

# NATIONAL WINNER AUSTRALIA'S HERITAGE



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TITLE: WHEN DOES MEMORY BECOME  
HISTORY?

# When Does Memory Become History?

**By Rohan Howitt**

For as long as humans have studied history, they have questioned when history itself begins. Far more recently, however, scholars of the “interdisciplinary field of memory studies”<sup>1</sup> have been asking the question of when does memory become history. Whilst there are only a limited number of serious academic studies into this question, there is enough theoretical material to be applied to events and celebrations in Australian history. An analysis of the differences between the Beatles’ tour of Australia in 1964, the Ourimbah Pop Festival in 1970, and the Go Between Bridge Concert in 2010 provides an insight into the key question of when memory becomes history.

The field of memory studies, and its relationship to more conventional disciplines of history, has enjoyed increasing validity as a field of study, particularly in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. For example, since 2007 the University of Melbourne has offered a course entitled *Memory and History*<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, published works by the likes of Elizabeth Tonkin<sup>3</sup> have established the validity of this topic of inquiry.

Just as there is no consensus as to when an event ceases to be ‘current’ and becomes ‘history’<sup>4</sup>, there is no consensus as to when memory becomes history. However, the most commonly accepted theory is that of German scholar Jan Assmann. Assmann<sup>5</sup> proposes that the collective memory of an event “will change once there is no one alive to tell the tale from their own experience, or to have heard it told by those who experienced it themselves.”<sup>6</sup> When this change occurs, the memory of

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<sup>1</sup> Doctor J. Pollman; *Memory Concepts and Theory*; Published 29/2/2008, Leiden University Research Institute for History, Leiden, Netherlands; Accessed 28/7/2010

<sup>2</sup> Professor Joy Damousi; University of Melbourne Handbook; Published 11/9/2007, Updated 22/1/2009; Accessed 16/8/2010

<sup>3</sup> *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History*; Elizabeth Tonkin; Published 1992, Cambridge University Press, New York; Accessed 1/8/2010

<sup>4</sup> For example, a poll conducted by BBC History Magazine revealed that one in three of approximately 2,000 respondents believed that history begins a second before the present, while a further 28% believed that current events become history after ten years has passed.

<sup>5</sup> Cited by Pollman op cit

<sup>6</sup> Pollman ibid paraphrasing Assmann

the event becomes “communicative memory,”<sup>7</sup> and from there it changes into “cultural memory.”<sup>8</sup> In other words, collective memory becomes cultural memory when there is no longer any person alive who experienced the event, nor anyone who heard the event retold by someone who experienced it. Once the event becomes a part of the cultural memory, it can, according to Pollmann, be considered history and studied as such.

On a purely theoretical level, the hypotheses of Assmann and Pollmann provide satisfactory answers to the question of when memory becomes history. However, this theory becomes less clear-cut when it is applied to actual events. There are a number of precedents for the application of mnemonic theory to historical events. For example, Mark Paytress’ *I Was There: Gigs That Changed The World*<sup>9</sup> focuses on the idea that significant moments in social history, specifically momentous rock’n’roll concerts, can be historically recorded via the medium of the personal memories of those who in attendance. History has similarly been applied to memory studies, such as in the case of the *Magical Memory Tour* project.<sup>10</sup> This project is built on the idea that individuals’ memories of the Beatles, cross-referenced against historical recorded events, can contribute to an understanding of the nature of human memory.

According to two of Australia’s foremost rock historians, The Beatles’ tour of Australia in 1964 was undoubtedly a historical event. Glenn A. Baker believes that the 350,000 adoring fans who greeted The Beatles in Adelaide “...constituted the biggest Beatles-besotted crowd ever assembled,”<sup>11</sup> ensure the tremendous historical significance of the 1964 tour. Bernie Howitt claims that “The Beatles’ tour of Australia became an historical event almost instantly, when 350,000 people turned up to meet them in Adelaide.”<sup>12</sup>

However, the Beatles Tour of Australia is clearly still in living memory, and Assmann’s theory of memory and history would therefore classify it as a part of the global collective memory, rather than history. The opinions of Howitt and Baker clearly contradict this classification, however. Similarly, 1964 tour is included as the “Australian Event of 1964”<sup>13</sup> in the history text book *Rock Through History*. If the influence of an event contributes to its classification as history, then The

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<sup>7</sup> Pollman *ibid*

<sup>8</sup> Pollman *ibid*

<sup>9</sup> *I Was There: Gigs That Changed The World*; Mark Paytress; Published 2005, Cassell Illustrated, London

<sup>10</sup> Accessed via <http://www.magicalmemorytour.com/page.php?page=about>. The *Magical Memory Tour* seeks to answer the question “what kind of role do the Beatles and their music play in our personal histories, and can this help increase our understanding of human memory?”

