances between this chapter and the next, which explore what official museums tend to prioritise with what they perhaps should.

Chapter 8

COMMUNITY CRISIS AND MARITIME REMEDY

8.1 Social efficacy as heritage

A community in crisis

‘What the hell is going on?’ asks one Bermudian online after the brutal murder of a young man by other teenagers.¹⁶⁹ This incredulous yet rhetorical response reflects local disbelief and angst but also the tired knowledge that such incidents are all too familiar. Though Bermuda’s social problems may not be as dire as elsewhere and small-scale communities are prone to heightened anxiety, the island’s worries are very real and escalating. It is no exaggeration to call the situation a ‘crisis’, as it often is. Bermuda’s dysfunctional education system (2.3), intergenerational breakdowns (4.2) and racial legacies (5.1) all factor into a widespread societal affliction and state of relative emergency. Outward symptoms of social exclusion including poverty and violent crime, point to a deeper crisis of identity, one with questions about what defines Bermuda as a community at its centre.

As the tragedy prompting the opening quote suggests, the crisis that has befallen Bermuda is primarily considered a crisis of youth. This focus is predictable given the almost congenital relationship between new or future generations and the frequently but imprecisely used notion of sustainability (Sørensen 2007), reflected in the comment ‘the youth on the island are our only renewable resource. It pays to invest in this resource’ (Titterton 2003). Such is the emphasis on young people that it is rarely questioned, and consequently in itself may inhibit more substantive social change. Yet, Bermuda’s youth are seen as the greatest casualties and most vulnerable for good reason. Disorder characterises many of their lives. An upsurge of gang, gun and other violence features juveniles accused of serious charges, including those charged for the homicide of a St. David’s man interviewed for this project (Figure 8.1).

¹⁶⁹ 18-year-old Kellon Hill was beaten and stabbed to death the night before he was due to start college in the US in September 2008. Four of the five teenagers accused of his murder were acquitted and the fifth later convicted of manslaughter.



Figure 8.1: Makeshift graffiti memorials to Bermudian victims of homicide, 2007-2008.

The most disinherited and disaffected in this crisis is the young black male, who is located at the nexus of ‘race/ethnic, gendered and generational identities’ (Alexander 2004). With high rates of antisocial behaviour, drug use, gang participation and recidivism, and low rates of literacy, graduation and employment, he is disproportionately at the ‘top of bad statistics, bottom of good statistics’. He is a stereotype that cannot be understood outside his ‘essential peripherality and marginality’ (Dicks 1999:357), which counterproductively makes him feel all the more excluded (which though not my intention may admittedly result from my narrative here, pointing to the wider local paradox). He is a key symbol of vulnerability and redemption that is seen to be at the heart of the social issues Bermuda is facing and key to their being addressed. One father’s anecdote illustrates this racialised crisis of masculinity:

Watching what happens to adolescents in Bermuda is like watching a squad go off to Iraq. I cite this all the time. My son’s [football] team, coached by a fantastic coach, that team for me personified what was happening here. At age eighteen, one of high scorers, and he would be playing national level in Bermuda now, was in Westgate [prison] on aggravated assault. Another is in there on gun charges. He was turned in by his mother. And the defender is dead. He was shot in a gang killing five hundred yards from my house. Of the twenty kids, four were white kids. They all started

college this year. The other sixteen were black. One is in college. None have graduated from Cedarbridge or Berkeley [senior schools]. Six have their GED. A couple did home school. So it's not pretty reading. Something was going on there (9:WM50s).

Bermuda's youth – and those 'at risk' and young black males in particular – face steep social and educational challenges. They are seen as the greatest casualties of this broken Bermuda and inheritors of a bad legacy, and are thus the targets for 'social rehabilitation'.¹⁷⁰

In the urgent search for remedies to this 'crisis', maritimity has come to the fore as a promising means to reach young people and achieve wider social repair. This has come in the form of existing and new maritime initiatives 'specifically targeting the youth' (169:WM40s). This crisis is neither originally nor entirely why these maritime groups were established or exist, indeed much of this efficacy is quite unplanned as is the nature of social crisis. It is in the present circumstances that their remedial qualities and potential nonetheless afford great meaning for Bermudians, some of which meaning I argue can be construed as heritage. Indeed, few maritime loci in the heritagescape were as compelling as these for conceptualising heritage as a process, for understanding contemporary Bermuda, and for thinking about the distinctive qualities of maritimity.

This chapter examines the self-esteem and identity emerging for young Bermudians, or hoped to be, via these seafaring interventions.¹⁷¹ I argue these maritime youth development initiatives ought to be understood as heritage processes on the basis of their efficacy for building and repairing community. This efficacy may be in actuality or in the imagination but it is impossible to disentangle these real or perceived aspects, to measure genuine results against invested hope. Regardless, both

¹⁷⁰ The search for understanding and rectifying the condition of the young black male is on, with Government commissioning sociological studies dedicated to the demographic (Wright 2007, Mincy et al. 2009) and the calling in of experts, mainly American, on gangs, post-traumatic slave syndrome (DeGruy Leary 2005) and other relevant social and psychological conditions. These contributions have been either well-received or criticised as inappropriate for Bermuda, reflecting local reliance and distrust of such comparative views (5.2).

¹⁷¹ Like the analysis overall, this chapter's findings come from an inter-generational perspective, with younger and older voices guiding my interpretation (3.2). Though the initiatives are predominantly focused on youth and I informally interviewed some young adults, my main informants are adults, however, particularly leaders or volunteers that could best convey the programme intentions and outcomes. As a somewhat different if not higher set of concerns to the other aspects of the analysis, this chapter, like my engagement with practitioners for my review of the local heritage sector (2.3), reflects a different network of informants, including educators, activists, parents and others with an in-view into what's going on in Bermuda (37:WF20s).

desired and actual success are equally valid as heritage processes, and moreover, their conflation is itself significant. This returns again to authenticity and how understanding the concept as either truth or belief becomes indistinguishable when both are ultimately conceptualised as *belief*. Thus, the distinction between reality and perception is necessarily somewhat blurred or ambiguous in this chapter.

Why maritimism matters

The wider crisis in Bermuda may convey the impression that the maritime character of these youth initiatives is irrelevant, merely another attempted solution to the island's woes. Yet, even within the short duration of my fieldwork and despite maritime heritage being my ethnographic object of study, I was struck by the meaning attached to these youth development initiatives as mechanisms for reaching young people and thereby helping to restore community and address the social crisis.

It is indeed not from just invested or leadership perspectives that the efficacy of these programmes are expressed, but from a much wider community esteem. Yet, it seems only natural that maritimism is deployed as a remedy since the community's urgent search for remedies is a wide-ranging one and maritimism supplies such fitting qualities to remedy the current crisis. While just one area of the wider efforts being made, maritimism is not incidental to the identity and community making happening through these initiatives. Rather, maritimism is crucial to the remedial efficacy they promise, particularly as a creative non-obvious solution that answers a call for entrepreneurial and lateral thinking for a complex society and situation. As culturally specific and relevant, aligning with Bermuda's environment, culture and history, the sea provides a relevant strategic means for young Bermudians to engage with their world and themselves. As a phenomena that is somewhat transcendent of time and place (1.1), maritimism is used heuristically by Bermudians to restore or reinforce core values or a humanism I have associated with heritage ethnography as a specialised method and social curiosity (3.1).

This efficacy largely centres on the experiential and masculine qualities of maritimism touched on in earlier chapters. Bermuda's maritime youth development initiatives are highly physical and embodied, based on direct experience. My field data suggests how young Bermudians interact with the world and themselves within these initiatives is central to their conductivity for identity and community construction. While this experiential praxis is to some extent an endemic feature of

maritimity as more abstract phenomena, it takes on additional meaning in this context where it is highly relevant and the stakes are high.

In turn, the meaning of maritimity is related and proportional to the crisis at hand. In these youth initiatives maritimity takes on a different kind of intention and purpose, a 'real and relevant' one (UI). These maritime youth development initiatives are neither simple after-school programmes, nor decorative feel-good cultural endeavors, nor passive responses that expect change without the required willingness and patience for it. Rather, they are sites of personal and collective *attainment* that are loaded with a heavy seriousness and a demanding entitlement, as well as cautious aspiration and optimism that injects hope into what is commonly felt to be a desperate situation. There is a sustained and exhaustive urgency, one informant saying 'it's been urgent for me for the last twelve years!' (CP 20Oct2008). Here, in mid-crisis versus 'post-crisis', heritage feels not just 'present-centered' (Graham and Howard 2008a) but extra-present. Unlike the more paced construction and negotiation of deeper history, the immediacy and weight of these contemporary circumstances is reiterated with the daily newscast and crime blotter.

In the field, I found myself attracted to these loci precisely because of their social relevance and activist nature. The efficacy of these initiatives spills over onto my research to endow it with more substance, not in a politically correct or moralising way but by directly plugging into Bermuda's 'issues of consequence' (Johnson 1996:35). One could easily be prone to romanticising these loci, were it not for the wider circumstances that necessitate them, or at least give them greater meaning. Informants actively rebuff romanticisation with a pragmatic discourse of real needs and issues. They provide a much-needed deflating on occasions where my interpretation steps too far from reality.

Taking the museological discussions of prior chapters to a deeper level, this chapter strikes at the heart of questions about the social role of museums, and BMM in particular. My findings below challenge the neutral or apolitical containment of heritage and museums generally, and the high susceptibility of such local and maritime museums to social passivity and detachment. These remedial loci help broaden the conceptualisation and practices of heritage to more accurately reflect its local workings and to encourage an embedded ethical engagement with community needs. Such engagement is, after all, the premise of the social inclusion model that ostensibly guides much of today's heritage and museum work, yet remains steeped in

presumptions of public and youth heritage deficiency. From this conceptual perspective, and that of my own blinkered local museum experience, it was surprising and refreshing to find the heritagescape populated by loci that herald maritimity as a corrective mechanism to confront, stall or even reverse trends of social rupture.

8.2 Experiential learning

Inscape and islandscape

Sail training vessel *Spirit of Bermuda*, the dream child of the nonprofit Bermuda Sloop Foundation (BSF), deserves first mention as the preeminent maritime youth initiative in Bermuda today, if not the key catalyst for the island's recent maritime resurgence (4.3). Having introduced *Spirit* as the modern incarnation of the historic Bermuda sloop (4.1) and latterly discussed some of her symbolic meanings (6.2), this chapter shifts towards the contemporary youth for whom she is primarily intended. At 112 feet from stern to bowsprit and with a 90 foot tall main mast, starting with *Spirit* allows us to work from the large scale down in terms of the vessels involved in these youth initiatives. Since her maiden voyage in 2006, *Spirit* has been crewed by over 500 Bermudian teenagers and students on sea voyages lasting 5-17 days each and covering a total of more than 10,000 nautical miles.¹⁷² A 5-day coastal expedition and usually island circumnavigation for final-year middle-school students about to enter high school (M3, ages 13-14) serves as BSF's core sail training module.

I had the privilege of joining several such expeditions during my fieldwork (Figure 8.2) including one with a crew of boys from different parts of the island, some of whom were considered 'at-risk' of dropping out of school and joining territorial gangs. Being suddenly brought together on *Spirit*, as they would soon be in high school, revealed the 'extremely fragile dynamics' of this crew of first-time sailors (152:WF20s). These played out during a grueling 24-hour regimen of rotating watches as we sailed our way around Bermuda. Taking the helm, raising and lowering sails, tying knots, splicing rope, mapping landscape, journal writing, even being seasick were all in a day's 'experiential learning'. I observed these young men (and myself) pushed to the physical and emotional limits, to the breaking point when they relinquished ego and entitlement and started to connect with each other and themselves.

¹⁷² As of October 2008.



Figure 8.2: *Spirit* coastal expedition, August 2007.

A sense of space was central to this transformation. Shipboard life is extremely physically confined. For instance, *Spirit's* crews must practice the tradition of 'hot-bunking', the trading off of sleeping berths throughout the watch system in order to maximise space aboard. Living together in tight quarters and the lack of personal space demands 'learning how to live with 21 others in that very small space' (169:WM40s) which facilitates the development of social skills. The lack of privacy paradoxically allows young mariners to clear their heads and find a calm, meditative 'inscape' (Osborne 2001). And with *Spirit's* movement through the islandscape, young seafarers gain a 'maritime mentality' that opens up Bermuda beyond their usual terrestrial 'twenty square-mile thinking' (175:BM40s). At sea, in an unfamiliar environment away from their comfort zone, these teens gained a wider perspective and sense of space hard to come by in their chaotic, land-locked lives.

