“This Deathless Field”: The Role of On-site Interpretation in Negotiating Heritage Values of Historic Battlefields

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Abstract

The focus of this research deals with on-site interpretation at historic battlefields and how it contributes to the heritage values of these sites. This research comes at a time of increased debate about what values historic battlefields possess in the United Kingdom, predominantly as they are expressed through non-statutory legislation in England and Scotland. However, apart from cursory mention of their cultural value in these documents, the potential for archaeological discoveries and the military importance of these sites have been the exclusive factors given to justify their significance. This research has sought to verify if this is the case with visitors to historic battlefields, and if not, which elements they value.

In contrast to more recent conflicts, historic battlefields rarely leave any physical traces in the landscape, or 'heritagescape'. Whilst there are occasionally markers from after the event, such as memorials or plaques, the importance of their placement and meaning is not always sufficiently presented to modern visitors. Without other forms of on-site interpretation – such as interpretative panels, live interpretation or visitor centres – it is difficult, or impossible, to locate where a battle occurred, and communicate what is known about the event. Interpreting battlefields through these media allows visitors the opportunity to connect with and understand the actions which transpired within a bounded area. As this research has found, the methods in which information about battlefields have been presented, and the narrative of interpreting events, are crucial in how visitors perceive these sites; providing the performative space for negotiating heritage values. These are key themes for this thesis, and form the basis of the research aims and objectives.

The data which was collected and analysed came from three battlefield case studies in the United Kingdom with distinctive, but comparable circumstances: Culloden, Bosworth and Flodden. At the heart of these sites were the issues of how interpretation narrates the known historical facts of the battles, and at Bosworth, how this is done at a distance from the actual site. In order to ascertain how visitors interact and react to the interpretation, semi-structured interviews and participant observations were employed to engage with visitors and staff in determining how interpretation influences understanding of those spaces as 'heritagescapes'. The key theoretical basis of the data analysis was through semiotics and communication theories. These theories were essential in establishing how recognised 'signs', conveyed through on-site interpretation, create meaning which visitors are capable of decoding.

Through these investigations it is concluded that the heritage values of historic battlefields are more nuanced and less tangible than has been identified previously by academics in archaeology, history and tourism, as well as by regional and national authorities. In contrast to present paradigms, it is contended in this thesis that the value of historic battlefields for visitors, and why some have been interpreted, has little to do with the event itself or remaining tangible artefacts, nor the minutiae of exact historic reality. Instead the most significant factors were what occurred in the aftermath of the event, and the political ramifications resulting from it, and their perceived importance to the individual visitor today; regardless of their historical veracity.

Despite numerous previous studies into battlefield archaeology, history and tourism, what constitutes ‘battlefield heritage’ has been explicitly under-researched. The objective of this thesis has been to rectify that gap and provide a basis for further research. This intention has not only included what heritage values visitors place on these fields today, but also why certain sites have been interpreted over others. These investigations provide a unique contribution to heritage and interpretation studies on historic battlefields and analogous ‘heritagescapes’.

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pacing my room in Berlin as I contemplated my research proposal, and who is always in my thoughts.

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Abbreviations and Language Use

BEZ	Battlefield Exploration Zone (Culloden visitor centre)
CWT	Civil War Trust (United States)
EH	English Heritage
ELC	European Landscape Convention
FPI	First-person interpretation
HS	Historic Scotland
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IHB	Inventory of Historic Battlefields (Scotland)
LCC	Leicestershire County Council
NCC	Northumberland County Council
NPS	National Park Service (United States)
NTS	National Trust for Scotland
RHB	Register of Historic Battlefields (England)
TPI	Third-person interpretation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHL	World Heritage List
WHS	World Heritage Site

Please note that the original spelling and grammar has been retained within quoted sources, in some cases including American English, with errors which have been noted with [sic]. Interview quotes in French and German have been left in the original language with translations into English by the author rendered in brackets.

Chapter One – Introduction

"On great fields something stays. Forms change and pass; bodies disappear, but spirits linger, to consecrate ground for the vision-place of souls. And reverent men and women from afar, and generations that know us not and that we know not of, heart-drawn to see where and by whom great things were suffered and done for them, shall come to *this deathless field* to ponder and dream; And lo! the shadow of a mighty presence shall wrap them in its bosom, and the power of the vision pass into their souls" - Joshua L. Chamberlain at the monument dedication to the State of Maine at Gettysburg battlefield, 1899 (NPS 2012; my emphasis).

1.1 Justification and Intent of the Thesis

The aim of this research is to identify how on-site interpretation at historic battlefields and its presence influences visitors' understandings of the values of those spaces as heritage in the United Kingdom (See Section 1.6 for research question, aims and objectives). Historic battlefields have been marked in various forms on the landscape, some profound and lasting, most temporal and dissipated; "The ultimate paradox of the battlefield is the freedom of the tourist to wander through a once dangerous place where the agony of the combat has given way to the tranquillity of peace" (Prideaux 2007: 17). With little to no visible remains to mark terrifying moments of death and mutilation, the peace today at historic battlefields often represents the exact opposite impression to the events which define them (Carman & Carman 2006: 155).

War has been a part of human affairs as long as recorded history, and most certainly before then. Nations and tribes, states and republics, every conceivable formation of people has engaged in warfare. Undoubtedly conflict is not inexorably preordained to be celebrated, be proud of or even lamented, let alone recognised as part of a nation's heritage. Nonetheless, it has had an undeniable influence over events near and far, and continues to be intrinsically linked to the human condition. It has settled borders and propelled leaders, often with incredible swiftness, where even the smallest actions can reverberate into inconceivable aftershocks: "Battle is the raucous transformer of history because it also accelerates in a matter of minutes the usually longer play of chance, skill, and fate" (Hanson 2003: 14). It has been on these killing fields where the path of history has been altered, for better and worse, and where the fates of future generations have been decided in sudden, fleeting durations.

Yet in order to be aware of where a battle took place before the modern age of trenches, bunkers and other obvious immovable signs of war have been left as markers, 'signposting' through monuments, statues, information panels, visitor centres,

gravestones, and other recognised means have been used to communicate that something notable occurred within a defined landscape. It is only with these clear on-site representations that the non-expert is made aware of a particular field of conflict; otherwise it would be impossible to know that anything had happened (Winter 2009: 7). Unmarked, or under-marked, battlefields are often unidentified and ignored. Any evidence of conflict that a place may contain is therefore inevitably erased and meaning and value are lost, in spite of any former significance within that space. Indeed, the absence of any memorial or sign could be construed that an area has no value; in contrast, those which do are ostensibly considered more important.

However, even where there is 'signposting' at these spaces or places it is sometimes located in the 'wrong' spot from where the battle actually took place. Historians and archaeologists have devoted innumerable amounts of time and resources in answering exactly what happened at battles and their precise location. This research is not concerned directly with the content of these debates, but rather with the dubious or occasionally definitive results of these investigations. More specifically, this thesis scrutinises the importance of 'historical fact' and 'authentic place', which previous research and present protective measures have placed great value on. Conceivably if there is little or no tangible evidence from the conflict to be valued, then the battlefield landscape is the 'real' object which is worthy of safeguarding. What has not been clear in previous research is if the historical reality of a battle and awareness of its exact location matters to visitors to these sites, and if not, what values these landscapes then hold for people. These issues and queries are at the heart of the investigations in this thesis.

Regardless of the value or authenticity of these spaces, undoubtedly battlefields in any state of preservation are landscapes, or what have been termed 'heritagescapes' (Garden 2006, 2009) in the context of battlefields and other historic sites with few or no tangible remains (See Section 2.4.2). Whether they are protected sites managed by state agencies or forgotten places paved away under modern infrastructure, battlefields remain situated in some sort of landscape. Although many types of heritage landscapes are protected locales at the international level, battlefields have not been widely distinguished or protected through legislation. Whilst it is apparent that battlefields represent the history and values of nations and peoples, they have had a dubious designation at best at the international level. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) World Heritage List (WHL), for instance, does not include a

single battlefield[1], though it does contain abundant sites associated with conflict such as castles, city walls and fortifications, among profuse, related sites of more acceptable and deconstructed tangible edifices; types of tangible sites that Smith (2006) referred to as 'authorised heritage'.

Despite the apparent lack of recognition internationally, protective measures of varying degrees have been put in place at the national level in numerous countries to safeguard the original battle ground and to memorialise places of conflict. In the United Kingdom, battlefields have not been granted legislative protection in the same way as other historic sites with tangible remains, such as Scheduled Monument status. Even so, England and Scotland have guidelines for considering known, or suspected, battlefields in the planning process. Both English Heritage's (EH) *Register of Historic Battlefields* (RHB) from 1995 and Historic Scotland's (HS) *Inventory of Historic Battlefields* (IHB) from 2011 emphasise that the areas are of value based upon their historical value and the archaeological potential of those spaces, with spatial delineations established exclusively for the tangible artefacts left behind by armies (EH 2010; HS 2011a). Whilst the historical and archaeological importance of these decisions is without dispute, it is unclear why other considerations in the planning regulations were not taken into account, such as intangible traditions (NTS 2008: 1, 3) and more recent commemorative practices. The importance of these spaces to visitors is perhaps even more difficult to define, and is indubitably more complex than discarded tangible fragments of conflict. The question of what value they do contain for visitors, and perhaps by proxy the wider public, forms the basis of this study.

Of course these sites and potential finds have been receiving some degree of safeguarding because there are constant threats, such as from building and development, as well as increased tourism. These visitor destinations have attracted the attention of tourism academics and practitioners alike, and are the subject of a growing body of literature on why people decide to visit a field with little or no visible tangible remains from the conflict, and how a booming tourism industry has arisen from these visitors. If people did not want to visit battlefields, then there would be no multi-million pound visitor centres or other advanced forms of interpretation, nor ostensibly any funds for long-term

[1] The WHL does have a siege, Troy, though it is listed for its connection to the development of European civilisation, the inspiration of literature and the start of modern archaeological excavations; not for the fact that it was a site of conflict (WHC 2010a). In light of UNESCO's policies with battlefields, which will be reviewed in Section 2.4, it is unsurprising that this aspect is omitted from the justification of Troy's inscription on the World Heritage List.

archaeology projects and their numerous associated histories. It is that remarkable attraction to an 'empty field' and vision of the past, sites of conflict which Abraham Lincoln strikingly called "mystic chords of memory" (Library of Congress 2012), which this thesis is devoted to exploring.

Indeed, this research is not about the morality of war, the complexities of the rise and fall of nation-states, or whether it is right to vaunt or despair in commemorating the actions of the past. It is not about the military or ultimately about war at all; perhaps not even directly about battlefields. Instead, this thesis deals with the complexities of how an 'empty field', absent of any recognisable evidence to the events from a momentous past, can be considered to be of heritage value today, and who shapes that value and constructs that meaning. The research here concentrates on the idea that these spaces do not lack meaning, but rather symbolise heritage in arguably its most pure representation: that of ideas and perceptions of the past from the minds of people today, uninfluenced by traditional tangible and over-sensory symbols that have come to dominate the paradigm of what is or is not of value. Devoid of the vestiges of patina and monumental construction, battlefields are an impression of the past, whether based in historic fact or erroneous representation, feelings which cannot be contained in bricks and mortar, but within the individual.

1.2 Personal Importance and Research Motivation

I have been interested in battlefields since an early age, and have visited numerous sites from different periods in several countries. Research during my master's degree in World Heritage Studies led me to the conclusion that battlefields were not being given equivalent status as heritage sites by UNESCO, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and other international organisations. Despite military-related locales featured on the WHL, it was clear that battlefields were not afforded the same level of recognition at the international level, and so I wished to explore the reasons why this is the case both internationally and in the United Kingdom. I became interested in the importance of the location of interpretative displays (on-site, off-site, on-line) during an internship in Ireland researching Skellig Michael which informed my master's thesis on off-site interpretation, or interpretive presentations located at a physical distance from the place which is being interpreted. I was therefore keen to investigate how on-site interpretation can directly influence the heritage values for visitors to historic sites, particularly with few tangible remains such as battlefields. In consideration of these

aspects, and to analyse these points, it is essential to define battlefields and what is meant by heritage in the context of this research.

1.3 Defining Battlefields

There is no overarching or unanimous definition as to what comprises a battle, or a battlefield. Defining battlefields may seem at first to be a semantically impractical question in assigning orderly definitions to warfare which is inherently chaotic, yet the issue has become important in recent years in England and Scotland. The need to adequately define sites and their boundaries – including the core area of where a battle took place and any associated action or place, including for example muster points, camps, retreat routes and related skirmishes – has become necessary at present to better understand what aspects of the terrain are valuable to understand the narrative of the event, and which elements may warrant preservation (See Section 2.4).

It is important to note that definitions of sites associated with conflict in England and Scotland, by governmental and non-governmental organisations in charge of battlefields (the Battlefields Trust, English Heritage, Historic Scotland, and National Trust for Scotland), have largely been conceived by one individual, the archaeologist Glenn Foard. Foard has been employed periodically as an archaeology project officer since 1995 by the Battlefields Trust, a UK non-profit organisation concerned with the preservation of historic battlefields. Whilst in this position, he co-wrote a review of Scottish battlefields and war-related sites for Historic Scotland (Foard & Partida 2005). He also wrote about resources of English sites of conflict for the University of Leeds (Foard 2008). Both of these documents have been highly influential and proved indispensable for the abovementioned organisations to define conflict resources. As such, there is substantial overlap of the definitions employed, since Foard either directly wrote or influenced the basis of these definitions (See: Foard & Partida 2005: 8-9, Foard 2008: 4, HS 2010: 2). Since the Battlefields Trust is supported by and consults for EH, these definitions can be taken as the ones with which that agency concurs. Equally, wording from the 2005 report he co-wrote on behalf of the Battlefields Trust has been appropriated and used in definitions by HS, which is given below, although there is no on-going, direct working relationship between the Battlefields Trust and HS.

In defining types of conflict, the first step is to differentiate between different categories of warfare. “While the two broad types of combat – battles (including lesser open actions), and sieges – are complementary in the history and study of warfare, they differ

in their potential and hence to a degree must be separately assessed" (Foard 2008: 1). Thus it is essential that these are first understood and defined as categorically similar yet divergent types of conflict sites. This is important to not only understand the range of typologies of conflict and how they differed over time, but equally significant in how these sites present varying opportunities and constraints for safeguarding and management.

Siege combat is defined as "actions against fixed positions, where substantial defences were constructed to modify the strategic landscape and give tactical advantage to the defenders" (Foard 2008: 5). These fixed positions were usually either against cities or towns protected by a wall or other defensive enclosure, or castles with varying degrees of protective elements. Sieges are not considered the same as battles for several reasons. First of all they were usually protracted affairs which were not decided in a set engagement. Second, contrary to battles, as noted above, sieges are not in fields or open spaces and there are no large movements of troops in battle formation. Third, sieges have been excluded from both the RHB and the IHB since any protection which a siege site might require can be fulfilled by being listed as a scheduled monument (HS 2010). It is feasible to assume that they have been excluded and differentiated not so much for their contrast to how battles were fought, but conceivably from their different legislative status.

Defining battles has included the number and composition of the participants involved. Foard defined a battle in England as "an action involving wholly or largely military forces, present on each side in numbers comprising battalion strength (i.e. totaling [sic] c.1000 or more), and normally deployed and engaged on the field in formal battle array" (Foard 2008: 4). This definition is slightly more detailed than HS's: "A battle is a combative engagement involving wholly or largely military forces that had the aim of inflicting lethal force against an opposing force" (HS 2010: 2). Even though these are slightly different classifications, they concur that a battle is comprised of two armies engaged in mortal combat.

In contrast to HS, EH does not provide an exact official definition of a battle, rather it states how a battle can be put on their RHB: "The battle must have involved recognised military units and the area on which the forces formed up and fought must be capable of definition on the ground" (EH 2010). This is quite vague, particularly when subtleties like the size of a site of combat are taken into consideration. For instance, a battle is not the same as a skirmish which is "an engagement between military forces not in battle

array…Generally, skirmish sites tend to be much less extensive than battlefields" (Foard 2008: 4). This is a particular issue with older conflicts which may have generally been smaller than later clashes, and therefore whether a fight can be considered a skirmish or battle might have more to do with in which time period it was fought, rather than the number of combatants (Ibid: 19).

Regardless of size in terms of numbers, there are features which all types of conflict share. Building upon the main elements above, Carman & Carman (2006: 15) have noted three key themes, and related subthemes, as essential elements to a battle. All three of these must be present, but there can be different combinations based on the type of site. Every battle mentioned in this thesis, including the case studies, feature all of these aspects:

- "Organised Violence – Recognised military units, Definable geographical space
- Clear Function and Purpose – Destruction of the enemy, Moral collapse of one contending party, Limitation of violence, Achievement of decision
- Ritualised Elements – Mutual agreement to fight, Limits on behaviour, Closely ordered movement" (Carman & Carman 2006: 15).

If there are enough troops gathered on a particular field and they intend to engage in conflict, then that space is termed a battlefield. However, any attempt to bring an organised and delineated set of definitions to an area as inherently chaotic as war will most likely include exceptions and disagreement. The American National Park Service (NPS) has a thorough and exhaustive list on how to identify and designate battlefields, but avoids providing an exact description of the parameters separating types of conflict sites (Andrus 1999).

There have been some working definitions though, such as the *Vimy Declaration for Conservation of Historic Battlefield Terrain*, which has influenced battlefield definitions in the United Kingdom to some extent. It states that **"**A Battlefield is a landscape associated with military conflict superimposed on pre-existing natural and cultural forms, and comprises a variety of features and cultural resources, including vegetation, topography, circulation and settlement patterns, view planes, archaeological layers, built structures, battlefield terrain and earthworks" (Veterans Affairs Canada 2010). This is a rich, wide-ranging description that extends to ideas about the viewing of landscape (See

Section 2.4) and, as will be reviewed in Sections 6.2 and 7.3, interpreting it and its meaning for visitors.

HS utilises a more concise definition of a battlefield, stating that a battlefield is "an area of land over which a battle was fought or significant activities relating to a battle occurred" (HS 2010: 2). As previously noted, this closely follows Foard's definition: "The *battlefield* is that area where the troops deployed and fought while in battle formation (2008: 4; Original emphasis)." There are also several variants that can occur both leading up to and following a battle (including skirmishes and routs), sometimes referred to as the "*immediate context* of the battlefield" (Ibid; Original emphasis). These areas can aid in understanding how forces were engaged, though they are often difficult to locate since they cover a wide area.

Clearly there are discrepancies as to what entails a battlefield, and the degree to which a site is merely a skirmish or a battle of course varies according to the time period, the scale of the overall conflict and the effects of that engagement. Furthermore, there is a difference between types of battlefields based on the era of the conflict. Carman & Carman (2006: 31) state that "The battles of our age can be said to have no limits or boundaries: they frequently cannot be seen or measured, nor physically controlled. Unlike the warfare of previous ages, they do not occupy a particular location but are at once nowhere and everywhere." The statement here infers that the way in which war is fought has changed dramatically in about the past century or so. Therefore, it is infinitely more ambiguous as to where that line should be drawn between 'old' ways of conducting war and 'new', or historic and modern. Apart from the Battle of Britain (fought almost exclusively in the air, and by definition not a 'field'), the UK has been relatively free of conflict on a large scale since the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 which culminated in the Battle of Culloden in 1746, one of the case studies for this research (See Section 5.2). Therefore, it is relatively simple to state that every battlefield in England and Scotland is historic. Although there have been British troops engaged in conflict around the world since the 18th century, none of these sites fall into the present study, and none are located in the UK.

Despite the lack of clarity on exactly what is meant by 'historic battlefield', it remains the common term to refer to battles fought in this imprecise period outside of living memory. It is unclear when a battlefield is no longer considered 'modern' and becomes 'historic', as the literature has not dealt with this nuance in terminology. The nomenclature would

largely depend on which elements are under consideration such as tactics, weaponry or time period. Regardless of exactly how 'historic battlefields' are defined, it is still ambiguous which aspects of these sites could be considered as heritage. As such, the next section introduces how the notions of heritage could be applicable to historic battlefields.

1.4 Identifying Heritage in Context

It is not within the scope of this chapter to discuss and evaluate all of the differing ideas of what constitutes 'heritage', though a primary goal of the study is to understand which aspects of battlefields could be classed as heritage. To that end, this section aims to identify which pre-existing characteristics of heritage can be related to battlefields, with specific examples of tangible and intangible heritage presented in Section 2.2. Like battlefields, there is no definitive classification of what constitutes heritage, which has been debated on its role, use and importance for many years. Numerous recent works have dealt with these themes, including Lowenthal (1985, 1998); Samuel (1994); Howard (2003); Smith (2006); Graham & Howard (2008); Smith & Akagawa (2009), amongst many others. Whether natural or cultural, tangible or intangible, movable or immovable, many aspects and values have been attributed to heritage; yet there is little consensus how to define heritage in all its aspects, or where those differences begin or end (Ahmad 2006). Debates have been on-going as to how to classify concepts of heritage, but also who has the authority to define these (Smith 2006). Often, categorising them is "bound up with elite power, specifically the power of experts" (Graham, Mason & Newman 2009: 11). This has certainly been the case at battlefields, which have been viewed from a very narrow political and academic framework (See Sections 1.5, 2.3 and 8.2).

The first important point to emphasise for this research is that the study of heritage is not strictly the same as historical inquiry. The study of history is dedicated to understanding what happened in the past, whilst attempting to remain neutral to the importance today of those past events (Ricoeur 1965: 23-24, Tosh 1991: 144). In contrast, Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge (2007: 3) emphasize that "the study of heritage does not involve a direct engagement with the study of the past. Instead, the contents, interpretations and representations of the heritage resource are selected according to the demands of the present and, in turn, bequeathed to an imagined future." Heritage is very much in the realm of the present, and can be defined as what people value about the past, or a place, and how they engage with it today.

It is possible to argue that academics in heritage studies could easily select or disregard what they deem to be incongruent with their goals or vision of the past. However, it has been noted that historians engage in exactly that since it is impossible to know the complete past (Lowenthal 1998: 106-107). In fact, knowing the limitations and viewpoints of current thinking can contribute to a more objective understanding of history (Carr 1987: 29-30, 123). To be sure: "History and heritage are less dissenting ventures than disparate viewpoints. Each aims to show things 'as they were' – bring the dead to life with imaginative empathy, make the past more knowable, tie up loose ends, remove unsightly excrescences, offer images clearer than reality" (Lowenthal 1998: 168). In viewing history and heritage from this paradigm, there are similarities in the goals of the two in their quest for an understanding and connection with the past. However, the two areas where research is focused – the past for historians, and how the past affects people's perceptions of the present for heritage researchers – have divided the interpretation as to the significance of that past (See Ricouer 1965; Carr 1987; Lowenthal 1985, 1998; Tosh 1991; Samuel 1994; Jordanova 2000).

There may be cases where this is an agreement on what heritage means, but lack of a mutual understanding on how to appropriately acknowledge or preserve it. Howard (2003: 96) highlights one such problem: "Commemoration is often the alternative to conservation, and many heritage debates are between these two options." In this, Howard is speaking of whether it is best to leave sites as they are today in whatever state they may be, or whether to undergo detailed investigations which may lead to altering and possibly reconstructing a site. There are numerous tensions as to what sort of resource historic sites should be valued for, such as locations for research or tourist destinations. Such issues are common at historic sites and highlight the differences in value between academics and tourists which will be introduced in Section 2.3, and expanded upon in Chapter Eight.

Authenticity is an interrelated issue to these deliberations, highlighted in the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994) and the 2004 World Heritage committee debates on its implementation into the World Heritage Convention (Jokilehto 2006: 6-7; Stovel 2007). Authenticity has been problematic since what is understood as 'authentic', particularly in terms of value, differs depending on the culture as stated in paragraph 11 of the *Nara Document* (UNESCO 1994). Jokilehto (2006: 7) notes that disagreement with the terminology extends to comprehensions of 'tangible' versus 'intangible' heritage, in that 'authenticity' as defined in the 1994 document was considered by some as 'static' and

inapplicable to ‘recreations’. These concerns can be connected to battlefields, particularly when considering the ‘real’ location of the conflict, as well as alterations to the landscape since the event. Land development will be explored generally in Section 2.5, and authenticity of place in the context of the case studies in Chapter Seven.

A further contention in defining authenticity within the commemoration versus conservation debate was its restricted reference to tangible heritage, which is to say heritage of the built and physical environment, including ‘cultural landscapes’ or ‘heritagescapes’ (See Section 2.4). Recognising a shift in ideology as to what constitutes heritage, there has been on-going interest and continued debate about expanding definitions of heritage at the international level in recent years, particularly to allow a more nuanced understanding of what different cultures around the world value as their heritage. Authenticity has been one, as noted above, and another prominent example has been with intangible heritage. These include UNESCO’s classification of five intangible heritage ‘domains’ (UNESCO 2013) which include “those aspects of heritage that, unlike places or objects, are ephemeral: these include oral traditions, languages, traditional performing arts, knowledge systems, values and know-how” (Deacon et al. 2004: 7). One of the main reasons for the recent prominence of this debate has had to do with the introduction in 2003 of the UNESCO’s *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (See Blake 2006; Smith 2006), though there has been a long history of academic interest in intangibles (Smith & Akagawa 2009; Stefano 2010).

One of the purposes of the 2003 convention was to address concerns that the WHL was dominated by forms of tangible cultural heritage in the ‘west’. It has been increasingly recognised that ‘non-western’ nations and cultures value their environment and heritage in ways other than through tangible expressions (Smith & Akagawa 2009). However, it is possible to view this paradigm through ‘western’ sites as well. One expression which relates to battlefields is “Cultural spaces associated with intangible heritage practices or intangible values associated with sites” (Deacon et al 2004: 27). Since there is almost a complete lack of tangible evidence at historic battlefields in the UK, it can be inferred that residual values, such as visitation, are therefore ‘intangible’ at these locales.

Yet it would be patently false to determine that there are easily demarcated lines between different typologies of what could be construed as heritage. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2004: 60) explains that these are constructed differences which actually deter a deeper understanding of what binds them, stating that “the division between tangible, natural,

and intangible heritage and the creation of separate lists for each is arbitrary, though not without its history and logic...tangible heritage, without intangible heritage, is a mere husk or inert matter. As for intangible heritage, it is not only embodied, but also inseparable from the material and social worlds of persons." In this way, there is infinitely more that connects these themes than separates them, as Smith (2006) has also argued:

> "Whether we are dealing with traditional definitions of 'tangible' or 'intangible' representations of heritage, we are actually engaging with a set of values and meanings...[which are] the real subject of heritage preservation and management processes, and as such *all heritage is 'intangible' whether these values of meanings are symbolized by a physical site, place, landscape or other physical representation*" (Smith 2006: 56; my emphasis).

The main concept behind heritage, whether it be natural or cultural, tangible or intangible, or a combination thereof, is that the ideas of what heritage symbolises is the core to understanding and appreciating it. Concurring with Smith above, Ashworth et al. (2007: 3) emphasise "that heritage is less about tangible material artefacts or other intangible forms of the past than about the meanings placed upon them and the representations which are created from them." This is critical to the understanding of heritage which has more to do with how a system of signified ideas is embodied than how these ideas are manifested. This key concept is exemplified at historic battlefields, where there has been a wide-variety of representations, or 'discourses' (Smith 2006: 54), noted in this research which will be analysed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Clearly heritage is a complex issue that has shaped debate about how the past is understood and valued. However as previously stated, it is not the intention in this thesis to provide an in-depth examination of heritage, but rather how it can be understood in the context of historic battlefields (See Section 2.2). As presented in this section, there has been a clear deviation in heritage studies recently for a more inclusive understanding of what constitutes heritage resources and values, despite its 'dissonant' nature at battlefields (Howard 2003: 211). This research emphatically supports this paradigm shift, and employs it whilst considering the relative heritage value in Chapter Eight. Yet research about historic battlefields has largely not been based in this perspective, as evidenced by previous studies and current scholarship.

1.5 Current Gaps in Research and the Originality of the Thesis

Research in relation to battlefields has been dominated by studies in the fields of history, archaeology and tourism. Although they have provided invaluable and extensive findings

on battlefields, the research for this thesis has determined that the extent of their influences in understanding the relative values of those spaces to visitors has been overstated and untenably used as justification for their present values. In contrast to results from these fields which will be detailed in Section 2.3, this research presents findings in Chapter Eight that the values previously placed on battlefields has little empirical evidence for wide-spread support amongst visitors to battlefields.

Compared to studies in archaeology, history and tourism, very little significant research in heritage studies has been undertaken on battlefields. Whilst there have been numerous publications which have dealt with related, tangential subjects, most concentrate on traditional forms of tangible heritage (See Section 2.2.1). Studies have generally not dealt with the complexities of the more intangible aspects of battlefields, though some elements of this will be in Section 2.2.2. This research considers some intangible forms of heritage at these sites within the context of the 'heritagescape' (Garden 2006, 2009), which provides the ideal framework of understanding the complexities of battlefields (See Section 2.4.2).

When heritage issues connected to war have been researched, it has predominately been concerned with recent conflict and not with 'historic' battlefields which are outside of living or proximate memory. For instance, the *Journal of War & Cultural Studies* focuses on conflict from the 20th century onwards and has given little attention to 'historic' battlefields. Equally, the recent volume *The Heritage of War* (Gegner & Ziino 2012b) deals almost exclusively with 20th century conflicts, and even then through tangible elements such as war memorials and urban reconstruction. Though modern war is an important area of research, the issues at historic battlefields are more complex, as the reasons for the conflict are obscured by the passing of time and the nominal chances of surviving tangible remains *in situ*. Despite this historical distance, historic battles do have a continued legacy, though in a less discernible way from more recent conflict, which this thesis explores.

Those studies which have looked at historic battlefields, in particular from archaeology, have rarely related them back to modern perceptions. This has been valid in tourism studies as well, where little research has been carried out on historic battlefields. Tourism studies which do concentrate on current battlefield visitation are dominated by research into 20th century conflict sites (Smith 1998: 202), such as World War I (Lloyd 1998; Winter 2009; Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood 2011), and specifically Gallipoli

(Hoffenberg 2001; Slade 2003; Hall, Basarin & Lockstone-Binney 2010), World War II (Smith 1998; Cooper 2006; Panakera 2007), and post-World War II in south-east Asia (Lunn 2007; Huimin, Ryan & Wei 2007; Chang & Ryan 2007; Muzaini, Teo & Yeoh 2007; Zhang 2010). Comparatively speaking, very few studies have been devoted to modern perceptions of historic battlefields, with the exception of Gatewood & Cameron 2004; Chronis 2005; McLean, Garden & Urquhart 2007; Chronis & Hampton 2008; Daugbjerg 2009. Although Seaton's (1999) seminal study in battlefield tourism concentrated on visitation to the 1815 Battle of Waterloo, he focused solely on past tourism from 1815 to 1914 (See also Semmel 2000).

Seaton's work was one of the key publications which launched the sub-field of 'thanatourism' as Seaton referred to it (1996; 1999) or 'dark' tourism (Foley & Lennon 1996; Lennon & Foley 2007), that is to say tourism to places associated with death and disaster (See Section 2.3.3). This ill-defined, overly-broad terminology perhaps has an application to tourism directly after a battle, such as research on 20th century conflict, yet the results of the research on historic battlefields in this thesis maintains little in common with this dubious designation. One of the many issues with 'dark' tourism literature is that research carried out on such sites has not generally consisted of speaking to visitors, as there is little empirical research which has engaged with tourists directly at 'dark' sites (Stone 2011: 327); an omission explored comprehensively by Biran, Poria & Oren (2010). It is therefore largely unknown if these results are merely a theoretical exercise or practically pertinent. Even when tourists are interviewed, it is predominately analysed quantitatively which leaves little room for the complexities of feeling and 'atmosphere' which the qualitative approach undertaken in this thesis is more suited to. It is for this reason that visitors to the case study battlefields were engaged in semi-structured interviews to discover why they wanted to visit these empty fields, and ultimately what value battlefields hold for visitors. It is through these interviews that this original, multifarious analysis on the heritage values of battlefields for visitors today was possible, providing unique insight into this underexplored field of inquiry.

Visitation to battlefields is often only at well-known sites, or those which feature some sort of 'signposting' or monument. However, the meanings of memorials erected during or directly after a conflict are often difficult to discern with the passage of time. Research into war memorials (Mayo 1988; Nora 1989; Auster 1997; Jennings 1998; Shackel 2001a, 2001b; Carman 2003; Cooper 2006; Price 2006; Raivo 1999, Hughes & Trigg 2008) provides valuable insights into the effect of war on those who suffered directly by it

(Carman & Carman 2006: 229), but it is not a productive means of perceiving *present* understandings or values of a past conflict. Memorials and monuments are in fact a product of the past (Lyons 2011: 184), and their construction and symbolism as such are appropriate fields of inquiry for historians: "the principal function of a monument is not necessarily to preserve the past of its site but to celebrate the memory of a historical event" (Raivo 1999: 8). This is very rarely acknowledged in these studies, although it is a philosophy firmly embraced in this thesis, as there is still the prevalent notion that an edifice from the past has an inherent value in the present. This narrow understanding of heritage has been challenged by Lowenthal (1985, 1998) and Smith (2006) and many other commentators in the heritage literature, but has been continually upheld by prominent voices in battlefield research and policy (See Section 8.2). This study does discuss historic memorials, but only to discover how they influence, if at all, modern perceptions.

Without a doubt, memorials are often an important indicator of where a battle took place, and frequently are the only form of evidence in that space. When it exists, on-site interpretation provides another useful reference point to what happened at a battlefield and where, and can explain the importance of monuments whose meaning may perhaps be erased from present common knowledge. Interpretation research has been largely practice-based, focusing on how to construct and implement interpretive presentations (Ham 1992; Beck & Cable 2000; Black 2005, 2011; Tilden 2007). Interpretation has not been widely studied from the point of view of the complexities in its representation of heritage values, or the highly political nature of which sites receive support to develop an interpretive display. That being said, Howard (2003: 249) perceived politically or nationalistically motivated bias in certain site interpretations, including at Culloden, one of the case studies of this research. Clearly the way in which information is presented can conceal any past or present contentions at a site, as Howard (2003: 247) notes: "...many battlefield interpretations studiously avoid taking sides, and the resultant failure to discuss the ethical dilemmas involved can itself become an amoral position". Section 4.7 and Chapters Five and Six will elaborate more on these points.

Theoretical research on interpretation, mostly from communication studies, has also not explored the intricacies involved in whether that communication cycle takes place at the actual, or perceived 'real' site, or away from it. When location has been discussed, it is mostly to do with the ways in which learning takes place (Falk & Dierking 1992; Ham 1992; Black 2005, 2012), and not how visitors understand a site (Stewart, Hayward &

Devlin 1998: 258) or perceptions of a site's values. The research here has endeavoured to link these areas of interpretation research in combining the theory and practice, the importance of location, and which sites are interpreted and why others are not. More specifically, there has been very little research which has addressed the complexities of interpretation at battlefields and related 'heritagescapes'; a gap in the literature which this thesis addresses.

1.6 Research Question, Aims and Objectives

In lieu of previous investigations and the intent of this thesis, it was clear that this research would benefit most to focus on the effects of on-site interpretation on visitors' perceptions of battlefields as heritage, and how that has been formulated. Therefore, the research question is as follows: **How does on-site interpretation at historic battlefields contribute to conceptualising their values as heritage to visitors?** With this focus, four principal research aims with a total of a nineteen research objectives were developed with the intention of exploring the multiple issues associated with this question. In particular, it was deemed important to ensure that the complexities of the 'heritagescape', and how this has been interpreted, were explored through multiple fields of enquiry. These research aims and objectives are:

Aim 1: To examine previous concepts of battlefield heritage
Objectives
1.1 To scrutinise the perception and research value of battlefields in academia
1.2 To classify built and non-built historic battlefield heritage
1.3 To assess the heritage value through time of battlefields
1.4 To investigate battlefields as (cultural) landscapes/'heritagescapes'
1.5 To examine international frameworks and (non)governmental policy in the UK for battlefield preservation

Aim 2: To identify current interpretation methods employed at battlefields
Objectives
2.1 To define the theoretical framework on interpretation and communication theories
2.2 To discuss interpretation research and the evolution of interpretive presentations
2.3 To catalogue the main points of a battlefield interpretation plan (audience, message, perspective, goals, themes)
2.4 To chart the typology of presentation in use at battlefields today
2.5 To critically evaluate the effectiveness of existing interpretation methodologies
2.6 To analyse how visitors interact with interpretive techniques

Aim 3: To investigate the importance of historical fact and authenticity of place in the visitor experience
Objectives
3.1 To examine the importance of factual representation in interpretive displays
3.2 To evaluate how on-site interpretation influences ideas aimed at enhancing authenticity

3.3 To assess authentic experience as a component of a visit
3.4 To consider the importance of authenticity of place for visitors
3.5 To assess if and how fact and authenticity are integral parts of heritage value at battlefields

Aim 4: To analyse the heritage value of battlefields in terms of the case studies and more broadly
Objectives
4.1 To examine why some battlefields have been memorialised and interpreted, and others not
4.2 To categorise how site memorialisation and interpretation relates to heritage value
4.3 To assess the intangible values of non-built heritage space

These aims and objectives have formed the basis of the study, and will be reviewed in the conclusion to show how they have been achieved throughout this research in order to answer the research question. The last section of this introduction provides the structure of the thesis, and shows how the aims will be researched in the following chapters.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis contains nine chapters, commencing with this introduction. Chapter Two acts as a literature review of the historiography of battlefield heritage up to the present. Building from the definitions in Sections 1.3 and 1.4, Section 2.2 identifies specific aspects of tangible and intangible battlefield heritage. This is followed by how battlefields have been researched in academia, and how that focus has influenced perceptions of battlefields as heritage, particularly in the UK. After this is an analysis of the 'grey literature' of associated pertinent legislation, and how battlefields have or have not been incorporated within the 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith 2006). This chapter concludes with a review of the destruction and preservation of battlefield 'heritagescapes'.

After having introduced the background issues with the topic, Chapter Three explains how this has informed the methodology and approach to research in this thesis. This elucidates how the thesis developed through the data using grounded theory, and how the pilot study and literature review shifted the focus of the work. Furthermore, the main fieldwork methodology of ethnographic approaches is described, including the use of participant observation and semi-structured interviews. This section includes how the methods influenced the findings, and how the data were analysed.

Chapter Four introduces the main intellectual framework and theoretical models that informed the research, principally interpretation and communication theories, and how

these have been understood practically at historic sites. The theory is based mainly on the concepts of the semiotic approach, which deal with how recognised 'signs' construe perceptible meaning. Semiotics proves ideal in explaining how visitors are able to construct the relative importance of historic battlefields through decoding signs. This section is followed by how interpretation has been employed and utilised in practice, in particular at historic battlefields.

Having providing the background to battlefields in Chapter Two, and an analysis of interpretation in Chapter Four, Chapter Five outlines the three case studies of the thesis; Culloden, Bosworth and Flodden. There is a brief introduction on each of these battlefields, including why the battles were fought, what occurred at each, and their immediate aftermath. Following each of these is a detailed account of the on-site interpretation employed at each of these sites. This includes details from the fieldwork conducted for this research, including both observations and interviews with staff and those responsible for the interpretation at each site.

The analysis of the interpretation at historic battlefields and the various factors which contribute to their valuation as heritage by visitors is analysed and explored in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight; addressing previous research in history, archaeology and tourism in the context of the case studies. These data chapters are an original analysis and contribution to research on historic battlefields, on-site interpretation and heritage. The first, Chapter Six, analyses how visitors interacted and actively participated with the on-site interpretation at the case studies and how and what historic significance of that site was reflected and understood. This is followed by the importance of historical fact and representation through the interpretation that the sites employ to address any myths, stereotypes and misinformation that visitors may come with. Chapter Seven builds upon this analysis with an investigation of authenticity of place, how this is represented through on-site interpretation and the importance of representing the 'authentic place' for the visitor experience.

Chapter Eight continues to evaluate research from the fieldwork of these case studies, but also brings in further examples to scrutinise the importance of place and interpretation in evaluating battlefield heritage. This critical analysis features a unique description of how battlefields are considered heritage as demonstrated from this research, which is fundamentally divergent to current understandings of their value perceived by academics and practitioners alike. The original contributions contained in this chapter are essential

elements in not only understanding the importance of battlefields or the role which on-site interpretation plays in conceptualising ideas of relative heritage value of place, but how ‘heritagescapes’ are important forms of non-built heritage. Additionally, the very political questions of which sites are deemed worthy of protection and interpretation, and those which are not, are considered.

The conclusions in Chapter Nine provide a summary of the research findings and how the research aims and objectives have been achieved in order to answer the research question. This section includes limitations which this research was unable to address due to time, budgetary or space limitations, and what questions and issues could be investigated in future research. This chapter concludes with some final thoughts and reflections on the thesis.

Chapter Two – A Historiography of Battlefield Heritage

"Historic battlefields and sites of conflict are part of our heritage. They can be promoted as amenities, as teaching aids and as memorials. However, they are too important to be ignored. By allowing the evidence from them to be destroyed or to be removed unrecorded, promotes the assumption that such evidence is not important, and furthermore, that it will not be important in the future" (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 38).

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews how battlefield heritage has been researched and understood in England and Scotland, and how those ideas influence current understandings about the value of battlefields as a heritage resource. Before the data collection and analysis stage of this project could be undertaken, it was necessary to review the academic and 'grey' literature. Academic research, in particular from archaeology, has greatly influenced governmental and organisational policies towards battlefields, including which battlefields have been given resources to develop sophisticated on-site interpretive displays. This review has been fundamental in the development of the overall thesis, and led to the formulation of the strategy for fieldwork and research design which will form the basis of Chapter Three on methodology.

The first section of this chapter builds off the general introduction to battlefields and heritage in Chapter One and provides more details on 'tangible' and 'intangible' battlefield heritage. In the following section, research is reviewed from the academic disciplines of history, archaeology and tourism. These three are important to examine due to the volume of literature written about battlefields from these perspectives, and how their results have informed the assumed value of these 'heritagescapes' by regional and national agencies. By examining how battlefields have been understood and studied, it has been possible to identify why the heritage value of battlefields has been largely excluded from international conventions and legislation, and how they have only recently achieved a narrow degree of safeguarding in the UK.

The degree of recognition has shaped strategies of landscape development and conservation at historic battlefields. The last section of this chapter provides general examples of how 'authentic place' has been preserved and restored at these sites, which will be expanded on in with the case studies in Chapter Seven. Building upon this chapter's basic introduction to what constitutes battlefield heritage, Chapter Eight introduces a more nuanced understanding of battlefield heritage utilising the results and

analysis of the case studies. Although the main focus of this chapter is English and Scottish battlefields, examples from outside Britain will be referenced where appropriate.

2.2 Identifying Aspects of Battlefield Heritage

Sections 1.3 and 1.4 in Chapter One provided definitions and a framework of how battlefields and heritage have been defined. This section aims to bring these two aspects together and link them by common themes. The first part identifies tangible and intangible heritage aspects of battlefields. The second reviews how military history, battlefield archaeology and battlefield tourism studies have influenced the idea of what encompasses current understandings of battlefield heritage. From this it is possible to identify the gaps in the literature and understanding of battlefield heritage, which this study aims to address.

2.2.1 Tangible Battlefield Heritage

There has been very little physical evidence of battles recovered in England and Scotland, as most battle sites remain largely unknown (Battlefields Trust 2009b). Though there are pillboxes and other war related infrastructures such as radar stations and training ranges scattered throughout Britain, there is precious little in the way of material evidence of combat. Part of the issue in recovering tangible finds from a battle is that any usable accoutrements, or weaponry, would have been stripped from the field and the dead, leaving very little of value behind. What is more likely to be found are those objects which were of little reuse value, or that had become stuck in mud, landed in difficult to reach areas, or lost in the turmoil of battle. Usually only certain elemental materials can be recovered: "Aside from flint arrowheads and stone slingshots, almost all artefacts recovered from fields of conflict are of metal and are recovered with metal detectors" (Foard 2008: 45). These finds therefore include bullets, cannon balls, regiment badges, spear points (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 25-26) and other objects such as pins, crosses, buttons that might have been torn off a soldier in hand to hand combat, or shot off from a distance. However, it has been difficult to locate many battlefields finds today since "by far the greatest amount of material has been recovered either by treasure hunters or by a small number of detectorists who have embarked free-lance surveys of their own" (Foard 2008: 45). In other words, there are large numbers of amateur collectors who legally and illegally dig up and accumulate important battlefield finds without proper recording or analysis of the context of the find.

Another possible find at battlefields are grave sites of the fallen. Despite the large number of casualties that often occurred in battle in Britain, there has been a surprisingly small number of remains actually found, due to the difficulty in locating and uncovering mass graves (Foard 2008: 52). The largest battlefield related grave in England that has been excavated was from the 1461 Battle of Towton, where 38 skeletons were recorded by osteoarchaeologists in 1996 – though 24 more were reportedly moved by builders during the construction of the new town hall earlier that year (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 33). There is some evidence at the 1642 Edgehill battlefield that soldiers were prepared to be buried on the field where they were killed (Foard 2008: 53). However most "dead were widely scattered, especially in the pursuit, it will often have been more efficient to collect them in carts and take them to the churchyard for burial in a mass grave as to move them elsewhere" (Foard 2008: 53). Therefore, a large number of battle participants are probably buried alongside countless others in parish churches across the country. The laws in British nations are strict at not disturbing human remains (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 30), and if they are at a known battlefield such as Culloden (Section 5.2), they may have war grave status, and cannot be disturbed.

Landscape modifications from a battle, such as gun pits or trenches, are even more difficult to locate than metallic objects or human remains since so few were used in battle in the UK. A rare exception is from the Battle of Glenshiel (See Figure 2.1), where there are still stone barriers that were assembled by Spanish troops fighting alongside the Jacobites in 1719 (Pollard & Banks 2010: 433). That being said, this is a reflection of the type of warfare that took place in Britain, and not necessarily a lack of appropriate conservation techniques. However, the most important object is really the battlefield itself, which can be viewed in its greater landscape context. As such battlefields are "spatial phenomena that are deemed to be bounded" and "limited in physical extent rather than spilling out into the surrounding vistas" (Carman & Carman 2006: 9). Viewed in this light, battlefields are really a tangible entity onto themselves.

Figure 2.1: Stonewall remnants from the Battle of Glenshiel

However, as will be seen in Section 2.3.2, very few British battlefields have produced significant finds, and even those sites where artefacts have been discovered tend to have a small yield. There has therefore been the presumption that the space has little value, or even that it is not the actual site since nothing has been discovered, leading to incorrect assumptions that the site does not deserve to be conserved (Foard 2008: 104). In other words, if no artefacts are found which can be definitively linked to a battle, then the importance of that area as a form of tangible heritage could be deemed unworthy of protection, as indeed there is no legislative protection for battlefields in the UK.

The most commonplace tangible edifices of a battle are memorials, sometimes erected many hundreds of years after the event. They often take the form of a monument or a statue made of stone, or a bronze plaque. In England, Foard (2008: 11) identified 43 monuments and 11 memorial plaques at battlefields. This includes chapels, "prehistoric standing stones and isolated trees which have become linked with battles in local tradition", wells connected to medieval battlefields and crosses which are possibly associated with significant warriors (Ibid: 9-11). Carman & Carman (2006: 192) have found that "The main focus of memorialisation at English battlefields, including especially those from past civil wars, is upon the event itself, as a historical phenomenon", though the meanings are usually more complex than what they discovered in the literature (Ibid: 204).

However many memorials are placed where there is no definitive proof that a battle took place. Sutherland & Holst (2005: 6) warn that this could be problematic in future

generations if this distinction is not clearly made, as "The connection between the battlefield and the memorial could later be lost, as the memorial itself becomes the symbol of the event." However any representation, or even a lack thereof, can be seen as contributing to the 'sense of place' of that area, and help denote meaning (Carman & Carman 2006: 163), though that meaning is very clearly from the time in which it was constructed. Another common way to memorialise the space is through commemoration events, and other intangible forms of remembrance, which is the topic of the next section.

2.2.2 Intangible Battlefield Heritage

In comparison to tangible remains, intangible battlefield heritage has a longer and more ubiquitous, though ethereal, history as discussed in Section 1.4. There is a long tradition of remembering battles through epic poems, such as the *Iliad* from the siege at Troy. Many ballads were written after British battles, such as the chivalric acts from the Battle of Otterburn which were recited all over Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries. Sometimes these were written long past the event; Sir Walter Scott wrote numerous works on resurrecting Scottish folk traditions which enjoy a continued legacy (Inglis & Holmes 2003: 54-55; Watson 2011: 751), including his famous poem *Marmion* about Flodden composed nearly 300 years after the battle (EH 1995b: 10). Today, the most common modern forms of intangible battlefield heritage include films, books, songs, plays and the multitude of other art forms which represent events either factually or fictionally (Frost 2006; Gold & Gold 2002, 2007; Bateman 2009). Some commentators have adamantly proclaimed that many of these oral and written histories, as well as re-enactments of these events, are important living heritage traditions and should be protected under the *Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention* (Klupsz 2008: 4-10).

Annual commemoration ceremonies are another familiar occurrence of on-going living traditions at some battlefields which "can make these places more sacred by verbally expressing what happened and what must not be repeated in ways that monuments cannot convey visually" (Mayo 1988: 67). More frequent, though, are those who attempt to bring these events back to life through re-enacting which, along with live interpretation (See Section 4.5), "is often the only way to celebrate the perceived heritage where there are no, or few, artefacts" (Howard 2003: 82). Although this is a very popular activity, it is difficult to say how many re-enactors there are world-wide. The NPS does not allow re-enactments on American battlefields, whereas apart from Culloden, re-enactments do

sometimes take place on British battlefields, including Hastings and Bosworth[2]. There are usually two arguments made as to why this activity does not take place at the actual site; the first is out of respect for the soldiers who died at the site, and the second is that "The quality of manufacture of replica artefacts is now so good that loosing [sic] them on a historical site can distort the genuine archaeological information" (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 8). Therefore, re-enactments usually take place at locations other than known battlefields.

There has been extensive research into re-enacting and living history (Anderson 1982; Handler & Saxton 1988; Turner 1990; Shafernich 1993; Crang 1996; Janiskee 1996; Light 1996; Strauss 2001; Tivers 2002; Cook 2004; Hunt 2004, 2008; Radtchenko 1996; Agnew 2007; Hart 2007; Tyson 2008; Gapps 2009), covering everything on how re-enactors interact amongst themselves and with the public, to why they engage in this activity. Some researchers (Nielsen 1981; Boucher 1993; Stueber 2002) have investigated re-enactment through the constructivist philosophy of Collingwood who insisted that "reenactment is epistemically central for historical explanations of individual agency" (Stueber 2002: 25). Although Collingwood evidently never used the exact term himself (Nielsen 1981: 2), he nevertheless believed that "the significance of the idea of reenactment with its emphasis upon the purposes and intentions of the historical actors is that it requires the historian to relive past events in the contemporaneous practical injunctive moods of the participants" (Boucher 1993: 703). For Collingwood, re-enactment was a method for uncovering the past through direct action and a way of discovering if in fact past events even occurred. Lowenthal (1985: 186-187) notes that Collingwood ultimately concedes that the veracity of past events is too enigmatic for present comprehension. As Lowenthal postulates his own view: "To name or to think of things past seems to imply their existence, but they do not exist; we have only present evidence for past circumstances" (1985: 187). Although it is not within the research aims of this thesis to investigate re-enacting, there are some parallels worth taking into account which can be made from this understanding of re-enacting for live interpretation, which will be introduced in Section 4.5.

Without a doubt, re-enactments are not about the replica costumes and artefacts, but more about what they represent as a "living entity" (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 53), and the

[2] As shall be seen, the site of the re-enactment of Bosworth was thought to be the actual location of the battle, but since that has changed it no longer takes place on the 'actual' battlefield. There have even been recent calls to re-examine the site of Hastings, as it is not actually archaeologically proven that it is at the spot marked by Battle Abbey.

interaction between the re-enactors interpreting and performing the knowable past, and those who come to engage and watch this demonstration take place. There are many spectators to re-enactments, but it is unknown how many attend these events, as there have been few reliable studies in the literature. In one of the few, Shackel (2001b: 661) notes that there were approximately 200,000 spectators at the re-enactment of the centenary of the Battle of Manassas, VA, USA in 1961. What is clear is that this is a popular hobby for participants in many countries, particularly the US and the UK, and continues to draw large crowds (Shackel 2001b: 660; Howard 2003: 82).

2.3 Researching Battlefields

In recent years, research into battlefields has largely been taken up by academics in history, archaeology and tourism. It has, however, been noted that historians often find a common cause with archaeologists (Foard 2008: 24) and that their associations "have been exceptionally intricate: at some points they simply merge" (Jordanova 2000: 66). As such, many of the points below for history and archaeology are often linked, since both fields are tasked with uncovering and interpreting facts about the past, differing only slightly in the forms of evidence they use for analysis. Indeed, "The re-integration of archaeology with military history as an interdisciplinary study, supported by other specialist disciplines such as ballistics, and offers potential to resolve many problems of battlefield investigation and new directions for research" (Foard 2008: 24). Another area of research has been in tourism which, as seen in Chapter One, has focused on more recent conflicts. Despite this fact, battlefield tourism studies continue to grow and are an important area of research in 'dark' tourism investigations.

These three fields' engagement and methods in researching battlefields have greatly influenced how historic battlefields are viewed as a cultural resource of value. Although as Chapters Six, Seven and Eight detail, this is often not the same set of values which visitors to those sites share. It is worth underlining the criticism sometimes levelled at the process and end result of these fields of research, as well as their common ground with heritage. The following sections present a brief overview of how battlefields have been researched and valued by historians and archaeologists, as well as tourism academics.

2.3.1 Military History

It is essential to review military history since most understandings of warfare and the military throughout the 20th and into the 21st centuries have been left in the hands of historians (Foard 2008: 24), which has consequently greatly influenced the viewpoints of

battlefields as heritage. As examined in Section 1.4, history is comparable but not the same type of inquiry as heritage since it aims to determine fact and reality from the past. Lowenthal emphasises that history and heritage are not the same thing, but on the other hand, he notes the mutually beneficial overlap between the two: "Public history, folk history, collective memory, building restoration, battle re-enactment, historical fiction, and docudramas combine heritage aims with historical research, history's lofty universality with heritage's possessive intimacy" (Lowenthal 1998: 168). In this sense, one does not nullify or degrade the other; to be sure, they can reinforce and work with the knowledge and understanding of the other. To demarcate it more specifically in the context of battlefields, Howard classifies the differences as follows:

> "The Battle of Austerlitz occurred on 5 December 1805. The events leading up to that battle, and the events of the day, are matters for the historian. The historian may join the heritage specialist and be interested in who erected the memorials and when, but is not likely to be concerned with current visitor numbers and their motivations, nor how well the shop is managed, nor the extent to which the car parking interferes with an understanding of the battle. So until 5 December 1805 Austerlitz is the province of the historian; after that the heritage manager takes over" (Howard 2003: 22).

Whilst it is certainly true that historians are interested in past events independent of the present, it is doubtful that they are completely disinterested in modern intrusions or paradigms (Ricoeur 1965: 23-29; Carr 1987: 30, 123). Indeed, as Chapter Seven illustrates, a clear visualisation of the ground without visual interference is key in understanding the actions that took place within that space. Equally, it is disingenuous to claim that heritage specialists are interested in everything directly after an event, such as in the above example of everything after 5 December 1805. Although the incident itself is of course the catalyst for later interest, it is also important to recognise and examine the reasons for the conflict in the first place, in particular the political history (Jordanova 2000: 35). Even so, it is quite clear that most in the heritage industry are wholly concerned with the present, as discussed in Section 1.4, and not with development which took place in the wake of a battle. However, it is important to emphasise that those events after a battle often weigh very heavily on how it has been valued today, which will be discussed more extensively in Chapter Eight.

Although it has been important to understand the primary and secondary documentary sources on military engagements and affairs, there has been some criticism in the approach of how it has been written and presented. "In essence, military history offers the argument that wars, campaigns and battles can all be reduced to a story of the same basic

form" (Carman & Carman 2006: 17). Tosh (1991: 113) concurs that history is often a story, indicating that many languages use the same word to describe what is two – often separately defined – words in English. Tosh goes on to state that a more apt word in English would be 'narrative', which not only is how historical fiction writers reinterpreted the past, but the way in which effective historical writing can recreate a linear account of previous affairs (Ibid). In contrast to Carman & Carman's criticism, Tosh postulates that this is how people understand events in their own lives, and therefore narrative is appropriate to relate the past in an understandable form to modern readers (Ibid).

Notwithstanding the apparent misgivings of some on the way that military historians have approached or handled battlefield data, there is little need to criticise their work. Indeed, one of the main reasons for their dominance in recent years has been that more often than not, historical documents are some of the only remaining physical evidence of a battle. It is largely for this reason, to provide physical evidence of a battle in support of documentary evidence, that there has recently been an increase in battlefield archaeology (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 1). Furthermore, both military history and archaeology present a "detailed discussion of wars and strategies, battalions and battles" which "continues to elicit great interest among the general public – the re-enactment of battles and the transformation of their sites into 'heritage' locations are further manifestations of that interest" (Jordanova 2000: 35-36). Therefore, it is important to understand military history and archaeology not just for academic considerations, but also how people engage with and appreciate battlefields through those disciplines field of inquiry.

2.3.2 Battlefield Archaeology

Though there has been an expansion in the field of battlefield archaeology in recent years, and it is indeed a nascent discipline, the study of tangible remains of battlefields is not new. As early as the middle of the 19th century the antiquarian Edward Fitzgerald investigated the Civil War site of the Battle of Naseby from 1645 (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 13). In the 1950-60s, the 1385 Battle of Aljubarrota in Portugal was excavated and mass graves from the battle were discovered (Carman & Carman 2006: 8). The first modern-day battlefield archaeology in England was undertaken at the 1644 Battle of Marston Moor in the 1970s by Peter Newman where he conducted field walking surveys (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 13), but it was really in the United States where modern battlefield archaeology started to become a developed discipline.

Following a bushfire at Little Bighorn National Monument in 1983, Richard Fox and Douglas Scott directed an archaeological survey (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 13) at this iconic and sometimes controversial (Frosch 2010) 1876 battlefield. The results of this study were published in 1989 and led to a renewed interest in battlefield archaeology not just in the United States, but soon after in the United Kingdom (Carman & Carman 2006: 5). Following in the footsteps of Fitzgerald at Naseby, Foard worked with local metal detectorists to locate this Northamptonshire battlefield in 1995, which resulted in what "was probably the first example of the publication of archaeological evidence gained directly from an assemblage of artefacts, which was used to confirm the site of a major British battle" (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 13). This investigate took place in the wake of the building of a motorway directly through the battlefield (Planel 1995: 4), which led to the organisation of the non-profit Battlefields Trust whose mission is to prevent further destruction there and at other UK battlefields. In Scotland, the first professional battlefield archaeology dates to only 2000 when Tony Pollard and Neil Oliver conducted an archaeological survey of the Battle of Culloden from 1746 during the filming of the television series *Two Men in A Trench* (Pollard & Banks 2010: 437). A large part of their research has influenced the way information has been presented in the visitor centre built in 2007, which will be elaborated on in Section 5.3.

As the field is an emerging discipline, there are still some discrepancies as to the terminology. "The term 'battlefield archaeology' is slightly misleading, as the subject generally focuses on the archaeology of the event, such as the battle, rather than the field on which it took place" (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 1-2). Pollard & Banks (2010: 415) have suggested that 'conflict archaeology' could be argued to replace battlefield archaeology, and Sutherland & Holst (2005: 2) proposes that this first term could also be better when studying non-military engagements such as civil strife. "Conflict archaeology is the much wider topic that puts warfare and its infrastructure, together with other manifestations of conflict, into their social milieu" (Pollard & Banks 2009: XIII-XIV), though it has been noted that battlefield archaeologists tend to focus solely on the battle without consideration of the wider societal context (Pollard & Banks 2010: 415). As such 'battlefield archaeology' could become a sub-discipline of conflict archaeology, though the former remains the customary nomenclature in the literature.