<sup>11</sup> *Best of Baker: Music*; Glenn A. Baker; Published 2010, New Holland Publishers, Sydney; p224

<sup>12</sup> Bernie Howitt, interviewed 1/8/2010

<sup>13</sup> *Rock Through History*; Bernie Howitt; First Published 1989, Longman Cheshire, Sydney; This Edition Published 1994, Longman Cheshire, Sydney; Accessed 31/7/2010

Beatles' tour of Australia became historical almost instantaneously. As stated by Howitt, local musicians "also benefitted from the tour...names that would develop into Australian legends got their start in the boom The Beatles' tour stimulated. The Easybeats, Ray Brown & The Whispers, Billy Thorpe and The Aztecs, and The Twilights suddenly found work, recording, and popularity..."<sup>14</sup> such was the influence of the 1964 tour. In addition to its influence on the domestic music scene, where it stimulated the "second wave"<sup>15</sup> of Australian rock'n'roll, the tour also had a major influence on Australian society in general. Howitt suggests that the 1964 tour gave Australian teenagers their first "taste of freedom,"<sup>16</sup> and that this exercise of adolescent independence culminated in the protests against the Vietnam War and against conscription. As Howitt stated, "surely something that significant can supersede theoretical classification. When something's that influential on a social level, it's history."<sup>17</sup> The problems associated with classifying The Beatles' tour of Australia is microcosmically symptomatic of the debate over when an event transforms from a memory into history.

Whereas The Beatles' tour of Australia is widely, or at least critically, considered an historical event, the Pilgrimage to Pop Festival, held at Ourimbah, on the Central Coast of New South Wales, in January 1970, has been the subject of significantly less historical inquiry. As such, it further blurs the line between collective and cultural memory, and between memory and history. The festival was "was Australia's first attempt at a Woodstock event,"<sup>18</sup> and was "the first local rock festival with an all-Australian lineup."<sup>19</sup>

However, it is impossible to clearly define the Pilgrimage to Pop Festival as an historical event, or an example of the collective memory. In terms of its significance, as Australia's first major outdoor festival post-Woodstock<sup>20</sup> and the first all-Australian lineup at a domestic festival, Ourimbah should probably be considered as an historical event, similarly to The Beatles' tour. However, it lacks the general or critical consensus to firmly establish it as an historical event. Whereas The Beatles' tour has spawned innumerable books, websites, and documentaries proclaiming it an integral moment in Australia's social history, references to Ourimbah can be found only in *Rock*

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<sup>14</sup> Howitt, *Rock Through History* ibid

<sup>15</sup> Australian rock'n'roll is divided into three "waves" by the MilesAgo website (<http://www.milesago.com/MainFrame.htm>); the "First Wave" of 1955 to 1963, the "Second Wave" of 1964 to 1967, and the "Third Wave" of 1970 to 1975.

<sup>16</sup> Howitt, *Rock Through History* op cit

<sup>17</sup> Howitt, interview op cit

<sup>18</sup> *Long Way To The Top*; Episode 3, *Billy Killed The Fish 1968 - 1973*; Broadcast 2001, Australian Broadcasting Corporation; Accessed 17/8/2010, via [http://www.abc.net.au/longway/episode\\_3/](http://www.abc.net.au/longway/episode_3/)

<sup>19</sup> MilesAgo, no author specified, accessed 16/8/2010, via <http://www.milesago.com/festivals/ourimbah.htm>

<sup>20</sup> Barrie McAskill, of Levi Smith's Clefs, believes that "Ourimbah was our Woodstock" (*Interview With Barrie McAskill: A Primary Source of a 1960s Decade Study*; Bernie Howitt; Published 1/3/2009, Teaching History Vol. 43; Accessed 16/8/2010)

*Through History*, MilesAgo, a feature in the ABC TV show *Long Way To The Top* and in photographs online. Finally, the Assmann-Pollmann theory of memory and history classifies it as the collective memory, as it is still firmly in living memory, and thus not an historical event. The difficulties in classifying the Ourimbah Pilgrimage to Pop Festival as history or memory exemplifies the problems associated with attempting to answer the question of when an event becomes history.

