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## Heritagelore

### Museums and the Manner in which Heritage Might Be Understood in a Framework of Place, Materiality, Narration, and Mobility

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## Heritagelore: Museums and the Manner in which Heritage Might Be Understood in a Framework of Place, Materiality, Narration, and Mobility

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Historian David Lowenthal (1985) pointed out that the past is often perceived and represented as “a foreign country” in which cultural heritage is implicitly understood to be bound to geographical territories and associated notions of what it implies to have roots, an identity, and a place in which to belong. Understood in this way, heritage, particularly in its vernacular iterations, has often been aligned with older notions of culture that anthropologists and cultural scholars have distanced themselves from since the mid 1980s, as something that was bounded and linked to particular geographical territories, and groups of people (Gupta & Ferguson 1997). Lowenthal, for his part, was not arguing that heritage was statically anchored or bound to a single place, but like many heritage scholars of the 1990s and thereafter argued, that heritage involved flexible usages of the past for the purposes of the present (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998 & 2004; Klein 2006; Lowenthal 1996). However, the metaphorical terminology which he invoked pointed to what remains a dominant vernacular understanding of heritage that buttresses a mode of thinking in terms such as, “This is our heritage. It belongs to those of us who live here and have our roots through time here.” This is a powerful, if not problematic mode of thinking, in which it is easy to speak of such things as a Swedish heritage, a regional heritage, a local heritage, and so on.

However, we live in a world, which is more than ever before entwined with processes of mobility, and thus facing complex situations where value laden expressions are being contested, altered, changed, ridded of, or retained as effects of such movements. It is a world in which some people move for the sake of work, love, and the dream of a better life, while too many others feel forced to move due to economic crises, poverty, religious conflicts, war, and political persecution. Against this background, heritage, it might be said, is being shaken and stirred by processes of globalization that are increasingly difficult to ignore (Gradén & O'Dell 2017 & 2018). This is a shaking and stirring that calls us to question how cultural heritage might be more vigorously re-framed as more than a foreign country, but even as narrative performances about multiple relationships between, people, objects, and places, that far from being statically anchored anywhere, are highly mobile and on the move.

When put in the perspective of migration and mobility, both vernacular and institutional performance play a important role in the emergence of a heritage, as

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heritage is spatialized and adapted beyond territorial boundaries. Performance is understood as “an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication, framed in a special way and put on display for an audience” (Bauman 1992:41) meaning that when something is performed it is a conscious and deliberate act that requires a performer, an audience and a subject matter, and which is gradually changed or perfected through the chosen mode of performance. Heritage sites such as museums with their collections and the stories told about them are examples of such performance. Moreover, as Erving Goffman has stated, people may be taking on different roles as they move through various stages of their lives (Goffman 1990). The same applies to the heritage sites, its collections and the stories about them.

Working with a performance perspective, this article focuses on how two heritage sites - The Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm and the Turnblad mansion of the American Swedish Institute, Minneapolis - are working with and speaking about heritage. As we shall argue, they at times build upon rather traditional notions of what “the heritage” under their auspices is and can be, but at times they do more than this, and actively seek ways of pushing the boundaries of how they frame heritage. Based on qualitative methods of fieldwork, interviews and archival studies, the article analyzes the manner in which these two institutions are invoking, moving and mobilizing the concept of heritage. We want to know how these spaces become places that gain importance as heritage sites and how they become invested with meaning over time. In order to do this we shall present and discuss the concept of “heritagelore” as a performative based way of knowing and structuring knowledge that shapes how museum staff and personnel come to speak and think about the heritage with which they work. Throughout the text, our aim is to problematize the manner in which cultural heritage comes to change, and has the potential to be re-thought, as it is spoken about, staged, and performed by museum professionals against the backdrop of public expectations.