This sense of space is not displaced or aimless but is grounded in a connection with the environment that *Spirit* and other maritime youth initiatives all cultivate. This can appear to be quite literal in terms triangulating actual location, knowing sites in the islandscape, understanding the workings of a ship, and other specific narratives. One educator aboard *Spirit* explained that 'the learning chemistry on the boat is really storytelling and narration, cued by landscapes and seascapes (9:WM50s). But ultimately, this is about young Bermudians gaining an *abstract* connection with the

environment around them of which they are a part. It is because this connection is so valuable and valued that much is made of few of the young participants having been on the water or a boat before, despite this inexperience making some sense in contemporary Bermuda as a relatively non-maritime society (2.2). Informants stress the widespread dislocation from the environment and the reconnection supplied by these initiatives in order to elevate this relationship with the sea.

Such maritime experience responds not only to youth and other Bermudian dislocation from the environment, but from their own bodies or themselves. Here, the efficacy of maritimity is a rather straightforward matter in terms of being a highly physical activity, in *Spirit's* case the sensory-loaded experience of going to sea. This embodiment is efficacious in a two-fold way, as the benefits of live maritime experience itself and as counter to disembodiment. Within an experience where 'the Captain's hands never touch the wheel' (Figure 8.3) and the ship's demands fall upon each crewmember aboard, there is no physical or emotional 'opting out'. These embodied initiatives provide a tool for actively coping with life, versus passively dwelling in self-destructive expressions that mask vulnerabilities and 'transport psychologically' (170:BM40s). These expressions include violence, especially black-on-black violence that is linked to internalised racism (5.2), or inactivity and apathy that exacerbates already diminished socio-economic possibilities.



Figure 8.3: Young Bermudian men at *Spirit's* helm, with (centre) her Captain, 2007.

Although *Spirit* and the other maritime youth initiatives certainly cater to boys *and* girls, with additional affirmative efforts for girls, gender is also present here. As benefit, this ‘tactual and kinaesthetic’ activity, that involves turning thought into action, has a special resonance for the way boys learn according to BSF’s leaders. As counter, maritimity responds to the often plainly-spoken ‘fact’ that boys are more at risk. The frustration and anger, or apathy and hopelessness, that is not exclusive to males but more prevalent among them, is more positively channeled through this embodied maritime experience. Returning to the expedition aboard *Spirit*, I observe young male crewmembers struggling with their new environment and ‘acting out’ physically. Unable to express themselves verbally, some of the most uncomfortable shout, punch, kick in desperation – even jump from or intentionally capsize smaller vessels used for mini-expeditions away from *Spirit* (Figure 8.4) – anything to escape.



Figure 8.4: *Spirit* mini-expedition in canoes further enabling crewmembers’ intimate contact with the marine environment and islandscape, 2007.

Yet, soon after this I observe a kind of settling happening, a calm after such frustrated expression. Experienced, adult ‘watch leaders’ testify that a teen’s behavior can shift even over the course of a 5-day expedition, although they hasten to add that longer voyages (not yet designed or operating) would achieve much more. On this shorter coastal journey, I nonetheless witnessed the process of young Bermudians letting go and beginning to experience their maritime islandscape and inscape.

Privilege, progression and performance

Though *Spirit* stole much of my attention in the field, and its dominance in the heritagescape is reflected in this chapter, it is not the only maritime youth programme, nor the oldest. The recent surge of interest in youth sailing is built upon decades-old programmes in the island's sailing clubs and associations, for which older Bermudians reserve much nostalgia (4.2). 'I can't tell you how many Bermudians came in who went to White's Island for sailing lessons. You see them smile. It's a good memory trace' (174:WF40s). The preservation and restoration of 'prams' and other boat classes for youth, in older wooden forms and newer technologies, or simply knowledge of their whereabouts or caretakers, was often communicated to me. This indicated the value of childhood experience and relationships with boats on a personal level, but also the high relevance of childhood to the wider social crisis.

Childhood is a meaningful feature of the maritime heritagescape, especially as the origin and starting point of memory and connection with the environment. It is not only because of the oral and life history techniques I employ in interviews that many interviewees remember their earliest years and thereby demonstrate a need to communicate the root of their maritime interests. Often childhood is the beginning in a narrative of increasing exposure and skill, fascination and dedication. When stressing how their maritime interests were ignited in childhood, informants emphasise this being before their adult agency and choice, inferring a primordial maritime connection like that of deeper maritime memory (4.1). Like that more collective sense of nationalism and place, the value of growing up in an island, and Bermuda specifically, is treated as culturally specific. As one informant said about her hand-line fishing skills, 'it's just something you learn from small' (181:BF50s).

It was with respect to the youth crisis that childhood took on a more profound significance. Leaders of these maritime youth initiatives emphasise their lifelong maritime connections, substantiating their genuine synergy with and concern for the young people they are engaged with. Informants stress the advantage of taking up maritime activity at the youngest age possible by highlighting mariners who connected with the water later in life as adults, or just how old they were when they started. So, while anyone anytime can connect with the environment, with others, and with oneself, childhood is the *optimal* time. Informants view childhood as a precious and irretrievable window of opportunity, and in doing so move from taking childhood for granted to seeing it and the maritimity cultivated during as a privilege.

There is thus a priority in these youth initiatives on catching kids young, of early participation and exposure. The targeting of primary- (ages 5-11) and middle-school students (ages 11-15), accesses the narrow time in child's life when they are receptive, before they are too distracted, 'but too often programmes start when kids have already bolted' (169:WM40s). The importance of this timing was highlighted on the coastal Bermuda *Spirit* expedition I joined about which an educator aboard said:

So we're looking for students dropping out of school, who were known to be involved with gang violence, who were for whatever reason slipping through the cracks. We looked at family home situations, all the stuff that classifies you as 'at risk', and especially if they are part of the town/country gang thing that's going on right now in Bermuda...for me that's a real problem that I see, all over the island, and it starts as young as [age] eleven, twelve. Some people may say it's a little young to be thinking about getting those relationships sorted out, but to me its the perfect time, because they really are, they're already forming [those associations], definitely (152:WF20s).

The standout in local youth sailing today is the Optimist, a small and simple but internationally recognised dinghy designed for children. The 'Opti' is '*the* junior training boat in all the island's sailing programmes with a national fleet' (BODA 2008, my emphasis). Important to this use and, more importantly, a sense of personal ownership and accountability is, as one informant said 'the beauty of the Opti is that it is one child in the boat, so [they are] in charge and [have] no one else to blame' (145:WM60s). While Optimist sailing retains a strong presence within the island's sailing clubs and engages in a great deal of local and international competition, it has also followed *Spirit's* integration into the school curriculum as a physical education (PE) programme for 11-year-olds called 'Waterwise'.

Waterwise is the first step in a child's progression from simple to complex boat classes and the skill required to handle them. It is a trajectory that demands achievement and perseverance, and thereby sustains a young sailor's interest and participation. 'Kids move from class to class. It's perfect, there's no complacency' (101:WM40s). This idea of progression was central to youth sailing and other maritime youth initiatives besides other maritime sport and activity, all of which unceasingly push individuals to their limits. During my fieldwork, however, there was 'Waterwise, and then, boom, nothing' (174:WF40s) or no intermediate stage (M2) between Optimists and *Spirit* or more advanced boat classes. This breach in continuity was a major concern for organisers, parents and young sailors alike, and finding a

transition a top priority. The issue of continuity is also a major issue for the reform of the public school system, in curriculum terms of vertical progression within a school and horizontal uniformity across schools.

Despite uncertainty about the next leg of graduation, the 2007 Waterwise school-year culminated with an ‘All Star Sail’ in Hamilton Harbour (Figure 8.5). I watched the kids first rig their boats at the RBYC, in an example of local clubs opening up their facilities and resources for social development, and more subtly for racial integration and reparation (5.2). I then joined a dozen parents and educators aboard a spectator boat to watch the middle schools skippers race one another amidst busy harbour traffic. The boys and girls from all five Bermuda middle schools participating were ‘the best of the best’, the chosen few selected to race – considered an honour. Dwarfed by larger ships, the miniature regatta performed skills first learned with Opti simulators during ‘dry-land sessions’ in school parking lots, including righting their own boats after capsizing – in contrast to the above desperate intentional capsizing in frustrated physical expression. In this seafaring, young Bermudians are charged to think critically about the task at hand, think things through on their own, pay attention to the ever changing nature of maritime life. In doing so, they focus away from distractions, from their regular worries and temptations. This test of focus and self-reliance is rewarded by the spectating parents and teachers and one leader’s proud loud compliment, ‘they’re holding their own!’ (169:WM40s).



Figure 8.5: Waterwise ‘All Star Sail’ in Hamilton Harbour, June 2007.

The progression and continuity of the youth sailing is also found in the rank structure of the local Sea Cadet Corps. Although Sea Cadets has not yet been extended into the school curriculum, the Corps is firmly embedded in the community and has served as a key foundation for the current wave of maritime youth initiatives. Adolescent Cadets, ages 9-18, engage in a variety of nautical training and activity on and off the water include sailing, rowing, navigation, first aid and drill. Sea Cadets are more land-based being located, following naval tradition, in onshore units or ‘ships’ that imitate ship procedure. Three geographically-based units or ‘Training Ships’ – the central TS *Bermuda*, west end TS *Venture* and east end TS *Admiral Somers* – each have their own history and clan area identities, strikingly similar to the gangs they attempt to deter young Bermudians away from, but together form a national Corps. Despite the importance of their land-based ‘ships’ and activities, it is seamanship, boats, sailing and the ocean that remain the central elements of Sea Cadet philosophy and practice.

As if repeatedly claiming their place in Bermuda’s maritime heritagescape, time and again I found uniformed Sea Cadets participating in maritime events and activities. They stood at proud attention at the Pilot Darrell, Mid-Shipman Dale (Figure 8.6) and other commemorations; they rowed across St. George’s Harbour to deliver the Reverend to the Blessing of the Boats ceremony in St. David’s; they were present at BMM openings including the Commissioner’s House restoration in 2000. The role of drill is emphasised, not only because it is the closest activity to naval tradition, but also because it offers repetition and structure that can be *performed* like other ritualistic maritime activities (7.3). Through such active visible display, these young Bermudians actively participate in maritime and wider local culture, claiming their place as citizens and thus building their identity and community.



Figure 8.6: TS *Venture* Sea Cadets performing drill in St. George’s Town Square for the 2009 Mid-Shipman Dale ceremony.

Othering academic learning and values

The experiential praxis of these maritime youth initiatives provides a sense of accomplishment, self-reliance and confidence that many young Bermudians cannot find in the classroom. Notwithstanding their various academic components and benefits, academic learning is the significant ‘other’ against which the identities of these programmes, and their leaders and participants, are constructed. Working class and experiential values and identities that pervade maritime and wider local culture, gain extra force in these remedies where the stakes are higher. Distinction to didactic learning is evident in BSF promotional statements such as *Spirit* is a ‘unique and dynamic classroom’, and ‘another way to experience the world’. More bluntly, a Sea Cadets officer said ‘I don’t want to have it like school. I don’t want that feeling like take out your books’ (17:BM20s). There is a concern about retaining a distinction from academic learning and its environment. For instance, while there is desire to follow the lead of Waterwise and *Spirit* by extending Sea Cadets into the curriculum (especially to fill the M2 gap), there is also a caution in considering this. Informants view the academic and experiential philosophies as not just different, but incompatible.

The negative stigma attached to academic learning is not only attached to the learning process itself, as a way of approaching the world, but to the wider social exclusion and resulting resentments it is seen to reflect. That these values are racialised, corresponding with white and black cultural values, is no coincidence. It is an affirmation of culture that has been suppressed under the longstanding affirmative action of white privilege (5.1). This class-race dynamic links with resentment of the privileging of academic learning in Bermuda’s educational system and culture at large. The closure of the Bermuda Technical Institute (1956-1972) and ongoing failure to replace the vocational education it provided is lamented by many informants and the broader community as ‘a huge glaring gap in our education system’ (Grimes 2008) or a ‘terrific void’ (Harris 2008). Both ‘Tech’ and the Dockyard apprentice schemes that preceded it, are remembered as places and programmes that cultivated belonging and confidence among young men through hands-on learning methods, male mentors, camaraderie and racial integration. Although such technical education is continually raised as a component of school reform (Hopkins et al. 2007:36, Palmer 2008), and *Spirit* and Waterwise have been successfully integrated into the curriculum

as PE programmes, some informants desire for academic and experiential learning to have equal stature and resent the latter being kept separate and supplemental.