Despite the academic debate in terminology, the associated finds at battlefields generally comprise "fragments of projectiles, weapons and equipment that were deposited in the topsoil during or immediately after military combat" (Foard 2008: 265). Carman &

Carman (2006: 22-23) have taken a broader phenomenological approach (See Tilley 1994) to understanding battlefields which includes landscape archaeology to study the surrounding area of a battle, regarding the area of conflict as equal evidence to any material in the ground in constructing the events of a battle. However, it is important to consider that phenomenology "approaches place through experience 'exactly as it appears'" (Graham, Mason & Newman 2009: 14), and inevitably landscapes change over time (See Section 2.5 and Chapter Seven). Any investigation of battlefield archaeology requires a multi-faceted analysis to deliver viable results, including the support of historical documentation.

Whatever approach, or preference of data, the core objective of battlefield archaeologists is to fix a battle within a specific physical space, and gather as much physical evidence as possible as to how a battle took place (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 3). "The quality of battle archaeology is largely determined by the survival of artefacts and their condition. Almost without exception, battle scatters consist of metal artefacts, although the balance of metals in the assemblage differs dramatically between periods. The survival, condition and vulnerability of battlefield assemblages will thus vary according to the metal types that predominated in different periods" (Foard 2008: 39). Metal detectors are the main tools used to survey and then locate possible battlefield finds. One of the main issues in locating any metal with these devices in British fields, however, is the large amount time recovering "ferrous junk" (Foard 2008: 103), which have nothing to do with the battle or time period in which it was fought.

In spite of the difficultly in locating battlefield finds, recreational metal detecting remains a popular activity (See Thomas & Stone 2009 for an overview). Archaeology popularised through the media, such as the popular British show *Time Team* (Ascherson 2004: 155-156), has presented the apparently ubiquitous existence of objects and constant work of archaeologists and responsible amateurs to uncover these, but this is far from the case. Indeed, objects such as stone arrowheads, fabric, leather from scabbards or belts, and other degradable material makes finding material evidence from conflicts hundreds of years old a difficult, sometimes impossible task. Having this 'ephemeral' (Foard 2008: 1) material spread over large parcels of land which may contain very little metallic material makes archaeological surveys at battlefields a daunting task which can take years, with very little return in terms of tangible evidence.

Indeed, the vast majority of British battlefields have had no formal archaeological work undertaken, and have not been verified through tangible remains of conflict (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 18). This is not only true for lesser engagements, but also for well-known examples (Ibid: 12). In fact, there are only three battlefields in England which have been extensively surveyed: Edgehill, Bosworth and Towton (Foard 2008: 45), though it is nearly impossible to know if an entire battlefield has been surveyed. Indeed, many of the sites on the English RHB remain "'unverified' because of the limited or dubious nature of the evidence upon which they rest. Most are based on local tradition, including associations with finds of human remains, cairns and standing stones, and apparently lacking any contemporary written record" (Ibid: 5). This is equally true in Scotland, where perhaps the most well-known example is the Scottish defeat of the English in 1314 at Bannockburn in Scotland, which has no less than five possible locations, and possibly as many as eight (Foard & Partida 2005: 8), but there has been no archaeological evidence of the battlefield found anywhere (Pollard & Banks 2009: XIII).

Once identified, there is the frequent inclination that the landscape resembles or precisely appears as it was at the time of the battle (Carman & Carman 2006: 7). More often than not, battlefields have been identified, or their possible location assessed, only after serious changes have taken place to the landscape. Many have been built over, with apparent disregard or ignorance of what happened in the area. The area of the 1066 Battle of Stamford Bridge, for instance, was effectively destroyed by the construction of homes in 1997 (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 14). The land around Cromwell's defeat of the Scots at the 1650 Battle of Dunbar had not only a large quarry dug into it, but in the early part of this century the A1 trunk road was rebuilt through the heart of where the main action took place (Pollard & Banks 2010: 428). Further examples of destruction will be given below in Section 2.5, and instances from the case studies will be further explained in Chapters Five and Seven.

2.3.3 Battlefield Tourism

Akin to battlefield archaeology, tourism to battlefields and other war related sites is not a recent phenomenon. It is known that civilians came as spectators to at least two battles, in 1746 at Culloden in Scotland and in 1861 at the First Bull Run in the USA, where at the latter dignitaries from Washington brought picnics to watch the carnage (Piekarz 2007a: 159). It is thought that visiting sites connected to death (such as pilgrimages) have been a part of tourism for longer than any other type (Stone 2006: 147). Smith maintains that "despite the horrors and destruction (and also because of them), the memorabilia of

warfare and allied products...probably constitutes the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world" (Smith 1996: 248, Quoted in Smith 1998: 205). American Civil War battlefields alone currently host approximately 8.7 million visitors per year (Palso, Ivy & Clemons 2009: 58).

Yet the research into defining this as a specialist type of tourism is a relatively new development. Seaton's (1999) oft-cited work on the 1815 Battle of Waterloo and Lloyd's (1998) equally well-known work on tourism and 'pilgrimage' to sites related to World War I were the first major works to start to define typologies of visitors to battlefields, shedding light in understanding motivations to visiting and the experiences these tourists had. Similar to historical studies, both of these founding studies investigated historical examples of battlefield tourism, rather than current tourist trends to "hallowed ground" (NPS 1998: 3).

Through the late 1990s and 2000s, studies expanded and incorporated not just battlefields and war related locales, but other sites which are related by their connection to death, disaster and suffering (Sharpley 2009: 10). In 1996 the publication of a special issue exploring these themes in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, and thereby bringing the topic to a wider academic audience (Ibid: 12); and in 2006 the *International Journal of Tourism Research* devoted an issue to war tourism. This emergent field has been known under various terms, as mentioned in Section 1.5, most notably 'thanatourism' (Seaton 1996; Seaton 1999) and 'dark tourism' (Foley & Lennon 1996; Lennon & Foley 2007). Both terms are used nearly interchangeably, though not without criticism; 'thanatourism' for a lack of immediate recognition of the term, and 'dark tourism' for being perhaps too associated with death (Stone 2006: 158).

Gatewood & Cameron (2004) refer to visitors to these sites as "numen seekers", a term used principally in religious studies and which derives from the Latin 'numen', which literally means "a nod or beckoning from the gods" (2004: 208). They used this terminology since they concluded that visiting a battlefield was often akin to a religious 'pilgrimage' and a direct way of reconnecting with the past. "When visiting a historic site, [visitors] enjoyed the experience of transcending the present and leaping back into the past, imagining the lives, feelings, and hardships of people in earlier times" in visiting these "numinous sites" (Ibid: 208-209). Seaton (1999: 131) described five types of sites, or tourist behaviours, which relate to thanatourism:

- "Witness public enactments of death
- To see the sites of mass or individual deaths, after they have occurred. It includes travel to atrocity sites...and visits to battlefields
- Travel to internment sites of, and memorials to, the dead. This kind of thanatourism includes visits to graveyards, catacombs, crypts, war memorials, and cenotaphs
- To view the material evidence, or symbolic representations, of particular deaths, in locations unconnected with their occurrence
- To travel for re-enactments or simulation of death"

Many sites could surely fit into one or more of the aforementioned categories, and battlefields and sites directly connected to battle can unquestionably fit into the latter four of the above five; depending, of course, on the individual elements at each site.

During the 1990s there was an increased appreciation of the value of British battlefields as a tourist destination (Piekarz 2007b: 29). Travelling to battlefields is now a popular activity in the UK, with combined visitor numbers to just the English sites of Battle Abbey at Hastings, Tewkesbury, Bosworth and Flodden totalling over 236,000 in 2008 (VisitEngland 2009: 61, 70, 88, 95). In Scotland, Culloden annually receives about 120,000 visitors into the visitor centre (Boal 2010), and Bannockburn a further 65,000 (HS 2011b). It should be noted that there is no precise system for knowing exactly how many people visit a battlefield, as they are usually public space which can be accessed freely without charge. Managers at Gettysburg, which averages between 1.6 and 1.8 million visitors a year, estimate these figures based upon a scanner at the visitor centre, and then amend the total based on a presumed volume of people that visit the site but not the visitor centre (Gatewood & Cameron 2004: 197). How they calculate these latter numbers, and thereby their total figure, is not precisely clear, nor is it wholly clear how sites in Britain calculate their totals. Determining visitor numbers to associated sites beyond the immediate context of an actual battlefield, such as graveyards, war memorials and museums with artefacts from battles located off-site is even more difficult to quantify.

These cited numbers of course come from larger sites with visitor centres, trails or other interpretative material. The vast majority of battlefields are empty spaces which belie the massacre that took place in now peaceable fields (Carman & Carman 2006: 155). Indeed, high numbers of tourists are somewhat surprising considering "that often little physical

remains can be viewed at the site of the conflict" (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 8). In the absence of *in situ* visible physical remains or interpretative material it is difficult to know what aspects of a site are important to visitors, as well as to national and international bodies which may seek to protect these battlefields as heritage resources. The next section engages with this dilemma, and how it has been addressed in the UK, Europe and internationally.

2.4 Historic Battlefield Safeguarding and Legislation

These academic disciplines – history, archaeology and tourism – have been significant in constructing interpretations of events that transpired on historic ground, and have been influential in how academics, and visitors appreciate historic battlefields today (See Chapter Eight). Even so, there has been a relative lack of consideration of battlefields within modern debates about 'heritage' or more broadly how these resources could be protected through appropriate legislation. Indeed, even UNESCO, arguably the largest and most omnipresent conduit of heritage debates, does not include any battlefields on its WHL[3]. Though there are a number of war related sites which are architecturally significant, regardless of their obvious military associations (e.g. castles, concentration camps, city walls, munitions factories, forts), no battlefields are currently on the WHL. The state party of Belgium does have three battlefield-related sites on its tentative list – one on monuments to the First World War (WHC 2012a), and two relating to the Battle of Waterloo (WHC 2012b, 2012c) – though it appears that no other state parties explicitly list a connection to a battlefield.

The World Heritage Committee set a precedent as early as 1979 in a report prepared by Michel Parent of ICOMOS, to more accurately describe the criteria for properties for inclusion on the WHL (Jokilehto 2008: 13). The report covered many aspects of the Operational Guidelines, including adaptable conceptualisations on authenticity for sites without tangible remains (Labadi 2010: 68), as well as considering the placement of battlefields onto the WHL as "historic place[s]" (Parent 1979: 8). The report notes that "we [ICOMOS] would favour an extremely selective approach towards places like 'famous battlefields'", in large part due to their opinion that they are too associated with "great men – especially great conquerors" (Parent 1979: 22). This, in turn, influenced the World Heritage Committee to revise Criterion vi of the WHL – "to be directly or tangibly

[3] The lack of battlefields is hardly surprising in light of the fact that UNESCO's constitution was written in the wake of World War II. In fact the preamble features numerous references to the hindrance of war in building understanding and trust between nations. There is little doubt that this perspective has proved influential to a lack of recognition of battlefields on the WHL.

associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" (WHC 2010b) – to include a provision that sites should include at least one other criterion along with this one for inclusion on the list (Cameron 2009: 3). This has led to continued debate about UNESCO's focus on physical heritage sites, as opposed to intangible ideals (Ibid).

As such, cultural heritage, as defined and understood by the World Heritage Centre (WHC), places great emphasis on physical examples of places in need of protection (WHC 2010b). Parent also noted that battlefields should not be considered when "there are no architectural features of note within the area in question" (Parent 1979: 22). As previously referenced, there is frequently an absence of built heritage at battlefields, even though sites of conflict too numerous to list have been marked with monuments and statues. However, if they are not awe-inspiring or manufactured by a 'great' and well-known artist, their international significance is apt to be negligible at best. Even so, undiscovered military material are in danger of being destroyed, yet since it is not *obvious* what is being altered – such as artefacts and graves – little concern has been raised. The primary reason for this, as has been noted by archaeologists in previous sections, is the lack of reliable geographical data on where sites are located and what the area may have looked like at the time of battle.

Even so, it is clear that there are battlefields which feature landscapes with a rich tapestry, including artefacts (found and yet to be recovered), monuments, visitor centres, interpretation panels, trails, among many other features. This fabric includes not only the obvious military uses and subsequent memorialisation, but the natural environment as well. This is an important characteristic since plots of land that have been designated by governments or local planning committees are often subject to rigorous vegetation and woodland management, as will be seen in Section 7.2.

Although there has been limited policy recognition for battlefields at the international level, some mention has been made. In 1981, ICOMOS collaborated with the International Federation of Landscape Architects to chart guidelines for the preservation of historic gardens. Known as the *Florence Charter*, it was the first step in recognising landscapes as heritage, and to specifically use language that conjoined landscapes and battlefields. Article Eight states: "An historic site is a specific landscape associated with a memorable act, as, for example, a major historic event; a well-known myth; an epic combat" (ICOMOS 1981). Though one would assume that *any* combat would be epic to

the participants, there is certainly a hint at the grandiose in this charter's ambiguous wording. The American NPS, which has been preserving battlefields since the 1890s (Shackel 2001b: 662), has a near identical definition, stating that historic sites consist of "a landscape significant for its association with a historic event, activity, or person" and specifically mentions a battlefield as falling under this heading (Birnbaum 1994). As previously reviewed in Section 1.3, the *Vimy Declaration* unequivocally stated that it is a landscape in its definition of a battlefield (Veteran Affairs Canada 2010).

Even UNESCO, which as previously stated has not recognised battlefields on the WHL, awarded the Russian Federation's Borodino Battlefield from the Napoleonic Wars with the International Melina Mercouri Prize (WHC 2012e). This award is given to "outstanding examples of action to safeguard and enhance the world's major cultural landscapes" which "must fit the definition of at least one of the three categories of cultural landscapes decided on by the World Heritage Committee" (WHC 2012f). This oblique recognition of battlefields as qualifying under the criteria assigned World Heritage status certainly gives credibility that fields of conflict could be more broadly recognised in future as cultural landscapes worthy of further protection. It has even been suggested that "Battlefields also provide a useful fixed point in the history of landscapes" (Planel 1995: 9), by which it is possible to understand the evolution of an area through the events which transpired within it.

However the complexity of locating battlefields within a defined landscape is an intricate problem, and has prevented rigorous safeguarding in the UK: "In the majority of cases battlefields cannot be given statutory protection because they do not have any visible physical remains and there is often not enough documentary evidence to allow the site to be delineated accurately on a map" (HS 2010). Even when research has been conducted, upon further review, sometimes errors come to light. Most recently, after geographical surveys by the Battlefields Trust led by Foard, the Battle of Bosworth Field was realised to have been located about two miles to the southwest from where it was traditionally thought to be (Battlefields Trust 2009a), and from the location of the current visitor centre (See Section 5.2). The reasons for such confusion in this case and in others are understandable, owning to the chaotic nature of war, along with the lack of reliable or unbiased accounts written after the event.

To provide consideration of known battlefields in planning applications, EH created the RHB in 1995 to document and record battlefields in England through non-statutory

legislation (Planel 1995: 4). Battlefields are considered by EH for inclusion "only when we can accurately define the site where it was fought and when that site survives free of large-scale later residential or other development" (EH 2010). In Scotland, non-statutory measures have also been put in place through the IHB in 2011. This was produced with the same goal in mind as EH, to ensure that any battlefield area is considered in planning applications, though without any further protected legal status (HS 2011a: 5).

Although EH is concerned with exact location of the event, what occurred there is also of importance. As such, a "registered battlefield [is] where a major engagement took place between two armies which had a significant impact on English history" (EH 2010). Because of this narrowed understanding, only 43 have made it to the official list, despite the admission of there being uncountable places which witnessed terrible atrocities and bear no memory or lasting scar to mark their occurrence (Battlefields Trust 2009b). HS (2009: 29-30) aimed to place the same regulatory measures upon battlefields in Scotland in their IHB, which originally included 17 battlefields in March 2011, and the further inclusion of 22 in 2012 (HS 2012d).

Even with these recent measures, there has still been some ambiguity as to the status of battlefields as protected spaces and even as cultural landscapes. For instance the *European Landscape Convention* (ELC) defines landscape as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Council of Europe 2000: 3). This could be applied to areas which may not necessarily be unique or outstanding enough to warrant other international designations such as UNESCO World Heritage Status (Déjeant-Pons 2006: 365-366), but nevertheless have significant and unique attributes. Following the signing of the ELC by the United Kingdom in 2006 – and perhaps with a view towards a more autonomous policy in lieu of devolution and recent plans for a referendum on independence – a new Scottish Historic Environment Policy was considered. This document was particularly concerned with gardens and historic battlefields. In their feedback to a draft proposal of the policy, the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) urged that there be "a reference to the European Landscape Convention and [to] make clear that battlefields are cultural landscapes" (2008a: 2). Even with the rather strong language employed by NTS on the point, ELC protection of battlefields has not made it in to the current policy document (HS 2009). Though there are most certainly ideological and political reasons for this – along with reservations in the terminology (Fowler 2001) – the main predicament is in identifying and labelling these hard-to-pin-

down places. This has prohibited the inclusion of battlefields within such legislation due to a lack of clearly defined borders and tangible remnants.

Though many documents make reference to the ethereal nature of both landscapes and battlefields, there was a large gap between perceptions of heritage sites and landscapes. Responding to this, Garden coined the term 'heritagescape'[4] (2006, 2009) to bring these two ideas together. In this, she meant that a "heritage site is a complex social space constructed by the interaction and perceptions of individuals who visit the site. Neither wholly museum nor entirely landscape, heritage sites incorporate elements of both" (2006: 396). Although the connection between these two spheres has often been assumed, it has never been fully explained. Garden goes further to make a direct link with battlefields, and a case study of Culloden, stating: "Whilst the heritagescape has been applied most often to built sites, it also offers potential for sites that possess few or no built remains but which are recognised spaces" (Ibid 404). Here Garden has put a label and a methodology for understanding these spaces better, but also going behind the tangible remains, providing a framework for combining landscape and heritage theories applicable to battlefields. This is not only a valuable terminology for battlefields, but also a key concept for this research in appropriately labelling these sites which mix tangible and intangible aspects of heritage (See Sections 1.4 and 2.2).

2.5 Destruction and Preservation of Battlefield Heritagescapes

Regardless of whether one accepts battlefields as cultural landscapes, or 'heritagescapes', there have been extensive efforts in many places to maintain the historic nature of these former fields of conflict and protect them from wanton development. The retention of land associated with a particular battle has stemmed from the goal of preventing that space from being destroyed which may either contain artefacts from the conflict, or those with a high potential for archaeology (EH 2010; HS 2011a: 2). It is also to maintain the atmosphere and landscape as close to as it was to understand the events of a battle (Linenthal 1993: 112-113), and provide a "sacred place" for commemoration (Howard 2011: 213). There have been numerous threats to battlefields all over the world, including many in the UK. Indeed, as noted earlier, the Battlefields Trust was formed and the

[4] Michael A. Di Giovine has also used this term in his book *The Heritage-scape* (2009), but inexplicably does not give any credit to Garden's coinage of the term, nor mention her paper from 2006 in his book. Though his definition differs slightly in that he refers exclusively to the WHL, and to the "totalization of temporal, spatial and cultural forces that UNESCO wishes to foster, as well as the amorphous and continually changeable nature of its imagined boundaries" (2009: 399), one cannot help but notice the patent similarities.

English RHB was produced largely in response to the large amount of destruction caused by the construction of a motorway through the Battle of Naseby in Yorkshire (Planel 1995: 4).

These considerations have occurred mostly because of sites which were found to have been battlefields after they had been destroyed. Even so, battlefields are still prone to developmental concerns, most notably of transportation networks and housing. As of 2010, there are six battlefields on EH's Heritage at Risk Register (EH 2010: 2, 22). All but one of these are in the north of England, including Flodden which "is affected by some significant localised problems" (Ibid: 22), though the document does not make explicit exactly what these problems are. One possibility was a recent planning application to Northumberland County Council (NCC) by a local farmer for two wind turbines near the site (NCC 2012c). Although the application was originally viewed favourably by the planning office (*Berwick Advertiser* 2012), there was significant backlash from the local community (Black 2012; Fairburn 2012), as well as caution urged by EH (NCC 2012a) due to the fact that the proposed turbines were located within sight of this registered battlefield. The combination of voices against the development resulted in permission ultimately being denied on the grounds that the "proposed development would result in a significant and unacceptable impact on the setting of Flodden Battlefield" (NCC 2012b). Though the concern at Flodden was over the view being altered, there have been many other land-invasive developments and infrastructure which have destroyed the actual ground. There are many examples of these in the UK and abroad which are too innumerable to list in any detail, yet several brief examples can aid in providing a general idea of the state of affairs.

Transportation infrastructure has been particularly damaging, as noted in the case of Naseby above and Dunbar (Section 2.3.2), and at many other battlefields including the case study of Culloden which had a road going through the graves on the field which was later diverted (See Section 5.2.1). In the same way as roads, the construction of railroad tracks can be destructive. Rail traffic has been a concern at battlefields in the US since as early as the 1890s when there were threats from a railroad going through the Civil War battlefield of Gettysburg (Linenthal 1993: 113-114), and even earlier in the UK, as evidenced in the 1860s when a railroad was built through the site of the 1461 Second Battle of St. Albans (Burley 2012). More recently, the route of the planned HS2 high-speed railway between London and Manchester will pass through what is thought to be the area where the 1469 Battle of Edgecote occurred (Battlefields Trust 2012b).

Housing has been another major threat to battlefields, such as at Bannockburn (Foard & Partida 2005), Stamford Bridge (Section 2.3.2 and below) and countless other sites. The deputy director of the Borodino Battlefield Museum near Moscow, Russia asserts that in Europe it is not just urban spaces which are encroaching on battlefields (including cottages at this Napoleonic site) but also wind farms (Gorbunov 2011: 7), such as seen above at Flodden. Other infrastructure projects have also caused controversy, such as over the construction of an incinerator near the site of the 1403 Battle of Shrewsbury despite protests from the local council (Burn 2012) and even actor Robert Hardy (Copping 2011), as well as the proposed building of a sports grounds on the 1460 Battle of Northampton site (Battlefields Trust 2012a; Byrne 2012). Even though battlefields might be destroyed by housing developments or infrastructure, occasionally there are reminders of the event through the naming of developments or streets (Azaryahu & Foote 2008: 183). The Battle of Stamford Bridge of 1066 is a prominent example of a housing development built upon the site of the battle. As seen in Figure 2.2, streets have been named for people and groups connected to this battle such as Godwin, Saxon and Tostig.

Figure 2.2: Map of Stamford Bridge from Google

Whilst these encroachments are inevitable in a relatively small landmass like Europe, and to a greater extent in the UK, even the much larger United States has also had controversies over proposed development both within and next to battlefields. Although the NPS owns and maintains 24 battlefields – averaging 4,200 acres in size (NPS 2001: 3) and extraneously titled National Military Parks, National Battlefields, National Battlefield Parks and National Battlefield Sites (Hanink & Stutts 2002: 707-708) – there are still many adjoining plots which are not owned by the NPS or other individuals or organisations who wish to protect the land from development. Even though one such

organisation, the non-profit Civil War Trust (CWT), yearly purchases large tracts of land, including 2,042 acres of formerly private land from 26 battlefields in 2011 (CWT 2011: 2), "battlefield areas are [still] suffering regular and significant degradation from adjacent land uses" (NPS 1998: 6). Development could legally occur in areas within the proximity of a battlefield, of which there are numerous examples; however there are several pre-dominate cases which demonstrate the extent of the issues faced at these sites.

Due to its location in close proximity to Washington D.C., some of the most pronounced modern conflicts over battlefield lands have been at the location of the battles of Manassas and Second Manassas of 1861 and 1862, respectively. In 1988, a proposed development for a shopping complex located within the grounds of the battlefield was halted when the land – 542 acres (Lord 1991: 1637) – was bought by the United States Congress for $100 million (NPS 2001). This was not the only debate at Manassas, as there was a drawn out controversy in the early 1990s over the Walt Disney Company's ultimately unsuccessful plans for an American history theme park just four miles from the battlefield (Synnott 1995; Craig 2000).

However, it is not possible for the American government to intervene and purchase land whenever there was a controversy with battlefield lands due to the expense and time involved, so the government organised the American Battlefield Protection Program in 1990 in order to study preventative measures for protecting battlefields (Lord 1991: 1639). In the same period, the Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites was established in 1987, and a private non-governmental organisation, the Civil War Trust (See above), was formed in 1991 to buy land in connection to 'hallowed ground' (CWT 2011; CWT 2012). They merged into one organisation in 1999, under the title of the Civil War Preservation Trust, but since 2011 are under the former name as the Civil War Trust (CWT 2012). One example of their work has included purchasing the Gettysburg Country Club in 2011 in conjunction with the NPS and the Conservation Fund, which is located on land where intense fighting occurred in 1863, but had a golf course in its place for recent decades (CWT 2011: 8). Their lobbying efforts have resulted in defeating the building of a casino near Gettysburg and a Wal-Mart near the 1864 Battle of the Wilderness site (CWT 2011: 15); characteristic examples of modern battles of economic development at odds with historic battlefield preservation (Graham 2011).

Destruction or alteration of the historic terrain does not, however, necessarily detract from the experience at the site. In some cases it could even actually aid in explaining the

development of sites and previous attitudes to the space (NPS 1998: 12), and should be part of any battlefield preservation plan (NPS 2001: 4). For instance Birnbaum (1997: 22) notes that roads constructed in the early 20th century at Gettysburg are now part of the heritagescape of the area since they elucidate part of the history of development of the site as a national park. Though perhaps destructive at the time, they have now become part of the narrative of the site. Indeed, construction on such sites can present the attitudes from a particular time, which may have been negative to the site only from a modern perspective (Sutton 2012: 111), and can avoid freezing a site exclusively to the time of the battle (Lyons 2011: 168). Sometimes it is less clear if the impacts are positive or negative, such as deer culling at Gettysburg (Black 2010) or woodland at Manassas, which was not there at the time of the battle in 1861, but which is an important native tree plantation today (Lookingbill et al. 2008). Research from Gettysburg does suggest, however, that visitors are very concerned if natural elements such as trees and boulders were there at the time of the battle (Chronis & Hampton 2008: 119). In cases such as these, it is important to consider the heritage of *all* periods and features at a site, and not concentrate solely on one aspect, although it may be difficult to determine their absolute value.

Undoubtedly preservation of battlefields is a pressing and sometimes urgent issue for government and non-governmental agencies. The main concern has been for potential artefacts which may be destroyed or displaced by modern building practices, so inventories have been put in place to allow for greater scope in planning, including the possibility of archaeological surveys or even excavations. The visual impact to the space has also been deemed important for those interested in how the lay of the land influenced tactics and perhaps decided battles (Carman & Carman 2009: 292-294). Yet preservation has also been a primary aim for telling the story of the place with as little modern intrusions as possible, and a key aspect of interpretation planning. Some sites have deemed it essential to not just have an uninterrupted view, but also to create a place of historic space which has remained unchanged, despite any veracity in that claim. This aspect will be detailed in Section 7.2 with reference to Culloden.

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter has provided the background and context to an understanding of how battlefields have been understood as heritage from several disciplines. This review of the grey literature and secondary sources has shown that there has not been a universal understanding of any possible significance of battlefields, as different groups and schools

of thought have classified them and understood them in different, sometimes contradictory ways. History and heritage have been showed to have different goals and method of inquiry. Likewise, archaeology studies have sought tangible evidence of battles to further elaborate or elicit information missing or incomplete from the historical record. Tourism research at battlefields has focused on some perceptions of these sites as a resource, but often from a quantitative perspective that seeks to understand them as consumable products.

Most importantly, there has been a disparaging and frequently critical comprehension of the heritage value of battlefields. This has resulted in no statutory protection in England or Scotland, and only marginal recognition from UNESCO and ICOMOS. This has largely been due to a lack of physical remains from historic battles, which makes it difficult, or impossible, to locate battlefields in a specific place. Therefore, battlefields are better termed 'heritagescapes' utilising Garden's (2006, 2009) definition, since they represent the memory of an event without the need for material evidence. However it has still been unclear from this review which values are important to visitors of these sites, which is the focus of this research. Building from this literature review, it is now possible to elucidate the methodology of the thesis, and how concerns and questions raised in this chapter have been researched and considered in this study.

Chapter Three – Research Development and Methodological Approaches

3.1 Introduction

Having introduced the themes and outline for this study in Chapter One, this chapter explains the methodological approaches used to achieve the aims and objectives and answer the research question. This is done by explaining the original intent of the project and examining the early stages of the research, and how the ideas developed through the literature review from Chapter Two. This is important in order to appreciate how the research was adapted to take account of the realities of the current situations at battlefields discovered in the first year of the project. The pilot study was particularly crucial in modifying the nature of the enquiry, and led to a more focused approach for the subsequent fieldwork.

Following this overview, the remaining sections will cover the qualitative methodologies employed within the research for the fieldwork data collection at selected case studies. This was undertaken through ethnographic approaches, including semi-structured interviews and participant observation. These qualitative methods were chosen for the fieldwork to triangulate the dataset in order to yield a dependable representation of the effectiveness of the assorted interpretative strategies at the case studies (Stake 1995: 108-109). This in-depth and multi-sourced examination has aimed to reach the core of the issues through 'grounded theory' data analysis, which is the subject of the last section in this chapter.

3.2 Initial Project Scope and Literature Review

The preliminary project proposal was to undertake a study of international visitors to seven battlefields in the United Kingdom, the United States and mainland Europe. Part of this fieldwork was conceptualised to comprise surveys of foreign tourists to case study sites to understand current interpretative practices, visitor demographics and motivations. This was to include participant observation of the visitor interaction with the interpretative information, and interviews with managers, site personal and members of the local community. It was also thought that ecomuseum principles (Corsane, Davis & Murtas 2009; Davis 2011) could provide an effective mechanism to interpret battlefields in Europe, and that this paradigm would form part of the theoretical framework.

The initial proposal was designed to contribute to the theoretical understanding of battlefield heritage and its relationship to 'dark' or Thanatourism (See Section 2.3.3), including how they are presented in various cultures and countries. Through the field

research, it was also thought possible to determine international, or 'non-local' (Rosendahl, Thompson & Anderson 2001) visitor demographics to battlefields, thereby filling a large gap in the literature (Palso, Ivy & Clemons 2009). In turn, this type of information could be used to develop appropriate interpretative plans for international visitors, thereby increasing the exposure and awareness of the value of battlefields worldwide.

During the first months of starting the project, detailed research aims and objectives were developed (See Section 1.6) alongside a timetable. A review of these, and placing them within a research matrix, clearly revealed that the scope of the initial project was larger than the constraints of time and resources a three-year PhD would allow. Moreover there was no external or university funding available to undertake travel and data collection as originally envisaged, which would limit the range of the study area.

Therefore, the original seven case studies were limited to three, all located within the United Kingdom: Culloden, Bosworth, and Flodden (See Section 3.3.2 for the reasons on the use of case study methodology). All of them are prominent, relatively well-known battles in British history, and they all feature interpretive programming with elements which can be compared and contrasted with one another. At the time of the fieldwork, Culloden and Bosworth had arguably the most elaborate on-site interpretation for battlefields in the UK, whilst Flodden has a completely different approach through the development of an ecomuseum.

Culloden is well-documented and delineated on a map, and the exact locations of the armies and of how the battle unfolded have been confirmed through written accounts, having been confirmed by comprehensive and detailed archaeological evidence (Pollard 2009). Like Culloden, Bosworth Field has a multi-million pound visitor centre with dedicated staff and live interpretation. Unlike Culloden, in 2009 – just as this project was starting – it was brought to light that the actual location of the battle is most probably two miles to the southwest of the previously thought location (Bosworth 2011). Due to the unusual circumstances of Bosworth Field's visitor centre no longer being located next to where the battle in all likelihood took place, there arose an excellent opportunity to evaluate the importance of the location of interpretive displays for visitors and related authenticity issues at historic battlefields.

Currently the focal point of a larger ecomuseum (See Flodden 1513 2012), the battlefield at Flodden commemorates a clash well-known to historians, but arguably negligible in

popular memory (EH 1995b: 11). This of course begs the question of why Culloden is memorialised and used as a key piece of Scottish identity and not Flodden, despite the equally if not more important historical ramifications of the battle to that nation. The proximate and historical factors that have led the former to being an internationally recognised site and the latter barely known, will be analysed in the data analysis Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

These sites were selected for a number of important factors. Firstly, all of them have had a significant impact in national and international history, with varying degrees of importance today. They cover three distinct time periods, featuring the engagement of different enemies and in separate wars, which will be covered in greater depth in Chapter Five, but they are all 'historic' battlefields (See Section 1.3). Equally, there is no obvious, external physical evidence from the day of the fighting at the sites.[5] This is an essential element of the research, and comes to the core of this thesis.

It quickly became apparent in the early stages of the research that a review of the historiography of battlefield heritage to date was necessary in order to give vital details on how battlefields have been researched, and managed, as sites of cultural value in recent history, and how this would inform the fieldwork and focus of this thesis. This research formed the basis of Chapter Two which has set out the historical context of how fields of conflict have been incorporated in heritage discourses over time, particularly in the UK. The issues in Chapter Two are fundamental to understanding the current issues with battlefields and their perceived importance as heritage in both academia and in the public sector, thereby laying the framework for the following chapters.

One of the key components of the literature review was to determine from exactly what angle battlefield heritage would be investigated. This study could have been analysed and theorised from multiple fields, most obviously on 'sense of place' from environmental psychology (Hawke 2010) or even broader 'military geographies' (Woodward 2004). Since tourists were the envisioned group to be researched from the onset, it was clear that sense of place literature would not be analysed and used as it most often refers to lived-in place, as opposed to just visited places (Graham, Mason & Newman 2009). Military

[5] It could be argued that the graves at Culloden are an exception to this statement. However, the graves were only marked in the 1880s, some 140 years after the battle. There were also large tracts of trees planted by the Forestry Commission which hid the graves from view, and even some Victorian stones were uncovered only as late as 2006 during works to eradicate trees from the vicinity. Therefore, without recent work to expose and display these graves, along with the Victorian headstones, the graves would have been completely unmarked and indeed hidden from view.

geography was also not a feature of this research since the emphasis was on areas without tangible remains lacking outward signs of militarisation. However it was not clear whether the focus would be on overall visitor management of the sites or a more specific aspect, so a more detailed literature review was deemed necessary.

It was thought at the start of the project that ecomuseology could provide a framework for visitor management at battlefields. This was bolstered at first by discussions in 2009 of forming sites associated of the Battle of Flodden into an ecomuseum. However, further research in the initial planning stages of the development of the ecomuseum and the later fieldwork revealed several concerns for incorporating this angle into the research. First, there are currently no known battlefields utilising ecomuseum principles for site interpretation which could be compared. Second, the ecomuseum development at Flodden has been independent of the battlefield itself; instead focusing on related locations throughout the area. As such there are no obvious developments of the ecomuseum on-site. Indeed, no visitor interviewed at Flodden during the fieldwork knew about the project. Third, the Flodden ecomuseum expansion has been driven by regional authorities which, as similarly noted by Howard (2002; 2003: 240-242) at other ecomuseums, has already alienated some locals, including the manager of the on-site interpretation at the battlefield. Certainly Flodden will provide an interesting case study for future analysis once the ecomuseum is fully underway from 2013-2016.

Upon further review, on-site interpretation was determined to be the best focus of the research, since it is the most overt manifestation of a battlefield's current importance. The other large shift was from exclusive analysis of international visitors, to a critical study of all visitors to battlefields. This was due to further investigations which revealed a lack of studies about the importance of on-site interpretation at battlefields and what understanding of heritage values visitors, both domestic and foreign, take away from them.

Since interpretation is the focal point of the theoretical framework of the thesis, Chapter Four explores how interpretation and communication theories have developed and are applicable to battlefields. In particular, semiotic communication theories form the basis for understanding the interpretational approaches as the study of semiotics is how meaning is derived from recognised signs; in this case, interpretive elements at sites. Combined with these initial theoretical investigations and the fieldwork, it was possible to examine the roles of on-site interpretation in historical representation and authenticity at

battlefields, and how these contribute to a nuanced understanding of battlefields as sites of heritage, forming Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, respectively.

This literature review was an essential aspect in addressing the methodological concerns of the thesis. By incorporating and considering previous research and understandings of the issues directly and in some cases indirectly related to this project, it has been possible to build upon and focus the approach in examining underexplored or unanswered facets of the available literature. For instance, by surveying and investigating the possible case studies for the fieldwork, and how previous studies had collected data at similar sites provided the template and reference points for the methods chosen (Punch 2005: 159). As such, by closely scrutinizing the results of preceding findings it was possible to formulate improved and new way of interrogating similar data in a new light. However, literature was continuingly consulted throughout the research to understand the findings from the fieldwork utilising grounded theory (See Section 3.4.2). Building on this framework, the following sections explore the qualitative approaches employed in this study, and why they were chosen for their effectiveness. This will introduce the reasons for choosing case studies as a research method, and how ethnographic approaches were utilised at each site.

3.3 Qualitative Methodology Strategies

This study and research design is qualitative in its approach and execution. It is important to underline that although the literature review formed and enhanced this qualitative undertaking, it has not been linked directly to the data collection methodologies. That being said, the literature review did influence the decision of which sites were chosen as case studies, as well as provide a foundation in the theoretical and practical considerations raised in the historiography in Chapter Two, and interpretation in Chapter Four.

Although qualitative research was ultimately the method chosen, the preliminary research strategy from the original project used a mixed-method approach, with quantitative surveys with visitors based on a Likert Scale, alongside qualitative interviews with staff. The reason for this was that it was anticipated that visitors would not have the necessary time to devote to more in-depth qualitative interviews, and that the best way of obtaining a broad base of results was through a higher volume of surveys.

However, as more research was conducted on methodological considerations, it was determined that there were distinct advantages of qualitative methods and data over quantitative ones for this particular study. Since the ultimate goal of this research was to determine what the views on the heritage value of battlefields are for visitors to these sites

through abstract concepts such as authenticity and emotion, it was necessary to utilise a method in which visitors themselves could explain the importance for them, independent of preconceived ideas that might have come through the researcher. This was particularly true for this study, and especially so for the section on live interpretation, which has "no current studies that focus on the influence of this interpretive style on the visitor experience" (Dierking 1998: 62). Qualitative methods are best suited to uncovering 'how' these complex notions are understood, which quantitative methodologies have difficulty answering (Barbour 2008: 11-13). Equally, qualitative methods are ideal in researching interpretation – though such studies rarely utilise this methodology (Stewart, Hayward & Devlin 1998: 259) – since they "uncover a deeper and richer understanding from the program participants' perspective [which] is paramount in understanding the implications of various interpretive program techniques and methods" (Farmer & Knapp 2008: 359). As such, it was established that a solely qualitative approach would be the most beneficial methodology.

Such data collected qualitatively in field work has been referred to as 'narrative', that is to say open-ended data which is ideal for uncovering unique or unexpected occurrences (Chase 2008: 58-65). Yet, "It is important to keep in mind, however, that human action must always be interpreted in situational context and not in terms of universally applicable objective 'codes'" (Angrosino 2008: 171). It was therefore key during the fieldwork that each individual's background and experiences were carefully considered, and to avoid broad generalisations by allowing interviewees to explain for themselves their experiences at the case studies. Additionally, "due to the complexity and number of variables involved, other research designs like the survey are not appropriate" (Finn, Elliott-White & Walton 2000: 81) in obtaining this data at case studies.

Because this data was gathered through oral interviews, and the texts and guides were observed and studied through a common language, this data is intrinsically linguistic (Punch 2005: 177). As stated previously, semiotic theory was chosen for this research to study how meaning is transferred through recognised signs. However, it is also ideal for studying linguistic information transfer which is the basis of the semiotics of Saussure and Peirce (See Section 4.2). The exchange between the researcher and the interviewees was in this way a narrative 'performance' (Chase 2008: 65), where the roles of questioner and respondent were being enacted by the researcher and interviewee, respectively. This way of collecting data can "illuminate 'lived experience'" (Barbour 2008: 15) in ways that quantitative data cannot.

The research techniques that have been employed provide richer data when using an overall qualitative strategy, particularly when uncovering complex issues of emotion and narrative which a quantitative survey could not adequately address. That being said, some basic quantitative data was used, such as age and nationality, but these were not analysed or compared using quantitative methods, rather they were considered within the overall qualitative analysis.

3.3.1 Ethnographic Approaches

The main methodology used in the fieldwork is based on an ethnographic approach, a form of qualitative research which is "'descriptive', using this to distinguish it from quantitative research, which is seen as furnishing explanations" (Barbour 2008: 14). The focus is on the battlefield as a place and how visitors perceive the space within a relatively short period of time, differing from traditional ethnographic work done within communities and over a long period of time. "The overarching characteristic of the ethnographic approach is its commitment to cultural interpretation. The point of ethnography is to study and understand the cultural and symbolic aspects of behaviour and the context of that behaviour" (Punch 2005: 152). Though this study is not traditionally ethnographic in nature due to the limited period spent at each site, by utilising approaches from this methodology including observing peoples' interactions and understandings within the known area of a battlefield and discussing their experiences, a picture has been created of generalised reactions and developing notions within that space.

The value in taking this course of research provides an opportunity for 'thick description' (Geertz 1973). By this, Geertz was referring to the power of narrative and the large amount of detail that one can get by concentrating on one subject or place and gathering as much data as possible (Degnen 2010). Unlike traditional, long-term anthropological studies, this research has not consisted of living with those interviewed, or understanding their family and social backgrounds (Punch 2005: 149-150); hence why 'sense of place' literature was not used for the theoretical framework. Rather, the intent was to observe and discuss with visitors how they perceive and connect with a specific space, over a short-period of time, which can still provide reliable and rich data (Ibid 154). This was further buttressed with information from the grey literature and with formal and informal conversations with staff. This data was collected through the ethnographic approaches of participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

3.3.1.1 Participant Observations

Participant observation was employed to assess visitor interaction with the on-site interpretation since it is "the central ethnographic data collection technique" (Punch 2005: 182). These field notes which were recorded in a diary, a sample page of which can be found in Appendix A, were of paramount importance (Barbour 2008: 105). Of particular interest were peoples' interactions with the live and costumed interpreters at battlefields and visitor centres, not only because of encouragement from staff to understand their impact, but from the distinct interaction that tourists highlighted as an important element in their visit during the pilot study. By watching and listening in on questions asked and how the interpreter responded to various types of questions and reacted to differing situations, this enriched the "context and holism" (Degnen 2010) of the subject and place.

It is of great value to record everything that happens, no detail too small, and to do so as soon as possible after the researcher notices it, or at the end of the day (Degnen 2010). The purpose of this, of course, is to continue with that 'thick narrative description' which is so part and parcel to ethnography, and is useful to "identify patterns and exceptions…to elucidate the assumptions" (Barbour 2008: 105). This follows the anthropological work of Geertz (1973) and his study of culture as "not an experimental science in search of laws" rather "an interpretive one in search of meaning" (Quoted in Degnen 2010). Therefore, detailed notes were taken during the fieldwork period to document as many observations and experiences as possible. This provided an in-depth knowledge of the space and people, in particular to how forms of meaning and understanding are formed. In particular, they proved essential at providing details which may not have been authorised by individuals, but which nevertheless can enhance the picture of the setting where observations took place (de Laine 2000: 146-147).

It may be more accurate to label the observation techniques as "unobtrusive (nonreactive) observation" since those who were observed were unaware of their involvement (Angrosino 2008: 166). It is important to stress that individuals were not specifically targeted, rather "focused observation" (Ibid) of specific areas of exhibitions and sites on the fields were selected to see how people generally engaged with that area. Additionally, the interviewer wore his university identity card, so that it was clearly labelled that he was outside the normal interaction of the displays and area. If questioned about his role, which happened at each case study, he was honest and open about the research being conducted, answering any questions about it and in some cases gaining interviewees through this overt presence.

Even though information may be recorded anonymously, there is a potential problem of misrepresenting a situation that the researcher is only an indirect part. The biggest shortcoming with this inexplicit approach is a detached reflexivity in the context of a situation. This is a fundamental consideration whilst utilising an ethnographic approach in understanding oneself within the observed context, along with the ability to interpret and evaluate how personal bias may affect the results or even the data collection. In reality this first-hand observation is "the production of a convincing narrative report of the research [which] has most often served as de facto validation" (Angrosino 2008: 162-163). In other words, it is important for the researcher to understand and analyse the observations without allowing preconceived ideas to affect the interpretation of that information.

Furthermore there are phenomenological associations with this type of research which is essential to bear in mind. This includes the ways in which 'actors' participate within these realities, lending insight to the investigator on how people place themselves within a time and place, which reinforce ideas on historicity and prejudices which can be related to what people inevitably bring with them whilst visiting battlefields (Susen 2010). This was a crucial aspect to this study and the investigations into how 'authentic' encounters can evoke heritage values at battlefields.

3.3.1.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used when speaking with visitors and staff at the case study sites. This type of interview uses a list of questions or points to discuss, which allows the interviewee to answer at length (Barbour 2008: 115), thereby answering in greater depth than a survey questionnaire or structured interview. Whilst these questions will form the basis of the ethnographic interviews, the way in which they are framed, ordered or understood is likely to be altered during the fieldwork (Punch 2005: 153). Although there was a set of questions to guide the interviews, questions were sometimes asked out of order or dropped completely if it was apparent that the interviewee wished not to discuss certain points, or to direct the conversation in a way he or she deemed more relevant. It is essential to be flexible with semi-structured interviews which, in contrast to surveys and other quantitative techniques, is more of an 'art' (Barbour 2008: 120).

In contrast to a structured interview, a semi-structured one is more suitable to qualitative analysis since it allows for "more probing to seek clarification and elaboration" (Finn, Elliott-White & Walton 2000: 73) to the questions asked. This technique also allows the

respondent to elaborate these 'narratives' of their time at the site through "express emotions, thoughts, and interpretations" (Chase 2008: 65); precisely what has been needed to understand the complexity of the research questions.

There can be issues with this technique, however, and it useful to be aware of these. The principal problem with interviews is that the interviewer can dominate the interviewee since he or she knows what it will be like before beginning (Finn, Elliott-White & Walton 2000: 75). Although it has been argued that this is important to ensure the proper flow of conversation (Barbour 2008: 120), this works best when it is known between the participants whose role is whose (Angrosino 2008: 166). To further triangulate the data to ensure that it is as accurate as possible (See Section 3.4.1) it is necessary to use participant observation whilst interviewing (Ibid: 161), resulting in "ethnographic description" (Punch 2005: 183).

It was also of utmost importance for this thesis to interview the visitors whilst they were on-site and still experiencing the atmosphere of the space. One comparable study by Farmer & Knapp (2008) used follow-up surveys after a site visit during their research, but they lamented this method, stating that "immediate postinterviews directly following the program would likely provide researchers with an advantage to interpret and understand the participants' immediate in-depth understanding of tour concepts and potential connections to the resource" (Farmer & Knapp 2008: 355). Although it can be useful to follow-up with interviewees, it was considered that this research would benefit most from an exclusive analysis of the immediate context of when visitors were at the sites.

For all interviews, but in particular with staff, it was vital to be well-prepared before interviewing them and those whose work is already in the public domain, online or in grey literature (Harrop 2010). Online videos in particular provided a good source for obtaining germane data. This has included interviews with key developers of the site interpretation at Culloden (STV 2009), and a presentation by the Keeper at Bosworth describing the development of the new visitor centre (YouTube 2010). Any content found online is open-access, and although it is unclear if there are any ethical concerns in analysing this data without direct consent, it is generally assumed to be problem-free (Angrosino 2008: 179). Having a thorough understanding of what is out in the open and easy to access has presented the opportunity to get into more depth with the person being interviewing quicker, and show a high degree of professionalism on the researcher's part (Harrop 2010). It is easier to get to the heart of topics quickly and efficiently, understand

from first-hand knowledge why decisions and policies were taken from the people who wrote and implemented them, and challenge if there could be other approaches and if these had been considered as viable, or, at all.

As to practical issues that may arise, the research training at Newcastle University strongly urged that researchers should not use any recording devices during the interview (Harrop 2010). It is thought that this creates a barrier that is hard to negotiate, and some individuals, in particular managers, might be less inclined to open up to the researcher if there is the possibility of direct quotes through this technology. Instead, it was recommended to note key words in a diary, but not full notes during the interview. After the interview has been completed, then the researcher can expand on those key words and write out what had taken place during the time. This was done at each of the sites, though during the fieldwork at Culloden there were recordings of the Director and Learning Manager after it became clear that they would not have any issues in being recorded by the researcher.

3.3.2 Case Studies

As a methodology, "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2003: 13). Though these boundaries may be indistinct, it was important for this research to attempt to classify what they may be (Punch 2005: 145). This is best done through grounded theory (Castellanos-Verdugo et al. 2010: 116), which will be discussed in Section 3.4.2.

Case studies cannot be utilised on their own, rather they must be combined with other methodologies which involve participant observation and interviews (Finn, Elliott-White & Walton 2000: 81; Punch 2005: 148) and to add to 'narrative-based' description (Mehmood 2010). In this sense, case studies are ideal to be coupled with an ethnographic approach, as detailed in the previous section. They have also been referred as being "ideal for falsifiability" (Mehmood 2010), based on Karl Popper's understanding of this issue as refuting positivism (Popper 1994: 75). It is widely noted in the heritage field that authenticity of place can be paramount to a visitor's experience and expectations (Crang 1996; McIntosh & Prentice 1999; Kidd 2011). This study has been able to test that theory and not only evaluate the importance of a known location for a battlefield, but if there are any differences in what people are learning if the interpretation strategies are not taking place at that location. This has provided a unique opportunity for understanding the

importance of site authenticity in terms of location to the visitor experience, and if being offsite changes perceptions of that space, which will be the subject of Chapter Seven.

The approach taken in this work for understanding these nuances could be construed as "constructivist", that is "the belief that knowledge is constructed rather than discovered" (Stake 1995: 99). As this is a relatively abstract concept without a provable variable, it has been deemed prudent to include as many details as possible, including those from field notes, as detailed above. Through this 'constructivist' lens, "The emphasis is on description of things that readers ordinarily pay attention to, particular, places, events, and people" and "helps a case study researcher justify lots of narrative description in the final report" (Ibid: 102). Many details from the sites and the people at them will therefore be embedded within the chapters to compound and aid the ethnographic approaches detailed.

Having narrowed the amount of case studies from seven to three specific geographical locales (Section 3.2), research was conducted at Culloden near Inverness, Scotland; Bosworth Field in Leicestershire, England; and Flodden in Northumberland, England (details on the historiography of each site can be found in Chapter Five). As previously noted, Flodden was chosen for its nascent on-site interpretation and an altogether distinct management and presentation plan, particularly for smaller and lesser known sites. It could therefore be described as a 'negative case', that is to say one that is "markedly different from the general pattern of other cases, perhaps even completely opposite" (Punch 2005: 146). In contrast, the principal reason for comparing Culloden to Bosworth Field was due to the issue of authenticity of place and the importance of the visitor experience in relation to the known location of the battle. These can be referred to as "comparative case studies" or "those that have been designed specifically as part of the comparative process, that is they are set up, analysed and interpreted as part of a more general research design with common findings subsequently being produced and interrelated" (Pearce 1993: 28-29). In these cases, the ways in which the sites related their interpretive strategy to the surrounding area was analysed and compared; noting specifically how the 'real' battlefield has been incorporated or understood vis à vis the on-site presentation of information. Before beginning the main fieldwork in 2011 to compare and contrast these case studies, a pilot study was conducted in 2010 to determine if the short-term ethnographic approaches were possible at the sites.

3.3.2.1 Pilot Study

After the scope of the research was narrowed and sharpened through the literature review and that case studies would be researched for the fieldwork, it was resolved that a pilot study site would be chosen. One of the original research aims was to identify current interpretation strategies employed at battlefields and to evaluate their effectiveness, in order to ascertain how information could be gathered for the principal fieldwork. Pilot studies are a key component of research design, and aid in testing out the research questions and provided lessons learned for the next phase of fieldwork (Yin 2003: 79-80; Barbour 2008: 120). A central question was an initial appraisal of the viability of whether short-term ethnographic approaches outlined above could be effectively conducted, above all whether it was best to use a mixed-methods approach, or purely qualitative semi-structured interviews.

In summer 2010 a pilot study was conducted at Culloden. Permission was granted for the study after speaking with the Learning Manager at the site in April 2010. She emphasised that she would like to know more about what visitors were learning from the live interpreters, which became a factor built into survey questions intended for the quantitative data collection with visitors. Shortly before the April 2010 meeting, contact was made with Stephen Miles, then a PhD student at The University of Glasgow – Dumfries campus, through contacts with the Battlefields Trust (See Section 3.5 for further information on this organisation and the researcher's connection). It was discovered that his research was very similar to that which had been laid out for this study, albeit with a focus on tourism studies. More pressing was that he was also conducting fieldwork at Culloden and Bosworth, and had already surveyed tourists. To avoid repetition and gain access to complete this study, the methodology was altered from a mixed-methods approach that included quantitative surveys, to an exclusively qualitative methodology; this would include participant observation and semi-structured interviews with visitors to the site. This was in part due to the revelations of Miles' work, coupled with greater consideration of the benefits of qualitative research detailed in the previous sections.

Therefore, the initial questionnaire (See Appendix B) was adapted into semi-structured interview questions, where the "interview agenda [is] shaped by the operationalization of the research questions, but retaining an open-ended and flexible nature" (Alexiadou 2001: 52). This allowed for the focus to be brought where the interviewee believes it to be most important. This can be a delicate, unpredictable and possibly uncontrollable aspect of gathering data at more than one site, since the individual circumstances that make up the

fabric of a particular place could distort and bias the way information is received or even interpreted. To counterbalance this, it was considered essential to consider the variables on the ground by asking the same line of inquiry, which will therefore aid in "controlling variables" and "avoiding assumptions" (Mehmood 2010). By sticking to a set of pre-approved questions, as well as detailing out the aims and objectives of the study, it was possible to minimise any impact slight variations that may occur once the research is underway at the different sites.

Gaining access to people for interviews was done in one of three ways. The first was accompanying a guide on a guided tour, with an introduction by him or her at the end of it. After a brief explanation about the interviews being conducted, the group was asked if anyone would volunteer to speak with the researcher. On every tour that this was done, there was at least one volunteer. Another method was to listen in on the workshops offered at the centre and ask people there if they would grant an interview. After the first couple of days, one of the interpreters running the workshop started introducing the research taking place to people he was speaking with, and they almost always agreed to an interview. Gaining the trust of the interpreters and being allowed total access to all facets of their interactions with the public is an important and continuous process (Barbour 2008: 94) which was emulated at each site. However, it was necessary to understand the boundaries of the degree of which interaction could take place (de Laine 2000: 123-125).

To understand what people who only visited the battlefield without entering the visitor centre understood from the interpretations in the field, visitors were asked at an exterior access point to the battlefield. After introducing and explaining the research, people often replied that they did not have the minimum ten minutes required to answer all the questions in the semi-structured interviews. This third method was the least successful, with the majority of people explaining that they were on an external tour that only had a certain amount of time there. As such, for the main fieldwork conducted in 2011, a list of key questions used for each site was developed for those with limited time, which can be found at the end of Appendix C, however only one person in total agreed to answer these.

The format and order was changed somewhat early on as the interviews progressed, and as is noted in the report, some changes to the wording as well as additional questions were added along the way, which is a necessary development in this type of research (Punch 2005: 153). From all the questions considered and put together for the pilot study,

the question "*What are your first impressions of the site*?" was the most dubious one that proved troublesome for interviewees. They were unsure if the question was about the visitor centre or the site and often responded to it as a judgement of the quality of the displays or information, rather than the original intent of the question to gather what feelings people had on the site. Therefore, there was an additional question which started to be asked during the interviews: "*What emotions or feelings do you have at the site*?" Equally challenging was, when prompted, if they asked any questions to the live interpreters. Many people did not ask the live interpreters any questions, but did have questions brought up in their minds. This prompted a subsequent question: "*Was there anything that you really wanted to learn that you didn't learn or something that was missing*?" that was added into the study when people responded that they had no initial questions.

The question regarding the most important new thing learned was very quickly adapted in the interviews. Most people believed that *all* the information was important in some way, or that they had not had enough time to digest what was important or not. Therefore, the original question "*What were the most important new things you learned today*?" was rephrased to "*What was something interesting that you learned today*?" Though this is not exactly the same question, it highlighted points which they had paid more attention to, and therefore considered at least superficially more important.

Since this approach was qualitative in nature and conducted with tourists, there were several issues that arose. The first was that there was not an adequate amount of time to gain an in-depth life narrative (See Elliott 2005: 6 on types of narratives) of what brought a particular individual to the battlefield that day. It was hard to identify motivations above and beyond proximate circumstances such as being on holiday in the area or reading about the site in a guidebook. It was also difficult to understand all the prior experiences and sources of knowledge which in all likelihood inspired him or her to come on that day and for specific reasons, although it was possible to infer previous knowledge based upon comments they made.

Despite some tourists citing a lack of available time to speak as a reason for not participating in the study, those that did often were willing to provide more time being interviewed than originally anticipated. Therefore, a more detailed list of questions was arranged for the summer 2011 fieldwork (See Appendix C). Since there was a limited amount of time for the fieldwork, this clearly limited the number of people that could be

interviewed for this study. Therefore a multi-set of ethnographic approaches was even more useful to ensure an accurate depiction of visitors' experiences at the case studies. The next section details how this data was collected at the sites.

3.3.2.2 Case Study Fieldwork in 2011

Before interviewers took place, and indeed before arriving at the sites to conduct research, contact was made in advance to seek out permission to conduct research with staff and tourists at each site. It was essential to establish and make contact with 'gatekeepers' at each site. These individuals "control access to research settings, participants and information" and have a right to be informed of the research topic, aims and methods (de Laine 2000: 124). Indeed, having already presented the set of questions to the appropriate personal and received their feedback, they became privy to the research process and could place an imprint on the nature of the study, even if there were no specific changes or criticisms.

As discussed earlier, contact at Culloden was made by speaking with a member of the Battlefields Trust who advised speaking with one of the live interpreters. He subsequently referred the enquiry to his boss, the Learning Manager. The situation at Bosworth was less clear, as it was not apparent who the appropriate gatekeeper was. Assuming that the learning officer would be the proper contact, email correspondence began with her, but like at Culloden, referral was made to another member of staff; in this case, the curator or 'Keeper' as he is known there, who provided detailed feedback to the questions. Flodden proved to be very straightforward as the researcher was already on good terms with the person responsible for the interpretation, and to a large degree visitor interaction.

After it was established who the gatekeeper was at the sites, contact was made to explain the nature of the project, and they were provided with a copy of the semi-structured questions that had been prepared. Their comments were taken into consideration, and some points which they wanted to receive more information on where incorporated into the study. These further points were only considered and used if it was deemed within the sphere and purpose of the researcher's aims and objectives. In some cases, this meant simply shifting or increasing the emphasis of a certain point or section. Mostly though, the questions remained as originally intended.

Those visitors which agreed to an interview (See Table 3.1) were briefed on the nature and goals of the project, signed a form agreeing to the interview, assured of their anonymity and informed that they could end the interview at any time they wished.

Gaining access to visitors was done in several ways depending on the site, as has been noted in the Pilot Study at Culloden. At Bosworth, several places were chosen in order to request interviews: the exit from the gift shop, at the Ambion Arena, after guided tours and after special displays. All of the participants were asked at these specific points with the exception of the first two interviewees; they were met by chance on walking the battlefield trail and speaking with them there. The schedule of programming at the site for the days there, as well as the way the area is laid out, greatly determined how and when visitors were asked to be interviewed. At Flodden, visitors were asked once they had been to the monument and were on their way back to the car park.