The Go Between Bridge Concert<sup>21</sup>, held on the 25 June 2010, is an example of the ongoing complexities of classifying history and memory. The legacy and influence of The Beatles' tour of Australia and the Pilgrimage to Pop Festival have been established over time in both cases. By contrast, the long-term influence of The Go Between Bridge concert has yet to be determined. However, Robert Forster, co-founder of The Go-Betweens, the Brisbane band after whom the bridge is named, says that the very naming of the bridge is culturally and historically significant. He makes that point that "Brisbane is not a town that has a long history of recognising the artistic achievements of its citizens,"<sup>22</sup> and that "the remarkable fact that the bridge was built in Brisbane and is named after a Brisbane group..."<sup>23</sup> establishes a certain degree of significance already.

Finally, the Go Between Bridge Concert is already a memory for the participants in the event, and, like the tour and the festival, is classified as an example of the collective memory by the Assmann-Pollmann theory. The concert is a recent event, and will not become 'history' under this theory until not only the participants in the event have died, but also anyone who has "heard it told by those who experienced it themselves."<sup>24</sup> When this theoretical approach to the question of when memory becomes history is applied to an event such as the Go Between Bridge Concert, it suggests that the event cannot become history for potentially 150 years, regardless of its significance, impact, legacy, or any general or critical consensus. This highlights the inherent difficulties associated with classifying events as history or memory, and of attempting to answer the question of when a memory becomes history.

If the theoretical solution were, hypothetically, ignored, and the classification of the concert as history or memory left to the participants in the event, then it is undeniably categorised as history. For example, Robert Forster categorically states that "yes, they (the naming of the bridge and the

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<sup>21</sup> The Go Between Bridge Concert, held on 25/6/2010, was held to mark the completion of the construction of The Go Between Bridge, named after seminal Brisbane band The Go-Betweens. The lineup consisted of The John Steel Singers, Bob Evans, Yves Klein Blue, Josh Pyke, Robert Forster, and Angus & Julia Stone.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Forster, interviewed 3/8/2010, via email

<sup>23</sup> Forster *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> Pollman *op cit*

concert) are historical events.” Similarly, my own motivation in attending the Go Between Bridge Concert was that I believed it would become an important historical event in retrospect<sup>25</sup>. Furthermore, Bernie Howitt says that “the Bridge Concert is already a memory, and we don’t yet know its impact, but I have no doubt that it will become an historical event as the significance of the contribution of the Go-Betweens to Australian social history continues to be recognised.”

Thus The Beatles’ tour is proclaimed an historical event by general and critical consensus, whilst the Pilgrimage to Pop Festival has not yet achieved that consensus. To date, there has been no published historical academic work on the bridge naming and concert. Therefore, like the Ourimbah Festival, it has not yet achieved the general or critical consensus enjoyed by The Beatles’ tour.

Ultimately, it is impossible to answer the question of when an event ceases to be memory, and becomes history. On a purely theoretical level, the hypotheses of Assmann and Pollmann provide a perfectly sufficient answer to that fundamental historiographical question; events are classified as collective memory when participants in the event are still alive, as communicative memory when those who heard the memories of those participants are still alive, and as cultural memory when both the participants and those who heard the participants’ stories are dead. When this theory is applied to actual events, however, further questions and problems arise. For example, The Beatles’ tour of Australia raises the question of whether an event can be ‘fast-tracked’ into the status of history if it has a hugely significant documented influence, or if it is heralded as an historical event by general or critical consensus?