Informants explicitly contrast this experiential praxis with museum learning, and the still largely didactic nature of exhibitions specifically. They compare the experiential context where ‘a ship is alive only doing her work with a crew’ (UI) to dead and elitist maritime museum ships. This critique gains ground with respect to BMM as a maritime museum with no museum ship to speak of and as highly didactic and exhibition-oriented (7.3). One informant observes that Bermudians experience the sea through activities, whereas artefacts are nowhere near as evocative (59:WF50s). In this popular discourse, the authenticity of ‘experience’ trumps the past-material authenticity celebrated in museums, particularly through the standard curatorial practice of representation. The experiential quality central to the workings and success of these youth initiatives serves as the crux of comparison with museums.

However, it is questionable whether museums can or should offer the type of experience these programmes do. Particularly in terms of this didactic-experiential split, these youth initiatives and maritime museums seem to be different projects. This is not because of entirely different concerns, but because maritimity in museums tends to be appropriated by or switched with other knowledge and meanings that construct identity and community differently. This dissonance hit home when informants rebuffed my academic approaches to fieldwork. ‘You have to get your head out of the clouds, and into the mind of a kid’ I was told (161:WM50s). Such demands helped me to shift from a romantic abstract mindset into an experiential and socially relevant one, a valuable lesson for understanding this remedial aspect of the heritagescape and disrupting my museological assumptions about what heritage might be.

Once again here, I have raised the issue of museum-community dissonance, with special reference to BMM (7.3), because this comparison and contestation are a part of the heritage and identity being constructed by Bermudians, in this case related to maritime youth development initiatives. Such experiential and embodied praxis is a crucial and dynamic area for conceptualising heritage in general and maritime heritage specifically, not least of all because of its inherent tensions with more authorised heritage and official museum practice, especially in the more retrograde maritime genre. Maritimity provides a helpful case, in trying to understand the tension between heritage as a fixed immutable concept and as a lived process, a tension I have suggested is key to the disconnection between local museums and their communities.

Maritime and life skills

Bermudians express the value of experiential learning in terms of two distinct outcomes: maritime skills and life skills. Maritime skills are not esoteric or purely leisure-based given maritime professions or trades *still* exist in Bermuda today, a survival that is emphasised as evidence for the resilient maritime ‘nation’ (4.1) as live maritime culture (4.3). Although the actual pool of local maritime jobs is small and some competition exists within it, informants consider maritime skills highly relevant for young Bermudians to have. The possibility for participating youth to graduate onto maritime careers is an explicit and proud aspect of these initiatives. Curricula and programming have ‘those pursuing maritime careers in mind’ (166:WF30s). Some of this is even professionally accredited, such as BSF’s ‘Skiller’ programme. Informants highlight basic experiential knowledge provisions such as the fundamentals of seamanship or practical employment requisites like ‘sea time’ that can open career doors. Here the pragmatic discourse surrounding these youth initiatives and the wider crisis is strong, resisting romanticisation. The concern for real jobs and local capacity, such as preparing new branch pilots and their support crews (Figure 8.7), supersedes the more generic personal development and life skills.



Figure 8.7: Department of Marine & Ports summer students aboard the pilot boat *St. David* docked at the pilot station at Ordnance Island, St. George’s, August 2007.

Whereas the insularity and size of Bermuda is highlighted as a factor delimiting youth in their opportunities, maritimity counters this, providing access to a wider world, in strong parallel to the island's historical connectedness and glocalisation and certainly linked to the island's past maritimes (4.1). Maritimity yields exposure, without which young Bermudians get physically and/or psychologically 'stuck' on the island. These initiatives actively boost Bermudian capacity in a globalised world where local skills and qualifications are devalued or inferior. These maritime initiatives seek to give Bermudian youth the opportunity to realise their potential. They invest, versus devaluing Bermudian capacity through inferior education, qualifications and training. In turn, professional mariners often make a point of acknowledging the maritime programmes, such as Sea Cadets, that sparked their career interest or served them in the long term, often noting the fundamentals of seamanship they continue to use everyday experientially.

On the other, more broadly utilised and accessible level, these maritime youth initiatives 'offer skills beyond nautical skills' (156:BM50s). Discipline, leadership, decision-making, confidence are the more general and personal kinds of capacity acquired. Speaking about BSF, one Bermudian states unequivocally, 'they teach you about life' (28a:BM40s). Here, the social value lies in 'real life skills, an authentic product' (166:WF30s), in terms of the greater social efficacy offered. Informants suggest this often comes right down to the basics of giving young Bermudians the basics to simply cope with life, let alone make wise decisions or take on leadership roles, in pragmatic acknowledgment of the formidable challenges many of them face.

While maritimity is not entirely irrelevant to this social value, it is reduced to a means to an end. 'Here's this little eight foot punt you can learn so many life skills in' (101:WM40s) an informant remarks about the Optimist sailboat. Such maritime experience is not an end in itself, but serves another, more broadly applicable and socially significant purpose. Informants take care to emphasise that the programmes and learning is not limited to the maritime, as this would fail to accommodate their wider social aims. Converse to the prioritisation of maritime skills in the above perspective, this emphasis on life skills stresses that the aspiration is not necessarily to become a mariner, especially in a context where maritime professions are few and far between, where Bermuda is nostalgically no longer a maritime society (4.2). The notion that 'not that everybody needs to be a sailor' (28:BM40s) also reinforces the democratic and inclusive nature of these initiatives, versus notions of the specialised

and elevated skilled mariner. Though the maritime is valued as a vehicle, on a superficial and specific level it is often dismissed. Life skills go ‘beyond the esoteric’ maritime skills, to a deeper and more relevant level.

This life skills aspect is no less pragmatic than maritime skills, as it still promises ‘various gateways’ to participants. This is especially for young men, ‘giving boys tools to survive in Bermuda in non-traditional ways’ (175:BM40s). Such basic life skills can be somewhat less ambitious than career-driven maritime skills, yet they are accessible to more young Bermudians. A Sea Cadets Officer admits that although they teach it, ‘frankly none of us know semaphore’ (159c:WM30s), but does so with a cynical tone that communicates the importance of *not* knowing this and appreciation that the programme’s real value lies in contemporary needs outside the maritime niche. ‘We just feel that this program can turn potential wall-sitters¹⁷³ into sailors’ (101:WM40s). As a product of community needs, such a mariner’s identity, cultivated through experiential seafaring, is not restricted but transcends life and maritime skills as a philosophy, distinct knowledge and approach to life. This expansion beyond the narrow confines of maritimetry recalls the way maritime museums tend to focus on specific narratives and content, rather than using them more metaphorically and imaginatively, which may enable them to make better and broader community connections.

8.3 Community values

Youth orientation

Maritimetry, and youth to some extent, takes a backseat in this section examining how these initiatives build or repair community. Here, I explore the way Bermudians involved with these maritime youth programmes deploy a particular and fairly coherent set of values for the sake of these wider community concerns, looking at specific examples of prioritising youth, containing history and managing entitlement.

These maritime initiatives are oriented first and foremost to young Bermudians, or at least convincingly promote themselves this way. This youth orientation contrasts with concerns about intergenerational transmission and judgment of youth as non-conformist. There is an evident tension between heritage, as it is more conventionally defined, and young people. Following my argument against

¹⁷³ Stereotypical term for Bermudians, especially the young and/or unemployed, who visibly station themselves along Bermuda’s roads.

presumptions of public heritage deficiency (1.2), this is due to presumptions of youth's lack of engagement or passive inheritance of heritage on the one hand, and the centrality of youth to notions of sustainability and inclusion on the other. These initiatives underscore that exploring and diffusing the tension between youth and heritage is crucial if museums and the heritage they promote are to play a more active and meaningful social role in combating social exclusion.

This prioritisation of young Bermudians is encapsulated in 'Three Bermudians', a painting of *Spirit* alongside her historic and technological predecessors (Figure 8.8). Regarding this piece, Bermudian marine artist Eldon Trimingham explained his decision to compromise his usual highly-trained and detailed style for a simpler one aimed at a young audience. 'This is easier for them to understand. It's a different concept for me, but it works' he said. Although the painting traces the evolution of the sloop from small, simple local design to large, complex naval and merchant vessel to the sail training vehicle that is *Spirit*, reflecting wider Bermudian emphasis on this technological development and traversing of scale over linear time (4.1), his concern with historical accuracy is subservient to youth access. This orientation contrasts with the conservative, stylised and obscure marine art world that is geared to connoisseurs and upheld by many maritime museums as a presumed authenticity-laden prerogative of their collections and representations.



Figure 8.8: 'Three Bermudians' by Eldon Trimingham III (Bermudian, 1956-), Oil on canvas, commissioned in 2006 by BSF for fundraising purposes showing *Spirit* (centre) among her predecessors (courtesy of the artist, photo by Ann Spurling).

Another example of the prioritisation of youth is found in the strident support by many involved with *Spirit* of her build outside Bermuda by an American shipbuilding

firm.¹⁷⁴ Some criticise this outsourcing to non-Bermudians off-island as a missed opportunity for building Bermudian identity and ‘national pride’ (2:WM40s). This loss is especially felt in terms of remembering, reenacting or reviving the strong and inclusive legacy of Bermudian boat building and its link with sailing, especially via the Bermuda sloop (5.1). Related to this, there is contestation by ‘purists’ about *Spirit’s* label as a ‘sloop’ due to her design being closer to early 19th Century schooners built by Bermudians for the Royal Navy, reflecting the importance of the distinction and claim over local sloops.

These criticisms are defensively and convincingly diffused by BSF’s practical concerns for capacity, cost, and above all, safety, as a youth sail training vessel. As her purpose-built design indicates, *Spirit* was never intended as a museum or artefact but as a ‘living’ working vessel that could meet today’s strict safety requirements and marine regulations. This contrasts with maritime museum and local boat restoration projects that strive for absolute authenticity in terms of replicating or restoring materials, skills or experience, at the strictest allowing ‘no anachronisms of any kind’ (Greenhill 1981:198). While some of these ‘eschew modern safety features...and consequently cannot take paying passengers’ (Easthope 2001:188), *Spirit* is no such ‘heritage experience’. BSF further counters critics with the argument there is insufficient local maritime capacity available for such a huge and complex project, in terms of knowledge and skill as well as physical resources and facilities, a more pragmatic acceptance of the non-maritime character of contemporary Bermuda than the heavy nostalgia for dying practices (4.2). Even when these defenses are more rhetorical, they effectively trump other priorities given their alignment with community needs.

As no such ‘Bermuda rig’ or associated vessel survives today, nor any discernable plans, a variety of interpretations and factors have guided BSF’s project. Though BSF utilised a 19th Century depiction of a Bermuda sloop for the design¹⁷⁵ and insisted on a wooden boat and stretched their budget to include bronze fittings, a cedar transom and other elements ‘for historical look’ and to Bermudianise the vessel (6.2), modern materials were entirely taken advantage of:

¹⁷⁴ Rockport Marine Ltd. built *Spirit* over two years in Maine costing \$6 million.

¹⁷⁵ A Bermuda sloop of the Royal Navy, entering port in the West Indies, 1831, by John Lynn (British, active *circa* 1826-1869), Oil on canvas (Lloyd 2007).

The vessel utilizes modern wood composite construction, carbon fibre spars, outside ballast, and up-to-date systems to ensure long life and to provide far higher levels of comfort and safety than the historic vessel would have had. However, her character and outward appearance harkens strongly to the original (Rockport Marine 2008).

As *Spirit* does in its material composition, informants work against external and historical notions of authenticity and stress the intangibility of the programmes, supporting the increasingly accepted idea that the tangible-intangible dichotomy is a ‘false distinction’ (Graham and Howard 2008a:4). In this discourse, the intangibility of the ship and other components paradoxically constitute social value and evoke the power of materiality. Informants express this new authenticity best:

Big thing is Bermudians think sail training’s the boat, but sail training’s the programme (9:WM50s); The ship’s is just a vehicle. It’s the people on it and programme you’re running that’s the important part (161:WB50s); In the early days we made the fundamental mistake of talking about the boat, the design, the technology...a nice white man’s boat. There was a fundamental shift when it changed to a programme, [we] shifted to what it would do for people’s lives (18:BM50s).

Perhaps the most poignant indicator of this youth orientation comes in the form of a more personal ‘teachable moment’, when my fieldwork aboard the *Spirit* coastal expedition (8.2), was cut short by a BSF leader out of concern for the ‘extremely fragile dynamics’ of that particular ‘at-risk’ crew. This resulted in an important shift in my own thinking from self-interested frustration about the impact this had on my data collection, an attitude similar and perhaps related to the museum-centrism I critique, to a more genuine appreciation for the no-compromise prioritisation of young people, especially those ‘at-risk’, and the social needs they represent.