Table 3.1: Interview total figures from case studies

Number of interviews	**Gender**	**Median Age**	**Nationalities**	**Total length (in hours)**	**Average interview length**
58	F – 32 M – 26	About 50	American – 7, Australian – 4, British – 3, Canadian – 2, English – 21, French – 4, German – 5, Scottish – 8, Swedish – 2, Swiss – 1, Welsh – 1	23:11:43	About 24 minutes

The pilot study at Culloden lasted five days, with the follow-up fieldwork in 2011 lasting a further five. Similarly, the fieldwork lasted five days at Bosworth. Though a second trip would have been desirable, the researcher was unable to secure appropriate funds in order to accommodate this extra journey. Flodden proved the most difficult location to conduct fieldwork, principally from its rural location and the researcher lacking private transport, relying on acquaintances for transport to the area. That being said, there was still enough data gathered and compounded with discussions from local sources, an understanding of the site was established which is believed satisfactory for this study. Indeed, since the researcher had been based in the UK for nearly two years by the time of the summer 2011 fieldwork, and that his native language is English, it was determined that there was not as great a need to spend extended periods of time at each site to gain a full understanding, as has been noted by Barbour (2008: 93) since the researcher already lives in the culture and is fluent in the language. That being said, some interviews were conducted in French and German which can cause issues of exact meaning through translation (Finn, Elliott-White & Walton 2000: 158), though this was not deemed to be a paramount issue as the vast majority of interviews took place in English (See Appendix D for complete list of interviewees).

Due to ethics regulations from Newcastle University, participants had to be over 18 years of age, the youngest age of one of the participants. The average age was about 50 for all the sites, a typical age from observations and conversations with staff at Culloden and Bosworth, and possibly the lower range at Flodden. This is of course with the exception of school groups which make up a large percentage of visitor numbers to Bosworth, and to some extent at Culloden, but they were not the scope of this study.

There was a slightly uneven balance of females to males who were interviewed, but it is unclear if this is a complete picture of typical ratios for visitors as the sites do not keep detailed records of visitor demographics. Quite a few couples visit the sites, and speaking to one or the other was left in their hands to decide. In two cases at Bosworth, interviewees B1 and B2; B9 and B10, interviews were conducted with both the male and female couples. This was largely due to having extra time to spend at the site and therefore willingness to devote unforeseen additional time with this research.

In contrast to Culloden and Bosworth, there were far fewer visitors interviewed for this study at Flodden, only six. There were several reasons for this, including time and location. At Culloden and Bosworth private, indoor spaces were allocated for interviews, whereas at Flodden there is no such space available on or near the battlefield. Therefore interviews were conducted on a bench located at the top of the hill near the cross monument, before the descent back to the car park (See Figure 5.20). This most certainly had an impact on the number of people willing to engage in an interview, in particular when it rained heavily during one of the days of the research (See Figure 3.1). Additionally, it was clear that visitors did not spend as much time at Flodden, only about 10 minutes, compared to up to several hours for visitors to Culloden and Bosworth. Equally, only 93 people were observed in total at Flodden, including numerous dog walkers who did not stop at the interpretation panels or monument; far fewer numbers than at Culloden and Bosworth.

Figure 3.1: Flodden fieldwork site

An additional factor was that the researcher had no private means of transport, nor any convenient lodging in the area, so combined with the weather which was poor during the time selected for the fieldwork, it was abandoned after only two days. Although it would have been preferable to have continued the interviews at another time, it was determined that the "theoretical saturation level" (Castellanos-Verdugo et al. 2010: 118) had been attained, and that 'closure' (Punch 2005: 153) of the data had been reached as no new information was being elicited from the interviewees that required further investigation.

Since most visitors at Flodden were unwilling to take part in an interview when asked – some even completely ignoring the researcher's greetings – timings formed a crucial data set for understanding how visitors how important on-site interpretation is to the visitor experience. Participant observation of user interaction with the interpretation helped in ascertaining information on visitor flow, the degree of contact with individual parts of the site and acquiring a better picture of the general visitor experience at each case study. It should be stressed that no individuals were followed during this research, but rather the researcher was positioned in certain areas of the exhibitions and sites for extended periods to observe the flow in those locales.

As the fieldwork periods were relatively short, it was necessary to gather as much data as possible about the sites from information provided by the staff. Due to their daily experience at the sites, extensive formal and informal conversations with staff at the sites enlightened many points which were not possible in the study period. Most of these

conversations were recorded in the field notes, though there were some recorded interviews. Formal interviews with staff at Culloden and Bosworth were conducted in the first instance without recording devices, for reasons noted above. After having gained trust and confidence from staff at Culloden during the second trip for the summer 2011 fieldwork, it was deemed appropriate to interview the site manager and learning officer with a recording device. The majority of the questions that they were asked in the recorded interviews were questions that they had previously answered off the record. When asked if they would submit to a recorded interview, both agreed and provided information that in no way differed from previous conversations; indeed it enhanced and clarified many points which had been made before.

At Bosworth, no interviews were recorded electronically with staff, only notes were taken by the researcher. These consisted of informal discussions with staff, including front-desk and gift-shop workers, the learning manager (who provided feedback forms from school visits; See Section 7.3.2), and live interpreters and more formal interviews with the site Director, the Keeper and the head of the living history group. One-to-one interviews were possible with the former two, but the latter leader of the group was more difficult to elicit pertinent information as the discussion took place in their camp with several other members of his group present. Though amenable to the questions, there was a perceptible superficiality and some defensiveness from the responses, and the interview ended as more and more of the other living historians commenced to encircle the interview area. This was the only instance of any issue during the fieldwork, though there was no negative result that the researcher could distinguish. Ultimately there will never be full-access to a researcher in any fieldwork, and even when access to data is denied, this in itself is important information (Barbour 2008: 97) as any data is important to consider (Castellanos-Verdugo et al. 2010: 116).

It was also possible through these staff interviews to gain a richer understanding of how management decisions have been made to present an authentic spatial comprehension of each site through the on-site interpretation. Without exception, each site had staff or others engaged in the management of the site who had been involved in the development of the current interpretation at each site. This proved essential to understand how each site had developed its interpretation strategies, and more importantly, how they moulded and adapted them over time to meet user demand. Owing to their unique positions of intimate knowledge of their sites, it was determined unnecessary to interview other outside consultants who may have been engaged with the development of each site's

interpretation. Although these interviews were not sought, enough material was gathered through academic and grey literature from these sources, and confirmed through interviews with on-site personnel, to form an adequate picture of original intent in interpretative programming.

3.4 Analysing and Integrating Data

It is important to effectively bring together these differing methodologies to integrate the data, thereby creating a more complete picture of the situation at the sites. This has been further developed by an extensive literature review of battlefield historiography, along with other existing forms of data that could be correlated within the information. This is essential to see any patterns and for drawing conclusions both at the three case study sites, as well as applicability to other sites for future research, as seen in the conclusion in Chapter Nine.

Analysis can take place in many different forms, such as through computer programmes. Although one such programme, *NVivo*, was offered through the Newcastle University research training, there were a very limited number of places available on the course, and it was not until the second year of research that the researcher attended a one-day introduction. This was not nearly enough time to understand the complexities of the programme whilst simultaneously attempting to learn how to analyse complex data, especially when, ultimately "It is the *researcher*, not the method of transcription that ensures rigour in interpreting data" (Barbour 2008: 192, Original emphasis). It is possible to just as effectively code with different coloured markers and pens directly onto the printed interviews (Ibid: 196), as the researcher did, which is essentially what *NVivo* facilitates though through a computer.

There were aspects of two types of analysis which were used for this research, 'semiological' and 'open-coding'. "Semiological analysis is a way of getting below the surface of a piece of communication to discover what lies beneath the obvious content of the communication" (Finn, Elliott-White & Walton 2000: 149). In this way, it was possible to take what information was provided by a site and compare it to how people spoke about their experiences at the site along with the participant observations. By interpreting the meanings of words with their actions, it was possible to use this technique to deduce data more broadly. There is the risk, however, that the researcher might come to his or her own conclusions independent of the data, so it was important to bring in an "open coding process" which "allows similar incidents and phenomena to be compared

and contrasted with each other" constantly (Castellanos-Verdugo et al. 2010: 119). Since researchers often "view *themselves* as narrators as they develop interpretations...about the narratives they studied" (Chase 2008: 66, Original emphasis), these analysis techniques were used in conjunction in order to produce a narrative of data, and mitigate any possible bias from the researcher. This triangulation of data was important for maintaining neutrality, as well as developing the theory through the data, and not through the researcher, by using grounded theory, which the next sections discuss.

3.4.1 Triangulation

After having determined the types of qualitative methods to employ based on the literature review, the data from this study was triangulated through the case studies and the ethnographic approaches. As has been reviewed, this latter category was composed of both participant observations and semi-structured interviews with visitors and staff. Similar points and questions were raised at each stage of the data collection in order to use "multiple sources of evidence" for "the development of *converging lines of inquiry*" (Yin 2003: 98, Original emphasis). In doing so, the data was interrogated and scrutinized to a higher degree through comprehensive questioning and re-examining, leading to a more probable analysis and "improve[d] validity" (Finn, Elliott-White & Walton 2000: 81).

It is important to utilise this multiple-methods technique in order to gain "more than one dimension of a topic" (Chambers 2010), and to obtain Geertz's (1973) 'thick narrative/description' so oft repeated in ethnography, case study analysis, and other methodological approaches. This is key since "'thick description' aims to understand individual people's behaviour by locating it within wider contexts" (Graham, Mason & Newman 2009: 14), which can be applied more broadly (Finn, Elliott-White & Walton 2000: 81). In conducting research in this fashion, triangulation can aid in affirming how plausible the results are in comparison with the methods that were employed. As Altrichter, Posch & Somekh succinctly state: "Triangulation gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation" (1996: 117). Indeed, Chambers (2010) states how this could help with using a similar research method at other sites to replicate a similar set of data, thereby lending credence to one's results. Whilst triangulation of the different data sources is a key component to the analysis, in order to refer to the applicable theories 'grounded' theory must be employed.

3.4.2 Grounded Theory

The data for this research has been analysed and understood through aspects which can be termed 'grounded theory', that is when it is possible "to derive theoretical propositions and frameworks from the raw data generated in qualitative research" (Barbour 2008: 196-197). From this viewpoint, the data has been understood and categorised through the interviewees own responses, and further from recurrent themes that the researcher has observed and then grouped (See Figure 3.2). "The theory evolves during the research process itself and is a product of continuous interplay between analysis and data collection" (Castellanos-Verdugo et al. 2010: 115). This technique was noted previously using 'semiological' and 'open-coding' analysis.

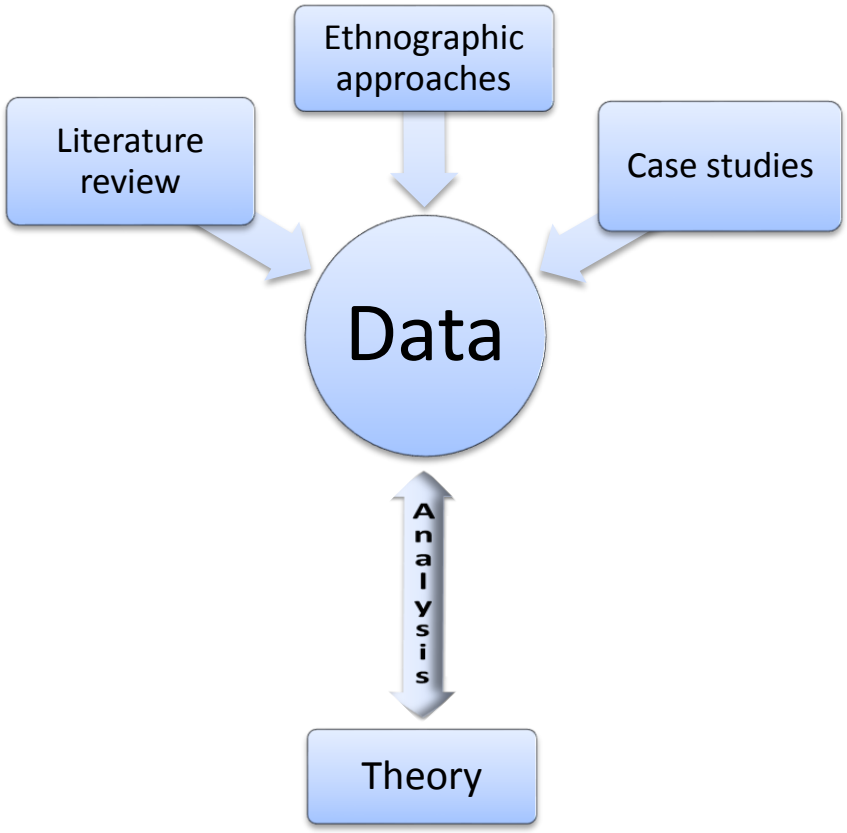

Figure 3.2: The use of grounded theory for data analysis

First developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and elaborated further by Glaser (1978), Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) (see Punch 2005: 156-157; Barbour 2008: 196-197; Castellanos-Verdugo et al. 2010: 115-116), grounded theory has been noted as not so much a theory as "a method, an approach, a strategy...whose purpose is to generate theory from data" (Punch 2005: 155). It is important to use multiple data gathering methods for this technique (Castellanos-Verdugo et al. 2010: 116), such as the

aforementioned ethnographic approaches, case studies and literature review, to "generate theories from data extracted from reality" whilst being "influenced by previous work" (Ibid: 115). This information is gathered from the interviewees which is similar to a 'phenomenological approach' where the idea is "to allow people themselves to describe the importance of place to them, rather than impose categories – like pride – in advance through questioning" (Graham, Mason & Newman 2009: 14). In this way, grounded theory is yet another way, like triangulation, to ensure that the personal bias of the researcher is avoided. Although great pains have been taken by the researcher to prevent this, there is inevitably the possibility that some degree of personal influence has manipulated the data. The next section discusses the researcher's awareness of possible issues and how these have been contained.

3.5 Mitigating Personal Bias

Initial contact with the case study sites was made through links with members of the Battlefields Trust. Being a member, I was provided instant access to the network of UK battlefield contacts. With my work as secretary of the North East and Borders region of the organisation since May 2010, it was possible to gain an insight on battlefield management and protection on a first-hand basis. Although Flodden falls within the North East and Borders region, I engaged in no direct work with the interpretation strategies at the site. During the development of the ecomuseum project at Flodden in 2011 and 2012, I aided in the Heritage Lottery Fund bid in conjunction with the Scottish Borders Council. As my input was with communities in the Scottish Borders, I had no direct connection to management at the site. Although the ecomuseum project began in late 2012, during the time of my research, the project has not been researched in this thesis since it was not underway during the fieldwork in 2011.

As the pilot study and a portion of the fieldwork in summer 2011 was conducted at Culloden, more time was spent at that site than the other two case studies. Due to this, and the closeness of observing the staff, a certain rapport was developed with some of the staff and as previously mentioned, I was able to gain the trust and thereby access from managers at the sites. This included the opportunity to record interviews with the site manager and the learning officer without risk of them being concerned by in-depth questioning. This proved beneficial in certain instances, though it was crucial to maintain objectivity regardless to whom I was speaking (Angrosino 2008: 162).

3.6 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to explain and detail the steps taken in selecting how the study was conceived, conducted and analysed. This included the early planning stages and development, to the pilot study and adapted research strategies, to how data was analysed and incorporated into the chapters. The initial investigations and pilot study confirmed that a qualitative methodological structure was the best approach for the particular set of questions and objectives that this research has set out to review and analyse. This line of enquiry has been favoured over a mixed-method approach, as previously examined, to contribute to the uniqueness of the dataset and the more exploratory nature of the study.

The methodologies chosen for this fieldwork have been based around qualitative research strategies, based upon literature reviews of several related topics. Case studies were selected based upon the possibility of comparable datasets, as well as for their contrastable characteristics. Semi-structured interviews were determined to be the most effective in allowing for visitors to engage with aspects of the sites that they felt were important. This was reinforced through participate observation of interaction with the on-site interpretative materials, as well as timings and visitor flow. These techniques have proven to be ideal for this study, and have aided in producing a dynamic and rigorous dataset. Before introducing the fieldwork results and how these methods have been utilised, it is necessary to explain the theoretical framework of the study. The following chapter describes interpretation in theory and practice, and the implications this previous research has in relation to the data collected for this thesis.

Chapter Four – Communication and Interpretation Theories and Practice

"Visitors need to be told what is unique about the place they are visiting. Why is it significant and worthy of interpretation? Visitors cannot be assumed to recognise the significance and meaning of objects or places from the objects or places themselves" (Uzzell 1998b: 246).

"But wherever, and whatever, in the places devoted to human history the objective of interpretation remains unchanged: to bring to the eye and understanding of the visitor not just a house, a ruin, or a battlefield, but a house of living people, a prehistoric ruin of real folks, a battlefield where men were only incidentally – even if importantly – in uniform" (Tilden 2007: 102).

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the theoretical framework for how information is communicated and received, and the practical implications this infers in presentation of interpretative materials to visitors at battlefields. In order to produce a narrative of events that unfolded at a battlefield, it will be reviewed how on-site interpretation is essential for the audience to read the story of the historical event that took place *in situ*. The theory and practice of interpretation have been combined into this chapter since it is important to understand the influence of each form upon the other, although this has often not been the case in interpretation research. Indeed, it has been noted that literature on interpretation has been predominantly practically oriented and has not incorporated theoretical discussions (Markwell & Weiler 1998: 99). Uzzell states that interpretation research more broadly has been mostly practice based, with theory "often only implicitly stated and assumed" (1998a: 12). Ablett & Dyer (2009: 210) propose that this has been the case since hermeneutic theory – the study of interpretation – came from Europe after the incorporation of practice orientated texts from the United States had already become ingrained in interpretation research. Regardless of how it came about, the researcher has found that most research on interpretation is still very practicality oriented, including the widely-cited work of Tilden (2007) and Ham (1992) (See Section 4.4). As such, it is beneficial to merge the two together in this chapter, followed by detailed information on the case studies in Chapter Five, to form the theoretical and practical analysis of the case study sites in Chapters Six and Seven.

In this chapter the study about the information that is presented on-site at historic battlefields will be incorporated into interpretation and communication theories, with a particular focus on semiotics. Semiotics provides the most applicable theoretical lens to interpretation theories and practice since it deals with how signs are imbued with meaning which is interpreted by a reader; exactly the way in which forms of presenting interpretive

information on-site battlefields is achieved. This is done through 'signposting', which is "one of the basic features of heritage presentation" (Tugas, Tresserras & Mellin 2005: 48) to interpret heritage resources to visitors. This field of study will form the basis of the theoretical understanding of how information is presented and then mediated to audiences through an analysis of several models of communication and associated theories. In order to understand how a model of communication can be developed for on-site interpretation of historic battlefields, this chapter will draw from semiotic and communication theories to form the basis of a new model which will be presented at the end of this chapter.

After introducing communication models which can be applied to understanding interpretation at historic battlefields, the second part of the chapter will introduce and analyse the practicalities of interpretation in practice, along with theoretical considerations. The goal of this second half is to introduce general concepts about interpretation and to go in-depth on the different forms of on-site interpretation which can be employed at battlefields. Lastly, models of interpretation and communication for battlefields will be presented. The intellectual framework of this chapter will be applied to the following chapters in considering how on-site interpretation is the key factor in visitors' understanding of what took place at a battlefield, the memories and identities negotiated within that space, and whose voice is presented. This will form the basis of an understanding of the relative heritage values of these sites today on which Chapters Eight will elaborate.

4.2 Semiotics in Communication Models

There has been a large body of work in communication theories from many different disciplines such as linguistics, philosophy, sociology, museum studies and media studies, which have helped shape the foundation of semiotics and its applications to heritage sites (See Mason 2005). The focus of semiotics is to understand how meaning is produced through signs, and how these are 'signposted' in a specific context to denote significance of an idea or belief. It is thought that people "perhaps use signs as part of a system of awareness of what reality is all about" (Danesi 2007: 162). This follows closer with some interpretations of Paul Ricouer's idea of cultural manifestations of that reality, that "the works of man...manifest man's creative will, his *effort* to give a meaning to his life" (van Leeuwen 1981: 69; Original emphasis). There has been much debate among semioticians and philosophers if signs are used to visibly mark ideas of reality, or whether reality is formed by these ideas; forming much of the focus of 20th century structuralism and post-structuralism writings (Chandler 2002: 6-7). However, despite working in the late 19th

and early 20th centuries, respectively, semiotic studies continue to be heavily influenced by the works of just two men, the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and philosopher Charles S. Peirce (Eco 1976: 14, Fiske 1990: 41-42). The following brief background to their theories provides illustrative examples to interpretation models of communication.

Taking the definition from above that meaning is produced through signs, it is imperative to understand first of all what a sign is. Fiske (1990: 41) states that Saussure believed a "sign consists of its physical form plus an associated mental concept, and that this concept is in its turn an apprehension of external reality". As a linguistic, Saussure saw this exclusively through language, which consists of three parts: signifier, signified and the sign itself, and that the sign was "the product of an arbitrary relationship between the signifier and the signified" (Shirato & Yell 2000: 20). The meaning of a sign was produced via its correlation with other signs (Fiske 1990: 57) in a continual, never-ending cycle.

To ascertain how ideas are passed through a communicative medium, Saussure (1986) identified aspects of synchronic and diachronic sign 'laws' that he applied through linguistics. Synchronic law maintains "an arrangement, or a principle of regularity" (Saussure 1986: 91), and diachronic law "presupposes a dynamic factor through which an effect is produced, a development carried out" (Ibid 91-92). An example is the word *car*, which came from the old Northern French word *cariage* (Oxford 2011). This was Anglicised and understood in the sense of horse and carriage, or a type of wagon used to transport goods and people with animal power. With the development of the railroads, this was adapted to refer to a train compartment. The subsequent invention of the automobile provided a further use and truncation of this word to *car*. This word retained a synchronistic denotation in its various forms for a mode of wheeled transportation, whilst the diachrony is the ways in which this changed over time. In the same way, the meaning of historic battles can change over time, as new generations interpret events in different ways.

Realising how the 'laws' which Saussure described solely represent intended messages, Peirce developed a "triad model" which identified three signifiers of conveying either intentional or unintentional meaning: "sign-interpretant-object" (Pirner 2002: 220). Danesi (1997: 20) explains Peirce's signifiers as "the actual physical sign (sign or representamen), the thing to which it refers (object), and the interpretation that it elicits in real-world situations (interpretant)." This model allows for signs which do not necessarily

possess an intended message, but which can nonetheless be interpreted and which elicit meaning. Peirce's model was interpreted by Eco (1984: 184) as forming perceptions of meaning via a "series of interpretants", representing the basic components necessary to signify meaning in everyday forms of communication. Based on this idea, Eco believed that Peirce had resolved Saussure's "problem of intentionality" which "explicitly allows communication to be thought of as both intentional and unintentional" (Shirato & Yell 2000: 21). Therefore the interpretant in Peirce's case "is not fixed...but may vary within limits according to the experience of the user. The limits are set by social convention...the variation within them allows for the social and psychological differences between the users" (Fiske 1990: 42). The cultural context and fact that it is a dynamic process amongst individuals is a crucial facet to Peirce's theory.

However a sign is presented and communicated, it must be negotiated through some form of discourse. This mediation is a key element in the communication process (Thwaites, Davis & Mules 2002: 144), and can be affected by various elements. The most important is the context where this transmission takes place, which must be directly relevant to the message and how it is delivered (Mason 2005: 202-203). Hall (1999: 511) referred to these as 'codes' used to negotiate and transmitted meaning:

> "Actually, what naturalised codes demonstrate is the degree of habituation produced when there is a fundamental alignment and reciprocity an achieved equivalence – between the encoding and decoding sides of an exchange of meanings...The articulation of an arbitrary sign – whether visual or verbal – with the concept of a referent is the product not of nature but of convention, and the conventionalism of discourses requires the intervention, the support, of codes."

Fundamentally this means that an idea must be passed through a recognisable medium to someone who understands that message and medium, as well as sorting through any disturbance that may affect the interpretation of the intended meaning. This process was first represented by a basic linear transmission model of Communicator → Message/Medium → Receiver from Shannon and Weaver in 1949 (Fiske 1990: 6; Hooper-Greenhill 1999: 69). However, this linear transmission has been criticised since intended meaning was not always reliably and clearly passed on from an intended nascent thought, to outwardly comprehensible meaning to the receiver (Fiske 1990: 7, 10; Chandler 2002: 176). Indeed, the recipient in the Shannon and Weaver model appears to be a passive part of the process. As a consequence, the so-called 'hypodermic model' model (Hooper-Greenhill 1999: 36-37) of injecting an idea directly into someone with

total acceptance has been altered to accommodate a more active and astute receiver (Chronis 2005, Rennie & Johnston 2007), along with a feedback loop (Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 23). This loop allows the receiver to reflect on the information that is being presented based upon previously acquired knowledge. This way of 'negotiating meaning' (See Section 4.6) is a key aspect of this research, since visitors to battlefields often frame their experience based on previous experiences and knowledge which may be counter to a site's interpretive presentation (See Section 6.3).

The adapted understanding of communication with a feedback loop, including negotiated meaning, has been commonly utilised as the basis of understanding the communication process in museums (Falk & Dierking 1992; Hein 1994; Pearce 1994a; Hooper-Greenhill 1994a, 1994b, 1999). This semiotic research from which further communication models have adapted over time has been central in material culture studies, notably by Pearce (1992, 1994) and Gottdiener (1995). This has included war related objects, such as when Pearce used semiotic analysis to determine the significance over time of a sword at Culloden (1992: 24-30), and to decode meanings of a jacket from the Battle of Waterloo (1994b). Whilst considering the latter, she ultimately concluded that:

> "The meaning of the object lies not wholly in the piece itself, nor wholly in its realization, but somewhere between the two. The object only takes on life or significance when the viewer carries out his realization, and this is dependent partly upon his disposition and experience, and partly upon the content of the object which works upon him. It is this interplay which creates meaning" (Pearce 1994b: 26).

Here Pearce referred to a physical object in a museum. Although this is not a concentration of the present research, some of the concepts from material culture are applicable to 'heritagescapes'. Indeed it is possible to consider a battlefield as a tangible entity, though the focus in this thesis is more on the intangible representations within that space which are the "ideas, concepts, hidden meanings, stories and the 'big picture'" of what the "place, artifacts, people, or things" represent (Brochu & Merriman 2008: 47). Combining these tangible and intangible representations is a key concept in interpretative planning, as well as how visitors decode meanings at battlefields.

Another applicable example of semiotics from museum studies is when Hooper-Greenhill introduced a new model for looking at communication theory in museums from a semiotic perspective (1994a: 24-25). This was further developed in the second edition of her book, *The Educational Role of the Museum* (1999) (See Figure 4.1). Dismissing most methodologies in semiotics as not providing "any analytical method for the analysis of

intended messages", she based her epistemology on the semiotician Georges Mounin (Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 20). Even so, the model itself was based on many previous ones which attempted to understand the communication process from various authors and disciplines (Hooper-Greenhill 1994b 40-49), and is useful in the context of visitor or interpretative centres.

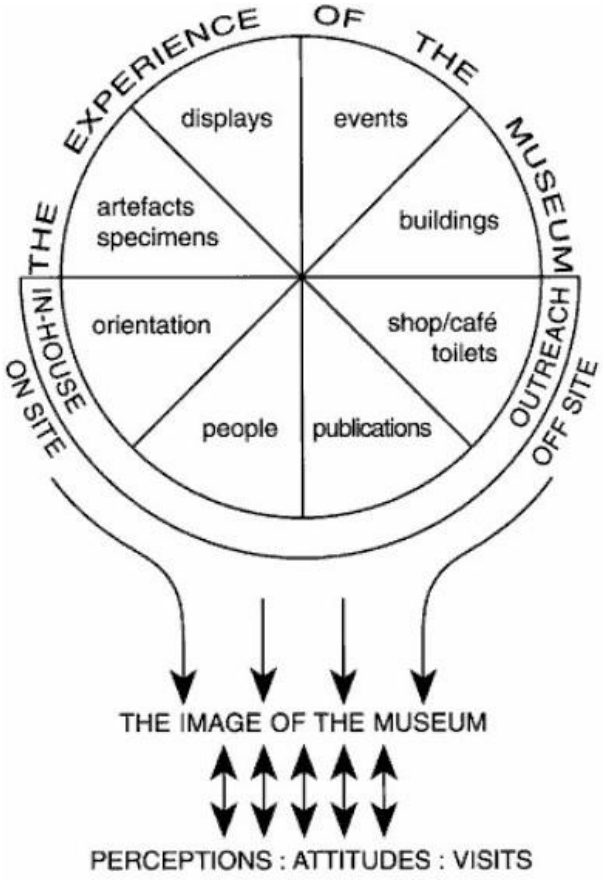

Figure 4.1: Hooper-Greenhill's (1999: 40) Holistic Approach to Museum Communication

The model shows eight categories which shape the image of the experience provided by the museum or centre both on and off site. It is important to note that though there may be very specific, dedicated on-site interpretation, invariably the audience has already been exposed to other information sources in some way before and after having been to the centre. Although Hooper-Greenhill uses this model in the context of the museum, an identical model could be used for visitor centres and other forms of on-site interpretation which do not use material culture. However, this model, along with Saussure's and Peirce's inspired-research, assumed that communication was taking place amongst people of the same cultural understanding, and crucially, language. Yet this is not always the case, particularly at well-known visitor attractions which are frequented by international tourists.

Taking a cue from Saussure's work on 'signifiers', Mason describes theories adapted from the idea "that meaning is not inherent in words, gestures or sounds" (2005: 202), rather, and crucially, in their differences. These differences are often greatest between cultures and languages, where people understand process and understand signs in specific contexts separated from other ways of interpreting similar circumstances. Lotman (1984) termed these types of contexts 'semiospheres'; also referred to as 'speech communities' (Seig 2008: 253). According to Lotman, everyone operates in some sort of semiosphere which can vary from person to person, and from culture to culture. His theory states that the process of semiosis – defined as "any form of activity, conduct, or process that involves signs" (Marinakis 2012: 70) – can only occur within a semiosphere (Lotman 1984: 208), which is to say amongst people who operate amongst and understand 'interpretants' within a certain communicative 'frame' (Entman 1993: 52). Naturally, understanding the language, or code, is essential, but even when it has been translated does not automatically guarantee meaning and comprehension. This can cause issues when culturally specific ideas are translated into different languages or presented to people operating outside the context – or "borders" of translation (Torop 2005: 164) – of the semiosphere where the concept originates.

Even if there are separate actors functioning in different semiospheres, there is some research that has suggested that 'narratives' remain broadly similar throughout the world (Danesi 2007: 107; Chase 2008: 57). A narrative has been defined as "a story that is put together to portray reality in a specific way. It is a representation of human events as they are perceived to be related to the passage of time" (Danesi 2007: 88). As Hall points out "the moment when a historical event passes under the sign of discourse, it is subject to all the complex formal 'rules' by which language signifies. To put it paradoxically, the event must become a 'story' before it can become a *communicative event*" (1999: 508; Original emphasis). In other words, there must be this process of understanding what happened through a relatable circumstance of that event. Greimas (1973) found that there was a narrative code that featured what he termed 'actants', or aspects like setting and types of characters which he argued were not signs, but rather signifiers that are universally used (Nöth 1990: 315). This implies that even if people attempt to negotiate the meaning of a narrative outside their own semiosphere, they may be able to compare it to similarly framed stories which are familiar to them. This suggests that even though the details may change, the general pattern of narrative can be understood, though this could lead to stereotyping or presupposing how stories should unfold.

When narratives are read as texts, whether they are in book form, or 'signposted' at heritage sites, their interpretation in semiotics operates within hermeneutical signs of communication. Roman Jakobson (1960) has been one of the most influential in analysing which elements are necessary for this process of communication to take place (Eco 1976: 262; Chandler 2002: 101), including through verbal communication. Jakobson (1960: 353) identified the following features of communication which he rendered in the following manner:

	Context	
Addresser	Message	Addressee
	Contact	
	Code	

Chandler (2002: 178) explains the function of each element and their typologies in brackets: Addresser (Emotive) "expressing feelings or attitudes"; Message (Poetic) "foregrounding textual features"; Addressee (Conative) "influencing behaviour"; Context (Referential) "imparting information"; Contact (Phatic) "establishing or maintaining social relationships" Code (Metalingual) "referring to the nature of the interaction (e.g. genre)" Jakobson maintained that these six elements are essential in the presentation and consumption of an idea. This model has the advantage of combining the concepts from the linear models of Saussure and Shannon & Weaver, which Jakobson rendered as Addresser → Message → Addressee, along with Peirce's triad model, which Jakobson included as Context, Code, Context (Fiske 1990: 35).

Although there have been subsequent communication models, like Halliday's (1978) similar work on social semiotics (Shirato & Yell 2000: 106-112), Jakobson's is still distinctly pertinent and applicable by combining the linear and triangular models in one-to-one communication. There has been some criticism that his work has had *too* much influence on communication modelling in semiotics because it relied on what is now 'old' "means of communication" through the mass media (Sonesson 2008: 307). Indeed, much of the later work done in communication models, most notably by Hall (1999), has focused on mass communication and the media. Whilst this research contains germane components to consider, Jakobson's model is still the most appropriate in that it maintains that feedback loop of information, regardless of the medium, which he brought together from theories from mass communication and semiotics (Fiske 1990: 24). This is relevant in the analysis of the interpretive media used at the case studies, particularly live

interpretation (See Section 4.5), which is used extensively at battlefields. Jakobson's model is therefore a useful framework, and one that will inform the basis of understanding communication of narratives at the case studies in Chapter Five.

4.3 Defining Interpretation

Before reviewing how interpretation has developed in practice, it is important to understand the very word itself. There is little agreement between disciplines on how this word should be defined. In archaeology, the word often denotes the explanation of how artefacts can aid in the explanation of historical facts, such as in this example of battlefield archaeology: "Effective interpretation requires secure understanding of the battle and battlefield…It is important to ensure that the battlefield resources, particularly as they relate to terrain, are effectively managed to sustain the interpretation" (Foard 2008: 7). Here, Foard is referring to securing the items in the ground, and understanding where they are within the landscape, in order to effectively analyse and comprehend a battle's series of events through the artefacts. In this sense, interpretation is meant as a means of understanding the past through evidence such as artefacts and documents. Historical studies employ a very similar use of 'interpretation', replacing artefacts with documents; the historical interpretation, therefore, becomes the discipline of explaining what happened in the past, based on documentary evidence (Carr 1987: 29-30; Jordanova 2000: 63, 76)

Even so, there has been debate within archaeology about interpretation in the profession versus public interpretation of resources. In 2001 there was a dedicated conference to explore these issues entitled "*Interpreting the Ambiguous: Archaeology and interpretation in early 21st century Britain*" held at Newcastle University (Frodsham 2004a). These debates discussed the differences between how archaeologists understand the concept and the greater public, where Frodsham stated that "archaeological interpretation is a never ending process of trying to make sense of a past about which we can never know everything" (2004b: 4), against a more inclusive definition incorporating "different activities such as perception, meaning, experience, translation, presentation, dissemination and information" (2004b: 10). The debate of the session papers focused on these differences, specifically on how personal meaning could be understood and refined, based on information gathered from archaeology. In reflection on these debates, Stone laments that archaeologists "have never been very good at interpreting or presenting what we do, either to ourselves...or to the general public" and acknowledges that "the profession puts the provision of information and interpretation to the public low down on

its agenda" (Stone 2004: 113). Yet this is not done from a lack of desire to share archaeological finds and results with the public, but rather from a narrowed perspective on the perceived value of what these finds mean. Essentially, as Stone (2004: 115) elaborates, certain aspects of a find can be explained as a presentation of information, but only to the extent of how an object is understood relationally within an historic context. Interpretation, in the sense that archaeologists utilise this term, is the process of discussing and evaluating how and why certain found objects were used in the past.

The definition of 'interpretation' in heritage studies has been taken to denote a related, though latterly understood concept from the archaeological and historical understandings of the differing theories of past events or objects. In heritage, interpretation has been defined in several ways. In Beck & Cable's (2002) well-known book, *Interpretation for the 21st Century: Fifteen Guiding Principles for Interpreting Nature and Culture*, they state that it has more to do with rendering "...meaning to a 'foreign' landscape or event from the past or present" (Beck & Cable 2002: 1), which is done in an entertaining and informative way (Lee 1998: 204). The process in which this takes place is as crucial as being in the suitable location for this to be transmitted effectively.

The ICOMOS Ename Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites confirms that interpretation is the "full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage site [sic]" (ICOMOS 2007: 3). This echoes Tilden's perspective that interpretation is "*An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information*" (Tilden 2007: 33; original emphasis). In his definition, Tilden places greater prominence on the idea of the 'real', both object and place. Veverka agrees with Tilden, and adds that interpretation is "a communication process designed to reveal meanings and relationships of our cultural and natural heritage to visitors" (2011: 153). Though there have been many different definitions of interpretation, generally interpretation in the heritage sense contrasts with the historically orientated classifications from archaeology and history as previously reviewed. In heritage, the meaning of interpretation has more to do with the process of how an idea is communicated and presented to an audience, and how people interpret and decode that message.

Frodsham (2004b) and Stone (2004) have suggested that it would be more intelligible if heritage would employ the word 'presentation' instead of 'interpretation'. The ambiguity

of the terminology may lead to the conclusion that 'interpretation' and 'presentation' are different terms, though they are largely used synonymously in the heritage field. Tilden confirms that the word itself can be taken in many different ways, including language translations, but he nevertheless thinks it the most apt word for defining the act of "revealing, to such visitors as desire the service, something of the beauty and wonder, the inspiration and spiritual meaning that lie behind what the visitor can with his senses perceive" (Tilden 2007: 25). ICOMOS refer to presentation as an integrated facet of interpretation which includes "…the carefully planned communication of interpretive content through the arrangement of interpretive information, physical access, and interpretive infrastructure at a cultural heritage site" (ICOMOS 2007: 3). In this sense, the two words are part of the same process which cannot be separated in heritage interpretation. The fact that there is a discrepancy in defining interpretation and presentation between disciplines is indicative of the differences in values at historic battlefields today (See Chapter Eight). This is also relevant in considering how and which battlefields have been interpreted, in the heritage sense, in the UK, which is a key component of this research.

4.4 The Influence of Tilden's Principles: Creating Thematic Messages

Interpretation at historic sites has been known to have existed for at least 2,500 years when interpreters were first recorded in Egypt by Herodotus as "he who explains" (Dewar 2000: 175). The modern phase of interpretation began with the rise in popularity of tour guiding in the 19th century with the increase in mass tourism, and progressed strongly in the first years of the 20th century (Ibid: 178). On-site interpretation developed strongest in the United States in this period, and became the standard in a methodological framework with Freeman Tilden's seminal work *Interpreting Our Heritage* in 1957. Though this book is more than 50 years old, authors too numerous to list have lauded his ideas and philosophy on interpretation with fervour till the present. As Dewar (2000: 180) succinctly puts it in his history of heritage interpretation: "Tilden's philosophy remains virtually unchallenged and his book is by far the most quoted text in the profession. His six principles still form the basis for much of the interpretive work done around the world." There has been some criticism, such as Buzinde & Santos (2008: 471) who intimate that Tilden wrote too idealistically and apparently without consideration of the inherent conflict in how interpretation, by default, can be exclusionary. Uzzell found that Tilden's style and "his ideas and principles rest on questionable assumptions...[but] the general thrust and tenor of this approach remains as valid today as it ever was" (1998b:

233). Even so Merriman (1998: ix), the director of the National Association of Interpretation in America, confirms that practitioners and academics alike have made regular mention to the enormous contribution that Tilden's legacy still permeates.

Though Tilden is the best known from the period, his ideas were influenced by others as well. Beck and Cable identify the great influence of Enos Mills on Tilden (Beck & Cable 2002: 6-7). Mills was involved in American parks in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a career which included helping pass the National Park Service Act of 1916 (Ibid: 2). Beck and Cable cite many of his writings as being in the same ilk as Tilden's. Tilden himself quotes the transcendentalist poet Ralph Waldo Emerson often in his writing, as well as the Scottish-American naturalist John Muir, thereby building on a long tradition of American romance for the outdoors. Veverka (2011: 23) postulates a different inspiration, suggesting that Tilden's principles are the same as those found in marketing and advertising, which he believes comes from Tilden's background as a journalist. Wherever his influences came from, it is clear that the six interpretive principles developed by Tilden have had a far-reaching influence. Tilden's principles (2007: 34-35) are as follows:

> 1. "Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.
> 2. Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.
> 3. Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.
> 4. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction but provocation.
> 5. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.
> 6. Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program."

Tilden's version of interpretation made it to the United Kingdom relatively quickly, particularly due to his work's strong links with conservation efforts, which influenced conservation efforts at British national parks in the 1960s (Bryant 2006: 173, 176). Despite the pervasiveness and longevity of his principles, there have been recent efforts to bring these original ideas up to date, along with expanding on the concepts. "...Tilden's *Interpreting Our Heritage* has remained the standard in terms of an interpretive philosophy. Indeed, there are aspects of Tilden's interpretive principles that are timeless. Yet, there are also elements of his philosophy that can benefit from a current perspective" (Merriman 1998: xii). As such, Beck and Cable published an updated version of these principles in 1998 (with a second edition in 2002), incorporating them within a list of 15 "guiding principles for interpreting nature and culture" (Beck & Cable 2002: 8). This updated version includes the original six principles, along with nine new ones. Although Beck and Cable discuss developments such as new media and integrating interpretation into management plans, the ways in which these are implemented differ little to the original substance of Tilden's original work. Though it is perhaps tempting to supersede Tilden's with this new list since it has been more recently written by two well-respected names in the field, this work has done little to change the continued significance, usefulness and clear brevity of Tilden's six principles.

Though Tilden is with little doubt the most influential practitioner of interpretation, he was certainly not the only one. Sam Ham's 1992 book *Environmental Interpretation: A Practical Guide for People with Big Ideas and Small Budgets* has also been quoted widely in interpretation literature, and some of his key points have been incorporated into Beck and Cable's new list. In his book, Ham (1992: 4) emphasises that interpretation is not the same as formal instruction since communication methods differ between the two. One such difference is that visitor tend to be 'noncaptive audiences', since they have chosen to be there and have visited to have an enjoyable visit (Ibid: 5-7). In order to maintain the attention of an audience he suggests an "interpretive approach to communication" which has four aspects: "Interpretation is pleasurable; Interpretation is relevant; Interpretation is organized; Interpretation has a theme" (Ibid: 8). Ham (Ibid: 20-22) states that there should be five things or fewer that people should remember from a visit, and that the interpretive approach must be conducive to all types of learners gathering those five facts in a visit.

The most notable and original component of Ham's work is his insistence on thematic interpretation, the fourth interpretive aspect to communication cited above. Much like the

word interpretation, Ham notes that there is confusion between a 'topic' and a 'theme', and though he underlines them as patently different: "The topic of a presentation (whether written or oral) is simply its subject matter, whereas the theme of the presentation is the specific message about the subject we want to communicate to the audience" (1992: 34). Veverka (2011: 29) provides an even broader definition, suggesting that the theme is merely the main idea of a site's interpretative presentation which a visitor can summarise in a sentence. The NPS uses themes in their site interpretation, and it has been noted that they believe "the best themes are those that connect tangible items to intangible ideas" (Brochu & Merriman 2008: 38). This is a key element for this research, as often the only tangible element at battlefields is the field, or 'heritagescape', itself; presented and explained through on-site interpretation highlighting intangible ideas.

Ham first elaborated his core thematic ideas into what he referred to as an 'EROT model': Enjoyable, Relevant, Organized, Theme (Ham 1992). He has since switched the order around to reflect a more thematically orientated diagram (See Figure 4.2), so that it is now call the 'TORE' model (Ham 2007: 46). Regardless of the name, the representations that interpretation should feature each of those elements are the same. For Ham, this is an important illustration of how thematic messages are presented to visitors through site interpretation.

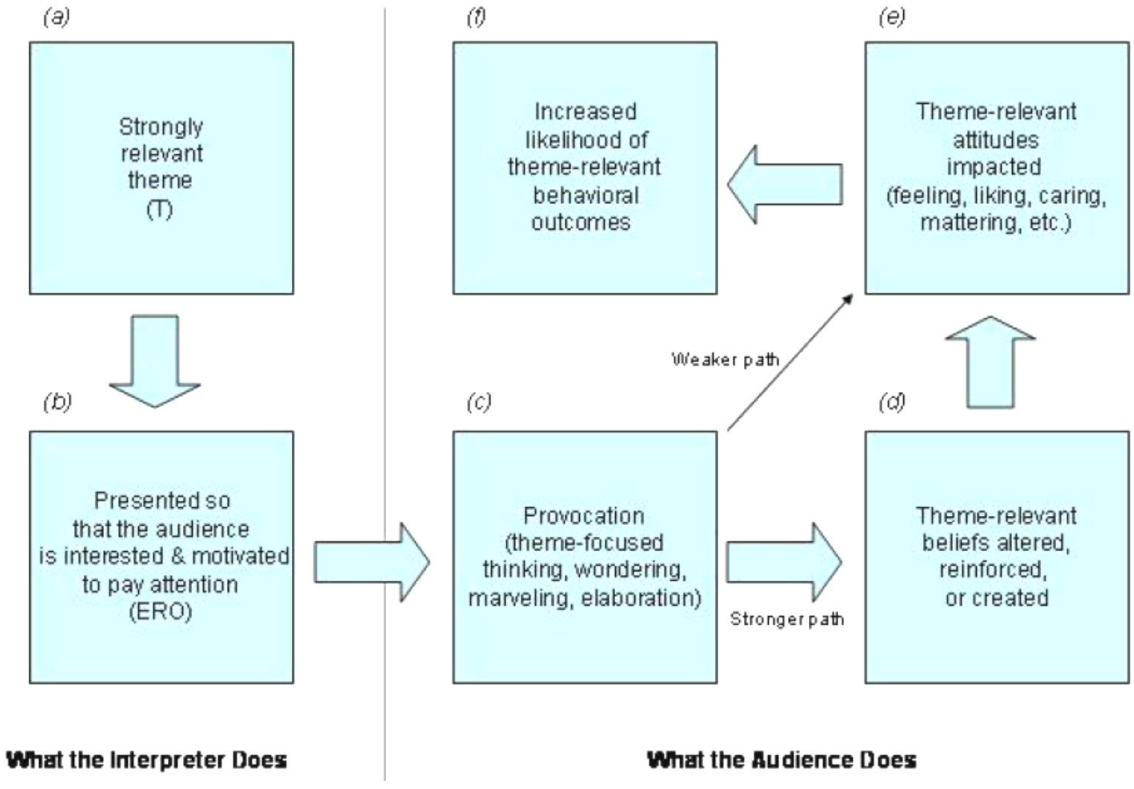

Figure 4.2: Ham's TORE model. Pathways to making a difference with thematic Interpretation (Ham 2007: 47)

The advantages of this practicality-orientated approach have been widely quoted and adopted, however there are some criticisms as well. There has been disapproval that proponents of thematic messages are too concerned with what a site is presenting, and not considering enough the previous knowledge visitors have which they can bring to a site which can then be connected to other places after a visit (Ballantyne 1998: 84). Ham specifically has been criticised for neglecting "to examine the ways in which tourism (and the tourist) have been conceptualised and theorised and the ramifications of these conceptual understandings for interpretation" (Markwell & Weiler 1998: 99). Indeed, his TORE model lacks a feedback loop between the interpretation (or interpreter) and the visitor; more reminiscent of the one-way communication models reviewed earlier. The main worry in this practically-oriented approach is that it is hindering both the place of the visitor in the interpretive experience, as well as limiting the theoretical underpinning of interpretation research.

Despite these concerns, there is a good deal which can be learned from thematic messages, and more importantly, how they are presented. This is especially true when considering interpretation as a management tool which "helps achieve the mission, goals and objectives of [an] organization" (Brochu & Merriman 2006: 222). Uzzell (1998b: 240) maintains that interacting with interpretive material is centred in the matrix between the themes, resources and markets of a site. Correspondingly, Dierking draws on her 'Interactive Experience Model' (Falk & Dierking 1992), to stress the importance of these components, most notably the personal interactions: "...a visitor's Interactive Experience is dictated by the interplay of three contexts: the Personal Context of the visitor...the Physical Context they encounter...the Social Context of the experience" (Dierking 1998: 57). However, research suggests that the former two in their model are more important to visitors than the latter (Prentice & Andersen 2007: 669, 674).

In any case, to plan a visitor experience requires consideration of six individual yet connected parts: experience, concept, theme, audience, how, location (Uzzell 1998b: 242). Ham (1992: 24) proposes that this can be done through printed materials, as well as information panels, but like Tilden he speaks more extensively and passionately about the interactive experience of a guide or personal interpreter. This method of interpretation is employed extensively at historic sites, and is doubtless one of the most widely used form of interpretation at battlefields. As such live interpretation is discussed generally in the next section, and in detailed reference to the case studies in Sections 5.2.1.3, 5.3.1.3 and 6.2.3.

4.5 Live Interpretation

It is relatively straightforward to find flaws in communication which takes place at museums and heritage sites when the information presented to visitors is written on information panels or conveyed through audio headsets; what Beck and Cable refer to as "*nonpersonal* interpretation" (2002: 4; Original emphasis). This in-direct, impersonal communication is one way – just like Shannon and Weaver's and Saussure's early linear one-way communication models and theories – which does not factor in the content or context of communication. Tilden, Beck and Cable, Ham and other interpreters have all espoused the prime role of human interaction in interpretation, just as Peirce and Jakobson promoted the aspects of effective feedback in communication.

By taking what is known about communication and interpretation models and adapting to the heritage, museum and gallery context, along with an understanding of how negotiated readings of the site-text is registered (See Section 4.6), it is quite clear that communication and interpretation at a site is a dynamic and highly complex process. Many of the models adapted to exhibitions and displays, thereby neglecting the interaction of visitors with staff and guides which contributes to this information flow. By understanding how live interpreters contribute and affect the communication cycle to consumers of information at historic sites, an updated model can be adapted and developed from previous object-orientated ones to historic battlefields (See Section 4.7). In doing this, clarity on the complexities of a short-term reflexive loop will enable practitioners to comprehend how their interaction with the public will undoubtedly frame their perceptions of the events they are performing. In this section, the way in which live interpretation can be incorporated into a model will be explored. However, to begin with it is necessary to understand how this type of interpretation came about and how live interpretation has developed at historic sites.

It has been noted that more dynamic museum displays, such as historical reconstruction of sites, began in response to perceived impersonal and distanced exhibitions of the past (Henning 2006: 54). Citing Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998) and Samuel (1994), Henning (2006: 54-55) describes how this new shift was at first seen as producing a more passive audience, due to a perceived focus on entertainment and not education. Indeed, "Much criticism of innovative presentations at heritage resources has assumed that education and entertainment are incompatible and that the latter will always strangle the former, although these assertions are rarely supported by empirical evidence" (Malcom-Davies 2004: 278). Partly for this reason live interpretation has had difficulty gaining acceptance

at historic sites and museums but when it is done well, it can contribute to a heightened sense of site and personal understanding. Although guided walks based on the US model began in British national parks in the 1960s (Bryant 2006: 183), using costumed guides in live interpretation is a relatively new practice to the UK, dating back only to the 1980s (Malcolm-Davies 2004: 280). However since then, it is taken hold and is becoming more and more accepted (Robertshaw 2006: 42-43).

Much like interpretation, live interpretation has been defined in numerous ways, usually by what types of activities it entails. Ham identifies two broad categories: Talks – orientation, site, exhibit, skill demonstrations, classroom, campfire or evening outdoor (1992: 48-49); and Tours – guided walk; extended hike; building tour; facility (process) tour; site tour; bus, auto, train, boat, and bicycle tours (1992: 133-134). Generally, in live interpretation the focus is on re-enactments, costumed guides, period costumes and uniformed officers (Alderson & Low 1996: 35-44) – all of which have the advantage of allowing an interaction with all the senses (Beck & Cable 2002: 70) – though these are not always the main forms. "Another form of social mediation increasingly common in interpretive settings is the use of theatre and performance" (Dierking 1998: 62). Even presentations which are not meant to be theatrical include many of the same elements, such as props (artefacts or replicas), performers (interpreters or 'volunteers' from the audience), a stage (a designated room or area, or even the site itself), scripts (talking points or essential facts), among much else. Examples of these will be examined in how they have been used at the case studies in Chapters Six and Seven.

There are several clear advantages of using live or costumed interpreters on-site. For example, visitors can ask questions whilst picking up and feeling actual or replica objects on display which interpreters are demonstrating. This can negotiate meanings and foster the telling of personal narratives which allows for easier reflexivity with visitors, and a less passive and more interactive communication with interpreters. These immediately negotiated meanings (See Section 4.6) lead to a more nuanced understanding of the information on display through challenging and addressing preconceived ideas. Of course, this all relies in large part to the knowledge and competence of the interpreter in communicating these concepts, which can greater influence how people learn and for how long they retain that information (Ryan & Dewar 1995).

It is also clear that visitors tend to prefer the personal element of this type of live interpretation which can make the experience seem more 'real'. Robertshaw quotes Leon

& Piatt (1989: 98) saying "'[E]ven though museum professionals may savour the well-crafted exhibit labels most Americans [and Britons] prefer to watch and talk with historical interpreters than read labels' making the study of history into 'an active rather than passive pursuit'" (2006: 50). Bagnall (2003) discovered through her research with live interpretation that this process took place at heritage sites through 'performativity' which can be rendered as: consumption → performance → memory → narrative → reflexivity. She insisted that visitors were active in this engagement process, particularly if they experienced "emotional realism" (Bagnall 2003: 93) in conjunction with the experiences at a site. Bagnall found that this was most important via an authentic experience, which has been noted as a key factor in negotiating "cultural identity and sense of place" (Smith 2011: 73; see also Kidd 2011).

Although new information is acquired on-site, it is essential to consider that people may have already learned and have knowledge about a site before visiting. Understanding and transferring information that may run contrary to prior knowledge is not a unique problem for live interpretation, though it can lead to further difficulties, as Crang (1996: 429) notes: "One of the stumbling blocks of living history is visitors assessing realism in terms of previously held notions and images." Often this stems from representations in film and television of images of what people are 'supposed' to look like, or simply a fantastical image, of the past (Frost 2006; Gold & Gold 2002: Gold & Gold 2007; Bateman 2009). Wherever the source, "History is interpreted to stimulate nostalgia, idealize the past, and leads to a selective understanding of the past that has more to do with fantasy and fairy tales than veracity" (Laenen 1989: 89).

Due to difficulties in representing the past today, many sites choose to employ third-person interpreters to explain what happened in the past using 'they' terms, as opposed to first-person using 'I' or 'we'. Discussing the possible pitfalls with first-person interpretation, Crang notes: "For as visitors seek 'backstage' knowledge, as they become interested and curious, as they seek for insights, they almost inevitably push the interpreter into the unknown. The interpreter can then maintain a realistic effect, but only at the price of deception about how reliable, not how realistic, that portrait may be" (1996: 426). Maintaining that level of knowledge can be problematic and in some ways less educational for the visitor.

Magelssen (2004) offers some interesting insight into the differences in first-person (FPI) versus third-person interpretation (TPI) from the viewpoint of theatre studies. Citing

Baudrillard's argument that reality and the believable past are agreed upon within society (Ibid 52), he argues that FPI brings the past to life through a magnified authentic setting. This brings a certain authority to the information FPIs present, bringing out details which are ostensibly enhanced and improved over time (Ibid 63-66). Many sites have chosen not to employ FPI for the simple reason that it is more difficult to get all the facts right all the time; they must be able to answer any question as if they were a specific person or simply an amalgamation from that time (Robertshaw 2006: 47; Shafernich 1993: 45-47). Equally, visitors may have issues in 'framing' (Entman 1993; Scheufele 1999) the interaction with a FPI against what they already know (Seig 2008: 254) which may run counter to this previous knowledge. English Heritage has voiced possibly pitfalls inherent in FPI and "talks only rarely, and with caution, of 'bringing the past to life', and rather more of engaging interest, stimulating the imagination and instilling a sense of self-discovery" (Hems 2006: 191). In this way, TPI has less to do with veracity and more with provocation and inspiring visitors to engage more with the on-site material, exactly in line with Tilden's fourth principle (Tilden 2007: 35).

Highlighting the inherent flaws that an exact reality and recreation of the past can never really be attained through FPI, Magelssen suggests that TPI may be "more historiographically responsible, because it allows discussion of a multiplicity of events as well as a foregrounding of the present consequences" (2004: 69). This is an important point in the communication cycle, since FPI inhibits a discussion how history can be framed into today's societies, or 'heritage', whereas a visitor and the staff member engaged in TPI can discuss the issues and produce a two-way discussion. Indeed, as Craig (1989: 108) notes, "The interpreter is, in essence, the catalytic agent who enables visitors to feel virtually transported in time through the power of imagination to 'experience' a moment of history." This process can take place through a well-told narrative on a tour or a workshop that brings the reality of the past into the mindscape.

Yet presenting that reality through TPI can be difficult, especially when powerful displays of the past, such as re-enactments and living history displays, assail the senses and offer an engrossing liveliness. "Battle re-enactments and scenes of medieval domesticity may have a persuasive air of verisimilitude, but when they become the 'Thing Itself' rather than a means to understanding and appreciating what they are actually meant to be representing, then all is not well" (Uzzell 1998b: 251). It is therefore crucial that the emphasis remains on utilising this form of interpretation as a presentation of the past, rather than a manifestation of modern sentiment and faux historical ambience. This is

particularly valid with sensitive periods in history, when the former victor or vanquished may have continued consequences or acutely fervent feelings. “The general point here is that sites (in the sense of monuments and places) documenting troubled pasts, and especially those that involved human suffering, should attempt to ‘bring the place alive’ for visitors...provided the visitor is suitably informed” (Schofield 2006: 158). In essence, it is about presenting an unadulterated window into the past, with as much factual knowledge as is known, leaving behind present biases. This is an unrealistic, perhaps impossible task, which TPI is better suited than FPI to engage visitors and interpreters with these complicated links to the past. These problems with live and other forms of interpretation are particularly pronounced at battlefields or ‘heritagescapes’ which feature little to no physical remains, and loaded, complicated histories of fact and fiction (See Chapter Six).

4.6 Negotiating Meaning

Even though live interpretation is used at many sites in various forms, there is still a continued demand and widespread presence of new media such as touch screen computers and interactive displays. However Smith (1999: 139) notes that there is still a one-way communication direction from curator to visitor through such exhibits, which “rarely allow[s] the visitor to express a new stance towards memory and constructions of the past” (Ibid 140). As has been explained, by introducing TPI the user can engage in an active communication process which can both challenge perceptions and create an active dialogue. The difficulty in negotiating disturbing or unsettling historical facts that run counter to the “dominant cultural order” with perceived historical “preferred meanings” need to be understood through a variety of channels before they can be appropriately processed and then accepted completely or partially, or rejected completely (Hall 1999: 513; Scheufele 1999: 105). In this context, verisimilitude and attempting to present history objectively become essential in assuring that messages are coded as accurately as possible into contextualised meanings.

However, the authority lent by well-funded and authoritative live interpretation can still support mistaken ideas, or as Crang (1996: 429) called it, “the tendency to create a suspension of disbelief, the magical realism of a dramatic space”. Though Crang was warning the practitioner on playing with verisimilitude, it might be possible through the realm of questioning modern stances against historic actuality to clarify and elaborate on (mis)beliefs: “a successful simulation display seems not so much to transform interpreters into informants and visitors into interpreters who might profitably interact with them as it

casts reenactors [i.e. FPI] as characters of a text and visitors as readers capable of following, interpreting, and even questioning that text" (Handler & Saxton 1988: 252). When the viewer is capable and willing to establish and 'perform' within these boundaries simulated through the enacting of the space, it is feasible to build upon and re-evaluate concepts through new information:

> "A learning experience requires engagement, some mental, physical, or social activity on the part of the learner. Meaning is made from that experience…A person's past experiences – be they cognitive, affective, behavioural, social, or cultural – will help to structure the new learning in personal ways" (Rennie & Johnston 2007: 60).

This new learning and meaning-making is compared and expanded through remembering. Bagnall underlines the importance that "reminiscing can stimulate the reawakening of dreams and desires, and effect a connection between past and present. Thus, the consumption experience is an active rather than passive process" (2003: 93). By association and reflexivity, the visitor can engage with and contextualise the information on-site alongside previous knowledge. This interchange can be enhanced through live interpretation which contributes to the "relevance of performance as the embodiment of memory" (Gold & Gold 2007: 7). This performance is not only what is presented on-site, but includes previous notions held by an individual. However, it is important to understand that visitors do not just make new memories, or reflect on past experience, but also "negotiate cultural meaning" (Uzzell 1998a: 16), often based on "preexisting meaning" (Scheufele 1999: 105) from prior negotiated experiences.

