Miles, Stephen Thomas (2012) *Battlefield tourism: meanings and interpretations.* PhD thesis.

http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3547/

Battlefield Tourism: Meanings and Interpretations

Stephen Thomas Miles

B.A. (Hons.) Dunelm, M.A. Sheffield

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

2012

Dedicated to

Dr Howard Thomas Miles (1931-2006)

Abstract

Battlefield sites are some of the most iconic locations in any nation's store of heritage attractions and continue to capture the imagination of visitors. They have strong historic, cultural, nationalistic and moral resonances and speak to people on a national as well as a local scale. They have the power to provoke contention but at the same time foster understanding and respect through the consideration of deep moral questions. Battlefields are suffused with powerful stories of courage, sacrifice, betrayal and even cowardice. They have a strong sense of place and can provoke a range of cognitive and emotional reactions. But as sites they are inherently unremarkable and rely on the incarnative powers of interpretation to inform and enliven otherwise empty landscapes.

This thesis is a wide ranging analysis of what battlefields mean to tourists and the effect interpretation has on battlefield sites. In order to further understand these aspects the development of the sites is also investigated including the historical and cultural forces which have been at play in creating such 'attractions'. This makes use of the semiotic interpretation of tourist sites and the 'site sacralisation' model of Dean MacCannell in addressing the important question of what factors are present in the creation of an attraction. The study uses the four main 'managed' battlefield sites in the UK – Hastings (1066), Bannockburn (1314) , Bosworth (1485) and Culloden (1746) – to illustrate these objectives and comparisons are also made with a more recent conflict, that of the First World War (1914-18) at the Western Front in France and Belgium. Using an array of qualitative and quantitative methods the study addresses a hitherto relatively understudied area of tourism in exploring the meanings attached to the more historic sites and how they compare and contrast with visitor experiences at sites of more modern conflict. Interviews with experts/stakeholders involved with battlefield sites as well as both visitors at conventional times and at a re-enactment event were made and a large corpus of material was gathered from which conclusions were drawn. Although not statistically generalisable because of methodological constraints the results from the study add an important dimension to our understanding of battlefield tourism and what conflict sites mean to people.

The study demonstrates how there is a very dynamic relationship between site and visitor and this is manifested in deep and wide ranging discourses which are reflected by the

visitor comments. This is complemented by the views of experts/stakeholders. The study addresses some of the salient points surrounding the nature of visitor experience using the theory of the tourist 'gaze' propounded by John Urry. It asserts that a broader appreciation of the visitor interaction needs to be adopted utilizing a multi-sensory approach and not restricted to the dominance of the visual in interpreting the battlefield site. Interpretation is seen as critical in endowing relatively unremarkable sites with meaning and the existing approaches taken by the agencies managing the case study sites are found to be particularly effective in educational terms. The study examined the deeper meanings thought to be attached to places of suffering and death (the numen) but found a very weak response suggesting that the commercialisation of such sites results in a diminution of any visceral type of experience. For the Western Front the deeper meanings were eclipsed by grief and the study thus concluded that the numen can be subsumed into more complex reactions to places of death and suffering. With regard to the development of the historical sites the study challenges the stages of sacralisation in that more contemporary forces involved in attraction creation are neglected. A further commercialisation stage is added to update the model.

Battlefield sites have much to inform us about how heritage is received and understood by the public. This is even more instructive in the case of a conflict site where the nature of the attraction might sit uncomfortably with public perception. This study aims to shed light on the meanings of such 'dark' sites within society and in doing so can in turn provide vivid reflections on our own culture milieu.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Appendices

Acknowledgments

This project has been a long time in the making and I have received help from a number of people. Firstly I must thank my principal Supervisor Dr Donald MacLeod at Glasgow University's Crichton Campus who has provided unwavering support and advice and whose door has always been open. My second Supervisor, Professor Ted Cowan, has similarly provided steady guidance especially for the more overtly historical content of the work. I am grateful to him for agreeing to take on the role at the time of his retirement. In addition I would like to thank Dr Steven Gillespie, also at the Crichton Campus, for his help with some of the more tricky statistical aspects.

The work involved a number of organisations in every sector and I must express my thanks to Julian Humphrys, Development Officer for The Battlefields Trust, for his advice early on in the project. The Trust was extremely generous in granting me a sponsored place at their York conference in 2010 and this helped greatly in my understanding of battlefields and public engagement. My fieldwork took me to a number of sites and I was warmly welcomed at all. At Hastings special thanks are due to Dawn Postlethwaite and at Bannockburn Scott McMaster provided great hospitality including endless cups of coffee! At Bosworth Lydia Wilson and Richard McKinder gave generously of their time and their commitment and enthusiasm towards the site was most impressive. At Culloden Deirdre Smyth and Katey Boal provided a most convivial working environment for the duration of my stay and John and Duncan in their roles as government soldiers or Jacobite clansmen were a rich source of information about the battle and its participants between interviews. Thanks are also due to Frank Baldwin (The Battlefields Trust); Dirk Bennett, Rowena Willard-Wright and Emily Burns (English Heritage); Lesley MacInness (Historic Scotland); Natasha Ferguson (Glasgow University); Clive Hallam-Baker (The Remembering Flodden Project); Mark Taylor (Towton Battlefield Society); Gill Oliver; Michelle Hett; and Ralph and Siân Bettany. I would also like to thank Dr Tony Pollard (Centre for Battlefield Archaeology, Glasgow University) for inviting me to speak at the ALGAO 'Surviving the Peace: Public Access, Conservation and Military Heritage' conference at Culloden on October 2010. It would be remiss of me not to mention all those participants of a coach tour in France and Belgium in 2010 who helped with this project but for reasons of confidentiality I am unable to name them. Thanks to all of you nevertheless.

Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow.

Signature:

Printed name: Stephen Miles

Chapter 1

Introduction

> ...the historical sense involves a perception, not only of the pastness of
> the past, but of its presence.[1]

For those who care to look the past has never been more present. This statement might seem glaringly oxymoronic but we live in a society with a keen appetite for history aided by a bewildering array of cultural vehicles which nourish this national passion. Through television, radio, publishing and popular cultural discourse history is an ever contemporary reality nurtured by its avatar, heritage, which serves to 'clarify pasts so as to infuse them with present purpose' (Lowenthal, 1998: ix). But there is another powerful cultural phenomenon which has often been understated in the democratisation of history. Tourism is the 'first cousin' of heritage and in stimulating a vast movement of people plays a vital role in the joining together of historical narrative and place. 'Where' things happened has now become a necessary adjunct to 'what' happened and the fusion of place and story can bestow on history its enduring appeal and fascination. The incarnation of the facts with identification of locale is not always possible but when it is, it has the potential to provide a quality of experience which can greatly embellish the tourist visit. This thesis examines the dynamics of this experience and how it is mediated through the art of interpretation with a particular type of heritage attraction, the battlefield site. The sites at Hastings (1066), Bannockburn (1314), Bosworth (1485) and Culloden (1746) are here used to illustrate this as well as the Western Front in France and Belgium which was a key area of conflict in the First World War (1914-18).

1.1 The growth of interest in battlefield heritage

Interest in battlefields is now part of a wider expansion of heritage which has taken place in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Chapter 5). At first sight war and tourism might

---

[1] 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' by T.S. Eliot, in *Selected Essays* (1951), page 14.

not appear to be a successful combination but it is war and its attractions that have played a major, if disproportionate, part in tourism. As Smith has remarked:

> …despite the horrors of death and destruction…the memorabilia of warfare
> and allied products…probably constitutes the largest single category of
> tourist attractions in the world (Smith, 1996: 248).

As events battlefields have always served as time markers and as societal watersheds in historical accounts of nations. Churchill called them the 'punctuation marks of history' and we still tend to speak of 'Europe after Waterloo' or 'the pre-war era'. That some battlefields are of importance in historical terms there can be no doubt but these must remain the judgements of historians. The impetus for a tourist to visit a site is often generated in whole or in part by that person's image of place and the media and publishing have been two potent factors in tourist image creation. This can be seen as a feature of the motivational dynamics of tourism demand (Burns and Holden, 1995) in that the image creates a strong 'pull' factor.

Heritage TV viewing is remarkably popular with 98% of adults seeing at least one heritage programme during the year and 20% at least 99 programmes with very little difference between social groups (Piccini, 2007: Figure 1). TV is a major source of contact with heritage for *homo videns* and programmes which emphasise 'power of place' are particularly well appreciated (ibid.). TV histories have had a notable success and the first episode of Simon Schama's BBC 2 series *A History of Britain* in 2000 had 4.3 million viewers holding up well even when repeated in 2004 - 2005 with a reach of between 400,000 and 700,000. This was around the entire daily audience for the UKTV History Channel (De Groot, 2008: 159, note 40). It has been calculated that the total reach for dedicated historical viewing equates to that of all Sky movie channels combined (ibid.: 160).

From 2005 the Military History Channel™ has provided 24-hour viewing and within the UK there have been several battlefield specific series such as *War Walks* (BBC, 1996-97), *Two Men In A Trench* (BBC, 2002 and 2004), *Battlefield Britain* (BBC, 2004) and *20th Century Battlefields* (BBC, 2007) although viewer data is unavailable for these. It is difficult to gauge the level of influence these programmes had over image creation and actual visits to sites and this seems to be an area that does require more research. Nevertheless these series were accompanied by books and websites which described the

places mentioned and *War Walks* by its very nature encouraged a more intimate exploration of the terrain. There is some evidence, however, that visits to heritage sites do result in increased levels of visitation when they are associated with TV programmes. The management of the Bosworth Battlefield Centre claim that visitor numbers went up with the first showing of the series *The Tudors* on BBC 2 because of the connection between the battle and the birth of the Tudor dynasty.

A further major influence on heritage tourism is the publishing industry. Tourism in its broadest sense is supported by many different types of literature and there is a direct link between tourism and reading before, during and after the trip (Anderson and Robinson, 2002). More specifically in 2009 5,403,328 books were sold in the 'History/Military History' genre in the UK and of these 1,858,597 (34%) were in the 'Military History' category alone.[2] As Figure 1.1 shows there has been a steady increase in the sales of the overall genre and a modest increase in the 'Military History' category since 2001. The

Figure 1.1: UK Book Sales - History and Military History

Source: BookScan
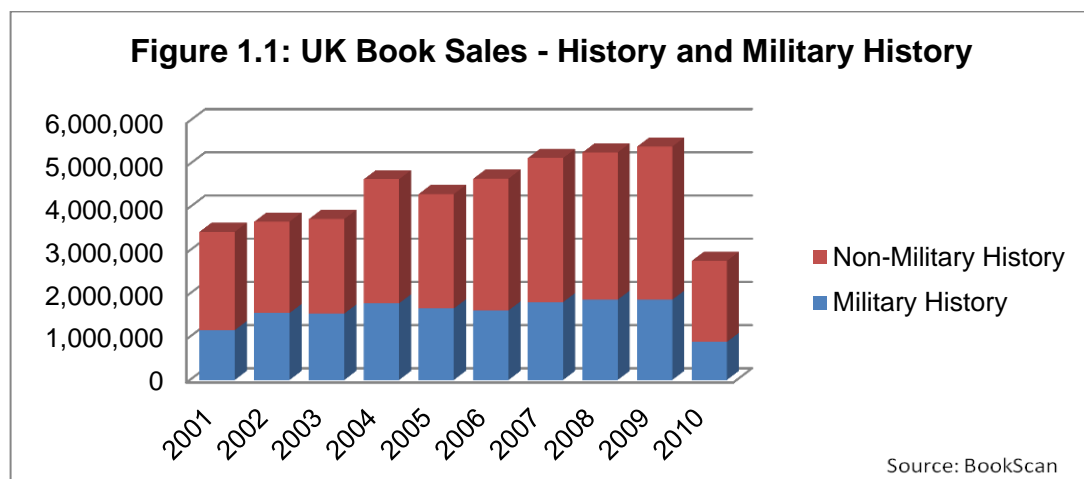
principal reason for the decrease in 2010 was likely to have been the economic downturn. Battlefield themes are also represented in a range of military type magazines such as *Military History* and *Military Times.* Again it is difficult to determine with any certainty the extent to which this transfers into site visits and there is no reason why reading of military history has to operate in tandem with an interest in place. Nevertheless the existence of such publications as *After the Battle*[3], a magazine making use of 'then and now' photographs, would suggest that there is an interest in the contemporary locus of conflict.

---

[2] BookScan, The Neilson Company. E-mail correspondence: 09/09/10.

[3] http://www.afterthebattle.com/

Scholarly opinion supports the idea that cultural representation of sites encourages visitation (Wedgwood, 1960; Lowenthal, 1985). Of such representations the media is particularly powerful in tourism (Urry, 2011) and Crouch, Thompson and Jackson (2005) assert that TV and films now play a role in construction of place in cultural tourism once held by literature. This is a key aspect of the Site Sacralisation model which forms an important part of this study.

1.2 Battlefield Tourism: the setting

1.2.1. A History of Battlefield Tourism

The attraction of battlefield sites has a long pedigree particularly as the focus for commemoration. There is evidence that Alexander the Great interrupted his invasion of Asia to pay homage to the slain of Troy (Arrian, 1958) and the commonly erected memorials to the dead at battlefield sites in Classical times would likely have been the focus for visits. In the Middle Ages battle sites were often forgotten, the results of any victory being more important than the actual site itself, and although there is no evidence of memorialisation, battles were often marked by churches or chantries (Hallam, 1985). The first firm evidence of people actually visiting battlefields comes from the aftermath of Waterloo (1815), which became a popular tourism destination in the nineteenth century (Seaton, 1999). In 1856 Thomas Cook organised his first tour to Waterloo and was taking customers to the South African Battlefields of the Boer War even before hostilities ceased in 1902 (Lloyd, 1998)! In the American Civil War Battle of Bull Run (1861) so many local people were present as spectators that they impeded the Union forces' retreat[4] (Piekarz, 2007b) and tourism to the Civil War battlefield sites is now extremely popular with the site at Gettysburg (1863) attracting over 3 million visits a year.

Baldwin and Sharpley (2009) have argued that the First World War was a pivotal event in the emergence of battlefield tourism with ever increasing numbers of visitors wanting to visit the graves or death sites of their loved ones. In 1919 60,000 people visited the Western Front battlefields assisted by tour companies and this continued for the next 20

---

[4] This later came to be known as the 'Great Skedaddle'.

years (Seaton, 2000: 63). By 1930 in three months alone over 100,000 people had added their names to the Menin Gate memorial book at Ypres (Mosse, 1990: 154). The tourism hiatus of the Second World War resulted in a long period when there was reduced interest in these sites and revival only came about from the late 1960s onwards. This might have been due to the coming into retirement age of the children of those who served or were lost in the war and their interest in returning to see the graves and sites of conflict. Interest generated by several anniversaries of 1914 (the 50th in 1964, 60th in 1974 and 70th in 1984) as well as the increase in numbers of books published about the war in the 1970s could also have had an effect. By the late 1970s battlefield tours were increasing in number and the Western Front Association was founded in 1980.

There is a clear educational value of visiting battlefields and the inclusion of the First World War in the British History Curriculum has allowed thousands of schoolchildren to have the experience of visiting the Western Front every year. In 2010 over 47% of visitors to the *In Flanders Fields Museum* in Ypres were schoolchildren and 1,057 British schools visited which was a total of 50,320 individuals.[5] Additionally the training potential of battlefield sites has long been recognised by the military and since the 1870s the British army has conducted 'Staff Rides' to sites taking the form of the 'tactical exercise without troops' (TEWT) (Haycock, 2005).

1.2.2. Battlefield Tourism and the economy

Tourism contributed £115.4 billion to the UK economy in 2009 which is equivalent to 8.9% of the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Deloitte MCS Ltd., 2010). More specifically in 2009 'heritage tourism' made a direct contribution of £7.4 billion to GDP which is bigger than advertising, film and the car industry and supported 195,000 jobs (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010). 'Managed'[6] battlefield sites do form part of this but it is very difficult to ascertain the scale of this contribution since in surveys they are never recognised as a separate family of attractions in their own right. In the ALVA list of the top 150 visitor attractions in 2010 the only managed battlefield site (Hastings) is number 111.[7] Battlefield site attractions might therefore not be significant nationally but they will inevitably play a more enhanced role in regional and local tourism development. Moreover

---

[5] January to November. Museum internal data in e-mail from Mr Peter Slosse, Director, 23/11/11.

[6] Those with visitor facilities where it is possible to measure visitor admissions.

[7] Association of Leading Visitor Attractions at http://www.alva.org.uk/visitor_statistics/. Measured by visitor attendances and members of ALVA only.

little is known about how many people visit 'unmanaged' sites and their economic contribution.

1.3 Purpose and Rationale

The previous discussion has shown how battlefield tourism has grown as part of a wider heritage 'movement' and emerged as a component of the heritage tourism industry. Heritage exists within a recognised cultural milieu and is tightly delineated by cultural processes; indeed culture is the framework within which tourism operates (MacLeod and Carrier, 2010). Culture can be defined as the whole stock of common facets which unite a people including attitudes and values as well as more tangible human expressions (Reisinger and Turner, 2003; see also MacLeod and Carrier, 2010: 11). To understand how people interpret their world one needs to agree with Geertz that 'man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun' (Geertz, 1993: 5) and these webs are what constitute culture. Much can be learnt about cultural attitudes by exploring what 'things' mean to people as they make sense out of experience. This can be achieved from a deeper understanding of these webs of meaning, both public and private. In tourism these can be expressed through public interpretation and private experiences respectively. This forms the basic premise of the research behind this thesis. Public meanings of tourist sites are far easier to determine than what these sites mean to the private visitor and it is at the interstices of these phenomena that cultural attitudes find clear illumination. Much can be learnt about the present by examining contemporary attitudes to the past through the way modern societal values are communicated through heritage. Heritage Tourism can thus be a useful laboratory for investigating contemporary values and opinions through the prism of past events (Palmer, 2001), the approach adopted here.

Meaning is reflected in the intangible aspects of heritage but Rose (1995) has argued that places are empty of meaning apart from what humans bestow upon them.[8] This is a relatively new way of understanding heritage 'sites' and power of place and the meanings evoked by place are a key aspect of this study. The investigation of deep feelings, the numen, authenticity, the importance of artefacts, a sense of history, morality and personal stories in this study are all linked to the more visceral aspects of heritage sites as is the

---

[8] The Australian Burra Charter (1979) went beyond conservation shifting the emphasis for the first time from 'stones and bones' to the meanings of places and recognising their intrinsic cultural significance (West and Ansell, 2010).

associated question of whether silence makes a difference to experience. The additional meanings stimulated by patriotic or nationalistic associations and the instrumental use of battlefield sites as a focus for peace and reconciliation are also salient factors in the whole question of what battlefield sites mean to those who visit them (Chapters 6 and 7).

In investigating the nature of tourism and interpretation at battlefield sites it is important to understand their development as tourist 'attractions'. The reason sites become successful and marked in the local, regional and national consciousness has an important bearing on their modern public and private meanings. The historical process of 'sacralisation' from the time of the event up until the present day is crucial in our understanding of how and why they are presented and interpreted as they are. As in the human sense sites are always the products of their pasts, an aspect often neglected in the study of tourist 'attractions' whether within a heritage context or not (Chapters 4 and 5).

The above issues are crystallised in the following central research questions which form the investigative pillars of this thesis:

1. How do battlefield sites develop into attractions (the 'Site Sacralisation' model)?
2. What do battlefield sites mean to visitors?
3. How does interpretation contribute to the experience of the visitor?

These three questions have an interdependent relationship which is outlined in Figure 1.2. Private meanings feed into the public discourse surrounding heritage and vice versa in a

Figure 1.2: Central Research Questions

Interpretation

Site Sacralisation

Private Meanings
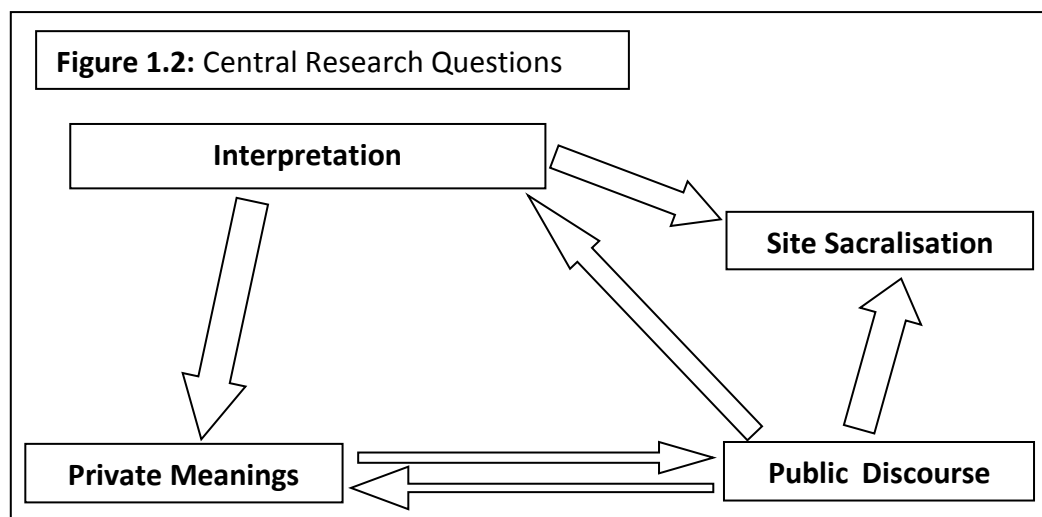
Public Discourse

cycle similar to the 'circular texts' idea described by Gold and Gold (2007). Public discourse in turn colours the interpretive message conveyed through public channels and the extent to which interpretation impacts upon private meaning is investigated in this study. Both interpretation and public discourse have an important role to play in the historical and developmental processes integrated within 'site sacralisation' which reifies and reiterates the importance of the site as a cultural process in its own right.