The orientation to youth is also evident in the relative lack of proprietary attitudes, or at least a conscious display of openness, among Bermudians involved or interested in these initiatives. In the previous section, I described *Spirit*, Waterwise and Sea Cadets as the main maritime youth initiatives in Bermuda today. However, I also came across other programmes, some defunct and some only envisioned, not yet realised but crystallised enough in informants’ minds to share with me. One leading idea was for young Bermudians to race the traditional pilot gigs – long, slender rowing boats designed for several oarsmen (Figure 8.9). These additional designs are despite youth seafaring already being a crowded area for Bermuda’s size, but suggest

the potential for youth seafaring is by no means exhausted. Bermudian enthusiasm for the maritime, concern for the community, or both is extremely high.



Figure 8.9: Informant images of building and racing pilot gigs in Cornwall, UK, inspiring their ambitions for similar programmes in Bermuda, especially for youth.

Beyond there being room for more programmes, there is surprising lack of competition among the existing ones. Their community agendas appear to supersede the kind of territorialism that dogs the local heritage sector (2.3). The inevitable involvement of personal and institutional egos in these programmes, particularly as they build infrastructure and become increasingly professionalised, leader-led and influenced by donors, does not greatly inhibit the overall sense of common purpose and cooperation among them. While the initiatives were discrete and autonomous, each retaining its own focus and identity, they collaborated and overlapped with little tension. And though supported by Government, these initiatives all remain independent and grassroots at heart, distinguishing them from the kind of state-run, well-researched heritage initiatives combating social exclusion in the UK and elsewhere. Like many private and independent local heritage groups, Government was viewed as a partner in these missions, and an influential one, but not the original impetus or central agency.

It is also worthwhile to mention that the above youth seafaring initiatives are all based on ‘imported’ and ‘proven’ experiential learning models or what ‘the experts

say' (9:WM50s). On an experiential learning and life skills front, *Spirit* follows the 'top performing U.S. reform education model of expeditionary learning schools' (9:WM50s), as well as the motivational tenets of 'The Seven Habits of Highly Effective Teens' (Covey 1998), making maritimism somewhat marginal and arbitrary. Sail training programmes like *Spirit* are found globally, Optimists are an international youth sailing phenomena that began in the US, the local Sea Cadets is the child of a British parent group (SCCUK 2008), and (Figure 8.9) the pilot gig idea is borrowed in part from successful Cornish racing (CPGA 2008). The adaptation of these models to Bermuda, reflects the island's global attitude. It is also a somewhat 'copy and paste' approach to the local crisis, similar to the revision of school curricula and the lowering of barriers to community by the local heritage sector (2.3), where foreign models are brought in and then Bermudianised, versus cultivating truly homegrown and culture-specific approaches. Given the high degree of resentment to overseas influences, and Americanisation in particular, so evident in other aspects of maritime culture and the social crisis discourse, this acceptance or even pride of using external models is surprising. However, from a standpoint that prioritises youth needs above all else, this use and adaptation makes sense and is unproblematic.

Striking by its absence were any such youth initiatives or real collaboration with those described in this chapter coming from the official local heritage sector, including BMM. To be fair, this is partly because of the real constraints that make adoption of the new museology difficult for many museums. Yet, the limited and superficial youth outreach of the heritage sector also reflects museum-centrism and contributes to museum-community disconnection. One informant heavily involved with Waterwise and *Spirit* cynically comments, 'BMM would not be interested, they are doing other things' (101:WM40s). I could not help but feel that – giving in to the maritime metaphor – BMM is literally and figuratively 'missing the boat'. Instead, it is these grassroots maritime initiatives that have actively stepped into the role to build a better community, and they have received widespread local support for doing so. As Crooke writes, 'maybe these groups are engaging with heritage in a way that museum professionals, in favour of transforming the museum, can only aspire to' (2008a:15).

Subtle history

There is a conspicuous lack of ‘recourse to the past’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995) in these maritime initiatives, contrary to dominant heritage paradigms with a past-material bias. This absence is certainly not owed to a lack of history or tradition to draw on. *Spirit* is the modern incarnation of the historic Bermuda sloop; youth sailing combines with an abundance of modern maritime sport and leisure to evoke traditions of boat building, sailing and racing; Sea Cadets reflects local seafaring, and is modeled on the practices of the Royal Navy, partly due- to the Navy’s 19-20th Century extensive presence in Bermuda (4.1), leaving behind a magnificent Dockyard and other naval culture with today’s strong respective heritage largely due to BMM; and the envisioned pilot gig racing recalls competitions dating to the early 1700s between local navigators to reach incoming ships in order to provide them safe passage into Bermuda’s harbours.

And yet past maritimes do not dominant this experiential praxis. This is not the use of heritage resources to help deal with social problems and encourage community regeneration (Newman and McLean 1998). The programmes are not framed as ‘heritage education’ or as some reenactment or simulation of the past. Nor do they explicitly address the calls for improved ‘Bermudian’ history in the school curricula or in general (5.2). Overall, they resist ‘heritagisation’. While the past is recognised as an added-value to these initiatives, there is little sense of being obligated to history in the way that pervades official heritage and museums.

Rather, the past is employed cautiously, treated as a force that might retard or drain the capacity and focus of these initiatives as social remedies if not live maritime culture (4.3). Historical authenticity and other uses of the past that might dominate or diminish the youth agenda and the experiential praxis are thus kept subservient or concealed. These initiatives can’t afford the history because the history does not afford them social value. I suggest this soft or subtle use of the past is quite deliberate, because a more explicit use, and the kind of static representations it tends to involve, is seen to threaten the vitality of the maritime present and the agency of the young Bermudian.

In an interesting exception in my study and Easthope’s (2001) classification of restored and replica sailing vessels based on the Australian case, history is readily drawn on for fundraising and promotional purposes (Figure 8.10). This is particularly so for *Spirit* as a working vessel with significant operating and maintenance costs.

‘Part of the historical thing to a certain extent is publicity and promotion in order to get people interested...It is false, to a certain extent, yeah...History is sexy to donors’ (161:WM50s). This use of history and donor aggrandisement is permissible because it is a means to an end, that end being the pressing needs of Bermuda’s youth. This separation of donors and beneficiaries contrasts with some museum approaches where these groups are conflated or donor concessions dominate, which exacerbate museum-community disconnection and the associated identity crisis of museums (1.2).



Figure 8.10: *Spirit* promotional tours using reproduction of an 1831 rendition of a Bermuda sloop by John Lynn (Note 174).

Beyond these promotional purposes, the past is used subtly. It is embedded within the experiential praxis itself. ‘Cultural narratives of older epochs can be delivered in extra-linguistic ways, through material culture and conditions of embodiment’ (Chronis 2006:269). The Sea Cadets have an obvious tie to history with their naval connection and yet this is subtly embedded in the ritualistic performances of drill, uniforms and traditions such as semaphore, versus any kind of formal history or formal interaction with the Dockyard (besides the location of the west end unit *TS Venture*) or other places or materiality. Aboard *Optis*, *Spirit* or other youth sailing vessels, the fundamentals of seamanship, largely unchanged over the centuries, yield a connection to past mariners as they are absorbed in practice. Through the repetition

of shipboard discipline and routine, through the expression of traditional language and skills, through material actants including the ship and island landscape, the crew experiences what one informant calls ‘time warping moments’ (152:WF20s) and Stara similarly describes as ‘a collapsing of spatio-temporal boundaries’ (Stara 2006). In the case of *Spirit* and other vessels the connection is also made through the vessel itself, ‘they’re standing on a boat similar to their ancestors’ (161:WM50s).

This connection to the past is also constructed through a belief in the ‘deep-rooted’ affinity of young Bermudians for seafaring. This affinity is brought into greater relief by the fact that only few young participants have experienced a boat before because of limited life opportunity and their alienation from the environment, an emphasis on dislocation and disembodiment noted earlier (8.2). Narratives implying this genetic or primordial connection of young mariners were frequently shared, some stressing a young Bermudian’s kinship links to eminent mariners and maritime places, some highlighting the novice mariner who has never had contact with water before, yet excels. An easy language of ‘rekindling’, ‘revival’ or ‘reconnection’, hints that the act of becoming mariners through this seafaring is indeed about becoming mariners *again*. There is thus a kind of time-transgression between present and past mariners, being imagined as interlocutors in a two-way temporal link in which mutual understanding and respect is engendered, recalling the links between past and present maritimes (5.1) and perhaps forging them further.

Without disturbing the strong rhetoric and best practice of inclusion and diversity at work in these initiatives, the memory enacted is highly gendered and racialised, answering the community’s foremost need to affirm its young black men and underscoring that heritage is indeed a presentist process. This affirmative attention makes constructive use of the fact that maritime heritage is a domain heavily weighted to male informants and masculinities. It also rides the recent wave of rememory of black Bermudian heritage especially under the PLP (5.1), with the skilled black Bermudian mariner (5.2) constructed within and around these initiatives. BSF’s watch leader training document entitled ‘evocative historical narratives’, consisting of excerpts from different credible and cited historical sources (5.2), illustrates the stress placed on black Bermudian contributions in the discourse surrounding *Spirit* and more widely locally. The way adult watch leaders are encouraged to use these narratives through ‘teachable moments’ and use island landscape cues, versus formal teaching, further highlights a subtle use of history (Figure 8.11).



Figure 8.11: Watch leader and a young crew member discuss (is)landscape cues during a *Spirit* coastal expedition.

These narratives are available especially, though not exclusively, to young black men via their own maritime experiences. They embody the knowledge, skill and masculinity of past mariners through their own seafaring. Here, the skilled black mariner provides his young disenfranchised contemporary counterparts with a representative role model, one who is painfully missing in contemporary Bermuda precisely because of the situation for disenfranchised youth and young black men particularly, in a recurring cycle. As part of why ‘they don’t have the role models so they don’t see themselves doing it’ (174:WF40s), the loss of maritimity for the black community in particular (5.2) again comes to the fore.

The desire for racial reconciliation (5.2) was heavily projected through these maritime youth initiatives. These feel-good spaces of community activism and youth focus involve a level of community that transcends race lending them to such aspiration or attainment. The experiential character of these initiatives further supports a ‘prospective memory’ for racial integration and equity. The shared experience of sailing is easily imagined with *Spirit*’s crews, together in actual space and time versus a kind of representation or reenactment.



Figure 8.12: Promotional image for *Spirit* (courtesy Bermuda Sloop Foundation).

Such embodied experience effaces race and class, allowing not only inclusion of those in ‘minority’ positions, but also those with ‘privilege’. So, relating to Bermuda’s central race-class dynamic, these initiatives offer a space for both whites and blacks of varying economic strata to work together with a common purpose. Whereas some rememory has been alienating and unsettling for white Bermudians, here whites may participate in racial reconciliation, and in a more genuine way (5.3). However, this comes with equal, if not greater, potential to indulge white privilege (5.1), relating to the two-sided notion of entitlement discussed next.

Deserving and disturbing entitlement

In addition to the youth orientation and subtle uses of the past discussed above, notions of entitlement are also strongly expressed in relation to these local maritime youth initiatives as a means to build community. This is a two-fold discourse with opposing but inter-dependent positive and negative aspects that (unintentionally) play on the ambiguity of the term *entitlement*, or engage with both senses of the word. The

combination of these two aspects helps to construct a particular set of values that are focused on youth, yet also speak more broadly to Bermuda as a community.

The first, positive aspect of this community construction deploys entitlement as something naturally deserved, an individual's automatically-earned rights catering to the concept of innocence and reinforcing the above initiatives' no-compromise dedication to youth. This positive entitlement and trust is the flip side of judgmental and patronising attitudes about the 'youth today'. It is a sympathetic opening up to young Bermudians facing steep educational and social challenges. 'Through no fault of their own Bermuda's youth have inherited onerous socio-economic obstacles to their successful personal and economic development' (BSF 2008). This sense of disinheritance sits in tension with the normative idea of heritage as a positive legacy, and is actively countered by maritime activity and opportunity.