### **Conceptual points of Departure: When Homes become Heritage**

The Hallwyl Palace and Turnblad Mansion are interesting types of museum environments to the extent that before they were museums, they were actually homes. They bear a strong cultural resonance of having been a place in which families lived or tried to live, in which dreams were dreamt, visions were anchored, and then launched, and individuals staked out very personal identities. A home, in this sense is much more than just walls, doors, roofs and windows. As Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari write,

“...home does not pre-exist: it was necessary to draw a circle around that uncertain and fragile center, to organize a limited space. Many, very diverse, components have a part in this, landmarks and marks of all kinds” (1987, p.311).

Homes, in other words, have a spatial element to them in which things, sentiments, and feelings are brought together. In the case of the Turnblad Mansion, and Hallwyl this included a strong element of material culture that spanned from the structure of the buildings themselves, to the objects used to furnish them, as well as those that

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were brought together to form collections. Items from distant places in the world were assembled in these homes, generating the potential for the development of very different forms of lore that has continuously developed and changed over the past century.

Folklorist Michael Ann Williams argues in her call for a renewal of the field of folklore, that there is a need for scholarship to develop a more thorough appreciation of the manner in which material culture, oral elements of expressive culture, and historically anchored processes of cultural mobility are entwined in emergent traditions and vernacular relations to the past (Williams 2017, cf. 1991). It is, for example, by doing this and listening to inhabitants' stories of the "big house" (plantation manners from the 19th century), in Southwestern North Carolina and teasing out the nuances of that terminology, that Williams was able to demonstrate how scholars can come to understand more deeply the interaction between people and the built environment as it comes to expression at different times and in different contexts. Williams' work did not focus explicitly on the concept of heritage; however, we do want to do that here.

To the extent that lore can be understood as a body of knowledge that is particularly of a traditional or popular nature on a particular subject, we argue that it is possible to decipher emergent forms of heritagelore at Hallwyl and ASI. These are forms of lore that bring together elements of oral and material culture that act to frame and facilitate the creation of a specific repertoire of understandings about the past. As the discussion below shall illustrate, heritagelore can at times be actively constructed to meet specific needs in the present, but it can also have a structuring effect that lives a life of its own, sometimes inhibiting people from finding new perspectives from which to understand the past, at times facilitating change, not so much as a result of strategic intentions, but as a continual flow of reinterpretation to create narratives of relevance in the present.

In the case of the Hallwyl palace, its walls, ceilings and floors and furnishings still bear the strong ambience of the people who erected them and first envisioned it as a home. As a consequence, this museum is different than the Nordiska museet or Smithsonian Institution, which also contain large collections of artifacts of national history, but lack a linkage to a particular personality. It also differs from the open-air museum of Skansen, which is composed of assembled homes, but no longer speaks of family ties. Hallwyl is different because its founders, and their lore still haunt and shape the premises that are now commonly referred to as a "museum" and heritage site (cf. Noyes 2014). By paying close attention to how leadership and curators render the Hallwyl palace in guided tours, written and oral presentations and conversations, we wish show how meanings that are not found in tangible forms alone are conveyed in well-told stories of a museum, a former home and its long gone inhabitants (Cf. Williams 1991, p 143). Indeed this is a strong heritagelore that the museum previous and current personnel continues to shape and reshape.

The Hallwyl Palace - a home, historic house and a collection.

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When Wilhelmina Kempe (1844-1938), from Stockholm in Sweden and her husband, Count Walter von Hallwyl (1839-1921) from Bern in Switzerland, created the Hallwyl Palace in Stockholm, they brought craftsmen from across Europe, furniture from Switzerland, and they spoke German in daily life all the while shaping a home with the intention to make it into a museum. Their choices in composing a home, most likely reflected the ample travels and life abroad that was significant of the aristocratic and intellectual classes in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century. Wilhelmina von Hallwyl hired one of the renowned architects at the time, Isac Gustaf Clason, to carry out her vision of a palace for the future. Clason's notes indicate that she was meticulous in what she wanted and generous with the means (Cassel Pihl 2006). As the docents at Hallwyl like to point out in the 2017 general tours, the total cost of the palace was more than 2 million SEK in 1898, the cost of Jacob's church, erected at the same time, cost 750 000 SEK.