The study aims to add a new dimension to the academic canon in providing a fresh in-depth analysis of battlefield tourism with useful comparative elements. This is in response to the generally held view that more research is needed in tourism into the relationship between place and person as expounded by Poria, Reichel and Biran (2006). Battlefield tourism is represented in the literature through such works as Chronis (2005), Cooper (2006) and Ryan (2007) and the more historical approaches of Lloyd (1998) and Seaton (1999). Studies of the First World War and the Western Front in particular are provided by Seaton (2000), Iles (2008), Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood (2010) and Winter (2011) and these focus on various aspects of tourist experience and the meanings of the conflict. The study is thus a further addition to these approaches as reflected through contemporary tourist discourse (Chapter 9). Much less attention, however, has been paid to the four older sites (Hastings, Bannockburn, Bosworth and Culloden) with a general discussion of English battlefields by Piekarz (2007a), a study of Bosworth by Milloy (1997) and Culloden by Gold and Gold (2003; 2007) and McLean, Garden, and Urquhart (2007) the clear exceptions. There is an identified lacuna here so the thesis attempts to provide a unique and detailed empirical analysis of the research questions at these sites which will explore relatively uncharted research territory (Chapters 6 and 7). An overarching aim of the study is to provide as wide an understanding of what battlefields mean as possible and for this reason comparisons will be made between the 'historic'[9] sites and those of the Western Front. Although the literature (cited above) supports the view that the underlying spirit of tourism to the Western Front sites is one of commemoration, a comparison between these two already recognisably different types of site will be made to provide a validation and deeper understanding of the similarities and differences between two forms of battlefield tourism. Another subject of study, re-enactment at battlefield sites (Chapter 8), is included as a highly significant form of interpretation which cannot be ignored. There

---

[9] Hastings, Bannockburn, Bosworth and Culloden are labelled 'historic' in this study but this is only to distinguish them from the Western Front sites which are, of course, historic in their own right. This word is used to describe them hereafter.

is a growing literature on re-enactment (e.g. Gapps (2009); McCalman and Pickering (2010)) although much of this is theoretical in nature with little empirical analysis of the events themselves and spectator reactions. This study endeavours to provide an insight into what re-enactment means to the visiting public through a survey of a major UK event which will in turn feed into the general findings associated with interpretation at these sites.

1.4 Historical background to the case study sites

There are over 500 battlefield sites in England (Raynor, 2004) and a further 358 identified in Scotland (Foard and Partida, 2005: 7) but very few of these have any form of interpretation or attendant infrastructure to make them appealing to the tourist (Piekarz, 2007a).[10] Because of this an analysis of meanings and interpretations at such sites has to be selective and for practical purposes sample those sites where there is a sufficient volume of visitors to provide significant results. The four main British 'managed' sites of Culloden, Bannockburn, Bosworth and Hastings were thus chosen (Figure 1.3 and Appendix K, (i) – (vi)) and the historical background to each is given below (the development of these sites since the event is described in Chapter 4). In addition to this the background to the Western Front sites is discussed.

1.4.1 Hastings (14 October, 1066)

Hastings has continued to hold a prominent place in English national consciousness and is a highly iconic site as the place where the old Anglo-Saxon England was defeated and a foreign overlordship imposed. In September 1066 William of Normandy landed on the south coast of England and met little resistance since the English under King Harold II were defending the country from a Viking Norwegian invasion of the north. After defeating them decisively at Stamford Bridge (25 September) Harold rushed his battered army southwards the length of the country to face William. The armies met at the low ridge of Senlac, some 6 miles (9.6 km) north-west of Hastings.

---

[10] A small visitor centre exists at Killieckrankie (1689), for example, but one of the problems with this is that the battle site lies across a main road and is seldom visited so the dual requirements of the survey that respondents had visited both centre and site could not be achieved here.

Figure 1.3: Location of main 'managed' British battlefield sites

Inverness · ○ Culloden (1746)

○ Bannockburn (1314)

· Edinburgh

Glasgow ·

Birmingham · ○ Bosworth (1485)

Cardiff ·

· London

○ Hastings (1066)

· Selected cities
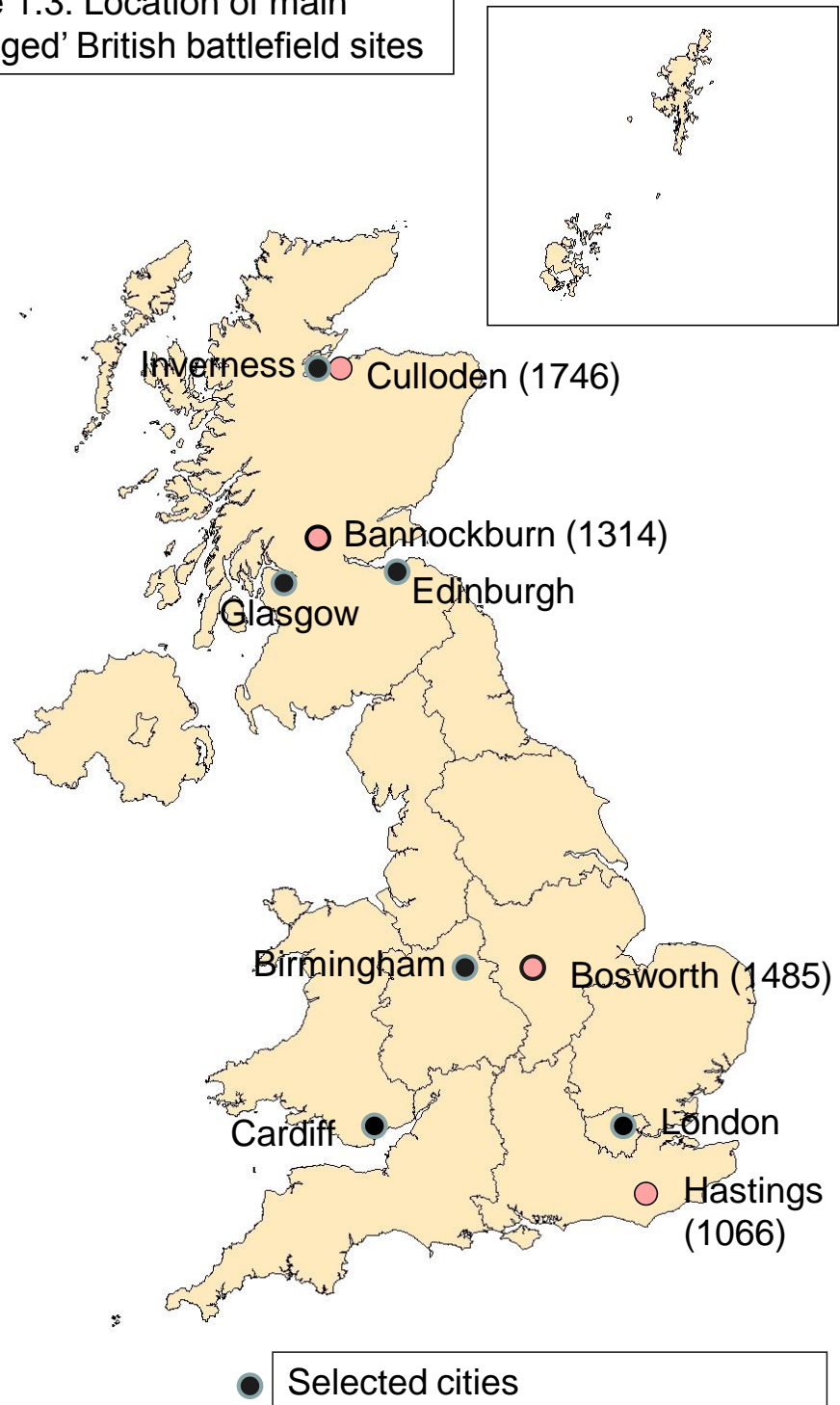
Sources relate how the battle started at 9.00 a.m. with the foolhardy single handed attack by William's jester on the English lines which resulted in his death. William then ordered his archers to try to soften up the English before ordering his infantry to attack up the hill (this aspect of the topography is particularly well preserved at Hastings, see Appendix K (i)). The English stood firm, their shield wall intact, so William now sent in his cavalry which reached the lines before shying away from the bristling weaponry. Eventually part of William's left wing faltered and broke, racing back down the hill to be pursued by the English. Two of Harold's brothers were killed in this haphazard rush and William's horse was killed beneath him forcing him to stand and throw off his helmet as a reassurance to his men that he was still alive. This counter-attack was beaten off although Bachrach (1999) has suggested it was a deliberate *ruse de guerre* on the part of the Norman cavalry to draw the English down the hill where they would be more easily dealt with. The English shield wall was now weakened by lack of cohesion and discipline giving the Normans the advantage. Further fire by archers into the back rows of the English army began to take its toll at which time Harold was reputedly killed (the dispute rages over whether this was by an arrow in the eye). With their leader dead the exhausted English began to desert and soon the haemorrhage became a flood pursued by vengeful Normans. On Christmas Day 1066 William was crowned as king of England ushering in the Norman era (McLynn, 1999).

1.4.2 Bannockburn (23-24 June, 1314)

The two day battle we now know as Bannockburn took place around 3 miles (4.8 km) to the south of Stirling and was the main action in a series of conflicts forming the First Scottish Wars of Independence (1296-1328) from England. The Scottish were led by Robert the Bruce (1274-1329) and the English by King Edward II (r.1307-27) who had come north to relieve a Scottish siege of Stirling Castle. As is characteristic of medieval battles there is great uncertainty over the numbers on each side with estimations for the Scottish army ranging from 5,000 to 10,000 and the English from 13,700 to 25,000. It is likely, however, that the Scottish host was heavily outnumbered and this has added to the event's iconic position in Scottish national consciousness.

Like many medieval conflicts the precise events of the battle are uncertain. Nevertheless sources suggest that the second day of the battle started with a rash charge by a group of English knights on the Scottish lines frustrated at the slowness of their king's deployment. This appears to have been a result of the size of the army which started working to

Edward's disadvantage. As the two sides clashed the English became so tightly packed that no tactical manoeuvre was possible[11] and the infantry soon broke and began to flee across the River Forth. This flight soon became a rout and the army were pursued back to England. Not more than a third of the infantry were thought to have made it back over the border. Edward rode to Dunbar and ignominiously took ship back to England, his Scottish designs in tatters. This was a convincing defeat for the English but did not immediately lead to Scottish independence which had to wait until 1328.

As described later in this study the site of the battle is still uncertain with most theories placing it in an area now covered by modern housing development. The current visitor centre is believed to be on the site of Robert's camp before the battle (the New Park) and remains the focus for the visit (Appendix K (ii)).

1.4.3 Bosworth (22 August, 1485)

The battle of Bosworth was the culmination of a dynastic struggle fought between the two English 'Houses' of York and Lancaster over possession of the throne which occupied much of the late fifteenth century. The site lies 12 miles (19km) west of Leicester in the English Midlands near the town of Market Bosworth (Appendix K (iii)). Soon after the death of Edward IV in 1483 his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester declared Edward's two young sons illegitimate and seized the crown for himself. Richard III's reign brought general dissatisfaction to the country and eventually resulted in a series of rebellions in which the exiled Lancastrian Henry Tudor was invited back to take the throne. He landed in Wales in early August 1485 and gained support whilst marching into the Midlands to encounter Richard in battle.

As with Bannockburn the precise events of the day have been obfuscated by the 'fog of war' not least of which has been the location of the battle although fresh archaeological discoveries have located this at a new site some two miles from the visitor centre (Foard, 2010). Richard is reported to have had around 10,000 men while Henry Tudor took the field with 5,000. A key determinant of the battle's outcome was the presence of Lord Thomas Stanley with 6,000 men. He was nominally on the side of Richard but was in the invidious position of being Henry Tudor's step-father. Richard doubted his loyalty and

---

[11] This is very clearly represented in James Proudfoot's painting of the battle (National Trust for Scotland, undated a: 32-33).

held his son as a hostage to ensure he made the correct loyal choices when the battle commenced. Stanley's uncertain allegiance was known to both sides and in retrospect it is certain that he held the balance of power on the field.

After an initial cannonade by the Yorkist side contingents of the army clashed and seeing a clear disadvantage Richard signalled for his left wing under the Duke of Northumberland to advance. The Duke stood firm, however, and at the same time Henry was seen riding in the direction of the Stanleys. Richard then made what was perhaps the most momentous if desperate decision by any monarch in medieval England. Seeing Henry he rode directly at his adversary with a small retinue to deliver a personal *coup de main.* On seeing this Stanley showed his hand and rode to the support of Henry. Richard managed to get dangerously near to Henry killing several of his entourage before being overwhelmed and, bogged down in the mire, slain. The defeat marked the end of the Plantagenet dynasty and later that day Henry was crowned, ushering in the Tudor dynasty.

The battle was not the end of the conflict with further rebellions and a major engagement at Stoke Field (1487) marking the early part of Henry's reign. Nevertheless it is recognised as the decisive engagement and is often seen to mark the end of the medieval era in England. On a more visceral level the events of Bosworth are marked by drama, desperation and a bitter sense of betrayal.

1.4.4 Culloden (16 April, 1746)

Situated about 5 miles (8.5 km) from the Scottish city of Inverness, Culloden was the final act of the last major armed rebellion on British soil when the Stuart pretender to the throne, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, led his battered and demoralised clansmen into battle against a well-trained Hanoverian government army led by the Duke of Cumberland. The Jacobite Rebellion had started in August 1745 when Charles landed on the remote Western Isles of Scotland rallying supporters to his cause and defeating a government army at Prestonpans outside Edinburgh before marching into England. He reached Derby before turning back in the face of uncertainty over the true strength of his enemy and by what is now considered poor leadership. On 6 December 1745 the Jacobites began their return to Scotland managing to defeat a government army at Falkirk on 17 January 1746. Nevertheless pressed by government forces and constant desertion Charles retreated further

north and by April had decided to force a decisive engagement with his enemies (Duffy, 2003).

On 14 April the Jacobite forces left their base in Inverness and assembled on Drummossie Moor about 12 miles (19km) from the Hanoverian army at Nairn. The 15th was Cumberland's birthday and two barrels of brandy had been issued to each regiment to celebrate. The Jacobites decided to take advantage of this and force a night march on the government camp with the well tested military advantage of surprise. This became a fiasco, however, as the groups lost their way in the dark and rain before returning to their starting point in disarray and confusion. Many had deserted in search of food and shelter. The morning of the 16th therefore dawned with an exhausted, demoralised and bedraggled Jacobite force of around 7000 facing a much better disciplined and motivated government force of 8000. It was an unequal contest and within an hour the Jacobites had fled the field to be pursued mercilessly by the Hanoverians who gave no quarter (Duffy, 2003). Culloden was the last battle on mainland British soil.[12]

Much of the pathos surrounding the story of Culloden stems from the sense of desperation of a weary, outnumbered and outgunned rebel force whose enthusiasm proved insufficient in the face of overwhelming odds. The bloodletting afterwards has added to this and the site has long been the focus for "Romantic Jacobitism" (Gold and Gold, 2003). This study demonstrates how the modern interpretation of the site relies heavily on its melancholic and emotional resonance.[13]

1.4.5. The Western Front

On 4 August 1914 Britain declared war on Germany in response to that country's violation of Belgian neutrality and within weeks the 100,000 strong British Expeditionary Force was in Belgium. The German master tactic for the march on Paris was the Schlieffen Plan which proposed a massive sweep through Belgium with armies moving like the opening of a huge door with its hinge at the French city of Verdun. Various phases of resistance and

---

[12] This is disputed by those who adopt a much broader definition of battlefields to include riots and civil disturbances and even aerial conflicts like the Battle of Britain (1940) (Raynor, 2004).

[13] The pathos of the site has been represented frequently in cultural and literary forms. The commentary for the hand-held Battlefield Guide at the Visitor Centre ends with the words: 'Today the moor is peaceful. But many people say it is still possible to feel something of the atmosphere of Britain's last pitched battle here on Culloden Moor' (see promotional film at http://www.zolkc.com/culloden.html).

retreat by the Allies finally culminated in deadlock on the River Aisne after which both sides attempted to outflank each other to the north in what came to be known as 'the race to the sea' (Holmes, 1999). By the autumn the opposing armies had dug in and a stalemate developed which was to last in this theatre until the decisive forward movement of the Allies in 1918. The 'Western Front' was a line of trenches, strongpoints and fortified villages ranging some 460 miles (736 kilometres) from the North Sea to the Swiss Border. In places the distance between the German and Allied lines was only a few yards, in others many hundreds. From the initial stages the front was built up into an elaborate network of combat, communication and reserve trenches, underground bunkers and outlying saps. Despite the enormous military efforts to break this deadlock (such as the massive push of the Somme Offensive, July-November 1916) the war here became one of attrition formed by small and often tactically useless engagements. Death could come suddenly and at any time although there were 'quiet' sectors of the Front where an uneasy 'live and let live' policy was adopted. There was fierce activity around the town of Ypres and between the rivers Somme and Ancre, particularly popular areas for visits to the Front nowadays (Figure 1.4).

The Western Front made a deep impact on the British national consciousness after the war and its cultural resonance lasts until this day. The war created its own style of vocabulary and terminology and cultural output in the form of literature, poetry and song (Winter, 1998). These expressions were looked upon with a nostalgic sense of endearment throughout the twentieth century and continue to form a rich backdrop to any perceptual or physical interest in the war and its sites.

During the course of the war more than 6 million soldiers were killed and another 14 million wounded on this front; nearly 750,000 of the dead were British and Commonwealth who lie in more than 1000 military and 2000 civilian cemeteries in the region. 300,000 of them have no known graves and are commemorated on numerous memorials (Holmes, 1999: 237). The Menin Gate at Ypres has the names of 54,403 and the Thiepval Memorial 72,191 British and Commonwealth soldiers whose bodies have never been found or identified (Commonwealth War Graves Commission, undated). The sheer industrial scale of the horror never ceases to impact upon society and continues to motivate those who are drawn to these places of carnage. The naïve innocence of the combatants, their youth, misplaced enthusiasm and level of sacrifice still affect people deeply and

underlie the intense emotional experience of visiting the Western Front which is a feature of this study. Although now out of living memory the area provokes meanings beyond the rather bucolic contemporary *paysage,* Seaton referring to it as 'one of the most important modern instances of the symbolic reordering of landscape brought about by war' (Seaton, 2000: 63).

<div align="center">****</div>

This study is a wide ranging analysis of battlefields within their cultural setting. It thus provides a broad canvas upon which much detailed understanding of the deeper meanings and responses to interpretation are presented. If the past speaks in the present then it will leave its mark on those who populate that time and the cultural milieu in which they live. In aiming to bring cultural meaning into focus the study views the phenomena of visitor experience through the lens of particular socio-anthropological methodologies. To provide an appropriate context to the ensuing study these are now explained.

Figure 1.4: Modern map of the Western Front

Chapter 2

Methodology

This study sets out to investigate the experiences of individuals and in a deeper sense the meanings surrounding a particular type of heritage site. It is built upon the premise that in order to fully understand human behaviour we need to acknowledge that social reality has a meaning for all humans and that they act on the basis of these meanings. In order to interpret and explain the latter one has to gain access to a person's 'ordinary' thinking and see the world from their point of view (Bryman, 2008). This is the *phenomenological* (literally 'the study of that which appears') approach which seeks to bring out the phenomena that appear in acts of consciousness within the subject. Understanding is drawn from information rather than being based on theories, laws and concepts (Masberg and Silverman, 1996). The methods used in this study have sought to utilize this idea through an array of ethnological field research methods particularly in exploring the relationship between personal meaning and site interpretation which are the two main foci of the project. The methodology employed uses a mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to build up a detailed picture of experiences and attitudes and this mix is well acknowledged in the literature as an effective mode of practice (Valentine, 1997; Ritchie, Burns and Palmer, 2005).

The research questions postulated by the study have been drawn up through a process of supposition which in anthropological terms could be called an *etic* or outside approach. This has been used to formulate broad hypotheses as, for example: 'visitors engage with battlefield sites on a deep level'. The purpose of the study is, however, to explore these questions from the point of view of the subjects themselves on an *emic* or insider's viewpoint and deliver an insightful perspective in what is relatively un-charted research territory. This rejects the assertion by Walle (1997) that *etic* (scientific) and *emic* (artistic) methods exist independently of each other.

2.1 Survey sites and context

There were clear practical reasons for choosing the four 'historic' sites and these have been explained earlier in this thesis. Although the study aims to reveal meaningful findings at

these it cannot provide broader comments about the wide variety of local and *ad hoc* interpretation that is present at other battlefield sites. Nor can it gauge tourist's views on unmarked or partially or completely lost sites. Table 2.1 outlines the main interpretative tools used at the 'historic' sites and although this demonstrates the variety of methods employed it also shows how not all of these are present at all the sites. Site plans for each site are provided in Appendix K (i) – (vi).

Battlefields exist in Britain from a number of different historical periods although Culloden (1746) is generally acknowledged to be the last fought on mainland British soil. In order to obtain views on more recent conflicts which are important in tourism terms it was decided to investigate the meanings and interpretations at the First World War (1914-18) sites of the Western Front in France and Belgium. As already discussed these are major tourist attractions and the literature attests to a number of motivations for visitation prominent amongst which is a reverential sense of pilgrimage and commemoration of the dead (Dunkley, Morgan, and Westwood, 2010). The study therefore aimed to investigate visitor experiences at these sites by interviewing subjects on a coach tour of the area with a view to provide comparisons with the more 'historic' sites.

Table 2.1: *Interpretative Tools at the four 'historic' British battlefield sites*

	Information Boards	Audio Guides	Guidebooks	Guides (Guided Tours)	Self Guided Trail	Lectures	Costumed Actors	Films/audio-visual	Models/Dioramas	Hands on or working displays
Bosworth	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bannockburn	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Culloden	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hastings	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes

2.2 An overview of research methods

The blend of research methods outlined in Figure 2.1 is designed to provide as wide a field of analysis as possible. The triangulation of results (including a quantitative analysis using Excel and SPSS[14]) and the identification of key findings will lead to relevant themes outlined in the conclusions (Chapter 10). The main methods used are now described.