This notion of positive entitlement is reflected in the concerted attempt to give young Bermudians a sense of ownership over the programmes, and, by extension, their world. Despite the ultimately intangible nature of these initiatives, which I have said informants emphasise, it is frequently the material agents involved – facilities, uniforms, cap tallies, certificates, medals and especially boats – that are used to communicate to kids that the programmes belong to them. Young sailors are reminded about *Spirit* 'it's your boat' (161:WM50s). Sea Cadets are likewise told that 'this thing, building, environment, is yours' (159c:WM30s), especially in terms of their onshore 'training ships' that provide a kind of second home or even 'safe house' with built-in structure and community within the islandscape. These provisions, and informants' emphasis of them, underscore the powerful affect the material world and a sense of place have and is believed to have on identity (6.2).

Recognition of these natural rights engenders a culture of empathy. A genuine spirit of giving drives these initiatives that supports and is supported by democratic principles of inclusion; everyone is entitled to maritimity and the identity tools it offers. So contagious is this volunteerism, I found myself critically reflecting upon my own social contributions, or lack thereof. Though genuine, serving the interests of the community is also a proud rhetoric that elevates those who do and say so, creating a split between those who contribute and those who do not. Comments like, 'most haven't sailed before, their parents are not sailors' (169:WM40s), indicate how this willingness quickly turns to judgement. In this case the innocent entitled younger generation is denied maritime contact by the disinterested distracted older generation.

This mixture of empathy and judgment is evident in the emphasis on role models, an emphasis that is proportional to their absence. Informants stress the supportive presence a role model provides to compensate for parental abdication and other damaging absences, particularly by fathers. ‘Men’s participation is critical because children’s lives are dominated by women. Men’s lives are mysteries’ (173:WM30s).¹⁷⁶ Besides being a gendered phenomena, this is a racialised one that relates to the aforementioned loss of maritimity for black Bermudians through a transference related to the legacies of racism (5.2). Although any authority figure is valued, Bermudian and/or black men are especially prized and pursued as role models within these maritime initiatives, as well as other local youth mentoring programmes.¹⁷⁷ Informants testify to the efficacy of programmes by identifying accomplished Bermudians who have come through them, often by simply dropping names as this is reference enough in a community so small and interconnected (3.2). In a poignant fieldwork episode that highlights the reality of absent and replacement role models, I observed a couple helping their young grandsons, whom they are raising, to rig and sail cedar model boats built for them by their incarcerated father, who ‘just like the boys, loves boats, loves the water’ (Figure 8.12).



Figure 8.12: Brothers sailing cedar model boats made for them by their incarcerated father, at Margaret’s Bay in Sandys, September 2007.

¹⁷⁶ The majority of Bermuda’s teachers are women, as elsewhere including the Bahamas (Bethel 1993).

¹⁷⁷ Includes Big Brothers and Big Sisters, YouthNet, Government’s Mirrors programme, among others.

The second, more negative aspect in this discussion centres on interrupting entitlement, largely using a sense of expectation and the concept of citizenship. These attitudes place demands on young and other Bermudians to take responsibility for their own lives.¹⁷⁸ Informants who take this ‘tough love’ approach and stance suggest this is ultimately more helpful than the rampant over-pampering of youth within this society ‘lost in privilege’. Relative to the positive entitlement explored above, these expectant attitudes are undoubtedly the more familiar due to the pervasive cynicism in Bermuda today.

Maritimity fights corrupting influences that are seen to tear at the fundamental fabric of Bermudian society and on which much blame for the current social crisis is laid. Bermuda’s capitalist and consumerist culture is a regular target, with the dangers of materialism stressed by informants and incidents such as the violent murder opening this chapter, in which the young victim was allegedly defending himself against the theft of his prized gold chain.¹⁷⁹ ‘Kids are kids but there’s a bigger social problem here than elsewhere...People are more ‘thing’ conscious here in Bermuda’ (161:WM50s).

Maritimity is also seen to guard against an increasingly virtual culture linked with materialism. Television and internet are regarded as especially damaging media, that permeate and displace Bermudian culture and values and dislocate and disembodify youth, a phenomena I have argued experiential praxis actually and/or is seen to disrupt or repair (8.2). ‘We’re losing our identity, it’s getting so globalised. Gang culture came straight out of television I’m convinced. It’s so non-Bermudian.’ (167:WM50s). As the preceding quote suggests, there is high emphasis on external forces in this desire to cast blame. Some informants indulge in a kind of justified xenophobia, one that wards off invasives. American popular culture is a primary worry, accented by a racially-charged anxiety of urban, ‘hip-hop’ lifestyles.

As maritimity fights corrupting influences, it also replaces them with core values. In a society where ‘everything is moving away from discipline and structure’ (159b:BM30s), maritimity is seen to successfully restore these elements. The assertive naval discipline embedded in the training routines, rank structure, uniforms and other elements of Sea Cadets, for instance, all instill and represent such

¹⁷⁸ Recalling the discourse that to take on and prioritise the dysfunction within the black community, though a product of imposed and internalised racism, this must be led from within the black community, supported by other social and cultural apparati (5.1).

¹⁷⁹ (Note 168).

conservative expectations. As part of this value set, young Bermudians are not passive beneficiaries, but are expected to actively participate and contribute, exemplified by the way young Sea Cadets must sacrifice every Friday night for training (Figure 8.13). Adult officers, who are themselves subject to this stymied schedule, stress the importance of maintaining this timing versus caving to pressures to change it. This and other ‘rules’ are not arbitrary acts of tradition but tools used to strengthen the commitment and identity of those upholding them and to interrupt entitlement.



Figure 8.13: Friday night Sea Cadets meetings at (left) the west end unit TS *Venture* in the Dockyard and (right) the east end unit TS *Admiral Somers* at Convict Bay, St. George's.

The positive entitlement of youth to have role models, discussed above, nonetheless resists a mentor/mentee dichotomy. Notions of passive transmission and inheritance, that are so prevalent in the conceptualisation and use of heritage (4.2) as well as the island's crisis stereotypes, are disrupted as young Bermudians become role models for themselves or their own generation, defying generational reliance. Such peer-coaching was displayed at the Waterwise ‘All Star Sail’ (8.2), when skippers shouted encouragement to the less seasoned among them. Graduates of Waterwise and the other maritime programmes are expected to continue on to the next level and/or to step into more senior roles. ‘At age 18 it's time for you to start giving to us. We ask ‘what do you intend?’’ claims a Sea Cadets Officer (159c:WM30s). Ideally, the mentee becomes the mentor. Those who have come up through the ranks of these

programmes are viewed as the best qualified to convince and guide others and were often recommended to me for interviews. These include committed teens who have graduated to the ‘special honour’ (Fitzpatrick 2008:34) of becoming a watch leader aboard *Spirit*, where they now provide the structure and support they once benefitted from. Sea Cadets Officers proclaim: ‘Ex-Cadets are our greatest success story. We’re really targeting them...when we get them coming back through the door, it’s like a precious jewel’ (159b:BM30s). Those who take up responsibility, sometimes with great enthusiasm, are highly regarded, with this regard spanning seasoned officers to young cadets to their parents (Figure 8.14). Mutual respect among these leaders, cadets and community networks displays this regard and promotes the citizenship these programmes try to instil.



Figure 8.14: Sea Cadets officers (left) Dr. Mark Guishard, Michael Frith and Dwayne Trott; (top right) Commander Anthoni Lightbourne; and some of their possible successors.

Adult informants say they search for and single out young ‘leaders’ with exceptional character, ambition or skill, in a manner that runs counter to democratic principles of inclusion. Yet, in the manner of compelling closure (2.2) this upholds certain values, especially the idea of engaged citizenship. This civic consciousness sustains the initiatives through intergenerational succession, like the necessary progression in experiential learning (8.2). More importantly, it is discerning and constructs a community of a high quality, one that embraces shared values and harkens back to the

kind the island once had and today many Bermudians are so nostalgic for (4.2). Like for the life skills it provides, maritimism is meaningful but only as a means to an end:

Basically what your doing is hammering in pitons of awareness for the future...We are trying to identify leaders. At this age it is particularly important to develop apostles, which is part of our goal. Because the fact is a lot of kids are steered by the peer group of popular culture...You're not looking for sailors (9:WM50s).

Extending this citizenship to a global level, young Bermudian mariners are ambassadors for Bermuda, venturing out into the world representing the island and themselves. Informants see this role as key to developing young Bermudian identities and the youth development initiatives themselves. Older leaders and young participants alike highlight the extension of these programmes overseas. *Spirit's* overseas voyages include competitive tall ship racing and historical programmes, such as the 2008 'pilgrimage' to the Turks & Caicos, designed to recreate historical Bermudian maritime experience (4.1). Bermudian Optimist skippers compete at a high level on the international stage, with ambitions 'to be the best in world' and well-deserved small-country pride as 'the Spartans of sailing' (101:WM40s). Among the Sea Cadets' trips are international exchanges and overseas training, including drill competitions and crewing aboard the British naval square-rigger TS *Royalist*. Informants believe this ambassadorship exposes young Bermudian mariners to a world beyond the island, expanding their sense of space and personal horizons:

Well, it's like a living icon, [and] they're on it. Not so much when they're here, but when they leave here, when they go [overseas] and someone asks them 'What the hell is that?', and they'll say 'that is the original leg-o-mutton Bermuda rig'. So, that's the real output. This boat will probably be seen by a million people this summer (9:WM50s).

This ambassadorship is indeed also about 'learning about how to be on show' (166:WF30s), a core citizenship role tied to the 'outside-in' identity making of Bermudians, primarily because of tourism but also imagined in being part of a glocal nation (4.1). Representing Bermuda to the world is treated as a great privilege, and diametrically opposed to the lack of opportunity for many Bermudian youth today.

Chapter conclusion

Maritime heritage as Bermuda's social remedy

This chapter has explored the maritime youth development initiatives that feature as important loci in Bermuda's maritime heritagescape, but I suggest are most meaningfully interpreted in the wider local context of a community in crisis. In examining this youth seafaring, I have brought the concepts of heritage, identity, maritimity and youth into closer and less comfortable contact, so as to push the boundaries of our thinking about these concepts individually and in concert. I have sought to demonstrate how and why these maritime initiatives hold efficacy for the youth crisis, both in measurable outcomes and invested hope which are equally valid as heritage processes. I have tried to show that the efficacy of these maritime initiatives lies in their youth mission and engagement with community needs, and that this translates to their authenticity as a heritage process. I hope to have demonstrated why maritimity matters in these remedial applications, while also giving a sense of heritage as a more abstract process involved with the construction of identity and community, in a context where this is not simply a natural occurrence but an extra-present action being highly sought after and needed, and thus socially valued.

My focus on experiential praxis reflects my own embodied fieldwork experience and the emphasis of informants on this approach to learning about the world and oneself. It is the experiential qualities of youth seafaring that I think most decidedly speak to the distinctiveness and meaning of maritimity in these social remedies. Gender and race are foregrounded in this discussion of social crisis and maritime remedy, but particularly in this experiential component. I have examined how the academic-experiential split and the identity politics that accompany it are central to the tensions and resulting dissonance between the kind of actual 'real-life' maritime experience and live culture found in these youth development initiatives, and maritime heritage as it is constructed and 'taught' in official heritage spaces and maritime museums such as BMM. However, beyond any such museum-centric comparison, the efficacy of this experiential praxis comes down to life experience, a sense of self and other outcomes at the individual embodied level, as one young informant testifies to with his personal transformation:

To occupy my time and give me experience on the water and sea time. And it's helped me like stay out of trouble because if you don't stay focused in Bermuda you can get side-tracked real easily. There's a lot of peer pressure...I'm just really proud of how fast

I've changed my life around. To be honest, I was kind of going the wrong way. I've just accomplished so much from finishing high school to where I am now (176:BM20s).

Such kinesthetic maritimity helps move maritime heritage away from more static and explicit and clichéd representations and understanding, towards more sensory subtle engagements with the social and material world that, I believe, museums have great potential to stimulate and represent.

Yet, as my discussion of community values endeavours to show (8.3) the efficacy of these initiatives also involves a set of core values being projected and cultivated through these maritime youth development initiatives. Among these shared ethics and expectations, community is created and shared on a level that goes beyond the individual. This level is perhaps slightly less about maritimity or even ambitions for Bermuda's youth, but absolutely crucial to the issues and desired solutions behind Bermuda's social crisis and what these remedies try to or do in fact achieve. Like Crooke's observation that 'community heritage initiatives, despite the appearance of being local and grassroots activities, will often reflect agendas that extend well beyond the community group' (2008a:415), this chapter and the phenomena it explores are not only about the maritime youth development initiatives, but how they, even in their specific details or voices, crystallise wider local concerns and aspirations. This construction or sense of community is itself the heritage process, or maritime heritage by virtue of being embedded in the specific cultures and networks of these initiatives.