The Beatles’ tour, Ourimbah Festival, and Go Between Bridge Concert are examples of the application of mnemonic theory to celebrations of social history. However, it is equally valid to apply it across all fields of historical study. For example, the death of “Australia’s last World War I digger,”<sup>26</sup> Jack Ross, on 3 June 2009, marked the transition of the First World War into communicative memory under the Assmann-Pollmann theory. The application of mnemonic theory to Australian military history is plagued by the same historiographical issues as any attempt to apply it to social history. Theoretically, the First World War is a communicative memory, and not

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<sup>25</sup> It is important to acknowledge bias as a potential historiographical issue here. I was given tickets to attend the concert by Robert Forster, and I believed prior to the event that it would prove to be history. I am therefore inherently biased in this regard, but this does not necessarily detract from the usefulness of my personal reflections as a source, as this bias also provides the informed perspective of a participant in the event. Therefore, the use of my personal reflections sacrifices the objectivity of an external observer in favour of the informed perspective of a participant.

<sup>26</sup> *Australia’s Last World War I Digger Dies at 110*; Ross Brundrett; Published 4/6/2010, Herald Sun; Accessed 23/8/2010, via <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/australias-last-world-war-i-digger-dies-at-110/story-e6frf7jo-1225720653803>

an historical event, yet it is taught in history curriculums<sup>27</sup> and has spawned a plethora of history books about it. These cross-disciplinary historiographical issues reflect the fact that there is simply no answer to the question of when an event changes from memory to history. The Beatles tour of Australia, the Ourimbah Pilgrimage to Pop Festival, and the Go Between Bridge Concert exemplify the difficulties associated with attempting to find one.

## **Annotated Bibliography:**

Memory Concepts and Theory

Professor Doctor J. Pollmann

Published 29/2/2008,

Leiden University Research Institute for History, Leiden, Netherlands

Accessed 28/7/2010,

Via <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/talesoftherevolt/approach/approach-1.html>

Pollmann's research for the Leiden University Research Institute for History is the most recent attempt to justify the validity of the cross-disciplinary field of memory studies. Furthermore, it is also the most recent project to apply mnemonic theory to history, specifically that of early-modern Europe. The source's usefulness was established by its status as the most recent and valid work in the field of memory studies and history. Furthermore, Pollmann coalesced eighty-five years of mnemonic and proto-mnemonic theory into a far more accessible medium. As this source was published in English, and quoted extensively from non-English texts such as Maurice Halbwachs seminal 1925 book *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire*, it was also extremely useful in overcoming the potential language problems associated with this topic. The source's validity is established by its publication on the Leiden University Research Institute for History website, as Leiden University was one of the earliest pioneers of memory studies as a valid field of study. Bias is not a major issue, as *Memory Concepts and Theory* is heavily scrutinised by the Leiden University Research Institute for History.

<https://handbook.unimelb.edu.au/view/2008/131-550>

University of Melbourne Handbook

Professor Joy Damousi

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<sup>27</sup> For example, the NSW Modern History Syllabus includes World War I as a "core" study in the Higher School Certificate course (accessed 23/8/2010 via [http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/syllabus\\_hsc/pdf\\_doc/modern-history-st6-syl-from2010.pdf](http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/syllabus_hsc/pdf_doc/modern-history-st6-syl-from2010.pdf)).

Published 11/9/2007; Updated 22/1/2009

Accessed 16/8/2010

The University of Melbourne Handbook was used for a limited purpose, specifically to highlight the precedent of combining memory studies and history, and thus establish the validity of my thesis as an historical investigation. Whilst this purpose was limited in scope, it was also extremely significant, and this source was useful for this purpose. As it is a handbook of course listings, the source is not inherently biased. Its validity is established by its status as an official course handbook of the University of Melbourne.

The Social Framework Memory

Maurice Halbwachs

Published 1925,

Felix Alcan, Paris

This Edition (Electronic) Published 19/6/2002,

Jean-Marie Tremblay

Accessed 28/7/2010, via

[http://translate.googleusercontent.com/translate\\_c?hl=en&sl=fr&u=http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Halbwachs\\_maurice/cadres\\_soc\\_memoire/cadres\\_sociaux\\_memoire.doc&prev=/search%3Fq%3DMaurice%2BHalbwachs,%2BLes%2Bcadres%2Bsociaux%2Bde%2Bla%2Bm%25C3%25A9moire%26hl%3Den%26rlz%3D1T4GGLG\\_enAU311AU311%26prmd%3Do&rurl=translate.google.com.au&usg=ALkJrhgGTjZ5h00TBI7bMif97eHM4ApOw](http://translate.googleusercontent.com/translate_c?hl=en&sl=fr&u=http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Halbwachs_maurice/cadres_soc_memoire/cadres_sociaux_memoire.doc&prev=/search%3Fq%3DMaurice%2BHalbwachs,%2BLes%2Bcadres%2Bsociaux%2Bde%2Bla%2Bm%25C3%25A9moire%26hl%3Den%26rlz%3D1T4GGLG_enAU311AU311%26prmd%3Do&rurl=translate.google.com.au&usg=ALkJrhgGTjZ5h00TBI7bMif97eHM4ApOw)