(i) Quantitative/Qualitative questionnaire (visitors) – historic sites	(ii) Qualitative in-depth interviews – non-visitor stakeholders – historic sites
	Results
(iv) Participant Observation (Coach Tour) – Western Front	(iii) Survey of the Bosworth re-enactment – a historic site

Figure 2.1: Research Instruments
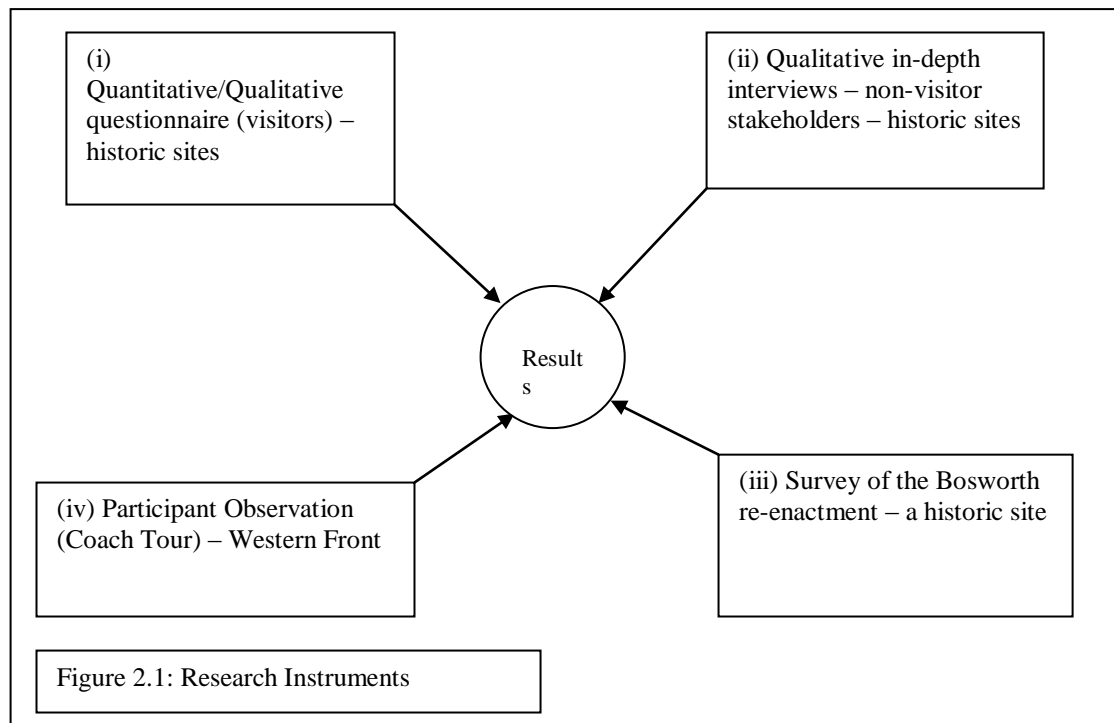
2.2.1 Face-to-face questionnaire survey ('historic' sites)

This was the principal research instrument of the survey and comprised a mixture of closed and open-ended questions administered by the researcher to respondents face-to-face (Appendix A). This is a tried and tested method in social research (Robson, 2002; Bryman, 2008) and the blend of qualitative and quantitative questions allowed for a thorough investigation of respondents' attitudes and opinions leading towards a greater understanding of what the site meant to them. The great strength of open-ended questions is the flexibility they give to respondents who are free to say what they want and essentially become co-researchers in directing the interview towards new and unexplored areas (Valentine, 1997; Robson, 2002; Ritchie, Burns and Palmer, 2005). Time was an important consideration in the staging of the interview and sensitivity was needed in not

---

[14] Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

disrupting the visit or distracting from its pleasure for the subject. All responses were hand-written with no electronic recording.

The key objective was to provide comparison between the sites and 50 questionnaires were completed at each. Interviews took place over June and July 2010 on four days at each site. The days were divided between two consecutive weekdays and a weekend so as to 'capture' a sample of visitors who were likely to visit at these times and interviews were conducted from the opening to the closing time of the sites. The survey was conducted post-visit outside the visitor centre at each of the sites where there was a clear visit pathway from car park (or other area of access) to attraction then shop/cafe and back to the car park. The location for interviews at Hastings and Bannockburn are given in Appendix K (i) and (ii) respectively and the general vicinity in which interviews took place can be ascertained from the site plans for Bosworth in Appendix K (iv) and (v) and Culloden in Appendix K (vi). It was not feasible to intercept visitors immediately at the exit at Bannockburn and Bosworth and the positioning of the interviewer did require a certain amount of personal judgement. A major requirement of the sampling frame was the inclusion of only those visitors who had both visited the visitor centre and the battlefield itself. This was straightforward at Culloden and Hastings which had clearly defined 'fields' but was not possible at Bosworth where the newly discovered site was on private farmland two miles from the visitor centre. At Bannockburn the second requirement was satisfied by those who had visited the Rotunda or parkland area about 100 metres from the visitor centre which is recognised as the site of Robert the Bruce's camp before the battle and thus part of the battlefield itself.

2.2.2 Qualitative in-depth interviews ('historic' sites)

To provide a complement to the public survey a number of interviews were conducted with stakeholders or experts connected with battlefield management as well as those representing the broader community of battlefield enthusiasts. This included the management of each of the case study sites. The rationale behind this was to ascertain any common ground between the views of experts/professionals and the visiting public surrounding the study objectives (see Appendix B for a list of job titles interviewed). 15 experts/stakeholders were contacted using the 'snowballing' sampling method where recommendations from initial subjects are used to establish contacts with others (Jones, 2004; McClanahan, 2004). One of the advantages of this method is that it lessens the chances of researcher selection bias. A mixture of face-to-face and telephone interviews

were undertaken and all were taped and the texts transcribed verbatim. The interviews were semi-structured in that a number of questions had been prepared to act as primers (these were not shown to the interviewees beforehand). In reality the interviews were allowed to develop as 'creative conversations' (Patton, 2002) in a flexible way moving from a semi- to an un-structured approach and this allowed for a far more adaptive and insightful context. This adapts the open-ended methodology prominent in ethnography which although not predetermined still requires prior preparation and planning (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1994).

It was important to record the text as close to the *ipsissima verba* as possible to give the results credibility and to guard against researcher bias. The final text was subject to a content analysis (Bryman, 2008) involving a 'sifting' of the material to draw out common themes and outcomes. A system of coding was used to identify different categories and as the text was read and re-read categories were allowed to emerge and then merge with each other. This resulted in a large number of codes and for the purposes of precision and clarity only a selection of these is discussed in the final account.

2.2.3 Survey of the Bosworth re-enactment (a 'historic' site)

No study of heritage interpretation can ignore the prominent position played by re-enactment in the portfolio of methods available in bringing history to life (McCalman and Pickering, 2010). A case study analysis of battlefield re-enactory events seemed prudent therefore in trying to explain the wider issues surrounding interpretation and how performance is used in historical contexts. A questionnaire survey similar to that conducted at the case study sites was undertaken at the annual Bosworth re-enactment event on 21-22 August 2010 (Appendix C) and a sample of 50 responses were gathered. Additionally the researcher attended the annual Hastings re-enactment held on 9 October 2010 as a spectator which allowed for a concentrated and unimpeded observation and served to complement the observations made during the Bosworth event. As with the site based survey the questionnaire contained a mix of qualitative and quantitative questions and the post-survey analysis was undertaken in the same way.

2.2.4 Participant Coach Tour Observation (Western Front)

The inclusion of a coach tour survey did require a different methodological approach due to the nature of tourism at these sites. The literature demonstrated how a deeper and more

thoughtful form of visitation was prominent here particularly with coach tour passengers (Seaton, 2000; 2002; Iles, 2008; Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood, 2010). This is not to discount other motivations attendant in these surveys such as an interest in the historical or tactical context or in the weapons used in the conflict. Indeed Seaton (2000) has shown how the Western Front generates a wide number of 'discursive fields' and is perceived by visitors in a plethora of different ways. Nevertheless because the commemorative aspects appeared to be an overarching feature of tourism to these areas a more solid qualitative method was chosen.[15] This involved open-ended unstructured interviews with passengers on a voluntary basis where the opinions and feelings of the subjects could be aired and explored in a more intensive manner. Battlefield coach tours are examples of what Edensor (2000: 328) termed 'enclavic space' where tourists travel in their own hermetically sealed environment which in fieldwork terms is a unique opportunity to gain in an insight into aspects of meaning (Seaton, 2002).

A company which specialised in battlefield tourism was approached and written permission was given to undertake the study. As a later section explains it was not possible to undertake any form of participant observation which involved covert methods so all passengers had to be informed of the researcher's presence. This was done using the coach's microphone at the beginning of the tour and in addition to this a letter of explanation had been left on each seat as passengers boarded (Appendix D). Respondents were asked to approach the researcher for an interview which reduced the possibility of interference with their enjoyment of the tour. Interviews were undertaken at mutually convenient times and not during the coach journeys themselves.

The researcher was a fully paying passenger like everyone else on the trip and there was a distinct advantage in being a 'member' of this albeit temporary tour culture from the beginning. Seaton (2002) has discussed how 'closed field' research situations like the coach tour have clear benefits over more 'open' settings where the researcher might start as an outsider and have to build a greater amount of trust. As one with a keen interest in the First World War the researcher was able to strike common ground with fellow passengers from the beginning and this was an advantage in building trust and securing interviews with participants within tight time schedules.

---

[15] Iles (2008) asserts that the coach tour as 'mobile theatre' with its empathic and imaginative emphasis was established as the template for Western Front tourism by the tour company set up by Major Tonie and Mrs Valmai Holt in the late 1970s.

The tour took place over a weekend in April 2010 leaving the UK early on a Friday morning and arriving back late on a Sunday night which was a particularly intense time frame. It comprised a group of 35 passengers (12 female and 23 male). Around two-thirds of the group had some connection with the war through distant relatives who had fought and in many cases been killed and the Company had arranged "Special Visits" to graves for 16 people. The trip provided opportunities for in-depth interviews with nine of the passengers (ranging in age from mid-50s to 73 years). These were taped and transcribed as in the expert/stakeholder survey and coded by themes accordingly. Regrettably there were no interviews with the younger passengers so the results presented in Chapter 9 are orientated towards the older age group.

2.3 Sampling

This study aims to investigate the responses of visitors to battlefield sites in the UK and the Western Front. In statistical terms the *populations* in question are visitors to the four managed sites (the main survey) and spectators at the re-enactment event. As with all social investigation it is impossible to contact every member of this population so a sample has to be chosen to reflect these wider views. The coach tour survey of the Western Front utilized an ethnographic type approach which by its nature was not random so this is not discussed here.

With regard to the visitor interviews in all cases the sample has been chosen on a next to pass basis. This means that some units in the population are more likely to be selected than others (Bryman, 2008). In all cases it was impossible to interview those passing whilst an interview was being conducted so this could have been a source of sample bias. Other forms of sample bias were the lack of opportunity to interview those who visited at other times of the year, those who could not understand English and in the case of a non-response (very rare). With the first of these the survey was limited by cost constraints in only being able to visit the sites for a few days each and it was also felt that a better response rate could be gained in the summer.

In the main and re-enactment surveys visitors were interviewed in line with the design of the location itself and factors such as points of access and egress. In the main survey interviewees also had to meet the dual criteria of having visited the visitor centre (exhibition) and battlefield. At Culloden and Hastings there was a definite exit point so all

visitors who passed out of the area in each case were interviewed. At Bannockburn and Bosworth a more 'open' approach was taken in that visitors were approached at any place in the environs and who was chosen was very much at the judgement of the interviewer. Fifty questionnaires were administered for the main survey. Although commercial surveys conducted at Culloden and Bannockburn used much larger numbers (Table 7.1) the totals do reflect a sufficiently numerous sample to be statistically significant. The Bosworth event had been chosen as an example of a large re-enactment and 50 questionnaires were completed in an 'open' field situation which succeeded in providing a valuable sample.

Because of the above in statistical terms it is not possible to generalise to the overall population of battlefield visitors because of the problem of non-probability. Nevertheless as Bryman (2008) has shown probability sampling in itself is not guaranteed to eliminate sampling error anyway, one of the reasons being that the characteristics of any population is constantly shifting. Non-probability sampling is commonly used in tourism research with a view to providing added insight into social experiences (e.g. Poria, Reichel and Biran, 2006) and there are many examples of non-probability qualitative studies which add richly to the canon (e.g. Masberg and Silverman, 1996). Consequently the results gathered in this thesis although non-representative of all visitors to battlefield sites do provide illumination of the issues being questioned and greater insight into revealed social phenomena.

2.4 Piloting

Piloting is an essential stage in survey design in providing an opportunity to test survey instruments in a realistic field situation with any necessary calibration made before the full execution of the process (Bryman, 2008). Because there were no comparable sites outside the four study locations in which to test the main questionnaire a pilot survey was undertaken at one of them (Bannockburn) in October 2009 using 30 responses. This resulted in some changes to content in removing certain questions and adjusting the wording in others. In addition to this much valid reflexion on practical issues of interview style were made. None of the pilot answers were used in the later study.

2.5 Ethics

No research can take place without due consideration of the ethical context and the effects it might have on participants and the wider community. This project was undertaken in accordance with the Glasgow University Code of Ethics and some changes had to be made to the initial design particularly relating to the practice of covert observation on the coach tour. This was disallowed as having the potential to result in harm as an intrusion into private grief in what could be the emotionally charged setting of the cemetery visit. A protocol on ethical requirements for the project was provided by the University's Ethical Committee (Appendix E (i)) and written informed consent was obtained from expert/stakeholder interviewees beforehand (Appendix E (ii)). A letter was given to questionnaire respondents before interview to explain the project and its purposes including a reassurance that the material would be used in strict confidence (Appendix E (iii)).

****

The principal objectives of this thesis are thus to analyse the development of, and gauge visitor experiences at, a range of battlefield sites. To fully understand the underlying factors a discussion of the main scholarly issues surrounding the study must now be given (Chapter 3). This is followed by a new perspective of the site sacralisation model (Chapters 4 and 5). The main body of the thesis then follows (Chapters 6 – 9) with an empirical analysis of experiences and interpretation at battlefield sites with the views of experts/stakeholders (6), mainstream visitors at historic sites (7), visitors to re-enactments at a historic site (8) and participants in a coach tour of the Western Front (9). The concluding chapter (10) then brings together the main strands of the work and presents a number of broad conclusions and findings.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

Battlefields are able to stimulate wide historical and cultural discourses and the research aims of the thesis are revenants of considered scholarly debates which can be traced in the literature. This chapter provides an analysis of the academic context of battlefield tourism and the conceptual foundations for the questions which will be addressed.

3.1 Battlefields and Tourist Motivation

There is an enormous range of literature relating to general tourism motivation (e.g. Burns and Holden, 1995) and a growing interest in the motivations of tourists to heritage (Cameron and Gatewood, 2000; 2003) and Dark Tourism sites (Stone and Sharpley, 2008). However, few of these studies attempt to explain tourist motivation to such sites directly and the discourse is effectively subsumed into wider issues of demand and tourism behavioural analysis. Meaning and motivation are closely allied concepts in that the former can provide an impetus for visitation. Consequently in investigating meanings this study will also be able to shed light on motivation.

The commmodification of experience and materiality associated with postmodern society has created a wide range of choice for the subject of what Urry (1990; 2011) has termed the 'Tourist Gaze'. Tourists are in essence workers with discretionary income who are enticed by an expanding tourist supply-side market. An understanding of tourist motivation is important to the latter if they are to succeed in their commercial objectives. However, as Burns and Holden (1995) have shown, survey evidence of tourists often just detects surface motivation produced by extrinsic social pressures. This is mainly due to the fickleness of tourist behaviour. As Pearce (1993: 114) has commented, 'tourist motivation is discretionary, episodic, future orientated, dynamic, socially influenced and evolving'.

The most basic theory of motivation is that it is needs-serving and that subconscious yet dynamic forces are at work to bring about change. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory is often quoted as epitomising this idea (Maslow, 1984) yet external stimuli in motivation

such as reward are also relevant. This could be a deep feeling of accomplishment, achievement from seeing cultural attractions or physical extension. Csíkszentmihályi (1975) has suggested that a state of pure happiness can be gained from what he calls the notion of 'flow' in which a person can be totally engaged and absorbed in an activity during which time becomes conflated. This can be experienced in any kind of activity, from the sports player to the museum and gallery visitor. One of the central aspects of this experience is that the benefits of 'flow' might not be immediate and this 'delayed gratification' can enhance the intrinsic worth of any recreational activity including tourism. The reward can be a main motivator in future search for a repeat experience in what Pearce (1993) has described as an individual's 'Tourist Career'.

A coherent motivational theory taking into consideration both demand and supply factors has acknowledged a range of 'Push' factors which encourage a tourist to leave home and 'Pull' factors which are the physical and cultural attributes of a destination. The former are often determined by such factors as age, number of dependants, levels of disposal income and ease of movement. The latter are closely affected by destination image and marketing. Baudrillard (1981: 85) claims that consumers are influenced by subtle 'strategies of desire'. In tourism destination image is communicated through 'signs' such as brochures, films, literature and artwork in a seductive process of consumption before consumption. The interplay between these factors will differ from one tourist to the next and the dynamics of what determines a tourist's choice of destination is clearly quite complex (Burns and Holden, 1995:43).

Much work has been done on personality traits in an understanding of tourist motivation and there are several typologies which have given us an insight into the more revealing and deeper aspects of motivation. The seminal model of Plog (1974) provided a psychographic interpretation of tourists who he placed along a continuum from Psychocentric to Allocentric. The former were those who disliked unfamiliarity and insecurity and tended to travel in groups. Mid –centrics were those who were willing to embark upon limited adventure but still appreciated home comforts. The Allocentric category displayed more explorational and adventuresome characteristics and preferred more remote destinations. Plog also showed how Psychocentrics tended to be heavy television watchers whereas Allocentrics were more print-orientated and were willing to try out new products more readily. Cohen (1974, cited in Burns and Holden, 1995) developed Plog's theory to describe a continuum between 'Drifters' and 'Organised Mass

Tourists'. It is significant that there was no relationship between group types and income. In relation to Heritage Tourism and Battlefield visitation in particular the literature does not provide firm evidence that this form of tourism is the domain of one group or the other. Nevertheless Pearce's (1987, cited in Burns and Holden, 1995:50) development of Plog's continuum is useful in allocating psychographic behavioural characteristics to the groups. Psychocentrics, for example, tend to have lower activity levels, prefer 'sun and fun' spots and 'commonplace activities'. Allocentrics on the other hand prefer areas with few tourists, a sense of 'discovery and delight in new experiences' and have high activity levels. This is not to say that the latter are necessarily more suited to Heritage attractions but the meta-analysis would suggest this is so.

The phenomenon of Dark Tourism will be examined below but it is appropriate here to include some ideas on what motivates tourists to visit morbid attractions in general. In their work on sites of atrocity, Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) have suggested three main motivational factors for visitation. The first of these is pure *curiosity* in that tourists are drawn to the experience of the unusual. This might seem rather prosaic but it is nevertheless akin to what motivates motorists to slow down to gaze on the aftermath of motorway crashes or even visit any place which is out of the ordinary. Tourism does draw on the curiosity factor and there is an argument that the reason one would visit an old building, ancient festival or re-enactment is just because it is something that stimulates curiosity in the unusual. The second factor is related to *empathy* whereby visitors can identify with the victims of atrocity. Many battlefields are attractive for this reason in that one is prompted to image what it would have been like on that day. This idea is clearly underlined by the results of this thesis as will be demonstrated. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) point out the difficulties in making sure the message of interpretation is received in the right way by the visitor. The fate of victims can be portrayed in an empathetic way but there is always the moral conundrum of visitors empathising with the perpetrators instead. After the modern reconstruction of the Nazi Concentration Camp at Dachau visitors were forbidden from viewing the camp from the watch tower for fear that they might adapt the role of perpetrator as they viewed the site from on high (Marcuse, 2005). The third motivator is *horror* which has been an all pervading presence in literature, art and in more modern times the media. Horror connects with an inner feeling of the unknown and dread and was a common theme in the art of Europe all the way until the modern period. On a more unsavoury note is what Rojek and Urry (1997) have called 'sensationalist tourism' whereby people rush to the scenes or sites of atrocity and disaster during or soon after the

event takes place. In this sense visiting a site of atrocity like a battlefield is a similar experience if it elicits feelings of horror but the lapse in time from the event can serve to dampen this effect.

Battlefield tourists exist like other tourists within a complex interplay of societal, psychological, political and economic forces which determine their choices. It can also be said that a battlefield tourist might be another type of tourist whose main motivation for visiting a destination is not solely to visit such sites. As will be seen this thesis demands a revised typology of visitation and shows how there are occasional or opportunistic battlefield tourists as opposed to those whose sole reason for a trip is to visit one or more battlefields.

3.2 Battlefield Tourism as a form of 'Dark' Tourism

Battlefield Tourism can be considered as a type of thanatouristic experience where the thanatourist is 'motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death' (Seaton, 1996: 240). In their landmark study of this phenomenon Lennon & Foley (2000: 5) have labelled this 'Dark Tourism' where death is commoditized:

> Some have argued that, through its presentation, whether real or
> fictional, in popular culture, death has become a commodity for
> consumption in a global communications market.

In commenting on the carnage of the First World War the poet R.H. Mottram underlined this point:

> The War may have been 'legalised murder' as it was now called.
> But Post-War is murder on show, with a small price for admission
> to defray expenses (from *The Spanish Farm Trilogy* (1927),
> quoted in Lloyd, 1998).

Dark Tourism has been variously termed 'morbid' or 'black spot' tourism or 'milking the macabre' (Stone, 2006: 148). It can include visits to sites of executions, massacres, assassinations, cemeteries, mass graves, memorials, prisons, concentration camps and

battlefields. Indeed there has always been a close link between tourism and death and it is noteworthy that the prime motivations of pilgrims, as the first tourists, was to visit the tombs of the saints and also to sites closely associated with them including their places of death or martyrdom. Veneration of their bones was also an important pilgrimage activity. The most popular thanoptic tourist attraction in the Romantic period was the ancient city of Pompeii, scene of a catastrophic volcanic eruption that covered the entire city. Travel to witness executions was a popular activity in history and existed in Britain up until the last public hanging in 1868 (Seaton, 1996). There is evidence that tourists were present at the battle of Waterloo (Seaton, 1999) and at the American Civil War Battle of Bull Run (or Manassas, 1861).

Based upon behavioural factors Seaton (1996) has suggested five categories of Dark tourist. *Firstly* those who travel to witness public enactments of death which nowadays is quite rare. *Secondly* those who travel to see sites of individual or mass deaths after they have occurred which would include visiting the death sites of famous celebrities (e.g. JF Kennedy and Dallas) and includes battlefield tourism. *Thirdly* those who travel to memorials or interment sites which would include cemeteries, memorials and crypts. This can include the resting places of the famous such as the cemetery tourist attractions at Highgate (London) and Père-Lachaise (Paris). *Fourthly* those who travel to witness symbolic representation of death at unconnected sites. This could include visiting museums or exhibitions at such sites as the Tower of London. *Fifthly* travel for purposes of re-enactment or the simulation of death. This would include battlefield re-enactment which had its origins in the Gladiatorial combats of ancient Rome.