This community making is inclusive of the limits or losses in this desire for community attainment, illustrated by my encounter a year later with a young man I sailed with on the *Spirit* coastal expedition. While drinking and smoking with friends, he said plainly, again stripping away my romantic notions, 'I was kicked off the sloop and they asked me back...But I said "Nah". I don't even like the water that much anyways' (184:BM20s). Heritage, in playing a real social role inside or outside museums, is found in and between achievements and their limitations, or actual and imagined results. The call for, effects of and belief in these initiatives are equally significant in terms of making social meaning and identity and community specifically, processes that, in my view put forward throughout this ethnographic analysis of maritime heritage in Bermuda, constitute heritage.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

9.1 Theoretical expansion

A telling title

‘Community uses of maritime heritage in Bermuda: A heritage ethnography with museum implications’ encapsulates this dissertation’s argument and contribution. The keywords therein are not obscure settings or academic jargon, but the case study and key concepts this research explores in order to satisfy my three-fold objective to: *conceptualise heritage as a process, using an appropriate research method, with implications for museums*. In meeting these linked aims, this heritage study respectively helps to address: *the undertheorisation of heritage, the inadequacy of heritage research methods, and the disconnection between communities and their museums*. In doing so, the *presumption of public heritage deficiency* underlying and linking these theoretical, methodological and museological ‘problems’ is challenged and countered. Deconstructing my dissertation title, then, serves as a useful introduction to this overall conclusion and final chapter.

‘Community’ suitably stands at the forefront of the title to this analysis of grassroots, unofficial or community heritage. The title’s use of ‘community’ also alludes to the combination of curiosity and criticism driving this research: curiosity for community heritage as it occurs locally on collective and personal levels, and criticism to open up heritage beyond its delimiting discursive construction. ‘Uses of heritage’¹⁸⁰ invokes community in suggesting plural perspectives, as it does the investigation of a process. I likewise use ‘maritime heritage’ in the title and elsewhere to stress that my object of study is activated by people in the present and nothing external to this immediacy and agency.

This dissertation accordingly captures the meaning Bermudians generate in the social and conceptual space between maritimity and maritime heritage. The title’s divided structure represents this heritage process as well as the methodology converting data to analysis via interpretation used to understand it. Placing the case study in the first half of the title underscores the study’s ethnographic basis and contextualises the three-fold objective expressed secondly.

¹⁸⁰ Borrowing from Smith’s (2006) title, ‘The Uses of Heritage’.

‘Heritage ethnography’ encompasses my first two objectives: the exploration of the heritage process under one theme in one contemporary society and the specialised qualitative-ethnographic method used to do so. This is ‘a’ heritage ethnography in that this dissertation is merely one interpretation and does not claim to be the definitive study of maritime heritage in Bermuda. Yet, it is also a heritage ‘ethnography’ in providing a reasonably comprehensive analysis of heritage in maritime Bermuda. Moreover, this dissertation is the first explicit in-depth study of maritime heritage, or indeed *any* heritage, in Bermuda. My work additionally joins the first wave of such community-based heritage studies, riding the shift to the grassroots.

The theoretical-methodological overlap of ‘heritage ethnography’ conveys how the aims of social research relate to the means used to realise them. It alludes to the way a researcher’s or curator’s chosen methods and approaches stimulate and reveal heritage meaning. Although data and method are ultimately different, this dissertation highlights the intimate link between the heritage process and the research process. Despite this relationship, I argue the current toolkit available to heritage researchers is inadequate, particularly for grasping heritage as an ethnographic object of study. So, more than just utilising an appropriate research method, this research has, by necessity, helped to innovate one. I have coined and developed ‘heritage ethnography’ based on my own research challenges and choices, providing an initial platform to further develop this specialised method or ‘craft’.

The dissertation’s third objective, to offer ‘museum implications’, is mentioned lastly and separately in the title and dissertation structure so as not to upstage what comes before it. This reflects my concern with maintaining heritage theory, and the methodology with which it is conjoined, as the primary objective of this heritage research – as *research*. This theoretical primacy is not academic isolationism or elitism, but a recognition of the social meaning of heritage and that a more complex understanding of this process is itself valuable and precedes any application.

Translating such understanding into real-world implications is vital, however, if this dissertation and similar heritage studies are to have any meaningful and lasting impact. By offering museum heuristics specifically, this dissertation recognises and supports the social value of museums as community institutions primarily concerned with heritage. The crux of this applied argument is that museums matter *because*

heritage matters, *not* vice versa. This museum social value is existing and potential, that which museums either already or might generate using heritage.

The remainder of this overall conclusion further unpacks and fuses the three parts of this dissertation's objective. First, I summarise the theoretical expansion achieved by my conceptualising heritage in maritime Bermuda. Next, I reiterate heritage ethnography as the means employed and innovated to conduct this study. Last, I speculate about the implications this understanding and method hold for museums and their curatorial practices specifically. This heritage curation by museums may help to expand heritage understanding, thereby returning the argument to the theoretical contribution. I now summarise that expansion in terms of how this research confirms current heritage theory and how offers it novel insights. The ways this work repacks and adds to the 'conceptual heritage suitcase' are both valuable.

Heritage theory confirmed

Confirming the most basic assumptions about heritage helps to build a confident and reliable theory and is necessary while those fundamental workings are still being posited. My findings confirm current heritage theory and the premise on which this research rests, that heritage as a process is meaningful and renewable, attributes which mutually support one another to generate social value. This social value is evident in the ways the process is temporally and culturally contextualised by my case study of maritime Bermuda, confirming heritage as an ethnographic object of study and credible social 'evidence'.

Temporally, the presentist or omnipresent nature of heritage is represented by this snapshot in time extracted from Bermuda's unique ongoing history and culture. The diverse examples and voices or uses of heritage among different individuals or within their singular lives demonstrate the plural renewable nature of the heritage process. The intangibility of heritage stands quietly but firmly behind the idea of heritage as a process and verifies the logic of an entirely intangible conceptualisation new to heritage theory.

Culturally, the scope of Bermuda's maritime heritage is showcased in this fine-grained ethnographic account. Although any heritage ethnography is inevitably partial in only connecting with some community members' heritage uses, and as one subjective interpretation of them, I nonetheless feel this 'ethnography' encompasses or circumscribes maritime heritage in Bermuda today reasonably fully and well.

It does so within and across five dimensions, analysing *how* and *why* Bermudians:

1. engage with past and present maritimes through memory, nostalgia, and live experience, using such temporal processes and the continuity and dissonance between them, to formulate place, national and other collective identity;
2. remember and forget the maritime past and its legacies, amid the wider rememory of slavery and other traumatic pasts and collective and personal attempts at racial equity and reconciliation;
3. cultivate identities that are highly localised, experiential, working-class, and masculine supported by affective relationships with maritime archetypes, materiality and museums embodying, or at variance with, this authenticity;
4. represent and construct maritimity, or the identities and communities attached to it, through museums, displays, objects, performances and other forms of unofficial curation or community museology;
5. repair the fabric of community and actively address social exclusion using maritimity, in terms of both actual outcomes and invested hope, and via experiential, disciplined and mentored youth seafaring initiatives specifically.

These dimensions provide a holistic picture of heritage as it functions and exists ‘in microcosm’ in individual’s lives and across the community. Rather than stopping at more detailed and concrete meanings as less analytic research might, the breadth of this account crosses over to heritage theory, opening up the conceptual framework and boosting its potential to grow rapidly and dynamically.

This is particularly so in terms of conceptualising heritage as multi-faceted or comprised of numerous subprocesses. This dissertation opens up the repertoire of heritage processes falling under the umbrella of identity and community formation. Conceptualising heritage in this way demands being unafraid to add new subprocesses to a working definition of heritage, while maintaining rigorous criteria for what is allowed into that particular conceptual fold. Though my main analysis narrative is loaded with many maritime loci and other social and cultural phenomena, I have taken great care in selecting and interpreting these as heritage.

Yet, this is not about building a finite and fixed analytic framework or encompassing typology for the heritage concept. Rather, this sort of study serves as one ethnographic model in a conceptualisation of heritage based on many such contextualised models. Maritime heritage and Bermuda’s heritage are good examples

of the kinds of cross- or intra-cultural themes under which a corpus of ethnographic heritage studies can be built. Such gatherings can be thought of as scaled up versions of the kind of comparison and distillation of heritage uses happening within singular heritage studies like this one.

New insights into heritage

Perhaps the chief way this study confirms current understanding is in its reaffirmation of the relationship between heritage and identity. As it does for the meaning and renewability of heritage, this work highlights the ways in which heritage and identity are mutually supportive. Moreover, I confirm that the renewability of heritage is much due to personal and collective needs to configure and reconfigure identity. Conversely, this dissertation highlights how heritage is used as a creative flexible tool for forging identity. Although the relationship between heritage and identity is ostensibly well-established, my analysis joins other new work beginning to unpack the workings between these concepts in terms of actual community heritage.

As with many heritage studies due to the tendency to ‘tether’ them to explicit, stable, and consensus-building types of heritage, collective identity strongly features in this dissertation. However, this sort of independent grassroots study testifies not only to disciplinary bias but also to the meaning and strength of collective identity as it is formulated through heritage. This may be partially attributed, in this Bermuda case, to particular associations made with maritimity. Moreover, this dissertation has allowed personal identity to shine through as it does in the Bermudian cultural experiences and expressions relating to the sea. My analysis also points to how personal and collective identity blur or interact, clarifying that they do not just exist in tension or as different heritage processes. This dissertation demonstrates how the social value of heritage traverses and unites various identity needs.

This study indeed goes further than the standard analytic framework for heritage, to the limited extent it does exist, and the key idioms used to anchor it by articulating the process’s more nuanced workings and meanings. In an important such nuance and like my treatment of history and heritage, I maintain identity and community as separate heritage processes. Doing so does not allow community to be subsumed under collective identity, but does allow identity and community to ‘marry’. Kept separate but permitted to interact, the combination of identity and community is, based on this heritage study, the basis of heritage as a cultural process.

Sometimes together within one heritage use and sometimes as separate workings among different ones, this combination is, in my view, the key distinguishing factor that makes the various processes examined in this dissertation heritage, as opposed to another cultural practice. This dissertation has not simply verified the formulation of identity and community as a predetermined premise, but has exemplified their presence time and again. In isolation, identity and community is too broad a definition and criteria for heritage. However, in the context of actual heritage uses, such as this targeted ethnography provides, an understanding of the more specific workings of heritage is achieved under this identity-community umbrella.

9.2 Methodological innovation

Heritage ethnography as a central method

Although this dissertation primarily concerns heritage as a phenomena and concept, the interaction of data and method leads to a concern with heritage as an object of study. This work is dedicated to using the best possible tools to explore this specific cultural phenomena and its social meaning. My resulting innovation of heritage ethnography as a specialised heritage research method is not supplemental, but a valuable contribution to heritage and museum studies and practice in its own right. Although heritage ethnography is not mechanistic or replicable, this study's reflection on researching heritage in its temporal and cultural contexts may offer guidance to other researchers and practitioners. In doing so, a platform for collectively developing heritage ethnography as a method is being established.

After setting out the methodological inadequacies for researching heritage in Chapter 1, I explicated heritage ethnography based on my actual research experience in Chapter 3 and further substantiated the method in reflections found in the subsequent five chapters. Having done all this, I hope the need for and value of heritage ethnography is clear by now. Rather than silently embedding methodology into this dissertation, I felt such explicit methodological discussion to be necessary. It is necessary because the tools required to conduct this sort of heritage research are not yet sufficiently-developed, in terms of the immaturity of heritage studies and my own research skills. This dissertation's concern with methodology also recognises the more general need for researchers to proactively and reflexively engage with their methods and approaches to heritage.

With such development, it is rather easy to suggest that heritage ethnography may join heritage studies' growing 'suite of methods' (Sørensen and Carman 2009b:4). But beyond seeing heritage ethnography as just one option available to researchers, I propose it might be used as a guiding philosophy and central tool for heritage studies. This pivotal positioning and broad reach paradoxically lies in the method's specialisation as a distinct ethnography that targets heritage.

And yet it must be conceded that heritage ethnography cannot be all things for conceptualising and curating heritage, or to heritage theory and museum practice. As is apparent, an array of topics and concepts lay outside the method's capacity and boundaries. Furthermore, the method is still nascent and needs concerted development. Based on my own particular challenges, I have highlighted areas of heritage ethnography that need to be fine-tuned as the method develops and as concepts of heritage and museums continue to evolve.