*The Social Framework of Memory* is widely considered the seminal work of the fledgling field of memory studies, and the first work to propose the concept of collective memory. Halbwachs theories heavily influenced those of Jan Assmann, who, in turn, heavily influenced J. Pollmann. As such, this source was extremely useful. The source's major weakness was that it was translated from the original French, and the translation made it more difficult to access. As Halbwachs was arguing in favour of a completely new and original theory, the source is inherently at risk of bias. However, time and critical reception have established the source's validity, and significantly reduced the risk of bias as an issue.

Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History

Elizabeth Tonkin

Published 1992,

Cambridge University Press, New York

Accessed 1/8/2010, via

[http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HH5intVzOokC&dq=Elizabeth+Tonkin,+Narrating+our+pasts.+The+social+construction+of+oral+history&printsec=frontcover&source=bn&hl=en&ei=oR92TJPYFYugvgOY35zJBg&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CCgQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HH5intVzOokC&dq=Elizabeth+Tonkin,+Narrating+our+pasts.+The+social+construction+of+oral+history&printsec=frontcover&source=bn&hl=en&ei=oR92TJPYFYugvgOY35zJBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CCgQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false)

*Narrating Our Pasts...* was a useful source for establishing the validity of combining mnemonic theory with history. Whilst this is not the core focus of Tonkin's work, aspects of memory studies, and in particular Assmann's theory of the collective, communicative, and cultural memory, permeate the source. Similarly to Halbwachs, Tonkin's application of mnemonic theory to the construction of oral history was an original historiographical approach, and is inherently at risk of bias. Although *Narrating Our Pasts...* has not been validated by the same passage of time and critical appreciation as Halbwachs' work, its validity is established, to an extent, by Pollmann's appreciation of it.

<http://ww2poster.wordpress.com/2009/11/20/when-does-history-become-history/>

When Does History Become History?

No Author Specified

Published 20/11/2009

Accessed 20/7/2010

This source was useful in establishing a background understanding to the debate of when history becomes history. The source cited a BBC History Magazine poll which asked readers to vote on when they believe that history becomes history. The response of one-in-three respondents, from a pool of approximately 2,000 respondents, was that history begins one second before the present. This response led me to my ultimate thesis; exploring the question of when memory becomes history. The lack of an acknowledged author is a potential issue with this source, but this does not detract from its usefulness in establishing my general understanding of the question of when history becomes history. Whilst it does not have the same level of validity as the scholarly and academic works of Pollmann, Assmann, Halbwachs, and Tonkin, this does not detract from its overall usefulness. Bias is not a major issue, as the source does not attempt to be persuasive or even to answer its own question. Indeed, it suggests that there is no answer to the question of when history becomes history, and this suggests that bias is not a major issue.

<http://www.milesago.com/MainFrame.htm>

MilesAgo

Accessed 1/8/09

The MilesAgo website was another useful source, due to its nature as a comprehensive database on Australian rock'n'roll from 1964 to 1975. It draws heavily from the works of rock historians such as Glenn A. Baker, Ian McFarlane, and Bernie Howitt, and this enhances its historical validity. It is inherently biased, as it focuses exclusively on aspects of the Australian music scene from 1964 to 1975, and draws primarily from the work of Australian rock historians. It was one of the few sources available on the Ourimbah Pilgrimage to Pop Festival, and also coalesced many primary and secondary sources on The Beatles' 1964 tour of Australia, establishing its usefulness as a source.

<http://www.magicalmemorytour.com/page.php?page=aboutmemory>

The Magical Memory Tour Project

Accessed 5/8/2010

This source was useful in providing a precedent for the interrelationship of history and memory, as it demonstrates the way that popular culture, social history, and memory can be linked to further our understanding of both history and human memory. For this reason, it also adds validity to my topic of investigation. Its validity is established by its status as a research project into the importance of significant aspects of social history in relation to human memory. The memories of The Beatles submitted to the project are inherently biased, but usefully so, whilst the project itself, when used for establishing a precedent and validity, does not suffer from bias as an issue.