Today, the Hallwyl museum holds a collection of 30 000 items ranging from Asian bronzes and ceramics, from China to European silver, and fine art. Kept side by side with collections, are everyday household objects. Wilhelmina explained:

"I want everything to be included, such as brooms, dust brushes and such, because one day, when everything is being done by electricity, these will be the most remarkable things of all" (Wilhelmina von Hallwyl's annual notes 1844-1930)

On display in a room behind the art gallery on the top floor, in a space which used to be Wilhelmina von Hallwyl's gym, are gathered in a glass case also not-so-everyday pieces such as the cast in which her arm was fixed after a car accident on a trip to Gripsholm's castle in 1911, and clippings from Walter's moustache. This particular display case, stashed away in the attic, is no longer included in the general tours. It performs a heritagelore depicting Wilhelmina von Hallwyl as an eccentric woman verging on tendencies to being mad, a common epithet applied to women (Wilhelmina included) deemed to be odd at the turn of the 19th century (cf. Gilbert and Gubar 1988).

### **Museum, Materiality and Money**

With ample financial means at hand, Wilhelmina could create the collection in ways that was unfeasible for her contemporaries Artur Hazelius and Georg Karlin, who had to fundraise and beg potential donor for objects. As correspondence demonstrates both of them had Wilhelmina as financial benefactor when forming their respective museums (Walther and Wilhelmina von Hallwyls private archives)

In the general tours of the Hallwyl Museum in 2017, Wilhelmina is portrayed as a woman who created for herself a career as a museum founder. As emphasized by docents, Wilhelmina's annual notes reveal, that in preparing the museum for the distant future, she avoided the role of being a bourgeois housewife whilst she also hoped to contribute to future historical interest. The position she carves out for herself in the annual notes is reiterated in the introductions to the Hallwyl Museum written by museum staff (Cassel-Pihl 1990, Haapasalo 2001, Höglund 2016) . Walter

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and Wilhelmina von Hallwyl donated their home to the Swedish government in 1920. It opened as a museum in 1938.

The Hallwyl Palace did not thrive as a museum during its early years. Between 1940 and 1970 tours of the building were limited and staff very small. As the current director says,

Staff opened the door at certain hours, sold tickets and gave a limited guided tour of the salons and social areas. In the first decades, the curatorial effort was focused on completing the catalogue. Up until the 1970s the Hallwyl Palace had an air of privacy still attached to it, and was emphasized by the fact that the museum director lived in an apartment adjacent to the museum.

The current museum director explains,

In the 1970's the entire aristocratic lifestyle was brought into question in Sweden. Why did the palace become a museum, why building a monument of affluence? Wilhelmina was interpreted as a bit crazy. Stories how she moved about Stockholm in patched clothes flourished. She was portrayed as eccentric and the museum had an air of the bizarre, almost scary. You know, she saved sponges, toilet paper, and baby teeth. Still in the early 1990's, we just opened the doors, sold tickets and gave a short tour. In the late 1990s, we introduced thematic tours and the museum staff worked to dramatize both family members and servants. These tours were based on Wilhelmina's annual notes and other archival material. These dramatized tours gave just as much knowledge about Wilhelmina and the house as the ordinary tours did.

Wilhelmina von Hallwyl deliberately curated her home for future visitors. Everything in the household was catalogued, from the start, or so the story goes. In tours today, docents emphasize the attempt to catalogue "everything" by highlighting the wastebasket in the smoke room, which holds Walter's discarded letters, and the wine cellar stocked full with the empty bottles of wine that the Hallwyl family and their guests drank through the years.