These challenging areas include the management of authenticity, which features as recurring heritage use in maritime Bermuda. Just as all heritage is ultimately intangible yet it is helpful at this time to maintain some distinction between the tangible and intangible, so too is all authenticity ultimately a belief yet at this time the distinction between its belief and truth remains useful. Supported by 'compelling closure' and other notions that allowed me to put a positive spin on authenticity, I have examined its extensive and nuanced use in maritime Bermuda. My showing that heritage is still heavily tuned to authenticity even in such a grassroots study suggests the concept of authenticity should for now remain part of the analytic framework.

I have recognised authenticity in this way while critiquing and containing its dominance in heritage, museums and communities. This critique has enabled my exploration of other uses of maritime heritage in Bermuda. In particular, my findings confirm that heritage is not exclusively a relationship with the past and/or materiality, and thus as a concept should no longer be bracketed in such a narrow manner. I have shown the past-material bias is not a reflection of the phenomena's 'nature', as some theorists contend, but is precisely that, a disciplinary and cultural *bias*. And yet, uses of the past and materiality still factor prominently in this study, so there is no denial of their role and affect, but an inclusion of them within an expanded heritage paradigm. What is important, and the larger point of this kind of study, is that such processes are included *because* of their actual use, and not due to a presumption of their use that is little better than the presumption publics are heritage deficient.

Related to or indicative of authenticity is the challenging issue of interpreting heritage in an overly positive manner, both in terms of expressive and affirmative uses. Though I have taken due stock of dissonance or 'counter values' in this study, my findings ultimately reflect what is communicated, leaving unarticulated or even 'softer voices' silent. That our understanding of heritage only reflects that which is expressed or otherwise activated by those who are relatively engaged, motivated and so on, is a wider problem for heritage and museums, especially in conflicting with plural and democratic principles of critical heritage theory and the new museology. There is also the danger of interpreting heritage in an overly celebratory and sanitised way, particularly when the data itself is so oriented to such attitudes and expressions.

Opposite to the problem of authenticity delimiting heritage, is the need to contain the heritage concept through choice. Such analytic choice is perhaps the most challenging of heritage ethnography's issues. The scope of this work is its strength and weakness. While providing a more holistic yet highly nuanced view of a multi-sited case study and multi-faceted concept, I have sometimes struggled to distil the essence of heritage's social meaning. That work of this ethnographic and conceptual scope still feels partial testifies to the complexity of heritage as an object of study and the related challenges of heritage ethnography as a method. While choice is undoubtedly a requisite for any effective and reliable methodology, it is essential for the study of such a complex and dynamic ethnographic object of study as heritage. Moreover, form follows function in the sense that this methodological choice reflects heritage as a 'wilful act of choice' or result of agency (Russell 2010:29).

Bearing out heritage meaning

Methodology is an important dimension of my analysis in itself in terms of the way heritage ethnography bears out heritage meaning. Reflecting on my methods helped me to better understand my object of study, moving me from an uncertain to a more confident understanding, or at least to a greater level of comfort and confidence in being uncertain about heritage.

The renewability of heritage rests in agency, particularly in the qualitative terms of generating social meaning and value. Even deceptive cases, such as when Bermudians strategically express and utilise a lack of agency, have testified to the internal drive behind heritage. Like but converse to the importance of recognising heritage beyond celebratory heritage, it has been important to recognise this agency

not only as subaltern but as self-interest, for personal satisfaction and social advantage.

Related to this agency, my frequent resorting to paradox and irony in order to make sense of my data and conceptualise heritage was – I must defend – not clever wordplay, sloppy logic or another analytic shortcoming. Rather, my paradoxical interpretation speaks to the complexity and uncertainty of this cultural process and the premise that heritage is always servicing contemporary needs. More specifically, I have shown how Bermudians use heritage to draw together, negotiate or otherwise excuse inconsistent or contradictory meanings. Conversely, I show how they use irony, inconsistency and contradiction to deliberately complicate in order to take community and identity formation to a more constructive or productive level. Understanding the way such meanings are not mutually exclusive, but are taken advantage of from both directions in a utilitarian fashion, steps beyond recognising heritage as plural and democratic, to show how that plurality is itself strategically used by heritage users.

My analysis has shown that heritage is not only comprised of different subprocesses, but also different layers of meaning and expression. The multi-layered nature of heritage has borne out strongly with respect to the creative uses and often metaphorical expressions of heritage as well as the way its meanings often works on base- and meta- levels, especially as a communicative practice that nonetheless expresses meaning tacitly. Dissonance has frequently illustrated this layering, helpfully disrupting conventional celebratory notions of heritage and museums. While often involving conflict, tension or negativity, I have shown dissonance is always positive in the sense of making meaning and using agency. This has included examining community-museum dissonance with respect to BMM but from a community heritage perspective.

A certain way of seeing

More so than the specific content of our contextualised studies, it is methodology that perhaps changes and stays with researchers most. Like the heritage studied, heritage ethnographers are ‘in a constant condition of metamorphosis’ (Burch 2005:227). My personal ‘metamorphosis’ in learning to ‘see’ heritage has featured throughout this dissertation, though I have tried to keep this reflexivity in check and have only included it because of the heritage understanding and research methods it yields.

In being so reflexive, I have underscored the value of the novice and/or independent researcher's perspective for pronouncing heritage ethnography's unique issues. One's early contact with heritage or outside institutional constraints is an irreplaceable formative time or perspective for revealing this object of study along with researchers to themselves. Relative to being more seasoned or situated, a researcher's senses of curiosity, insecurity and reflexivity are high, and preconceptions about what heritage might be are low. Even my problematic tendencies – such as when I over-intellectualised heritage and informants reminded me to 'keep it real' – were useful to developing this method. Hopefully, my methodological reflection will encourage similar reflexive contributions by heritage ethnographers – especially 'rookies' and those doing creative work 'outside the box' – as they too will have unique insights to offer the 'shared methodological toolkit'.

It is indeed important to heritage ethnography, as I conceive it, that its researchers do not become too sure of themselves, so they remain open to new heritage uses and concepts. A major point of this sort of work is that to see and understand heritage we must allow it to be unbounded and dynamic. This extends to the myriad cultural constructs with which heritage interacts, with maritimism providing a fascinating cultural theme for this Bermuda study and many other community heritages and museums worldwide. My analysis has endeavoured to show heritage and maritimism freely interact with each other as well as other social dimensions and cultural practices.

Alongside the value of the novice and/or independent researcher, I want to stress the long learning curve of the heritage ethnographer. Appreciation for the slow rate of gaining the ability to grasp heritage is needed to nurture researcher confidence and a collective identity for heritage ethnography. Like any kind of connoisseurship, a 'nose' for heritage only develops with exposure and experience. This patience promotes a more considered and sustained route into understanding heritage, one that resists pinning down and simplifying this complex phenomena and takes advantage of the loose theoretical framework at this time, when we are not so constrained by 'long-standing disciplinary perceptions about what the object of study should be' (Marcus 1995:100). Although this doctoral project was a significant opportunity to develop my research skills, it is nowhere near a methodological 'terminus' but rather an early stage in my development as a heritage ethnographer and museum curator. It has provided me with field-based and analytic tools to take on new projects and to

incorporate this work into my everyday practice and long-term goals for heritage and museums in Bermuda.

Doing so in a sustained manner will, however, ultimately rest upon a long-term commitment to understanding heritage. Such commitment relies, more than anything and beyond any training, on a *curiosity* about heritage. To have a sense of wonder about and openness to the phenomena and to resist presumptions of authenticity and public heritage deficiency is key to successful heritage ethnography, and the interdisciplinary research and curation it may feature in or perhaps direct.

9.3 Museum implications

The heritage model of museum practice

The implications this dissertation offers museums are necessarily speculative since they can only be applied within actual practice. Moreover, the impact of such implications is dependent on their being actively received or embraced, or on the institutional will to change museums from within. The onus and agency to do so must therefore be placed on and in museums, or the practitioners who constitute them. This responsibility and opportunity applies to museum leaders and curators in particular due to their control of institutional priorities and curatorial work concerning heritage.

Based on my ethnographic analysis of maritime heritage in Bermuda, this dissertation proposes museums adopt a heritage model. Such a model locates heritage at the centre of what museums do. This may *relocate* heritage in stimulating museums to better recognise the heritage a museum already uses and generates. However, this is not just a reorientation to or reprioritisation of the narrow heritage constructed under the AHD, especially through authenticity and the past-material bias. Rather, this heritage model entails a shift towards a more presentist and pluralist process that people use and generate personally, collectively, locally. In short, this heritage model proposes a shift towards community heritage.

As this ethnographic analysis demonstrates, heritage is a complex phenomena, and consequently so is its curation by museums. However, the heritage model proposed as a museum model is essentially an alignment between museums and communities in terms of their common process: heritage. This symmetry with community heritage is in-built into many museums, in terms of their concern with cultural heritage and social meaning and value.

Straightforward as this alignment may be, the model proposed requires more than simply acknowledging the importance of heritage to what museums do. It requires consciously and strategically orienting the museum's priorities to heritage processes, particularly as they occur outside the museum in the wider community. I argue for this level of change precisely because this heritage model represents such a major paradigm shift for many museums, especially in more retrograde genres and sectors like the maritime and Bermuda's. Realistically, given institutional structures, discourses and inertia, this heritage model might only be implemented in partial or compromised ways.

Proportional to the extent to which heritage can be prioritised by museums, however, is the possibility for these institutions to more broadly and meaningfully connect with their communities, particularly as heritage users. As does this dissertation's spanning of the conceptualisation and curation of heritage, museum shifts to such a heritage model help to bridge the gulfs between theory and practice, heritage and museums, and official and unofficial heritage. In highlighting these dichotomies throughout this dissertation, my intention has not been to posit them as absolutes and further entrench them, but rather to lessen these gulfs and to forge community-museum connections.

By offering museums a more relevant and responsive role in contemporary society or a stronger sense of purpose, this heritage model can move museums from a marginalised position in their communities to a more pivotal one, thereby pulling them out of their identity crisis. From a less museum-centric perspective, this model supports community heritage by enhancing the ways heritage is used to formulate identity and community. This includes, but is by no means limited to, a greater sense of community ownership over heritage and museums. So, it is via both community-museum connections and community uses of heritage in and of themselves that the social value of heritage may translate into the social value of museums.

Museums may take different forms or serve different roles, sometimes in reflection of their respective communities, such as in being more urban or universal. Bermuda's museums thus perhaps reflect and benefit from this mid-Atlantic island community's particularly strong sense of place, identity and community. Yet, I think the island's museums are not exceptional in the abundance of community heritage at their disposal since all museums are contextualised within certain places, cultures and

histories and thus reside on some local level. It is thus possible for the proposed heritage model to traverse BMM, its fellow museums in Bermuda's heritage sector, fellow maritime museums, and fellow social history museums.

The AHD, modernist museum, and the presumptions of authenticity and public heritage deficiency supporting them, also traverse these scales of practice. The heritage model proposed for museums may thus also challenge and inhibit these dominant models and damaging presumptions, the community-museum and community-heritage disconnections they engender, and the constraints around heritage and museums they impose.

General recommendations

In incorporating a heritage model into their curatorial practice museums may need to make some major shifts, ranging from the practical and infrastructural to the conceptual and ethical. In line with current heritage theory and my object of study, this research envisions museums as supporters or makers of heritage *processes*, as opposed to *products*. Shifting practitioners to this point of view is only part of the challenge since it is also 'the public [who] expects something tangible (from museums)...Most are not interested in abstract notions' (Johnson and Potts 2002:48). This recalls how some informants including local heritage practitioners assumed delivering such content to museums, and BMM specifically, to be the intention and outcome of this research. Much like this dissertation is not the definitive ethnography of maritime heritage in Bermuda but showcases a diversity of Bermuda's maritime heritage in order to gain a certain quality of understanding, museum work concerning heritage should be primarily exploratory. Such a focus on process supports curation as an interpretive, and thus creative and political endeavour, one based in concepts and ideas and concerned with their meaning and impact, or their quality.

Although potentially central to the museum and especially curatorial practices, this heritage model should be interdisciplinary. Heritage research and curation ought to stand equal to if not lead other historical and curatorial disciplines and practices. Just as a more holistic understanding of heritage, as this dissertation offers, still acknowledges the importance of relationships with the past and materiality, so too must heritage ethnography and curation relate to history, archaeology and other museum disciplines. Moving to a heritage model does not mean entirely displacing existing museum models, but may work in tandem or collaboration with them. Just as

these disciplines may strengthen the curation of heritage, so too may heritage curation serve to increase their social value. This disciplinary dovetailing reflects and benefits from the unbounded nature of heritage, especially when associated with cultural themes such as maritimity. It also reflects and benefits from the curiosity and openness required of heritage ethnography.