Visitors bring previous knowledge about a particular place they are visiting and, crucially, information learned through their own lives. This associated knowledge is key in joining any new information they receive at a place to make a logical 'mind-map' of stimuli they are assimilating. Several possibilities on whether people construct understanding and meaning by accepting a message in full, partially or reject completely through 'negotiated readings' were introduced by Stuart Hall in relation to socio-economic background and standing (Hall 1999: 514-517). Mason argues that these factors are no longer necessarily the case with visitors today, citing research by Dicks (2000) and Bagnall (2003) that it has more to do with "emotional responses, and the perceived quality of the [interpretation]" (Mason 2005: 207-208), in particular for living history.

Chronis (2005) has evidenced that it may actually be a combination of factors which are being negotiated at battlefields. Whilst researching Gettysburg in the US, he found that

visitors to this battlefield not only accept events from the past, but are very active in incorporating them into their lives today (Ibid: 394-396). His 'coconstruction model of culture' (See Figure 4.3) was a key factor in making sense of personal meaning and performance at Gettysburg, which is applicable to other battlefields. In offering a very clear case of reflexivity in the model, visitors were able to go beyond the battlefield and create an understanding of the time that was both relevant and meaningful to the participants today, particularly "since visitors' perceptions of the past will always be influenced by their present-day attitudes and values" (Uzzell 1989: 44). For Chronis, this is a cyclical process "where narratives are negotiated, shaped, and transformed through the interaction of producers and consumers" (2005: 389), which he rendered in his model:

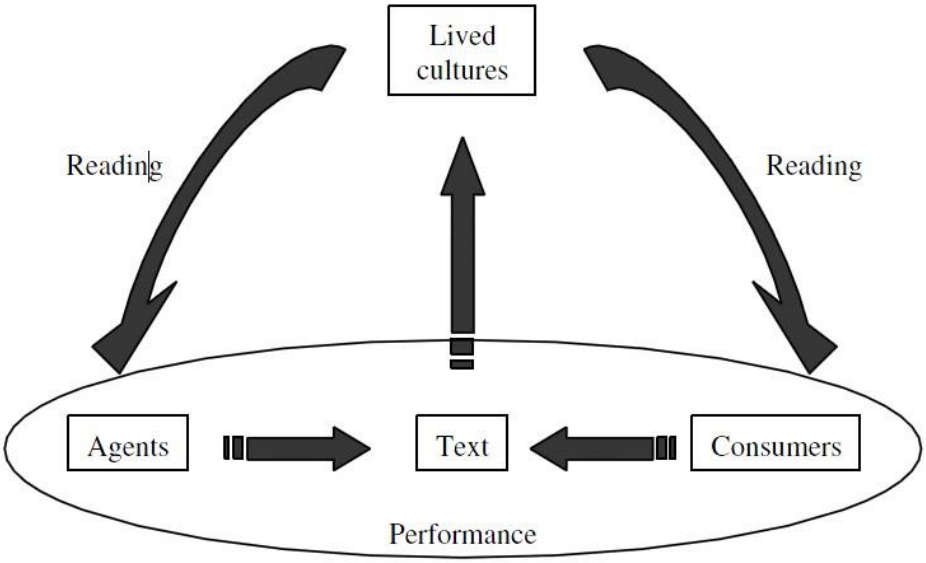

Figure 4.3: Coconstruction Model of Culture (Chronis 2005: 401)

Comparing and contrasting past events with present reality not only frames the events in a proper and easily understood milieu, but aids in the reflexivity which is essential to completing the communication loop. This is often done through encounters with other visitors (Guthrie & Anderson 2007), often family members (Falk & Dierking 2000: 201), which are essential for creating understanding and discussing the experience within that space: "During many of these conversations one also observes people's efforts to negotiate personal and cultural meaning, actively making sense of the interpretation presented and attempting to relate it to their own experience and world view" (Dierking 1998: 58-59). This reinforces certain ideas which are confirmed through these discussions with people negotiating the same space but with different perspectives, allowing for the possibility of a more nuanced perspective.

It is clear that negotiated meanings do not just focus on information that people receive at a site, but are heavily influenced by their previous knowledge and experiences. Visitors to heritagescapes incorporate new information into existing experience to gain new insights. If that new information runs counter to that preconceived idea, it is possible to contort or justify it to fit within a new paradigm. Though new information may be accepted, it is almost certainly conformed to fit into these prior experiences and ideas. This phenomenon is discussed at length in Section 6.3. First it is necessary to explore the ways in which interpretation is employed on-site at historic battlefields. The next sections will draw upon the semiotic theories explored here for an understanding about how communication takes place between interpretive presentations and the audience, and how this can influence heritage values and perceptions of meaning at battlefields.

4.7 Interpreting Historic Battlefields

There has been a noted increase in integrating "more 'difficult' memory into public space" (Macdonald 2009: 96) in recent times as people have sought to understand how past conflict influences the present. Of course, how this is done differs between places and will be influenced by their cultural contexts or 'semiosphere', management structures, political climates, finances and a host of other reasons. Although battlefields represent a unique case study in understanding the heritage and historicity of space, the techniques and styles of presenting them have been no different than at other types of sites.

Nevertheless there are some differences, mostly notably between visitor centres and museums. Battlefields which have a building in which to interpret the site use a visitor or interpretative centre approach, as opposed to a traditional museum (See Pearce & Moscardo 2007). The difference is subtle yet decisive, as there is no curatorial staff at the site, with no collections outside the displays which are more or less considered to be permanent, and normally the lack of temporary or indeed any sort of changing exhibitions is an important distinction to between the two[6]. However, it has been noted that interpretation at a visitor centre or a museum show little to no difference as they are both "attempting to preserve fragments of the heritage…and help people to understand its significance" (Davis 1999: 222). In effect, the goals and techniques are largely the same;

[6] Bosworth is a notable exception, where they have a small section for temporary exhibits, but these tend to be about subjects which are related more to other aspects of the time period of this 15th century battle than to the event itself.

rather the *place* in which this happens is the subtle yet sometimes important distinction, as was explained in reference to battlefields:

> "Historical sites are unlike museums in that the narrative intimately involves a physical area upon which past events transpired. If the site is lacking in built structures, then something must be added to give it a meaningful contour. The addition of markers, monuments, statues, and other orienting devices such as maps or guides transforms 'an otherwise undifferentiated terrain' into an 'ideologically encoded landscape'" (Gatewood & Cameron 2004: 210; quoting Diller and Scofidio 1994: 47)

That 'landscape' can contain comprehensible modern interpretive efforts to present the heritagescape, as well as historic representations of value that may be unclear today. War memorials are a good example, in that they were not erected necessarily to exhibit information about the events of the battle per se, but rather were monuments to those who died. Even so, they inherently possess key themes related to interpretation and communication theories: "monuments themselves resemble performances, in that they are words and forms carefully scripted after the event" (Hack 2010: 89). This process of 'performance' is virtually indistinguishable from the way live interpreters, so called "mobile monuments" (Gapps 2009), interact with the public at battlefields, and how this interaction can be understood within existing heritage site based communicative models. The difference between the two, of course, is that a more complete communication and feedback loop can occur when face to face interpretation takes place, as opposed to the nonpersonal, incomplete dialogue between monument and visitor. Interpretation at battlefields can often be limited to memorials with lost meanings, or absent of any recognisable signs that a battle took place. Live interpretation – often through guided tours – is one of the most common interpretation strategy at battlefields as it "is often the only way to celebrate the perceived heritage where there are no, or few, artefacts" (Howard 2003: 82). As mentioned previously, this is also a preferred method of engaging with complex narratives and interacting with and negotiating new information to modern perceptions.

Monuments or interpretation which a battlefield features from the immediate aftermath of a war will inevitably possess the values and memories of those who saw action there, conceivably with the perspective of those who may wish to forget the horror of the experience or the "hot interpretation" (Uzzell 1989). This can be the same in modern day presentations which may wish to sanitise the more gruesome aspects: "...interpreters may selectively interpret relatively safe aspects of war such as the technology used or

strategies employed, while ignoring the grim realities of the social impact of war – the pain and sorrow associated with death, devastation, and destruction" (Beck & Cable 2002: 75). It is essential that all aspects of the story, both the good and bad, are presented so that modern visitors can understand the full range of emotions, including their own:

> "The interpretation of war is often approached in a sterile and emotionally neutral way as if we have a dispassionate interest in what is, after all, a highly emotional subject. Emotion plays an important part in colouring our attitudes and actions and is central to the very human qualities of affection, conscience, humanity and compassion" (Uzzell 1998a: 13).

Of course those stories which are selected greatly influence the perception and impression people will obtain from a visit to a battlefield. Even as early as the centenary of the American Civil War in the 1960s, Tilden noted that there had been a shift in what information people were seeking when visiting the battlefields: "...it becomes increasingly clear that the visitor's interest is not so much in the military details, but in the great human story" (Tilden 2007: 50). This change took place when those soldiers who fought and the immediate relatives of their generation had passed away, and the next generation wanted to know more than mere details of strategy, tactics and where soldiers were on the fields (Sutton 2012: 112-115). "At battlefields, meaningful stories abound among the statistics – stories about bravery, cowardice, intelligence, suffering, honor, terror, heroism, and pain" (Beck & Cable 2002: 50), all of which are important for personalising the narrative of the events. Visitors who continue to have an interest in military history at battlefields are the exception, and "are not interpretation" (Tilden 2007: 50), since they do not fit with Tilden's Second Principle that information is inevitably not interpretation.

When employed, interpreting tactics and strategy can be most effective when it is brought to a comprehensible scale. For instance Tilden referred to individual stories that could represent greater narratives told through interpretation as "a whole" (2007: 68-75). He gives an example of the Vicksburg National Military Park which commemorates and interprets the siege that took place there during the American Civil War. This entailed a protracted, complicated series of military manoeuvres that cannot possibly be condensed into one visit. Instead, Tilden suggests speaking about two regiments from the same state who were fighting on opposite sides of the field, or of the commander of the southern troops who was a northerner (Ibid 70-71). Even though this runs counter to his fifth principle (Tilden 2007: 35), sometimes in grander narratives the micro-level

interpretation can enhance and explain the macro. Indeed, it is important to explain battlefields in holistic terms which can be related to people in a variety of ways:

> "Battlefield interpretation must establish the site's particular place in the continuum of war, illuminate the social, economic, and cultural issues that caused or were affected by the war, illustrate the breadth of human experience during the period, and establish the relevance of the war to people today" (NPS 1998: 9).

The type of interpretation selected for a battlefield site can determine to a great degree how people can learn about the event. Information panels situated to point out strategic vantage points of the field of action often contain details on troop movements and a timeline of the events. Static displays like these often lack interaction and information is presented as fact; there is no direct opportunity to ask questions or participate in that feedback loop. However, in this way battlefields are signposted within the landscape, thereby assisting the viewer of the heritagescape in contemplating the events which took place there, and revealing why it has been interpreted in the first place. There are a number of interpretive media which battlefields can utilise. Figure 4.4 shows some of these, although this is not a definitive list:

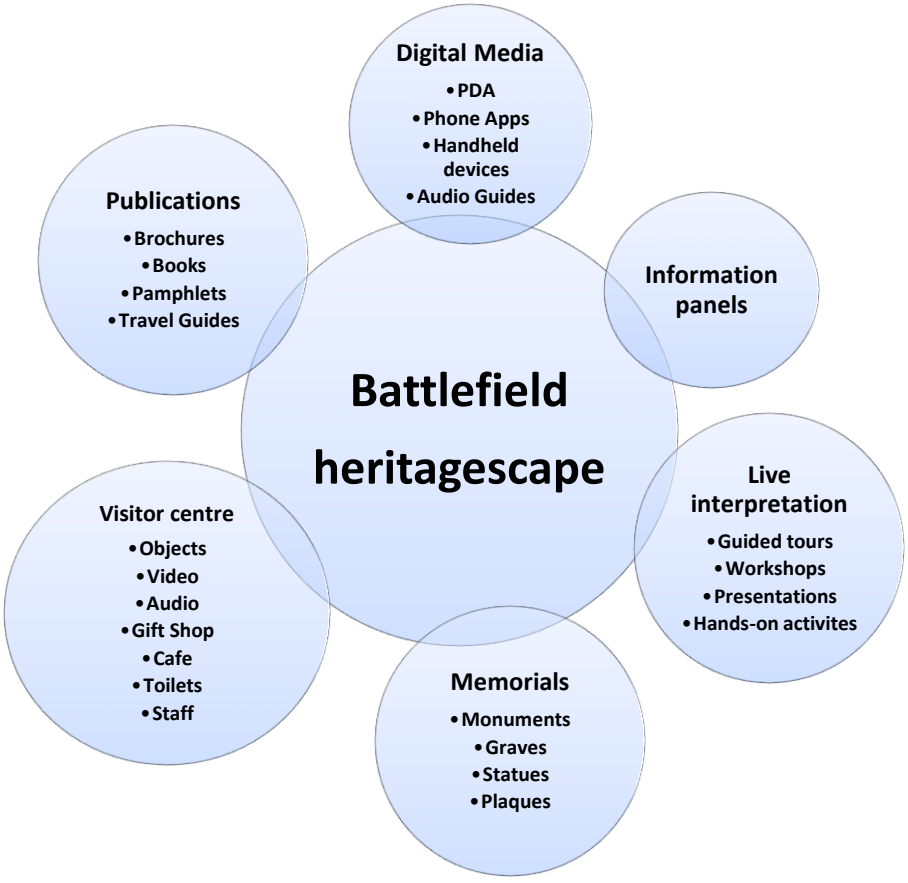

Figure 4.4: Methods of battlefield interpretation used at sites considered for the thesis

The ways in which on-site interpretation is presented, and by whom, can greatly determine the values of those places by visitors, which is explored in detail in Chapter Eight. Depending on the visitor, and the way they negotiate on-site interpretation, determines how they decode the signs which have been posted within the battlefield 'heritagescape'. Figure 4.5 shows a communication model for on-site interpretation at historic battlefields – based on previous models discussed in this chapter – detailing the process that occurs between the interpretation and the visitor. This passes through any 'noise' between the message and the receiver, such as misunderstanding because of language issues; unclear text or speech; or complicated histories. After that, the message is processed by the visitor, or reader, and any interaction that takes place between the site or visitors is then fed back to be decoded once more. The critical reflection stage varies not only between individuals but also sites, and since most battlefields have no staff, any discussions may be just between visitors or even the individual. It is important to note that this model could include further negotiations and discussions which occur after a visit, however this was not a feature of this thesis.

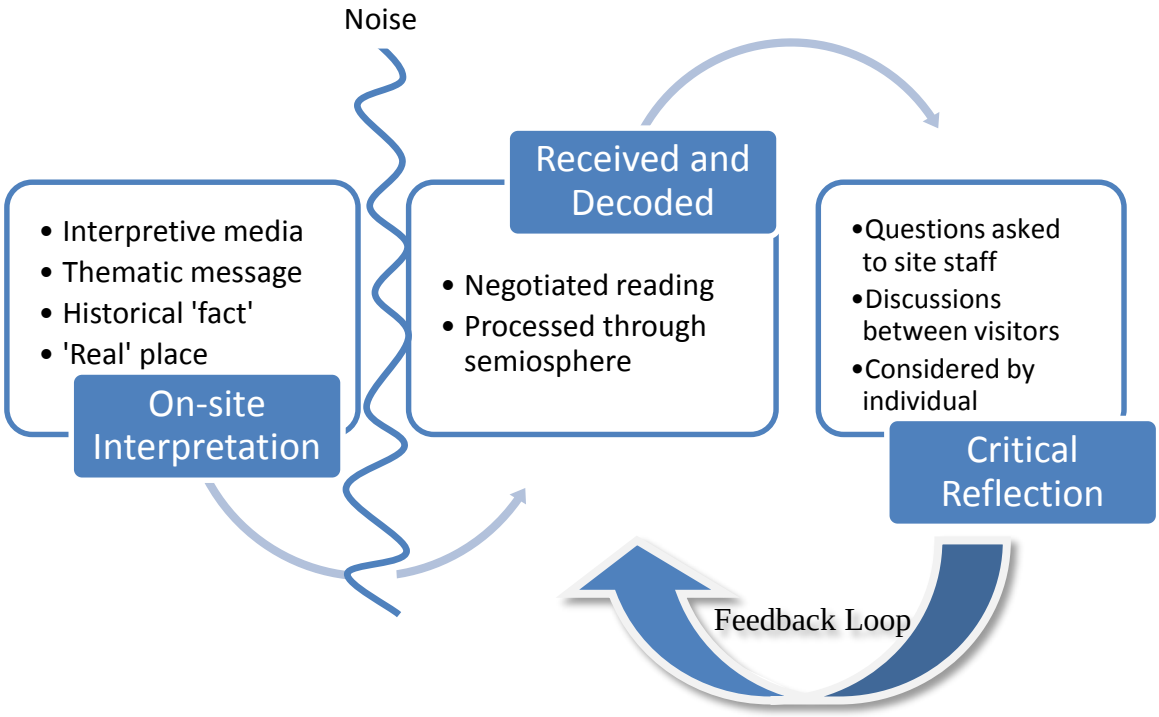

Figure 4.5: Battlefield Communication Model

4.8 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the theoretical deliberations from communication theories, specifically from semiotics, alongside practical considerations in interpretation research.

By combining these two, it has been possible to more clearly correlate the theory and practice of interpretation research, which was a key part in analysing data from the fieldwork. Yet there have been several key points which have not been discussed in this review which have influenced the research design: Who decides what is going to be communicated/interpreted? Whose voice is being represented in the on-site interpretation? What is their interest and agenda? Who selects which themes, narratives, stories are to be told? Semiotic encoding of battlefields is to not only interpret a space, but to reveal meaning of its value. Whilst the case studies will illuminate some of this information in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, the values of battlefields will be featured in Chapter Eight. But first the next chapter introduces the case studies, including a brief history of each battle and a review of the interpretation employed at each site.

Chapter Five – On-site Interpretation at the Case Studies

5.1 Introduction

This chapter further describes the case studies which were introduced in the methodology chapter, starting with a brief history of each battle and the immediate aftermath of the battle's effects. The histories are taken from interpretation provided at each of the case studies, and are not meant to be thorough or definite accounts of the battles. Since these are not academic histories, there are purposefully no references cited within the text, though a list of pertinent resources is provided within footnotes after each section. The accounts give the impressions derived from the way information is presented at the site, just as visitors would receive the presented histories on-site. These brief histories provide the context as to how and why the interpretation has been developed at each site which is introduced in this chapter and elaborated in Chapter Six.

It should be noted, as mentioned in Section 2.3.2, that leading historians and archaeologists have greatly influenced the information provided at these sites either directly, or through publications which the sites have heavily relied upon. This is particularly true in the displays at Culloden, which have had the direct aid of Tony Pollard and Neil Oliver among others, as well as at Bosworth where well-respected names in battlefield history (See Section 5.3.1) and archaeology, such as Glenn Foard, have shaped the information provided at the visitor centre. Flodden is an exception in that an amateur historian wrote all of the on-site interpretation at the battlefield, though it is clear from the content that he has been rigorous in staying abreast of the latest scholarship. There are no known major discrepancies between what is presented at each site which is in conflict with recent scholarship. Indeed, when new research is published the sites have made a conscious effort to include these findings into the existing on-site presentation, usually through the live interpretation.

However the fact that the sites rely on data from historians and archaeologists further evidences the degree of their influence on what data is deemed relevant and noteworthy for visitor consumption. This furthering of the 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith 2006) further conflates which values these sites possess for visitors, which will be shown in Chapter Eight to deviate significantly from the values of leading academics and government agencies. Even so, it is clear that visitors are able to reflect beyond the information presented to form their own conclusions about the importance of these sites, which will be elaborated at length in the data Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Following each history is an overview of the on-site interpretation at each of the three sites. This includes historical developments of the presentation as well as the interpretation that is used at each of the sites today. At the end of each section there is a model of communication for each site's interpretation, based on Jakobson's (1960) work on communication processes as reviewed in Section 4.2. By placing each site's interpretation into this model, the interpretative presentations can be categorised into semiotic communication modelling.

Following this overview of the interpretation at the case studies, Chapter Six will analyse the visitor interviews including how they navigated the on-site interpretation at the sites, and how the interpretation informed their understanding of the historical reality of each site. This will be followed in Chapter Seven by discussion of the importance of place, and how authenticity is constructed, presented and reinforced in the interpretive programming at the sites. Perhaps more crucially, the data in this chapter will provide information on how the interpretation and its placement can lead to the construction of the perceived heritage value of the sites which is the subject of Chapter Eight.

The order of the battles in this chapter, and the subsequent ones, is not based on their chronology, but rather on how they correspond as examples of interpretation. Culloden is the first battle described since it has the longest history of an interpretive display, as well as the most extensive in the UK. Bosworth follows since it contains arguably the second most developed battlefield interpretation programme in the country. Flodden is placed as the final one since it has far less on-site presentation than the previous two, and provides an ideal site to show differing, nascent interpretation and management techniques which can be contrasted with the first two sites.

5.2 Culloden – Battle and Aftermath

The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 was the final attempt to restore the exiled Stewart dynasty to the thrones of England and Scotland from the Hanoverian King George II. The Jacobite cause ended at the Battle of Culloden; the last land battle in Britain. The Old Pretender, King James VIII of Scotland (III in England and Ireland) and his supporters were known as Jacobites, from the Latin for James. His son, Prince Charles Edward Stewart, popularly known as Bonnie Prince Charlie, was determined to reinstate his family's claim to the British thrones. Sailing from France, Prince Charles landed in the Scottish Highlands and enlisted the support of several Clan chiefs after raising his standard at Glenfinnan. The rebel army grew, and they won every battle on their offensive into England towards

London, reaching as far as Derby, a mere 120 miles from the capital. Since English support failed to materialise, Charles' officers successfully convinced him to return to the relative safety of the Highlands.

The Jacobites were being pursued by a Government army made up of English and Scottish troops under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, William Augustus, Prince Charles' cousin. His army was camped twelve miles from the Jacobite force at Drummossie Moor, near the village of Culloden. Charles' army was cold, hungry and in desperate need of resupplying. The Government army was well-fed and well-equipped. On 14 April 1746, the Jacobites waited for battle, but none came as it was the Duke's 25th birthday, and instead he spent the day celebrating with his men. That night, the Jacobites planned a night attack on the Hanoverian camp to catch the superior force asleep and drunk from the extra rations of brandy they had received for the Duke's celebration.

The night march was a disaster, as men became scattered and lost in the undergrowth and pitch-black conditions, arriving past dawn with the Government army already up and on the move. The Jacobites returned to their previous camp at Drummossie Moor, exhausted from the 24 mile round-trip march in freezing wet conditions. The Government troops were just behind them. Without time to sleep or forage for food, the Jacobites saw the Hanoverians through the driving sleet on the morning of 15 April 1746.

The Jacobite artillery opened fire first. The Hanoverian artillerists were more experienced and had been well-trained, and their cannons were brought to bear with greater effect than the Jacobite shot. Impatient with the onslaught, the Jacobites started to break their ranks. The highland charge had been their most effective tactic, and what had defeated every previous Government army. But the ground at the battlefield was boggy, and the advance stalled as the men struggled with the terrain. Eventually the right side of the Jacobites managed to get through and hit the Government's left flank. Employing new tactics specifically for this type of offensive, the Jacobites were soon surrounded as the charge was driven back, and the Hanoverian cavalry swept in. As the Jacobites retreated, the Duke ordered his infantry to bayonet any Jacobite they saw, including the wounded men on the field, and sent his cavalry to run down the retreating army. Deeming them as traitors, the Duke's troops killed around 1,500 Jacobites on the battlefield. There were only about 250 Government causalities, of those about 50 dead.

Prince Charles went on the run, eventually returning to exile in Europe. Though the battle was devastating for the Jacobite cause, the brutality of the aftermath for the Highlanders

became legendary. Not only were many innocent civilians killed throughout the countryside by the Government army after the battle, but their entire way of life changed. Since the Highlanders were known for their Jacobite sympathies, they were the specific target of the Hanoverians rage against this insurrection. As part of the Proscription Acts, many traditional elements of Highland culture were banned including tartan, bagpipes and the clan system. This was the start of the Highland Clearances that witnessed the mass emigration of Scots across the globe.[7]

5.2.1 Interpretation at Culloden

There has never been any doubt about the location of Culloden predominantly due to its proximity to the modern period, and to the atrocious aftermath to which the locals were subjected. Several days after the battle, local townspeople from Inverness were pressed into service to dig graves for the approximately 1,500 dead on the field. These soldiers were placed in mass graves, roughly by what was thought to be their clan affiliation, with a separate burial site for the Government army dead. Evidence suggests that there had been a road on the field since before the battle (Pollard 2009), which passed directly through the clearly visible mounds. In about 1835 the road was expanded and which disturbed a number of clan graves (Ibid). The location of this road, the B9006, remained until the early 1980s when it was diverted away from the graves to the north of the field (Sked 1990: 21).

Visitors in the Victorian period started to visit the battlefield in growing numbers, prompting the local landowner, Duncan Forbes, to put up grave stones and a memorial cairn in 1881 (Figure 5.1). Descendants of those who buried the soldiers aided in identifying which mounds corresponded to which graves based on oral histories passed down through the generations. It is unclear if these are indeed the graves that match the corresponding headstones, and is impossible to investigate further since archaeology of the burials is not permitted due to their status as a war grave. The memorial cairn was a more general monument to the dead, yet as the stone's marker states, the partiality to which side is quite clear. The marker states that "The Battle of Culloden was fought on this moor 16th April 1746. The graves of the gallant highlanders who fought for Scotland & Prince Charlie are marked by the names of their clans". The Government dead, in comparison, have a single stone in a different area of the field which reads: "Field of the

[7] For more information on the Battle of Culloden see: Prebble 1961; Harrington 1991; Reid 1994, 1996; Szechi 1994; Pittock 1996; Black 2000; Duffy 2003; Allison 2007; Pollard 2009

English they were buried here". There is no further elaboration about where they came from or who they were.

Figure 5.1: Clan graves (left) and memorial cairn (right) Note the footpath between them which was the former route of the B9006 road

The land around the clan graves and memorial cairn, as well as the Leanach Cottage which dates from after the battle, were donated to the NTS in 1937 (Duffy 2006: 1). The Leanach Cottage was used as a visitor centre from 1959, and a car park was built by the NTS in the early 1960s (Sked 1990: 36). A new visitor centre was constructed and opened in 1970 to accommodate the growing number of visitors, and was upgraded and enlarged in 1984 (NTS 2010:70). This centre included panel displays of information, a 15 minute audio-visual show in multiple languages and access to Leanach Cottage through the building. In the cottage there was live interpretation, including first-person theatre of a soldier being brought to the surgeon and his gruesome treatment, though the cottage is now permanently closed.

5.2.1.1 – Current Visitor Centre

As mentioned in Section 2.3.2, an archaeological survey was conducted at the battlefield by Tony Pollard and Neil Oliver in 2000 for the television series *Two Men in A Trench* (Pollard & Banks 2010: 437). Further investigations in the mid-2000s uncovered even more artefacts which revealed a very clear picture of how the battle unfolded and where within the landscape. With this new evidence, contact points between the Jacobites and Hanoverians during the highland charge were pinpointed thanks to the discovery of buttons, small pieces of torn metal, pistol balls and other clear signs of close-quarter, hand-to-hand combat. Consequently, it was possible to highlight with scientific certitude exact points of key moments in the battle and where soldiers were positioned. For the first

time there were a large number of excavated artefacts available to put on display in the visitor centre, along with information on the locations where these objects were found on the field. These new discoveries, along with a desire to upgrade the 30 year old building due to high visitor numbers (STV 2009), prompted the NTS to commission a new visitor centre and interpretation programme that opened in 2007.

The old centre was demolished and construction of the new one began approximately 200 yards to the south of the previous one, thereby relocating the site of the new centre off the main road. It was also moved since it was discovered in the mid-2000s archaeological work that the previous centre had been built on top of the second line of the Government army (NTS 2010: 71). The NTS was conscious of sensitivities surrounding the site as the location of a war grave and wanted to make sure that the centre came across as appropriately as possible. As a result the building commissions went to firms that had experience with war related, historically-sensitive sites. The design of the building went to Glasgow based Gareth Hoskins, whose work has included other war related sites such as the Bannockburn Battlefield Memorial in Stirling, Scotland and the Light Infantry Museum and Gallery in Durham, England (Gareth Hoskins 2012). The Culloden design incorporates sustainable resources from Scotland, such as timber and stone, alongside renewable technologies in line with NTS's mission for eco-friendly designs. Mirroring this idea of being part of the landscape, the form of the building was intended to blend within the surroundings (See Figure 5.2), as Hoskins views it "almost as a gateway to the site. It's designed very much to sit within its landscape very carefully" (STV 2009). Indeed, the sleek design of the centre and adjoining fence makes it impossible to see the battlefield from the car park, and conversely the field feels closed off from outside this enclosure despite the close proximately of the B9006.

Figure 5.2: Rear view of the visitor centre on the right site of the picture. Note the Leanach cottage to the left, and the fence leading to the rooftop observation point.

Ralph Appelbaum Associates Incorporated (RAAI) from New York was the company selected for the design elements of the interpretation in the centre (See Figure 5.3). Like Gareth Hoskins, they have had a large amount of experiences at similar war and military sites including the Civil War Visitor Center in Virginia, USA; the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Center in Washington D.C. and the National World War I Museum in Kansas City, Missouri, USA (RAAI 2012). Their work at Culloden comprised the marketing and interpretation of the centre including "the new brand for the battlefield site; its Battlefield Navigator, a GPS-enabled handheld device; and its Guidebook, along with the Visitor Centre exhibits, a four-screen battle immersion theatre, a six-metre digital Battle Table, and the Night March sound installation" (RAAI 2012). Though the conceptual framework was theirs, not all of these individual elements were produced or executed by RAAI, such as the handheld device and the theatre film which will both be detailed below.

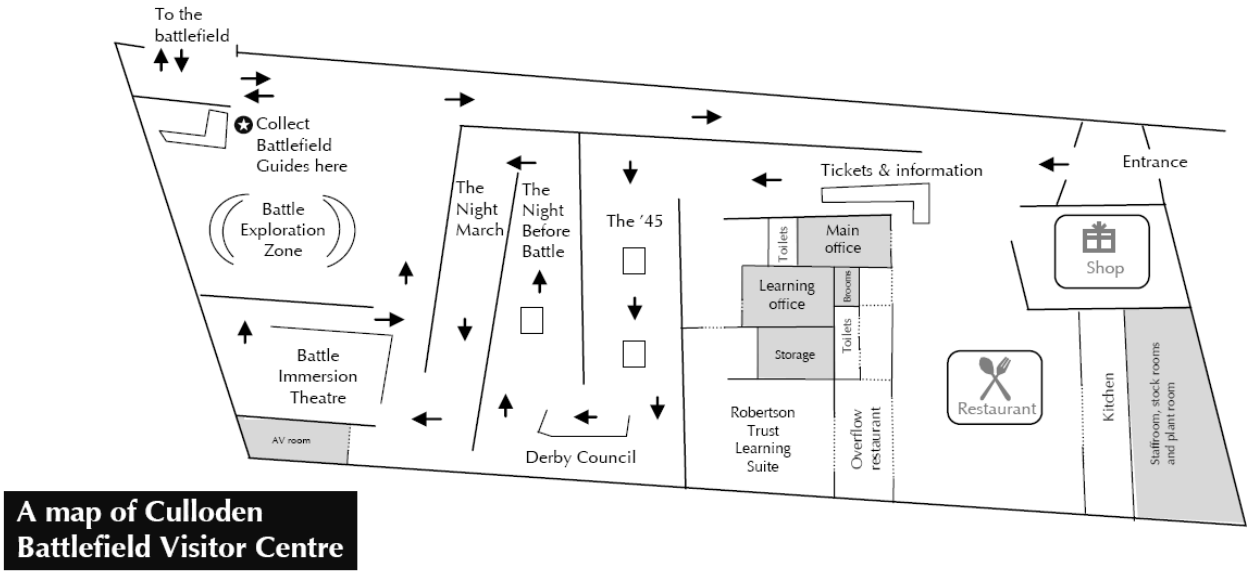

Figure 5.3: Culloden Visitor Centre; arrows mark visitor flow through the exhibition (Courtesy NTS)

It was clear from the start of the project that, as far as possible, the goal was to display an historically accurate presentation of the battle, without bias to either the Jacobite or Hanoverian sides. The project manager for the new visitor centre, Alexander Bennett, explained that "We're going to be telling the story as it was, based on facts, impartially, and let the visitor then decide towards the end who was right and who was wrong…But when the visitor can make their own mind up, we really allow the visitor to take their own memorial from the site the way they want to do it" (STV 2009). It was determined that the best way to accomplish this was by presenting the two positions at once, with the Hanoverian story on the left-hand side of the exhibition, and the Jacobite to the right. Hoskins elaborated further that, "Rather than creating a building that then has an

exhibition, we tend to very much take in the brief as writ that it should be an experience, making it almost slightly reverential. I mean this is a site where there's over 2,000 people buried beneath it at the moment" (STV 2009). At the very start of the exhibition there is only one storyline which splits once it is established where the conflict in the succession of the British monarch has occurred. The two sides come together again in the immersion theatre where they are joined in battle.

5.2.1.2 – Interactive Displays and Media in the Visitor Centre

The immersion theatre film was recorded at Lauder Common in the Scottish Borders and not at Culloden itself; largely due to issues such as the flagpoles and other modern features in the way (McLeish 2007), but also from sensitivities of the site's status as a war grave (BBC 2007). The film lasts about three minutes, and it features a room with four screens representing what was happening in each of the compass directions at the battle, with the viewpoint of the audience directly in the middle of the action. To the north is the Government army which emerges nearly simultaneously with the Jacobite army to the south. There is some action to the east and west, as cavalry and Government troops move in from the latter, and civilians watch on from the former. The sides eventually move into chaos as the battle intensifies which is exactly what the director of the video, Craig Collinson, wanted from this uncomfortable visual and aural experience:

> "And as a visitor what you experienced was kind of an omniscient presence on the battlefield, as this battle progresses though the Jacobites advance across the field and engage with, with the redcoats, or at least some of them do. And at that point as a visitor to the exhibition, you're right slap bang in the middle of it. And all those rules of north, east, west where you might be all get thrown out of the window and it becomes an awful, visceral nightmare of an experience. I'm hoping that the biggest problem with it is that the visitor not wanting to leave the theatre, and wanting to watch it over and over again. The first couple of minutes will be quite impressive, you'll get a sense of scale, and then it will become confusion and quite disturbing. I'm hoping that the first will start off going, 'well this is very realistic, and that looks quite nice', and then after a couple of minutes go 'make this stop'. I'm hoping that they're impacted to it to the extent that they then step out onto the actual battlefield and go 'oh my God, this actually took place here'" (STV 2009).

Other new technologies are employed extensively throughout the exhibition including two map tables. These explain the routes the armies took over both sea and land, and help to piece together the complicated manoeuvres of the armies from 1745-6. Though possible to press buttons to receive additional information, for the most part the only actions the user has to do is to press which section or army they would like to know more

about. Additionally, there is a much larger battle map in the Battlefield Exploration Zone (BEZ) which is not interactive, but follows largely the same visual layout as the interactive maps. All three of them use projectors from above, but the light in all of them is rather faint, and even with the darkened corridors it can be difficult to make out the images.

There are several predominant audio elements throughout the exhibition. The first is the Derby Council, which is when Bonnie Prince Charlie held a council of war with his advisors once they reached that English city. The audio features the key figures of the rebels debating whether they should proceed with their advance on London, or return to the relative safety of Scotland. Historically, the leaders quarrelled as they disputed between themselves with the ultimate decision being to return to Scotland, much to the Young Pretender's chagrin. The area for the audio is a small semi-circle with seating for about 8-10 people. There is a large basket hilt sword directly in front of where the bench is, otherwise it is dark and the voices are somewhat difficult to discern from each other.

The second area which uses a strong audio element is the Night March corridor leading into the immersion theatre. This downward sloping passage is supposed to replicate the attempted and failed surprise attack by the Jacobites on the night of 15 April, before the sides met at Culloden. Visually it is dark, with some blue light meant to replicate walking at night with some moonlight. There is the sound of persistent rain which continues throughout, along with muffled voices of soldiers whispering that they are lost or that the enemy is aware of their presence. It is mostly unclear what is being said, and visitors tend not to spend very long in this section.

Throughout the exhibition there is ambient singing in Gaelic, though it is unclear what is being sung as there is no information provided about the singing. There is also the option of listening to Gaelic or English in a series of interactive panels which visitors can press and then listen to first-person accounts of events surrounding the battle. Many of the details of the background to the battle are text heavy with dates and events, so these interactive stations placed periodically through the exhibit aid in allowing those who prefer to listen to gather additional information. The reason for the inclusion of Gaelic was to adapt to the school curriculum on language education, and Culloden is one of the few historic sites in the area which has Gaelic education programming (Field notes 2010; 2011).

Despite their emphasis on Gaelic education, site managers have tried to accommodate the large number of tourists who do not speak Gaelic or English by incorporating more interactive interpretive tools into the exhibition. Foreign language brochures are provided at the front desk, though these give a very simple overview of the events without nearly as much detail as the exhibition. An mp3 walk-through tour for the visitor centre in multiple languages was developed in summer 2011 which has had many start-up problems owning to a limited budget. The buttons are minuscule, so initially it was easy to accidently change languages part way through the exhibit (they have since locked the players to only function in one language). Most of the information is the same as that provided in the brochures, and there is almost no detailed information about individual objects or aspects of the exhibition. The researcher listened to the French, German and English guides (the three languages he speaks) and each time, specifically without dwelling for long periods of time on the objects which have no information, completed a tour of the visitor centre in about 15 minutes. Since they were still being piloted during the fieldwork for this project, there were not many opportunities to speak to visitors who had used them, or gather more information from staff.

5.2.1.3 – Live Interpretation

Once visitors have passed through the interactive displays and exited the immersion theatre they enter the BEZ. This area is the largest space in the exhibition and therefore includes many different elements. This includes the aforementioned battle map; explanations of the archaeological investigations which took place along with recovered artefacts, including bullets, cannonballs, coins, and other small items; reproduction cannons, muskets and pistols which can be touched; and an enclosed glass case with a variety of weaponry from time, some of which was probably used at Culloden, including muskets, pistols, swords, dirks, tairges and other arms. The area is also where visitors collect the handheld audio guides to take onto the field, which will be reviewed further below, but the majority of the room is devoted to an oval-shaped space used for workshops and demonstrations.

The workshops which take place in the BEZ feature one of the two interpreters on staff. They are drop-in sessions which focus on handling reproduction surgical tools (Figure 5.4) or weapons (Figure 5.5), depending on what they decide to have on offer. The surgeon display features an array of tools that would have been used by Government surgeons in the mid-eighteenth century that people could touch and ask questions about.

If there was a larger group of people, the interpreters would start explaining what the objects were for.

Figure 5.4 Live interpreter with surgical tools and Figure 5.5 live interpreter with weaponry

The demonstrations are a form of theatre featuring semi-scripted presentations which can comfortably accommodate 50 onlookers both sitting and standing. Some of the most delicate aspects of the history of the site were brought to life and explained more figuratively within these short, ten minute sessions. Humour was used sporadically, particularly with the more difficult subjects such as going into battle, or what happened if you were a prisoner of war. The interpreters have very consciously shaped and scripted these displays to explain confusing, or controversial, topics (See Section 6.2.3). However, they are not done very often, twice a day at the most during peak season, and last for a short ten minutes.

There are usually two guided tours of the battlefield, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The tour stops at eight points and lasts for about thirty minutes in total, travelling in a small loop covering only a fraction of the field (See Figure 5.6), and provides no additional information from that included in the visitor centre. The points include: an introduction into the history of the events leading up to the battle, including the invasion into England and the night march; the battle itself, with the focus at the exact point where the Highland charge of the Jacobites met the Government area; and lastly, covering the aftermath including the graves, the fate of the rebels, and commemoration

efforts in the 19th century and today. The guides go to great lengths to emphasise that the battle was not between England and Scotland, but a much more complex dynastic struggle. They focus in particular on the incorrectly labelled 'Field of the English' stone, highlighting that current research shows that there were almost certainly just as many Scots fighting for the Hanoverians as for the Jacobites (Duffy 2003; Pollard 2009). There is considerable difference in the ways in which the guides present the tour, which will be covered in more depth in Section 6.3.1.

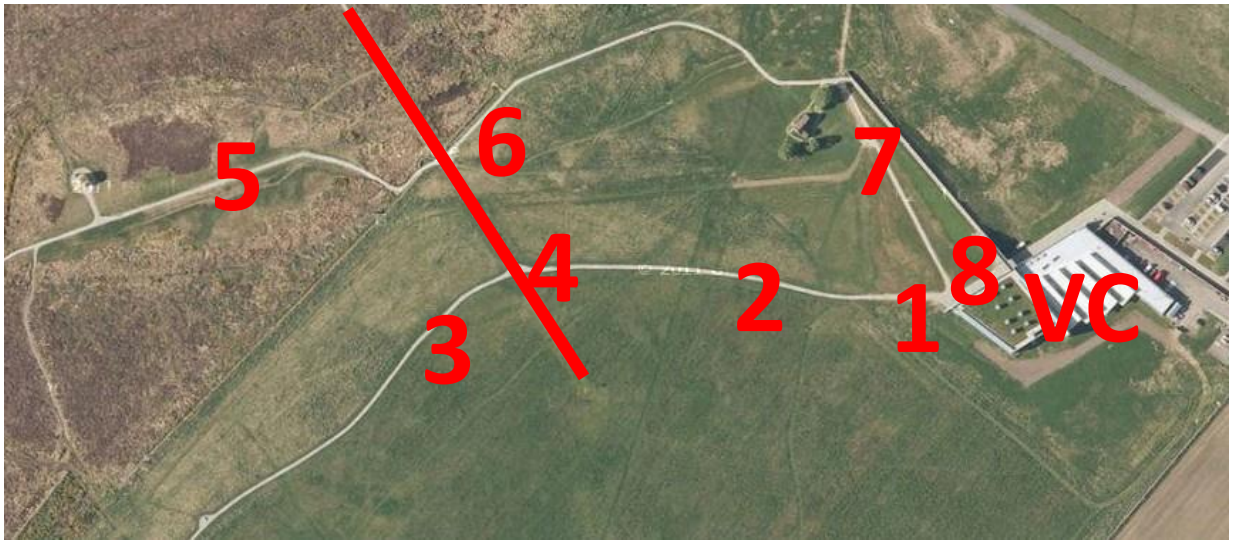

Figure 5.6: Culloden guided tour points (Aerial image from Google, map design by Sikora)

5.2.1.4 – Nonpersonal Interpretation on the Field

Naturally there are those who are unavailable for the guided tour, or who prefer to use another method of interpretation whilst walking on the ground. The most obvious exterior interpretation is two lines of red and blue flags, representing the positions of the Government and Jacobite armies at the start of the battle, respectively. Furthermore, information panels have been placed on the field, providing comparatively limited information about particular aspects of the battle than which is available in the visitor centre. The NTS wished to limit the amount of intrusions on the field (Interview CB, Interview CC), so these have been placed quite low to the ground and designed to double as benches, giving them an explicit functionality to justify their presence as more than just an information station (See Figure 5.7). Conspicuously, there are no information panels on the field explaining the history of the existing grave stones or memorial cairn, including the misidentified 'Field of the English' stone.

Figure 5.7: Information panel and red flags denoting Hanoverian lines. Note also the smaller panel in the middle to left which explains details of the regiment which fought in that spot

For visitors wishing to engage in a more interactive experience on the field, RAAI developed a plan for a handheld device which the company Zolk C developed. Since the only language employed by the live interpreters and information panels is English, foreign visitors without any English wishing to have more information on the battlefield can utilise these for further information. Zolk C utilised PDA, GPS triggered devices which provides information in multiple languages, including Gaelic, French, German, Polish, Russian, Japanese and Italian. Due to the infrequency of guided tours, or those visitors who simply wish to or prefer to use audio guides, these are also available in English. As the audio guides are operated by a private company that works on a contract from the NTS, the company was less willing to share access to its records. This includes the daily amount of people who utilised the devices, scripts featuring the content of the guide amongst other relevant pieces of information. Even so, the researcher listened to the guide several times, both the short and extended versions, and observed that there is no new information provided that cannot be found in the visitor centre. As can be seen in Figure 5.8, there are 10 main points which are GPS enabled and which prompts the device to ‘ping’ and automatically provide information to the user. If one so chooses, after point four there are four optional points which go along the Jacobites and back towards the memorial cairn and graves.

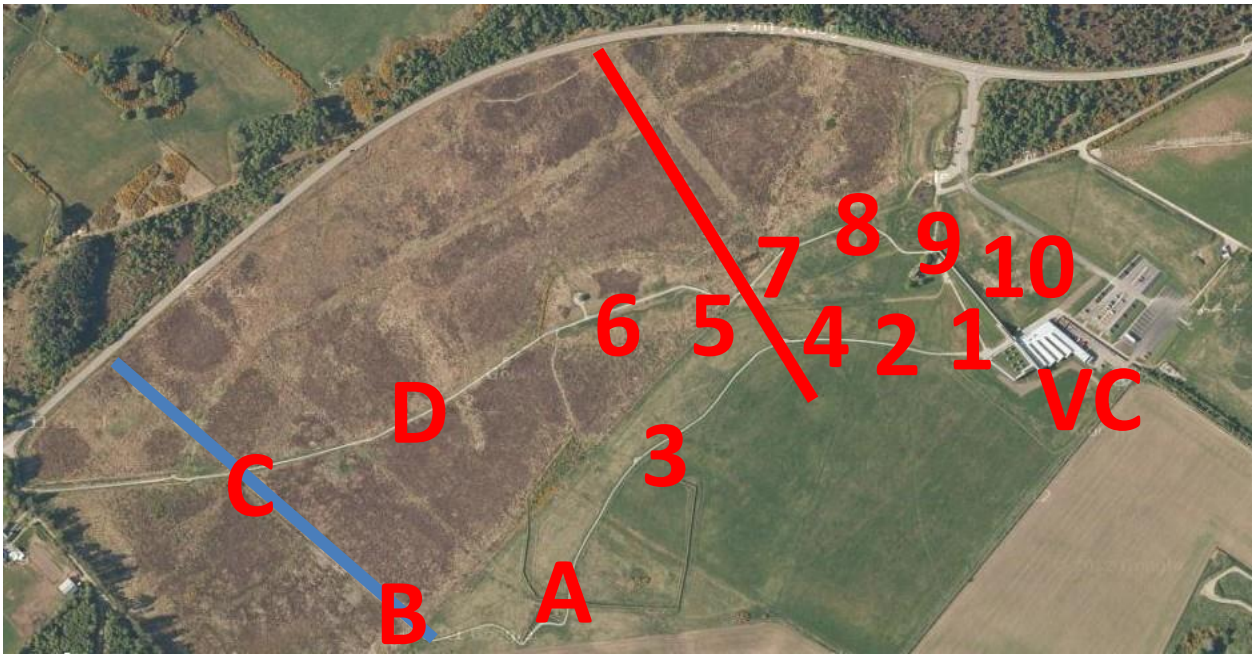

Figure 5.8: Culloden PDA main tour points 1-10, with optional tour points A-D. The blue line represents the blue line of flags where the Jacobites were lined up at the beginning of the battle, and the red line is where the red flags are representing the position of the Government forces (Aerial image from Google, map design by Sikora)

This extensive interpretive presentation at Culloden has been employed to allow visitors to engage with the history of the battle in the visitor centre and the field, which is summarised in Table 5.1 below. There have been a variety of techniques employed in order for different types of visitors to learn and appreciate what the site has on offer. As seen in the table, there are also different messages depending on the medium, some of which has been adapted for foreign visitors, as well as those who do not enter the visitor centre.

Table 5.1: Model of Communication at Culloden, adopted from Jakobson's (1960) Model of Communication

Addresser	**Message**	**Addressee**	**Context**	**Mode**	**Code**
Visitor centre	In-depth analysis of before, during, and after battle	Mainly English speaking visitors	Building	Text, music, video, audio	English (audio, text, video, haptic)
Brochure	Brief overview of events in a foreign language	Foreigners	Visitor centre (field)	Text	Multiple languages (superficial overview)

Immersion video	Brutality of battle	All	Theatre room	Visual and audio	Sounds and sights of war
Workshop	How weapons and medicine were used	All	Battlefield exploration zone	Touch, audio	Haptic and audial
Demonstrations	Nuanced understanding of historical "reality"	Exclusively English speaking visitors	Battlefield exploration zone	Visual and audio	English/theatre (difficult topic)
Information panels	Position points	Exclusively English speaking visitors	Field	Text, "6th sense" (Moore 1997)	English/real place
Guided tour	Basic overview of battle	Exclusively English speaking visitors	Field	Audio, "6th sense" (Moore 1997)	English/real place
Audio guides	Basic overview of battle with first person accounts	All	Field	Audio, "6th sense"(Moore 1997), some visual	Multiple languages/real place

5.3 Bosworth – Battle and aftermath

The 1485 Battle of Bosworth (originally known as Redemore Plain) was the penultimate battle of the Wars of the Roses. This dynastic struggle between the Royal Houses of York and Lancaster had embroiled and divided Britain for decades. There had been a tentative peace under the rule of Edward IV, but it was upon his death and the accession of the Yorkist King Richard III that conflict erupted once more. Richard was widely blamed for the tragedy of the 'Princes in the Tower' scandal which led to the disappearance and presumed death of his nephews. Many believed this was his handiwork to eliminate the threat of his predecessor's line to his own reign. The allegedly sinister circumstances to his rise in power made some uneasy, whilst the House of Lancaster saw an opportunity in the disquiet. It was from France that the exiled Henry Tudor gambled to assert his claim to the throne.

Henry successfully made landfall in Wales in August 1485 with a small force of French mercenaries, and quickly gathered supporters as he marched towards England. King Richard mustered his troops and marched his army west to confront Henry and the two

armies met in present-day Leicestershire. There was a third contingent commanded by Lord Stanley, whose son was being held prisoner by Richard to ensure his loyalty. Even though his son was effectively being ransomed by the king, it was unclear which side Stanley would chose on the day of the battle since he was also Henry's stepfather.

After praying at a local church and drinking from a nearby well, Richard and his entourage of knights and soldiers descended from their camp at Ambion Hill and aligned themselves into battle formation on the morning of 22 August 1485. Henry Tudor's army lined up southwest of their position, and each side trained their cannons at the other. Lord Stanley's troops held off initially; showing a non-commitment to either side. The battle began with Richard and Henry's troops moving forward; the cannons firing at a few hundred yards out, and the well-trained archers of both sides loosed their arrows within two hundred yards of their enemy.

As the soldiers moved closer to each other and prepared for hand to hand conflict, Richard observed Henry and his dragon banner out in the open. Richard spurred his horse and charged after Henry in an attempt to end the battle with the death of the usurper. Richard met Henry in boggy ground, and both sides clashed with bodyguards of knights and close advisors in a brief and confusing melee. Legend has it that Richard lost his horse whilst having trouble in the marshy terrain, and was cut down first by a Welshman with a billhook, and then stabbed repeatedly by innumerable men. By this point Stanley had decided to side with Henry's army, and committed his troops into pushing the Yorkists into a flying retreat, solidifying Henry's victory.

Henry wasted no time in claiming his new title, and was crowned king the same day he slew his rival. Henry VII consolidated his reign and married Richard's sister to unite the Houses of York and Lancaster once and for all. This was the start of the Tudor dynasty, with his son Henry VIII and his granddaughter Elisabeth I changing the face of Britain and the globe through the reformation, wars in Europe, the building of the navy, and by establishing colonies in America.[8]

5.3.1 Interpretation at Bosworth

The first known history of the battle was produced in 1788 by the antiquarian William Hutton, who is largely accountable for the long-term and ultimately inaccurate theory that the battle was in the area around Ambion Hill (EH 1995a: 2). The earliest known

[8] For more information on the Battle of Bosworth see: Williams 1973; Bennett 1985; Foss 1990; Jones 2002; Foard 2004; Foard & Curry 2013

monument in the area to the battle is “King Dick’s Well” which was built in 1813 to commemorate the spot where Richard III is supposed to have drunk water before the battle (YouTube 2010). A panel there notes that the well “was extensively refurbished in 1964 by the Fellowship of the White Boar, now known as the Richard III Society”. The Richard III Society has been very active and vocal in the activities at the site, including a noticeably extensive and enduring presence at the church in Sutton Cheney where Richard likely prayed before the battle.

In 1973, Danny Williams published a booklet for Leicestershire County Council (LCC) on the battle which, based largely on Hutton’s 1788 findings (EH 1995a: 2), set the battlefield around Ambion Hill (Williams 1973). This appears to have started the interest in the site by LCC to present information to visitors about the battle, though it is unclear if there were any other factors involved in this decision (Interview BB). The following year an upright stone was erected with the inscription proclaiming the spot where Richard III is supposed to have died near Shenton, though it was moved in 2012 to the courtyard of the visitor centre (See Figure 7.2). Also in 1974, a set of barns on Ambion Hill were leased by LCC to form the basis of a new visitor centre (See Figure 5.10), which was extended for the 500th anniversary of the battle in 1985 (YouTube 2010). The centre included a display of a chapel, artefacts associated with the time period, a suit of armour, dioramas of soldiers in camp and of Richard and Henry which are still featured in the exhibit today.

Figure 5.9: The inscription on the stone reads: “Richard, the last Plantagenet King of England, was slain here 22nd. August 1485” Note the dried white roses at the base

Despite all of the effort in commemorating and interpreting the battle there was still no definitive, tangible proof of the actual location of the battlefield. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries there were four main theories about where the battle could have taken place: the 1974 Ambion Hill Theory by Danny Williams (see above); the 1985 Redesmore Theory by Peter Foss; the 2002 Atterton Theory by Michael K. Jones; the 2002 Revised Ambion Hill Theory by Ken Wright (Bosworth 2012a; for a history of the competing theories up to 1995, see EH 1995a). The Williams' understanding of the battle being centred at Ambion Hill was the dominant theory, and was used by LCC in their visitor centre from 1974 to 2007 (Bosworth 2012b). However, research done by Foss in 1985 revealed that the field was probably further to the southwest, though there was considerable controversy over this idea (Bosworth 2012c). To add to the confusion, in 2002 historian Ken Wright placed the battlefield again close to Ambion Hill, but facing in another direction to Williams' proposed theory (Bosworth 2012a). Though uncertain of where the battlefield was, LCC were confident that they were at least in the right area with the Williams and Jones theories being in the immediate context of Ambion Hill, and the Foss theory within sight.

This sense of unapprised calm was broken in 2002 with Jones' Atterton Theory, presented in his book *Psychology of a Battle: Bosworth 1485* (Jones 2002). Using historic site names, he claimed that the battle was much further west than previously thought; indeed, west enough to be in the neighbouring county of Warwickshire, near Atterton (Bosworth 2012d). Since interpretation and visitor services for the battle had always been a Leicestershire project, this was potentially unsettling news for LCC, and strengthened their resolve to prove archaeologically where the battle was located (YouTube 2010). This also provided the prime justification to initialise a project to upgrade the twenty-year old exhibit with modern interpretation techniques, including the latest archaeological data and finds. Therefore in 2004, £990,000 was secured from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF 2011) with matching funds from LCC (Interview BB); three quarters of which went towards a new exhibition in the barns, and the remaining quarter to support archaeological investigations between 2005 and 2010 led by Dr. Glenn Foard as a project officer with the Battlefields Trust (YouTube 2010, Foard 2004).

Figure 5.10: Entrance to Bosworth exhibition

The total area they surveyed was seven square kilometres, resulting in over 5,000 items recovered, though not all of these were associated with the timeframe of the battle (Foard 2009). What they ultimately found during this five-year survey was that Foss' controversial document-based theory from 1985 was within 250 metres of archaeological finds linked to the battle (Interview BB); closer than the other three competing theories. This placed the battlefield approximately two miles to the southwest from the erstwhile dominant Williams Ambion Hill Theory. Included in the finds were a scattering of 32 cannonballs – more projectile shot found in situ than anywhere in Europe for the late-medieval period combined – and other objects contemporary to the late 15th century. One of the most unique items was a silver boar badge that would have been given to knights close to Richard III. Declared as treasure (BBC 2010), this piece was found in an area that was marshland in the 15th century, leading to theories that this is near the spot where Richard might have struggled in the boggy terrain and died. Regardless of where the deposed monarch fell, the concentration of these pieces confirmed the location of the battlefield within Leicestershire, but approximately two miles from the exhibition centre and related amenities.

5.3.1.1 – Heritage Centre Interpretation

Although the actual location of the battle was not confirmed until 2009, work was already underway in 2005 to redesign and refit the exhibition. The first step for the new exhibition was for the design team to consider different characters they wanted to convey information about the battle to the visitors. They originally envisioned having ten

characters, but during early meetings the initial list rose to 25 different personas. These were narrowed down to four main re-occurring characters: Alice, a young girl who observes the events from afar; Collette, the wife of a French mercenary who loots the dead after the battle; John the archer, a Ricardian longbow farmer pressed into service; and Thomas Lord Stanley, the only character which was based on an actual person known from history and a crucial figure in the outcome of the battle. These characters are presented through a series of videos throughout the exhibition with reoccurring characters that the staff affectionately refers to as 'talking heads'. There is also one video of a surgeon barber, though this is not a repeat 'talking head'.

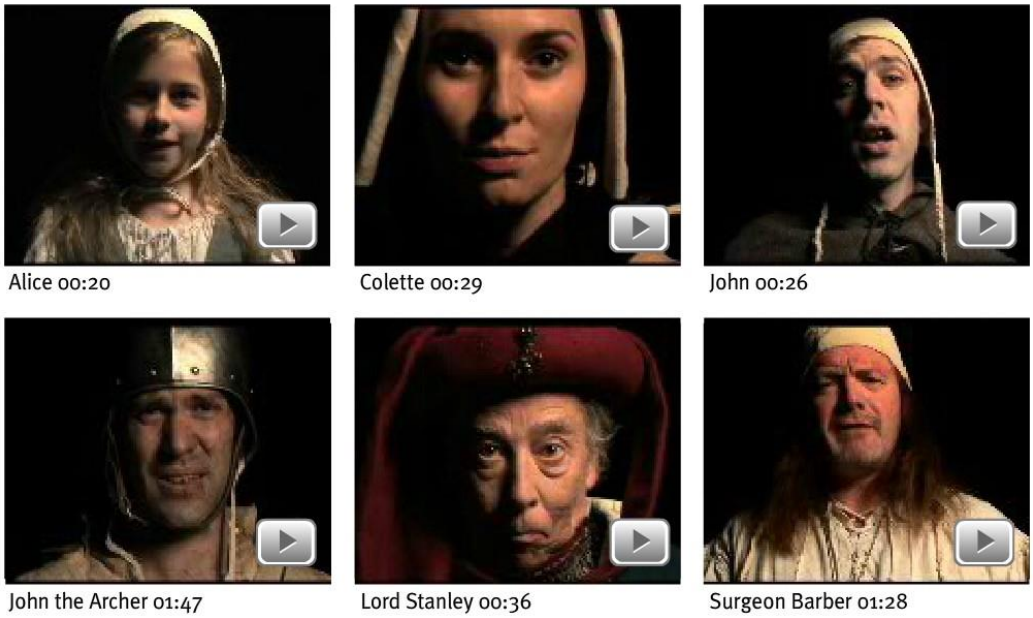

Figure 5.11: Bosworth talking heads (Studio MB 2012)

It was important from the start of the project that John the Archer dies in the end of the exhibit. The Keeper of the site wished to downplay Richard III's death and thereby highlight the other 1,000 or so men who fell the same day, as well as give the average visitor the opportunity to relate better with this character than a noble (Interview BB). Lord Stanley's character was considered important to include since he played such an important role in the battle, as noted in Section 5.3, but is less well-known than Richard or Henry. Stanley's 'talking head' comes across as a bit theatrical, at times deliberately so, particularly in his last video in which he summarises the aftermath of the battle. It was deemed important to have this part entertaining and comically overdramatic, since it is the longest talking part at about seven or eight minutes, and covers a rather text-heavy part of the exhibition. There are three further video installations, including a short and general introduction near the front desk, some brief scenes of combat and a short first-person viewpoint of fighting, both located in The Battle area of the exhibition (See Figure 5.12).