Assembling the collection and cataloguing it was a collective effort involving Wilhelmina, the Hallwyl professor of European ethnology, Nils Lithberg as well as young museum workers and numerous students. Although this work was a huge collaborative undertaking, docents often highlight Wilhelmina's effort, but do not mention the role of Lithberg, curators and the students. The heritagelore conveyed today has a feminist emphasis and those of a professional woman focused on her work have replaced the stories of the crazy old lady.

Although leadership underscores that the Hallwyl Museum is not a biographical museum, equivalent to the terms used by museum scholars to describe for example the Strindberg museum or Thiel gallery (cf. Bohman 2010), staff continuously refers to Wilhelmina von Hallwyl by her first name and the biographical details continue to be brick and mortar in the tours and the shaping of the museum's story. As one curator explains:

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Wilhelmina is at the center of every tour still. The visitors want to hear about her and her family. They are fascinated by her as a person and ask questions about her personality (curator in guided tour for ASI staff and board members).

Even if the Hallwyl leadership attempts to re-shape the story according to contemporary times, the audience seems to behave as museum visitors in general. They wish for the museum and its staff to confirm what they think they already know (cf. Smith 2015), and the story about a home begs for a story of the people living there. The referring to Wilhelmina (and Walther) by their first names rather than their full names in tours and conversation is a performance that creates an intimate relationship that reduce both the temporal and social distance to them. More than this, however, the first name basis demonstrates an interpretative shift, where the protagonists of the story are at the narrator's, hence staffs', disposal. This is most apparent in dramatized guided tours offered by the museum in which staff member take on the roles of servants, curators, and scholarly figures working together with Wilhelmina to organize the collections and establish the museum. The rather informal way of referring to both Wilhelmina and Walther as well as to their servants and staff, positions the contemporary curators not only as cultural brokers, mediating between institutional and vernacular culture before an audience (Kurin 1997), but also between an inhouse past and present. In the voices of their narration, the curators and long gone owners of the Hallwyl palace co-inhabit the museum.

When the curatorial team prepared an exhibition the Hallwyl Museum 80 år, in 2018 to observe the palace's 80th anniversary as a museum, they selected to bring to the fore also for the audience, Wilhelmina von Hallwyls's role as career woman and museum maker, adding to the museum's inception story her role as benefactor for major museums such as Skansen and Nordiska museet, Gotlands Fornsal, Kulturen in Lund, Kulturen's Östarp, Nationalmuseum and Schloss Hallwil in Switzerland. The depiction of an eccentric woman and wealthy heiress has shifted into a that of a professional who, through her cataloguing, management of curators and staff and deliberate making of heritage, played an important role and previously untold public story in the writing of Swedish museum history. As the teaser on the museum website says:

The exhibition emphasizes the cataloguing of the collection that Wilhelmina initiated and then supervised for decades, and which made her preservationist attempt unique. Take part of the stories about how the museum started and learn about the details of the objects. A new film shares the story about how she in her role as cultural benefactor left a legacy far beyond the museum.

In this exhibition Wilhelmina was cast as protagonist in a professional development not only of her own museum but the museum heritage in Sweden and the Hallwyl Palace takes center stage in a story of feminist heritage making. The contemporary story about Wilhelmina is presented as a progressive herstory, pointing out that her contributions were crucial for Artur Hazelius and Georg Karlin work as museum

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founders, developed in the context of the emerging European nation-states during the course of the nineteenth century. At the time when the role of cultural heritage and museums was to provide a collective identity for emerging nations, by providing them with origin stories and a folklife sphere (Klein 2006: 57-80), hers is a narrative of the “Other”, at in a Swedish context. Yet, it is similar to Isabella Stewart Gardner’s, Hallwyl’s contemporary in the United States, a collector of art worldwide (Sweden and Scandinavia included) and whose home, Fenway Court in Boston, was deliberately shaped to become a museum. The story of both women as they are framed today portrays a cosmopolitan citizen, world traveler, a student of antiquities, an educator and benefactor for transnational cultural history. In broad terms, Wilhelmina von Hallwyl’s cultural heritage making adds to the story of the emerging Swedish nation, an aristocratic cosmopolitan perspective and a history marked by mobility.