Bringing disciplines together within museums necessarily involves bringing people together, and thus being interdisciplinary and being collaborative are linked in the proposed heritage model for museums. As heritage is arguably enhanced by exchange and debate, this collaborative potential highlights a previously unmentioned limitation of this heritage ethnography of maritime Bermuda. Although ethnographic and largely interview-based, I conducted my research independently, as required for a doctoral dissertation of this kind. This nonetheless may have forestalled different and perhaps deeper heritage understanding. I say this not to discredit my approach, which was justified by the PhD constraints and the need for me to explore heritage independently, especially in my island home. Rather, I say this to highlight that museums and their curatorial practices are prime sites for collaboration between practitioners and with publics, thereby building community-museum connections.

These applications are wholly dependent upon museums having the human capacity to institute them. As heritage ethnography develops in academia and museums it will become increasingly specialised. One imagines museum curators and researchers expert in particular heritage subprocesses, as is already developing in heritage and museum studies and practice. Such capacity offers heritage ethnography greater credibility, and thereby the ability to stand alongside more established museum disciplines and curatorial practices. As heritage practitioners gain skill, their ability to connect with the community and social value increases, which, in turn yields more heritage and community-museum connections, and thus social value for museums.

Due to the practical realities and economic vulnerability of museums, it is necessary to present my argument in fiscal terms, so that a heritage model may also serve as a business model, or at least incorporate the former into the latter. Clearly, the restraint imposed upon museums by fiscal concerns must feature in the proposed heritage model if it is to be viable and sustainable, and ideally, central to curatorial practices and priorities. More than equally, however, I contend a heritage model is more fiscally sound than anything less socially relevant, not only in generating *new*

social value and community connection through heritage, but in recognising and utilising that which already exists. A heritage model can thus serve as a qualitative measure of the social value of museums, earning these institutions, and the heritage they support and generate, the community and financial support they deserve. Moreover, since heritage is renewable on the basis of its social value, a heritage model offers museums sustainability in the sense of purpose and curatorial work.

I think community heritage should determine museum priorities or answer the ‘why museums’ question, certainly at least as much as responses arising from the official level of heritage and museums do. To compete with other public concerns and agendas, ‘there must be a clear understanding of how heritage values influence our daily lives’ (Smith et al. 2010:18). This means museums should not only support and generate heritage but explore community heritage via heritage ethnography as this grassroots study does.

However, it is conceptually and ethically imperative that museums do not allow their commitment to heritage to override their commitment to community. The heritage model must not become a presumption, as such a *modus operandi* is just as problematic as presumptions of public heritage deficiency. This can be avoided by rooting heritage in the community and plural perspectives, though even grassroots or unofficial heritage it not inalienable from being misguided in its priorities. Museums must be prepared to sometimes allow heritage to take a backseat to other social and cultural practices and social needs. They must recognise that heritage, like museums, has no automatic or entitled social value, but must earn that qualification, particularly through the way it stands up to being weighed against other priorities. Thus, the heritage model proposed is not overly determined by and committed to heritage, but gauges the value of heritage relative to other community needs and social meanings. In order to recognise and respect this wider social value and avoid being museum- and heritage-centric, museum practitioners must ‘embed ethics’ into their practice.

Taken a step further still beyond the museum, the ultimate application of heritage ethnography is its employment by communities themselves. The method could be democratised and even popularised allowing more people a more direct engagement with heritage both experientially and conceptually. A broad array of individuals might use heritage ethnography as a tool to not only support their heritage uses but to more consciously and reflexively understand them. Such community exploration of community heritage may occur either via museums or beyond them. In

either case, heritage ethnography may empower everyday people to not only use but understand heritage as *their* experience, thereby demystifying and unlocking the process for different and new uses. Such a grassroots application of heritage ethnography also promotes an understanding of heritage as a *shared* experience, using an understanding of how this builds community to further build community.

Furthermore, museums might promote the notion that anyone and everyone may 'own' heritage in the sense of not only living and understanding it but in curating it. The idea is that we can all be curators of heritage, in the fuller sense of a multi-faceted process that includes the subprocess of curation or museology. Such theoretical and methodological accessibility will minimise the kind of apologetic and subordinate community tones and positions I heard in my fieldwork, such as the informant remarks 'I'm no scholar' and 'you're an expert, I'm just an amateur' (188:WM60s) which reserve heritage and museum curation for official curators.

Contrary to the heritage deficiency presumption and the separation of official heritage and museums, this community curation, knowledge, and use of heritage would be of no loss to museums, but only to their benefit. Museums need not be decentralised or their curators reduced to 'middle-men' and cut out of curatorial processes. Rather, an unofficial heritage model better enables the community to appreciate the interpretive and other expertise curators and their museums offer to the community and its heritage, thereby paradoxically building museum capacity and social value. Equipping individuals to conduct heritage ethnography is no different from training laypersons in oral history, genealogy, history, archaeology and so on. Indeed, heritage ethnography may dovetail with these established methods in an example of the interdisciplinary potential of the heritage model.

Specific ideas

Having laid out the more general workings and potentials of such a heritage model, I now imagine more specific curatorial practices it might involve. That I tend to imagine museum enhancements at this specific level not only reflects my practitioner gravitation to more immediate goals, imminent pressures, and measurable outputs but the necessity of grounding this heritage model in actual practice and working tools. Such specific museum implications might have been the focus of this study, bypassing theory and jumping straight into real-world applications. However, in order

to offer useful museum implications, it was essential for me to first gain a better understanding of heritage in the community, and to develop the skills to do so.

With the ethnographic understanding I have gained I am able to imagine museums being as fastidious about heritage as they are about histories and things. To begin with they might recognise, collect, analyse, and represent heritage in simple ways or by adjusting existing curatorial practices. Saving conversations, starting files, and reflecting on daily curatorial processes, can generate a valuable heritage archive for immediate or later use. Such an archive is valuable not only as a record of heritage, but as a record of a museum's social value and how this accrues during day-to-day curation.

In curating from a heritage perspective, there is great potential for representing heritage in museums. The way museums construct narratives or otherwise communicate heritage, perhaps using new verbal and visual vocabularies, can affect audiences and the additional heritage they generate as a result. This multi-sited study illustrates how disparate elements can be brought together and meaning and interpretation arise out of juxtaposition and collage. While the constraints of narrative display and audience attentions may prevent representing heritage in just any way at all – much as this linear hard copy dissertation has – there is great potential for curators to join up narratives, elements and concepts and to blur boundaries between history-heritage-culture in innovative ways that strive to accurately interpret community uses of heritage.

In prior chapters, I have repeatedly raised the inadequacy of the traditional exhibition, despite it remaining museums' primary communicative tool and 'product', and thus the measure of their social value. Extending the proposed replacement of products with processes, I propose that museums replace exhibitions with the curatorial process itself including uses of heritage ethnography. The exhibition might be a component or extension of this work, but should be regarded as a tool for exploring and representing heritage. Just as locating my heritage ethnography outside BMM allows the work to offer more to this and other museums, so too does reorienting to heritage offer greater potential to 'reinvent' exhibitions.

New technologies may conflict with many museums' preference for traditional methods such as exhibitions and the stability and predictability they offer, but they present opportunities for heritage understanding besides contextualising curation temporally and culturally. While the renewability of heritage is constant, technologies

reflect and change the way we record, investigate, express and otherwise generate it and thereby constitute part of the curatorial process and heritage ethnography.

Relating to technology, another simple means of curating heritage is doing so either in or reasonably close to the moment it is used and generated. As heritage is presentist, it is preferable to interpret heritage as or immediately after it is generated, versus waiting, as so frequently happens to the socio-cultural and historical-archaeological knowledge and collections generated and held by museums and as I did with my analysis of maritime heritage in Bermuda.

Equally, there is great potential for reusing heritage in terms of recycling existing museum collections and knowledge from a heritage perspective. Such *re-curation* reinvigorates museum scholarship, collections and other resources, optimising a museum's existing social value. It also brings museum practice back to objects and uses of the past in a more meaningful way, certainly more than an uncritical maintenance of authenticity permits. Whether heritage is explored and interpreted as it is generated or is mined and reinterpreted from within existing museum resources, it seems that part of the renewability of heritage may stem from the renewability of curation.

Given curatorial constraints and other realities of operating museums and the complexity and renewability of heritage, these expansions must, as with heritage ethnography, be balanced by choice. Otherwise, heritage may become too unwieldy so that museums abandon a heritage model, if not refuse to accept it in the first instance. I am not proposing museums curate heritage indiscriminately or without purpose, for instance taking on additional 'legacy' obligations or consulting with communities throughout the entire curatorial process. Such a proposal asks too much of curators and their museums. Rather, I simply want to encourage curatorial practices that prioritise and harness heritage meaning and in doing so allow museums and their communities to better connect with and value one another. With that caution in mind, I think the heritage model proposed has the potential to transform social history, maritime and other local museums into *heritage museums*.

Closing thoughts

On the social value of heritage and museums

This concluding chapter makes a final case for converting this dissertation's three-fold objective into an original contribution to heritage and museum studies and practice. The above conclusions are less about delivering concrete or comprehensive analytic frames, methodological guides and museum directives, than trying to give a sense of the deeper and cross-cultural findings, methods and implications arising from this heritage research. Not only would more definitive 'answers' deny the exploratory nature of this work, they would be problematic if not dangerous at this formative and uncertain time for the heritage concept, heritage ethnography, and museum curation.

It is from this qualitative perspective that I want to close this dissertation. The social value of heritage transcends academic scholarship and museum-centric concerns to emphasise the human level of this cultural phenomena and social meaning. One senses heritage is no fleeting fad in today's 'heritage age'. Rather, it seems to be a lasting if not inherent condition of human social and cultural life. I say this at the risk of extending my single community research of Bermuda too far and contradicting my critique of authenticity. Indeed, perhaps I say this to satisfy my own *belief* in heritage, particularly as a vested researcher and curator who is also a member of the remarkable mid-Atlantic island community studied. Despite awareness of these biases and contradictions, I come away from this dissertation far more enthused about and intrigued by heritage and museums than when I started it. Having glimpsed and grasped some of the social value of heritage and museums in the interim, I come away from this study with the sense there is still so much more to know and realise.

This enthusiasm extends to maritimism. Although my experience was first one of feeling alien to and excluded from maritimism, once I penetrated its boundaries I soon gained a sense of its powerful compelling closure. Maritimism has provided a valuable lens onto heritage, acting as an 'arbitrary location' that cuts through meaning to reveal the social value of heritage and museums. But it is clear, from this Bermuda study, that maritimism is not 'arbitrary' to how and why people use heritage. Rather, it is highly determining of their heritage uses, exerting a strong affect or 'pull' on them. The social value of these relationships with the sea explain and support maritime heritage and museums as distinct research and curatorial genres.

It is not only the outcome of an analysis that distils heritage meaning but also due to heritage itself as a process that condenses meaning that this dissertation represents what is most salient to Bermudians or seemingly timely and timeless for the island, with respect to and beyond relationships with the sea. Bermudians use heritage as an efficient filter, drawing on wider social issues and sieving out that which is most meaningful to them. Though an essential component, the filter is not more important than the social meaning it generates and so should not be overemphasised. Rather, maritimism is in some manner reduced to a means to an end, just as the museum is reduced to playing a more relevant social role – a ‘reduction’ in both respects that increases the social value of heritage and museums. Heritage as a process is underscored by this filtering, as this filtering does not so much interplay with heritage as it constitutes the heritage process. This kind of meta-level meaning that heritage ethnographers and museum curators must strive to ‘see’ reveals the social value of heritage. So, while there is some space to debate what I consider to be heritage in maritime Bermuda, there can be little debate about the social value of this phenomena for Bermudians.

Despite this social value and my enthusiasm for heritage and museums across the study’s different scales of theory and practice, there remains some question about whether heritage is *only* a process. Because my object of study is specific to heritage as a process and contextualised only within maritime Bermuda, it is not possible for me to unequivocally state if heritage is always a process, or if that process is merely part of heritage as a wider phenomena and concept. Still, I believe that much if not all heritage can be conceived as a process. This is not to say that all cultural practices are heritage processes, but rather that they have heritage potential if the criteria of identity and community formation are properly met. In this sense, there are no boundaries around heritage. This openness and renewability is behind much of the social value of the phenomena and concept, a social value that transfers to, from and between the communities and museums who so abundantly use and generate the cultural process.

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