Nearly all of the objects on display up to the Bosworth Field Investigation Lab (BFI Lab) are reproductions, though there are no labels stating this. Within the surgeon area, there are some artefacts, though they are from the Towton battlefield in Yorkshire, so therefore not directly related to Bosworth. Obviously it was not possible to place any objects directly from the battle in the main part of the exhibition, since none had been found when they were making it, though there is still space available there if they recover more objects.

Within the exhibition, there was a contention on how to cover the Tudor period. It is an important part of the school curriculum, and an essential part to prove the Centre's worth to LCC. However, there is always a risk that teaching about the Tudors could be cut from the curriculum, in which case the Centre would struggle considerably financially due if the large number of school children who visit each year was reduced (Interview BB).

Figure 5.12: Exhibition at Bosworth Heritage Centre (Bosworth 2011)

Just past the gift shop there is a temporary exhibition area which has previously been used for exhibitions on sports, the Yeoman Guards, and the transition to the new displays. As of the fieldwork for this study in 2011, there were plans in 2012 for a display on John Flower, an 18th century artist from the area, and an exhibit on the Civil War for 2013 featuring other revolts and civil wars over time. The exhibition can be accessed for free,

which was a stipulation of the HLF funding (Interview BB). The long-term goal is to use that area as a sort of community space, though it is difficult to implement this practically with coordination, planning and approval from locals (Interview BB), not to mention the very small area it occupies.

In another building on the grounds, are the offices of the Heritage Centre staff as well as the Leicestershire Country Parks team, who maintain several outdoor areas associated with the site including the car park and hiking trails. The fees collected from the car park therefore go to the Parks and not to the Centre, somewhat to the frustration of both centre staff and visitors alike. This irritation has not been assuaged by a rise in the fees to park there from £1.50 to £2.50, which some people find off putting if they are there just to walk their dog, have a meal at the cafe, or go to the temporary exhibit space and gift shop. Additionally, Park staff has been cut recently which has caused further strain on resources and some slower maintenance to paths. Despite recent financial troubles in LCC, the Centre still receives about 50,000 visitors per year, with an estimated double that number utilising the paths.

5.3.1.2 'Battlefield' Trail and Sundial

There has been an exterior trail leading from the Centre ever since the latter was acquired in 1973. It has since been redone which was completed in May 2011. The LCC had plans of extending it to the location of the recently discovered battlefield, but deemed it impractical due to distance and access issues. Additionally, it was thought better to have a link with the Centre and all the amenities that accompany it, including extra gradients in place for wheelchair access at viewing point 14 (See Figure 5.13). The concept of the updated trail was to give the back story of the players and events, the battle itself, why it is significant, and the aftermath/legacy; the same mantra as their goals for the visitor centre. Another goal was to allow visitors to see the 'actual' battlefield in the distance, which is explained in more depth in Section 7.3.2. The trail includes panels as well as brief audio commentaries which can be selected by the user and started by spinning a small wheel mounted on a post.

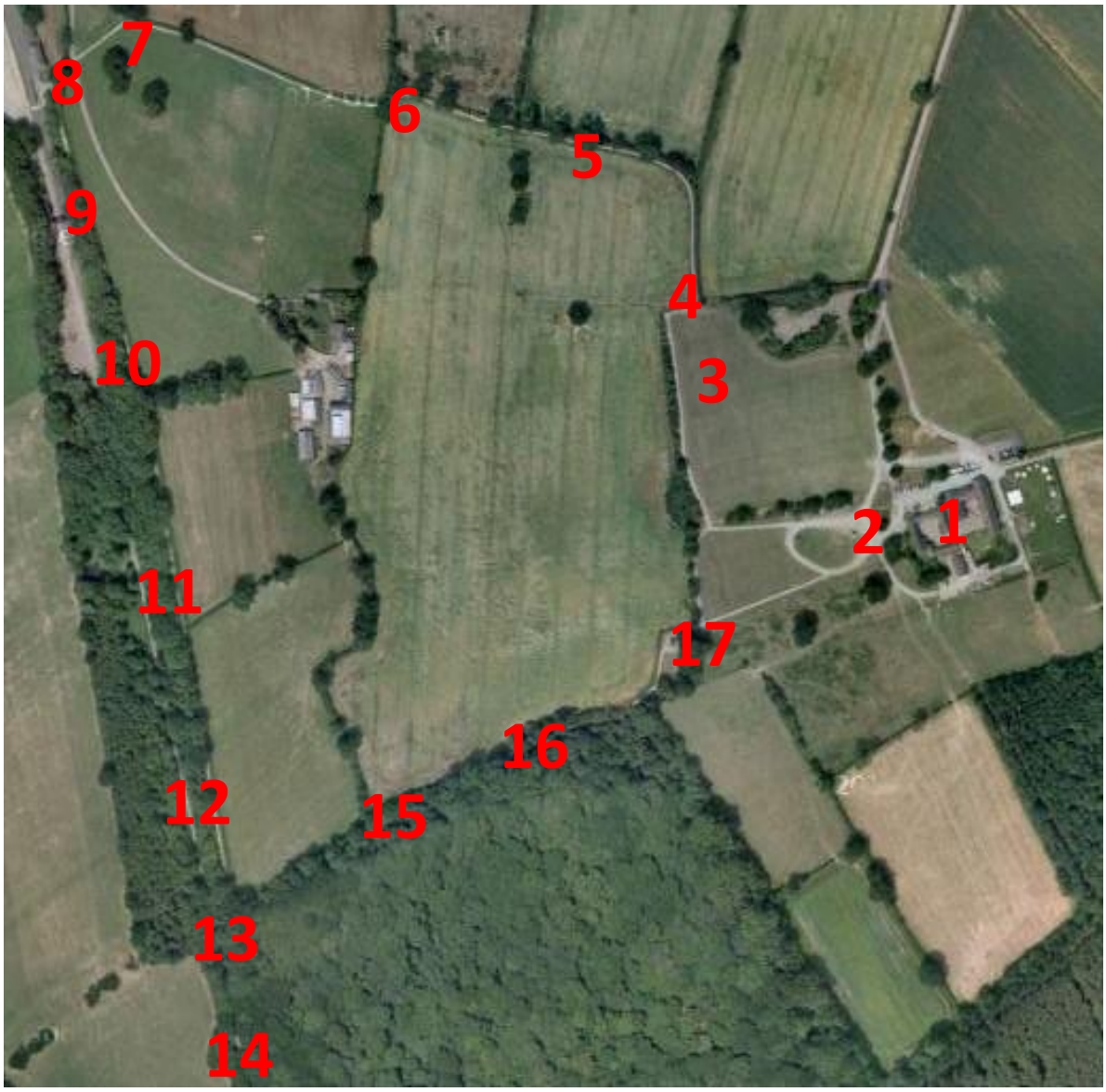

Figure 5.13: Battle of Bosworth Trail (Aerial image from Google, map design by Sikora)

Along with this updated trail development, the staff wished to include a new memorial, as well as a viewing point to visualise the newly discovered battlefield which was completed in mid-June 2011. The initial idea was for a toposcope with a compass around it next to a crown in a thorn bush. This was amended to a sundial since they were contemporary to the battle, and it provided an opportunity to plot the events of the other battles of Wars of the Roses at the times in which they happened (See Figure 5.14). The shadow to read the clock is created by a billhook, a weapon used at the time, with a crown hung from it to represent the change in kings resulting from the battle.

Figure 5.14: Sundial on Ambion Hill

5.3.1.3 – Live Interpretation

There are two main forms of live interpretation at the site: guided tours along the battlefield trail and a twice-monthly living history display, which will be detailed below. There is an annual re-enactment weekend in August, but it is not meant as a form of interpretation by the site, so it was not featured in this research. The Centre used to have live interpretation in the exhibition. This was undertaken by the current Assistant Operations Manager who used to portray an archer, alongside working in the shop, from 1999 until the reopening of the new exhibition in 2007. However, his web and media duties increased, and there was no live interpretation replacement. That being said, on particularly busy days at the site occasionally someone known as a 'floater', that is a guide around the visitor centre area, goes around explaining more information or helping people navigate the site. Additionally, two of the living historians were in the exhibition area for a short period of time during the fieldwork, though evidently this is not done on a regular basis.

According to a leaflet provided at the visitor centre, in the season from about April to September 2011, there were 76 guided walks around the battlefield trail, two of which were with costumed guides. The tour goes around the battlefield trail (See Figure 5.13), and the guides discuss largely similar points to the information panels at each stop. The guides like to use objects whenever possible, including bows and arrows (See Figure 5.15). One tour guide was observed during the fieldwork referring to the historical use of

local vegetation – “Welcome to Tescos, 1485", as he introduced the woods. He went on to explain how to make string and soup from nettles, and wine from a nearby elder bush. He demonstrated the use of flint and steel, and each visitor had a chance to try and make a spark.

Figure 5.15: Live interpreter on guided tour

This two kilometre walk around the trail lasts about an hour and a half, with one guide estimating about 1,400 people attending them per season, with an additional 8,000 children on dedicated school tours. Sometimes the demand can be quite high on any given day, in which cases five of the total seven guides they employ can be at the site, with a maximum of 35 visitors per guide. Since the ‘rediscovery’ of the battlefield, some guides say there has been an increased interest in knowing about the battle. They also get questions about this on the tour, with one guide stating that the two most common questions about this are: “Why haven’t you found any burial pits?” and “Where are the arrows?” Although some people are disappointed that they don’t visit the actual ground, most either make no comment or understand that it is impractical due to distance and access.

The guides have experimented with other types of tours in the past, including bike and night tours, to attract different visitors. Two speciality walks went to the now confirmed

site of the battle, covering seven and a half miles at a pace of about one mile an hour. This new guided tour is with two interpreters, one who spoke about the battle and another who discussed local history more generally. During the fieldwork, the site's educator provided feedback forms from a walk in June 2011, which were overall very positive. The majority of those on the walk were male, mature (aged 45 and up), local, came by car, liked the guides and the views of the countryside.

To the exterior of the visitor centre is an encampment manned fortnightly by a living history group called Les Routiers de Rouen. Apart from the commander, they are volunteers who have been in residence next to the visitor centre since 1993. Families are encouraged to join the group, which totals about 40 re-enactors, though a considerably fewer number attend most events. Despite operating within the compounds of the site, and having the commander as a part-time employee, they are a distinct group and collect a separate admission fee. LCC used to provide them with buildings where they would store their equipment in a secure location. The buildings were only meant to be temporary and were torn down a few years after construction once they developed major leaks and rodent infestation. Now there are only a few tents to hold their extensive gear which they put on display (See Figure 5.16).

Figure 5.16: Living history demonstration with Les Routiers de Rouen

They used to interpret all year round, even in winter, but since they no longer have permanent buildings to protect their extensive and costly gear against the elements, the

living history events they do are seasonal and begin around Easter and continue until 2 October, Richard III's birthday. The content which they present is independent of LCC and the work of the education team at the visitor centre, and as such is not directly regulated by any outside agency. The group conduct their own research, and when the commander feels like he has a good idea for a new activity, he consults the staff of the visitor centre for their input and then pilots it for a weekend to see if it is feasible in the long-term. Their interpretation is a mixture of FPI and TPI programming which they present to visitors depending on the types of groups that are at the site, or if there are any special events. These include displays on women's roles, food and drink from the time, leather and tool working, amongst other day-to-day activities. They emphasise everyday life and the common soldier, since, as the commander put it, the nobility are already remembered and he has found that the public prefer to see from the bottom up since "Every soldier should be remembered" (Interview BC). Even with their emphasis on the average soldier's quotidian experience, the commander regularly performs the role of Richard III.

Although less extensive than Culloden, the interpretive presentation at Bosworth (See Table 5.2) features many elements absent at other battlefields; most notably, a visitor centre. In the centre, they have included traditional nonpersonal communication elements alongside new media in the redesigned centre. To the exterior, the battlefield trail panels and guided tours allow visitors to understand more of the battle within the general context of heritagescape. The information is mostly in English, as there are few foreign visitors, but it is included in a variety of formats to allow visitors to receive the information about the battle in different ways.

Table 5.2: Model of Communication at Bosworth, adopted from Jakobson's (1960) Model of Communication

Addresser	**Message**	**Addressee**	**Context**	**Mode**	**Code**
Visitor centre	In-depth analysis of before, during, and after battle	Mainly English speaking visitors	Building	Text, music, video, audio	English (audio, text, video, haptic)
Leaflet with overview of the battle	Brief overview of events in a foreign language	Foreigners	Visitor centre	Text	Multiple languages (superficial overview)

Videos	Brutality of battle	All	Theatre room/entrance	Visual and audio	Sounds and sights of war
Information panels	Position points	Exclusively English speaking visitors	Field	Text, "6th sense" (Moore 1997)	English/view of 'real' place
Guided tour	Basic overview of battle	Exclusively English speaking visitors	Field	Audio, "6th sense" (Moore 1997)	English
Living history	'Authentic' re-enactment of the past	Mainly English speaking visitors	Living history area	Visual, Audio, "6th sense"(Moore 1997)	English and haptic

5.4 Flodden Battle and aftermath

The Battle of Flodden in 1513 occurred as war raged in Europe where Henry VIII was engaged in the fight to maintain his threatened claims in France. Back in Britain, Scotland, under the head of King James IV, struck up the 'Auld Alliance' with France. This centuries-old agreement stipulated that Scotland would invade England and harass the country from the north, whilst English troops were occupied in France, in theory benefiting both France and Scotland.

In the autumn of 1513, James raised his Scottish army, laying siege to Ford, Norham and Etal castles. His forces destroyed Norham and accepted the surrender of the other two without a fight. Having secured his retreat route and eliminating any threat from his rear, James pressed on into Northumberland. What James did not expect was the large northern army of English troops that were garrisoned in Newcastle under the command of the Earl of Surrey. Having foreseen that Scotland would take advantage of English involvement in Europe, Henry made sure that there were enough soldiers to counter any Scottish invasion force.

Taking the high ground on Flodden Hill near the village of Branxton Moor, James' Scottish army laid in wait with gun emplacements facing the south. Surrey had no intention of attacking such a well-fortified position, and he was able to move his army unseen around the Scottish positions and cut off the Scots' retreat to the north. After agreeing to fight on 9 September 1513, battle commenced as the Scots moved down the hill from their defended position and made their way towards the English. Cannons fired from both sides and English longbows fired arrows onto the Scots. The Scots were

fighting with the latest in European warfare technology: pikes from Switzerland. They moved in tight ranks with their 18 foot (5.5 metre) poles down the hill towards the English. The English army carried billhooks which at only eight foot in length were much more effective as the battle descended into close combat, and the Scots were slaughtered. The battle was a complete disaster for the Scots, one of the worst defeats in British military history, with their King James and dozens of the nobility and religious leaders killed amongst about 14,000 Scots in a matter of a few hours.[9]

5.4.1 Interpretation at Flodden

In contrast to Bosworth and Culloden, Flodden's wider impact has not been reflected within the landscape of the battlefield to as great of degree throughout the centuries (EH 1995b: 11). Nor has it ingrained itself into the popular imagination to nearly the same degree. Consequently, the battle has not received the high-profile status and funding that the other two case studies and other sites, like Bannockburn, Shrewsbury or Hastings, have received and used to build visitor centres. In comparison, the site contains a relatively small interpretive and memorial display, set up through donations, some Heritage Lottery Funding and volunteer effort. In spite of this modest undertaking by locals and ostensible neglect by officials and agencies, there has been a strong and lasting intangible heritage presence in Border communities through annual 'common ridings' (See Section 6.3.3), songs and poems about the battle, as well as monuments and associated ceremonies in local towns. Although these are important aspects which aid in sustaining the cultural memory of the battle throughout the region, they do not feature within the on-site interpretation display, and as such will not be covered in this research.

Figure 5.17: Flodden monument on Piper Hill

[9] For more information on the Battle of Flodden see: Barr 2001, 2003; Reese 2003; Sadler 2006; Goodwin 2013

The setting of the battle is almost certainly like it would have been at the time of the battle in 1513, with enclosed farmland, moor and pastures (EH 1995b: 2-3). This openness helps to retain a clear visual of the entire battlefield with no major obstacles impeding this historic landscape. In fact, it was only relatively recently, nearly 400 years after the event, when the first monument to the battle at the site was constructed (See Figure 5.17; point three on Figure 5.20). This stone cross was erected by the Berwickshire Naturalists Club (though this is not mentioned at the site), with a plaque which reads simply: "Flodden 1513 To the brave of both nations Erected 1910" (Original capitalisation). It is unclear why it was built three years shy of the 400th anniversary of the battle, but in any case it remains the only memorial on the site.

5.4.1.1 – Current Interpretation

A resident of the local village Branxton became interested in the battle and found it strange that there was so little modern interpretation at the site (Flodden Field Notes 2011). For this reason, and for a desire to have trails to walk his dogs (a common activity in the area), he applied for and received Heritage Lottery Funding about a decade ago to construct interpretation panels and paths around the fields (See Figures 5.18 and 5.19). These panels were written by him, and focus on the events of the battle, in particular the position of the commanders and tactics of the two armies.

Figure 5.18: Flodden trail information panel (Sikora)

Figure 5.19: Flodden trail information panel (Sikora)

Figure 5.20: Flodden battlefield trail (Aerial image from Google, map design by Sikora)

There are much fewer visitors to this site than to the other two case studies. Figures from the beginning of the year to the end of August reveal only about 8,150 visitors in 2010

and a further 8,776 in 2011; average numbers to the monument over the last decade according to local estimates (Flodden Field Notes 2011). As such, there is no purpose-built visitor centre, though a phone booth has been acquired for one pound and converted into a small information stand with leaflets (See Figure 5.21). These are the same pamphlets which can be found at the base of the car park (Point 2 on the trail) before ascending the hill to the monument (Point 3) and information panels on the battlefield trail. The brochures describe what happened during the day of the battle, the movements of the troops and theories on the resulting outcome; largely the same details provided on the information panels.

At the time of the fieldwork in 2011, there were no visitor amenities in the local village of Branxton which does not have a cafe, restaurant, pub, hotel, B&B or even public toilets. It is therefore of little surprise that visitors do not stay long in the area, averaging under ten minutes for a visit to the site out of the 93 visitors observed during the fieldwork period (Flodden Field Notes 2011). There are guided tours available by appointment only (the information for which is provided in the brochures), though none of the visitors interviewed during the fieldwork were aware of this option. Unfortunately there were none observed during this fieldwork.

Figure 5.21: Flodden Visitor Centre (Remembering Flodden 2012)

5.4.1.2 – Flodden Ecomuseum

To connect the battlefield with other related sites in the area, an ecomuseum was formed in 2011 (Flodden 1513 2012). This has been spearheaded through Ford and Etal Estates by Lord James Joicey, the local landowner, and Dr. Christopher Burgess, the Northumberland County Council Archaeologist, with initial aid from Professor Peter Davis from Newcastle University. In March 2012, the Heritage Lottery Fund announced support for the project and events in relation to the 500th anniversary of the battle in 2013 (See Section 3.5 for the author's work with this project). A large part of this funding is a research element, in particular the archaeology of the muster points of the Scottish army before the engagement, as well as documentary archival-based investigations. Numerous local and regional organisations and individuals are involved with different facets of the research and events, although currently there is little being done at the battlefield itself.

As the research expands, the ecomuseum organisers plan on including additional sites linked to Flodden. The sites which have been incorporated so far in the ecomuseum include those in the immediate vicinity of the field (including the local church, castles which were taken by the Scottish army before the battle, bridges troops crossed, and other similar edifices) but also remains as far as Edinburgh (the Flodden Wall) (See Figure 5.22 for a map of the sites).

Figure 5.22: Flodden Ecomuseum sites (Flodden 1513 2012)

This ecomuseum is an important development for bringing greater recognition of the area and the battle through the combined effort of multiple locations, and undoubtedly will

transform the visitation to these sites. Yet the network is still in development, with most of the planned events and research connected to the project starting in 2013 and continuing for at least three years. As such, it was not possible to include anything on the impacts of the ecomuseum onto the battlefield, and during interviews with visitors it was clear that they were unaware of any plans for the project.

Currently the site has limited on-site interpretation in comparison to Culloden and Bosworth, as detailed in Table 5.3. Although there is a phone-booth 'visitor centre', it has not been included in the table as it only provides another location to receive brochures, which are listed. Due to its rural location and lack of public transport links, it is unsurprising that there is limited interpretation, and that there is no information provided in a language other than English.

Table 5.3: Model of Communication at Flodden, adopted from Jakobson's (1960) Model of Communication

Addresser	**Message**	**Addressee**	**Context**	**Mode**	**Code**
Brochure	Brief overview of events	Exclusively English speaking visitors	Field	Text	English
Information panels	Position points	Exclusively English speaking visitors	Field	Text, "6th sense" (Moore 1997)	English
Guided tour	Detailed overview of battle	Exclusively English speaking visitors	Field	Audio, "6th sense" (Moore 1997)	English

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter has provided a brief synopsis of each battle followed by an overview of the interpretation strategies employed at each of the case study sites. The various strategies and contexts for their development were explored on how these have progressed over time to the present. At the end of each section is the model of communication at each site based on Jakobson's (1960) process of communication research, which is useful for both summarising the interpretation each site features, as well as presenting how these forms are communicated and to whom.

Having introduced the interpretation strategies at the three case studies, the next three data chapters analyse aspects from the fieldwork including data from the semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Chapter Six is devoted to how historical accuracy

is presented at each site, and how visitors construe historic ‘fact’ and ‘reality’ through the on-site interpretation. Chapter Seven explores the complexities of the physical context of the interpretative display, with a particular focus on whether or not interpreting at the ‘actual’ location of the battle matters to the visitor experience of that place. Chapter Eight undertakes the idea of what the heritage values of these case studies and battlefields more broadly may be, looking at why people visit these sites and what these visitors believe is their importance.

Chapter Six – Reminiscing and Romanticising: Navigating Historical Representations

"The past is unseen and unseeable, but the remaining evidence for past actions can be retrieved and examined, though with a number of limitations caused by the nature of the evidence. Archaeological evidence is impersonal and difficult to interpret as well as being fragmentary. Historical evidence is selectively constructed, has precarious survival and biased viewpoints" (Copeland 2006: 84).

"...most of the time when you see all these battles and all these wars [re-enacted], they are heroic. I've seen war in real life, and there's nothing heroic with it. It's just smelling a three-dimensional movie" (Interview B7).

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first analysis of the research results from the fieldwork undertaken at the three case studies. Utilising the intellectual framework around communication and interpretation theory and practice in Chapter Four, this chapter expands on and analyses the overview in Chapter Five of the interpretative presentations at each of the case studies. The chapter starts with an analysis of the different interpretation techniques used at each site, and how visitors learn about the site and the history of the battle through the on-site interpretation. The next section explores how historically 'true' information about battles contrasts, and often conflicts, with understanding of what happened at the battle that is reinforced by previous knowledge, which is frequently incorrect, or biased. This will be important to consider in Chapter Seven where there is a more in-depth discussion on how this information is presented in an 'authentic', or perceived, 'authentic' setting. By using this information, it will be possible to consider the importance that the battles have for visitors today, which will be explored in Chapter Eight.

This analysis features the fieldwork undertaken at the case studies from the 2010 pilot study at Culloden, and the subsequent fieldwork there and at Bosworth and Flodden in 2011. Due to more time having been spent at Culloden, and its extensive on-site interpretation, there will naturally be more of a discussion about that site. Flodden will not be featured as much in this chapter since there is comparatively little interpretation on-site, yet it provides a good example about the minimal information usually provided at smaller, low-budget sites.

6.2 Interacting and Utilising On-site Interpretation

As Chapters Four and Five introduced, 'signposting' through on-site interpretation has been used at battlefields to convey meaning and importance of these 'heritagescapes' to

visitors. The ways in which this is done can greatly influence one's idea of what these sites represent. Some sites, such as Culloden and Bosworth, have received large sums of money to build exhibitions in visitor centres, employ live interpreters, and use new media to reach out and explain the events of a battle to different audiences. The information has been displayed in a way that is accessible to all types of learners as an American woman commented at Culloden: "I thought it was quite beautiful and well done...a nice mix of interactive things and reading and the movie, and you know being able to actually lift the musket and see how heavy it was, so I liked that" (Interview CPS17). It is crucial to remember that not just different groups of people will want information in different ways, but individuals within the same group as well.

Regardless of how the information is conveyed, it is important so to that the events of a battle are not communicated too narrowly, as Article 24 of the *Vimy Declaration* (See Sections 1.3 and 2.4) states: "The presentation and interpretation of battlefields shall make reference to the larger historic, cultural and physical contexts of the battle(s) which occurred there" (Bull & Panton 2000: 11). It is therefore imperative that the information presented covers not only the time of the battle, but why the battle took place and what affects it had. This is crucial to how visitors form ideas of the values of battlefields, and is discussed in Chapter Eight. Equally, if this information is presented in a way that makes the visitor consider the importance of the site, then it can lead to greater "empathy toward the resource, and possible changes in attitude and behavior" (Farmer & Knapp 2008: 342; Ham 2007). Whilst this can certainly happen, it is hard to judge if this actually occurred during the fieldwork. Visitors usually did not spend long enough at a site to observe any such changes, though this may have occurred after the visit.

In any case, the ways in which information is presented at historic sites and battlefields is usually in narrative form which is connected to semiotic theory: "Narrative is retrospective meaning making – the shaping or ordering of past experience. Narrative is a way of understanding one's own and other's actions, of organizing events and objects into a meaningful whole, and of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time" (Chase 2008: 64). When the new visitor centre at Culloden was being developed a key goal was to present information in this narrative sequence: "The visitor needs to believe that what they are experiencing still has an influence on them today and is not just a distant point in history" and "to encourage them out onto the battlefield itself" (Bennett 2004: 4). This connection between past and present is a key factor in how visitors conceptualise and make meaning of past events (Falk & Dierking 2000: 61). If

the information is presented in a way that the visitor can directly and personally connect with then an even greater appreciation of that past will occur, as has been evidenced in similar fieldwork (Farmer & Knapp 2008: 356). The following sub-sections will detail how information has been presented in different forms, and how visitors interacted with interpretive presentations at the case studies.

6.2.1 Nonpersonal Communication: Texts and Objects

At each of the sites visitors often commented that the texts, information panels and additional written information were well composed and easy to read. There were no negative comments or complaints about any of the textual presentations at any site, or indeed, were there very many comments at all. Some spoke about how the texts could be compared with the battlefield. For instance, a woman at Culloden, Interview C1, who had also visited Bosworth, liked that she could read about Culloden in her own time and then go out and view the battlefield and visualise it straightaway. In contrast, she did not have the same impression with the more distant site at Bosworth. At Culloden she felt that "You just get a sense of something having happened here, and not so much there [Bosworth]" (Interview C1). For her, and for many people, it was important to read about the information within the context of the site itself, which Chapter Seven will discuss at greater length.

Although there are a number of panels on the field at Culloden, participant observations revealed that these were often not read in any depth, with perhaps a cursory viewing at most. On the whole people who walked around the battlefield tended to gravitate to the memorial cairn and clan grave area, and Leanach cottage which is on the same path to the graves. This was unsurprising as they are the most obvious and visible external structures on the field although, as will be explored in Section 7.3.1, the graves are the only area on the battlefield without any modern interpretation.

Unpredictably, visitors spoke rarely about the objects on display at Culloden, or Bosworth. No one listed seeing the objects or any one piece in particular as a highlight of the experience at either site. They discussed this so little that it took specific prompting from the researcher for people to discuss them at all, particularly original artefacts. It was observed by the researcher, and noted by one visitor (Interview C12), that there were more objects on the Jacobite side of the display than the Hanoverian at Culloden. Without a doubt this made visitors gravitate to that side of the exhibition since there was less text. As noted in Section 5.3.1, there are very few artefacts from the battle in the Bosworth

exhibition, and these are exhibited at the end of the display where people tended not to spend as much time. Although there are no signs stating so, visitors seemed to understand that the other objects were modern replicas and reproductions. Most people did not comment on the objects, but sometimes there were complaints:

> B12: They, well they were obviously kind of fake, like artefacts replica kind of thing. And that's OK but some of them looked a bit modern. Like there were some shoes that, wouldn't look that out of place on someone wearing them today, I guess. So, yeah, it would've been, I don't know how much many things they kind of have from that actual period that are still intact or whatever, but if they had something that was more from that time, it might've been a little better. You could tell everything was a bit fake.

On the other hand, one woman, Interviewee B1, thought that having reproductions was better than actual artefacts from the time since she could see the entirety of what an object would have looked liked, instead of an impartial fragment (See also Chronis & Hampton 2008: 122). Given that the objects on display were not original, she felt comfortable enough to actually touch them since she knew that 'real' ones would be under glass:

> B1: So I expected that to be there. You know I thought there'd be a little bit more, old weaponry, but they showed new weaponry if you see what I mean, but in a way that was good because you, you could actually see it in entirety rather than rotted away, rather than bits of it and having to think what did that belong to what? So I thought that was good actually to show a modern version of an old weapon.

Sometimes there was confusion between how people contextualised historic and reproduced objects. The connection between the objects on display and those which could be handled in the workshops at Culloden was sometimes confused, even though the interpreters often state that they are not original, as evidenced by a 27 year old English doctor who had just seen the surgery workshop: "Well by actually looking at the objects I think you can take away a lot more than actually just reading about them, being able to hold them, pick them up" (Interview CPS21). Here, she was discussing the surgical tools in a workshop, which she knew to be reproductions, yet she went on to explain in the interview the importance of seeing the 'real' objects from the time at the workshop. Moore (2007: 139) has suggested that such confusion is an inherent problem at "Historic sites such as battlefields [which] have the sense of the 'real place', but in lacking 'real things' face challenges in interpretation" (see also Hein 2000: 73). Although visitors overall seemed comfortable with reproductions, or even more so than artefacts as noted above, there are some lingering issues on where it is possible to separate the 'real' from the replica.

Any objects or stories that could connect feelings or emotions of the time to today were valued the most, as alluded to above. This distinct attraction to information that personalised the narrative for the viewer to better understand what it was like at the time was not described often with the objects. One exception was a Swiss gentleman who distinctly remembered an object in the exhibition which made an impression on him: "A dagger, very long, very thin. And it seemed very strong, there is a text written on it. And it's a very short handle, and a very long blade. It's not very interesting but it's very impressive, and I saw it and I just felt like what it would be to be stabbed" (Interview CPS14). By way of this weapon, he was able to place himself within that time period and attempt to connect to the grim reality of battle. However this was an exception, as visitors tended to focus more on the new media, and even more on the live interpretation, which are the topics of the next sections.

6.2.2 New Media: Interactive Displays and Audio-guides

Both Culloden and Bosworth use several different technologies in their interpretive displays, with the greatest variety at Culloden (See below). At Bosworth, the 'talking heads' were an integral part of the interpretive display (See Section 5.3.1). In contrast, there is no new media used on-site at Flodden. There is an mp3 tour available to download from the website that was developed by the same gentleman who wrote the brochure and informational panels at the site (Remembering Flodden 2013). No one was observed using this during the fieldwork. The use of new media has been an important development, providing yet another way in which people can access information. These can be particularly applicable to young people due to their familiarity with technology influencing how and in what form they receive information, a phenomenon indentified by Appadurai as early as 1993 (as cited in Bagnall 2003: 92). Although visitors under 18 were not interviewed for this research (See Section 3.3.2.2), it was clear that many visitors found aspects of new interpretation technologies to be a good way of accessing information.

An example of this media was the touch panels scattered in four different areas of the Culloden visitor centre. At these, there were 46 distinct audio files featuring characters with first person accounts of the negative and positives events surrounding the battle. These audio presentations personalised the history of the battle, explaining the wide variety of people affected by it. Though there was some evidence that this fictional, acted-out approach was contrived and contributed to entertainment rather than education, most people valued it as a way to empathise with people's emotions and thoughts. As one man

from Australia put it: “Yeah, listening to all the little stories...I think that’s good, cause I’m not a real prolific reader you know, and getting me to read, but if you can push a button and listen to someone tell their little story I reckon that’s great...It gives you a bit of a feeling of what they went through” (Interview CPS9). These snippets of information were often enough for people to gain an idea of events, in particular those who were not prepared to devote a long period of time at the site; however they were only available in English and Gaelic.

These touch panels are very similar to the ‘talking heads’ from Bosworth which several visitors commented on. One man said that he liked how they were a bit dark and mysterious, as well as the personal interaction (Interview B3). He added that seeing the diverse characters gave him a better understanding of events from different points of view, which he felt was very personal and a bit eerie: “And uh, it was a bit, a bit surreal ‘cause one of the women goes ‘Oh you’re back again!’ And it’s like, yeah [laughs]. So yeah, that was all very good” (Interview B3). Another visitor had a comparable experience, stating that:

> “...it wasn’t just somebody talking at you they were the characters so you could actually put yourself in their shoes, and took you straight to that period of time. Um, so I thought that was quite well done, and I thought at the end, with Stanley, where he again actually brings all the threads together about what happened after the battle, I thought that was very good” (Interview B1).

Empathising with the characters was certainly part of this experience such as Interviewee B2 who felt a particular bond with John the Archer (See Section 6.3.2 for more details on this connection). Another instance of this is in the battle rotunda area where there is a helmet in the wall that the visitor puts his, or her, head in and watches a short, twelve-second video clip. In this clip, it is a first-person perspective of being in the front line of battle, which ends by the viewer being stabbed and dying (See Figure 6.1). For Interviewee B3 this was an important element of the interpretation to give him an intimate perspective in understanding what it must have been like to fight at the time:

> “I think that helps you to appreciate, you know you couldn’t see, you didn’t have all around vision. You know so it must’ve been very, you know, claustrophobic almost to fight. And you’re not going to know if someone’s come in from your side. You know you can only see, what’s straight ahead of ya. So I guess it must’ve been frightening, you know. I say the battle’d be frightening, you know it’s just not being able to see what’s going on. So that was an interesting, aspect of it.”

Figure 6.1: Still from helmet video at Bosworth

Perhaps more effective at Culloden than the audio stations at getting people to understand the emotions of the soldiers who fought was the immersion video, as detailed in 5.2.1.2. The majority of visitors who were interviewed thought that the film was very impressive, and none saw the need to watch it more than once. This was confirmed by numerous viewings by the researcher where it was observed that no one ever watched it a second time, which, as noted in Section 5.2.1.2., was something the director had hoped for. The film was important in helping visitors visualise what took place on the field, either before or after walking on it. A 56 year old from England said that he "could see on other people's faces as well as what I felt inside that you did get a sense of, part of you knew that these were just people acting, but on the other hand you could get a sense of what it was to be there, and how bloody it was and how unpleasant it was" (Interview CPS20). That being said, very little if any new information was learned through the video that was not already acquired by other means.

However it was possible to read or hear about an aspect of the battle elsewhere at the centre, and then view and reflect on it whilst watching the film. One woman described watching the Highland charge in the video and could not imagine doing that with people shooting at you. It made her think more about the men who fought and what their lives were like: "So I guess, um, what it makes me think about is how, how rough their life must have been or how passionate they must have felt about their cause to do that, you know, because I can't even imagine doing that" (Interview CPS17). Another woman also thought about how she would have felt if she had been there as well, explaining that watching it unfold helped her to understand "the feeling, it was the noise, the cannonry, the weaponry. Just brought it all home, you can only imagine when you're out there on

the moors what it would be like but it's just standing in the middle of it. It's difficult to describe" (Interview CPS15). One person described this experience as 'frightening' (Interview CPS10), and another said it just gave a feeling of 'sadness' (Interview C1).

This was juxtaposed by comments on the overall sense of the beautiful scenery and how peaceful and serene the actual 'heritagescape' appears today, compared to the brutality and carnage of the day as depicted in the video. As a woman described it: "Well it [the battlefield] just felt very, I like how it wasn't, um, there weren't a lot of distractions with a lot of signs and monuments, which is kind of an open, it's sorta just made you get a feeling for what it was like on the battlefield, so. It's very beautiful too" (Interview CPS10). In this way she was able to better visualise the current battlefield with how it would have looked on the day without any modern intrusions. One of the tour guides often mentions that it is difficult to visualise what happened, but that the video is good at demonstrating the events. In doing so, he is triangulating the experience of being on the actual field and hearing about what happened, alongside viewing a recreation in the video of what the battle might have been like. This helps to form a better mental and spatial image of the site and what happened without too many distractions in the actual 'heritagescape'.

The most direct way of visualising the site and utilising new media was through the GPS triggered handheld devices. The handheld device was only used by three individuals interviewed for this study. There were several reasons for this, primarily not knowing about it, having already done a guided tour, or not liking audio guides. However, when used it could give a good idea of the ground, since otherwise it would be difficult to know: "Pour avoir des informations effectivement. Puisque effectivement on aurait pu se promener simplement mais sans savoir exactement ce que s'est passé, qui était où, c'est plus réaliste" [Effectively to have information. Since, effectively, one could have simply walked around but without knowing exactly what happened, who was where, it's more realistic] (Interview CPS12).

Due to difficulty in acquiring data about the devices, detailed numbers of their usage were only provided on two days of fieldwork, both during the pilot study on 14-15 July 2010. However, it was possible through discussions with some of the employees to gather a good idea of the pluses and minuses of the devices, as well as visitor trends. Although no further data was available for any of the other days researched, on 14 July the centre recorded 551 visitors with 271 audio guides checked out, and on 15 July there were 701

total visitors with 344 audio guides checked out; accordingly 49% of the visitors for these two days used audio guides (Culloden Field Notes 2010). It is not clear from discussions with NTS staff if that is a typical percentage since it appears that this information is not generally shared between them and Zolk C. Staff from there confirmed that the numbers checked out are consistent with the usage for that time of year. As for those interviewed who did use the audio guides, they noted that there was no additional information that could not be found in the visitor centre. Using it did allow them to access some additional information that one could elect to receive at various points. The most notable aspect though was the eyewitness accounts of two Scotsmen; one Jacobite, one Hanoverian. As was seen in the visitor centre, these personal narratives made it easier for people to relate to and visualise the information provided.

However, some thought that the audio guides interfered with their experience of the site. As a French woman put it: "you are not searching by yourself for information, so you are disturbed" (Interview CPS12). However, the developers of the devices thought that the guides could impede the experience of the site, particularly audibly. This was the reason for having only one earpiece, to allow "a user to experience the ambience of the site as well as the location triggered content. Also this enabled groups of visitors to interact with each other even though they were each experiencing their own multimedia tour" (Pfeifer, Savage & Robinson 2009: 55). They also wanted to limit the visual intrusions of numbers on the field and the action of having to enter those onto the device. For this reason, they developed a GPS trigger as opposed to punching in numbers, so that they automatically ping once the user is at the proscribed location. The philosophy of these devices was one of ensuring the least amount of intrusion as possible.

Overall the devices were very easy to use, though some points did not trigger as they were supposed to. If a point does not trigger, either through computer error or a user walking past a trigger-point whilst still listening to the previous point, it is not possible to go back or manually attempt to hear it. The makers claim that they have a 95% success rate (Pfeifer, Savage & Robinson 2009: 57), and indeed there was an average of a 97% success rate on 14-15 July 2010 (Culloden Field Notes 2010). However, when observing and speaking with staff, a failure is only marked if the machine does not work at all. The many small mistakes such as not 'pinging' at one point on the tour was not formally recorded, but did leave some visitors visibly upset. Additionally, it is not possible to ask further questions or access information in a different way through these impersonal devices. Even as early as 1957 Tilden wrote that "Gadgets do not supplant the personal

contact; we accept them as valuable alternatives and supplements" (Tilden 2007: 137). When available, live interpreters can bring a space alive, which the next section considers.

6.2.3 Live Interpretation: Workshops, Demonstrations and Guided Tours

As mentioned in Chapter Five, live interpretation is used extensively at Culloden and Bosworth. Whilst it is possible to arrange a guided tour at Flodden, people tend to not know this is an option, despite it being printed in the brochure on-site, and it is not often exploited. In any case, there is no regular live interpretation like at Culloden and Bosworth. At the former there is almost always an interpreter somewhere at the site, whereas they are more sporadically employed at the latter. Consequently, the focus of this section will be on Culloden, though with periodic mention of aspects from Bosworth.

Section 5.2.1.3 introduced some of the basic elements of the live interpretation at Culloden. These include workshops and presentations in the BEZ of the visitor centre, guided tours on the battlefield and occasionally standing in costume towards the front of the centre by the entrance and exit to the exhibition. The space where the interaction between visitor and guide takes place is important to consider, as it has been noted that the setting is a "symbolic text" in which "rules, potential roles, and expectations for social interaction" are read (Pearce 1984: 138-140). In observing and then speaking with visitors, it was clear that the costumed demonstrations and drop-in sessions were effective on many fronts. The workshops consist of three different themes: Brown Bess – Firearms of the 45, Doctor's surgery – 18th century battle surgery, Flintlock, Targe, Dirk and Broadsword – Weapons of the 45. All of these are drop-in sessions lasting between 30 to 90 minutes depending on the day's scheduling, when people can come and go as they please.

The surgeon display was the workshop visitors spoke most often about – nearly half mentioning it as a highlight – despite its relative simplicity (See Figure 5.4). Sometimes people recognise the objects straightway, like one woman who works in surgery today who was amazed by a tool replicated from the 18th century that she herself has seen in the operating room in the 21st century. Despite the low key, non-explicit demonstration, people understood just how gory and painful many procedures were at the time. The interpreters use their sleeves to simulate pulling back skin from a bullet wound, and tapping metal against wood and bullet to show how they would search to retrieve the

musket ball. Occasionally people faint at these descriptions, which the interpreters note in daily reports.

The drop-in session provided an opportunity to interact with the guides and ask questions, as well as pick up and manipulate reproduction items that soldiers would have used at the time of the battle. Although some people engage with the live interpreters, often people do not say much, though there are frequent small comments or questions. The most common comment that was observed was about the weight of the guns which people often said were heavy. Often visitors asked if the objects are original. The interpreters have very different styles at these workshops, and it depends very much on their audience on how they interact. They often use "comfort cues" (Tyson 2008: 253) to gauge the interest or visitors as well as their level of English by simply saying hello, or stating to the visitors that they can ask questions if they would like. More often, they will just hand a targe (shield) or a musket to someone, asking "Would you like to feel how heavy they are?" Sometimes if a larger group starts to gather they begin to explain the objects more as a presentation. All of these workshops were very well received by visitors, and provided the most opportune moment for them to feel comfortable in asking questions to the interpreters.

One of the live interpreters at Culloden related a story of a visitor who asked his opinion of what might have happened if the Jacobites had won (Culloden Field notes 2010). This prompted the interpreter to discuss the European wars at the time, particularly between France and Britain, how the struggle over the continent would have been affected, and the impact on colonies held by European powers. Since the tourist was from Australia, the interpreter suggested that that country would have probably remained a Dutch colony and therefore that America probably would have stayed in British hands. This type of interaction would have been impossible in FPI, since "Living history…overlooks the fact that the people presented in historical narratives would not have experienced their lives as coherent stories, nor the times in which they lived as unified historical eras, periods, or epochs" (Handler & Saxton 1988: 251). Instead, through TPI, the interpreter was able to conjecture through known events after Culloden as to what might have happened and relate it back to the visitor.

Another example is from an interpreter at Culloden whilst running a workshop of a doctor's surgery. The portrayal is of a redcoat in the Hanoverian army and involves presenting a variety of surgical tools and medicines that would have been commonplace

in the mid-eighteenth century. Visitors are encouraged to approach the table with the implements, pick them up, and to pose questions. One tool in particular that stimulates a large degree of attention is a trepan, an instrument used to relieve pressure from the skull by removing a piece of the bone via hammering this circular metal object directly onto the affected area of the cranium. Often, he would ask people if they had seen the 2003 Russell Crowe film *Master and Commander*, where there is a graphic scene showing this gory process. Even if people had not seen the film, he proposed they should, as it accurately shows the procedure. A FPI scenario *could* certainly demonstrate this technique using Hollywood makeup and an elaborate set, but it is very questionable *who* would want to view this in person. The sensibilities of the many children, not to mention adults, prevent this from being a realistic option. Therefore the TPI appears to be a more informative and feasible method in this example.

The demonstrations were semi-scripted presentations which portrayed four different themes in short, ten minute presentations: Frenchmen for the Prince; Cumberland's Redcoats; A Highland Soldier; and, At the King's Mercy. The first one is not used very often at all, and there was only one time, in the pilot study, when this was observed. The second and the third are employed the most frequently, and At the King's Mercy less so. They use these as a type of theatrical display (Dierking 1998: 62), and a way of the exploring and dissecting the most delicate aspects of the history of the site by bringing them to life more figuratively. Humour was used sporadically, particularly with the more difficult subjects such as going into battle, or what happened if you were a prisoner of war. Using humour has been noted as an effective form of visitor interaction (Seig 2008: 256), particularly with sensitive subjects, though it is important not to use it in an offensive way (Clark 2006: 43-45). The interpreters have very consciously shaped and scripted these displays to explain confusing or controversial topics, using very exact talking points. At the beginning of each one they introduce themselves by name and explain that they are members of the learning team at the site.

The Frenchmen for the Prince discusses the French Ecossais soldiers who fought on behalf of the French crown as uniformed soldiers, but were often Jacobite Scots or Irish living in exile. During this talk the interpreter explains the mistakes made in recognising the uniform (See Section 6.3.1) and how this led to confusion in battle. He shows them how to load and fire the French weapon, which is different than the British Brown Bess. The interpreter discusses how the French preferred four ranks of soldiers instead of the traditional three, and demonstrated this with volunteers from the audience. The guide

further explains the difference in the treatment of the Jacobites after the battle between the Ecossais, regarded as prisoners of war, and the non-uniformed Jacobites, considered rebels and subject to execution.

Those Jacobites who could be executed is the topic of the demonstration At the King's Mercy. This is probably the most controversial and delicate interpretation on the site as it details with the very sensitive subjects of death and retribution. They begin the presentation by loudly crying out an original proclamation from 1746: "Requiring all common and ordinary People who have borne Arms, and been concerned in the rebellion, to bring in their Arms to the Magistrate or Minister where the Notice shall reach them, and give in their Name and Place of Abode, and submit themselves to the King's Mercy. Long live King George!" They devote the next few minutes explaining who made up the elements of the Jacobite army, from the French Ecossais, to Irish soldiers, English Jacobites, Highlanders and deserters from the Hanoverian army. The interpreter then singles out men from the audience to determine differences in four groups that were originally determined by one man in the Hanoverian army. The first member of the audience he points to receives a pardon, the second gets a conditional pardon and the third is banished. The fourth group has to draw lots to determine their fate. The interpreter passes around twenty numbers in a hat that people draw from. The one with number twenty is subjected to questioning from the interpreter: "Ever worn tartan?, worn white flower or cockade?, borne arms?, been to Drummossie Moor?" She says yes to each question except the last, upon which the interpreter retorts: "Madame, you are standing on Drummossie Moor!", prompting laughter from the audience. Number 20 would have been executed, and the rest of those who drew numbers are told that they would have been banished as slaves to the colonies.

The last Jacobite-oriented demonstration is A Highland Soldier, which discusses how men were selected to fight for Bonnie Prince Charlie. The interpreter dresses as a clan chieftain, wearing plaid 'trews', or trousers, as opposed to a kilt since they are more practical for the chief riding a horse. He selects two gentlemen from the audience and tells the first he is a 'tacx' man (a local landowner), the next a farmer, and they are placed in order according to class. The interpreter asks the farmer to take his shoes off. Although the audience laughs, he explains that it is no joke, as there are few shoes for the poor army. The chief then asks the tacx man to fight for him, who says yes. The chief poses the same question to the farmer who says no. As chief, he orders the tacx man to drive off the farmer's cattle if he will not comply, upon which the farmer changes his mind to more

laughter. The chief then hands weapons out to the men, a musket to the tacx man, and targe, dirk and sword to the farmer. He then sets the scene of what happened at battle, with the tacx man firing, and the farmer charging towards enemy lines. He says to the farmer "Right off you go", but he stays back himself, to further laughter. At the end he discusses how after Culloden not only Jacobites, but also Highlanders could not own weapons, wear tartan or speak Gaelic, as they were all banned in the Proscription Acts (See Section 5.2).

The final demonstration they give is Cumberland's Redcoats, which is also a presentation that has been handled very carefully since there are still negative connotations with the actions of the Government army after the battle. As such, this demonstration uses the most humour and the interpreters exclusively select children to help explain who these men were. At the start of the presentation the interpreter hands out a coin to a kid, sometimes two kids, in the audience without explanation. He brings the kid with the coin forward and asks: "Ever been in the army?" at which the audiences laughs. "You get to travel the world and make money, sound good?" The kid nods his head. "Good, don't say so much, good cannon fodder" which brings more laughter. The interpreter hands the boy an additional three coins and says that he probably wants a nice uniform, holding his hand out and asking the kid to return one coin. "You probably want flints and a weapon", holding his hand out again asking for a coin, "And I suppose you want to eat", once more holding his hand out without saying a word, but with much laughter in the audience. Next is training and loading the musket how to ram the charge down and putting it at half and full cock, at which point the interpreter explains the origin of the expression "firing at half cock". When there are two kids, he lines them up in two ranks, one behind the other. He asks the one kneeling in front, who would have had a musket firing by his ear: "How good's your hearing?". "Good", he replies. "Well, it won't be for long", bringing more laughter. Next the interpreter explains the bayonet tactics by the Government army, and ends the demonstration by explaining how after Culloden the British army adopted the Highland charge, used with great effect against them by the Jacobites.

The hope and goal of these demonstrations is to humanise the complicated narrative and allow people to try and picture what it must have been like at the time. By using humour, such as in the 'Cumberland's Redcoats' presentation, they are attempting to bring difficult topics to light in a way that everyone can understand without lecturing to people or making them feel uncomfortable; quite to the contrary, they are trying to entertain. It is especially wished that visitors can empathise with these representations of the past, in

particular the ‘redcoats’ by dispelling rumours of them all being raping murderers, and framing their experience as them being victims of the times. In doing so, it might be possible to challenge any preconceived ideas, which will be considered further in Section 6.3.1.

As discussed in Section 5.2.1.3, there are usually two guided tours of the battlefield a day, “Highland weather permitting” according to the events sheet posted in the centre. Even though the tour contains no new information that could not already be found in the visitor centre, a common comment in the interviews was that it was preferable to hear someone speak about the events than read about it. Those who did read and knew the information already found the tour to be of use and entertaining, as they could then refresh their memories of what they had already read and better visualise it in the place where it was being discussed.

Like the workshops, individual aspects and traits of the guides were considered very important. Although there are occasionally other members of staff who conduct tours, they are mainly run by the two interpreters who also do the workshops and presentations. Both were complimented on their clear speech and enthusiasm for the job. There is no script to what should be said on the tour, though there is a detailed list of points they are required to say, and some that they are required to put in a certain way, or not mention at all. Both guides spoke for nearly the same amount of time, with nearly identical word counts (See Table 6.1). Though the two styles varied in many ways, the content was largely the same. This was reflected in the opinions of the interviewees, whose opinions of the tours did not seem to be greatly influenced by whom they went with.

Though Guide 1 spoke for one minute longer, the word count was nearly identical to that of Guide 2. Interestingly, it was felt that G1 spoke more quickly than G2. However, as can be seen in Figure 3, they spoke at nearly the same rate of words per minute; indeed G2 spoke slightly faster. The reason for this is in all likelihood the delivery of each individual. G1 spoke with passion, interacted well with the audience and asked them several times if there were any questions; whereas G2 spoke more like an actor on stage to the audience, did not ask if there were any questions but readily answered any posed to him. G2’s voice was often described as authoritative and clear, and G1 was described as engaging and lively. Both were effective, and no one interviewed was disappointed; indeed, the guided tour was often mentioned as the highlight of their visit to Culloden.

Table 6.1: Differences in tour guides in minutes and by words

Point on tour	**Guide 1 (G1)**	**Guide 2 (G2)**	**Difference**
1. Introduction outside centre	00:48	01:06	G2, +00:18
2. Up path towards Government lines	01:59	03:00	G2, +01:01
3. At Jacobite lines	03:07	04:04	G2, +00:57
4. At Government lines	04:38	02:49	G1, +01:49
5. At Clan graves	02:30	02:12	G1, +00:18
6. At "English" grave	02:00	02:18	G2, +00:18
7. At Leanach cottage	02:43	01:32	G1, +01:11
8. Back at the centre	02:37	02:01	G1, +00:36
Totals			
Spoken time on tour (minutes)	20:22	19:02	G1, +01:20
Word count	2,983	2,930	G1, +53 words
Words per minute (approximate)	150	154	G2, +4 words

A third of those interviewed in the pilot study spoke with the live interpreter or asked him questions. For those that did, their questions tended to be about related topics that they were reading at the time before their visit, or points of personal interest. Sometimes these had nothing to do with the event, such Interviewee CPS17 who asked about Mary Queen of Scots who lived 200 years before the battle. Some people simply stated that they had no questions, or that they had already received enough information. At least one person admitted that he had questions but could not bring himself to speak to him. However, for the most part everyone felt welcome to ask questions. During the guided tour, both interpreters walked purposefully ahead of the group between points, not only to lead the way, but also to avoid answering a question to just one individual and not the entire group. The guides also said that protracted questioning could delay the tour from its proscribed time.

Interacting with the interpreters was important for some people, but nearly all people liked that they *could* speak with them if they wanted, even if they did not. One man very succinctly stated the advantages of having a live interpreter there: “because you are close to the person, uh, you can easily ask questions even if I would be afraid to speak. If there

is one person speaking to an audience, and you can ask questions, it's a bit different. Here you are really some sort of dialogue, personal contact with the person so it helps I think to create a dialogue" (Interview CPS14). Very few people asked for clarification about points that had been raised by the interpreter himself, with most freely admitting that they completely trusted the responses given and believed them to be accurate. Seig (2008: 257) postulates that visitors tend not to ask questions because they realise that they are in the 'passive role' as observer where information will be provided anyway (See also Smith 1999). If they do discuss these points or have questions, these would be talked about amongst themselves, and not with the interpreter (Seig 2008: 258). Generally with all the interpretation, people did not question the accuracy of that which was presented. Those with questions appreciated that their question was considered and quickly responded to, and everyone thought that the interpreters were very knowledgeable. The only people who were disappointed in any way asked questions that in fact had nothing to do with the events surrounding the battle.

There were less observations made at the living history encampment and the guided tours at Bosworth (See Section 5.3.1.3), though there was a presentation by Les Routiers de Rouen which was observed during the fieldwork. This was a weapons demonstration about how to kill a knight in armour. A Swedish man, Interviewee B7, was asked about his experiences there which he called "Readers Digest History", but it appealed to him because it gave him a general idea of what it was like at the time, and a good way for his kids to be entertained as well:

> B7: The talk was actually about different weapons; the use of weapons. It was quite juicy [laughter]. I think it was OK, he now and then overplayed a little bit, but that was him. It was a good show. And I learned one or two things as well.
>
> JS: What did you learn?
>
> B7: Well, actually how they treated horses. I knew it, that horses were also casualties on the battlefield, but he made it so, he visualised it, so well. You compare that to tanks and being an ex-army officer I know a lot about tanks and how, how to defeat tanks. Of course, it's natural they're the same thing just in different ages, just made my mind clear on that thing. Well I know a little bit about this, from my job and from my history interest so, well he just made it quite nasty and that was probably his meaning. [Laughter]

Some of the presentations at the living history area are for schools as well, which is approved by the education manager of the site. However, some staff, including the leader of the Routiers, noted that authenticity of what they do is 'flexible'. There has been some

tension with this aspect, but it has been difficult to strike a balance. Part of the issue is that the group, apart from the leader, are volunteers, and for them it is a hobby. They are a very tight-knit group, and it is clearly difficult for them to not view it as a weekend of fun with their friends, sometimes at the expense of an accurate representation of the past. This can be a problem if it becomes too theatrical as well, since research has noted that visitors have difficulty knowing what to expect, or if they would learn anything from the experience (Seig 2008: 255).

6.3 Reality and (mis)representation: Presenting Historical Fact On-site

Interpretation at battlefields relies on the authoritative voice of both the symbolic representations which denote a historic space (monuments, flags, panels, etc.), as well as the people who represent that authority (interpreters, staff members). Overall, visitors trusted that the staff were knowledgeable at the case study sites, and that what they read or heard at the sites was factual information, even if there was clear simplification of the narrative of battle events due to their complexity; a point similarly noted at Gettysburg by Azaryahu and Foote (2008: 187). Although this authority was not questioned, visitors who had previous knowledge which conflicted with the known historical reality presented at the site had marked difficulties in negotiating that past experience with this new information. These visitors used profoundly negotiated meanings (See Section 4.6) to comprehend and contextualise that previous information into newly acquired truths. However, it does not mean that people accepted this new information and completely rejected an incongruous previously held idea, just as Chronis (2005) found at Gettysburg. To the contrary, visitors tended to bend this newly obtained information to conform to what they believed to be true "in order to achieve the requisite narrative of coherence" (Hearn 2002: 746).

Even facts which are well-recognised and firmly established were viewed through this prism. Indeed, myth and mystery is an essential element of storytelling and playing with unidentified or unknowable ideas, as will be seen in Section 7.3. There is often a duality of these places not just between fact and fiction, but also between negative and positive values (Graham, Mason & Newman 2009: 18). When asked to explain their emotions or feelings at the site and these complicated understandings of reality, most respondents had trouble articulating their feelings into words. Many used elaborate hand movements, or gesticulants as the semiotician McNeill coined them, construing meaning that cannot be explicitly expressed through speech (Danesi 2007: 39). Moore (1997: 136) explains these feelings which he terms "intuitive experiences" of a 'sixth sense'. Chapter Seven will

explore these issues with space and reality in more depth. The purpose of this section is to discuss how the historical reality was challenged and understood by visitors at the case studies.

6.3.1 Battling Stereotypes: Pro-Scottish Sentiment at Culloden

Interviews conducted with tourists at Culloden showed that new information visitors learnt about the site was processed into previously acquired knowledge of not only this site, but others they have visited. Many visitors utilised the experience at this 'heritagescape' to construct ideas about what it was like to fight in war, and rationalise commitment to a cause which justified such extreme action. Overall, people processed the same information sources in differing manners depending on ideas which they wanted to reinforce within themselves, or in order to justify their previous notions; examples of which are detailed in this section.

Those who had been travelling around the area tended to know more about the greater context of the battle through visits to other sites, especially with sites connected with the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. One American woman commented about the events surrounding that period in saying: "we've been travelling around the last week and a half and we've been refreshing our memory reading about it in different places" (Interview CPS2). This is linked to a general knowledge of people interviewed who possessed some background to the events of Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Jacobites, or the Stuarts. This was usually learned in school or through a guide book or brochure. However, the vast majority of visitors interviewed had absolutely no understanding of the conflict other than perhaps that it was an important event and battle.

During interviews with visitors, they could generally explain the role of the Stuart pretenders to the throne and their motivations, but there was a serious lack of knowledge about the Hanoverian government. This is unsurprising since the information presented throughout the site and visitor centre covers the Jacobites in great detail, but does not give the Hanoverian Government as much depth to the greater narrative surrounding the battle. Many people could remember that the Jacobites fought at the site and their motivations, but they often struggled to explain why the Hanoverian Government was fighting and who these people were.

There were distinct differences in the perceptions of the events surrounding the battle from those who knew something about the battle before arriving at the site, and those who had little to no prior information. This often coincided with where these visitors came

from, with the majority of British visitors having previous knowledge as opposed to international visitors who possessed very little. Scots nearly always said that the only information they had about the conflict and factual context of the time was through what they learned in school – where ideas of the 'nation-state' and collective identity are formed (Assmann 2008: 64) – John Prebble's seminal book *Culloden*, or the film adapted from the latter by Peter Watkins (See Gold & Gold 2007: 18-21). Some English visitors knew about the battle from the same sources, though often to a lesser degree.