### **The Turnblad Mansion: a museum and an historic house**

When Swan Turnblad and his wife Christina, both of immigrant families from Sweden, created the Turnblad mansion in Minneapolis, they shaped a home with the intent of leaving a legacy to the Swedish community. Or so that story goes.

In an article in the Minneapolis Tribune in 1929, Swan Turnblad explains:

I had this idea in mind when I first began to build the home. I wanted it to endure for a hundred thousand years. And I wanted to have it so arranged that it might be easily converted to its later uses” (Minneapolis Tribune Dec 15. 1929, p. 14, as quoted in Gillespie Lewis 1999:40-41).

On another occasion he went on to explain:

It has been my lifelong ambition to foster and preserve Swedish culture in America. I hold dear many things that are Swedish - although I am an American now - and it seems to me to be desirable for both countries if some of the products of Swedish culture might be shown here (ASI director Lilly Lorenzén, *The Institute: a short history*, in *American Swedish Institute Bulletin*, vol. 9 No. 3, Autumn 1954, p. 4. As quoted in Gillespie 1999:41).

In 1929, formal papers were filed with the State of Minnesota that converted the Turnblad residence into The American Institute of Swedish Art, Literature, and Science. Since the founding of the institute, the uses of the mansion have taken numerous turns, working in alignment with the tastes of the day, and that which was understood to be Swedish or deemed to be contemporarily modern.

Today, the Turnblad Mansion is part of the American Swedish Institute Campus along with the Nelson gallery, which opened 2012. The collection comprises 7000 catalogued items of which 70 originate from the mansion: furniture, decorative arts pieces, jewelry, rugs, some textiles (not including archival documents or books). Collection staff believes that furniture owned by the Turnblad’s was removed during three periods. 1) When the family moved from the mansion to the Posten



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newspaper building 2) after Swan Turnblad donated the mansion and moved into the Park Avenue apartment building (across the street from the Mansion). 3) And third, when Swan Turnblad died and his daughter Lillian moved to Holy Angels Convent in Bloomington, and donated art and other pieces to the Minneapolis Institute of Art. The shedding of the material heritage of the Turnblad's represents a step by step erasure of aspects of their lives. As Daniel Miller has argued in connection with the cultural processes of moving house:

...the objects of the home are the mementoes of the past, and so the decision to discard some and retain others when moving house becomes the active management of one's own externalized memory" (2001:8)

In part, Swan Turnblad himself was responsible for the manner in which the inventory of the house, and the manner in which the memory of his presence, was dispersed. However, in part this process of materialized memory editing continued long after Swan Turnblad's death as others continued to remove the material culture of his life out of the mansion, or into the basement for storage. These small movements of material culture, were in all likelihood undramatic and perceived as part of the trivial daily events of running an institute, but when seen from a different perspective, they also communicate the changing priorities of an upwardly mobile immigrant in relation to the needs of a malleable Swedish community.

### **Materializing the museum**

Pulling together impressions and styles from castles in Europe along with inspiration from the fine arts and fairytales, Turnblad began planning the mansion in 1903. He hired master woodcarvers, stonemasons, and plasterers who formed teams of newly immigrated craftsmen, and proceeded to build a monument over himself and of the immigrant dream fulfilled.