What would lead tourists to visit 'dark' sites is a pertinent question and one which this study seeks to illuminate. MacCannell (1999) has argued that commoditisation in postmodern society seeks to create as many 'experiences' as possible which are manufactured and sold although leave no material trace. That tourists are motivated to experience death and its sites in this way is part of this vast world of symbolism where 'tourist attractions and the behaviour surrounding them are…one of the most complex and orderly of the several universal codes that constitute modern society (MacCannell, 1999: 46). The tourist feels that sight-seeing is the best way of showing that he is not alienated from society and MacCannell provides an interesting anecdote of the practice of morgue-visiting in early twentieth century Paris which illustrates this. He quotes from the *Anglo-American Practical Guide to Exhibition Paris: 1900* (pp. 255-56) which states:

> People go there [the morgue] to look at the corpses, as in other
> quarters they go to see the fashions and the orange trees in
> flower…(MacCannell, 1999: 71)

This is clearly a strange practice to our contemporary instincts and one which would be considered highly distasteful as a tourist pastime in modern Britain. At the heart of it, however, lies some sort of explanation for the abiding touristic interest in morbidity and Gatewood and Cameron have remarked that people are interested in death sites 'because such places encourage the contemplation of ultimate concerns; in particular, the meaning of life and death' (Gatewood and Cameron, 2004: 213). Such behaviour thus addresses deep ontological issues.

This idea is developed by Stone and Sharpley (2008) who argue from a sociological perspective that as part of the overall desacralisation of social life there has been a sequestration of death within public space. The authors show how death has been removed from the 'privatisation of meaning' and subject to modernistic processes of professionalisation, medicalisation and ultimately privatisation. The contemporary idea of 'reflexivity' (Giddens, 1990) provides a kind of panacea for this depersonalisation where 'all beliefs, values and practices' are subject to a continual and critical process of examination, monitoring and revision 'in the light of changing circumstances' (Stone and Sharpley, 2008: 582). This is designed to lessen the bleakness of ontological insecurity although the authors point out that 'the more diverse (and reflexive) the approaches to death in contemporary societies, the more difficult it becomes to contain death within social frameworks…'(ibid.: 583). The remedy for this is the 'social neutralisation' of death in order for the apparatus of sequestration to be dismantled and a fresh understanding and sense of 'personal meaningfulness' to be engendered. The capstone of this is the experience of Dark Tourism which is a cultural resource used to reinforce ontological security and which 'may provide a means for confronting the inevitability of one's own death and that of others' (ibid.: 585). It thus permits death in society to be brought back into the healthy realm of public discourse and allows absent death to be made present and 'existentially valid'. In addition to this the social neutralisation of death reduces the potential for dread and fear and facilitates their containment within the protective shield of ontological security. Dark Tourism allows the viewer 'to confront and contemplate 'mortality moments' from a perceived safe distance and environment' (ibid.: 589) and

might thus provide some explanation to the phenomena of morgue-visiting quoted above. Dark Tourism has its detractors but can be seen as a positive force in society and one that provides a healthy understanding of questions fundamental to private and public consciousness. As Stone and Sharpley emphasise, 'Dark Tourism may have more to do with life and the living, rather than the dead and dying' (ibid.: 590).

The commodification of Dark Tourism products has led to a wide variety of 'attractions' and Miles (2002) has introduced the idea that there are different 'shades' of darkness and that a 'darker-lighter' tourism paradigm does exist. He suggests that there is a difference between sites *associated* with death and suffering and those that *are of* death and suffering. The latter would include battlefield sites although his perceptive example is that of the death camp at Auschwitz (Poland) which is 'darker' than the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC which is an *associative* site. There is clearly a temporal distinction, however, between sites of recent memory and those insulated by what Lennon and Foley (2000) have termed 'chronological distance'. Miles asserts that sites of recent death and tragedy are within living memory and thus 'darker' than those associated with events in the distant past. A modern Second World War battlefield therefore will elicit rawer emotions amongst some visitors than one from, for example, the English Civil War. The empathy of the visitor with the actors in the dark drama and its associated interpretation are crucial here. Seemingly historically distant sites can still chime with the experience of the tourist if the interpretation is crafted to appeal to something they can relate to personally (Tilden, 1977) and this is discussed in the results chapters later.

The dark-light theory has its apotheosis in another work by Stone (2006) where he draws up a 'spectrum of supply' of Dark Tourism attractions ranging from '*sites of*' to '*sites associated with*' (Figure 3.1). The polarities are also interpreted using a range of product features such as demonstrating the differences between an educational (dark) through to an entertainment (light) orientation; perceived authentic (dark) or inauthentic (light) interpretation; short time scale to the event (dark) or longer time scale (light) or low (dark) or high (light) tourism infrastructure. He refers to places associated with war as 'Dark Conflict Sites' and highlights some of the problems faced in their management despite the fact that they fall under his 'non-purposeful' orientation (Stone, 2006: 156). Stone shows how many battlefield sites are becoming romanticised and trivialised through a fun approach to the way they are presented which does push them towards the lighter end of the spectrum. This is manifested in some battlefield re-enactment events which are seen as

disrespectful and of poor taste to those who want to maintain the educational and commemorative focus of war sites (it is noteworthy that in Scotland and the US re-enactments are not allowed on the actual historic field of battle itself). In their work on atrocity sites Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) have shown just how difficult it is to integrate tourism into those sites which identify with the victims. 'Victim strategies' are
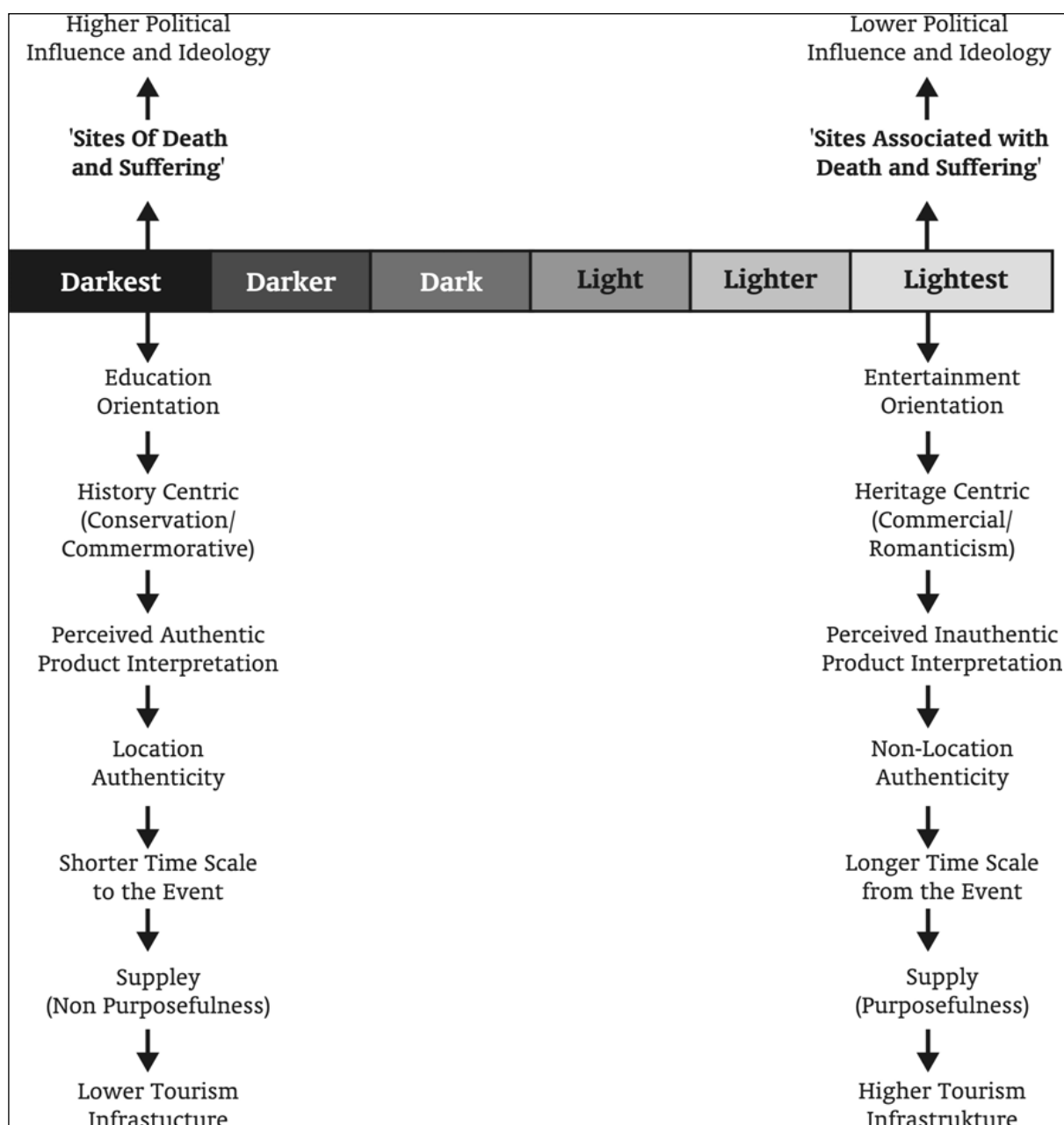
Figure 3.1: A Dark Tourism spectrum: perceived product features of Dark Tourism within a 'darkest-lightest' framework of supply (Stone, 2006: 151).

often at odds with the general habits of dress, deportment, visiting times and ancillary service demands of the tourism industry (ibid.: 10). This touches on the problem of how tragedy is presented in an acceptable and attractive environment and is what Tunbridge

and Ashworth (1996) have termed 'dissonant heritage'. This is an almost irreconcilable dilemma.

3.3 Battlefield Tourism and the idea of the 'Numinous'

Battlefield tourists are, like all other tourists, influenced by common motivational factors and the above review has described these. There is, however, a general lack of understanding of what deeply motivates tourists to heritage sites and this is particularly true of visitors to Dark Tourism sites including battlefields. One area of study which can illuminate this issue is the phenomenology of religion and this provides us with the tools for a more visceral approach to understanding what tourists experience at battlefield sites and thus what motivates their tourist behaviour.

As an introduction to this section a quote by the American General George S. Patton (1885-1945) on his visit to the American Civil War battlefield at Gettysburg (1863) is provided. Patton was still a cadet at West Point at the time and the experience of walking across the field in 1909 affected him deeply:

> This evening…I walked down alone to the scene of the last and
> fiercest struggle on Cemetery Hill. To get in a proper frame of
> mind I wandered through the cemetery and let the spirits of the
> dead thousands laid there in ordered rows sink deep into me. Then
> just as the son *[sic]* sank…I walked down to see the scene of
> Pickett's great charge and seated on a rock just where Olmstead
> and two of my great uncles died I watched the wonder of the day
> go out. The sunlight painted a dull red the fields over which the
> terrible advance was made and I could almost see them coming
> growing fewer and fewer while around and beyind *[sic]* me stood
> calmly the very cannon that had so punished them. There were
> some quail calling in the trees nearby and it seemed strange that
> they could do it where man had known his greatest and his last
> emotions. It was very wonderful and no one came to bother me. I
> drank it in until I was quite happy. A strange pleasure yet a very
> real one (George S. Patton, Jr *"The Patton Papers 1885-1940",*

(1972) Blumenson, M. (ed) (Boston/Houghton Mifflin Co.),

quoted in Linenthal, 1991: 116-117).

This is a most poignant experience for the young General and one which demonstrates that there is a certain element of spirituality about the experience of walking across the battlefield. There is a tangible sense of the past and for him it is as if the battle is being fought all around him. The transfusion of nature and undisturbed peace belies a strong *genius loci* and it is this sense of place which creates an atmosphere of vivid reality. The realism is enhanced by the brooding presence of cannon (whether they actually took part in the battle is immaterial as far as he is concerned) and there is a conflation of the sun's 'dull red' rays with the blood that was spilt on the very ground where he is standing. The experience is all the more moving in the light of what the reader might not know – that this was the site of what historians consider the pivotal part of the battle (the Pickett-Pettigrew Charge) which decided the fate of the day if not that of the Union itself (Linenthal, 1991).

What Patton was experiencing here was the deeply subjective state of mind known as the **numinous**. His experience is similar in many ways to that encountered by those engaged in religious devotion and the term was first used by the German Theologian Rudolf Otto (1869-1937). In his book *The Idea of the Holy* (1923) Otto draws on his observations of religious phenomena to describe a feeling of smallness in the face of a larger Being which he likened to a 'submergence into nothingness before an overpowering, absolute might of some kind' (Otto, 1923: 10). The word *numen* (in Latin literally 'a nod or beckoning from the gods') was used by the Romans to describe the power of the deity that was felt to be present in objects and places. It can be likened to the spiritual forces known to the Sioux as *wakan*, the Iroquois as *orenda*, the West Indians as *zemi* and to the Polynesians and Melanesians as *Mana* (Eliade, 1958; Keesing 1984). Mosse (1990) shows how in certain cultures the site of battle held an enduring sense of the supernatural and mystery surrounding the spirits of the dead. The Arctic Inuit avoided travelling across old battlefields in case they disturbed the *inua* or spirits of the deceased. Eliade describes this as 'that mysterious but active power which belongs to certain people, and generally to the souls of the dead and all spirits' (Eliade, 1958: 19). It is thus closely linked to the departed and by all accounts defies precise definition. It is a 'sacred presence' difficult to compare with anything else and as Otto remarked:

[It is] the 'wholly other', something which has no place in our scheme of reality but belongs to an absolutely different one, and which at the same time arouses an irrepressible interest in the mind (Otto, 1923: 29).

This almost contradictory statement that the numen is something we cannot comprehend in our rational beings yet is something we are drawn to is of singular importance in attempting to understand the unusual phenomena of Thanatourism. The latter both repels and attracts and is seemingly bi-polar in its affect on the actor. Otto described this paradox in terms of the *tremendum* and the *fascinans*. The former is the centrifugal 'force' that inspires dread and awe and tries to repel; the latter is the centripetal 'force' that attracts and enthrals and tries to invite. Dark Tourism sites are at once morbid but also irresistibly enticing to the visitor. An anthropological study of Otto's ideas by Oubré (1997) suggests that the numinous is distinctly human and integral to the separation of human consciousness from that of other animals of the higher orders. Oubré's contribution to the discourse is important since she was of the belief that the capacity for such transcendental thought lies latent in all human beings only to be awakened in certain experiences or contexts. Numinosity is thus not experienced by all in all situations but the capacity to experience the numen is dormant in all of us. Latham (2007: 258) has suggested certain criteria that need to be met to create this 'aesthetic transaction' which is centred on the experience and not on the object itself.

Within the numen there is a sense of **awfulness**– of tremor, awe, fear or standing aghast. It is what we might call 'eerie' or 'weird' which is beyond natural fear. Otto called this the mysterious beginning to 'loom before the mind, to touch the feelings' (Otto, 1923: 15). A second element is that of **overpoweringness** where the subject is struck by the 'wholly other' in astonishment. Otto describes the latter as 'beyond the sphere of the usual, the intelligible and the familiar…filling the mind with blank wonder and astonishment' (ibid.: 26). This has clear affinities with the concept of the Sublime (Kirwan, 2005) which describes something greater and more powerful than rational human experience.

Otto felt that the Numinous was attached to places like religious buildings and to this he gave the phrase '*mysterium tremendum*'. There is a sense of mystery to the experience and 'the feeling of it may at times come sweeping like a gentle tide, pervading the mind with a tranquil mood of deepest worship' (Otto, 1923: 12). Ballard has shown how the theory

draws heavily on silent forms of Christian worship and 'is a direct, but negative way through which the numinous communicates itself' (Ballard, 2000: 107). This leads one to consider the view that numinosity is enhanced and the experiences outlined above enriched by silence. The implication is that Patton was experiencing the battlefield undistracted by background noise and this is examined in more depth later in this study.

It would be misplaced to make direct parallels between the deeply felt experience of religious devotion and the feelings of those who visit heritage sites in general. That there are similarities has been investigated in the literature, however, although it would be prudent to suggest that there are *elements* of Otto's phenomenological theory in tourist experiences. The experience could be seen along a continuum where there are different degrees of intensity of the numinous determined by the circumstances and the object or place in question. This is explored in greater depth later in the thesis.

Maines and Glynn (1993) have examined the idea of the numinous in material culture and have commented:

> The "Numinosity" of an artefact or place, the intangible and
> invisible quality of its significance, consists in its presumed
> association with something, either in the past or in the
> imagination or both, that carries emotional weight with the
> viewer (Maines and Glynn, 1993: 10).

If there is a story behind an object then it has 'socio-cultural magic' and can provide a physical bridge with the past. An object retains its numinous potential as long as there is someone who remembers its association with a person, event or place. Once this is lost then the object becomes detached and the numinosity diminishes. A great collector of Numinous objects was the author Walter Scott (1771-1832) who filled his house in the Scottish Borders with such items as the cross carried by Mary Queen of Scots to her execution and Rob Roy's broadsword (The Abbotsford Trust, undated). If we did not know the story behind these artefacts then they might have a level of historical interest in themselves as representative of the time but be devoid of associative power. Their special associations adorn them with great emotional resonance and spiritual charm. When historic objects are damaged and fragmentary and can only be identified by accompanying documentary evidence then they are classed as relics which in the museum profession are

considered 'culturally *declassé*' (Maines and Glynn, 1993: 21). Many battlefield objects fall into this category. It should be stated that certain Numinous objects have personal significance only and are often simply the heirlooms of individual households. They are 'the *lares et penates* of civil religion' (ibid.: 11) although have only a limited contribution to make in terms of national importance.

The discussion has dwelt on material culture in quite some depth deliberately to underline the salient features of numinosity which are more commonly thought to reside in objects. These factors can, however, be transferred to places and Maines and Glynn (1993) have shown how battlefields can also retain elements of the numinous for those who fought in them and for those who have read about them. Imagination is a key element here and the numen of place can be an idea as well as an event. Places like battlefields can be powerful symbols of group identity (ibid.: 13) which retain special importance particularly for political groups. The site of the Battle of Bannockburn (1314) is used for the annual Scottish Nationalist Party rally (Pollard, 2007) and the site of Towton (1461) has been used by the ultra nationalist British People's Party for a commemorative ceremony (McNeil and Morrison, 2006). If battlefields have sparse associations or if the story is contested then the strength of numinosity can be diluted. Just as with objects those sites which have strong associations with a person, event or place can invoke a more dynamic spirit of numinosity. We know more about battlefields in the modern era than those in the distant past although as previously stated battlefields with more of a sense of mystery about them can provoke intense interest and curiosity (Piekarz, 2007a).

The most focussed study of the numen relating to battlefield visitation, however, has been presented in the work of Catherine Cameron and John Gatewood in their analysis of the experiences of tourists at heritage sites. Within three papers (Cameron and Gatewood, 2000, 2003; Gatewood and Cameron, 2004) the authors investigated the deeper and affective meanings that sites gave to visitors and the role of what they called 'numen-seeking'. The papers are particularly important to this study in being amongst the few analyses directly concerned with battlefield visitation (albeit within American culture and in increasing chronological importance) and provide a highly relevant methodological approach which will provide a backdrop to this research project. In their study of American Industrial Heritage (more precisely the legacy of the Pennsylvanian steel industry) the authors concluded 'that many people wanted to achieve a transcendental experience at a historic site' (Cameron and Gatewood, 2000: 125). This was more likely to

be achieved by the presentation of a personal story within the interpretation than in 'big' stories that focussed on technology and industrial production. This is of relevance to battlefields in that there are often highly moving accounts of individual acts of bravery and drama at such sites and the location of these is often to be seen on the ground. This might account for the sense of numinosity experienced at such sites rather than the details of military tactics or hardware which can be likened to the technological narrative in the above example. The study found that at least 27% of visitors were keen to seek a Numinous experience in their visits to historic sites and museums and 'numinous sites' were able to enhance visitor 'excitement and enthusiasm' (ibid.: 127).

The second study (Cameron and Gatewood, 2003) again concentrated on American Industrial heritage and sought to explore in more depth the 'numen-impulse' and the types of heritage attraction Americans preferred with reference to this idea. The study also looked at the 'desired experiences' of visitors and concluded that there were three main aspects to the impulse (ibid.: 67). Firstly, the experience of the numen led to a sense of *deep engagement and/or transcendence* which is reminiscent of Csíkszentmihályi's (1975) notion of flow. Secondly, there is a sense of *empathy* in that people engage with the thoughts, feelings and experiences of their forebears and actively wonder what it must have been like to have been in their positions. Thirdly, there is a deep sense of *awe* or *reverence* which is often imbued with religious language. People state that they are standing on 'sacred' or 'hallowed' ground, that they feel closeness with those from the past or even their presence. The latter indicated a desire to establish a personal connection with the 'people and spirit' of former times and one said that they wanted to take 'a mental sabbatical into the past' (ibid.: 62). There is the implication that the past is a different country and things are better there. Such visitors often say that they are on pilgrimage even if (on their own admission) they came as tourists (Walter, 1993:72). Overtones of Otto's study can clearly been seen here and the work provides a measure of empirical evidence for the presence of the numen. Cameron and Gatewood further acknowledge that sites of human suffering and sacrifice have very high potential for provoking a strong affective response and term these places sites of 'high numen' (ibid.: 67) although they do not enter into any discussion of Dark Tourism. They give examples of battlefields here but a full application of the theory to these sites had to await their final paper.

In the third paper (Gatewood and Cameron, 2004) the authors examine the reasons visitors give for visiting the Gettysburg National Military Park in Pennsylvania. The Battle of

Gettysburg (1- 3 July 1863) is seen by many historians as the turning point of the American Civil War (1861-65) and as the site of Lincoln's famous Address (19 November, 1863) is a site charged with cultural meaning and importance (Linenthal, 1991). The authors reported a high mean rating for the adjectives *meaningful, enriching, authentic* and *emotional* in their survey (ibid.: 201) and the site is highly numinous to many visitors. They identify three dimensions to the numinous at such sites: a deep engagement or transcendence, a sense of empathy and a feeling of awe or reverence. Sites of great human endurance, suffering and sacrifice are seen as more likely to induce the numinous and this is born out by comments from respondents. One subject reported how 'the ground resonates with the energy of the soldiers who died' and claimed that she prayed better when at the site (ibid.: 210). This sense of empathy with participants mirrors Ashworth and Hartmann's (2005) suggestion that with the management of atrocity sites people find it hard to fathom large numbers of victims but identify very strongly with individuals and their stories. Gatewood and Cameron's study shows how there is a close link between pilgrimage and numinosity and that the landscape was important in fostering a deeper appreciation of the events of the battle. The sense of realism was palpable and another respondent commented:

> Regardless of where you walk on the battlefield, I am very
> aware that I may be standing on the ground where men have
> spilled their blood or even died (ibid.: 211).

The authors come to the conclusion that many visitors have transcendental experiences whilst they are at the site and that the emotional power of the site has not diminished over the *longue durée*. In addition it is clear that one does not have to have a personal tie with the men who fought there in order to be affected by the site. The site has a distinctive script in that the history of the campaign is personalised and there is an emphasis on the "small stories" – the soldiers' diaries and letters home and the privations of the men in the field. This human touch chimes with the findings above (Cameron and Gatewood, 2000) that the stories of ordinary people in ordinary circumstances can greatly enhance the numinosity of a site. The paper is of great importance in trying to understand the numinous at battlefields and the authors utilized a numen-seeking scale (ibid.: 214, footnote 5) and this was used to form the basis for a question in my survey (Appendix A).