Wherever they came from, there were numerous stereotypes and falsehoods which people brought with them to the site. A large part of the legend and romance of Culloden grew around Bonnie Prince Charlie, and a nostalgia for the loss of highland culture as a result of the Highland Clearances and Proscription Acts. It is difficult to gather all the influences that have contributed to a continued misunderstanding of the facts, though they mostly came from two sources, the first was Mel Gibson's *Braveheart* (See McLean, Garden & Urquhart 2007: 221-222; Pollard & Banks 2010: 418). As evidence of the problems caused by the film, the staff keep a list of 'Daft Questions and Statements from Visitors', amongst which are numerous references to the confusion caused by the film: Is this the battle Mel Gibson fought at?; I've read all about this battle...it was before William Wallace and *Braveheart* wasn't it?; Is this what *Braveheart* is based on?; Is William Wallace's grave out there? Its influence is unsurprising since "historic films have the potential to strongly imprint a particular historical interpretation...[which] may create tensions, if that interpretation differs markedly from those provided by the existing attraction" (Frost 2006: 249). This was evidenced during the fieldwork several times. One man from Australia did not only think that *Braveheart* and Culloden were the same story, but explained the storyline of *Braveheart* to his family to 'help' contextualise the site:

> CPS9: Well I was very surprised how few people or few resources that the Scottish had. It was just like you see in the movie *Braveheart*, just another, warriors coming down from the hillside and got together and did the best they could, isn't it you know? Is that movie *Braveheart*, was that based on this particular battle?
>
> JS: And when you first came though, did you kinda think about *Braveheart* as you were doing this?
>
> CPS9: Yeah. (Explained how he tried to explain this to his wife). Particularly before we went in there to the movie so she had a bit of an idea of what was going to happen.

The other source is Diana Gabaldon's *Outlander* novel series which exalts the exploits of a heroic and very fictional, Jacobite warrior named Jamie Fraser which is a bestseller in the gift shop. In the book, a woman from the present is somehow transported back in time to the Jacobite rising and falls in love with Jamie. The reverence for Jamie is quite intense with some, such as with Interviewee CPS22, a German woman who talked at great length during the interview about her admiration for Jamie. She was delighted to see that there was a clan Fraser headstone on the site, and had to have a picture taken there. Another woman, Interviewee C4 referenced the books often, as she continually compared what she had learned in the books versus what was presented on-site; a phenomenon which was similarly observed at Gettysburg with Jeff Shaara's book *The Killer Angels* (Chronis & Hampton 2008: 116). The romanticism of the Jacobites and Scotland in the *Outlander* series was a powerful force for her, and she still believed because of them, despite having been around the centre, that it was a battle between England and Scotland. Although she was passionate about the history, it was clear that the 'reality' of that history was less important, which is actually a more general issue at historic sites today (Cameron & Gatewood 2000: 108).

One of the main goals of the education department at Culloden is to dispel the myth that it was a battle fought between England and Scotland, or effectively, English and Scots, as the project coordinator for the new centre emphasised: "Essential to that will be the ability to bring the visitor into the story by making it real, based on fact not fiction. Myths will be de-bunked. One approach is to use what evidence we have of real people who fought or were otherwise involved in the battle – from Prince to pauper." (Bennett 2004: 4). For some people, after receiving the on-site interpretation it became crystal clear: "I think it would dispel any myth that it was Scots versus English. It wasn't an attempt of the English to suppress the Scots or the Scots to have independence from England or from the UK, and it's dispelled that" (Interview CPS20). Interestingly, non-native English speaking visitors were often able to discuss the battle and what they learned about it on-site with relative ease in distinguishing between Jacobites and Hanoverians. This is perhaps due to the short brochure in multiple languages provided at the front desk which gives a basic overview of the events.

Though the historic record is very clear on this point with no ambiguity as to this truth, people still have difficulty comprehending that it was not a battle between England and Scotland. A common comment about previous knowledge of the battle came from Interviewee CPS4, a 58 year old Scottish woman who learned about it in school: "Well I

suppose at that time, it was really just a battle between the Scots and English, was what we would have thought about it would have been, and it was Bonnie Prince Charlie, who was battling to get the, the, um , Scotland's, um throne back from the English, that would be the basics of, and we knew it was a slaughter as well of the Scots." This belief is a universal problem not only with perceptions prior to visiting, but something that was not greatly dislodged after having visited. Winter (2009: 13) suggests that this has to do with the lack of emotion in history which is a key part of memory. In other words, the unhistorical 'memory' – or "mythical narrative" (Chronis & Hampton 2008: 119) – may evoke sentiments that history is incapable of transmitting.

One Scot understood that there were Scots in the Government army, but for him, it was the symbolism of the battle that was more important, such as Redcoats representing England, and Tartan a representation of Scotland (Interview C12). Even so, because he knew there were Scots on both sides, he had not yet made up his mind about which side was right or wrong. He suggested that if he knew his own family history this might change his perspective. However, when asked if he discovered that they had fought for the Hanoverian Government army, he had difficulty finding common ground with their perspective. This might have to do with a sustained "victimization and disempowerment" that Scots feel in regards to the 1745 rebellion (Hearn 2002: 759), along with the duality of betrayal within Scotland in this period and beyond (Ibid 760-762). After stating that the Government army were in the wrong, he attempted to rationalise why the Jacobites were justified in their cause:

> JS: What if you found out they were fighting for the Government?
>
> C12: Then you would, I suppose you would need to know why and you try to understand that, and I think you would pay, you pay more attention to the Government's cause and why, why it was, you know a bad thing cause it was all, you know partly the rise of the Jacobites was to do it for religious reasons. And I haven't got any affiliation as to, the Catholics from Rome or was the Protestants that were here at the time. But I think the reason you sympathise with Bonnie Prince Charlie, and the reason I think he got a lot of followers is because he was, the Stuarts were the heir to the, the rightful heir to the throne in Scotland, at the time. So I think that's why they gather a lot of sympathy, because if you're Scottish and you don't know a lot about it you think that the Scots should be in charge of their own country.

The on-site interpreters go to great lengths to emphasise the historical accuracy of the time, exclusively using the words 'Jacobite' and either 'Hanoverian' or 'Government' to refer to the respective sides of the battle during the half-hour tours of the battlefields. During a recording of the tour, one of the guides used the appellation 'Jacobite' 37 times

and ‘Hanoverian’ or ‘Government’ a total of 47 times in the 20 minutes or so of speaking time. He used the word ‘English’ only once, in reference to the ‘Field of the English Stone’ (See Section 5.2), to dispel the mistaken marking of where it was believed that the Government dead were buried. According to site staff, archaeological investigations have uncovered no signs of graves near the stone, yet it marks an obvious and convenient point in the tour where they can work on erasing the mistaken belief that the dead where exclusively English in the Government army. The tour guides explain that perhaps up to half of the Hanoverian army was comprised of Scots, including Highlanders, and that the Jacobites included not only Scots but French, Welsh, Dutch, Irish, and even English in their ranks. It is also here that the contrast in the number of causalities of each side is discussed, with about 300 on the Government side, and 1,500 on the Jacobite.

However this information is only available on the guided tour and on the handheld audio tour. There is no permanent exterior interpretation which explains any details about this stone, the clan graves or the memorial cairn. There is nothing at all stating that the stone is not only in the wrong place, but possess a stereotype which the site ostensibly wishes to correct. Instead, the area is left as it was in the 1880s, with incorrect information presented as fact. Although she was not part of the decision making process on how to interpret the battlefield, the Learning Manager explained how this affects the interpretive strategy at the site today (Interview CC):

> LM: One of the interpretative decisions that was made, when this exhibition was being built, was that there was not going to be a lot of panels on the field. It was a decision that was made, and a decision that will probably be stuck to.
>
> JS: But of course this particular point is crucial to the understanding of the battle.
>
> LM: I know, I know and it is, there are tensions between the information that people can access without coming into the centre and people who come through the centre. There has been no movement in the allowing of interpretative panels, on the battlefield, and I don’t think there ever will be. I think that there is, if somebody just goes around the battlefield they’re missing a lot, of information.
>
> JS: Of course, I mean it’s natural that they won’t get as much information.
>
> LS: One of the things that we’ve been discussing, is the use of an orientation sign before people go on to the battlefield, something that perhaps gives a bit more of the context of the battle so that people know what they are going out to look at.

Alexander Bennett, the NTS project coordinator for the new visitor centre at Culloden which opened in 2007, explained that the battlefield is "a place so resonant with atmosphere that any external interpretation must be as unobtrusive and sensitive as possible – another challenge that will need courage, and a lot of vision and determination!" (Bennett 2004: 4). The idea that 'atmosphere' is naturally inhabited within a space without any idea of what happened there is a difficult notion to take for granted. Paradoxically, a stated goal of the site's managers is to challenge those previously held ideas which are often grounded in myth; indeed, even Bennett stated that myths will be "debunked" (Ibid). This overgenerous supposition assumes that there is already a preconceived idea of that place which would somehow be naturally overcome, crucially, without additional information.

The battlefield is free to enter at any time, yet the exhibition costs £10.50 per adult or £25 per family, to visit. It is almost that the position has been taken that if one cannot afford to enter the exhibition, then certain essential information will be withheld. Even so, despite clear evidence that the vast majority of visitors to the site are foreigners, and whether foreign or domestic, that many presume that it was a struggle between England and Scotland, there is the unshaken believe that people visiting will somehow know what has happened without being provided with that information. This contradictory message is difficult to dislodge and communicate in the best of circumstances; it is impossible without the appropriate transfer of information such as with the 'Field of the English' stone.

Of course, the exhibition does attempt to address the many preconceived ideas people bring with them. Upon entering the visitor centre, next to the front desk to purchase tickets is a set of bagpipes; the first viewable object from the battle. Above it is a sign with the heading "Challenging Perspectives" which reads: "The events that led to the Battle of Culloden divided families and loyalties across Scotland. But the story of the Forty-Five is not as clear-cut as may first appear. These Highland pipes are believed to have been carried at Culloden – but perhaps by a piper on the government, not the Jacobite side." The way in which this panel has been written clearly anticipates that the reader already has some sort of previous knowledge (See Section 4.6) – such as knowing what 'the Forty-Five', 'government' and 'Jacobite' mean – but perhaps has an incorrect notion of what the exact facts of the battle are. As Bennett states: "We're going to be telling the story as it was, based on facts, impartially, and let the visitor then decide towards the end who was right and who was wrong. We're not saying Bonnie Prince

Charlie was right, we're not saying the Duke of Cumberland was right in what he did, but the visitors can make their own mind up" (STV 2009). In presenting information in this matter, visitors who knew very little or nothing about the battle before coming are automatically more confused since they did not know that there was a controversy in the first place. Indeed, the way in which the information is written and presented in the visitor centre is very clear, and it aptly states how the events transpired. What it does not accurately do is directly challenge those ideas which are false.

That being said, the live interpreters do take the opportunity inside the visitor centre to challenge people who think it was English versus Scottish. The way they like to do this the most in the exhibit is by wearing a Royal French Ecossais uniform. This costume is often mistaken as that of a 'redcoat', 'English' Government army soldier. When this happens they look around alarmed asking "Where?!", whereby they explain that they are not dressed as a Hanoverian; quite to the contrary. They describe that the white cockade on their hat distinguishes them as Jacobites, further explaining how the French supported Prince Charles and the Stuart claim to the throne. It is these moments, where they cannot only challenge and provoke (See Section 4.4), but actually change someone's opinion that they feel like they have made a difference.

Even so, despite acknowledging the facts of the battle, there are those who chose to either ignore or rationalise them for their own purposes. One example is from the trailer for the immersion theatre film at in the exhibit which was posted on YouTube on 20 July 2007, and has since received 96,886 views as of January 2013. This one minute and twenty-four second trailer has garnered 504 comments of which the majority launched into debates about the battle and its participants (YouTube 2007). Most commentators loudly and proudly declare themselves biased in favour of the Scots and Jacobite cause (some even proclaiming to still have attached loyalties to the House of Stuart). Fascinatingly, many recognise and understand that there were Scots fighting on both sides of the field on that decisive day, but attempt some form of justification as to why that occurred.

There are two main themes that come out of these debates. The first is that many Scots were pressed into service. Historically, this is accurate on both sides, and is verifiable in the historic record. The second theme is that those who fought in the Hanoverian army, whether pressed or voluntarily, are considered traitors today to Scotland and the 'true' king, James III. Despite the borderline obsession to detailed historical accuracy within a large number of the YouTube posts, the debate more precisely centres on a definition of

'Scottishness' (See Sterry 2008), and what that means for the participants within this online community today. This has turned into a platform of nationalistic spirit and verve, with some quotes even in Gaelic. Others state that they would have fought with Bonnie Prince Charlie (and therefore in their mind Scotland) even if they were pressed into the Duke of Cumberland's army. The few commentators that take the alternative viewpoint are denounced with a torrent of profanity and xenophobic discontent as racist and committing continued cultural genocide. Those with moderate voices trying to understand the situation in its historic context receive similar condemnation, fairing little better in the esteem of the 'true sons of Scotland.'

Though this lively discussion has taken place online, the video shows a portion of what can be seen at the visitor centre, and is therefore useful for gaining an insight into how information is negotiated at the site and juxtaposed with the live interpretation. The Scots in particular have a difficult time processing the facts of the battle. A spirit of nationalism is quite obvious within the rancorous online dialogues, and seems to be at the core of this uneasiness in accepting what happened at the time, juxtaposed with how they feel about themselves today. This dichotomy is difficult for many as it would be rejecting how they have formed their identity, though it is subject to change (Dicks 2003: 121; McLean & Cooke 2003: 113-114; Rounds 2006). By accepting the much muddier and rather unsettling historical truths, they would ultimately alter how they view themselves and their collective historical memory (Assmann 2008; Dicks 2003: 127).

6.3.2 Battling the Legacy of Shakespeare's Richard at Bosworth

Visitors to Bosworth tended to know more about the battle before arriving on-site than those at Culloden. This perhaps had to do with the fact that most of them were locals, and had heard about it in school and in the regional media. Regardless of the source, visitors generally knew the basic information that this battle ushered in the Tudor dynasty, with the fall of the House of York and the demise of the Plantagenets. They also knew that it was part of the Wars of the Roses, with some knowing that it brought an effective end to this long lasting conflict. Due to the common knowledge that it was between the houses of York and Lancaster, with their symbolic white and red roses respectively, there were some who were very confused why the battle should take place in Leicestershire, seemingly a far-flung locale for a battle between counties to the north. The visitor centre does little to explain this, other than providing a folder on a stand in the 'Road to Bosworth' section of the exhibit with references to other battles in the Wars of the Roses. Whilst a careful reading of this would go a long way in explaining this apparent oddity in

battlefield selection, observations suggest that very few people spend any considerable time looking through this section or the folder with additional information.

Those who had knowledge of Bosworth prior to visiting the site typically learned it in school or from related heritage sites, mostly associated with Richard III. One man still remembered learning the colours of the rainbow with a helpful Ricardian mnemonic device: Richard Of York Gave Battle in Vain (Interview B4). The last Plantagenet king was the most common link to how people had previous knowledge of the battle, linked most strongly with Shakespeare's play *Richard III*. Shakespeare portrayed Richard as a hunchbacked tyrant, guilty of killing his nephews the Princes in the Tower, a cold-blooded monarch willing to rule at any cost. Lost in the confusion of battle and stuck in marshy ground, Shakespeare has the soon-to-be-deposed monarch cry: "A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse!" Written during the Elizabethan period, the play was in truth a piece of Tudor propaganda which was produced to further legitimise the Tudor's rule.

Shakespeare's Richard, however, has proven to be an enigmatic and irresistibly fascinating character for actors and audiences alike. There have been countless adaptations of Shakespeare's version of events over the years in theatrical productions, Hollywood films and other works inspired by the tyrannical madness exhibited by Shakespeare's character, though not necessarily by the actual king. The best-known cinema versions have been from Lawrence Olivier and Ian McKellan. The latter work is set in the 1930s, with many themes which could be mistaken for Nazi fascism in Germany in the same period, therefore equating Richard with Hitler. The former is such a well-known production that it was played on a loop in the pre-2007 Bosworth visitor centre (English Heritage 1995a: 10), though it has been omitted from the present display. Shakespeare was able to nearly singlehandedly completely rewrite the Richard narrative, thereby bringing falsified versions of events through time to the present in his widely popular play.

Both visitors and staff felt Shakespeare's disparaging vilification of Richard ill-placed, countering it with an exuberating degree of affection which was prevalent and profound. This bias towards Richard and against or at best neutral to Henry Tudor was exhibited in many forms throughout the research, including several times from the staff at the Centre during the fieldwork. Several of them estimated that about 80% of the visitors had a pro-Richard bias, with the remaining 20% either pro-Henry/Tudor or without preference either way (Bosworth Field Notes 2011). For instance when asked what the most popular

items are in the gift shop, staff concurred that it was books to do with Richard III. Even one of the staff members admitted that the book *The Sunne in Splendour* by Shannon Penman, reportedly a popular novel with Ricardians at the gift shop, had converted her to Richard's side. When asked whether she had read anything about Henry Tudor, she pointed out a book which was not about him directly, further suggesting that he is ignored and not widely appreciated.

Even more candidly evidenced was the exceptionally staunch Richard III partiality within the living history group Les Routiers de Rouen, both in their portrayals and personal feelings. The group wear clothing with the white rose and boar of Richard prominently displayed, and even the leader of the group has readily visible tattoos with pro-Ricardian themes. Despite this clear bias, the group work with the learning team to discuss the Tudors with school children; a key element in the curriculum for school visits. It was difficult to see how the group could portray objectively, or even at all, the Lancastrian Tudors. When asked how they do this, the leader rather scornfully and curtly replied that because the Battle of Bosworth was the start of the Tudor dynasty, talking about anything to do with that day was covering the Tudors. Unsurprisingly, therefore, no direct portrayal of the Tudors by the living historians was noted in the fieldwork[10]. When the leader of the group was asked about this bias, a short laugh was followed by him unleashing a long list of things he liked about Richard, such as his piousness, developing universities and other important institutions, and hated about the Tudors: "The Tudors were usurpers"; "Henry's win was treason"; "Worst case of treason ever"; "It was won by treason, not by skill" (Bosworth Field notes 2011). The repeated claims of treason were mostly to do with Stanley's role in changing sides; a figure in the Bosworth narrative that is talked even less about than Henry. One visitor did talk about Henry, but in similar disparaging terms:

> B10: It's that, well I've read, and I've got one or two biographies of Henry VII, but he's not a fascinating character like I've found Richard really, for whatever reason I don't know. Um [laughs] I've always said to a lot of people I've said, well when you look at the pictures of Richard III and Henry VII, would you buy a used car from Henry VII? Because I certainly wouldn't, he looks a mealy mouthed person. [Laughter]

The Ricardian favouritism was also demonstrated in the planning for the exhibit redesign in the visitor centre. One of the original plans featured two rotundas, the battle rotunda which is present today, and the other with a memorial to Richard III that would have been

[10] On the group's former YouTube page, which has been taken down since viewed in 2010, there were several videos of their previous portrayals in the living history encampment. The only example of them portraying the Tudors was capturing a Lancastrian spy in camp who was promptly executed in cold blood.

in white. Another proposal featured a corridor to the left past the Richard statue with the king being slain and the other with Henry being crowned. None of these plans were realised due to a lack of space and funds (Interview BB), though not evidently due to any concerns of a potential bias.

Nonetheless, the Keeper at the site finds it personally upsetting that people celebrate Richard, but not the other 1,000 or more people that died at the battle (Interview BB). He wanted to produce a narrative with a character that people could relate to and empathise with, in order to contemplate more than the demise and deification of Richard. It was for this reason that the fictional John the archer character (See Section 5.3.1) 'dies' as the account of the battle unfolds in the rotunda, and at the end of the exhibit 'his' bones are displayed (See Figure 6.3). Here visitors can slide a panel along the bones to investigate how he died from his wounds, with explanatory information along the side of the display.

Figure 6.2: Bones representing John the Archer, views from top and side

Only one woman, Interviewee B1, mentioned that she found the bones and the story of John the Archer interesting at the end, but it was two men, Interviewees B2 and B4, who spoke most ardently and with great emotion about John. They noticed his rural Norfolk accent and that he seemed like an authentic character; particularly with his poor teeth. Both understood that he was fictional, but they immediately connected with him since he represented "a broad spectrum of the type of guy that was in the mercenaries, or, or Richard's forces, whatever at that time", and that he would have been that type of man at the time (Interview B2). "I'm his friend, you know I've made pals with him, and you don't like losing a pal. Now, Lord Stanley, OK if he goes, fair enough...probably deserved it, you know. So, it's how you built a character and your relationship innit?" (Interview B2). Both men realised that it could have been either themselves or someone

they knew who would have been in the same situation at the time, more so than one of the commanders, like Stanley or Richard. Yet it went deeper for them, as it made them contemplate why people fight wars in the first place:

> B4:...the archer who was just a farmer who was forced to fight, and he fought in, you follow his story through and he died, in the battle and that was quite sad really.
>
> JS: Yeah, were you saddened by that, event?
>
> B4: Well I think what it is, it [pause] when you, if you [pause] it's an association thing isn't it? If you know someone who's, if you know somebody who's involved, whereas if it's just figures of 2,000 people dying in the battle well that's just a figure isn't it? But if you actually get to know somebody, and you know somebody and then they die then is just makes it a bit more personal.
>
> JS: And did it make it more personal thinking about the other men as well, or did you focus just kinda on this one character?
>
> B4: Well it makes you, no I think the idea is it makes you think about all the other people who are just, forced to fight, weren't they? And, a lot of them didn't know why they were fighting, what they were fighting for, it didn't make any difference to them, and um from that point of view it's quite sad isn't it?

This was echoed by Interviewee B2 who stated that conflict should be avoided at all cost and that battle isn't a good thing, but nobody ever learns from these past mistakes, not even today:

> B2: So John the Archer's little bit part in all this, was pretty pointless, in effect. And he shouldn't have died cause he shouldn't have gone to war, cause he was fighting for a shilling a day. You know it fed his family and his kids I suppose but, even in his little transcript he says, 'that's if I make it through the day.' And many of them didn't, you know. Sad really, innit, you know?

At least with these two men, the interpretation at the visitor centre has succeeded in getting them to think about the other soldiers besides Richard who died at the battle. To the exterior the new memorial sundial on top of Ambion Hill has been erected for similar reasons, (See Figure 5.14). This has been produced as a modern monument to all of the soldiers who died at Bosworth, as well as the other Wars of the Roses battles which are listed at the base of the memorial with their distances in miles from that spot. There was some criticism that it was too modern looking (Interviews B1 and B5), and at least one person did not realise at first that it was a sundial (Interview B11). Interviewee B6 described it as "unusual", though "on the whole appropriate" with the incorporation of the

crown and the compass points where one can visualise the other battles in the distance. Further reflecting about the monument, B11 thought it "tasteful, you know it's quiet, it's peaceful up there, it's you know there are thousands of people who gave their lives, soldiers as they do in every battle and I think it's a nice place to remember that." The association with peace and being a place of reflection was a common response to the new monument:

> JS: And what did you think about the sundial?
>
> B8: Um, I suppose it's a way to gather your thoughts about the period...And it's just a way of reflecting on perhaps the sacrifice that people made 500 years ago. It's hard for us now to perhaps think about these things, the War of the Roses...and we don't seem to conceptualise the human sacrifice and the human suffering that people went through for these great causes that were so important to them at the time...and it's just a way of recognising that, you know people did suffer, people did die during this conflict and it was a very, very tragic thing...It's just a way of perhaps understanding that, you know this is real people, this is real people this isn't just a story, this actually happened 500 years ago, people did die, so it's just a way of thinking about that. And I think that that gives you a much greater bond to the past, than I think you perhaps otherwise would.

Despite the well-intended attempt at neutrality in remembering the deaths of the soldiers who fought, Richard's flag with the white boar continues to flutter overhead, complicating this stance at impartiality. There are additional Richard memorials on-site, including King Dick's well and a standing stone where he was supposed to have fallen, which will be discussed in Section 7.3.2, as well as a significant Ricardian presence in the local church. There are no Henry VII or associated Tudor memorials or monuments in the area. Fascinatingly, there have been several Shakespearian quotes written on posts along the battlefield trail. In this way, the site managers have attempted to appropriate the erroneous narrative of Shakespeare's *Richard III* play, using his own words as their weapon of choice.

6.3.3 Battling Obscurity at Flodden

Unlike Culloden and Bosworth, the interpretive presentation at Flodden has to combat its relative obscurity to visitors. The first interpretation panel at the site, located in the car park, states: "Branxton is the small village that encompasses this hugely important, yet so far relatively unknown historical site. We hope that our efforts will inform and educate, and bring visitors to this part of the Borderlands, and help consolidate the bonds of friendship across the Border that are today, the hallmark of life hereabouts" (Flodden Field Notes 2011). A large part of that apparent insignificance has to do with the lack of

explanation as to why the battle should be considered otherwise. Indeed, there is actually no effort to elucidate the details of the significance of the event in the context of the period and its repercussions which have simply been left out.

Instead, the panels and brochure detail the actions of the commanders of the day including the routes they took to meet each other and the various bridges and rivers that needed to be crossed to access the field of battle. This is followed by how they moved upon the ground once the two armies met, presenting tactics and manoeuvres and explaining their military consequences. In the middle of the brochure, between listings of local amenities, attractions, a suggested tour of the battlefield and ways to arrange a guided tour, there is a description of the weaponry used by the two sides. This includes the differences between the pikes the Scots wielded ineffectively against the more devastating billhooks the English used to slaughter their northern neighbours, as well as the difference in artillery between the armies.

Although there was general agreement by visitors that the signs and brochure were written well and gave a good overview of events, it was equally clear that they did not provide enough information to understand the importance of the battle. Apart from a brief mention at the informational panel next to the memorial on Piper Hill stating that Henry VIII was fighting in France, so the Scots renewed the Auld Alliance, there is no further information about why the battle was fought. Although this panel and the brochure state that the Scottish King James IV was killed in battle, there is no explanation of the consequence of his death on events in Britain thereafter, or any details as to the aftermath whatsoever. One woman, who has been to all of the case studies, compared her visit to Flodden to a previous one at Bosworth, stating how she liked the way they spoke about daily life and the average person at Bosworth "as opposed to just on the day of the battle" (Interview F3). It is essential to contextualise battles, particularly the events thereafter, which, as shall be seen in Chapter Eight, is crucial to how battles are immortalised today. When these ramifications are not explained, then the importance of the battle is misunderstood and lost.

However, this was not the case with all visitors, particularly those who have been to the site many times. For Interviewee F2, visiting Flodden is very important, which he compared to a religious pilgrimage: "Well it's almost like boosting my batteries. Does that make sense? It's like topping up the experience of coming, and the spirituality of it all. I use that word a lot, don't I? But I do think that places like this do have a certain

spirituality" (Interview F2). For another gentleman, he had a similar experience which was different than the last time he had been to the site last about ten years ago: "Um, my impressions are, in actual fact my memory is that it was a very melancholy site, but today, it's summer, although it's raining, and it's more peaceful than anything else. And it's obviously well-managed, there's access, there's the monument" (Interview F4). Even so, some regular visitors realise that many people do not know about Flodden and do not know it is a place of reverence. An English woman who had been to Flodden about a dozen times put it this way: "I don't think it means a lot to a lot of people. I think you've got to be interested in history, you've got to want to know something about English history or Scottish history. I mean I said to a lot of my friends oh we go to Flodden. What's that, where's that?" (Interview F1). In contrast, this still was very important for her, and she compared it to the battlefields on the Somme from World War I, as did Interview F3, and that this site was just as important.

Without a doubt the effects of Flodden on Scotland's politics, with an intriguing background of confused loyalties and friends and foes difficult to discern, were very important in British history. Indeed, even more interesting for this research, the case studies are all linked by Flodden. The leader of the Scots was their king James IV who was married to Margaret Tudor, daughter to Henry VII, the victor of Bosworth and Elizabeth of York, Richard III's niece. Margaret was also sister to her husband's adversary Henry VIII, represented that day in 1513 by the Earl of Surrey whilst the English king was fighting the French. It was her granddaughter, Mary Queen of Scots, who bore James I, who united the kingdoms of England and Scotland. This also founded the Stuart dynasty in Britain, which after much trouble, ultimately ended disastrously for them at Culloden. The fact that this battle was central in the politics of succession at this time, and how future conflicts were affected, is not noted. Nor is the devastation that such a large number of men killed from all walks of life that inevitably would have been caused to families in both countries, but particularly Scotland.

As mentioned previously, the vast majority of visitors to the site only go from the car park to the monument and back again (See Figure 6.3 for a detail of this area and Figure 5.20 for the entire battlefield trail with points), only stopping at two panels (Points 1 and 3) and perhaps taking a brochure at Point 2. The other six panels are not visited often; indeed, during the fieldwork only one group of four went along the path. Otherwise, most people spent only about ten minutes by the monument and the information panel next to it at Point 3. Even so, if a visitor takes a brochure they can read a summary of the main

points from the other information panels on the inside section, along with a having detailed map of the area. However, judging from the lack of time spent in the area, if people do decide to read further through the brochure, it would in all likelihood be without surveying the ground at the same time.

Figure 6.3: Detail of Flodden battlefield trail with car park in upper left, and monument on bottom right

Undeniably it is a difficult task to present information to people who spend so little time at the site, with so few things to see. Yet the lack of visual intrusions was part of the appeal to the area, as Section 7.3.3 will further detail, and every person interviewed liked how the information was presented, finding it easy to read and understand. Interviewee F3, a Scot living in England, explained the difficulty in accessing enough information whilst still maintaining the feel for the countryside: "I think there's a fine line between having to make an open-air battlefield not too cluttered with information boards. I think it's quite nice as it is, just having the barebones". Her first impressions of the site were like a World War I battlefield, calling the place "atmospheric", but "partly I suppose that's what you make up in your own head" (Interview F3). She described how she felt like she had a good grasp of the basic facts of the battle from the information provided, and that she was interested in learning more at another time.

Part of the lack of recognition of the site might have to do with its location in rural England. The fact that it is not in Scotland, where it had the most enduring impact, might contribute to the deficiency in the cultural awareness of the battle. Keene (2010: 6) found that commemoration was lacking for the 1950s 'forgotten war' in Korea, suggesting that this was partly due to the fact that most of the action occurred in what is now the difficult-to-visit North Korea. A similar process was described by Ferguson (2007) about the battles of Aughrim and the Boyne in Ireland, where the Protestant communities

descended from the victors live in the separate area of Northern Ireland – a phenomenon she refers to as "detached heritage" (2007: 87). It is difficult to state for certain that this is the case at Flodden, though it is certainly worth considering, as it has been noted that wars are rarely fought in "neutral territory" which make them difficult to manage (Gegner & Ziino 2012a: 6).

Though the battlefield is in England, it is not far from the border with Scotland, and there are many border communities in Scotland which commemorate the battle both in their own communities and at the battlefield. For instance the Flodden 1513 Club based in Coldstream, only four miles from the battlefield, goes to the field on the anniversary on 9th September every year and lays a wreath at the monument on Piper Hill whilst bagpipes play (Flodden 1513 Club 2012). Another organisation, the Ex-Standard Bearers of Selkirk, join them with their own wreath in this small ceremony (Ibid). Also yearly in the Scottish Borders are the Common Ridings, a pre-Flodden tradition to claim territorial boundaries which was connected to the turbulent border feuds of the Reiver period. Riders from Coldstream lay a wreath as part of the festivities of Civic Week in August at the memorial (Return to the Ridings 2012).

There are a number of events in conjunction with the 500th anniversary of the battle in 2013 (Flodden 1513 2012). As mentioned in Section 5.4.1.2, part of the quincentenary has been marked with the establishment of the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum. In addition to the events planned within the region for the year, there are numerous research projects planned over several years, including documentary and archaeological. A main goal is to find more primary sources about the battle, evidence for the muster points of the armies on their way to battle, and the after-effects in the communities. One of the primary reasons for the establishment of the project was to bring more recognition of the battle, as the current state is lamented on the homepage of the Ecomuseum: "Yet apart from the north of Northumberland these catastrophic events are largely unknown in England despite their influence in shaping British and European politics for the next 100 years, culminating with the union of the English and Scottish crowns in 1603" (Flodden 1513 2012). As noted above, this imperative information is missing from the interpretive display at the site, so this is something the Ecomuseum project wishes to rectify.

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter demonstrates that the way on-site interpretation is presented greatly influences what someone learns about a site. However it is equally apparent that

negotiated meanings do not just focus on information that people receive at a site, but are heavily influenced by what they have previously seen and learned. If newly acquired knowledge contradicts this previous knowledge, it is often contorted or justified to fit within the paradigm that people wish it to. Therefore, though this may be accepted, it is almost certainly conformed to fit within that landscape of knowledge that each individual possesses. Dicks (2003: 121) maintains that this knowledge of the past is important for identity construction which can be manipulated and is not bound by what happened, but how it is viewed today. The remaining question is how important the location of that information within an 'authentic' space is for negotiating its meaning. Therefore, the next chapter will be devoted to understanding the 'heritagescape' of a battlefield in the interpretive presentation.

Chapter Seven – Deconstructing the 'Real': The Perceived Importance of Authentic Place

"'Through those motels and fried-chicken stands, Pickett's men charged. The first line faltered in the Burger King parking lot and regrouped next to the Tastee Freeze.' - Tour guide standing on Cemetery Ridge, pointing to the west of Gettysburg National Military Park, 1991" (Andrus 1999: iv; quoting McMahon 1991: 16)

"Authenticity is a highly problematic category in historical practice and it is right that we offer a critique of it, noting how, even in apparently politically sophisticated work, it is not only present, but traded upon, sometimes in quite emotionally manipulative ways. Authenticity can imply truth claims that are rooted in the emotions, especially those connected with suffering, and not fully amenable to reasoned argument or critical evaluation" (Jordanova 2000: 98)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter further analyses the fieldwork from the three case studies to consider authenticity of place in regards to an understanding of battlefield heritagescapes. The first section provides details of the landscape modifications at Culloden – the most extensive case in the UK of altering a battlefield to make it look as it did at the time of the battle – and the importance of the authenticity of that recreation. The second part deals with the importance for visitors of being at the 'real' location where a battle took place, or away from the 'actual site'. The contrasting examples of Culloden and Bosworth are used to analyse how visitors relate to interpretive presentations at or away from the 'real' site. Following these evaluations, Flodden will be analysed and contrasted to the previous case studies.

The enquiries in this chapter include how the context and methods of interpretation are used to present certain aspects of authenticity, as well as the importance of being in that 'actual' location for effective communication of those messages. As reviewed in the previous chapter, this is usually in contrast to a fact-based, as historically accurate as possible presentation, which is subject to extreme 'negotiated readings' (Hall 1999). It is essential to understand the perceived importance of authentic place to visitors, since this is often incongruent to considerations and values drawn from archaeology, history and (dark) tourism studies. As was presented in Chapters One and Two, these have been the disciplines which have had the most influence on the development of the significance of historic battlefields today. It is argued that the assumption of certain values of battlefields from these disciplines conflicts with those from visitors' standpoints.

Chapter Eight will build on the results analysed here and in Chapter Six to present a more nuanced understanding of what battlefield heritage means today for visitors. As will be

explained, the authenticity and interpretation of the place both cultivate and inhibit a nuanced understanding of what the site means, which is directly linked to the individual memory and identity of visitors. This will include examples from the three case study sites, as well as further related examples, which help to both illustrate current and contrast previously understood values on how battlefields and associated sites have been deemed important.

7.2 Managing Alteration and Modification: Landscape Restoration at Culloden

Of the three case studies, Culloden has undergone the most dramatic landscape restoration project to date; perhaps one of the most significant in the UK. Since the battle in 1746, the landscape has changed considerably, most notably in the use of the land for the growth of timber. Substantial areas of the battlefield had large conifers planted in the 1840s, replacing the prevalent moorland present at the time of the battle with forests and farms (NTS 2010: 69). In 1926 the Forestry Commission started the management of the woods, which still retained sections of timber predominately featuring conifer trees, but further included beech, alder and birch by this time (Forestry Commission 2012). The existing section of these woods currently lie outside the area of the battlefield maintained by the NTS, and according to Culloden staff totals about half of the original battlefield (Culloden Field Notes 2010, 2011).

The NTS has sought to restore the original open grassland and moorland landscape to the area of the field that it owns, which has proven to be an on-going, ceaseless task. In 1982 they began felling the conifer plantation that had dominated the area for nearly 150 years, and in less than a decade native heather took root independent of human intervention (NTS 2012). However, the area around the clan graves did not have the Scot's pine and gorse bushes removed until 2006, an effort that not only opened the area up and gave a better feeling of the contours of the mounds, it also revealed previously unknown grave stones (Interview CA).

Despite the massive effort to eradicate the woods in the last thirty years, the removal of trees remains a continuous task. The most troublesome are the broadleaved trees, in particular birch and willow, which have tended to grow quicker than the efforts used to eradicate them could keep up with (NTS 2012). A number of solutions to this problem were attempted, including volunteers and even prisoners working to remove the trees by hand (NTS 2012), but this laborious operation proved to be too slow and ineffective. Burning was considered but rejected on the grounds of insensitivity to the site (Interview

CA) as well as the drastic appearance which would result (NTS 2012). Another possible solution would be mechanical and chemical removal, but consultations with archaeologists and nature conservationists have ruled these out on a large scale as being too destructive to potential artefact remains, as well as the native flowers and bird life (Interview CB).

The most effective method of tree and bush eradication has been grazing from cows and sheep. Traditionally there would have been black cows in the area, though this breed is now extinct, and so larger Highland cows were introduced, though they proved to be too large and destroyed too much ground (Interview CB). Ironically, some destruction by the cows was beneficial. Volunteers worked to rebuild dry-stone dykes (an integral feature of the battle) which the cows subsequently damaged; much like what would have happened in the 18th century, so the unforeseen damage was retained (Interview CA). Though generally effective, the cattle were only there for a short time in enclosed areas due to the associated health and safety risks with visitors (Interview CA). Since 2012, some Highland cows are at the site, though not on the battlefield area, but next to the car park at the front of the centre.

The most sustained effort at grazing started in 1999 when a flock of approximately 150 Hebridean sheep were introduced after trials showed that the sheep ate new tree and brush growth but tended to avoid grazing on heather (there was also the added benefit of their wool being used to make products for sale in the gift shop) (NTS 2012). Unfortunately the sheep didn't like birch, and the fences used to corral them were deemed to take too much away from the openness of the field (Interview CA), and as a result the project was abandoned after a few years. Currently the NTS is rethinking small pens, this time with goats (Interview CB), though it is unclear whether the openness of the field would be drastically affected once more.

The Hebridean sheep which had been introduced by the NTS were partially financed by Gales Honey who were interested in maintaining the heather and local flora as a safe bee habitat for honey production (NTS 2012). The open fields which held the native flowers were allowed to grow in the summer and then were grazed by the sheep in autumn and winter to allow for re-growth in the following year (Ibid). However, the ground in April 1746 would have had short grass and heather, so this effort has been more for the benefit of the honey producing bees, as well as for visitors (particularly locals) who enjoy the

nesting birds and flowers (Interview CA). Since the area is no longer grazed it, along with the heather, is cut once a year with low-impact mechanically tracked machinery (Ibid).

In this instance, the intensive land management has less to do with maintaining strict verisimilitude of the space and more to do with meeting the demands of current visitor expectations. To be sure, despite the clear concern for native species in these sustained and arduous conservation efforts the main focus of the work has always been to facilitate the narrative of the battle to the visitor:

> "It's important I think for people to get a sense of place, and what it would've been like and if they're going to visit the battlefield, to see it as near as they could get it, the way it was. Because, you know, walking about the forestry, seeing the graves and things...you hear them [visitors] saying 'why did they fight in the forest?' They're just not connecting with it in the same way, whereas if it's the way it was, and you're out there, you can think if you're out here on a cold rainy day or whatever and the wind's blasting you, and you're not in a nice little sheltered forest walk, you would get a better sense of what it was about, and how it would've been like" (Interview CB).

Interviewees were generally impressed with the openness of the field. People's perception of the authenticity of the setting and how the field and centre fit in to the surrounding landscape was very important. For some, it fit into notions of what Scotland is 'supposed' to look like, particularly from preconceived ideas usually represented in stereotypical form, as discussed in Section 6.3.1. One gentleman from Germany stated: "Although it's a battlefield it's also lovely. It's like my memories, so ich mir Schottland vorstelle [how I imagine Scotland to be]. It looks like there are little mountains, high grass. It's like in the film, like in Mel Gibson's film, *Braveheart*" (Interview CPS7). At least three other interviewees also made reference to *Braveheart* or Mel Gibson, including a woman from the USA (Interview CPS17), a man from Australia (Interview CPS9), and another man from England (Interview C3). Much like the German, the Australian thought that not only did the area look like the film, but he thought at least part of the film was based on that battle (Interview CPS 9). The American woman had an idea in her mind before arriving of what the area would look like based on *Braveheart*, and felt that it "seems a silly place for a battle", since she thought that "Scottish people" participated more in "guerrilla warfare" (Interview CPS17). Even though these visitors had preconceived ideas of what the area would look, which was ultimately shown to be incongruous with the reality, none of them was disappointed with their visit.

Despite the well-intentioned landscape alterations to make most of the field appear as it did in April 1746, there have been complaints by people who visited the site before such changes were made extensively in 2006 (Interview CA). This came out during the fieldwork for this research with a Scottish woman who was very disappointed in the way the site had changed since her last visit before the removal of trees around the clan graves and memorial cairn. She did not enter the visitor centre on this trip, and had only been around the battlefield when she explained the following in her interview:

> JS: OK…when you came here today, what were your impressions of the site today?
>
> CPS19: Very different…The walkways, the pathways the stones seem to be in different places, everything seems to be different. There was more, I remember there was more shrubbery, more greenery, more bushes. I think maybe there was a tree or two. It's just all flat and boring now.
>
> JS: OK, how do you feel about this change then?
>
> CPS19: Very cynical. Because I feel, the stones are in different places. Or maybe it could be because the landscape's changed. I'm not impressed.
>
> JS: So has it changed your idea about the site then?
>
> CPS19: Yes.
>
> JS: OK, and it sounds like it's a bit negative.
>
> CPS19: Very negative.
>
> JS: OK, and what did you expect to see then…in your opinion?
>
> CPS19: Like the last time, more natural. The surroundings environment were natural, but it seems to be landscaped, that's how I feel.
>
> JS: And why do you think that is?
>
> CPS19: Um, maybe so they can get more people in [laughter]. I don't know, I think now it's geared towards financial gain.

People like this woman may feel as though their own cultural memory or identity is being eroded away or that sites are compromising the integrity of the historic landscape at the expense of irresponsible, fiscally motivated objectives; a similar discontent with commercialisation was evidenced at Gettysburg by Chronis & Hampton (2008: 121). The unease and discomfort with changes at sites could be linked to a lack of "ontological security" in that a sense of reality and order is disrupted through unexplained chaos (Rounds 2006: 139-141). A similar controversy took place at Gettysburg in 1980 with the removal of trees from an area of the battlefield valued by locals as an ideal spot for

picnics, but which did not have woods at the time of the battle in 1863 (Linenthal 1993: 112). The actual concern, though, lies in the lack of interpretative elements explaining the decisions taken to transform the landscape; indeed, no information is provided on this at Culloden, either in the visitor centre or on the field, other than the occasional mention on the guided tour. At least one visitor referred to the immersion video as an aid in understanding what the ground looked like (Interview C9), though the vast majority apparently took for granted that the site looks as it did at the time of the battle; several specifically highlighted the importance of it being 'unchanged' (Interviews C3, C7, C11, C12).

Since there is no formal explanation of the efforts made at the site to maintain the look of the field as it was at the time of the battle, the assumption is that people will come to such conclusions themselves, regardless of previous knowledge. This has not been the only instance of a deliberate absence in interpretation at Culloden, as noted by the clan graves (Section 6.3.1), and is certainly not the only lack or calculated removal of information from a site. Yet despite the large amount of effort and time that has been spent in carefully constructing the landscape at Culloden, as well as the decades of devotion to locating Bosworth, it has been unclear as to if this effort has been deemed important, or even noticed, by visitors. This next section considers this enquiry specifically within the context of interpreted spaces.

7.3 The Role of On-site Interpretation in Negotiating Ideas of 'Real Place'

It is clear that enormous efforts in landscape modifications have been enacted at certain historic battlefields, and that the concept of the 'real' place being preserved and presented is important. At Culloden, the NTS have attempted to bring the field back to look like it did at the time of the battle. At Bosworth, efforts have focused on locating archaeological artefacts from the battle and highlighting from afar the space where the fighting is now known to have taken place. Despite the obvious importance in management strategies, there has been little consideration as to how important historic landscape modification and clear ideas of the 'actual' battlefield are to the average visitor. Research at Gettysburg suggests that visitors value 'locational authenticity' very highly, even more so than 'real' objects (Chronis & Hampton 2008: 117-118); though this is a question which has been under-researched, despite the extensive tourism literature on the importance of place authenticity (See Moscardo & Pearce 1986; Cohen 1988; Gable & Handler 1996; McIntosh & Prentice 1999; Wang 1999; Waitt 2000; Jamal & Hill 2004; Belhassen &

Caton 2006; Reisinger & Steiner 2006; Steiner & Reisinger 2006; Belhassen, Caton & Stewart 2008; Zhu 2012; Brown 2013).

Consequently, one of the main aims of this study has been to determine how important 'authentic place' was in the visitor experience not only at the specific instance of battlefields, but also as a concept which can be extrapolated to other types of historic sites as well. In particular, if the place itself is more or less important in formulating values of battlefield heritage than where the interpretative materials are presented. A rationale assumption has been postulated by Moore in his book, *Museums and Popular Culture* (1997), that the importance of place is more important than the state of preservation:

> "Places still seem to have a degree of 'real' power even when little or no material culture remains. Battlefields sites, for example, still have some real power even when the landscape itself can have changed considerably in the centuries after the event. Places retain power because although we may not be able to see very much (if anything), what are perceived to be important historical events happened there. Of all the senses activated by such sites, it is perhaps the sixth that is most important, as evinced by the 'intuitive experiences' many people claim to have at battlefield sites. Clearly, however, places where buildings, even ruins, remain tend to have a stronger sense of the 'real place'. Yet just as some 'real things' are regarded as more historically significant than others (though, this is always a matter of interpretation), so some 'real places' are seen as more significant than others. There comes a point where a particularly notable battlefield site, such as Bosworth, becomes more powerfully a 'real place' than a historic house which, although well preserved, has no intrinsically strong connection to significant historical events" (Moore 1997: 136).

Ironically, Moore used one of the most contested sites in the UK to underline his point of 'real place'. Even so, Moore's point remains that interpretation strategies which can utilise the "triple power of the real": real things, real place and real person are the most effective at conveying a sense of an authentic encounter with the past (Ibid 146-147). Though even he concedes that sites where the interpretation can simulate authenticity via reconstructions and costumed interpreters "must come alive" (Ibid 147). However, this can be problematic, as has been underlined in Section 4.5 with first and third person interpreters. In Moore's example, he asserts two important points which must be scrutinised: How important is the 'real place'? ; How does interpretation bring that experience 'alive'? Equally within these considerations is Moore's assumption that places with physical relics of its erstwhile presence are more 'real' than those without, though this can be a problematic assumption (Davis 2011: 21).

Although Moore's example here is particularly salient to this research in the context in heritage sites, he is certainly not the only one to address issues of experiencing real place; indeed, there has been a breadth of literature forming a long-standing history of debate. As noted above, tourism studies have sought to understand the importance of authenticity in the visitor experience, but the importance of place has been observed in other scholarly fields as well. For instance, in cultural geography there have been many notable studies on the importance of space and place, particularly in regards to landscape (See Relph 1976; Tuan 1974, 1977, 1979; Daniels & Cosgrove 1993; Malpas 1999; Seamon 2000; Mitchell 2002; Whatmore 2002) which can be related to battlefield heritagescapes. Although Hughes (1998: 18) laments the lack of studies which overlap cultural geography and tourism, there are certainly comparisons and links to be made between literature on real place and the tourism experience, which these two fields have covered extensively. However, these studies have usually assumed that the place in question is 'real', and have addressed more nuanced aspects of notional authenticity. What is clear is that even an assumed authenticity of place has imbued meaning which can only be reflected through clear clues within a space.

Undoubtedly without any on-site interpretation, or markers, a person with no knowledge of an area where a battle may have taken place would be oblivious to its possible location, even when standing directly on it. Despite Moore's confidence of some sort of 'sixth sense', it is difficult to believe that one would have that feeling without having any previous knowledge of a momentous event having occurred within that space. Of course even experts are often uncertain exactly where a conflict took place, as noted throughout the thesis, despite possibly possessing some fragmentary historical or physical evidence. Even more confusingly, sometimes markers and monuments are placed at an incorrect location. If one wishes to interpret an area that may have been the location of a battle it is therefore crucial to use interpretation at that site to present information and acknowledge that event within a conjectured or known space.

There are many issues with this, not least if it is probable, likely or even certain if the location is correct. Balancing that open-space with an interpretive presentation is complicated, and there is the risk that there will either be too little information, or too many physical incursions in the setting. The *Vimy Charter* (See Sections 1.3 and 2.4) recognised this challenge and responded with several guidelines: "Visitor Understanding and Response: *Article 23*. Presentation and interpretative methods and devices protect battlefield features by using solutions that simultaneously meet the goals of

understanding, and minimize impact on the terrain...*Article 25*. Presentation and interpretation should also assist the visitor to appreciate the value of the battlefield terrain and minimize their impact on it" (Quoted in Bull & Panton 2000: 11). The challenge with too much open space is that it is more difficult to locate and place certain actions of the battle within a field with little physical markers. There is the equal risk that ways in which to help with the visualisation of the space could be deemed too intrusive, such as the high-profile case of the observation tower at Gettysburg built in 1972 on private land adjacent to the battlefield (Linenthal 1993: 115) which was removed in 2000 after a large public outcry (Hart 2007: 107). Balancing these circumstances is complicated, and each site takes a different approach depending on the solution deemed the best by those in charge of managing the site.

One of the most recognised solutions to this predicament has been the reliance on guides, live interpreters, and in some instances, re-enactors who possess knowledge of the terrain without the need to rely on physical markers (See Sections 4.6 and 4.7). Indeed, as has been demonstrated in Section 6.2.3, live interpretation is overwhelmingly the preferred method of receiving information at two of the case studies. Indeed, the visitation of an 'authentic' space can act as important location of performance (See Section 4.5) for memory production (Guttormsen & Fageraas 2011: 454). This section explores the context of the perceived reality of the interpretive space at the case studies in aiding visitors to learn about the events of the battles.

'Reality' in this instance is of course a relative concept. Doubtless, what is considered 'authentic' is "not an objective quality but a subjective judgment" (Dicks 2003: 58), one which changes between individuals, but is still found to be an important part of a site visit (Cameron & Gatewood 2000: 123). Routinely when speaking of the 'real place', it is implied that it is at the location where an event is known to have taken place. The visitor centre at Culloden is located within the grounds of where the battle has been archaeologically proven to have taken place, thereby linking the interpretation within the context of the actual event. However, Bosworth Heritage Centre is also a 'real place' (Hein 2000: 73-75), even if it is two and a half miles from where the Battle of Bosworth is now believed to have taken place. These examples provide unique case studies to compare and contrast the importance of the 'real place', and contrast these differing encounters with the 'real' with the experience of learning about the event through an interpretive presentation. Flodden is a less-straightforward case study, but some data on

the importance of 'real place' can be inferred and identified following a comparison between Culloden and Bosworth.

7.3.1 Encountered Reality at Culloden

As previously explained in Section 5.2.1, the interpretation at Culloden is located directly on-site of the archaeologically-proven battlefield location. Interpretation there includes the visitor centre, information panels, flags, a guided walking tour, a PDA handheld tour, and associated 19th century monuments all located or operated on the site. Because the interpretive material is located in close proximity, or directly on, the battlefield, it was possible in the fieldwork to question visitors in the interviews as to how important being at the actual space was in relationship to learning about what happened there. It was certain that having all the different forms of interpretive media on or next to the site proved essential in helping to piece together what had happened in a three-dimensional heritagescape – or mindscape. A 44 year old man from Switzerland stated most astutely:

> "And if you imagine, you see the museum first and then you go there outside and you can imagine all that reinforced that which you learned before, I think it's very strong, it gives you a very strong impression. And you can probably, yeah you can imagine here what the battle was and what the landscape was, it probably changed a lot according to forests and things but still, I think it's important symbolically to be here" (Interview CPS14).

Some said that it was possible and enjoyable to learn about it elsewhere, like one gentleman who saw a documentary on Culloden which was "very illuminating" (Interview CPS20). Overall though being at the actual spot and having the site and associated interpretive content concentrated made it easier to pay attention, and there was less of a chance of forgetting (Interview C9). This provides the opportunity to focus full efforts on learning about the battle with little outside distractions from modern life (Interview CPS1). Reading or hearing about the events in another setting made it more difficult for people to truly grasp how the event could have unfolded:

> CPS16: ...it's just more personal [being there]. And at least for me, I'm kinda more of a visual person, you know you can sit in a classroom and hear all sorts of stuff it doesn't really hit home, for me anyways, until you're kinda present in it.
>
> CPS10: When you learn about something in the abstract it's very hard to picture what was happening and you sort of forget all those little details and you just really cling on to the barebones, well when you come to a place especially like this place and you can sit there and be like ok, so that was there and that was there, like it's very tactile and you can sort of picture what was happening. And you've got a much better idea of scale, especially

> when you're speaking like a couple hundred years ago, thousands of people it's hard to picture in your mind unless you've got something in front of you to sorta base it on.
>
> C4: I mean it's interesting to learn about it away but it doesn't have the same significance when you're seeing it sit here, in the middle of the Highlands. Because you never would've pictured it like this...Because you picture, you superimpose what you think, what you experience onto things when you read them.

Whilst it was possible to learn about the events and history of the battle away from the site, it aids in understanding it better, and remembering it as well when one visits the 'real' site (Interviews CPS3, CPS25). This was particularly true when the information was presented without visual clues as to what that space looks like, such as when visitors were asked if there was something they could learn at the site that they could not learn about in a book or a museum somewhere else. This included practical thoughts such as being able to visualise the physical distances easier (Interview C1), but also more nuanced ideas such as making it a more intimate, personal experience of standing where soldiers fought "like you might feel the emotions of people who were there" (Interview CPS25). Even if people already had previous knowledge about the battle, it helped to see the ground to contextualise and understand this information:

> CPS11: Le fait est j'avais déjà une bonne idée ce que c'est passé ici…mais, eh bien c'est important de savoir ce que c'est passé comment ça s'est fait ici sur site sur le site lui-même, oui parce que dans un romain de lire sur une bataille dans un livre ne rends pas compte des conditions réales, c'est vraiment en plus c'est la lande, c'est marécageux, c'est un terrain difficile [The fact is I already had a good idea what happened here…but, well it's important to know what happened how it came to be here on this site, yes because in a book to read about a battle, you can't realise from a book the actual conditions, it's really more it's the land, it's boggy, it's a difficult terrain]

Unsurprisingly, considering that they had chosen to visit the site, visitors overwhelming thought it was important to learn about the battle in the place where it actually happened, though the reasons for this varied. There was some confusion when asked **"**Do you think it's important to learn about Culloden here at the site of the battle?" over whether the emphasis was on if it was important to learn about the battle at all, or more specifically at the spot. Regardless, people generally thought that although the battle may not be the most important event in history, if one were to learn about it, it should be at the location where it happened. Utilising the on-site interpretation within that 'authentic place' made it easier to visualise what took place within the space and process newly learnt information. Additionally, it was the perceived lack of development and visual intrusions

in that perceived authentic area that people found the most helpful for learning about the events:

> C3: Yeah, I mean I think you can never replace, on any battlefield...than to actually be there and especially say one that hasn't been built on, largely...it's important to go on the battle-site because there's nowhere else where you can actually stand there and A have that feeling that this is where great events happened and B, and see where whichever side was, and relate to whatever side manoeuvred, counter-manoeuvred. I think that's done very well here.

> C12: I think that...this battlefield in many ways...feels very unchanged. It feels quite sacred, because no one's really developed it or anything. Whereas in the other ones, you know the views have changed hugely...you look out onto the fields and because there's so much development and it's entirely changed, it's almost unrecognisable, whereas this place is very different. I think that's kinda the initial, impact of the sites are very different. This takes a lot less imagination I suppose.

> C7: Just the layout of the battle, I think it's nice to see a battlefield completely laid out like this, that's quite rare...most battlefields are gone. You know they've been developed, buildings have been put up on them, roads across them, and so on. So there's still here, of pretty much an entire battlefield, which is nice to see...I don't think I was expecting to see the whole battlefield.

Strong visual clues were also important, in particular the opposing lines of flags which were erected to indicate the positions of the troops at the start of the battle; the Jacobite side in blue, and the Hanoverian Government army line in red. These markers on the site make it easier to visualise what happened without a tour or audio guide, adding to the impression that great care and planning had been taken into presenting the site. This was an essential aspect for many visitors, since it validated the authoritative voice of the on-site interpretation (Interviews CPS1, CPS3, CPS10, CPS13, CPS16, CPS25, C2, C3, C5, C11). Interviewee C2 provided a typical response: "I think it's pretty clearly explained too where you have the lines...I think it's very clear, and I mean you see the line, the Jacobite's line, the British lines, it's clear who is where and where they're going" (Interview C2). It was clear that the lines were the starting positions of the armies, which gave people an idea of the space and ground covered for the armies to converge. The flags were widely seen as beneficial for the site to not only help visualise the space – a key factor in understanding the events of a battle (Olcott 1987: 489) – but to signpost it at the site where it happened; the actual location.

Equally important for locating the visitor within the authenticated space was the handheld PDA device. Because of precise archaeological investigations, it is possible to inform a

user of the device exactly when they are in a spot where artefacts were found. This is advantageous since the objects are no longer where they were found, the majority of which having been moved to the visitor centre. Though visitors can see the original object in the exhibition, there is a disassociation which takes place with the experience of being away from the exact context of where it was found. The PDA can bridge that gap, and allow users to be made aware of where the object originally was dropped during the battle. One such example is a small cross medallion, as seen in Figure 7.1, when the visitor walks over points five and eight the device pings and then gives information about the battle, but only when the user selects additional information at those points is there any explanation of the cross and other pieces of archaeology.

Figure 7.1: Culloden handheld device with image of cross artefact on display in the visitor centre

Despite the advantages and effort put in to representing that space with the handheld device, it is doubtful from the visitors interviewed or from discussions with staff that users appreciated this more nuanced approach to directly connect people to specific points in the heritagescape. No one interviewed mentioned this as a highlight of the tour, or of a reason for using the handheld device. Though there is little doubt that having that greater connection to the event was appreciated, it had to be more than just a fact; it had to be coupled with how it related to the story. One gentleman used the handheld device on a previous visit and described his reasoning for using it last time as follows: "Um, well I just thought I would know, it will probably tell me, whatever point on the battlefield I am what happened, at that point. What was the significance [at that point], to the battle?" (Interview C3). However as noted in Section 6.2.2, the audio-guide did not provide any new information that was not already available in another form in the visitor centre.

Even so, reading or hearing information in the visitor centre and then hearing the same information explained on the field could bring about a greater level of understanding and appreciation. An Australian woman mentioned this in regards to a copy of a contemporary painting of the battle in the visitor centre depicting the action against what she saw in her own mind whilst listening to what happened on the handheld device. Ultimately she concluded that the painting provided a false impression of what took place in comparison to the commentary she heard on the audio-guide:

> CPS18: Um, I guess more in detail about the terrain out there, I guess maybe it was on the walls but it didn't really sink home until I was standing there and they said the land was in this way back then and that type of thing. Um, I suppose it had already been captured in here about how the battle went but it made it more, real I suppose or you could frame it in your mind better standing there seeing OK, they were on this side and this is how far they were, you could get an idea of actually how far they had to run rather than looking at in on a wall you know, this is where these troops. It made it far more realistic like in my mind. I was looking at the painting or whatever that had portrayed it and it didn't really, when I went out there the painting suddenly didn't seem real any more.