Soon after the mansion was turned into an Institute, it began to change to accommodate clubs and programs. In the early 1930s rooms on the first floor were covered with wallboard. Polychromic ceilings were painted white. In 1949, the name was changed to the American Swedish Institute. Between 1960 and 1980s, membership grew (from 975 in 1959 to 7,000 in 1981, this through a collaboration with Scandinavian Airlines) and there was a need for space to arrange meetings and activities. The lower level was turned into an auditorium and a working kitchen with a kaffestuga. By the 1980s and early nineties, changes in the mansion reflected an appreciation of traditional Swedish folkways. Swedish artist Bengt Engman was commissioned to decorate the auditorium, a galore in Dalapainting depicting the great emigration from Sweden to Minnesota. This could also be seen in the items the American Swedish Institute shop sold, from the traditional red painted wooden dalahorses and advent candleholders and books by John Bauer and Viktor Rydberg. In these ways the identity and heritagelore of the institute shifted from that of being a highbrow meeting place for a cultural elite, to being a more folksy meeting place for individuals interested in celebrating forms of "traditional" Swedish heritage.

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However, even this lore would change as the American Swedish Institute moved into the new millennium. One major shift was marked by the removal of the core exhibition *Swedish Life in the Twin Cities*. As the curator explains: "When dismantling the exhibition, staff experienced material resistance. They had to become violent to undo displays, as if the exhibition with its story would not let go". The exhibition which portrayed aspects of the early twentieth-century Swedish immigration experience to Minnesota had been in place for fourteen years. Over the span of its existence it had functioned as the premier story for ASI to tell. However, as plans to construct a new multi-million dollar modern addition (with new meeting rooms, a state-of-the-art auditorium, glassed-in galleries, an expanded gift shop, and what would become an award-winning restaurant) it was deemed to be time to move on from "*Swedish Life in the Twin Cities*". This occurred, in part, because the exhibit and the theme of immigration were not perceived to be of sufficient interest for the context and audiences of the time. The question was, where would The American Swedish Institute go as it left the heritage of "*Swedish Life in the Twin Cities*" behind.

### **Times are changing**

Swan and Christina and their daughter Lillian Turnblad gave the community a place, but their presence in the mansion has faded. Where Walter and Wilhelmina Hallwyl are central to the story and presentation of the Hallwyl palace, the Turnblad's presence at the Institute has been almost completely erased with time. As one of the staff members explained:

We're seeing more people coming in because of the new building. But I think people still come to see the house. They come through and see what this is. The only thing right now is that we don't have anything up specifically about the Turnblad's, so that's the one question we get a lot. "Who are these people? Why did they build the house?"

As a consequence, the leadership of the American Swedish Institute are currently working to develop a means of telling the Turnblad story. However, instead of focusing entirely on the builders of the home (which is the focus of the Hallwyl story), the leadership team is pondering the possibility of using the Turnblad's to tell a new and different migration story. As one team member explained:

We are working with an interpretive planning firm to develop our own ideas and then we have another set of focus groups also exploring kind of what people want to know about the castle. We know that the Turnblad story is going to be important and discussing immigration in connection with this is more important now than it has been for a long time. I still have a hard time understanding how immigrants became the bad part of society in the United States. I mean Donald Trump and building walls and all that.

The heritagelore of the mansion, being one of Swedishness, previously focused on the celebration of Swedish national and transatlantic heritage. However, that focus

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is shifting. In part as the quote indicates, as a reaction to Trump politics. But in part also due to the Institute's perceived need to distance themselves from being identified in a limiting way, as Swedish. The mansion needs to be more than Swedish as a person in a leadership role explains:

Part of it is that more people know about us. They get beyond...we say ASI. If we say the American Swedish Institute, phom (gestikularar stangd dorr). I am not Swedish and therefore it doesn't mean anything to me. So doing certain things like saying ASI instead of the American Swedish Institute has helped us break through some of these barriers.

The focus on a heritage of mobility could in this context, potentially work as a way of opening "the American Swedish Institute" to a wider public, as it has transformed into "ASI", and perhaps as the Turnblad story is converted into a migration story, rather than what is perceived as a limited "Swedish" story.