3.4 Authenticity

In investigating the meanings attached to battlefield sites the concept of authenticity is predicted as an important issue. A brief overview of the theories surrounding authenticity is therefore given here. The origins of the concept of authenticity lie in the museum where objects are judged by experts to be what they appear to be and 'therefore worth the price that is asked for them' (Trilling, 1972). This has been transferred to tourism where 'authenticity connotes traditional culture and origin, a sense of the genuine, the real or the unique' (Sharpley, 1994: 130). Indeed MacCannell (1999) was of the opinion that the primary motivation for the tourist was in the search for authenticity as a counterbalance to an inauthentic world. Selwyn (1996) recognises a bifurcation of tourist experience into that of the 'real world' and 'authenticity as knowledge' ('cool' authenticity) and the 'real self' which he terms 'authenticity of feeling' ('hot' authenticity). This would suggest that authenticity is a complex and multi-faceted issue with a difference between the authenticity of experiences and that of 'toured objects'.

The most seminal examination of authenticity and tourism has been given by Wang (1999) who has suggested that there are three different dimensions to the concept: Objective, Constructive and Existential Authenticity. *Objective Authenticity* relates to the acknowledgement of toured objects in a museum context as authentic. There is therefore such a thing as true authenticity and definitive criteria by which we can measure it. Scholars have challenged the feasibility of this, however, in suggesting that nothing is authentic anyway since all is in constant flux (for example, Urry, 2011). Objectivity is further challenged in that objects which are not authentic can be imbued with this quality by methods of social construction such as showcasing by heritage professionals (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1999) and this is defined as *Constructive Authenticity.* Wang thought that most tourists experience authenticity through such mediation and the phenomenon of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1999) which is the 'pseudo-event' aimed at satisfying tourists' needs through simulated reality (Boorstin, 1964). This echoes Eco's (1986) thesis that our past is now preserved and celebrated by full-scale authentic copies better than the original and our desire is for these superior reproductions. Constructive Authenticity postulates that there is no such thing as real authenticity and the tourist experience is subject to the *projections* of the individual's 'beliefs, expectations, preferences, stereotyped images and consciousness onto toured objects' (Wang, 1999: 355). This indicates a very fluid relationship between 'real' and 'false'. Authenticity is

consequently within the view of the beholder and cannot therefore be challenged by institutionalised or hegemonic discourse.

Existential Authenticity is the continuation of Wang's argument in that authenticity is not something 'out there' but something which lies within. This 'denotes a special state of Being in which one is true to oneself' (Wang, 1999: 358) and opens up a wide range of definitional and interpretational possibilities. It suggests that people can have different contextual understandings of authenticity and that they can achieve an authentic experience through relationships with others in tourist settings (Pearce and Moscardo, 1986). Wang contends that tourism could be seen as just a way of bringing people together to provide a fertile environment for the development of authentic inter-personal relationships. Authenticity is thus 'activated' by tourist experience regardless of whether toured objects are authentic or not. Tourists are thus more interested in seeking their 'authentic selves' than authenticity of toured objects (Wang, 1999: 360).

Wang's postmodern deconstruction of authenticity has important implications for this study especially with regard to re-enactments. If the latter are seen by tourists as toured objects (spectacles) then they are judged according to objectivity. Their authenticity would therefore be in whether they are an accurate re-enactment of the battle. If they are seen as a tourist activity, however, then their authenticity is judged through the prism of an Existential interpretation which has nothing to do with their reliability as re-enactments. This is an important distinction which is revisited in Chapter 8.

The main criticism of Wang's thesis is that if 'perception is reality' then there is no fixed definition of authenticity. Authenticity is hereby reduced to a subjective judgment on quality of experience so that essentially anything could be seen as 'authentic'. The danger of this is that, 'if everything is described as authentic, nothing will be seen as authentic' (Barrow, 2008).

3.5 Pilgrimage and Tourism to Battlefield Sites

In its most fundamental sense pilgrimage can be defined as a spiritually motivated journey or search of great moral and existential significance. It is prevalent in all civilizations and is closely linked to religious practice. It has clearly delineated itineraries, rituals and

temporal foci being directed through movement to nodal points by way of linear routes. The context in which the word is used, however, has expanded beyond an initial sacral usage and can now embrace secular activities such as visits to the homes of deceased rock stars and iconic football grounds (Reader and Walter, 1993). Its basic traits have nevertheless remained the same in that it is a journey with a deep and intense personal meaning to the participant which often brings about a renewed insight or revelatory metamorphosis. Pilgrimage is a key element of modernist secular religion and is used as a vehicle for seeking out meaning and authenticity where traditional religion has failed.

The long history of the attraction of places associated with death as pilgrimage sites has already been touched upon and as Reader has commented:

> …tragedy, disruption, death and the images of death, along
> with the heroes and saintly figures associated with these
> issues, are key elements in the development of pilgrimage sites
> and cultures (Reader, 1993: 2).

The morbidity of warfare has resulted in a strong desire for those who are suitably motivated to visit the 'black spots' associated with conflict and this was a powerful factor in the growth of battlefield and cemetery pilgrimages particularly after the First World War. Lloyd (1998) shows how organisations such as the Society of Saint Barnabas took parties of relatives and veterans to many places connected with the war from the 1920s onwards. Such activity persists in the offerings of contemporary Tour Operators who are willing to locate graves and places associated with relatives who fought in battle as part of their 'packages'.

In his study of the impact of the First World War, Mosse (1990) has argued that *memory* is the basis for all battlefield pilgrimage and it serves a healthy purpose to give the war meaning and 'to make an inherently unpalatable past acceptable…' (ibid.: 7). The idea has been developed by Walter (1993) who sees battlefield pilgrimage as a way of creating order out of chaos and providing for veterans at least a sense of release from a duty done and performed. It is a means of providing a 'regulated emotional catharsis' (Walter, 1993: 82) through ritual (e.g. the leaving of flowers, the Last Post) and an attempt to provide a sense of perspective if not closure on painful memories. It is also a dynamic way of enhancing the more positive aspects of warfare such as camaraderie, duty and honour

amongst friends many of whom are long gone. Walter argues that this draws heavily upon Durkheim's 'mechanical solidarity' idea where common experience and co-operation creates tight inter-personal bonds (ibid.: 80).

Echoes of Stone and Sharpley's (2008) argument relating to ontological security are clear here in that the sting is taken out of death on the battlefield and the pilgrim's personal experience is put on a new and refreshing footing. As Reader has commented:

> Pilgrimage…reiterates the continued existence and
> importance of the dead…they continue to be significant for
> the living: their sacrifice, indeed, their lives, have not been
> in vain (Reader, 1993: 20).

Shaw (2002: 78) has argued that pilgrimage is nourished by the experience of trauma and recalls Freud's ideas on the 'organisation of negative experience' whereby there is a 'dalliance with the death instinct'. In his study of Waterloo (1815) in Belgium he has shown how this organisation of death into predictable patterns furnished the nation state in the nineteenth century with an illusion of mastery at a time of imperial advancement. Thus private pilgrimage is used for public gain through collective memorisation.

But if memory is the foundation of pilgrimage then certain questions have to be raised about battlefields which are beyond human memory. If battlefields have lost their associations with people and events and their 'stories' are opaque or even obscure, then does this mean that they are outside the orbit of interest of pilgrims? The discussion above has demonstrated how important pilgrimage is to sites within living and 'raw' memory and their personal links. But forms of visitation are still made to battlefields outside of human memory and as MacCannell (1999) has propounded, tourism is simply a form of contemporary pilgrimage. Both share common factors in that they both involve motion – what Turner and Turner (1978: xiii) describe as 'kinetic ritual'- and non-ordinary experience. Graburn (1989) thinks tourism is a form of 'sacred journey' where there is a quest towards seeking more completeness and cultural identity and also the desire to open doors to a better world. This contrasts the ordinary/compulsory work life spent 'at home' with the non-ordinary/voluntary sacred state enjoyed 'away from home' (Graburn, 1989: 25). Stemming from Durkheim's notions of the sacred Graburn's theory is a refraction of earlier ideas relating to polarity of experience and optimal arousal. The latter are a potent

force in human motivation as outlined earlier and echo Berlyne's (1962) proposal that all human life attempts to maintain a desired level of arousal and seeks 'artificial sources of stimulation…to make up for shortcomings of their environment' (ibid.: 170). There are thus parallels with the basic definitions of pilgrimage and indeed Turner and Turner (1978:20) acknowledged that 'a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist'.

This would suggest that 'pilgrims' are not necessarily those who have a direct personal connection with a site and the label in post-modern society is more about attitude and motivation than spiritual or existential awareness. In his analysis of post First World War pilgrims Lloyd (1998) found evidence of both tourists and pilgrims at the sites of battles and even at cemeteries. Linenthal (1991) has shown how both types of visitors are present at American battlefield sites. He demonstrates how some come as tourists in a *ludic* frame of mind yet experience pilgrimistic feelings for at least some of their time at the sites. This is evidenced by the religious language used by visitors to battlefields and is very well illustrated by the words of one tourist to the site of the Battle of the Little Big Horn (1876) in 1957:

> I remained alone at the 'monument', memories flooded my
> mind…I thought of another bleak and barren hill…and of a
> MAN who stood there long, long ago – His garments
> stripped from his body. I thought of an old parable: 'Take
> the shoes from off thy feet – you stand on sacred ground'
> (J.R. Kelly, quoted in Linenthal, 1991: 4).

This would seem to give further credence to the comment of Turner and Turner quoted above about how tourists are half pilgrims and vice versa.

The battlefield literature is imbued with such sacral language and the title of Linenthal's book underlines this point. That such vocabulary adds to a battlefield's importance as sacred space has been demonstrated by Seaton (1999) in his application of the 'site sacralisation' model to Waterloo. Battlefields are 'marked' through various processes of enhancement and the use of sacral language is part of the 'Framing and Enhancement' of place which gives previously innocuous parcels of land the status of shrines (Chapter 4). This is well illustrated by the words of President Lincoln in his address before the Union graves at Gettysburg in November 1863:

> In a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot
>
> consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave
>
> men living and dead who struggled here have
>
> consecrated it far above our power to add or detract
>
> (quoted in Lloyd, 1998: 22).

In Lincoln's mind the soil itself is sanctified automatically by virtue of the immense sacrifice that took place there and not by any exiguous human agent.

The appropriation of battlefield sites by tourists and pilgrims can create tensions, however. Mosse (1990) contests that in the case of World War One the former trivialised the sacrifice in the same way as its representation in popular theatre or everyday objects such as souvenirs or bric-a-brac. Mosse cites the German novelist Ernst Glasser who referred to 'a thriving battlefield industry' (Mosse, 1990: 154) and relates how after the war battlefields were sanitised and 'cleaned up' for the tourists. The scars of war were hidden and memory re-aligned and pacified. He sees a palpable difference between true pilgrims to battlefield sites and tourists whose behaviour and demands are offensive to veterans who retain sense of ownership of the sites. In *Journey to the Western Front Twenty Years After* R.H. Mottram commented:

> Our war, the war that seemed the special possession
>
> of those of us who are growing middle-aged is being
>
> turned by time and change into something fabulous,
>
> misunderstood and made romantic by distance
>
> (Mottram, 1936: 44).

This does go against the unity of experience of the tourist and pilgrim as described above although this is the case of a battlefield (for him) within living memory. It still, however, demonstrates the dichotomy present in the interpretation and understanding of battlefields. This will be covered more fully in the next section although what has been uncovered here is the contested nature of this space (Mottram speaks of the abstract war but the *spaces* of conflict are also being alluded to). There is something personal about the author's war and it is as if it is being lost by the unstoppable forces of change to appease the needs of the curious. A certain 'land of lost content' is being repackaged for the masses.

That battlefields arouse differing emotions and reactions amongst visitors has been evidenced by two pieces of research undertaken by Seaton (2000) and Iles (2008). In the former the author shows how battlefield tourists are driven more by *meaning* than *motivation*. These meanings are different for differing groups of tourists and the study highlighted the complex variety of discursive fields which battlefields manufacture. These range from those surrounding the human story and actions of individuals through to the more 'technical' interests of hobbyists who attach a high value to military units, tactics, armaments and uniforms. Seaton demonstrates how battlefields are structured by a process of 'symbolic coding' and this will be revisited later in the discussion about interpretation. In addition he makes an important contribution to the debate himself in developing the theory of Timothy and Boyd (2003) that Heritage is the modern day use of the past and demonstrates that this is reflected in battlefield tourism. Seaton's overall message is that battlefields are 'more multi-generative than many other kinds of tourist landscape' (Seaton, 2000: 75) which upturns MacCannell's (1999) idea of an almost generic species of tourist seeking the 'other'. Battlefields are polyvocal (Ryan, 2007a) and speak in different ways to different visitors under different circumstances. This multilayered array of meanings is also reflected in the physical remains of the battlefield sites themselves. Saunders (2001) has shown how visitors to battlefield landscapes engage with them in different ways and sometimes experience a sense of belonging. All landscapes undergo change and battlefields rarely leave tangible remains. They are constantly open to renewed interpretation and shifting alignments of value and meaning. Bender has described the Western Front as 'something political, dynamic, and contested, something constantly open to renegotiation' (Bender, 1993: 276). The current debate over preservation of Britain's forgotten battlefields brings conservation issues into sharp focus which is a further example of this controversy and contestation (Copping, 2009; English Heritage, 2010). Seaton has thus demonstrated how visitors to such sites have a plurality of meanings and this can also be seen in the attitude of individuals and society in general to the landscape of battlefield sites.

The preponderance of meaning in the tourist visit is further emphasised by Iles (2008) who again in relation to the Western Front shows how the empathetic and imaginative is a powerful aspect of experience. She underlines the idea that tourism is a performance in itself and a visit to a war-site 'is not so much a desire to sight-see but rather a wish to identify and empathise with its symbolic, commemorative spaces' (ibid.: 140). This again

moves away from the tourist 'gaze' in that with this special form of tourism the experience is a profound one and more than simply 'looking' at something. Iles quotes the poet Edmund Blunden who describes the 'peculiar grace' of these spaces (ibid.: 151) which might again hint at the transcendental experience of the numen. As with Seaton, she highlights the need for such sites to be decoded and reiterates the idea that the battlefields of the Great War contain within them an overarching value system which instructs the present as much as being part of the distant past.

The literature connected with this section has shown how there is a great range of meaning attached to sites of conflict from both a pilgrimage and tourism angle. The multilayered nature of battlefield sites presents great challenges to the way they are interpreted and this is now examined.

3.6 Interpretation of battlefield sites

Any discussion of the theory of interpretation in the heritage sector must have as its starting point the work of Freeman Tilden who in *Interpreting Our Heritage* (1977) provided a clear and pragmatic assessment of the very essence of the subject. To Tilden interpretation was:

> An educational activity which aims to reveal
> meanings and relationships through the use of
> original objects, by firsthand experience, and by
> illustrative media, rather then simply to communicate
> factual information. [It should reveal] a larger truth
> which lies behind any statement of fact [and should]
> capitalize…curiosity for the enrichment of the human
> mind and spirit (Tilden, 1977: 8).

Good interpretation can bring an artefact or place alive and add to the value of any visit. According to Beck and Cable (2002) interpretation is 'a process...by which visitors see, learn, experience, and are inspired firsthand'. Battlefields can be particularly effective subjects for interpretation as 'original objects' of unparalleled value although as Piekarz

(2007a) has shown in the case of England this has been done with varying levels of success.

Tilden drew up six principles for interpretation and it is worth summarizing these in full:

1. Interpretation must relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor
2. Information is not interpretation although all interpretation includes information
3. Interpretation is an art
4. The main aim of interpretation is not instruction but provocation
5. It must present a whole rather than a part and address 'the whole man rather than any phase'
6. Interpretation for children should follow a different approach and not just be adapted from an adult programme (Tilden, 1977: 9).

The above are of great importance to the study of battlefields as tourist sites. Battles are places of great action and drama which often bring out human qualities deserving the highest respect. They appeal to our sense of loyalty, courage, heroism and sacrifice as well as fear, cowardice, cruelty and dishonour. The first principle is therefore particularly powerful in the interpretation of battlefields in that they appeal to very human and personal instincts. One cannot help but ask the question 'what would we have done under the circumstances?' and this takes on a greater resonance actually at the site itself. At the Battle of Killiecrankie (1689) a Government soldier leapt 18 feet across the River Garry to escape Jacobite troops who were chasing him from the field. The Soldier's Leap provides a potent connection with our human instincts and appeals to a sense of physical challenge and courage. A similar sentiment is aroused in the everyday lives of soldiers and their circumstances (Dunn, 1988) and this is a pivotal aspect of First World War interpretation. This is reflective of Cameron and Gatewood's (2003) assertion that the public seek the Numinous in their appreciation of heritage sites and that successful interpretation should emphasise the personal and affective rather than the didactic. In addition there is evidence that visitors stay longer and understand exhibitions better if there are emotion-eliciting exhibits on display (Moscardo, 1988) and this is often a feature of human interest stories.

The second principle is also relevant here in that battlefields lend themselves to a level of meaning beyond just raw facts. In speaking of battlefields Walter Scott commented, 'We prefer knowledge of mankind rather than a mere acquaintance with their actions'

(Introduction to *Froissart,* quoted in Tilden, 1977: 18). A deeper means of interpreting the site can be found in analogies, parables, pictures or metaphors to 'incarnate the facts' (ibid.: 18). The why, how and what of the story is important and Tilden demonstrated how the interpretation of the American Civil War battlefield sites moved from raw facts to a more human story as the first centenary was reached (see also Linenthal, 1991).

Perhaps the most enlightening issue in interpreting battlefields is the fourth principle which suggests that these 'dark spots' can be used to provoke deep thought and reflection. This is what Tilden described as the 'sylvan path towards reverence and understanding' (ibid.: 34). Interpretation should widen one's horizons and provide stimulation to greater knowledge and enjoyment. Modern battlefields have been used to elicit respect for the fallen and promote the cause of peace and this is the subject of the next section. Uzzell (1989) has, however, called for a more realistic approach to the interpretation of conflict and asserts that it 'has to be shocking, moving and provide a cathartic experience' (Uzzell, 1989: 46) in order to facilitate learning. This is a wholly different interpretation of the above principle in that 'provocation' can also be seen as a willingness to present a candid picture of 'the more shameful events of our past' (ibid.: 46) and eschew the nannyish sanitisation of 'difficult' heritage. This 'Hot' interpretation would not be acceptable to those who want to provide family experiences or an acceptable censorship of violence and horror in the face of societal norms. Purbrick, Aulich and Dawson (2007) have, however, argued in their analysis of contested spaces that sites of conflict are 'in anthropological terms contaminated' (ibid.: 2) and it is inevitable that they will remain painful and difficult to live with. This mirrors Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) 'dissonant heritage' conundrum in that embarrassing heritage is a highly problematic area in the science of interpretation. Uzzell's idea of 'Hot' provocation in heritage interpretation has been taken to its limits with the phenomenon of Hot War Tourism (also known as 'terror' or 'testosterone' tourism) outlined by Piekarz (2007b). Although not underwritten by any from of interpretation policy or structure there is a growing interest in visiting war zones and even being present at battles as they are fought. These tourists have been described by Lennon and Foley as 'the vanguard of dark tourism' (Lennon and Foley, 2000) and tend to follow a continuum from military personnel in an area through to peacekeeping forces, aid workers, business travellers looking for new markets to thrill seeking travellers. This raises the question as to whether the tourist industry should respond to a new area of demand and set up structures accordingly which would include interpretation. For sites within the living memory of participants and not protected by what Lennon and Foley (2000) have

termed the 'chronology of distance' this would have to be handled particularly sensitively if at all. It is questionable whether this is the provocative 'sylvan path towards reverence and understanding' that Tilden had in mind and Logan and Reeves (2009) counsel whether opening up the past is the best way of stimulating healing at all with sites of 'difficult heritage'. Their point is bolstered by the fact that:

> [psychologically] memory for traumatic and highly
> emotional negative events tends to be reasonably
> accurate and better retained over time than is
> memory of more routine experiences (Goodman,
> G.S. and Paz-Alonso, P.M., 2006, quoted in Logan
> and Reeves, 2009).

The challenge of interpretation is particularly marked with regard to sites of conflict and many of the methods at the disposal of the wider heritage sector are clearly inappropriate. Interpretation that provokes has to be cognizant of the above facts with modern battlefields (such as the Falklands) in that 'memories do not just fade away with the logic of linear time, regardless of assurances that time heals' (Purbrick, Aulich and Dawson, 2007: 8).

The fifth principle that interpretation should be eclectic in its approach has taken on a new meaning in battlefield tourism with the holistic approach to the visitor experience seen at such sites as Bosworth (1485). Here a battlefield Heritage Centre and Country Park with retail and catering provision is aimed at providing an experience for the 'whole man' (http://www.bosworthbattlefield.com/).

Leopold (2007) has argued that interpretation at battlefield sites has to be provided because some sites are unable to 'speak for themselves' and that there is a 'responsibility to society to present a socially acceptable and suitable meaning' (ibid.: 51). Some sites have hidden meanings and need some degree of explanation in the light of changes to their topographical setting (Carman and Carman, 2006). She also suggests that the manager of the site is key in providing effective interpretation and has a powerful position as mediator in what is or is not included. Such 'cultural brokers' (Cohen, 1985) have immense power in the choreography of tourist experience. The manager has to arbitrate in the competing claims of stakeholders including community and public sector interests. In some sites of contention this has been an extremely difficult issue in that the voice of the perpetrator

becomes particularly strong and this might be distasteful in the presentation of embarrassing heritage (Logan and Reeves, 2009). Leopold's views are reinforced by Ryan (2007a) who believes that managers affect the experience by what they say or do not say and how they crucially manipulate space. They 'direct the tourist gaze' and play a major part in 'framing the site' (ibid.: 3). In this case is it for the visitor to question or not this 'framing'? The paradoxical use of silence is a salient point and the book edited by Ryan (2007a) is apt to showcase 'Acts of Silence'. What is not said is as important as what is in interpretation. In the context of battlefields in general history is written by the winners and as Ryan has commented:

> Interpretations are acts, and acts are staged stories:
> they are the performance of wisdoms, cultures,
> perceived truths; they are selections from stories, for
> some stories are not performed; they are silenced, but
> their very non-statement is a legitimisation of that
> which is articulated (Ryan, 2007a: 8-9).