Though the idea of the visual experience was often expounded as the most powerful way to comprehend what happened, it was often coupled with other sensory experiences. These added to and heightened the 'authentic' experience of the area. These were frequently linked with the weather conditions, particularly on days when the weather was poor:

> CPS13: I always think yeah because you're standing out there, I mean I was just imagining, I guess when I think about weather because I've been cycling, so um, I wonder what the wind was like and how cold or wet everybody was and standing out there and just seeing, um the soldiers would have been looking at I think it gives a much more realistic experience that I never would get just reading a pamphlet or a book.
>
> CPS17: You can feel how it might have been, windy and cold, and just the sense of what it looks like all around.
>
> CPS20: And that's a useful thing [about the weather], and there's a kinda feeling because you're actually on site you can engage with it emotionally I think.
>
> C9: I think it's the atmosphere of the place, isn't it? You know actually being here surrounded by the, you know the bleak skies on one side today and the bright sun on the side, you know in the other direction. And just seeing the conditions, the ground has dried out a lot now to what it was then. I think it just all adds to the, you know the atmosphere.

During the pilot study at Culloden in 2010, one of the live interpreters asked for feedback on the guided tour around the battlefield which the researcher observed many times during the fieldwork. It was mentioned to the interpreter that many people talked about the weather and had wondered what it was like at the time of the battle. He found the comment interesting and said he would try to work that in to the tour. In the subsequent 2011 fieldwork, he had indeed incorporated the weather at the time into point three of the tour, adding to his description of the conditions facing the armies: "Now they were facing battle, on a typical April morning in the Highlands; freezing temperatures, sleet and rain". All elements of the surrounding environment, including weather, but also noise and even smell have been suggested as integral forms of 'intangible heritage' (Howard 2011: 300-311), as they contribute to the overall experience of that heritagescape.

Yet, there was more to the encounter of being present at the site than just simple facts such as what the weather was like at the time. This sense of being there was an abstract concept which visitors were unable to explain other than in veiled, vague pronouncements. It was typically described as a particular 'feeling' of the place, of which the following were illustrative articulations:

> CPS20: I think it's actually getting a sense of the location. And that's a useful thing, and there's a kinda feeling because you're actually on site you can engage with it emotionally I think. You can visualise what was going.

> C7: Well, you can't see the battlefield if you're not here, and you can't get the real full feel of the thing so. You've gotta be here, to actually get a feel, to be able to feel what it must've been like, during the battle. I'm sure that's true of any battle...I think being on the ground and feeling it is really important, if you want to experience the whole thing.

Even more elusive was the notion of the site's 'atmosphere' (CPS15), as mentioned in relation to the weather above. This was closely tied to ideas of both what a battlefield should look and feel like, along with how that is transformed after the event (See McLean, Garden & Urquhart 2007; Pollard 2007).

> CPS2: Oh you just get a much better sense, just the atmosphere. You appreciate the setting because you see the field, the hills, it just means a lot more to be there and to see the graves. It makes a lot bigger impact, a lot bigger.

> CPS4: I think it's always just the atmosphere isn't it? You really do feel the atmosphere. I mean out there besides the graves...these men are all buried in that small area, in this battlefield. And, um, it's very atmospheric to be there...I feel as though the atmosphere, you know you can get the kind of real feel of the battle.

Linking the ‘atmosphere’ to the graves revealed that to some the tangibility of the physical impact of war to the place was an important, visceral connection to the event. The ex-military man from Switzerland stated succinctly that “…it’s not poetic a battle, there is something special if you are on the site. Yeah, you are related you are linked with the event and the people who lived that and suffered there. The link is created by the fact that it’s on the right spot” (Interview CPS14). This veracity has been formed on the site by both the immediate aftermath (graves), later commemoration (Victorian memorial stones), and present interpretation (flags).

The link of relating the events to actual people who were in the battle was perhaps most prominent at the graves. It was noted during the pilot study and in fieldwork at Culloden by McLean, Garden & Urquhart (2007: 233) that the graves were rarely mentioned during the interviews, and so a subsequent question regarding the experience of seeing the graves was added during the main fieldwork in 2011. One visitor described seeing the graves as the highlight of her time at the site, which she described as giving one “a little chill up your back” (Interview C4). Perhaps surprisingly, in only one interview did a visitor speak about the sadness of that space: “It kinda brings it home to you just how many people died, and that they are still there. Yeah, it is quite a sad thing to think that many men just buried in a field, miles away from their families” (Interview C1). More often the ‘atmosphere’ and the ‘feeling’ of the place was discussed in general terms, though it is important to note that visitors spoke almost exclusively of the clan graves, rarely mentioning the ‘Field of the English’ stone.

Yet there is still a distance between most visitors and the clan grave area, in particular the memorial cairn, which was almost never mentioned. The cairn is a socially constructed memorial often used in Scotland, yet for many foreign visitors it is difficult to ‘read’ what this sign represents. As Lotman (1984) stated with the semiosphere (See Section 4.2), this culturally-constructed edifice has no interpretation explaining it, so it cannot be understood by those outside that cultural zone. In any case seeing the gravestones presented a recognisable sign for the majority of visitors towards recognising the direct effects of battle.

Despite this area being the most graphic and pronounced evidence of the death at this battle – and for that matter, one of the only known gravesites at a battlefield in the UK – most comments could not be construed as negative, or ‘dark’ about this area. Interviewee C11 thought that the area had natural beauty “with the flowers, and the meadow and the,

sort of the trees. And I like the stones, that they were not like the proper graveyard stone". She spoke further about how she liked the natural stones which seemed to her to give "you a sense of it being older and more genuine". That being said, some of those interviewed stated that it was interesting that the gravestones were from the Victorian period 140 years after the event, and because of this did not really mind that the gravestones did not necessarily accurately correspond to who is buried there (Interviews C4, C5, C6, C11).

For one male interviewee, it was difficult to recognise that the stones even represented a gravesite since there are no explicit signs stating so, and it was only after noticing their shape that he was able to put it together for himself (Interview C7). One woman remarked that she had no emotions at the site, instead detachedly thinking of how many bodies one could actually fit into a mass grave (Interview C5). Interviewee C4 commented further on the shape of the mounds by comparing them to modern military graves she's seen in her native Canada:

> C4: And that's the kinda feeling when you stand here, these mounds, maybe it's even more symbolic that they're rounded, than if they were flat. Because if they're flat it feels, maybe, distant, they're even with the ground now. But they're mounded, and I don't know why that's kinda, very eerie to me, cause it seems fresher, it hasn't disappeared into the history of the ground.

It was not only the form that matter to some, but to Interviewee C9, the fact of how the grass was cut and landscaped differently than the surrounding land which he appreciated "to raise people's awareness to the fact that that area has taken a significance, and why it's so significant, you know why in particular that area is significant. Because I do think you should be respectful and, of places where people are buried, generally". In this way, by landscaping the heritagescape and not allowing it to be overgrown, showed to him that the area had current value.

For these visitors the 'importance' of the site included both the Victorian era commemoration, and also modern day ideas of Scottish identity (McLean & Cooke 2003; Watson 2011). Further links were made to politics of the era and how the events preceding the battle and the event itself impacted the people at the time (Interview C5). This was linked to the change in Highland Clan life which changed dramatically after the battle, with traditional forms of 'Scottishness' such as the tartan being banned, and how that perception is viewed today:

> C11: That [Field of the English stone], in comparison it felt like, sort of the people who put it together were from Scotland and from the other side were to mark out the clans and make that much more, they took greater care to mark out the different clans and the English were just you know, this is where they fell we don't know who they were, but there were some of them here.
>
> C5: ...that the graves that they have there clan stones on the graves. Not only that they were there but also that, you know it made more sense when they said oh that's been done in the Victorian era, like OK that makes a little bit of sense, a bit more sense because you would think if you were trying, if you're starting to do Highland clearances and you're trying to stamp out the tartan the last thing you would do is go back to the scene of the battle and actually mark the graves, with the clan stones. So it surprised me that they were there, I wasn't expecting that.
>
> C10: I thought about what is Scottish identity, yeah? And how does it depend with these, going backwards with your thoughts and going to this battle and thinking about the clans and, yeah. I'm a little bit thinking about the Scottish identity, yeah.

In spite of these thoughts, some visitors wished to take a more neutral stance, stating that these historical occurrences are in the past, which is too far removed from the present for appropriate reflection. Interviewee C5 explained that she doesn't "tend to get emotional about stuff. Um, so you know it's like walking through a cemetery that there, OK there are a lot of dead there, but they're not people you actually meet...But now it's so far removed from that, it's just a place." Interviewee C3 had similar feelings, but he tried to see a positive out of this negative place in how things have improved from that time: "It's a kind of, because they're buried here [laughs], it's a little bit more significant...it does feel a little bit odd, coming to a nice little room, or a nice little complex like this, have a nice cup of tea. But then, isn't that perhaps a good way of recognising the significance of what happened?" By this he explained that this juxtaposition between the violence of the day and the peace of the site at present shows that there have been improvements since that past conflict, which is something people should embrace.

For Interviewee C11, seeing the graves and thinking on the battle at the time reminded her about Crete, and specifically the complexities of identity both there and in modern Britain. Others also mentioned a connection to similar conflicts, as well as cemeteries and memorials they had visited in the past: C2 (Manassas), C4 (Ottawa war cemetery), C8 (Gettysburg), C10 (World War I and II memorials). Most germane to the research was the discussions with Interviewee C1 who had been to Bosworth Field as well, which proved interesting in comparing the experiences between there and Culloden. She spoke about

the differences between the two sites, particularly how Culloden was easier to visualise than Bosworth, as she explained:

> C1: Yeah, I guess with graves sites as well you know, that there's evidence there that it happened so.
>
> JS: So that makes a difference for you about the graves?
>
> C1: Yeah.
>
> JS: Why in particular that?
>
> C1: I don't know, cause it's physical evidence that you know people have died there. If they're not there, it could've happened anywhere, well just say we'll pick this hill cause it's close to the hill that it could've happened on so, yeah.
>
> JS: So it kinda lends more credence.
>
> C1: Yeah, yeah.

This direct connection to the past through the remains of soldiers who died at the battle is rare physical evidence of that encounter. However, the fact that they were only memorialised a century and a half after the battle also revealed to them the importance of those stones at that time, which was plainly obvious to the visitors. What was not obvious to them, and something no one spoke about, was their own mortality, or ideas of death, which the 'dark' tourism literature insists, abstractly and with no empirical evidence, is what people consider at these sites (Winter 2009: 10). Instead, they were clearly able to comprehend that those were past memorials which represented the ideas of a certain time period; in spite of those who claim that war memorials are representative of current values (See Section 1.5). The fact that there are no modern memorials at that spot, or any information panels describing them further complicates the narrative of what those graves represent. Of course, it is even more complicated at nearly every single other battlefield in the UK, which has no clearly visible, tangible remains from the battle, including the case study sites of Bosworth and Flodden.

7.3.2 Vicarious Reality at Bosworth

In contrast to Culloden, the interpretive presentation at Bosworth is located two and a half miles away from where concentrated archaeological remains connected to the battle have been found (See Section 5.3.1). According to the Keeper (Interview BB), the landowners of the newly discovered terrain, on the whole, seem interested in the battle and its history, but some see an opportunity to potentially profit from their fortuitous claim to battlefield

land. This includes one landowner who was approached about turning one corner of their land into a car park, along with information panels and a viewing platform which would be leased to LCC. The landowners asked for a relatively extravagant and wholly unrealistic amount of money which LCC would be unable to afford. This would be an ideal area as there is currently no convenient parking away from the quite dangerous Roman road which cuts through the field where drivers regularly go in excess of 65 miles per hour (105 kilometres per hour), though plans for improving access have stalled.

Whilst there are some public footpaths around the newly found battle location, access remains difficult as most of the land is in private ownership. There were plans to extend the battlefield trail to the location of the battlefield, but it was deemed impractical due to the distance from the Heritage Centre. Additionally, it was thought better to have a direct link with the heritage centre and all the amenities that accompany it, including extra gradients in place for wheelchair access at viewing point 14. Additionally, the Rangers who manage 'rights of way' through the public paths and trails throughout the area have seen their numbers recently halved, which greatly reduces the amount that they are able to control in terms of removing overgrowth and basic trail maintenance, let alone new pathways. This reactive, instead of proactive, preservation approach has caused problems with landowners whose property falls within the area believed to contain the original battlefield. Presumably, their concern is that as more and more people learn of the location, there could be increased traffic on these public paths. If they are not maintained, there might be damage to crops or other tracts of land if alternative and unauthorised routes are used instead.

Despite the clear concerns from the landowners at the creation of public 'right of way', the Keeper (Interview BB) emphasises that they have generally been exceptional in allowing access to researchers. The only exceptions have been some trepidation about members of EH or LCC on their land, who are occasionally perceived and maligned as 'big brother' interfering. Even so, some landowners would like to see greater safeguarding of the battlefield area, including one who is a passionate conservationist keen to aid in maintaining it as a preserve for wildlife.

As of this moment, however, there is nothing at the new location to distinguish that space from the surrounding landscape. Since it was only in 2009 that the artefacts were discovered, there have been no concrete efforts to erect any memorials or interpretation at the new site. Consequently, all of the information that can be learned about the battle in

the area is still located in and around the Ambion Hill site, run by LCC, which has been there since the early 1970s. However, the important question is: would people even be interested in visiting the 'real site', and why or why not? This is particularly important since so much time and resources have been allocated to uncover archaeology related to the battle to prove where the battle actually took place, but it is unclear whether this makes any differences to the visitors, or their experience in that area.

Prior to reviewing what visitors said in regards to this important query, it is worth noting what the point of view of the staff is about this, and what actions they have taken. The Manager of the Centre does not perceive any advantage that would be gained from having any sort of interpretation at the newly found locale (Interview BA). The Keeper concurs, stating that the vast majority of visitors said they were pleased with the Centre set up as it is now, and that Ambion Hill is thought to be where Richard's army camped before the battle, so it is an ideal spot to incorporate another part of the battlefield narrative (YouTube 2010). Indeed, there has been a concerted effort by the site managers to consolidate the narrative into the area around the Centre, though it is unclear if this has been well-received.

The stone marking where Richard III was thought to have died was erected in 1974 (See Section 5.3.1), though because of the recent archaeological work, that site is no longer considered to have any connection to the battle, let alone have been the spot where the king fell. Even so, it became an important site for pilgrimage for those interested in honouring him, in particular the Richard III Society, with people leaving his symbol of the white rose at the base (See Figures 5.9 and 7.2). Indeed, one interviewee had been to a ceremony before, and explained that on the anniversary of his death in battle, they would pour liquor over the stone and drink to the deposed king (Interview B9). In the wake of the new archaeological evidence proving this not to be the actual spot where Richard died, the stone has since been removed and placed in the visitor centre courtyard "to allow better and safer public access to it and to allow the field at Shenton to be returned to its former agricultural use" (Bosworth 2012e). This move has angered some who thought the stone should have stayed where it had always been (Interview BB). Indeed, Interviewee B9 and her husband still went to the stone before it was moved knowing full well that it was no longer the correct spot, but it made no difference to her (Interview B9). The stone had become a site of ritual of the representation of what the battle meant to people, regardless of historical accuracy.

Figure 7.2 View of relocated stone commemorating Richard III's death at courtyard of Bosworth Visitor Centre (Bosworth 2012e)

Equally, at King Dick's Well (See Figure 7.3), where Richard is rumoured to have taken a drink of water before the battle, was also the site of an annual service on battle's anniversary in August. Again, Interviewee B9 described the ceremony as very small, only about 20 to 30 men, with a vicar giving a ceremony and white roses being laid. She asserted that the service was solely to do with Richard, and not commemorating the other men who died. She described the appeal of the service in terms that "Perhaps because it is quiet and there's not a lot of people, and it's very evocative. It does almost make you feel that you can feel the past a little bit. Which you can't always in some of these places I don't think" (Interview B9). It was this connection to the past via both the tangible connection to the still revered disposed king along with the intangible nature of the ceremony which created a scene of timelessness and mystery.

Figure 7.3: King Dick's Well

The decision to relocate the stone commemorating the site where Richard was thought to have died was one of many considerations the managers at Bosworth have had to rethink

in order to incorporate the newly found long-lost site of the battle within the existing elements of their interpretation efforts. Since the Centre was recently renovated at great cost and had been an established site for decades, it was neither financially feasible nor desirable to build a new centre closer to, or on, the 'actual' site of the battle. The means of interpreting a visual impression of the distant battlefield and a physical idea of the event which occurred two and a half miles (four kilometres) away had to incorporate space from the current interpretation on Ambion Hill.

The solution to aid in viewing the visible outlying space was the construction of wooden frames at points 3 and 14 (See Figures 7.4 and 7.5) on the battlefield trail (Section 5.3.1.2). Though it is difficult to perceive exact features from this distance, these frames act as windows in which to locate the area where artefacts have been uncovered, alongside information boards explaining what one could see from these positions.

Figure 7.4: Panel framing battlefield in distance at the top of Ambion Hill

Figure 7.5 Panel next to Ambion Woods

The second challenge of giving a vivid, physical idea of the battle was simple to remedy, since there has already been a well-developed living history element at the site for decades with the Routiers de Rouen, as well as regular guided tours. Even though the living history has been seen as an important element in the site interpretation, the group are only at the site fortnightly and for part of the year (See Section 5.3.1.3). There used to be more regular live interpretation in the Centre itself, but the staff member who was leading this effort has taken on new responsibilities which have been deemed more important (Bosworth Field Notes 2011), and it has not been possible to bring in a replacement due to cost (Interview BA). The Centre is able to maintain the guided tours since visitors pay extra to participate on them.

There are large numbers of school groups which sometimes retain more than one guide at a time, and often engage the leader of the Routiers as well (Bosworth Field Notes 2011). Overall these live interpreters have received very positive feedback through the visit evaluation forms the site provides. Between July 2008 and July 2009, before the new location of the site had been disclosed, 73 forms were returned from schools, most stating that they were pleasantly surprised with the experience and that they would be back. One teacher commented on the way the site has modified its tours based on the on-going research: "It's a popular, tried and tested 'history away day.' I think you have adapted very well to the shifting sands of historical knowledge that you sit on" (School Evaluation Forms). Another set of evaluation forms from September 2009 to August 2010, after the announcement of the finding of the battlefield, reflected some concern: "Didn't do his [sic] as not so interesting now the site of the battle has been moved" (School Evaluation Forms). It is unclear how many school groups have stopped visiting the site due to the discovery of the battlefield in a different location from the interpretative display on Ambion Hill.

The Centre's indirect claim that visitors were pleased with the interpretation at the site, and that they were not keen to visit the new 'real' site, did not stem from a formal survey or report. Rather the front-of-house staff casually asked an undetermined amount of visitors if they would like additional interpretation available at the new site (Interview BA). Regardless of their informal methods, the basic results they obtained and inferred match what was found in this study during fieldwork in 2011. Notwithstanding the many nuanced, individual reasons for preferring the current interpretive display to visiting an un-interpreted field, there were several key themes which emerged as to why it was unnecessary to visit the 'real' site of the battle.

The first theme was suspicion that the newly found location is indeed the right site at all. "So, even though we didn't actually go on the battlefield itself, and of course who knows whether it's cause still a lot of work going in to that, we still got a great flavour for the battle and you know what happened and etc. And obviously we know it's around here so [laughs] I think it's about as good as it gets doesn't it?" (Interview B8) Another gentleman was sceptical after being informed by the interviewer about the new location because of another battlefield that he is more familiar with:

> JS: So what do you think about that, now that I've told you that it's two miles away, does that change kinda your perspective about what you learned?
>
> B11: Not really because this is going on all the time. Where we moor our boat is near Naseby, Naseby being...one of the important Civil War battlefields, isn't it? And they keep saying well this isn't actually Naseby battle, it was over here. And it shuffles around from time to time but it doesn't bother me particularly that it's in that field rather than that field.
>
> JS: It doesn't matter to you?
>
> B11: No, not really. I mean, OK you know in another twenty years somebody might find that this one was actually around the corner. Some more finds, you know something's buried or, I mean as long as they've got it pretty well located in the area, I mean this is a finer point of history isn't it?

This visitor was not the only one to not gather from the interpretation that the battlefield is located away from the Centre. There is a mention at the frames on the battlefield trail, and the only information provided at the Centre is at the end in the Bosworth Field Investigation Lab, where there are details on the search for the right area. However, observations in the Centre concurred with remarks by the staff suggesting that visitors do not spend as much time in this area of the exhibit. Interviewee B12 stated that she was upset by the bones in the display, and that nothing within that area particular caught her eye. Also, the gift shop is clearly visible, which further distracts people's attention from the displays. Finally, this far into an extensive display can lead to 'exhibition fatigue' (Davey 2005). It is therefore unsurprising to hear another woman discuss her experiences at the site without knowing that it was not the 'real' site. She was discussing that she knew very little about this period and was interested in learning more about it, but also appreciated the physical area:

> B5: You can actually stand and look and see that it's very probably, not much changed from those days apart from the hedgerows, there's no

> skyscrapers, there's no industrial estates, and retail parks. And it's just nice to see the countryside as it probably was.
>
> JS: And um, what do you think of that whole thing, what do you think of this discovery? Is it important for you to know where the battlefield is?
>
> B5: Um, not really no, no.
>
> JS: And why is that?
>
> B5: Because knowing exactly where it is isn't going to change anything, you know. And because I, I don't, I can understand it's important for people who are historians, and I can understand for future generations it's probably important because then it can be safeguarded, but to me personally it doesn't really make any difference.

She was further asked if she had any desire to go walk down to where the battlefield actually was, and it became clear from her response that even after being through the centre she didn't realise that the battlefield was not at the area around the Centre. After clarifying it with her and explaining that as of yet there is no interpretation and no memorials her response: "If there's nothing to see there, then no I wouldn't be particularly bothered to go and stand on a field because you could probably go to any field in the country and say, something would have happened here, 500 years ago. We might not know about it, but something will have happened" (Interview B5). There was a gentleman who agreed with her that it is unnecessary to visit, but who had already been to the battlefield without knowing it at the time. He was staying at a B&B with his wife and walked around the area of the newly discovered terrain. They had never been to the area before and knew very little of the history of the battle, and it was only when they went to the visitor centre that they discovered that they were staying in the middle of it. Knowing this did not change his perspective since there was nothing to see, but he still enjoyed the experience because of the "peace and the tranquillity of the countryside" (Interview B3).

Others who did know that the location of the battlefield had changed agreed with the Keeper that the Ambion Hill area was associated with the battle, and is still part of the narrative of the area. Indeed, some were passionate that Ambion Hill still meant something; even if it was no longer the battlefield: "Well I suppose it would be nice to feel like you're actually treading where they trod, but who's to say there weren't some stragglers fighting around here? I mean, you can't say they were just there, can you? There might have been some stragglers. I think it would be nice to be able to visit, where the battle supposedly did take place, but I don't think that detracts from this [the Heritage Centre]" (Interview B9). Interviewee B13, like Interviewee B9, had been visiting the area

for many years, and was insistent that in some ways the Ambion Hill area was *more* important than the new location:

> B13: Well, in my opinion, if it's [the Heritage Centre] here leave it, it's been here for years. Just let it carry on, let people think, let it carry on where it is.
>
> JS: So you don't think it's important to know exactly where the battle is?
>
> B13: Well yeah it's important to know exactly where it was. But they've not got a visitor centre down there and, all it is is a big field. Up here you've got the visitor centre, you've got everything you need to, at Bosworth.
>
> JS: Are you curious to walk down there and see it?
>
> B13: Not really, no. I'm happy to walk around the fields here. It does me because it's exercise and people say is it here, is it there? And I just enjoy walking around this bit. Walking through the wheat, coming down to the well where he's [Richard] supposed to have drunk water from, and just enjoy walking round.

Though the two gentlemen above were not concerned with visiting the actual site, they did believe it was important to know about the location of the site. However, another gentleman was indifferent to knowing about the location precisely because it wasn't possible to visit it:

> JS: So how important was it for you to know where the actual battlefield is?...
>
> B10: I don't think that bothers me at all. Um, I knew in my heart that Ambion Hill, yes it was nearby...But uh, no and at the moment, as far as I'm aware you can't go up to Upton because it's all still private land. But no, I can read about it, I can imagine so that doesn't really bother me at all.
>
> JS: Would you be keen to kinda walk around there?
>
> B10: Oh yes! If it was, if it was possible I would, I'd certainly like to.

There was agreement that being in the general area was reasonable enough for learning about the battle, even if it was not possible to be at that spot. Part of this had to do with learning about the battle in the general context of where it took place which made it easier to visualise and gave more meaning to the experience, as in assertions made by B11 and B4:

> B11: Well it contextualises it, you can read it in a classroom, in a library, on a DVD or something but if you stop, and think about it you can sort of get the picture of what was happening. And that's important for the description, you get from the descriptions what's going on and then it's up to you, just to take a few minutes to stand and look, and try and throw your mind back.

> B4: Yeah I think so because it adds more meaning doesn't it? If somebody, if you were I don't know to go back to my home town and someone gives a talk about this, it's interesting but it's not got quite the same, depth of meaning.

Whilst B6 states that it is desirable to know where the battle happened, B1 felt that it was not essential to learn about it in that spot:

> B6: Well as long as they're saying this is as close as we think it is, that's important. I mean if they're saying absolutely this is where it is yeah, OK that's it. Let's say it was in this area, as long as they're putting that proviso in, I'm quite happy with that...it'd be nice to find out exactly where certain things happened.

> B1: Well...I still feel that close because we're not that far away. I mean at the end of the day what's a mile and a half? It's not a lot, is it? Um, it hasn't taken away from the centre or the story, because it's all there, it's what they found and that's what they believed. And what I liked about the Centre is that they actually had a wall with the theories on it. Nobody said this is what actually happened and you're going to blooming well take that [taps nails on table] what I say, they've actually given names, and their reasons behind why. And I thought that was very good of them to do that, and that was before they knew about this new stuff.

Although there were differing ideas on the practicality or desire to visit the newly identified battlefield area, there was widespread accord among the interviewees that knowing the true location of the battlefield did little, if anything, to change their idea of what happened at the Battle of Bosworth. Indeed, as will be explained further in Chapter Eight, it was unambiguously clear that the event itself was not the direct reason why the site is important for the majority of visitors; in fact, there is little reason to believe that this is the case at most battlefields, as it is the impact of the aftermath which defines a battle's importance today.

In any case, the consensus from the interviews with visitors and staff was that *knowing* about the exact location of the site was more important that *being* there. This was the same result which the informal survey by front-desk staff discovered as well: "we asked a lot of people 'how important is it to you to actually physically stand on the field, or would you be happy to stay in the visitor centre, we give you views across to the field and we interpret from there?' And 98% of people said, nope we'll stick with the visitor centre that's fine, that's where the toilets are, that's where the tearoom is" (YouTube 2010). It was unnecessary to actually be present within the context of the newly discovered battlefield, since the entire infrastructure and interpretation is still in the same location it has been for decades; there is nothing but private farmland at the 'actual' site. As

highlighted previously in this section, for some people the Centre at Ambion Hill has become an important place in its own right; even if it is no longer in the heart of the known historic action.

7.3.3 Assumed Reality at Flodden

From afar, the only clear indication of the site of the Battle of Flodden to be any different than the surrounding hills is the stone cross which was erected on Piper Hill in 1910 (See Section 5.4.1). Even though the phone booth 'visitor centre' is now established in Branxton village, it takes a dedicated effort to seek out the car park where the unassuming interpretation trail with information panels begins, as it lies even further outside the village. What is clear is that there is not a dominant, authoritative voice which declares the area to be of significance on the same level as Culloden or Bosworth, namely with the presence of visitor centres and staffed interpretive presentations at these latter two. Indeed, of the limited finds recovered in the area around Branxton, there are also no artefacts or other tangible reminders of the conflict that remain for public viewing within the context of the battlefield, despite the on-going excavations in the area (iFlodden 2012).

As such, there is an assumed awareness by visitors that they are viewing the original site when they visit the monument and information panels, despite any clear historical or archaeologically proven evidence for visitors to examine for themselves. By proxy, and with trust in recognised signs, the presence of an historical memorial (cross) and maintained modern interpretation (information panels, pamphlets) indicate that the surrounding area has a value which has been recognised in the past (1910) and today. Naturally what was unclear before this study began was what significance the area holds for modern visitors, and whether or not being at the actual site makes any difference to knowing about and appreciating the significance of the battle. With Flodden there is the extra layer of the faith visitors have in that they are at the 'actual' spot, since there is no evidence presented on the veracity of this claim.

Although there is no information at the site discussing the on-going archaeological works, or alternative theories to the location of the battle (several of which were mentioned during an earlier site visit), visitors trusted that they were in the right place. During the interviews, the situation of the rediscovery of the 'real' site of Bosworth was explained, and visitors were asked what their feelings would be if it was discovered that the same was to occur at Flodden. One gentleman was incredulous that such a situation was even

possible at Flodden: “I find it inconceivable that they could get it wrong when there’s so much detail here about the bog and the angle of attack...I’d be astonished if this was an honest mistake” (Interview F6). Citing the interpretive presentation, he believed that not only were the historical sources convincing, but the way in which the information was presented on-site was authoritative and unassailable to debate. Interviewee F1 felt the same way for similar reasons, and that she “would be sort of disappointed because I feel it is here, although I don’t know it is” (Interview F1). She had visited about a dozen times before and had indubitable faith that the site was genuine, despite any definitive evidence other than blind confidence that the interpretive presentation was correct.

A Scottish woman, Interviewee F3, on a first visit with family, said that it was important for her to know that it was there so she could visualise the space. If it was discovered that the battle was in a different location, she thought that it would be most appropriate to leave the memorial where it is, as Interviewee F1 felt as well, but provide information discussing how the ‘real’ site had been uncovered and where it is located. If this was indeed the case, she felt that people would visit either the ‘wrong’ or ‘real’ location depending on their motivation: “Ultimately at the end of the day it depends on why they’ve come and whether they come just to learn about it or whether they come to get a feeling for the battlefield” (Interview F3). Personally for her, it made no difference if the interpretation was in the general vicinity or on the ‘real’ site; just as most respondents to Bosworth asserted.

However, this becomes complicated for those who have an intimate familiarity with the current site. For example, Interviewee F2 was a 56 year old man from Cumbria who comes to Flodden one to two times a year and has been about 20 times. Although he’d be disappointed if this wasn’t the ‘real place’, he would not be surprised either. Yet he insisted that:

> “I would still feel it’s a special pilgrimage here...Because I’ve been coming so long, perhaps it’s more than just being a battle site. That makes it special to me. But yes, I would be disappointed, if I thought that this wasn’t the place. And would I go and visit the correct place? Yes I would [laughs]” (Interview F2).

Interviewee F4 felt the same way, maintaining that it was important to know the actual site from a historical point of view, but being in the ‘wrong’ location “certainly wouldn’t remove the peace and beauty of the area or the enjoyment of the visit” however “if it were half a mile over there, then I would like to know about that and I’d like to go up there and

stand there instead of standing here if that were the case" (Interview F4). In these cases it was possible to appreciate both areas based on independent valuations of those spaces for personal reasons.

Interviewee F1 felt very similarly, as she had also been to the site many times before, but she was more adamant that the site couldn't be anywhere else. For her being at this actual site was essential since, as she states "Because it just brings it more alive to you I think, although how can it be more alive. But if you read about it, and you see where things are supposed to have happened, you can get sort of a feel for it. Now whether that's just, me being sentimental or whatever I don't know but, just being here, I don't know you just get a feeling that it happened here. I don't know how to explain that one" (Interview F1). It was implausible for her to imagine the site as anything but what and where it is, and there is nothing in the on-site interpretation suggesting otherwise. For her there was a very strong emotional connection to that spot for her, which stemmed from her abhorrence of war coupled with a realisation that this history, for better or worse, is what formed the country she lives in today. Yet she empathised with the victims of the time thinking of "how devastating it must've been for these people and, I mean whether any of them actually felt that they wanted to fight this battle...I just feel it [the battlefield] must be full of some sort of emotional, sense…it is the emotional feeling for the place" (Interview F1). The importance of the visit for her is a chance to come and reflect on both what the battle must have meant for the participants, but perhaps even more, how that has affected her place in the world.

For some this can be a very personal experience. Although Interviewee F2 lives in Cumbria, he was born in Scotland to a Scottish mother and an English father. He sometimes feels more Scottish than English, which is certainly the case when he is at Flodden, where he mentioned the number of Scots who died in comparison to the English as a motivating factor for this feeling.

> JS: And how does that make you feel, to be Scottish here? What kind of emotions do you have then?
>
> F2: Sad and, very very sad. Not only for the Scottish but for all the people involved. I don't think the dirty rotten English! I would say I feel equally sad for both sides, because when you think not only the horror that the soldiers went through, and fighting in any war, could you imagine? The fear...but awful when you think of the loved ones, the wives, and the sisters and mums and brothers, all affected because of the carnage here. Then looking at the church, the king's body was taken to the church wasn't it, and there's a huge pit nearby where bodies were just thrown in.

This vivid imaginary was indicative of visitors' responses to the area. Although there is so little to be seen, they were able to take facts about what occurred from the site presentation, such as the king taken to the church alongside mass graves, and be able to visualise the events in their mind without any further aid. In fact, it was this deliberate absence of anything which made the area so appealing to some, and heightened the sense of the real: "And you know it is what it is. It's unspoilt. I read on the Wikipedia site that it's relatively unchanged from the way it was in 1513...although if we went back in time I'm sure it was different in lots of ways, but that aspect's nice that it's preserved, and you can see the land as it was" (Interview F4). It was the nature of the area without the commercialisation that inevitably accompanies sites with visitor centres and tourist infrastructure that appealed most. Interviewee F3 explained that the lack of visual intrusions was a bonus to visiting the spot, and that it was preferable to a built-up tourist attraction:

> F3: I think it would just look a bit spoiled, a bit of modern life coming and putting a stamp on an area that's very important in history. I think what they've done is nice in just having a couple, and they don't have any more which is very nice, and I think having information boards just scattered all around, I just don't think it would look good.

However, she continued that because there was not much to see at Flodden this contributed to their short visit of about 15 minutes. This friction between providing information and maintaining the feeling for the area was a complicated duality of which she was well aware. Having also been to Bosworth and Culloden, she compared the experiences at those sites to her time at Flodden, rationalising that those sites are more on the tourist trail and therefore it is more understandable why there is more to see there. "Here it's just very, without having a visitor centre, you don't get that ability to get all that in-depth knowledge of the area's history and what's going on at the time. Hence why we haven't spent very long I suppose, because there's not that same ability to glean the information from it" (Interview F3). Interestingly, despite having spent an entire day at Bosworth, visiting the exhibition and circuiting the battlefield walk, she did not realise that the interpretation at Bosworth was not where the battle took place. It was only upon the interview at Flodden where she was made aware of this, but as noted previously, it was being in the general vicinity for her that mattered most.

7.4 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the importance of constructing and presenting 'real' place in terms of the on-site interpretation, such as: the extreme measures undertaken at Culloden

at landscape regeneration; the strategic visual aids for viewing the rediscovered battlefield at Bosworth; and the purposefully authoritative, albeit directly unverifiable, information presented at Flodden. Each site utilises the surrounding landscape as part of the interpretive display, whether part of the battlefield or not, interweaving the narrative of the event into the surrounding space. This was achieved regardless of whether the heritagescape was historically accurate to that event or not, which visitors were ambivalent about at best.

What is clear from the results of this chapter is that it is unnecessary for people to be at the exact location of a battle to get a sense of the historicity of the action, and indeed for some, it has been that visitation to the interpretation, wrongly placed or not, that has influenced their valuation of that place. This has even noted to be the case at the 'real' site of Culloden which, without on-site interpretation, would be absent of a means to decode the importance of that heritagescape. Since the place itself is not the most valued aspect for visitors, nor is exact historic reality as Chapter Six revealed, it is necessary to review what visitors do value about historic battlefields in comparison to official discourses of their values.

Chapter Eight – Unauthorised Discourse: Modern Perceptions of Battlefields as Heritage

"For us to study battlefields as part of our heritage it is necessary for them to be treated as part of that heritage. Where remembrance is lacking, that 'heritage' status is effectively withheld" (Carman & Carman 2006: 229).

8.1 Introduction

The intent of this final analysis chapter is to present modern perceptions of the value of battlefields as heritage, or 'heritagescapes' (Garden 2006; 2009), utilising data from the case studies as well as additional representative battles. The chapter begins by building on the analysis in Chapters Six and Seven on the importance of historical 'fact' and being in the 'authentic' place and the values which that heritagescape may have for visitors. This will include how official designations of importance of place contrast with visitor data from the case studies, as well as related examples to establish this point. The chapter concludes by considering the politicisation of not only the representations of battlefields, but additionally why some sites receive government support and funds to have sophisticated interpretative displays, and others are denied even recognition onto non-statutory lists. It is argued that traditional ideas of the values of battlefields – the scale of participants and casualties, and accuracy of the location of a battle (See Table 8.1) – do not match with the findings of this research – the scale of site interpretation and the connection of a battle's importance to the present (See Table 8.2) – which fits into a wider perspective about how heritage is understood today (See Section 1.4).

8.2 Authorised Value: Official Narrative of Historic Battlefields' Significance

Defining and classifying the current cultural importance of battlefield heritage has proven to be a challenge, and one of the reasons that it has been considered only recently in the UK. In recent years archaeologists – who have largely controlled the data on archaeology and have been criticised for their role in managing it (Waterton & Smith 2009: 12) – have attempted to measure the importance of battlefield heritage, which has in turn greatly influenced regional and national authorities. Part of this criticism may lie in their overly quantitative and historically-orientated approach in establishing perceived, nuanced values ascribed today. Foard (2008: 16) has given one of the most detailed examples as to how this has been approached:

> "For a rough-and-ready perspective on perceived cultural importance, citations from a selection of 'all period' secondary sources were analysed to establish how many such sources listed each battle…The bibliographic score broadly reflects the combination of perceived importance of the action together with the degree of certainty of location, and the quality of

> documentation and current understanding. With this said, some battles earn a high rating simply because of their historical reputation or legendary status."

This methodology may prove useful in understanding how a battle may have been perceived in the past, or how historians have valued the importance of a certain action within military history. Carman & Carman (2006: 185) have established a similar counting system in regards to what types of memorials were erected over time, by whom and for what purpose. Foard (2008: 18) postulated a near identical system that would include the "assessment of perceived cultural importance through the presence, number and scale of battlefield monuments and commemorative associations." Though both of these may be helpful in ascertaining perceived importance of a battlefield or the historical knowledge of it over time in the past, neither addresses the concerns of the perceived heritage values of *today* since these monuments were largely constructed in the past.

It is indeed a dilemma, and one that has been a challenge to archaeologists providing this proof of value in attempting to gain better legislative protection for battlefields, which Section 2.4 addressed. "The problem with many sites of conflict is that actual remains of the event, the obvious physical heritage, rarely survive above ground. If archaeological evidence cannot be seen, it is less likely to be recorded and protected, as 'popular' heritage sites are generally those where the remains of the 'site' can be viewed" (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 1). Indeed, sites that have some sort of evidence, even if it is not from the battle such as monuments, tend to be better visited. Yet none of this answers why some sites have monuments and extensive interpretation displays and others are left unmarked, as there is no direct, *in situ* evidence at any British battlefield of the remains of conflict. The only exception to this is at Glenshiel, but even this remnant could easily be mistaken for a dry stone wall typical of the area since there is nothing telling you that it is from the battle, including the interpretation panel at its base (See Section 2.2.1 and Figure 2.1).

What is very clear from national agencies is that the value they place on the sites very rarely matches with the reasons for why people visit them. The RHB and the IHB have designated how they value battlefields by 'indication of importance' in England, and 'statement of significance' in Scotland. The content in these is highly indicative of the perceived values of historic battlefields for policy makers and those academics advising them. Each of the case studies has been described and evaluated through these indicators

and statements, which are outlined below. Some brief commentary on their content will follow each section.

> *"Culloden – Overview & Statement of Significance*
> The battle of Culloden is significant as the last pitched battle fought on the British mainland. It was also the last battle of the final Jacobite Rising that commenced in 1745 when Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie), grandson of the exiled King James VII & II, arrived in Scotland from France in July and raised his standard at Glenfinnan on 19 August. His aim was to put his father on the throne in place of the Hanoverian George II.
>
> The battle was a total and bloody defeat for the Jacobites which effectively marked the end of almost sixty years of the Jacobite struggle, as never again would an armed uprising be used in the attempt to return the Stuarts to the throne. The Government victory also paved the way for a sustained programme to destroy the power base of the rebel clans.
>
> Culloden is one of the most important battles in the history of the British Isles, and has international significance. It is the final battle fought on the British mainland, and brings to an end more than half a century years of Jacobite conflict, itself played out against a background of wider international wars. Its aftermath transforms the Highlands, bringing to an end the traditional way of life of the area and contributing to the subsequent Clearances. The battle also holds a prominent place within the Scottish cultural legacy, frequently depicted and commemorated in art, music, literature and film. The battlefield itself is one of the most visited tourist sites in the Highlands, and the site holds a particularly high significance and emotional connection to many within Scotland and to the ancestors of the Scottish diaspora" (HS 2012a).

As noted by the guides at the beginning of the battlefield walk, Culloden is often referenced as being important for being the last land battle in Britain – so significant, it appears, to be worthy of mention twice in this short overview. Also mentioned twice is that it was the end of the Jacobite rebellions, lasting for many years. The impact of the aftermath is rightly credited with contributing to the battle's lasting importance, though it is unclear to what degree it is recognised as doing so in this statement. The site's popularity as a tourist destination is also acknowledged, though there is no explanation of exactly why this should be. Judging from the first paragraphs, one could assume that it would be its military and political history. Whilst it is certainly true that foreigners visit Scotland because they have family connections to the nation, it was not apparent in this research that they were visiting Culloden for the same reasons.

> *"Bosworth – Indication of Importance*
> The historical significance of the Battle of Bosworth does not need labouring. Traditionally, it marks the end of the Middle Ages and the significance of the date 1485 stands second only to that of 1066 in England's

> chronology. The Plantagenet dynasty came to an end to be replaced by the Tudors. Richard III, the last English King to be killed in battle, has become - thanks to the efforts of Tudor writers - literally a mythical figure. The legend of the misshapen tyrant maintains its fascination to this day" (EH 1995a: 11).

The subsequent paragraphs to the above-quoted one describe how there is surprisingly very little documentary or tangible evidence from the battle, emphasising the lack of finds as this report was prepared in 1995, ten years prior to in-depth archaeological investigations (EH 1995a: 12). The emphasis in the first paragraph is clearly on the historical importance of the battle to the English history of monarchs, and the ensuing sections on the written and artefact record, or lack thereof. No 'indication of importance' has been written about the present day, except for the cursory mention of the legend of Richard. Whilst this is certainly true, the rationalisation does not go further with any explanations of how the majority of visitors value the space, with or without an interest in Richard.

The Keeper at Bosworth had very similar valuations to the RHB. He said that he would like visitors to have learned five new things after having visited the exhibition (See Ham 1992: 20-22): 1. How Bosworth fits in with the Wars of the Roses, and that it was not the last battle; 2. Everyday people were killed at the battle; 3. Where the battlefield is today; 4. How the field was lost to history and rediscovered; 5. How an army worked. Naturally, he acknowledged, what a visitor learns depends on their previous knowledge, individual interests, comprehension of the material and displays, along with an endless list of unpredictable factors affecting individual experiences. What was clear, however, was that he was less concerned with how visitors relate to the site in the present day.

> *"Flodden – Indication of Importance*
> For Scotland the Battle of Flodden was a catastrophe. Not only was the loss of life heavy but the country lost its King and a large proportion of its nobility…Flodden had no such lasting effect on English history…Clearly, it is the sheer scale of the Scottish disaster that accounts for the interest shown in the Battle of Flodden today. The battle has mournful, and thus romantic, connotations. During the nineteenth century Sir Walter Scott's poem *Marmion* enhanced the reputation of the battle in this regard.
>
> The death of King James IV added to the sense of loss. In many respects he was well-suited to play the tragic hero: a successful King but fatally flawed…The chief English commanders, the Earl of Surrey and his son, Lord Howard, are equally notable historical characters…
>
> Ultimately, Flodden is perhaps of greatest interest to the student of tactics. The English fought as they had for much of the Middle Ages, with bow and

> bill. The Scots, in contrast, by adopting the pike wholesale, committed themselves to the latest military thinking. Their style of warfare belonged to a different age - the Renaissance.
>
> Bearing the question of tactics in mind, it is worth observing that the particular value of the written sources for Flodden lies not just in the fact that they enable us to reconstruct the course of the battle with confidence, but that at the same time they shed light on the method of fighting of either side. In the same way, a visit to Flodden battlefield is made especially rewarding because the nature of the terrain is such that it is easy to understand how, in the light of the tactics employed, the battle took the course that it did" (EH 1995b: 10-11).

Though detailed, there are broadly two categories of people which this document suggests would be interested in the site: Scots and students of military tactics. As mentioned in Section 6.3.3, there are indeed Scots who attend annual commemoration ceremonies, just as at Culloden, but the vast majority of visitors are from the local English village, and in particular dog walkers (See also Sections 8.4 and 9.4). The document states that it is the large number of Scots who died in the battle, somewhere between 10-15,000 (EH 1995b: 10), that contributes to the importance and interest of the site. Whilst this is certainly true for some visitors, it is disingenuous to state that this is the only reason why the battle is important and remembered today, as will be suggested in the next sections. The next group, students of military tactics, does not seem to constitute a significant number of average visitors. However, it is valid to say that visitors appreciate the views to be able to visualise the battle, yet it was not because of a particular interest in tactics, but rather as a place of greater contemplation and resonance, as detailed in Section 7.3.3.

Due to both of these policy documents valuing historical references and archaeological evidence, it is unsurprising that this is how boundaries of the battlefield area have been considered. As is described in the Culloden entry: "The Inventory boundary defines the area in which the main events of the battle are considered to have taken place (landscape context) and where associated physical remains and archaeological evidence occur or may be expected (specific qualities)" (HS 2012a). Exceptionally detailed archaeological investigations have taken place at Culloden, which as noted in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.3.2. This is an exception in the UK, so it is simple to know where the battlefield borders are. Up until very recently, there was only conjecture to the location of Bosworth, though even this was in a relatively small area (EH 1995a: 12-13). As a significant number of artefacts have since been discovered in the past decade, a better picture is being developed about the area where the battle was fought. In 2010 a draft was proposed of a conservation area for the battlefield by the Bosworth Heritage Centre. In this, a map

indicating the archaeological finds was produced (See Figure 8.1) which would be divided into three sections with varying archaeological and historic importance:

> "The Core area (Zone 1) is to be determined by the most up to date interpretation of the archaeological scatter. Zone 2 should present a buffer to he [sic] scatter and include more peripheral areas, such as the potential camp site for Richard's forces before the battle. Zone 3 should include other significant buildings, landscape features and artefact scatters representing other periods to place the battlefield in its landscape context" (Bosworth Heritage Centre 2010: 13).

The location of the Heritage Centre only just makes the 'Core area' of Zone 1 (See arrow on Figure 8.1), evidently not for the fact that it has been where the interpretation takes place, rather because some cannonballs have been found on the side of Ambion Hill (EH 1995a: 12). Equally, it is not clear if edifices of dubious historical veracity like King Dick's well, where Richard is supposed to have taken water before the battle, and the now relocated stone indicating where Richard was thought to have fallen, were included in this assessment.

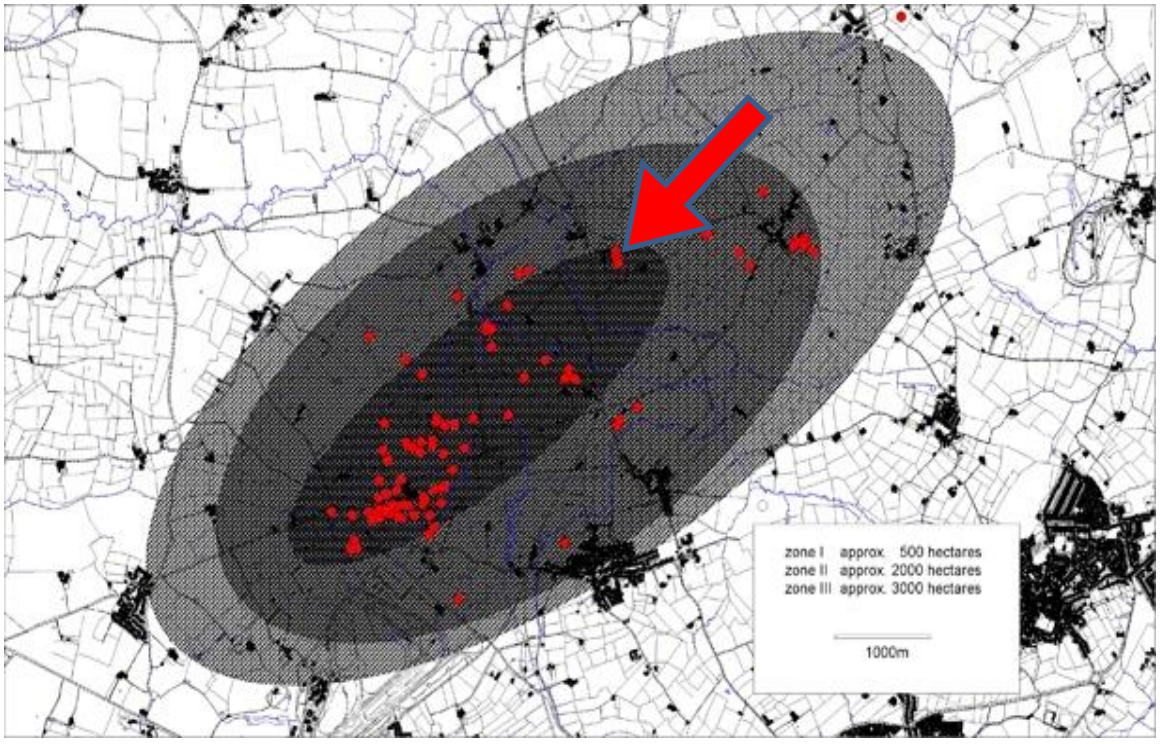

Figure 8.1: Proposed Bosworth Battlefield Conservation Area (Bosworth Heritage Centre 2010: 13), with arrow added by Sikora. Note the archaeological finds marked with red dots and the arrow marking the Heritage Centre.

Of course all of this naturally begs the question as to if any archaeological finds that may have been located are important or not to understanding the sum value of a battlefield. It is important to remember that, as had been seen with the definitions of heritage, the value of place is not always constructed of material contemporary to the events in time (Garden

2009: 276, 280; See also Section 2.5). Some sites may have been reconstructed, or contain only tangible reflections after the event, such as monuments, visitor centres or interpretation panels (Howard 2003: 79-80). These have all served to give meaning to the place, and accentuate the possible tangible and undoubted intangible heritage that place embodies. Taken all together, the original and later additions to a battlefield space not only give that space meaning and value, but aid in the memorialisation process; indeed, "As hallowed sites of national memory, the identification and preservation of a battlefield as a physical and inviolable entity can help maintain a consciousness of the past" (Gough 2008: 224). However, it is possible that without a clear and factual version of the past, history can be purposefully falsified to fit a preconceived paradigm; potentially with nefarious ends such as Holocaust denial (Sutherland & Holst 2005: 38).

Military history, reinforced by battlefield archaeology, can aid in explaining the facts of battles and verify what took place on a particular spot and prevent such falsification. Despite these ambitious aims, countless battlefields are marked by monuments, standing stones, information panels – in some cases whole visitor centres – without historical or archaeological verification of the veracity of the location as the site of battle. Bannockburn is a prominent example, which, as noted earlier, has no fixed site or material remains found. It has had a visitor centre since the 1970s, and is having a new one built at a cost of 9.1 million pounds for the 700th anniversary in 2014 (HS 2011b). Additionally, it was explored in relation to Culloden in Chapter Six that even when people understand and accept factual data from the past, they often manipulate or conform it to suit their own needs or understandings of the past. It is clear that the reasons some sites are interpreted and others not are more complicated than at first appear, and certainly more nuanced than has been appreciated by academics and practitioners alike. The focus of the next sections is to explore why this has been the case, and consider a wider scope of their value, and how value is attributed through interpretation.

8.3 Selective Signposting: Why Specific Battlefields Feature On-site Interpretation

The number of participants or causalities from a battle is almost never an indicator of importance for why a battle is well-known or interpreted today (Winter 2009: 8) – in spite of what is stated on the 'indication of significance' for Flodden as seen above, and stated in numerous further battlefield reports (See also Hanink & Stutts 2002: 711,716). If this were the case, then neither Culloden nor Bosworth would rank very highly. Bosworth is today the most famous Wars of the Roses battlefield, but it is certainly not the largest in terms of participants involved, about 20,000 (EH 1995a: 1) or causalities, perhaps 1,000

(Foard 2004: 57). Instead, the Battle of Towton in 1461 from the Wars of the Roses was far larger, where as many as 100,000 soldiers fought and perhaps 28,000 were killed; making it not only the largest land battle in England, but the entire UK (EH 1995d: 6). If archaeological finds are considered, Towton would be arguably much more significant than Bosworth due to rarity in the large number of bodies uncovered (See Section 2.2.1), as well as the plethora of tangible finds at the site including "The earliest hand guns and the earliest bullet, ever to be recorded on an English battlefield" amongst "Arrow heads, spurs, belt spurs, belt buckles and strap-ends [which] have been found in profusion" (Towton Battlefield Society 2012). As it is though, there is no visitor centre at Towton, very few information panels, and the only monument is a medieval stone cross (EH 1995d: 1). Even the fact that it was an atypical battle fought in the falling snow does not seem to bring it much modern recognition.

The renowned battles of Hastings or Bannockburn would not rank very highly in terms of numbers of soldiers fighting or the archaeological record either. Though the year of Hastings, 1066, is one of the most recognised dates in history, there have been no artefacts recovered from the site of where no more than 16,000 soldiers fought (EH 1995c: 2). Indeed, there have even been recent claims that it could be located in the wrong location, with two alternate locations proposed (Battlefields Trust 2013). The current site, run by EH, is dominated by the abbey erected by William the Conqueror where King Harold is supposed to have been killed (EH 1995c: 1). But the battlefield itself is still mostly private land, and only since the 1980s, after several Americans bought and donated the land in 1976, was access to some of the site made available to visitors, with a museum opened in 1992 (EH 2002: 2). Similarly at Bannockburn, as previously noted in Section 2.3.2, no artefacts have been found, and up to eight possible locations have been suggested for this relatively small engagement where approximately 15,000 soldiers fought, with unknown casualties (HS 2013).

In contrast to these sites, battles such as Pinkie in 1547 should be amongst the best known in the UK if participant and causality numbers are considered the most important factors. Fought during the 'Rough Wooing' to unite the kingdoms of England and Scotland by English force, Pinkie was the largest battle in Scotland, with around 40,000 men fighting and perhaps as many as 15,000 dying (HS 2012c: 4-5). Historic Scotland claim that "Pinkie battlefield is of high importance not only because of the scale of the battle, but also because of the rarity of battlefields of this period in the UK" (HS 2012c: 17), which has also yielded archaeological finds (Pollard & Banks 2010: 423). Despite its clear

historical and archaeological importance to some, it is nevertheless one of the least known battlefields, not only in the UK but in Scotland: "this Battle has never held a significant place in the National or even Local consciousness and wrongly and sadly continues to be ignored" (HS 2012e: 2). Certainly, it has almost no 'official' recognition above being included in the IHB, with no on-site interpretation, and only two monuments. The first, known to be there since at least 1824 (Musselburgh Conservation Society 2012: 10), is embedded in a stone wall along a path in a public park which states: "The Protector Duke of Somerset Encamped Here 9th Sept 1547" (See Figure 8.2). There is no further information explaining that this is related to the battle at all, or why this has been deemed important enough to mark. The second monument overlooks the battlefield and was erected in 1998 with private funds from the Old Musselburgh Club (HS 2012e: 1) (See Figure 8.3). Despite this recent effort, "In Scotland, the battle is almost culturally invisible, particularly when compared to Bannockburn or Culloden" (HS 2012c: 19). No explanation is given by Historic Scotland listing any reasons why this is the case.

Figure 8.2: Memorial to Duke of Somerset's encampment

Figure 8.3: Pinkie monument erected by Old Musselburgh Club

Considering that military history and archaeological finds have been considered significant at Flodden, Towton and Pinkie certainly begs the question of why there are so few memorials and on-site interpretation at these sites, and more importantly, why they are not more ingrained in historic consciousness and modern memory. Equally worth considering is why battles such as Bosworth (before the recent finds), Hastings and Bannockburn have been interpreted and ever-present in the historical conscious when there were no significant, tangible remains, and not even a fixed location.

It is clear from the research of this thesis that in calculating the importance of battlefields which are interpreted today there are two distinct categories which are almost always interrelated: the aftermath and political capital, both of which must be currently valued. Without exception, the infamy of battles which are widely well-known and commemorated has little to nothing to do with the events of the battles themselves. Instead, the aftermath, and how it is remembered, is the deciding factor on whether a battle has been deemed important or not for commemoration and interpretation. This is closely linked with the current politics, which can also influence the importance of a battle. In contrast to Saussure's stance that meaning is formed unintentionally or by happenstance, Shirato & Yell (2000) maintain that signs are "always political" (2000: 21), and that "meaning always involves, at some level, questions of power and politics" (2000: 24). Gibson (2009: 67) further states that this meaning is essential to cultural landscapes

"with real political, cultural and social effects on the present". Yet this 'political memory' contains loaded connotations which are infused into the supposed 'unbiased history' of a site's interpretive presentation (Assmann 2008: 62). These factors are the reason why some battlefields are interpreted and memorialised and others are not, which have nothing to do with the historical narrative of what took place or any remaining artefacts.

There are numerous examples as to the validity of this finding; one such instance can be found comparing Bosworth with Towton. As seen above, Towton was the largest battle ever in England, with massive amounts of casualties, impressive battle finds, and very rare graves discovered. Yet, as noted, Towton is hardly known, whilst Bosworth is considered one of the most significant battles in British history. The difference is of course in the aftermath. Although both battles resulted in the changing of rule from one house to the other, Bosworth is known as the 'battle of two kings', in that it was the last battle in English history when the monarch was killed. Still, this does not explain why it has been made famous. It could be argued that because it ushered in the Tudor dynasty which changed Britain, Europe and arguably the world that it is so well-known. Indeed, it is probable that this was partially the reason for its legacy. But Shakespeare had even more of an impact as he brought to life the Tudor perception of Richard with all his rumoured crimes, misdeeds and physical infirmities. It has been through Shakespeare's famous, though historically inaccurate play written more than a century after the battle that Richard, and therefore Bosworth, became infamous and significant.

Without a doubt, there would not be a Richard III Society or other such groups trying to clear his name today, if they did not feel like he was a maligned character in need of rectifying. As the Society's mission states: "In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable...Richard's infamy over the centuries has been due to the continuing popularity, and the belief in, the picture painted of Richard III by William Shakespeare in his play of that name" (Richard III Society 2012). Although Shakespeare also wrote about Towton, it was only a minor part in the play *Henry VI*.

Another instance of the ramifications of the aftermath and its politics can be deduced by contrasting Bannockburn to Pinkie, since the former is infinitely more recognised than the latter. Without a doubt, it is because Bannockburn was the definitive battle of the Scottish Wars of Independence, which led to Scotland being a sovereign nation from England. The fact that this resonates today with a Scotland on the verge of voting to be independent

from the UK – the vote deliberately delayed until the 700th anniversary of the battle, to play off what has been termed the "Bannockburn bounce" (Burns 2012) – should hardly be unexpected. Equally, it is no coincidence that the new visitor centre, costing 9.1 million pounds, five million of which has been paid directly by the Scottish government and the other 4.1 million by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF 2012), will open in time for the anniversary. Pinkie, on the other hand, led to nothing of great political or enduring cultural significance worthy of government funds or broad public support.