### **Home House Museum**

Homes are not museums, although houses can become them. As we indicated in the beginning, homes may be understood as spaces in which individuals try to bring things into control. They are about continuously drawing circles to include particular individuals, feelings, and atmospheres (Ahmed 1999:341).

Wilhelmina Hallwyl envisioned her home to become a museum. She collected, catalogued and exhibited items from around the world. But as docents lead visitors through the rooms of this house, very little is said about Asia, or any of the items, which came from there. And as visitors are led through the armory, featuring swords and suits of armor of diverse European origin, very little of their history or origins are mentioned. The story that is told is to some degree that of the Hallwyl's, and the modern, extravagantly expensive home they built. But to a much larger degree, it is the story of Wilhelmina, a story that has changed over the years. The wacky hoarder has morphed into a focused educator.

At ASI, the Turnblad's presence has withered to the extent that there is disagreement over whether the Turnblads ever actually used the mansion as their primary home, and if so, when, and for how long. Their furniture is gone, and no one is exactly sure when it left the mansion, or where it went, although a couch and a clock housed in the basement storage area are said to have once belonged to Lillian Turnblad. Rather than becoming "The Turnblad Mansion", the house became "Swedish" after 1929. As ASI leadership currently contemplate the possibility of bringing the Turnblads back into the lore of the mansion, they envision a broader story of migration as an alluring trope through which to present the family in lieu of the lacking knowledge of what they actually did in the mansion.

In this article we have argued for a need to understand how objects, places, oral traditions, and interpretations/invocations of the past can come together at heritage sites and have a structuring function as heritagelore. A very strong pillar of heritagelore in society in general revolves around the implicitly understood linkage

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between culture, identity, place and their continuity through time. Despite decades of folkloristic and anthropological critique of the linkage between culture, people and place, this pillar of heritagelore remains strong, particularly in vernacular understandings of what “a” heritage or “our” heritage” is, but even in many institutional heritage settings.

Both of the museums we have discussed here currently offer a heritagelore of emplaced identities: Hallwyl currently stressing a place created by Wilhelmina, and ASI emphasizing Swedish and, in the last decade, Nordic linkages. However, had these museums been seen through an alternative heritagelore of migration and mobility, very different stories would emerge out of them. Not stories of building things in places and opening buildings to publics, but stories of pulling things together from around the world, mobilizing people over borders, of struggling to find spaces that could be temporarily brought under control, and of spaces which ultimately collapsed as homes, and moved on to become institutions.

This alternative heritagelore is not completely absent from either museum, indeed, this seems to be a direction in which ASI is currently moving, but it remains subsumed under a much stronger lore belonging to place. For the analysis here we have chosen to focus upon two homes, which became museums, but homes are also places in which people constantly come and go. They are places in which people may live or dwell, but equally, they are places from which people continuously move on, and get on with their lives. Homes that do not work in this way are commonly referred to as enclosures or even prisons.

As we have demonstrated, territorial boundaries define where Sweden, Switzerland, the United States and other countries begin and end, as do their respective laws and legislation. Such laws and legislations also set the parameters for how national heritage sites are created, managed and maintained. However, that these nation-states are concretized by territorial boundaries, laws and legislations do not fully govern, in practice, the content and values associated with how a particular heritage comes to expression (cf. Kapchan 2014, Hafstein 2009). It does not either fully explain the relationships between heritage makers and the concretization of their stories in heritage sites or the connectivity that emerge between the geographical places through these maintenance and preservation of these heritage sites. These are collectively and collaborative performative acts that shape heritage over time.

Since the time of the great emigration from Europe to the United States in the nineteenth century, cultural performances involving material collections, stories, rituals and museums have been an important and central component in the heritagelore of the European experience in America. These performances of culture have also been the bread and butter of American culture as diverse and hybridized. Therefore, the perspective of performance has often proven fruitful in attempts to identify vernacular and institutional heritage sites as well as analyze by which means they emerge (Gradén 2010, 2013). When performance is understood as “an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication, framed in a special

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way and put on display for an audience” (Bauman 1992:4), it becomes important to identify which audiences heritage sites explicitly and implicitly strive to reach and how these target groups come to shift (or do not) as heritage sites continuously renew and reinvent themselves to maintain their relevance in and for society at large.