The implication is clear that a silence can be just as powerful as an 'articulation' and this is an important point in how battlefields are interpreted through the interstices of politics and history. Much 'difficult' heritage is surrounded by the conspiracy of 'collective amnesia' (Fengqi, 2009) and this is no different from battlefield interpretation either. This feeds on the elevation of the dominant myths and structures of society supported by power relations and the need to suppress indigenous people previously marginalised. An example of this is the defeat of the New Zealand Maoris by the Colonial Government at Rangiriri (1863) the interpretation of which has been distorted by such corporate forgetfulness which further underlines the point that the present so often dictates the past (Ryan, 2007b). Memory is, however, a double edged sword and the interpretation of battlefields can be shaped by the collective force of memory in a most powerful way. In his analysis of World War One Fussell (2000) shows how literary activity maintained a particular image of the war in collective memory and as an historic experience and the theme is continued by Winter (1998; 2006) who shows how 'collective remembrance' of war was perpetuated in a variety of 'theatres of memory'. These provide a backdrop to the cultural embedding of battlefield 'truths' which are reminiscent of Seaton's (1999) discussion of the 'site sacralisation' model in battlefield tourism (Chapter 4).

Seaton (2000) and Iles (2008) have shown how important the tour guide is in directing and influencing the interpretation of battlefield sites. They both assert that battlefields are symbolically coded and that guides are used to decode meaning. Iles makes the interesting point that tourists on coach tours are manipulated by an area of 'enclavic space' (the coach) and are a captive audience for the tour guide who can 'direct the gaze' (Iles, 2008: 146). Their experiences are thus managed and regulated and the choice of where to go is naturally in the hands of the guides themselves. The script is highly relevant also and can differ from one guide to the next particularly in terms of omission or emphasis. In this case there is a highly selective interpretation of the battlefield site governed by a number of factors outside the control of the tourists themselves. The prominence of the tour guide is also examined by Fine and Haskell (1985) who have shown how the 'site sacralisation' process is accentuated by the oral commentary of guides at heritage sites. Shaw (2002) has described how early tourists to Waterloo were influenced by tour guides in how the site was presented and interpreted. The role of actual survivors from atrocities as tour guides has been outlined by Uzzell (1989) who sees it as a powerful aspect of 'Hot' interpretation citing the case of the village of Oradour-sur-Glane destroyed by the Nazis in 1944 (Farmer, 2000). But perhaps the best example of how the experience of tourists has been choreographed is given by Holguín (2005) in an examination of battlefield tourism in Spain during the Civil War (1936-39). In an attempt to off-set international criticism and regain some measure of acceptance the Nationalist Government invited tourists to visit civil war battle sites during the war itself (albeit those battles which had been fought and were now behind the front line). As Holguín remarks, 'Spain became the first nation to use tourism *during* wartime to stabilize a national identity that was currently in flux' (ibid.: 1425). The tour guide was of paramount importance here and the scripts which accompanied these *Rutas de Guerra* were instrumental in imbuing sites with a quasi-mythical and heroic quality which under any other name would be called propaganda. Tourism was being used here to 'limit the undesirable interpretations of contested grounds' (ibid.: 1426) and the guide was a key player in ensuring this.

Another popular tool in the interpretation of battlefields is re-enactment either on the actual site itself or nearby (McCalman and Pickering, 2010). This is a particularly spectacular way of inspiring an audience without having to rely on plain narrative and is a powerful means of widening the message to include a younger audience (Tilden's sixth principle). If access to the past only occurs in the present then re-enactment can 'bring to life' events out of living memory. Linenthal (1991) relates how the re-enactment of parts

of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1988 led to a deepening appreciation of history amongst the audience. He quotes one participant as saying, 'I felt the collapse of time – as if I was there' and another felt that the spectacle, 'gives you an even greater respect for those men who really endured it...' (Linenthal, 1991: 101). The art of re-enactment is taken very seriously by those who perform it even down to the details of clothing worn, weapons used and tactical formations adopted (Horwitz, 1998). Re-enactment has a crucial role in satisfying the pivotal educational role of interpretation although it is a decidedly sanitised representation of history and at odds with Uzell's (1989) 'Hot' interpretation. Its critics see it as at worst an insult to the memory of the fallen and at best a romanticised entertainment and 'Disneyfication' of the true story of the battlefield. As has been explained Stone (2006) regards this type of interpretative activity as 'lightening' a battlefield site on his dark to light scale of Dark Tourism attractions. Re-enactment can also result in a distortion of history and its meanings (Hobsbawn, 1998) and even desensitize viewers from the violence of the battlefield as outlined by Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) in their analysis of atrocity tourism. It is perhaps more acceptable to those sites 'cooler' in time but does raise questions about the suitability of mixing the sacred and the profane. All landscapes are 'repositories of the past, holding history in their contours and textures' (Dorrian and Rose, *Deterritorialisation* (2003) quoted in Purbrick, Aulich and Dawson, 2007: 17). For this reason re-enactment has to be conducted in a sensitive and respectful manner if at the site of the battle itself.

3.7 Battlefields: controversies of interpretation and towards a force for peace and reconciliation

Battlefields are 'uniquely defined social spaces' (Pollard, 2007) and it has already been demonstrated how their meanings are multilayered, polyvocal and highly contested. Conceived in political strife battlefields continue to arouse controversy in interpretation and this is no clearer demonstrated than in their re-appropriation by political groups and the interests of nationhood. Allcock (1993) has shown how the Battle of Kosovo (1389) gained renewed importance in the late twentieth century having been a cultic site in the earlier part of that century when the Serbian nation was a discrete entity. With renewed nationalistic vigour the site is now an important shrine again and 600,000 people attended the 600th anniversary in 1989 (ibid.: 171).

Pollard (2007) argues that the burial of the dead and memorialisation can become the focus for nationalistic politics and cites the case of the site of the Battle of Islandwana (1879) in South Africa where there was tension between the rival ANC and Inkatha agendas. The ethical tensions over winners and losers has been aptly described by Fraser and Brown (2007) who relate how during the excavation of a Western Front burial the television company who had sponsored the 'dig' were only interested in filming the exhumation of the British soldiers. German remains at the site were not mentioned in what the authors suspected was a pandering to clichéd interpretations of the war from a British perspective and to suit the tastes and expectations of the home television audience. The old trope 'futility of war' did not in this case include the losing side which again demonstrates how battlefields can be used for often less honourable purposes.

However there are many cases in the literature where battlefields sites have been used as tools for the healing of old wounds and as a positive force for peace and reconciliation. Linenthal (1991) describes how the Gettysburg Peace Celebration Commission was set up to 'unite all aspects of our community's life in the search for peace' (ibid.: 102). In 1988 a memorial was unveiled at the site at which the scientist Carl Sagan urged the nations of the world to emulate the spirit of reconciliation which had been experienced between combatants of both sides in the 1913 veterans meeting. Sagan stated that this was 'not after the carnage and mass murder, but instead of the carnage and mass murder' (ibid.: 102). More bizarrely the accompanying re-enactment of the famous Pickett-Pettigrew Charge resulted in re-enactors walking across the actual ground on which it had taken place and shaking hands as they met. This spirit of peace was also present at the commemoration of the Battle of the Alamo (1836) in 1988 when one Texas historian remarked:

> We should not see the Alamo in terms of the
> ethnicity of the participants. It is not a symbol of
> Anglo-American superiority nor of Mexican defeat.
> Brave men from many nations fought on both sides
> of these walls. We should, we must, see the Alamo
> battle in terms of the cause for which each side
> fought…(T.R. Fehrenbach, quoted in Linenthal,
> 1991: 74).

The above directly addressed the ethno-racial tensions beneath the surface in American society and peace is requested through the sobering thought that all fought believing in a cause. This should engender mutual respect and not hatred for these combatants. The voices of the defeated are increasingly being heard and German cemeteries are now visited by tourists to the Western Front in France and Belgium in much the same way that allied graves have been.[16] Daugberg (2009) has shown how the interpretation of the battlefield site of Dybbøl (1864) in Denmark is being changed from its original nationalistic image of a heroic stand against impossible odds to one of 'pacification'. The site is being given qualities of humanitarianism and links to the modern idea of 'peacekeeping' which reflect the country's wider role in global conflict. The first two delegates of the newly founded Red Cross were present at the battle and a Red Cross museum is planned. The shifting interpretations of battlefields is clear and the fact that they are constantly being reworked and engaged in anew is what makes them highly stimulating social phenomena.

Examples of sites which have very raw contemporary meanings are given by Ferguson (2008) in her study of the Battles of the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691) in the Republic of Ireland. The battles were significant in the dynastic struggles of the late seventeenth century and were effectively part of wider religious conflicts between Catholics and Protestants at the time. They are regarded as 'orphaned heritage' (Price, 2005) where the heritage of a nation exists in a foreign territory and its management is beyond the control of those who have a vested interest in it (in this case the Protestant community of Northern Ireland). The sites have traditionally been neglected in the Republic as part of 'English' history where Celtic remains have been given prominence. As with World War One sites (Price, 2005) the owners were often 'passively disinterested' and sometimes active in their destruction (Ferguson, 2008: 85). In a critique of Price's terminology Ferguson prefers to use the phrase 'detached heritage' in that the communities are not only physically separated from their heritage but emotionally too (ibid.: 86). She outlines the inherent danger in removing highly contentious battlefield sites from their charged past by process of interpretation and presentation and how this can further fuel 'myth and mistrust' (ibid.: 92) which in the case of the political background to these sites is highly contentious.

It is nevertheless within this context that the Boyne site was re-fashioned as a place of symbolism and understanding when it was chosen as the first meeting place for the DUP politician Ian Paisley and the Irish Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Berty Ahern in 2008

---

[16] Private discussion with Ypres Tour Guide, Belgium, March 2009.

(Ferguson, 2008; Fleming, 2008). Effectively the modern representatives of the two warring sides at the battle, the two politicians met at a site which was used as 'a rallying point of reconciliation' (Ferguson, 2008: 89). A Peace Garden has now been included in the new Visitors Centre and although sensitive interpretation needs to be adopted the site has in some ways been neutralised if not defused of its contention. That battlefield sites can be used as foci for peace and reconciliation is part of a wider trend in war museum policy which has mainly shifted from a glorious portrayal of war to one of emphasis on suffering and the negative effects of war. This is what Ashworth and Hartmann (2005: 14) have termed the extension from 'lest we forget' to 'never again' although little is known about how this has been received by visitors.

Any attempt to negotiate through the difficulties of 'dissonant heritage' at battlefield sites must acknowledge what Utley (1991: X) has called their 'symbolic possession' by competing and often conflicting interests. He suggests that such struggles are inevitable and should be anticipated as they are effectively controversies over interpretation. Indeed he sees them as a healthy symptom of democracy and the plurality of opinion which has positive social functions. No single point of view should be allowed to prevail within this discourse in that 'in a democracy there should be no prescribed orthodoxies' (ibid.: XI). If this can be achieved then battlefields can be positive forces for reflection and instruction, ultimately for the good of all.

3. 8. Definitions

Any study of battlefields has to navigate through the varied and often confusing shoals of definition. Historic Scotland defines a battlefield as:

> the area of land over which a battle was fought and significant
> related activities occurred. A battle is an engagement involving
> wholly or largely military forces that had the aim of inflicting
> lethal force against an opposing army (Historic Scotland, 2009:
> 29).

This might appear a broad definition although the English Heritage Register of Historic Battlefields lists just 43 out of an initial assessment of 69 sites (English Heritage, undated)

and the Historic Scotland Inventory of Battlefields has only 30 entries (Historic Scotland, undated). Raynor (2004) includes skirmishes and sieges in his account of English battlefields and includes the Gordon Riots (1780) and the curious 'Battle' of Bossenden Wood (1838) in Kent where there were only eleven casualties. He includes sea battles where more than one ship took part (although for the purposes of visitation this does pose clear problems) and like Smurthwaite (1984) includes the Battle of Britain. He excludes the Blitz which is nevertheless included by Holmes (1997). In listing battlefield sites for conservation reasons the definitions are selective and fail to provide adequate consideration for the hundreds of historically important battlefield sites in the UK. Topographical approaches provide a spatially delineated definition of such sites and Carman and Carman (2006) view battlefields as the area from which soldiers from armies gathered to fight within an area with 'four edges'. This 'boundedness' does limit conflicts fought after 1900 outside of the UK, however, which tended to range over a wider area than previous actions.

Another consideration is the cultural importance of conflicts many of which would not be viewed as battlefields at all. In the Scottish Highlands clan battles were really more like skirmishes and the notorious Battle of the Braes on Skye was a scuffle between discontented crofters and the authorities in the 'Crofters Wars' of the 1880s. For the latter MacSween (2001) thinks that the analogy is more like the Miners Strike than Waterloo. Nevertheless these examples were prominent in local and national consciousness and have more significance than larger more accepted battles.

A wider definition is provided by Prideaux (2007) who introduces the concept of the 'battle-less battlefield' where conflict was avoided but sites of potentiality remain. This interesting angle would include many Cold War sites which have been turned into museums and implies that battlefields can be large areas in urban and not just rural settings. His definition also includes more conceptual ideas of transnational 'battlefields' (the war on terror or narcotics) and the idea that in future battlefields could be virtual or in space.

The above definitions do not consider the common problem particularly with older sites regarding where a battle was actually fought. If a 'battlefield' is a place where some sort of action took place then whose account of the spatial delineation is this to be based upon? The site, scale and nature of battlefields is open to debate and sites are inevitably

interpreted through the prism of conflicting accounts, contemporary political bias and folklore. The current debate over the location of Bosworth (1485) (Foard, 2004) is upsetting the orthodoxy surrounding definition of the battlefield itself and similar definitional problems are present at such sites as Mons Graupius (85 AD), Nechtansmere (Dunnichen, 685 AD) and Dyrham (Deorham, 577 AD). Indeed the location of the latter has never been determined with any certainty although it was probably one of the most decisive battles of the Anglo-Saxon period. Piekarz (2007a) suggests that the uncertainty surrounding the location of battlefields adds to their enjoyment.

Definitions in the literature abound but for the purposes of this study a battlefield is a place where a recognized conflict took place which was significant in terms of its political, historic or military importance.

<p align="center">****</p>

This review has provided an overview of the current themes and scholarship relevant to battlefield tourism and the main issues which underpin the thesis's research questions. To expand these issues and to fully understand the dynamics of visitor reactions an appreciation of the historical and cultural development of the sites must now be given. The ensuing chapters (4 and 5) provide a discussion of these developmental processes as an appropriate complement to the research findings which follow.

Chapter 4

The Development Of The Case Study Sites As 'Attractions'

There are estimated to be some 500 battlefield sites in England alone (Raynor, 2004) and a further 358 in Scotland (The Battlefields Trust, undated) yet Britain only has four which can be regarded in any way as providing major interpretative facilities. Others are served by a mixture of small on-site museums or displays in local museums or churches although a large number of sites on the English Heritage Battlefields Register do have interpretation panels (Piekarz, 2007a: 33, Table 3.1). This situation might reflect a deficiency of awareness of these sites or lack of political will in developing them but also more prosaic issues surrounding distance from market, transport links and site access. Questions over the politico-historic significance of particular sites and their impact on popular consciousness are also relevant as are those of authenticity and locational reliability.

Nevertheless one needs to examine more deeply the reasons behind the success of those sites which are established as tourist attractions against those which remain 'empty' fields devoid of interpretation and touristic 'pull' factors. This chapter seeks to provide an answer to this fundamentally important question: what are the factors behind the development of battlefield sites into tourist attractions?

An understanding of the question must take into account the development of these sites from the time that the battle was fought to the present day and the processes which have been at work in endowing these sites with their tourist appeal. This chapter therefore traces the development of the case study sites using Dean MacCannell's 'site sacralisation' model. The example of Waterloo is given first and the model is then applied to each case study site in the same way. An assessment is then made of the historical issues surrounding the model (4.4). This is followed in Chapter 5 by a discussion of the extent to which more contemporary processes have affected the development of the 'attraction'. An analysis of the socio-political, commercial and agency influences completes the historical and more contemporary trajectory and an attempt at answering the question is then made through a critique of the model and a suggestion that a commercial stage is added to the process (5.4).

4.1. Sacralisation: a model for explaining success

In analysing the development of battlefields we must go beyond historical significance and examine the process and evolution of the site itself and how it has been 'constructed, influenced and sustained' (Seaton, 1999: 140). Building on the work of Dean MacCannell and his book *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1999), Seaton (1999: 140) postulates that

> the potency of an object offered to the tourist gaze depends upon a sequential **marking** process, by which it is made meaningful, through progressive semiotic separation and differentiation from others, in a way which results in its site sacralisation as a quasi-holy object in the eyes of the pilgrim tourist [my emphasis].

A tourist attraction is, according to MacCannell, the product of a unique three-way relationship between a *tourist*, a *sight* and a *marker*. The latter is seen as simply a piece of information about a site which gives it distinctiveness and can be expressed through different interpretational objects such as memorials or plaques or perhaps a signpost. It will be argued later that this definition should be widened to include other forms of non-tangible aspects linked to sacralisation. The use of semi-religious language here provides a comparison with the sacralisation of religious sites and the stages of the sacralisation process have their distinct parallels with the creation of shrines and other holy places in most religions. A similar process is thought to exist in the sanctification of sites connected with deceased singers and rock stars (Gillen, 2001).

MacCannell suggested that anything or any place could be subject to this process of 'sacralisation':

> Anything is potentially an attraction. It simply awaits one person to take the trouble to point it out to another as something noteworthy or worth seeing (MacCannell, 1999).

'Cultural forms' such as places, buildings, events, festivals, traditions and art can thus be uplifted and manufactured as attractions to appeal to the tourist's visual orientation. This latter phrase is of more importance than one might think in that the 'gaze' is a key aspect

of the heritage industry where people are expected to use this sense more than others (although Chapter 10 later challenges this assertion). The visual dominates everything and as Urry (2002: 146) has commented there has been a long 'privileging of the eye within the history of the Western societies' where social experience is trivialised or often ignored to serve the tastes of the 'omnivorous visual consumer' (ibid.:125). The image is of great importance in tourism as Crouch and Lübbren have emphasised:

> Tourists do not necessarily respond to economic and social realities; they do, however, respond strongly to the images that are in circulation about their touristic destinations (Crouch and Lübbren, 2003: 4).

If the eye predominates then that does leave those sites with little or no tangible evidence of an event at a distinct disadvantage. There is often a physical legacy of conflict at battlefields and the trench and fortification systems of the Western Front and Second World War European battlefield sites is an example of this. However, many battlefield sites are just that – 'fields' – with little evidence of the conflict that took place there and are often substantially changed from the day the battle took place. As Gold and Gold (2003: 108) have remarked:

> Whatever their appearance during the heat of battle, most battlefields scarcely merit a second glance for their inherent landscape qualities once the debris of war has been cleared away.

The marking process mentioned above is thus of extreme importance to these sites and might be seen as a necessary aspect of identification.

4.2 The site sacralisation process applied to battlefields: the case of Waterloo (1815)

MacCannell (1999) identified five marking processes which contribute to the above. These are interpretations of phenomena which have been active since the time of the event itself and are presented by him in sequential order. This has similarities with the processual interpretation of resort development first introduced by Butler (1980; 2011) although this

tends towards an economic and commercial interpretation of tourist sites rather than the more cultural approach of the site sacralisation model. A powerful example of this process and how it led to the sacralisation of a site is the Battle of Waterloo (18 June, 1815) which resulted in the creation of a clearly differentiated area of sacral space and the ingraining of a Waterloo cult into the psyche of Western European culture. To illustrate the significance of the five processes Waterloo is therefore used as an example drawing on Seaton's (1999) analysis of the battle which became a major tourist attraction in the nineteenth century 'and remains the only discrete European battlefield to achieve lasting, worldwide tourism status' (ibid.: 130). After this the model is applied to each of the four case study sites (Hastings (1066), Bannockburn (1314), Bosworth (1485) and Culloden (1746)) in a similar way to illustrate how battlefield sites develop as tourist attractions.

4.2.1 Waterloo: Naming

Naming gives any event or place distinction which sets it apart from others. It establishes it and provides a reference point from which narratives and popular discourse can proceed. As the first stage in the process it underpins later discussion and provides a chronological marker to identify – in this case - a battle as a significant event rather than just a skirmish or preliminary engagement (Morgan, 2000). In providing a firm date an event is supported and given tangibility which chimes with Winston Churchill's comment that battlefields are the 'punctuation marks of history'. However the naming of battles is problematic in that such conflicts often take place over large areas of land and seldom conveniently near to settlements or features which have distinct names. There was a tradition in warfare to name a battle (normally by the winner) after the name of a nearby local settlement as at Agincourt (1415) but Morgan (2000) has shown how battles often came to be called after a range of topographic and iconic names as well as the purely toponymic. The political significance of battlefield names cannot be overestimated also and Morgan cites the example of the Battle of Tannenburg (1914) where the Germans defeated the Russians. General Luddendorff was advised to make has victory address not from the village of Frögenau which was nearest the battlefield but from Tannenburg which was further away. This was to provide an 'emblematic reversal' for the defeat of the Teutonic knights at Tannenburg by the Slavs in 1410 (Morgan, 2000: 37). This also illustrates how naming gives abiding power to the nominor.

Waterloo did not in fact take place at the hamlet of that name but three miles distant on the road south from Brussels. Wellington's troops lined up on a low ridge near to the farm of

Mont St Jean which is the name the French eventually called the battle and the one which might have been used if they had won (Howarth, 1992). A more contentious problem is what exactly was being named. Waterloo was actually the culmination of a small campaign which had developed over a three day period. One could argue that the smaller but by no means less tactically significant engagements of Ligny, Quatre Bras and Wavre in the days before Waterloo were classed as separate battles and not part of the overall mini-campaign. Waterloo was thus given distinctiveness and in the words of Seaton:

> The naming of Waterloo as a discrete battle, differentiated and
> entirely separate from the other actions, and following them as a
> climatic event, had the effect of construing it as the major battle
> (Seaton, 1999: 142).

The Prussian General Blücher suggested on meeting Wellington after the battle at the farm of *La Belle Alliance* that it would be an appropriate name for the battle in that the victory had been an effort of more than one nation. Wellington chose *Waterloo* instead giving the battle a discrete name which gave it a certain (it should be said 'non-French') imprimatur from the beginning. Nowadays, few people visit Ligny, Quatre Bras and Wavre which are overshadowed by Waterloo. The event has been spatially and chronologically delineated and marked as worthy of remembrance and identification. There are of course battle sites which have names but uncertain locations (e.g. Mons Graupius (83 or 84 AD) in Scotland) and are thus not physically 'marked'.