Like Bannockburn, Culloden is not remembered for what happened during the battle, but in the Act of Proscription passed in its wake, which banned the wearing of the tartan, destroyed the clan system and led to the Clearances when Scots were forcibly removed from their property and sent abroad to the colonies (Richards 2000, 2007). Although these acts occurred after Culloden, and their passage seems inevitable today, it was not a foregone conclusion that they *had* to occur *because* of Culloden. These traditional elements, tartan and clan system, are associated with Scottish identity and 'Scottishness' today, and because they were banned in conjunction with events following the battle have inexorably been linked with it (Gold & Gold 2007; Gouriévidis 2010). Equally, because the Clearances happened soon after the battle, it is little wonder why those of Scottish descent or sympathy visit the site today (Basu 2007). Historic Scotland has touched on these points in their valuation of the cultural importance of the battle, though they add some interesting, albeit questionable additional items in the inventory:

> *"Culloden – Cultural Association*
> There is little doubt that Culloden is one of the most emotive battles to have been fought in the UK. It is inextricably linked with the romantic image of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Highland Jacobites. The battlefield is one of the most popular heritage tourist destinations in the Highlands of Scotland and is almost a place of pilgrimage for ex-patriot Scots and other members of the Scottish Diaspora from places such as USA, Canada and Australia, especially those with Highland ancestry. The greatest focus for modern visitors is undoubtedly the Clan Cemetery. The site continues to be a place of great importance to clan associations and groups such as the White Cockade society.
>
> There are, however, popular misconceptions about the battle, among them being that all the Jacobites were Highlanders and that it was a battle between the Scottish and English rather than part of a civil war played out against the backdrop of the pan-European War of Austrian Succession.
>
> The battle has featured prominently in literature, art and other media throughout the passage of time since the battle...The battle and its aftermath has featured in popular culture through film, such as Michael Caine's adaptation of Robert Louis Stevenson's Kidnapped (1971) and television,

> such as the ground-breaking 1964 BBC docudrama *Culloden*, based on the popular book *Culloden* by John Prebble (1961)" (HS 2011a: 5).

Although this is an accurate account of the *historic* importance of Culloden, very little is stated here about *modern* valuations. To be sure, there is a mention of the 'pilgrimage' of the diaspora, and whilst it is true that there are many visitors from these countries, it has not been established in this research that these visitors came due to these motivations. Indeed, it was noted that most of them had no prior idea about the battle before arriving, apart from perhaps hearing about Bonnie Prince Charlie. However, there were those who believed they had, or knew of, personal historic ties to Scotland, which is an element to consider (Watson 2011: 770). Equally, as was discussed in Section 7.3.1, it is quite clear that the clan cemetery is not a focus for modern visitors. The example noted above with the White Cockade has more to do with annual commemoration on the anniversary of the battle than with the far more numerous and ubiquitous quotidian visitors. The influence of John Prebble's book, and the subsequent BBC production based on it, were noted for their importance in Section 6.3.1, but only for British visitors, not for the largely international audience which frequents the site.

It should be emphasised that the reasons for site importance can shift over time, albeit usually in unpredictable ways. One such example is at the NTS property of Glenfinnan located at the head of Loch Shiel in Scotland. Although not a battlefield, it marks the location where the Jacobite standard was raised for the 1745 rebellion, which ultimately ended unsuccessfully at Culloden. The NTS maintains the area around a monument erected in the 19th century in memory of Bonnie Prince Charlie and his failed rebellion and a visitor centre explaining the rebellion. However, today it is much better known as a film location in the Harry Potter films, as was witnessed by the researcher on several visits to this landmark where the exhibition to the '45 was nearly empty each time, but many scores of people lined up to watch what visitors have nicknamed the 'Harry Potter Train' – actually called 'The Jacobite' – go past twice a day (West Coast Railways 2013). Even the brown NTS sign lists 'Harry Potter Film Location' as one of the attractions at the visitor centre. This transformation process of negotiating original events to perceived meanings is a similar process to Saussure's diachronic and synchronistic understandings of signs which change over time (See Section 4.2). In this example, Glenfinnan is still an important site to visitors, but preliminary observations suggest that the reasons for its value have shifted from commemorating the '45 Jacobite Rebellion, to Harry Potter.

Indeed, it is important to underline that "Battlefields retain multiple layers of meaning and evoke different responses in different people. Cultural, social and political perceptions and interpretations and personal responses to battlefields evolve over time" (Veterans Affairs Canada 2010). The current emphasis is on the exact location of a battlefield, but it is imperative to remember that this was not always a main priority, and indeed others besides military historians and archaeologists will react and interpret the significance of a site in an assortment of ways; in actual fact, this is already the case, as evidenced throughout this thesis. However, it is difficult to know and cater for all possible appreciations or values that a battlefield may possess, and next to impossible to foresee any or all future significance assigned. At the present time in England and Scotland, tangibility is considered the most significant factor, as Table 8.1 shows their perceived versus actual value, by authorities and academics:

Table 8.1: Perceived versus actual value of battlefields for authorities and academics

Low perceived value →			High perceived value
Skirmish	Minor battle	Large-scale battle	History changing battle

Low actual value →			High actual value
Unknown location	Probable location	Strong evidence of location	Known location

Considering the rationale of the current 'authorised heritage' argument, it is dubious and contradictory at best, ambiguous and disingenuous at worst. If locating a battle within a landscape were genuinely of utmost concern, Bannockburn would never have been listed on the IHB, and likewise Hastings on the RHB. But these infamous battles are of too much importance for modern politics and collective national memory to be absent from such listings. The former battle recognised for the great victory over the English, where the myth persists of Robert the Bruce as the great saviour of Scotland which can be used as political capital today, whilst the latter is often depicted as a milestone in British, and arguably, world history. These are much more important reasons why Bannockburn and Culloden have made the IHB, and Hastings, Bosworth and Flodden are featured on the RHB, than their value archaeologically or ability to be located within a bounded geographic space. Though sometimes presumed, and often plainly ignored, by officials has been what the value of these sites is for visitors; the group which arguably interacts with battlefields the most, and has been the focus of this research. Equally, the values local people have ascribed to a site are also frequently underappreciated, so it is worth commenting on these groups as well.

8.4 Visitor Valuations of Historic Battlefields as Heritage

Throughout the latest process on selecting battles for the IHB sites were chosen based on the "importance for what they can tell us about the course of the battle and its terrain, for the physical remains and artefacts they can contain, and as the location where combatants fought and died and are likely to have been buried" (HS 2011a: 1). As such, important sites such as Culloden and those with tangible remains like Glenshiel (Section 2.2.1, see Figure 2.1) are important elements in this "authorised heritage" (Smith 2006). Yet other sites, which are not locatable on a map, still have significance to locales, but have been marginalised and left unauthorised. One such instance is the Battle of Dún Nechtain from 685 which "marked a turning point in early Scottish history, when the Picts defeated a strong Northumbrian army, allowing the victors to expand their authority and become the dominant nation in northern Britain" (HS 2012f). Although very clearly a significant battle in Scottish history, there are two possible locations for the battle which are 55 miles (88 kilometres) apart, and as such the battle could not be considered for the inventory.

HS held a meeting with the two local communities who claim the battle as their own. Iain Banks of the Centre for Battlefield Archaeology at Glasgow University, who provided research for the IHB, said of the meeting (HS 2012b): "We recognise the tremendous historical significance of the Battle of Dun Nechtain and the meeting made it clear how much support there is for it to be formally designated". Ultimately, they decided that it was not possible to designate either site based on a lack of definitive evidence to its location. In doing so, that local heritage valuation has effectively been denied by HS, by way of archaeologists, even though it has been noted that "...the key emphasis being on ensuring that the diversity of Britain's heritages are represented and that communities are actively engaged in making decisions over heritage" (Graham, Mason & Newman 2009: 12). On the other hand, if those values by the community run counter to the perceived importance by officials and their advisors, then they are denied. As Dún Nechtain is not as ingrained in the historic imagination, or useful for any political purposes (there are no Picts or Northumbrian kings to fight today), then this site has been deemed unimportant enough for current non-statutory legislation, in spite of its presumed historic importance.

It is really no wonder why officials have not engaged more with local communities, since they tend to be less involved in sites than might be imagined, though they are often presumed to be active (Pollard & Banks 2010: 440). There are exceptions, such as at Prestonpans, Nasby, Shrewsbury and even Towton, but at the more well-known sites, like the case studies, it has been less straightforward. For instance, at Culloden there has been

a concerted effort to engage more with locals, but almost all efforts have failed. These have included a wide-variety of events, everything from basket weaving (one person came) to the 'Culloden Run' a 17.46 kilometre race. The Learning Manager has recently introduced local musicians in the cafe which did not go so well, although, an archaeological tour of the battlefield was attended by 45 people. A new approach at Culloden has been through art, with a new endeavour called the 'Artists in Residency Programme' in conjunction with Inverness Old Town Art and the Highland Council. The Learning Manager explained the goal of the project:

> "Well what we want to do is to challenge people to look at the battle and to look at the context around the battle in a slightly different way. And what we want to do is we want to use art as a way to look at some of the emotions associated with the battle, and to use art as a way to engage the community with the battle site. So when we were picking artists, we were specifically looking at artists who used community involved as a core part of their process...It also gives us the opportunity to have a changing face, a changing, another reason for people to come up to the centre, another reason to come in, and to engage with the centre itself" (Interview CC).

Even then, the Director noted that when public talks were held with the artists, only staff members attended, no one from the local community. According to both the Learning Manager (Interview CC) and the Director (Interview CB), part of the problem with bringing locals back to visit is the lack of a temporary display area. The Director stated: "It's extremely difficult to get people involved in anything up here. Local communities, people tend to have a lot to say if there's something they don't like, but they don't, we've found community involvement here has been very, very poor" (Interview CB). One event that was very successful was a dinner with the Michelin star chef Albert Roux, but it was only offered once and there was a limited number of places. However, this is not to say that locals do not pay attention to what happens at the site – quite the opposite: "I mean local people love their battlefield, they're very protective towards it. They wouldn't want anything not right to happen to it and they would be very vociferous" (Interview CB). Such examples include false rumours that a monument was being planned for the Government army, and the factual reporting that some visitors were picnicking on the clan graves.

Even so, there are a number of dog walkers and joggers at Culloden, as well as at Bosworth, where even horse riding was observed along the battlefield trail. At Bosworth, there have been issues involving the local communities, but it is appears there has been less effort to engage them than at Culloden. The Keeper mentioned that he would like to

see the temporary exhibit space as an area for the community one day, though this would be difficult to implement practically because of co-ordination, planning and approval from locals. It could be argued that the local community is working well at Flodden, though it should be said that it is largely the work of one individual, not the community. However much the community may be involved, community members are relatively absent in comparison to other visitors. Regardless, research has suggested that visitor's interaction with interpretation can lead them to "develop an undifferentiated space into a meaningful sense of place" in the same way as if they lived there (Stewart, Hayward & Devlin 1998: 263-264).

Just as has been determined what sites are interpreted and others left unmarked, visitors highlighted the aftermath and political consequences of the battles as key themes for their significance today. Several sub-themes emerged from these, including how history was changed and the importance of place. There were several additional themes though, which were brought up by visitors, including: the discussion of the unnecessary deaths and futility of war; personal connection to the site or its participants; a sense of local pride; and, personal enjoyment. The following discusses these themes, though not in the same order as just listed.

The discovery of the battlefield at Bosworth prompted some people to reflect on the importance of space and modern development, which has given the battle more importance now (Interview B2). Two visitors, Interviewees B11 and B5, who knew very little about Bosworth before coming to the visitor centre, remarked that the site meant something to them now that they had been through the visitor centre:

> B11: You know if we just didn't have all these historic sites, you know you lose history, you lose a sense of history. I mean crikey, we'd just become something relegated to text books and the internet you know. If you can't visit Bosworth and see what happened and I don't mean visit a town centre and somebody put a block of flats up and say well what used to be there was, you know a very important part of history and so on. You have to go to something which is in some respects special, and is always, because it's a highlight in British history. So it's important this was done and I think it's money well-spent.
>
> B5: Because it's um, it's so easy for places of, of historical importance to get forgotten in the constant rampage of commercialism, and you know, unless they have places like that, and like this, there'll just be Tescos everywhere, and Sainsburys and capitalism will reign. And when something's lost and gone, you can't regain it. So I do think it's important to keep places like this. And have the relevance. I think it's good for these sort

> of places to exist, to learn about it, and also for future generations and to bring families together.

Similarly, a local gentleman who has visited the site many times since his childhood enjoyed coming with his family saying, "I think it's very peaceful now, it's nice countryside. As I say there's lots to do around here, so if you want to come and potter around for a Sunday afternoon it's a great location" (Interview B4). For Interviewee B8, who had just finished a history degree at university, visiting this and other battlefields offered him an escape from the present, which he finds boring. For local visitors, the area, and in particular having the Heritage Centre, has been a source of pride because of the important history in the area (Interview B1), which is sometimes not appreciated, as Interviewee B9 explained:

> B9: What does it mean to me personally? [Pause] Perhaps the fact we have a very important battle site in Leicestershire, you know sometimes Leicester gets maligned, you know people think 'oh just Leicester we won't bother going through Leicester, it's a horrible place.'...there's quite a lot of Richard connections in Leicester but you've got to look for them it's not obvious. Whereas here, it is obvious.

There was some personal connection for people at Culloden, though this had less to do with the place than with the soldiers who fought there, in particular the troops under Bonnie Prince Charlie, often referred to as the 'Scots'. This connection was felt most strongly by Scots and those descended from them. One Scottish woman, who has three clan names in her family, spoke about the clans who took part in the 1745 Rising and said that she is proud of them, in the present tense (Interview CPS15). An Australian whose family are all from Scotland felt the same way as she described what occurred at the battle:

> CPS18: Um, yeah, sad I guess that you know so many people were, that the battle shouldn't have happened in that way. I guess more feeling for the Jacobites [laughter].
>
> JS: Why's that?
>
> CPS18: Um [pause] well because even though there were Highlanders on both sides, I'm always more sympathetic to the Scottish versus the English [laughter], obviously. What Scot isn't [laughter]?

This confusion, or purposeful ignorance that there were Scots on both sides was common with this group. A Scottish man often talked about the battle in terms of English versus Scottish, knowing full well that it was more complicated than that. He had visited many battlefields through Scotland because it made him think about his identity: "And whether

it's at Culloden or whether it's at Bannockburn, they ultimately, they both end losing. Yeah, I mean, so, it makes you think about things like that. It makes you, it makes you reflect on being Scottish and what's come before" (Interview C12).

Foreigners also had a difficult time occasionally in understanding the nuances of the battle and what it means for people in the UK, as one American woman lamented: "I guess what I haven't learned which, I'd like to know what a modern Scottish person, what their feeling is about this place, which I haven't learned" (Interview CPS17). A woman from Sweden (Interview C11) felt the same way, but she though the battle was important for Scots since they always say to her that they are not British. An English woman agreed with this sentiment, as did a German man:

> C1: What does it mean to me, it, I think it probably means more to the Scottish, because it happened here. I suppose to the English it's a bit remote. Um, I don't know, I don't know if it does mean anything to me in particular other than just a historical site, and that a great event in history took place here.
>
> CPS7: I think for the Scottish and for British people, they should be known about this place. Me from Europe, I told you, I've never heard of Culloden, neither in school. And so I think it's interesting for me, but I think I am a person who wants to know about historic places.

In the same vein, it was discussed in Section 6.3.2 that there was a strong connection with Richard III among the staff at Bosworth, as well as in popular culture. Although some visitors to Bosworth mentioned the importance of its connection with Richard III (Interviews B4, B10), surprisingly the deposed king was not generally considered to be part of the significance of the area. Instead, a number of visitors said that England's development as a nation, through the change in kings, was considered the most important aspect; though not necessarily to them personally today (Interviews B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, B8). One of those, Interviewee B7 a Swede, mentioned Shakespeare's connection as well as the changes during the Reformation under Henry VIII many years after Bosworth as being important, which was highlighted by Interviewees B4 and B12 in particular, the latter stating:

> B12: Um, because of like the changes that occurred, um after the actual event like with the beginning of the Tudors and everything, and all the upheaval with religious and everything that occurred afterwards. Like um, if Richard III had won instead, and like everything could've been different, but that's quite presumptive...Religion's still relevant today, you can kinda see where England went away from Catholicism and all that. So I think it's still

> relevant. Maybe the battlefield itself, not so much but certainly kind of the outcome of the battle, more so.

The aftermath was even more important to visitors to Culloden, in particular the Highland Clearances (C7, C9, C10, C11; see also McLean, Garden & Urquhart 2007: 231). As Interviewee C7 put it, "I suppose it was the aftermath of the battle that's caused most of those problems rather than the battle itself". This was echoed by a German woman, Interviewee C10, who had been travelling around the Highlands before visiting Culloden and wondering why there were so few people living there today. After going through the visitor centre she was able to understand what happened to the Highlanders in the aftermath, finding it more interesting than the battle itself.

In contrast to visitors at Bosworth and Culloden, no one at Flodden mentioned the aftermath of that battle as an important aspect of the site or its history. This is hardly surprising, considering how the information is displayed (See Section 6.3.3). There was a Scottish woman at Flodden who had also been to Bosworth, Bannockburn and Culloden, but could not really explain what the importance of Flodden was for her:

> JS: What do you think Flodden means to people today?
>
> F3: Probably not a whole lot…I don't think I'll go away and particularly remember visiting if you know what I mean.
>
> JS: Why is that?
>
> F3: It isn't seared in my memory. I don't know, compared with Culloden, Culloden struck me as horribly atmospheric. And I don't know how they got across that compared with here, but I will never forget the day I went to Culloden.

When prompted further about what the differences are between the sites for her, and why Flodden is not as well known in Scotland as Culloden or Bannockburn, she referred specifically to the aftermath:

> F3: I honestly don't know, I really don't know. I don't have the knowledge of before and after to compare. I suppose Bannockburn we love because we won, and so we are going to learn about that. Culloden had such an effect on the way life was lived afterwards, and it was just such a horrendous defeat...And I suppose Culloden has a lot of romantic notion about it, with Bonnie Prince Charlie and over the sea to Skye and all these kind of things, and whether he did any good for the country is brushed under the carpet.

Just as they are unsure what the legacy of Bonnie Prince Charlie was, many people spoke at Culloden and Flodden about the politics of the past and the present. Interviewee C5

said that Culloden meant nothing to her personally as an Australian, but she views it as a "political turning point". A German woman who had never heard anything about Culloden before coming felt the same way, though she indicated incorrectly that it was the beginning of the Union between England and Scotland. Even so, for her the battlefield is a "memorial of the last moment that would have meant, maybe a Trennung? Separation, yeah maybe?" (Interview C10). For some, that separation and anxiety between the two nations still exists, as evidenced by a Scot who continually referred to the Government army as English, and the Jacobites as Scots:

> JS: And you yourself just said that you sometimes refer to the Government army as the English, because they're the bad ones.
>
> C12: Yeah.
>
> JS: In what way are they the bad ones?
>
> C12: Well, they're from England. There's a history of suppression there...And other than small government you know, the clan system, at the time well generally, lends itself to something that seems a lot more when you look back on it a more favourable way of living...they removed the Scottish parliament and then devolved it down to England, and that was done unfairly. So, that, that makes you upset I suppose, yeah.
>
> JS: And do you feel kinda personally a bit upset about it still or?
>
> C12: Um, no, no it's more of a, it's more of a banter than anything now. No, it's part of the system and it's part of what happened and in many ways now, you still look at politics today and you know the SNP who are the you know the main party who actually have the properly Scottish agendas, they still play on the, you know, everything's that come, you know everything's that come from the clan system and everything else.

However, as previously indicated, this type of sentiment tended to come from Scots, or those with Scottish sympathies. Overall non-Scots visitors were able to distinguish the facts of the battle quite easily if they had no previous bias. One Englishman, Interviewee C7, who has a Scottish surname and family coming from the Scottish Borders, said that he was surprised that the presentation was balanced, since he fully expected the interpretation on-site to frame the battle in terms of England versus Scotland. He thought this was because "Culloden has often been quoted as a, as a rallying call to Scots as anti-English sentiment", which he finds particularly relevant in a time of devolution and possible independence. Even if this does not occur, he noted a definitive shift in the relationship between the two nations. Interestingly, a similar conclusion was reached by a visitor to Flodden who also spoke about how unnecessary war and conflict is:

JS: And do you think that Flodden is an important site today?

F4: I think it probably, I think as much as any battle-site, it reminds you of a much more bloody time and violent time, and the futility of war and the need for the unity of nations and the lack of conflict and all the lessons that tragedies of that kind...you know there's a currently Scottish nationalism, the SNP are now politically strong in Scotland...there are forces that seek to divide, and I think coming here shows you why we should be together, and not be divided because division breeds hatred, and hatred breeds all of those negative, breeds conflict and disharmony. So I think that it's important that we view ourselves as one, and the same. So I think there's a lesson, that's my strongest lesson.

Although no one spoke about this at Bosworth, the senselessness of death and war were discussed by several visitors at Flodden and Culloden, though at Flodden it was more with the people who died at the time whereas at Culloden visitors spoke more about modern warfare. There were deep undercurrents of spirituality with some of these comments, such as a gentleman who comes to Flodden regularly and refers to coming as a 'pilgrimage' (See also McLean, Garden & Urquhart 2007: 229):

F2: I find it very atmospheric, I find it very moving. I find it quite spiritual as well. I usually come on my own...I think there's still a special, sort of maybe it's the spirituality or whatever.

JS: And how would you describe, you say it's a pilgrimage for you, in what way is that, can you describe that?

F2: Well I'll try if I've got the words um, to pay my respects to people who died, probably lots of people died you know senselessly, people dying just common man dying more or less because they've been made to I suppose. They had to join the Scottish army, they had to join the English army, more than likely. The dreadful bloodshed that occurred and the fact that every family, every large family in Scotland lost somebody, or so the blurb says I mean, the sheer horror of it all. And as I said I find it very moving.

Interviewee F4 felt the same way though for very different reasons. He did not feel this personal connection to the place, but he could relate to it as a photographer. He had visited Flodden several times in the past, although this visit was to take pictures for a book a friend of his was writing. Part of his mission on this stormy day was to take pictures which not only encapsulated the site, but also to somehow capture the slaughter which occurred there on a very different day in 1513:

F4: It's poignant to see a wheat field being analogous to the harvest of lives, artistically, you know, the planting of the wheat has some resonance with all the lives that were lost... I'm looking for thistles in fact, of which there are a good few around...It's the emblem of Scotland, so there were many more

> Scottish lives lost, it might be seen to be partisan but I've noticed one or two thistles around and I find that quite poignant as well.

For visitors to Culloden, the thought of death and war were much more aligned to the present. An American retired history teacher thought that war had not changed at all since the time of Culloden, remarking that "the poor are expendable" both in the 18th century and today (Interview C8). He likes to make a real effort to understand what the average soldier was going through at the time, not based on a romantic, Hollywood-based character, but rather ordinary people just like himself. These ideas were similar to a Canadian woman who compared the brutality of Culloden's aftermath in Scotland to ethnic cleansing of today and why some countries do not stop this.

> C4: And so there's always some political agenda to why we make these decisions, so why did they, what was the right for them to take over the land from these people? And then afterwards, the after-effect, right, the cleansing of the clans, and totally destroying, and we did that for so many things, we did that in Canada and the US for the aboriginal people, and we've done it all over the place, and what's the right? ...but it reminds us of, I think of our human capability to destroy people, just you know unbelievable it's still happening all the time, I don't know why we don't quite learn from it but anyway.

The Clearances made another visitor, Interviewee C2 who was originally from France but now resides in the United States, think about genocide in recent times. This was particularly heightened when he saw the clan graves on the battlefield:

> C2: Well yeah, cause I made the connection with Bosnia and mass graves, so it is relevant to everything, so yeah it is relevant. I mean the fact that you, that people are still fighting in this world, we're not learning from history, I don't think we are, otherwise we would know that. Everyone would know that by now, but no we don't. So um, what's interesting to see is that, there was, there will be for different reasons the same army, someone is fighting for very different reasons, and it's the same nowadays. So yes, it's relevant. I mean I don't see very much changes actually.

It was apparent from visitors' comments and feelings about these sites that there was a much more complicated and nuanced vision for the values of battlefields. For them, it was not about what objects had been found, or the minutiae of historical details. Instead, it was what it meant to them, to their lives, or even more commonly, to how the world is today. As Beck and Cable (2002: 50) noted: "Abraham Lincoln attached meaning to the statistics at the Gettysburg battlefield and gave his Gettysburg Address, a history-changing interpretation of events. The lasting results of warfare can have a meaning to present day visitors." The same was valid at the case studies for this research; the

aftermath and what historical political significance was caused because of these battles was what was important, *not* the event by itself. McLean, Garden and Urquhart concluded the same with their research at Culloden, stating that "interpreting a battle site as an event does not sufficiently resonate with visitors, who are also seeking the contemporary significance of the battle's heritage" (2007: 234). Equally, it was clear to visitors that sites which had more sophisticated on-site interpretation were thought to be more important. In contrast to how academics and national authorities have valued battlefields, as distilled in Table 8.1, visitors had a very different idea of the perceived and actual values of these heritagescapes:

Table 8.2: Perceived versus actual value of battlefields for visitors

Low perceived value →			High perceived value
No signs	Monument	Information panels/Guided tour	Visitor centre

Low actual value →			High actual value
No connection to the present	Some connection to the present	Strong connection to the present	Integral connection to the present

8.5 Conclusions

Inexorably the question must be asked, then, of what really is valued about battlefields. It is being claimed by the keepers of the 'authorised heritage' that it is the historical importance for military historians and students of tactics, or that potential to recover tangible archaeological remains is the reason. Though these are certainly valued by some, it does not appear that these are wide-spread concerns for most people. Indeed, as has been evidenced by the case studies, it is the ideas behind a battle and, crucially, its aftermath which is the real significance and a key heritage value. It is these sites which: have memorials and visitor centres; receive funds from regional and national organisations; and, contribute to the identity and memory of nations.

Ultimately it is the value which people today place on a site, 'real' or imagined, which determines its worth and degree of preservation, and thus its degree of development. Indeed, whilst referencing battlefields, the NTS emphasised that "the 'perception' people have of these cultural landscapes can be just as, or even more important, than the survival of physical remains" (2008: 2). Put differently, the collective memory of a site owes its importance to the value people place on it, not on the remains themselves. Fields where men have fallen in combat have often been referred to as "hallowed ground" (NPS 1998: 3), as sacredness and quasi-religious overtones have become a common theme. The spiritual grip they hold over society was put succinctly by Sheldrake: "Places are

inherently associated with the events that happen in landscapes" (2001: 13). Though he was referring explicitly to the sacred space of grounds, this is a fair characterisation of all genres of values placed on landscape, whether the actual place where something notable occurred, or simply an outlet people have found to express those values.

This really calls into question the necessity for listings in the first place, and how they have been handled. Naturally, the argument is that there needs to be a degree of protection since sites could be destroyed by development, and the only way to mitigate that is by mapping and listing. Whilst this is essential for archaeological discoveries, and for military historians and students of tactics to observe where the ebb and flow of armies once manoeuvred against each other, it has never been questioned what the value of the *event* has had for people. The idea of the event itself is clearly worth more than the sum of tangible remains. For instance although Dún Nechtain has not been 'found' in the landscape, it is still known to have existed and led to a sense of place and pride for local communities. By excluding such valuations from government frameworks suggests that the idea of an event is not valid without proof, though in Chapter Seven it was demonstrated that at Bosworth this philosophy is unsubstantiated.

Yet continually, and without fail, wrong and occasionally counter-productive ideas of previous events persist in spite of the evidence, as was demonstrated in Chapter Six by the confusion over the events and participants of Culloden and the veneration of Richard III at Bosworth. Historical 'fact' and the evidence used to support it are often discarded or rationalised to fit the narrative which people wish to believe today, even if that narrative is ambiguous or false. Although it is understandable and laudable why sites and agencies endeavour to dislodge and dispel these myths and falsifications, by doing so through obstinate persistence of traditional forms of knowledge, such as tangible proof in books and objects, clearly does not have the desired effect.

Indeed, most on-site interpretation transcends the facts of battles – if not explicitly or directly – and presents a more nuanced narrative of events in context than first appears. Even without physical interpretative installations, other forms of presentation, such as guided tours, can imbue meaning and value to a battlefield devoid of tangible representations. Although the information which is presented to visitors inevitably originates from historical and archaeological sources, the methods used to engage with this data, and the individual perspective of the receiver, greatly sways how that primary information is both understood and assessed. Equally, whether that information comes

from an ‘authorised’ informant, or a dedicated amateur, greatly affects what aspects of a battle are emphasised.

In any case, the physical space of a battlefield without on-site interpretation in any form cannot be valued or semiotically ‘read’ and decoded in its original context to the casual observer. *In situ* interpretation is the bond which connects the known facts of a battle with the field, thereby directly determining the current value of that heritagescape to visitors by means of effective and comprehensible signposting. The meaning of that semiotic messaging is negotiated and read by visitors for the conception of intangible ideas from tangible forms such as monuments, artefacts, graves or the field itself. This reflection on the authentic experience directly contributes to the identity and memory of visitors, and aids in conceptualising the value of those spaces beyond oneself to wider perceptions of nationhood and collective memory. Although these aspects were not a direct focus for this research, it was apparent that they were integral parts to people’s perceptions of these spaces and deserving of further research, which is noted in the conclusion.

It is essential to emphasise, though, that even if the exact location of a battlefield is not known, as is the case with Bannockburn, Dún Nechtain and countless other fields of conflict, does not imply that these battles have no value. Indeed, it has been shown that knowledge of an exact battle location is not a guarantee that a battlefield is widely valued by visitors, such as Pinkie or Towton; which contrasts with the prevailing presumptions by leading scholards on battlefield’s values today (See Table 8.1). Even the absence of memorials or on-site interpretation does not preclude a battle’s value; to be sure, the *idea* of what values a battle represents is more powerful than any tangible manifestation. This is equally true of representations located in the ‘wrong’ location, such as at Bosworth. As long as the impact of a battle has a continued significance today – which can be enhanced by the presence of on-site interpretation within that battlefield heritagescape – then it will endure lasting values by visitors, as distilled in Table 8.2.

Chapter Nine – Conclusions

9.1 Summary of Research Findings

The goal of this research has been to answer the research question: How does on-site interpretation at historic battlefields contribute to conceptualising their value as heritage to visitors? Three case studies were selected to determine which aspects could be considered as heritage, along with other related examples to compare and contrast these conclusions. The fieldwork to gather primary, original data at the case studies utilised ethnographic approaches including semi-structured interviews and participant observations to construct a picture of what the current situation is at battlefields, how they are interpreted and what visitors value about those spaces. Alongside a literature review, it is has been possible to garner data and analyse this information to answer the aims and objects set out for this research. The literature review was particularly important in informing the intellectual framework throughout the data chapters. The following table shows which chapters they were analysed, followed by a short review of how they were achieved through the discussion and analysis within the thesis.

Aims and Objectives	Chapter
1. Examine previous concepts of battlefield heritage	1,2
1.6 To scrutinise the perception and research value of battlefields in academia	1,2
1.7 To classify built and non-built historic battlefield heritage	2
1.8 To assess the heritage value through time of battlefields	2,8
1.9 To investigate battlefields as (cultural) landscapes/'heritagescapes'	2,7
1.10 To examine international frameworks and (non)governmental policy in the UK for battlefield preservation	2
2. Identify current interpretation methods employed at battlefields	4,5
4.1 To define the theoretical framework on interpretation and communication theories	4
4.2 To discuss interpretation research and the evolution of interpretive presentations	4
4.3 To catalogue the main points of a battlefield interpretation plan (audience, message, perspective, goals, themes)	4,5
4.4 To chart the typology of presentation in use at battlefields today	4,5
4.5 To critically evaluate the effectiveness of existing methodologies	4,6
4.6 To analyse how visitors interact with interpretational techniques	5,6

3. Investigate the importance of historical fact and authenticity of place in the visitor experience	6,7
6.1 To examine the importance of factual representation in interpretive displays	6
6.2 To evaluate how on-site interpretation influences ideas aimed at enhancing authenticity	6,7
6.3 To assess authentic experience as a component of a visit	6,7
6.4 To consider the importance of authenticity of place for visitors	7
6.5 To assess if and how fact and authenticity are integral parts of heritage value at battlefields	6,7
4. Analyse the heritage value of battlefields in terms of the case studies and more broadly	6,7,8
8.1 To examine why some battlefields have been memorialised and interpreted, and others not	8
8.2 To categorise how site memorialisation and interpretation relates to heritage value	7,8
8.3 To assess the intangible values of non-built heritage space	6,7,8

Aim 1: Examine previous concepts of battlefield heritage

This aim formed the focus of the investigations of Chapters One and Two of the thesis. By examining how battlefields had been researched and classified as heritage, it was possible to frame which aspects were missing from the debate, which has informed this research. In the literature review it was found that battlefields had mainly been researched in academia in the fields of history, archaeology and tourism. The results of these investigations have in turn greatly influenced understandings of values of battlefields today. For instance, it was found that because of traditional valuations of tangibility and bounded space, battlefields have not been listed in international listings, and are only on non-statutory lists in the UK. In answering Objective 1.4, it was found that they had also not been considered under landscape definitions, but could be part of what is known as 'heritagescapes'. This was of particular importance in Chapter Seven, where the authenticity of place was critiqued in view of these initial inquiries.

Aim 2: Identify current interpretation methods employed at battlefields

Answered in Chapters Four and Five, these aims and objectives contained the theoretical framework of the thesis and the practical implications this involves. After investigating interpretation and communication theories, it was determined that semiotics was the best way of framing the theory and analysis of the literature review and results of the fieldwork. This was combined with the abundance of literature on the practicalities of interpreting, which allowed for comparison on the effectiveness of different techniques

both in the review, and later analysis. It was found through this review that interpretation techniques at battlefields were no different than at other historic sites. There were no special forms which have not been used at other analogous sites, and their strength and weaknesses were broadly similar. To substantiate this, a review of the interpretation techniques at the case studies in Chapter Five was able to show that there were different ways of interpreting spaces whilst utilising some traditional techniques. Although there were some unique technologies, such as the GPS triggered hand-held devices at Culloden, this was really based on tried and tested audio guides which have been employed for decades. The interpretive media employed at each site were placed within a table based on Jakobson's (1960) semiotic modelling which allowed for an understanding on how sites utilised interpretation in connection with different types of visitors. Although Objective 2.6 was postulated through theory and some practical implications, it was further reviewed in Chapter Six on how visitors interacted with the on-site interpretation at the case studies. Each site presented information in different ways, depending on the amount of money and time that had been invested in the site, with Culloden having the most extensive and expensive interpretive display, to Flodden which had the most basic.

Aim 3: Investigate the importance of historical fact and authenticity of place in the visitor experience

Assessed in Chapters Six and Seven, this aim and its subsequent objectives were the first in the three data chapters analysing the results from the fieldwork from the case studies detailed in Chapter Five. As shown in Aim 2, Chapter Six started with looking at the interactions with the on-site interpretation which was essential in uncovering not just what was available for visitors, but also how they framed their visits through using one or more of the presentation techniques on offer at the sites. This in turn formed the subsequent half of the chapter, discussing how those experiences on-site contrast, and often contradict with previous knowledge acquired at different sites or through popular media. It was determined that visitors use extreme 'negotiated readings' at these sites, often based on false or biased information which continues to shade their understandings of the sites' histories, in spite of contradictory or ambiguous evidence. Building on that analysis, Chapter Seven was focused on the location of that interpretation and what differences, if any, that makes to the visitor experience. It was found that being in the 'authentic' place was very important for visitors to Culloden, where the interpretation is directly on-site, whereas at Bosworth visitors did not mind that the interpretation was located away from the 'actual' site; being in the context was enough. Those who were at

Flodden did not seem to question this, and assumed that they were in the 'right' spot of the battle.

Aim 4: Analyse the heritage value of battlefields in terms of the case studies and more broadly

This last aim was concentrated in Chapter Eight, but elements of it were discussed in Chapters Six and Seven as well. Chapter Eight began by reviewing 'authorised' representations of battlefields, and how authorities in the UK such as HS and EH have been influenced by the research of historians and archaeologists as to the value of historic battlefields. In view of this, it was shown that battlefields valued based on the RHB and IHB criteria were not necessarily the same ones which have extensive on-site interpretation. Instead, it was found that those which had such interpretative displays and resources were important because of the aftermath of the battle, not the event itself, and any current political capital. Interestingly, and unexpectedly, it was found that these were the same values which visitors had for the sites. Of course, the way in which the interpretation was written greatly influenced some as to their value, though for many visitors there were preconceived ideas of what these sites meant which they already believed before arriving. The degree to which the on-site interpretation was expressed through a variety of techniques, such as information panels, guided tours and visitor centres, greatly influenced the perceived values for visitors. However, it was only when they could compare aspects of those sites with their own lives that actual value for them was achieved to some degree.

9.2 Limitations in the Present Research and Avenues for Future Investigations

Several limitations of the research were already explained in the methodology chapter. These included a lack of funds for more extended fieldwork at the case studies. As such, it would be beneficial in future research to spend more time at a case study site to speak with more visitors, and to employ ethnographic fieldwork techniques for a richer data set. Another methodology which was not employed was to engage those interviewed with follow-up interviews or surveys. This could be valuable in seeing if there is any long-term shift which takes place following a visit, and whether thoughts and feelings which were expressed in the fieldwork are still valid after a duration of time.

Equally, it would be possible to research 'non-users' of sites, and how they view their value. One group not surveyed for this research was local communities. This would be an important group to engage with, especially in how determinations about the values of

battlefields is done with locals: “While building trust is seen as likely to merge via community involvement in local decisions-making, promoting empowerment is understood as likely to be generated through shared interests, history, geographical features and key buildings and symbolic events” (Graham, Mason & Newman 2009: 8; See also Howard 2011: 195; Hall & McArthur 1998: 55-86). During the fieldwork it was noted that there is some use of the battlefields by locals, such as dog walkers, but this is an area that deserves greater research.

As well as having to limit the case studies to just three sites, they were all located in the UK. By widening the geographic area, both in the UK and internationally, it would also be possible to target other cultural spheres to determine if the results found in this work are valid outside the UK. Of particular interest would be to focus on non-local, and foreign visitors who are visiting sites outside of their own ‘semiosphere’ (Lotman 1984), which was the original proposal for this research (See Chapter Three). It would still be beneficial to engage in this original question, particularly now that more is known about a broader spectrum of visitors.

It should also be emphasised that this research has exclusively been concerned with historic battlefields. As such, the results and conclusions from the data analysis chapters should be viewed as wholly different to those which would be reached in considering more modern conflict. There is surely an argument to be made about the military historical significance, the ‘dark’ tourism of pilgrimage and proximate memory to sites from the 20th and 21st centuries. Undoubtedly, the same happened at the case studies in this research, but that time has passed and they have entered a new phase in how they are remembered and valued. This is distinctly different to how people perceive conflict that is historically and personally more proximate. This will certainly be part of a greater discussion in heritage studies, as the term ‘dark’ heritage is already starting to appear and be debated.

The recent discovery of Richard III’s remains in Leicester will no doubt change the narrative once more about this enigmatic king and the interpretation at Bosworth. Already for this year, the temporary exhibit space in the centre is about Richard III, called “The Making of the Myth”. It will be interesting to see how unearthing the deposed monarch may influence people’s perceptions of him, and whether or not he will continue to be maligned by the shadow of Shakespeare’s characterisation. This discovery may also intensify the already strong Ricadian cult, as evidence with the controversy of where his

remains are to be interred. Further investigations at Bosworth could help in determining this intriguing aspect.

The development of the ecomuseum at Flodden will certainly bring new avenues of research to this relatively undeveloped site. As it expands over the next few years, it will be possible to determine if ecomuseological principles have had any effect to the visitor experience at this remote battlefield, and if people will appreciate the wider narrative of its importance to history. Also, using ecomuseum techniques is a completely different strategy for battlefield interpretation, and it might be possible to compare other established ecomuseums with this one to compare and contrast the effectiveness of this approach.

There are several big battle anniversaries in Scotland approaching which will directly and indirectly affect the nation. It is the 270th anniversary of Culloden in 2016, but before then, perhaps more importantly, is the 700th anniversary of Bannockburn in 2014. Because they are both NTS properties, there will undoubtedly be some crossover of activities. Also in 2014 is another year of 'homecoming' in Scotland, when the site expects to get many people coming from abroad, who have Scottish roots, or at least interests in the nation. Indeed, that year Scotland might be an independent nation, as there is a planned vote for independence. Whether this passes or not, there will still be a renewed interest and ample opportunity to investigate the on-going debate about Scottish identity and history. Inevitably this will be intimately tied to politics, which this research only touched on. Of further interest would be additional research into the strong connection between what sites are interpreted and the political connotations of these decisions.

Equally worthy of further research is the effect of interpretation on identity construction and memory of visitors. Although this aspect was mentioned in several instances throughout the thesis, this was not a main feature of this work. It is clear, however, that people view themselves and their association to others through these frameworks, and how that is negotiated at historic battlefields would be a worthwhile area of study. This could be expanded to consider prosthetic memory (Landsberg 2004), which would contribute to better idea of the connection between historic events and the strong feelings by some when visiting battlefields. Also crucial would be to frame this research into theories on social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993) for a better understanding of the profile and background of the types of visitors and their knowledge base.

9.3 Final Reflections

What is most amazing about battlefields is the frequent lack of physical evidence of the encounter. Though there may be some artefacts left behind, or perhaps a memorial or information panel about a battle, nothing can tangibly conjure the juxtaposition between the peace experienced today at these empty fields to the carnage of the day. It is perhaps this disparity which lies at the heart for why people visit and value battlefields. It is hard to fathom that people fought and died, and that countries and lives changed forever within pastured, open countryside; peaceful retreats where today people holiday and walk their dogs, and think little of the passionate causes which once enveloped adversaries upon the same ground. It is perhaps this drastic distance from both the event itself and the physical mark it has left which draws people in, and forces them to reflect for themselves how easily terror and pain can be replaced with pleasant views and impressive *lieux de mémoire*, picnic tables, cafes and gift shops.

It is impossible to say definitively what battlefield heritage is, but there certainly are strong trends – the effect and remembrance of the aftermath and political connotations and capital today – which have been reviewed in this research. What will remain impossible to say is what future values there will be interest in these sites, so it is important to conserve what is valued in the present, in the hopes that things of importance in future are not compromised today. That being said, it is perplexing why intangible and other forms of heritage have not been a focus of the valuation of these spaces. Equally, it is not clear why there was not a tiered system adopted for battlefields in the RHB and IHB, as had been suggested in the planning feedback to HS (NTS 2008b: 7-9). Such a system would have allowed authorities to have formed a more honest portrayal of how they value battlefields, through archaeological finds and being located within a defined space. As the RHB and IHB stand now, however, it is quite clear that other factors, such as the aftermath and political ramifications, continue to hold sway over which battles have made the list, even if it has not been explicitly acknowledged.

However, it is quite clear that myths and old biases will still endure, no matter what listings there are in future. Yet it is possible for site managers to take control of a battle's narrative by utilising dominant, if even false, ones to their own advantage. Both at Culloden and Bosworth it was clear that they deliberately avoided discussing the falsehoods openly, preferring instead at attempting to present a neutralised, and in some ways sanitised, version of events. By not addressing that *Braveheart* and William Wallace had nothing to do with Culloden, the myth persists of 'Scottishness' under threat at the

site. In not discussing Shakespeare at length, and directly, at Bosworth allows people to continue believing that the myth is more powerful than the known truth. Indeed, it is difficult, if not impossible, to convince a visitor in a one to two hour visit at a site that all the little and big pieces of evidence they have collected about an idea of an event over years, and perhaps even a lifetime, are erroneous impressions of an enigmatic past. Such a task seems daunting, to be sure, but if site managers and interpreters do not directly exploit and deconstruct myths, then the myths will continually, and without fail, persist as the prevailing narrative.

Appendix A – Sample of Field Notes

Bosworth, 15 July 2011, Friday

Walked in from the hotel at Market Bosworth. Arrived on site at 9:45am, passing by Richard monument on the way. Met [education contact], introduced by her to other staff. Walked through the exhibit and spoke with some staff (took about 2.5 hours). Many walkers come in from Leicestershire walking route. Asked [front desk staff] what number of people would be considered a successful day? They don't look at visitor numbers as much as how much money comes in. New walk around the exterior was completed in about May, sundial mid-June.

Met [site archaeologist] very briefly, he's an archaeologist and has done a lot of research on finding the battlefield. He mentioned that [another researcher] was also here, and I said I knew of him. He asked how, and I explained my connection to the Battlefields Trust (got a very "interesting" facial expression at that), he asked "So you know [archaeologist] and all that lot?" in a very dismissive tone. Defensively, he said he had metal detected more miles of ground than [archaeologist] by far; he was supposed to do the Leeds talk in December. Very resentful it appears at [other archaeologist] taking all the notoriety for the find.

Spoke with [assistant operations manager], used to do historical interpretation in exhibition. Portrayed archer, kept bullets in pouch; some old, some modern to talk about effects (explaining to "punters", used to say a good job when they're gobsmacked; sometimes would make them shocked by some point and simply walked away in dramatic fashion). Now he manages web and media, started in 1999, sort of stopped interpretation shortly after reopening in 2007. Very passionate about understanding why things were made in the way they were; doesn't know dates, knows how items worked: "It's contextual, you can slot them (items) into a time-frame", as and when people want to find out more by themselves about exactly when things correspond to a certain period in history. [Former boss] asked him to do interpretation (he was only working in the shop at the time), stopped doing so with increase in web and media duties; no one replaced him. He has no real connection or genuine interest in Bosworth per se, just a job for him.

Spoke with [staff] in the gift shop, bit of a quiet day, school holidays start the next day, so should pick up then. Lots of grandparents come with grandkids in this period as parents are at work. Lots of people ask where the "real" site is, shown on map pasted together from two OS maps especially printed and done so with royal permission. There is a public

access path, but she says farmers don't want a lot of people tramping on their land. They wanted to put a parking lot at access point, farmer asked for a lot of money; greedy, she thinks. [Staff member] stepped into the room, and I asked them, "What items are popular in the giftshop?", "Books" they both agree on. Lots of Richard III interest, less with Henry. One says 80/20 to Richard; the other 80/10, the other 10 don't care either way. [One] says that they can hear people, without them knowing, just outside the entrance to the exhibit discussing whether to enter or not. Lots of talk about the price being too high, saying they'll do it next time. Since they can eavesdrop on this conversation, she says she sometimes wishes they had a remote control to start the timeline video and get people more interested in coming in. Quite a few people visit the gift shop, outdoor path, Tithe barn, maybe Routiers (it's cheaper), by-passing centre.

Reflecting on the end of my first day, ate a picnic near the visitor centre. My first impressions of the VC are OK, interactive video displays were great (talking heads), very interesting stories, good audio, very clear visual (horrible French accent, sounded Russian; which I found out later speaking with [Keeper] was done by a Scottish woman). I liked the question sections were you could get additional "secret" information which can be discovered throughout the exhibit. There were different ways of accessing this extra info (peep hole, ceiling, etc.). There are almost no real objects of the time, only at the end in the BFI part. Very odd transition to farm and ordinary life part, indeed, a poor transition that doesn't quite explain why it was done like that. Speaking with one of my interviewees earlier in the day, he was very unsure why the battle was fought in that area, what with York and Lancaster being so far away. It's a good point as it seems geographical ideas versus political alignments were not that well explained in the exhibit. Though they do explain that Henry landed in Wales and Edward came in from Nottingham. The weather was partly sunny, comfortable temps, quite a few dog walkers out and about; dedicated dog litter disposal in several places along outdoor path. Very unsure of my feelings at not being at actual site. Viewing area at Ambian wood is good, and makes you be able to visualize the ground a bit better, the context is still there and valid; Richard's army could have camped on Ambion Hill, retreat could have happened all around the area. Personal connection is important, graves, site of Richards's death, etc.

Appendix B

Culloden pilot study semi-structured questions to visitors

1. Background information
    a. Approximate age
    b. Nationality
    c. Connection to Scotland/Culloden
    d. Do you live nearby?
        i. Why did you decide to visit Culloden?
        ii. Where/what did you hear about it before coming?
2. What did you know about Culloden before coming?
3. What are your first impressions of the site?
4. Do you think it is important for you to learn about Culloden at the site of the battle?
    a. What might you learn here that you can't learn at a museum or in a book?
5. What are your impressions of the information provided at the visitor centre?
    a. Video/objects/audio
6. Did you speak with the live interpreter?
    a. If so, what did you ask him/her?
    b. Did you get an adequate response?
    c. Did he/she seem knowledgeable?
7. Did you use the handheld device?
    a. What did you learn from that?
    b. Anything new?
    c. Was it easy to use?
    d. Was there anything about the tour that you disliked or feel could be improved?
    e. Was there a highlight about the audio tour?
8. Did you go on the guided tour?
    a. Was it informative?
9. Why did you choose to use this (type of interpretation)?
10. What were the most important new things you learned today?
    a. How/where did you receive this information?
11. Did any of the information that you received surprise you?
12. Could you think of any way to improve the experience of visiting this site, or of helping people to gain a better understanding? Should we contemplate other ways of presenting information?

Appendix C

Semi-structured questions to visitors at case studies for 2011 fieldwork

Note that questions asked exclusively at certain sites are indicated in brackets.

1. Background information
    a. Age
    b. Nationality
    c. Connection to (Scotland/Culloden, England/Bosworth, England/UK/Flodden); have you been to (Culloden, Bosworth, Flodden) before?
    d. Why did you decide to visit (Culloden, Bosworth, Flodden)? (If they came to show someone the site: Were you personally interested in seeing the site, or were you more interested in showing the site to them?)
2. Where did you hear about it before coming?
    a. What did you know about (Culloden, Bosworth, Flodden) before coming?
    a. Did you know that there was a visitor centre before coming? (At Flodden: Did you know that there was on-site interpretation before coming?)
        i. If so, where did you hear about it?
3. What are your first impressions of the site (visitor centre)?
4. What did you expect to see at the site before coming?
    a. What did you expect the field to look like?
        i. Why would you think that?
    b. What did (do) you expect to get away with after visiting here today?
    c. About how much time do you plan (did you spend) here today?
5. (At Flodden) What if I were to tell you that the battle did not take place here; how would that make you feel?
    a. Is it important for you to be at the actual site where the battle took place?
6. (At Bosworth) Did you walk to where the battlefield is believed to be?
    a. If so, was it important for you to be at the actual site where the battle took place?
7. What emotions or feelings did you have on the site?
8. (At Culloden) Did you see the graves? What were your impressions or feelings there?
9. (At Culloden and Bosworth) What are your impressions of the information provided at the visitor centre?
    a. Video/objects/audio
10. (At Flodden) What are your impressions of the information provided on the information panels?
11. (At Culloden and Bosworth) Did you see a presentation or hands-on workshop?
    a. What did you see there?
    b. What did you learn?
12. (At Culloden and Bosworth) Did you speak with the live interpreter? If no, why not?
    a. If so, what did you ask him/her?
    b. Did you get an adequate response?

    c. Did he/she seem knowledgeable?
    d. Was there anything that you really wanted to learn that you didn't learn or something that was missing?
13. (At Culloden) Did you use the handheld device? Do you normally use handheld devices at sites?
    a. What did you learn from that?
    b. Anything new?
    c. Was it easy to use?
    d. What did you think of the points being automatically triggered as opposed to pressing numbers?
    e. Was there anything about the tour that you disliked or feel could be improved?
    f. Was there a highlight about the audio tour?
14. (At Culloden and Bosworth) Did you go on the guided tour?
    a. Was it informative?
15. Why did you choose to use this (type of interpretation)?
16. (At Culloden) Tell me what you learned today about the two sides that fought on this field.
    a. Do you think this was a conflict between Scotland and England?
17. What was something interesting that you learned today?
    a. What were the most important new things you learned today?
18. Do you think it is important for you to learn about (Culloden, Bosworth, Flodden) at the site of the battle?
    a. What might you learn here that you can't learn at a museum or in a book?
19. Do you think (Culloden, Bosworth, Flodden) is an important site today? Why (not)?
20. What do you think (Culloden, Bosworth, Flodden) means to people today?
    a. What does it mean for you?
    b. Is it still relevant; why (not)?
21. Did any of the information that you received surprise you?
22. Could you think of any way to improve the experience of visiting this site, or of helping people to gain a better understanding? Should the site contemplate other ways of presenting information?

<u>Key questions for those with limited time</u>:

1. What do you want to learn today?
2. What key thing did you learn today?
3. Does anything impress you here?
4. Is there something here that you didn't expect to see/learn/hear/feel/perceive?
5. Do you think this is an important site? Why (not)?

Appendix D –Visitor and staff interviews from the case studies

Visitors to the case studies:

Culloden Pilot Study (CPS) – 15-18 July 2010

Visitor Interview	Gender	Age	Nationality	Connection to Scotland	Connection to Culloden/Visited before?	Length of interview (in minutes)
CPS1	F	53	American	Grandfather was born in Glasgow	No known connection	13:00
CPS2	F	58	American	Background which features Welsh, Irish and rumoured Scottish blood	No known connection	13:46
CPS3	M	54	American	Some ancestors going way back, can't trace it	No known connection	13:06
CPS4	F	58	Scottish	Considers self Scottish, but of pure Irish descent from grandparents	No known connection	20:31
CPS5	M	48	Scottish	From Scotland	Mother's maiden same as someone who died; unaware of connection	16:20
CPS6	F	63	English/Scots	Half English, half Scots, been living in Scotland for three and a half years, relatives and child holidays spent in Scotland, retired there three years before	No known connection	15:45
CPS7	M	30	German	No known connection	No known connection	22:21
CPS8	F	19	German	No known connection	No known connection	9:30
CPS9	M	48	Australian	Father's mother is from Scottish heritage, her father was a Scottish immigrant	His in-laws who he's travelling with, their neighbouring property in Australia was called Culloden	13:09
CPS10	F	22	Australian	No known connection	No known connection	7:42
CPS11	M	48	French	No known connection	No known connection	9:21
CPS12	F	48	French	No known connection	No known connection	16:37
CPS13	F	36	Canadian	grandfather is Scottish	No known connection	8:31
CPS14	M	44	Swiss	No known connection	No known connection	21:03
CPS15	F	46	Scottish	Aberdeen born	Three related clan names in the family	16:45
CPS16	F	22	American	Only vague, distant connection to Scotland	No known connection	10:10
CPS17	F	52	American	Great great grandparents from Scotland	No known connection	20:27
CPS18	F	38	Australian	All her family is from Scotland (going back far enough) clans from just north of Inverness	Clan names found of those who died, and family from Hanoverian army; unaware of direct connection	13:56
CPS19	F	51	Scottish	Australian and South African background, brought up there and travelled the world, back in Scotland	No known connection	8:19
CPS20	M	56	English	No known connection	No known connection	23:30
CPS21	F	27	English	Surname could be Scottish and boyfriend is Scottish	No known connection	8:22
CPS22	F	23	German	Just out of interest	No known connection	19:44

CPS23	M	48	German	Out of interest from his daughter (CPS22)	No known connection	13:08
CPS24	F	60	American	Her great great grandmother was from Fife, husband's side connection to a large clan	Husband's family appeared to fight on Government side	19:50
CPS25	F	25	Scottish	Born in Glasgow, raised in Aberdeen	No known connection, family clan fought there	10:30
CPS26	F	22	French	No known connection	No known connection	8:34
CPS27	M	55	Scottish	Born and raised, lives in Inverness	No known connection; but sure there is as family clan name fought on both sides	15:03

Culloden Pilot Study Totals

Number of interviews	Gender	Median Age	Nationalities	Total length (in hours)	Average length
27	F – 18 M – 9	43	American – 6, Australian – 3, Canadian – 1, English – 2 (3), French – 3, German – 4, Scottish – 6(7), Swiss – 1	7:08:13	About 15:50 minutes

Culloden (C) Fieldwork – 2-6 August 2011

Visitor Interview	Gender	Age	Nationality	Connection to Scotland	Connection to Culloden	Length of interview (in minutes)
C1	F	43	Lives in Derby born in America, considers herself British	No known connection	No known connection	24:33
C2	M	45	French, has lived in USA for last 13 years	No known connection	No known connection	40:15
C3	M	47	British	No known connection	No known connection	46:26
C4	F	44	Canadian, has lived in Denmark for last 3 years	No known connection	No known connection	49:12
C5	F	27	Australian	No known connection to the area, though there must be as she put it.	No known connection	30:28
C6	F	72	From Wales, lives in Winchester	No known connection	No known connection	29:02
C7	M	66	English (Newcastle, lives in Bristol)	Surname is Scottish and family is from Scottish Borders	No known connection	28:12
C8	M	69	American	No known connection	No known connection	52:00
C9	F	61	English	Great-grandparents from Scotland	No known connection (she claims none because family from Lowlands)	34:06
C10	F	56	German	No known connection	No known connection	27:21
C11	F	37	Swedish	No known connection	No known connection	22:33
C12	M	28	Scottish (Dundee born, brought up on North Uist)	Scottish	No known connection though there is a similar surname of a commander to his family	47:10

Culloden Totals					
Number of interviews	**Gender**	**Median Age**	**Nationalities**	**Total length (in hours)**	**Average length**
12	F – 7 M – 5	50	American – 1, Australian – 1, British – 2, Canadian – 1, English – 2 , French – 1, German – 1, Scottish – 1, Swedish – 1, Welsh – 1	7:11:18	About 36 minutes

Bosworth (B) Fieldwork – 15-19 July 2011

Visitor Interview	Gender	Age	Nationality	Connection to area/Bosworth; visited the site before	Length of interview (in minutes)
B1	F	58	English (Born in London)	Moved to the area at 13	46:28
B2	M	62	English (Leicestershire)	Born and bred in area	50:04
B3	M	47	English (From Coventry, lives in York)	No known connection	29:28
B4	M	Early 40s	English (Burton-on-Trent)	Has visited Bosworth frequently since a child	39:36
B5	F	59	English (Southport)	No known connection	20:52
B6	M	62	English (Bedfordshire)	No known connection	27:12
B7	M	59	Swedish	None directly, spending 3 months of the summer in the area as his wife is a consultant at a local hospital; never	23:40
B8	M	21	English (Northampton)	No known connection	22:29
B9	F	65	English (20 miles away)	No known connection; many times	37:39
B10	M	67	English (20 miles away)	Historical interest to area; many times	37:00
B11	M	64	English (Cambridge)	No known connection; never	27:38
B12	F	18	English (Warwickshire)	No known connection; never	25:46
B13	M	64	English (Coalville)	Used to re-enact the battle	22:37

Bosworth Totals					
Number of interviews	**Gender**	**Median Age**	**Nationalities**	**Total length (in hours)**	**Average length**
13	F – 4 M – 8	53	English – 12, Swedish – 1	6:50:34	About 31:30 minutes

Flodden (F) Fieldwork – 26-27 August 2011

Visitor Interview	Gender	Age	Nationality	Connection to area/Flodden; visited the site before	Length of interview (in minutes)
F1	F	64	English (from north of Manchester)	No known connection, but visit often; been to site about 10-12 times since 2003	22:07
F2	M	56	English (Cumbria)	No known connection, come 1-2 times a year on holiday; been to site about 20 times	23:04
F3	F	31	Scotland (from southwest originally, now lives in	No known connection; never	32:47

			Midlands)	been before	
F4	M	52	English (Grew up in Gateshead, lives in Morpeth)	Has visited 2 or 3 times, last about 10 years ago	22:54
F5	F	63	English (Kent)	No known connection except her husband's family; first visit	7:10
F6	M	50	English (Manchester)	No known connection; first visit	13:36

Flodden Totals					
Number of interviews	**Gender**	**Median Age**	**Nationalities**	**Total length (in hours)**	**Average length**
6	F – 3 M – 3	53	English – 5, Scottish – 1	2:01:38	About 20:10 minutes

Staff at the case studies:

Culloden

CA – Interview with Director, 18 July 2010

CB – Interview with Director, 3 August 2011

CC – Interview with Learning Manager, 4 August 2011

Bosworth

BA – Interview with Director, 19 July 2011

BB – Interview with Keeper, 18 July 2011

BC – Interview with Routiers de Rouen Commander, 17 July 2011

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