The meticulous documentation and composition of the Hallwyl palace, its collections, inhabitants, and life lived enable a performance that on the one hand opens up for a multitude of interpretations but also one that demonstrates clearly how early established understandings (that this is the home of the Hallwyls, and the project of Wilhelmina) overshadows attempts to interpret the site and its collections anew for example such as the stories of the migrant artisans who built the mansion, the foreign contacts who sought after artifacts abroad, the students and curators who did the bulk of the work cataloguing the collections, etc.). Wilhelmina, the mansion, and its place in Stockholm overshadow all of these other types of potential heritagelore. At ASI, the gradual stripping of objects and documentation at the Turnblad mansion provides contemporary staff with multiple opportunities to enact performances where the house becomes a stage set, a backdrop for other stories. The problem they struggle with is finding an appropriately engaging story to work with in the present. This requires a conscience and strategic effort to actively engage consultants (cf. Lewis Gillespie 1999, Millett 2014) and piece together a new form of heritagelore.

Emerging from Hallwyl it is possible to see how tacit knowledge from the museum’s past is passed on from former to current staff who operate and perform these heritage sites. This is a body of knowledge that has continuously informed new interpretations of the museum and its founders that has provided a constant framework which staff have worked with as they strive to meet the perceived pressure to live up to the expectations of their audiences. The heritagelore has been polished to the point that aspects of it seem difficult to re-think or fully depart from. Its content has captured its performer and the public. At ASI staff have a large mansion and a new facility to work with. The problem they face is a lack of continuity in how stories of the past have (and more problematically, have not) been passed on from one generation of staff and volunteers to the other. Personnel have moved on, objects have been moved out, and stories left untold.

In drawing attention to “homes of heritage” it is our intention to argue for a more extensive scholarly exploration of the tension between understandings of heritage as being an outcome/phenomenon of a place-bound notion of culture (Ferguson & Gupta 1997), and the potential for that heritage to be re-framed and re-thought as an aspect of processes of migration and mobility as people move about (cf. Aronsson & Graden 2013, Graden 2013, Povrzanovic-Frykman 2015, Frykman and Povrzanovic-Frykman 2016). In a similar manner artifacts are gathered, moved, and assembled and spoken about to create and re-create a heritage. In that sense the Hallwyl family did as Turnblad and many immigrants to the United States. They emphasized connectivity to more than one place in the world, combined materials

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from former and present homelands and shaped trajectories between them. In this sense their homes and the stories about them were materializations of a migration heritage (Gradén 2013:189-202) which presumes and is generated by mobility. Moving in this direction, implies that we advance a mobilities perspective on heritage that acknowledges the fact that heritage as expressed in museums and through their collections of artifacts, is often performed in specific contextualized spaces (Lefebvre 1991; O'Dell 2005), but that the culturally orchestrated processes of movement that lead to that contextualization are central to the constructions of meaning and the manner in which heritage is framed, interpreted, and ultimately understood (cf. Appadurai 1986; Cresswell 2006; Rodgers 2012; Urry 2007). This process is particularly prevalent when we look at homes that have become museums in the wake of processes of migration to and from Sweden.

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Peggy Korsmo-Kennon, COO

Ingrid Nyholm, Associate Director of Programs and Community Engagement

Curt Pederson, Curator of Exhibitions & Collections  
Inga Theissen, Collections manager  
Shawn Connors, Exhibition Designer

Heli Hapasaalo, Museum Director  
Samuel Norrby, intendent  
Emelie Höglund, verksamhetsutvecklare  
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### **Fieldnotes**

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