4.2.2 Waterloo: Framing and Elevation

One of the key features of site sacralisation is to give a place as much exposure as possible and just like a picture in a frame attempt to stimulate the maximum amount of interest. MacCannell defines such framing as, 'the putting on display of an object – placement in a case, on a pedestal or opened up for visitation' (MacCannell, 1999: 44). In the case of a battlefield this is difficult because the tangible remains of the day are rarely if ever left to be seen and battlefields are seldom found as they were when they were fought. For this reason the framing of a battlefield site through the building of monumental markers often at the site of important actions within it is an integral part of the sacralisation process. Waterloo has 135 monuments and physical markers, some erected to commemorate particular regiments and others to individuals. The most dramatic of these is the so called Butte de Lion erected between 1823 and 1826 which is 200 feet high and 1700 feet in circumference and on top of which sits a bronze lion. This marks the battlefield out in a

unique and dramatic way unlike other sites. It gives the site palpability and tactility, much to its advantage although such markers have to be in the correct place. Marking thus gives battlefields identity and redresses the great weakness of such sites from a presentation perspective – what is there to see?

4.2.3 Waterloo: Enshrinement

Markers are initially placed for reasons of remembrance and honour but can often become attractions themselves. An unusually early example of attaching special importance to a part of a battlefield site was at Agincourt (1415) where a hedged enclosure was built after the battle to protect a burial area for French dead (a precursor to the devotion and attention given to war cemeteries in more modern times which are further examples of enshrinement) (Morgan, 2000). The medieval idea of building a church or abbey on the site of a great victory as a form of war memorial is the most potent example of this, however, when the building subsequently becomes an attraction in itself. Battle Abbey at Hastings will be discussed later but there are also pertinent examples at the battle sites of Roncesvalles (778) in Spain, Bouvines (1214) in France and the Batalha Monastery at Aljubarrota (1385) in Portugal (Carman and Carman, 2006; Duby, 1990; Hallam, 1985). With regard to Waterloo Seaton (1999) mentions the church at Waterloo where the British military deposited standards and regimental colours after the battle. It soon became a shrine in itself which led to a rebuilding in 1855 on a much grander scale. It is now very much part of the 'must sees' of the conventional Waterloo tour (Howarth, 1992). The enshrinement process is what Seaton describes as 'the frame competing with the picture' (ibid.: 146) and there are numerous examples of memorials on sites which have become tourist attractions in themselves particularly from the Victorian era.

4.2.4 Waterloo: Mechanical Reproduction

The development of battlefield sites into places worthy of attention has been accentuated by the continuing process of reproduction through cultural processes. These are typified by representations in literature, poetry, art, music, photography, film, TV, the Internet and even comic strips. The process constructs popular discourse including representations in political rhetoric and vernacular small talk and is 'most responsible for setting the tourist in motion on his journey to find the true object' (MacCannell, 1999: 45). It is a latent yet powerful force in shaping public perceptions of a site. Waterloo evolved in the nineteenth century as a potent icon in cultural life and entered into the imagination of the British nation like no other event. It was a common inclusion in literary output as Thackery's

Vanity Fair (1847-48) and Hugo's *Les Misérables* (1862) attest and a ripe icon for the newly developing media of the early nineteenth century. The poets Wordsworth, Byron and Southey all visited and wrote about the site and Walter Scott penned *The Field of Waterloo: A Poem* in 1815 after his relic-hunting trip there. He found, 'a deep and inexpressible feeling of awe' in the thought that he was seeing 'the identical place' which Napoleon 'beheld his hopes crushed and his power destroyed' (Scott, *Paul's Letter to His kinsfolk*, 1816, quoted in Semmel, 2000). The battle was reproduced in an infinity of forms which fed a seemingly insatiable public imagination for imperial grandeur and heroism. It was a popular subject in art as exemplified by Lady Elizabeth Butler's majestic battlescapes, in particular *Scotland For Ever* (1881). Reproductions in aquatint, lithography and engravings were also prolific. The battle was so well replicated in the written word that one Dutch author of a topographical history of the Low Countries exclaimed just 25 years after the battle:

> It would be quite superfluous, the attempt of giving even a slight
> sketch of the eventful details of this battle, when there are so many
> graphic descriptions now extant, minutely portraying in vivid colours
> the momentous actions of that triumphant day (Van Kampen, 1840,
> quoted in Seaton 1999: 146).

One might see the danger of Mechanical Reproduction as diminishing the impact and distinctiveness of an event or site but in Seaton's view MacCannell believed that:

> mechanical reproduction of cultural phenomena, including tourism
> destinations and attractions, intensifies and elevates, rather than
> diminishes them, and is an essential condition of their sacralisation
> (Seaton, 1999: 146).

This form of reproduction continues into modern life and Fine and Haskell (1985) have shown how the sacralisation process is accentuated by the oral commentary of guides at heritage sites and the perpetuation of the stories embodied in the 'narrative'.

4.2.5 Waterloo: Social Reproduction

 MacCannell's final marking process refers to the 'representation of cultural objects in everyday practice away from the places where they originated' (Seaton, 1999:149). The word 'Waterloo' became a household name in the nineteenth century and gave its name to

a profusion of places, streets, squares, pubs, bridges, products and monuments throughout Britain and its colonies. This was undoubtedly stimulated by a wave of patriotic and imperialistic fervour and has parallels in other countries which have also used the names of significant military victories in this way (e.g. Austerlitz station in Paris is a parallel of London's Waterloo station). The word also entered the English language in the phrase 'to meet one's Waterloo' and, remarkably, certain places were said to resemble it!

The above has demonstrated how Waterloo was subject to a long process of cultural enhancement which resulted in its entrenchment in the British public consciousness. Tourism developed at the site in tandem with this to the extent that 'Waterloo came to be visited by British travellers, not so much to see what it was like, as to celebrate what they already knew' (Seaton, 1999: 152). This is not unlike the experience of pilgrims to shrines and other religious sites with a similar 'sense of place'. Pre-existing knowledge is clearly a vital aspect of tourism and one which has been identified as an important aspect of the tourist's own participation in the creation of the experience (Chronis, 2005). However Waterloo is no longer the major tourist draw that it was in the hundred years following the victory. The changing ideologies of European integration might have made a French defeat by other member states rather politically unacceptable and competition from other sites (not least the nearby Western Front) and the shift in public interest in Britain to more 'fashionable' periods in military history could well have contributed to this.

4.3 The site sacralisation process applied to battlefields: the case study sites

4.3.1 Hastings (1066)

4.3.1.1 Hastings: Naming

Early sources give many different names for the battle and the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* calls it Senlac. It is first called 'Hastings' in the Domesday Book (Morgan, 2000: 46) although the site is not actually at Hastings but some eight miles away at Battle (originally called *Battel*). It is not certain why the received name is divorced from the geographical reality and it is unusual in that nowhere in the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* is it called Hastings. The name would have been coined very soon after the event in that William the Conqueror wanted to establish a decisive hold over his newly conquered realm after 1066 and a

chronologically and spatially marked victory was a political necessity. This would have been of even more pressing importance when sickness affected his army (and himself) that November. There were further revolts against the Norman conquerors which were not suppressed until 1071 (McLynn, 1999) and the emphasis on a momentous, and named, victory would have been prudent and expedient.

4.3.1.2 Hastings: Framing and Elevation

The site at Battle is framed powerfully by the presence of Battle Abbey built by William the Conqueror from 1070. This is probably the best example of this stage of the model out of all four case studies in that the Abbey gave a clear and physically imposing stamp on the victory and marked the site for all to see with a robust magnanimity. It might also have been built on the site to attract settlers to an otherwise empty area (English Heritage, 2007) and the town of *Battel* soon grew up around it providing further marking of the site and catering for the practical needs of those visiting the Abbey. Hallam (1985: 49) suggests that this was 'an important statement of royal power and God-given authority' and '...a durable manifestation of holy kingship'. What came to be an important marker in modern times for the creation of an attraction had its origins in the symbolic embodiment of royal power and patronage. Borg (1990) has shown how monuments to military victories were not unknown even in antiquity although written inscriptions at their sites were exceedingly uncommon. Gerald of Wales (c. 1145 – 1223) describes a number of memorial stones with inscriptions erected at the sites of Harold's victories in his Welsh campaign of 1063 although these are no longer to be seen (Gerald of Wales, 1978: Book II, Chapter 7, 266). Although rare a number of religious buildings were built to commemorate battles as already described and according to the *Chronicle* the building was a result of a vow made by William before the battle as atonement and as salvation for all (Hallam, 1985). An alternative theory is that the Abbey was founded by William after the battle on the orders of the Pope who ordered the Conqueror to do penance for the suffering and slaughter he had brought upon his new land. There are, however, a number of reservations concerning William's motives for founding the Abbey and Hallam has shown how it is more likely to have been as a martial symbol of power than as a gesture of contrition (ibid.: 53).

The marking of the site is further enhanced by the position of the Abbey (now a school) on the low ridge which had been the place where Harold drew up his *housecarls* to face the Norman army. This gives a literal elevation to the site and the historic importance of the

location is given added emphasis in that the High Altar of the Abbey is reputed to be at the exact spot that Harold met his death in the melee. However, the overriding significance of the Abbey in contemporary terms is that more trust can be placed in the authentic location of the site in that the Abbey can be firmly dated back to shortly after the event itself. William was careful to locate the High Altar at the site of his adversary's death as the *Chronicle* makes clear (Hallam, 1985: 54) and another chronicler writing in c.1121 stated that the abbey was built 'in the same spot where God permitted [William] to conquer England' (ibid.: 54). The site has been framed and elevated by a very tangible marker and although disputes on the name and exact location inevitably exist (Morgan 2000) the site is marked with a very firm level of confidence which is reassuring to those tourists who seek authenticity. This is an advantage that until recently has not been enjoyed by Bosworth for example (Foard, 2004).

4.3.1.3 Hastings: Enshrinement

Battle Abbey is a further example of how the 'frame can compete with the picture' in that it has become an attraction in itself. One could surmise that if it was located away from the battlefield it would still be worthy of visitation. Its fortunes were not always so promising, however, in that in a dispute of the twelfth century the monks of Battle had to arrange for a forgery of their foundation charter (Hallam, 1985). This does question the importance it had in the land at the time which is surprising since at the time of William's' death in 1087 it had become the 15th richest religious house in England (English Heritage, 2007). The *Chronicle* relates an occasion when Henry II (1154-89) vacillates over the renewing of the charter document for the Abbey which had deteriorated with age. One of his retainers impresses upon the King the importance of doing so with the words, 'for by the conquest at Battle we are all enfeoffed' (Searle, 1980) although royal links to the Abbey finally came to an end in 1211.

At the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s the Abbey was transferred to private hands and remained as the property of several private families until its lease as a school in 1922. The grounds were not open to visitors through most of this period although friends of the owning families often called, including Horace Walpole who on visiting in 1752 complained that 'the grounds, and what has been the park, lie in a vile condition' (Powlett, 1877). In 1801 Thomas Pennant described the Abbey but not the battlefield in his *Journey from London to the Isle of Wight* and this might suggest that the buildings were considered

more important than the field itself (ibid.: 207-208). What had been a small number of select visitors grew significantly in number after the completion of the Tunbridge Wells to Hastings railway in 1852 and the grounds were soon open on a regular basis (English Heritage, 2007). The altar at the Abbey can be seen as a focal point for visits and almost a place of pilgrimage to the spot that many knew so much about before the visit. A guidebook of 1876 suggests that the commercial potentials of opening the site were well understood by the custodians particularly the rapacious janitor (ibid.: 48). The popularity of the buildings themselves was again described by Powlett (1877) who says that visitors were very common on a Tuesday throughout the year and most 'numerous in the summer months' (ibid.: 352). Even so they had no 'idea of examining the field of battle, but simply to eat and drink' (ibid.: 354). The intrusiveness of these visitors is evidenced when he describes an occasion when

> ...the hall door was left unlocked. Three ladies and a gentleman
> opened it and walked in; crossed the hall, and proceeded up the
> staircase to the bedroom floor, which they at once commenced
> exploring. As it happened, the Duke was using one of the bedrooms
> (the Magnolia Room) as a temporary sitting-room, while his own
> study was being built; and his surprise may be imagined, when
> these unannounced visitors walked in (ibid.: 354).

The buildings of the Abbey were certainly a tourist attraction although perhaps not in the way their owners had intended!

This can be seen as the beginnings of large scale visitation to the site although this would mostly have been to appreciate the buildings and not the battlefield. In 1976 the site was bought for the nation by American benefactors and has been formally open to the public since. This completed a process of enshrinement which had developed particularly rapidly in the modern (and post-railway) age.

4.3.1.4 Hastings: Mechanical Reproduction

The earliest forms of 'cultural reproduction' of the site of Hastings are the early chronicles and original sources which mention the battle (Morillo, 1999) as well as the Bayeux Tapestry which is a strikingly vivid representation of the event despite the smouldering

controversy surrounding what it represents (Hicks, 2007; Foys, Overbey and Terkla, 2009). Made in around 1070 the latter remains perhaps the most iconic visual representation of the battle which has handed down through the generations a particular popularist view of the events surrounding it. The image of the figure with an arrow in his eye has always been taken as Harold although this is the only pictorial representation of his death in this way. The question as to whether the figure shown in the next image being cut down by a Norman knight is the real Harold or whether they both are is not of mainstream academic importance to many tourists. What it has and continues to do, however, is generate a popular discourse and cultural reference point for the event; this is a form of mechanical reproduction in itself stimulated by controversy, that great wellspring of interest in historical events in popular discourse. Battlefields are well endowed with such issues. The Bayeux Tapestry has been reproduced in countless forms through history and is an important tourist attraction in itself where it is housed in Normandy. It is represented in numerous postcards, image reproductions and paintings including an 1886 replica in Reading Museum[17] and its images are undoubtedly well recognised all over the modern Anglo-Saxon world.[18] The tapestry gives us the English phrase 'that's one in the eye for' somebody and provided a template for the 83 metre-long Overlord Embroidery made to mark the 60th Anniversary of the D-Day Landings[19].

The Battle of Hastings has had less of an enduring presence in literature than Waterloo although as what is arguably the most decisive battle in English history it does appear in a large number of travel guides and travel writing. Some of these have already been mentioned but a typical example is an inter-war guidebook to Sussex which states rather laconically, 'It is not possible to stand in this place unmoved' (Mee, 1937). In *England of My Heart: Spring* the writer Edward Hutton gives the battle a pride of place above the merely national in saying:

> It is not often on one's way, even in England of my heart, that one
> can come upon a place, a lonely hill-side or a city, and say: this is
> a spot upon which the history of the world was decided
> (Hutton, 1914: Chapter X).

---

[17] http://www.bayeuxtapestry.org.uk/

[18] Several other examples are given in Hicks (2007).

[19] http://www.ddaymuseum.co.uk/embroidery_frame.htm

The event is commemorated in a bawdily humorous poem by Marriot Edgar (1880-1951) written in 1937 and a BBC Radio 4 play in 2001 with modern reportage on the battle proves that it continues to occupy an admired place in British national consciousness (Hicks, 2007).

Again unlike Waterloo there has not been such a prominent place given to the battle in art aside from the modern reproductions of the Bayeux Tapestry already mentioned. Nevertheless it is notable that an enormous painting of the Battle of Hastings was commissioned by Sir Godfrey Webster of Battle Abbey in 1815 when he was taken up in the wave of patriotic euphoria following Waterloo (English Heritage, 2007). Another large painting was produced by F.W. Wilkin (1791-1842) in 1820 and this now takes pride of place in Battle Abbey School (Hicks, 2007). The battle was also the subject of works by Francois Hippolyte Debon (1807-72) and the modern war artist Brian Palmer has produced such works as *The Norman Lines* and *The Battle of Hastings* which clearly underline the iconism of the event for a modern audience. This is in itself an example of how the process continues to operate although the scale of this artistic interest in the subject and to what extent it transfers into visitation of the site is rather difficult to gauge.

4.3.1.5 Hastings: Social Reproduction

There is not the same level of reproduction for the name 'Hastings' away from its location as is the case with Waterloo. What exists is relatively local and limited to business names in the town of Battle which are only obliquely reflecting the name itself.[20] There is also a *1066* themed footpath passing through Battle and the area is marketed as *1066 Country*.

4.3.2 Bannockburn (1314)

4.3.2.1 Bannockburn: Naming

There is significant variation in the early historic sources of the name of the two-day battle we now know as Bannockburn. Morgan (2000) demonstrates that the very early English sources called it Stirling although Scottish sources by contrast refer to it as Bannock or

---

20 E.g. The 1066 and Ye Olde Battle Axe pubs, Conquest Architectural Ironmongery and William the Concreter.

Bannockburn. This shows how the received name is that given to the event by the victors although an even earlier topographic appellation for the conflict was '*y polles*' or 'the pows' referring to the water courses which were said to have been a feature of the ground over which the battle was fought (ibid.: 38). Morgan suggests that this could have been a name adopted by the victors to emphasise the difficult landscape over which the victory was won.

Nevertheless an examination of nineteenth century travel guides of the Stirling area (e.g. *The Merchants' Guide to Stirling and District,* 1890) shows how the site is called the *Borestone* after the stone on which Robert the Bruce was reputed to have raised his standard. It may be that for a while in modern times the site was called by this name or that it became convenient shorthand for Bannockburn itself. In addition to this in some guides (e.g. *Millers Handbook of Central Scotland,* c.1868 and *The Scottish tourist and itinerary being a guide to the scenery and antiquities of Scotland and the western Islands,* 1832*)* the site is often named alongside Sauchieburn, a battle fought in 1488 which resulted in the death of the Scottish king James III. The poet Robert Burns (1757-96) highlighted the patriotic importance of Bannockburn which to him was a site of national iconic importance. On visiting the site in 1787 his first words were, 'come on to Bannockburn – shown the house where James 3rd was murdered' (Brown, 1973: 18). This juxtaposition of Bannockburn and Sauchieburn implies that he felt the latter was also of great importance although it is unlikely that he held it in such reverence as the site of Bruce's victory. The significance of the naming stage in providing distinction and separation from those potential attractions around a site cannot thus be as strong here as in other examples. Tourists might have visited the two sites as a single attraction (even though they were separated in time by more than a century) although this conflation has clearly not endured since the site of Sauchieburn is now all but unknown to the modern visitor to this area. This raises interesting questions about the role of modern sacralisation of a site and how much has been the result of more recent entrenchment and iconisation of a name and attendant promotion of an attraction. Has Bannockburn become the prime regional attraction in this immediate area since its adoption by the National Trust for Scotland (NTS)?

4.3.2.2 Bannockburn: Framing and Elevation

Unlike at Hastings there was no immediate framing of the site in the form of a religious building but the nearby Cambuskenneth Abbey (founded 1140) might well have served this

purpose because there is evidence that Bruce prayed regularly there in the ensuing years. After the battle Bruce repaired there and accepted the surrender of a number of the English nobility within its precincts as well as receiving the bodies of the great who had fallen. Groome's *Gazetteer of Scotland* (1882: 126) claims that on the first day of the battle, 'to perpetuate the memory of the victory two large stones were erected in the field – where they are still to be seen – at the north end of the village of Newhouse, about a quarter of a mile from the S port of Stirling'. This is also commented upon by the writer of Anon. (1832). These early battlefield markers are now lost but were contemporaneous with the famous *Borestone* which was said to mark the site of Bruce's camp before the battle. The origins of this marker are rather uncertain and the tradition that Bruce set his standard up on it does not appear before an account of a traveller in 1722 (Macky, 1722: 199). Nevertheless the *Borestone* came to be the prime focus of any visit to Bannockburn and the identity of the site with this object was firmly embedded into any itinerary (see above also on Naming). This is a good example of the concentration of the framing process in one place and the site's elevation has been crystallised in the modern era with the building of a number of 'enhanced markers' which have made the sacralisation of this site complete. In 1870 a large flagpole was erected alongside the Borestone with great ceremony by the Stirling and Dumbarton Rock of Hope Lodge of Oddfellows (Shearer, 1893) and in the 1930s to save the area around these markers from encroaching housing development, 58 acres of the ground was purchased by a local Committee for the National Trust for Scotland who took possession of it in 1932. A memorial cairn was built in 1957 by the Ancient Merchant Company of Stirling and in 1960 the fragments of the original Borestone were built into a pedestal on the cairn (National Trust for Scotland, undated a). The most significant development to mark the site, however, came in 1962 when a large Rotunda was erected to 'group the objects on the site and focus attention on the approach route of the English army...' (ibid.: 3) and this was followed by the unveiling of the now iconic bronze equestrian statue of Bruce in 1964 (the work of C. Pilkington Jackson (1887-1973)). The NTS Visitor Centre was eventually built nearby in 1967 further delineating the boundaries of the 'attraction'. This group of markers remain a particularly prominent focal point and one which most visitors to the site will include in their tour. They have perpetuated the spatial upholding of this one piece of ground and provide an elevation of the site which in literal terms can be seen for a long way around (including by motorists on the nearby motorway).

However, the battle was fought over a large area and there is still a heated debate over where the true site lies with as many as five different contenders (Watson and Anderson, 2001; Foard and Partida, 2005). The contested sites for the main action (including the Carse and Pelstream Burn) lie under the suburbs of Stirling and there is no above ground evidence of the events (but see later section on Social Reproduction). In tourist terms there are no visual clues and the existing markers serve an important purpose of giving this site palpability even though they are situated on only a corner of what is considered to be a wide field of action. This can be seen as one of the dangers of framing and elevation: that with disputed sites there is the temptation to concentrate markers on one part of a site only which might leave some visitors thinking that that was where the battle took place in its entirety. Alternatively markers are situated in decidedly spurious geographical locations backed up with little or no firm evidence of events having taken place there.

4.3.2.3 Bannockburn: Enshrinement

The above markers although representing the events of the battle have developed as highly popular attractions in themselves. The statue by Pilkington Jackson is a common motif in the represented history of Scotland and has developed as a symbol of Scottish nationalism and character in the person of Robert the Bruce. The statue had been commissioned by the King Robert the Bruce Memorial Committee (National Trust for Scotland, undated a) and it has clear political significance and symbolic energy to a modern audience. Indeed the site of Bannockburn is used for Scottish Nationalist Party (including the militant nationalist group *Siol nan Gaidheal)* rallies on 24 June (Bannockburn Day) and has been since the late nineteenth century. This would suggest that its enshrinement has been appropriated for and perpetuated by modern political agendas. The 700th anniversary of the battle in 2014 will be an important event in Scotland's political calendar (Hutcheon and Gordon, 2009) and it could be argued that this stage of the sacralisation process has the potential to create a shrine at any site which has the correct mix of historic and modern political resonance. The extent to which the enshrinement has prepared the ground for this modern usage or whether the contemporary use has re-enforced the enshrinement process is difficult to determine but does underline the polyvocal nature of battlefield sites.