<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/australias-last-world-war-i-digger-dies-at-110/story-e6frf7jo-1225720653803>

Australia's Last World War I Digger Dies At 110

Ross Brundrett

Published 4/6/2009,

Herald Sun

Accessed 23/8/2010

This source was useful for illustrating the point that mnemonic theory can be applied to, for example, military history, as validly as to social history. This further enhances the validity of my topic, as it makes my idea of applying the theoretical approach of memory studies to real events valid on a much broader scale. This article's validity is established by its publication in a publically-scrutinised medium, and bias is not a major issue.

[http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/syllabus\\_hsc/pdf\\_doc/modern-history-st6-syl-from2010.pdf](http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/syllabus_hsc/pdf_doc/modern-history-st6-syl-from2010.pdf)

Stage 6 Modern History Syllabus: Preliminary and HSC Courses

Published 2004,

Board of Studies NSW

Accessed 23/8/2010

This source was only used for a very limited purpose; illustrating and exemplifying the point that World War I is often taught as history, despite it being theoretically an example of communicative memory. For this limited purpose, the *Stage 6 Modern History Syllabus...* was a useful source. Its nature as a syllabus ensures that bias is not a major issue, and its endorsement by the New South Wales Board of Studies establishes its validity.

Best of Baker: Music

Glenn A. Baker

Published 2010,

New Holland Publishing, Sydney

16/8/2010

Glenn A. Baker's status as one of Australia's foremost rock historians establishes the validity of this primary source, and in turn establishes its usefulness. The fact that *Best of Baker: Music* is a compilation of articles Baker has written over several decades also contributes to its usefulness. In particular, Baker's article on The Beatles' tour of Australia was useful in establishing it as a valid example of the problems of applying mnemonic theory to actual events. This source is inherently biased, as it strongly reflects the opinions of its author, but the fact that Baker lived through the events and grew up listening to the bands he describes ensures that this is useful bias.

Rock Through History

Bernie Howitt

First Published 1989,

Longman Cheshire, Sydney

This Edition Published 1994,

Longman Cheshire, Sydney

Accessed 31/7/2010

*Rock Through History* was useful as a source on both The Beatles' tour of Australia and on the Ourimbah Pilgrimage to Pop Festival. The author's status as a leading rock historian in Australia establishes its validity. Bias is potentially an issue, as the historical value affixed to these events reflects the author's personal bias. However, the growing acceptance of social history as a valid

field of study ensures that this bias is less significant, and also enhances the source's usefulness and validity.

Long Way To The Top

Originally Broadcast 2001,

Australian Broadcasting Corporation

Accessed 17/8/2010,

Via [http://www.abc.net.au/longway/episode\\_3/](http://www.abc.net.au/longway/episode_3/)

*Long Way To The Top* was a useful source simply because it was one of the very few sources available on the Ourimbah Pop Festival. It argued for, and established, the historical significance of the festival, which was fundamental to my thesis. It is an historically valid source because of the validity of those involved in it, such as Johnny Young, Jim Keays, and Wendy Saddington. This also means that the source is inherently biased to reflect the opinions of its contributors, but that this bias enhances its usefulness.

Interview

Bernie Howitt

Accessed 1/8/2010

This wide-ranging interview was an extremely useful source, as it provided a useful counterargument to the purely theoretical work of Assmann and Pollmann. For example, the Assmann-Pollmann theory classifies The Beatles' tour of Australia as collective memory, but Howitt disputed this, suggesting that the historical significance of the tour and the consensus of critics and historians supersedes the theoretical classification. Its nature as an interview means that this source was inherently biased, but, as I wanted his personal opinions, this element of bias enhanced its usefulness. The validity of this interview as a source is established by Howitt's status as a leading Australian rock historian, as well as a history teacher and published author.

Interview

Robert Forster

Accessed 3/8/2010,

Via Email

This source was extremely useful in providing the perspective of a major participant in the event of the Go Between Bridge Concert. Forster's validity is established by his major role in the event. While this ensures that this source is inherently biased, it is bias that enhances the usefulness and validity of the source.