4.3.2.4 Bannockburn: Mechanical Reproduction

As with other medieval sites the process of mechanical reproduction starts with the accounts of the battle from primary sources. With the case of Bannockburn there are a number of these although those written within a reasonable time of the battle are from an English perspective (The Battlefields Trust, 2006). The battle is first mentioned in a poem by Robert Baston (d. in or before 1348) who had been at the battle on Edward's side. He was captured by the Scots and forced to write a poem extolling their victory which is preserved in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (1440) (Morgan, 2004). The earliest Scottish account of the battle is in the poem *The Bruce* by John Barbour (c.1316-95) of 1375. This is an epic verse romance providing the only complete account of the battle we have which occupies almost 2000 lines of the poem (Cameron, 1999). Although considered by many historians to be inherently inaccurate it was extremely popular and influential and has remained so even up to the present day. This is important in that the poem is likely to have coloured the received traditions surrounding the battle and to have provided a kind of *ur-*text for later writers in their own reproduction of the event. One unusual aspect of popular verse representations of the battle is how within the Scottish Ballad tradition ballads exist for a large number of Scottish battles all the way up until the eighteenth century (Child, 1898) except for Bannockburn. Brander (1975) suggests that there were such ballads which are now lost and claims that a chant for the battle was in existence as late as the nineteenth century. That such traumatic events as battles were reflected in common folklore long after the event is evidenced by the legacy of Ancrum Moor (1545) which was said to be spoken of by the local people 250 years after the battle itself (Bogle, 2004: 79).

In analysing the development of the sacralisation of the battle one cannot ignore the identification of the event with the personages of the time. Brunsden (1999) has shown how both Robert Bruce and William Wallace came to be revered in early modern Scotland as the guardians of the nation and as mythical heroes who were conveniently re-appropriated to serve the topical political necessities of the time. Brunsden sees them as accessible heroes who permeated the 'common consciousness' in the early modern period when other events relevant to Scotland made them 'genuine extensions of the voice of Scotland' (ibid.: 102). Wallace was not present at Bannockburn (having been executed in 1305) but Bruce as the champion of the event was called to serve a higher purpose and as rallying point for the maintenance of a coherent Scottish identity. The key aspect of this is the linking of Bannockburn to the person of Bruce and the conflation of the two can be seen as a further continuation of the reproduction. Bannockburn could have been kept

within popular discourse through the popularity of the Bruce 'cult'. It is noteworthy also that at the time of anti-union feelings in the early eighteenth century Bannockburn was used to garner support in pamphlets. Brunsden relates how one pamphleteer reminded his readers with characteristic hyperbole that although outnumbered 10-1 the Scots had defeated '300,000 of our treacherous enemies' at the battle of Bannockburn (ibid.: 100). Grenier (2005) shows how this cult was also appropriated by English tourists to Bannockburn in the nineteenth century who took pride in this 'Marathon of the North' in a kind of 'vicarious Scottish nationalism' (ibid.: 146).

As travel to the sites of Scottish history became more common the site of Bannockburn entered the literary canon. Durie (2003: 21) lists the large number of travellers' accounts of Scotland published between 1730 and 1819 and shows how a visit to Bannockburn was a standard part of any tour of the Edinburgh/Stirling area by the late eighteenth century. As already mentioned Robert Burns visited Bannockburn in 1787 and commented, 'here no Scot can pass uninterested' before going on to eulogise the bravery and patriotic fervour of the day (Brown, 1973: 18). After this visit he composed the song *Bannockburn* which became known as *Scots, Wha Hae*. But the great surge in interest in Scottish historical sites including Bannockburn came with the literary output of Walter Scott (1771-1832) who brought new ways of looking at Scotland to an international audience. As Gold and Gold have remarked:

> [Scott] harnessed themes of nobility and chivalry and
> anchored them to a wellspring of sentiment that many in
> Victorian Britain found irresistible (Gold and Gold, 1995:
> 83).

Scott's novels were set against the backdrop of romantic historical periods and events and although none of them had Bannockburn as a direct *mise-en-scène* their general impact on tourism to the area cannot be underestimated. With the publication of *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) tourism to the Trossachs area increased rapidly and soon "Stirling and the Trossachs" developed as an identifiable destination as it is to this day. Bannockburn benefited from this and therefore indirectly from Scott's popularisation of the region which had always been the 'gateway to the Highlands'. In the words of Gold and Gold (1995: 83), 'Scott...wrote the script for the promotion of Scottish tourism in the years to come'. The growth of the railways from the 1830s accelerated this process and guidebooks were at

pains to point out the advantage of the local village station for those wanting to visit the battlefield (Shearer, 1893). By the 1880s the site was a regular stop on day excursions from the Edinburgh area by train (Durie, 2003).

Tourism to the Bannockburn area was thus greatly helped by the literary appetite of the reading public and as the nineteenth century developed came to appeal to a wider constituency as tourism moved away from its basis amongst the moneyed elite (Durie, 2003). In the twentieth century Bannockburn took on its added role as a focus for patriotic aspirations (as mentioned above) but also featured in a number of literary works. The battle plays an important part in several fictional works including the Bruce novels of Nigel Tranter (1909-2000) and as a popular form of mechanical reproduction one cannot ignore its representation in film, most notably in *Braveheart* (1995). Although the historical inaccuracy of the latter has been criticised by one author as a "pernicious influence" (McArthur, 2003: 211), there is evidence that the film stimulated visitation to sites not connected with the figure of Wallace including Bannockburn. Seaton and Hay (1998) report that in a survey of the Stirling area in 1997 39% of overseas visitors who had seen *Braveheart* said it had influenced their decision to visit the area and 19% said it was one of their main reasons (although these results do not specifically refer to Bannockburn). Bannockburn has been reproduced in art in the modern period but not to the same extent as Waterloo. Most notable amongst modern reproductions are *The Morning of Bannockburn* (1914) by John Hassall (1868-1948) and works by John Duncan (1866-1945) and Brian Palmer. It is, however, difficult to gauge the extent to which these paintings have any relationship to modern tourist activity.

The mechanical reproduction of the battle of Bannockburn has one last intriguing Parthian shot in that it is an image the population see almost every day. Between 1981 and 1989 the battle was portrayed on the reverse of the Clydesdale bank £1.00 note (Bruce was on the obverse). In 1990 the images were transferred to the £20.00 note where they have remained ever since with the field of Bannockburn as a backdrop to the Pilkington Jackson statue on the reverse (Committee of Scottish Clearing Bankers, undated).

4.3.2.5 Bannockburn: Social Reproduction

An analysis of overseas place names shows how there are eight Bannockburns situated in ex-colonial countries around the world. This does indicate at least some social

reproduction of the name but not on the same scale as Waterloo. Other reproduction is more local and although not strictly within the definition of being away from the event this is particularly instructive. A glance at a street map of the area of Stirling where the battle took place shows a rich collection of odonyms relating to the event itself. Amongst these are names of weaponry and military equipment such as Targe Wynd, Caltrop Place, Claymore Drive, Schiltron Way, Mace Court and Surcoat Loan. Other names relate to historic personages linked to the battle such as Bohun Court (after Henry de Bohun slain by Bruce on day one of the battle) and Mowbrey Court (after Sir Philippe de Mowbray the English commander of Stirling Castle at the time of the battle). This is not unique to the Battle of Bannockburn but for a site where so much of the original location has been lost to development a spirit of commemoration of the event is maintained into modern times. Alderman (2008) has shown how place naming is used as a form of 'symbolic capital', which brings social distinction to some, but marginalisation to others. It is noteworthy how some of the names in the suburb are those of the enemy which might be a valedictory gesture to the losing side and thus a modern form of social marginalisation. Alternatively it could be a pacifying and inclusive sentiment in the building of a new suburb which would have housed incomers from all over Britain. These questions will have to remain unanswered, however, although what is sure is that the Local Authorities and their Councillors have kept alive the memory of an event with their own form of mechanical and social reproduction.

4.3.3 Bosworth (1485)

4.3.3.1 Bosworth: Naming

Of the four case study sites Bosworth is the most problematic regarding actual location of the site. The place being named has been key to the interpretation of the facts surrounding the battle's true location which is hidden in the coded nuances of the nomenclature employed. The issue is of importance to tourism in that it impinges upon the credibility of a spatially sacralised space and the claims being made for the authenticity of a site. It raises the question as to what is being marked and elevated in the sacralisation process and whether the correct site is being distinguished from other contenders around it.

Foss (1990) has shown how the battle was originally called 'the field of Redesmore' in a York council report of 23 August 1485 although other names were given to the event in the ensuing years (Morgan, 2000). The battle was not called Bosworth until 1510 (Foss, 1990)

and this might well have been the official name given to the event for administrative purposes after the nearest settlement of Market Bosworth (English Heritage, 1995a). Morgan (2000) has argued that a battle might originally have been seen by society as an unremarkable event, with no memorable significance, and thus not worthy of a name. It is only as time progresses and the event needs a name for administrative purposes that proper appellation is given which is then accepted by society. Bosworth might have developed in this manner. It is clear that by the Tudor period the name was well established and the name is used by Shakespeare in *Richard III* (c. 1595). This might well have been assisted by the apparatus of Tudor propaganda which made every effort to besmirch the name of Richard III and Bosworth was upheld as a celebrated landmark in "the fall of the tyrant" (Mackie, 1952).[21] It was important for Bosworth to have a well-recognized name to aid its cultural reproduction.

Bosworth is a battle with a name but a decidedly uncertain location (although at the time of writing fresh archaeological discoveries have located what is now thought to be the true site (Foard, 2009)). Despite its 'location' in the public consciousness the historian Geoffrey Elton felt that the battle was of little significance and only became popular in the twentieth century at the time of its quincentennial celebrations. He claims that it was just one in a series of conflicts that Henry VII had to endure in the struggle to secure his throne (Elton, 1992). Nevertheless the pre-eminence of the site in English history as the end of the Middle Ages is now established and the naming has played no small part in providing a platform for the development of its sacralisation.

4.3.3.2 Bosworth: Framing and Elevation

Any dispute over the location of a site naturally provides challenges for the marking process. The decision over the placement of a marker coupled with the fact that this was a relatively rare occurrence in medieval warfare (Borg, 1990) had meant that Bosworth has no reliable markers as a battlefield site. The only building associated with the battle through documentation still in existence is the church of St James the Greater at Dadlington to which the dead were taken for burial afterwards (Foss, 1990). In 1511 Henry VIII set up a

---

[21] There is a clear parallel here with the way Bannockburn was represented as a victory over tyranny particularly in the words of Burns's *Scots wha' hae'.* The second stanza goes, 'Now's the day, and now's the hour/ See the front o' battle lour/ See approach proud Edward's power/ Chains and slaverie!'

chantry chapel here to pray for the souls of those killed in the battle (Hammond, 2010). According to legend Richard III drank from one of the many springs in the area on the day of the battle and in 1788 a local pointed out this spring to the antiquarian William Hutton (1723-1815) (Gravett, 1999). In 1813 Dr Samuel Parr built a stone structure over this spot with an inscription stating that King Richard III had died nearby 'fighting gallantly in defence of his realm and his crown against the usurper Henry Tudor'. The place of Richard's death was also marked in what was known as 'Richard's Field', the site of 'Sandeford'. This site was selected on the basis of the theory of D.T. Williams in the early 1970s which also determined the configuration of the visitor centre and trails in an accepted version of the events (English Heritage, 1995a). A memorial stone was erected at Richard's Field in 1973 and it is an important aspect of any visit to the site being firmly located on the battlefield trail. In 1974 Leicestershire County Council opened the Bosworth Battlefield Visitor Centre and Country Park which provided a decisive framework for the site and elevation as a tourist attraction. Two large flagpoles used to mark the Centre on the top of Ambion Hill and their flags signified the symbols of each of the English medieval houses that fought on the day (the white rose of York and the red rose of Lancaster). These were particularly prominent landmarks indicating something worthy of attention and drawing the eye to the focus of attraction. With the recent doubt as to the location of the battlefield, however, one of these has been removed since the Centre is now thought only to have been at the site of Richard's camp on the eve of the battle (Foard, 2004; 2009). Nevertheless despite the messages it could convey this might not be important in that the Centre is an interpretational resource *near* to where the battle was fought and its power as a marker can continue to have potency in the event of a new site being showcased. This does raise questions as to whether markers need to be at the sites they enhance but might introduce a new concept of 'extra-situational' markers into the debate. These could have power and distinction over a site but not be in the immediate vicinity itself. The example of Visitor Centres and museums representing large areas of conflict is relevant here. The *In Flanders Fields Museum* at Ypres, for example, tells the story of a battle fought over a wide area much of which is a great distance from this interpretative focus.

4.3.3.3 Bosworth: Enshrinement

 The disputed location of the battle of Bosworth has left even less tangibility to the site than is the case with other battlefield sites. There is less reliable framing and elevation of the event and for this reason the enshrinement stage is not as well developed here as at other

sites. One has to ask the question whether it is possible to enshrine something that might not exist or at least exist in a number of disputed geographical locations. What marking exists at Bosworth has come about very late after the event and none of these markers could be described as particularly important visitor attractions in themselves. The 'frame competing with the picture' analogy is very weak here and one could say that through the ages we have had a 'Bosworth of the mind' rather than a place called Bosworth that we can authentically see. This is not to say, however, that it would not be possible to sanctify a place with little tangibility and historical reliability. Right through the middle ages religious sites were developed upon the basis of stories and historical facts which the modern rational mind might consider unreliable. Yet these places became popular shrines and important centres of pilgrimage. The basis for this attraction was, however, faith and for a site like Bosworth there was no religious significance or penitential interest as at Hastings. The meaning of the site was lost and the Tudors considered the location less important than the narrative about what happened there in the context of their newly won kingdom.

4.3.3.4 Bosworth: Mechanical Reproduction

Early accounts of the battle of Bosworth are written with an underlying bias towards one side or the other and are therefore propagandistic in nature. The continuation of the *Croyland Chronicle* (up to 1486), for example, was written by an unknown Yorkist commander who relied on second-hand information gleaned from nobles and soldiers who had been present on the day (English Heritage, 1995a). The *Ballad of Bosworth Field* is thought to have been based upon an eyewitness account although the earliest surviving written copy of it dates from the mid-seventeenth century (Bennett, 1993). Other accounts were written by foreigners and it is one of these, the *Historiae Anglicae* of Polydore Vergil, which has come to be seen as the prime source for the battle. Although not published until 1534, Vergil wrote his description between 1503 and 1513 drawing on eyewitness accounts (English Heritage, 1995a). This account is important for later reproduction of the event in that it formed the major source for later Tudor chroniclers and the tradition of the battle was transmitted into literary representation from Vergil's work. As one of Henry VII's hired chroniclers Vergil gave a flattering picture of his paymaster and it is for this reason that the work became a standard source. There were a large number of different accounts made of the battle drawing on earlier sources including *The Song of Lady Bessy* (early sixteenth century) and Michael Drayton's poem *Polyolbion* (1612) (Gairdner, 1896).

The most important literary representation of the battle, however, which has been passed down into modern cultural consciousness is Shakespeare's *Richard III* which draws on the Vergil tradition. The play portrays the Plantagenet king as a villainous ruler who succumbs to the moral superiority of the Tudor usurper on the field of Bosworth which is dramatically played out in an historically inaccurate one-on-one swordfight between the two (Edelman, 1992). Shakespeare's depiction of the battle developed as the popular *textus receptus* and became the model for English textbooks for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Mitchell, 2000: 209). In modern times the battle has been represented in film productions most notably Laurence Olivier's *Richard III* (1955) which was shown regularly at the original Bosworth Visitor Centre (English Heritage, 1995a). The film provides a realistic portrayal of the differences in character between the two protagonists and thus carries on the Shakespearean interest in the human story which has enduring appeal to the modern audience. Ian McKellan's modernist adaptation of the setting for his *Richard III* (1995) re-interprets the story for a fictional 1930s fascist England which tended to reduce the Bosworth battle scene to a disappointing pyrotechnic parody which 'mistakenly places special effects above dramatic value' (Adams, 2002: 28).

The perpetuation of the Bosworth battle story in the personages of Richard and Henry is another example of the conflation of event and character which was shown to be an important aspect in the reproduction of Bannockburn. The identification of Bosworth with the figure of Richard III is highly likely to have been accelerated after the re-founding of the Richard III Society (UK) in 1956.[22] This in turn came in the wake of the highly successful literary impact of Josephine Tey's historic-crime novel *The Daughter of Time* (1951) and the scholar Paul Murray Kendal's seminal biography of Richard III (1955). These books marked an increasing interest in Richard's character and the place of his death could not avoid being a part of this. In the mid-1950s the Society had a particularly zealous commitment saying of themselves:

> With the change of name came perhaps a greater
> gravitas and a more militant missionary approach
> (Richard III Society website at
> http://www.richardiii.net/).

---

[22] The Society had previously existed as The Fellowship of the White Boar which was founded in 1924 by the Liverpool Surgeon S. Saxton Barton and a group of antiquarians and historians.

The Society exists to revise the facts of the great Ricardian controversy while at the same time upholding the belief that 'the truth is more powerful than lies' and that 'reputation is worth campaigning for' (Duke of Gloucester, Patron of the Richard III Society, from http://www.richardiii.net/). These are highly appealing moral sentiments in the current age and the activities of the Society are an important aspect of the mechanical reproduction of a name and via that name a place, Bosworth. It is significant that the Society holds an annual commemoration event at the site every year around the anniversary of the battle and has displays at a nearby church as well as the Bosworth Battlefield Centre. Mechanical reproduction can thus exist through the public activities of interested bodies who are, often unwittingly, forming and reforming the image of a place.

Bosworth has been the subject of a number of artistic representations including paintings, lithographs and engravings by James E. Doyle (1822-92), Ron Embleton (1930-88) and in more recent years Graham Turner (1964 -) and Mark Churms. The battle has never had the same nationalistic cachet as Waterloo, however, and was not a commonly produced artistic image at the time of Imperialist expansion when there were many other military subjects which could be used. The event has nevertheless been reproduced in textbooks and more popular works of history since the nineteenth century most notably in the illustrations of Richard Caton Woodville II (1856-1927) and W.R.S. Stott (fl. 1905-34).

4.3.3.5 Bosworth: Social Reproduction

As with other sites this form of reproduction is relatively local and is inextricably linked to regional tourist identity and its use of the event. No evidence has been found of the use of the name 'Bosworth' at places away from the location although as a medieval site this would be unusual. A steam railway nearby is called the Battlefield Line and the town of Market Bosworth provides symbolic links to the battle in the form of white boar motifs[23] on the top of road signs and a distinctive quincentenary (1485-1985) motif found in the town. "Battlefield beef" can be bought locally and rather profanely the town has its own Batter of Bosworth fish and chip shop! This stage of the model is thus not strongly represented.

---

[23] One of the symbols used by Richard III.

4.3.4 Culloden (1746)

4.3.4.1 Culloden: Naming

The Battle of Culloden was more accurately fought on Drummossie Moor but it is rarely called by this name in modern descriptions (but see Prebble (1962). The name is derived from the nearby Culloden House, home of Duncan Forbes (1685-1747), Lord Chief Justice of Scotland and supporter of the Hanoverian cause, and the enclosures known as the "Culloden Parks" on the field itself. One might imagine Forbes being quite forceful in ensuring the name of such a glorious victory being named after his home although his relationship with the Hanoverians suffered after the conflict by reason of his request for clemency for the Highland clans. The theory of Morgan (2000) that battles were named for more prosaic administrative reasons in the middle ages might also have applied at this time in that the victors needed an appellation immediately to label the event and give it distinction.

4.3.4.2 Culloden: Framing and Elevation

In the aftermath of the battle the site was not marked in any clear way apart from the low mounds identifying the graves of the clans which came to be a major feature of the site in later years. The green grass marking these graves were mentioned in virtually every nineteenth century account of the site and the legend that the bodies of the Jacobite dead still fertilized this verdant spot persisted until a century or more after the battle providing a 'physical link to the '45' (Grenier, 2005: 151). The agricultural improvements which had already begun before the battle were continued by the Forbes family in the area around the battlefield although there is evidence that the site itself remained as rough grazing land (Masson and Harden, 2009). However no government memorial was built on the site and this could have been because of the enormous expense incurred in building the monolithic Fort George nearby (1747-67). The latter cost over £200,000 (over £1 billion at today's prices) which was more than the annual Gross Domestic Product for Scotland at the time (Tabraham and Grove, 1995: 98). The fort also diverted human resources away from the site in that it took more than 1000 men to build including serving soldiers stationed in the area (ibid.: 95-96). Another interpretation is provided by Gold and Gold (2003) who point out that the commemoration of the event was centred on the Duke of Cumberland's triumphal entry into London which provided a focus for the great victory away from Scotland. This was a surrogate form of 'marking' in the form of a valedictory celebration.

Any memorial raised by the Jacobite side after the battle would naturally have raised immediate suspicion under the Act of Proscription which (until 1782) attempted to destroy the clan system across the Highlands which had so assiduously supported the Pretender's cause (Prebble, 1962; Gold and Gold, 2003). Masson and Harden have shown how for the hundred years after the event there was no evidence on the moor that a battle had taken place there and the site was notoriously difficult to find. This was compounded by the fact that although the first Ordnance Survey maps began to appear in England and Wales in 1801 their Scottish equivalents were not published until the second half of the nineteenth century (Gold and Gold, 2003). Its desolate appearance was underlined by Rev Hugh Calder who in 1793 described it as

> almost entirely waste moor ground with small spots of
> land indifferently cultivated, the appearance of [which]
> is rather bleak and disagreeable (quoted in National
> Trust for Scotland, 2007: 69).

Without any tangibility and within the relatively unstable territory of the losing side the site was lost. As Gold and Gold (2003: 119) have remarked, 'Culloden remained a somewhat forgotten site on the fringes of British, or even Scottish, consciousness'.

In the 1830s a new macadam road was built straight through the battlefield site damaging some of the clan graves in the process and in the early 1840s new forestry plantations were established which have altered the character of the site to this day. It was at this time, however, that the desire for commemoration of the battlefield grew rapidly. At the 1846 centenary the lack of a tangible marker for the conflict was remarked upon in an article in the *Inverness Courier* and as Masson and Harden (2003: 206) have commented:

> The desire for a commemoration on the field of battle
> had grown, although it seems that the importance of
> identifying the site for visitors was at least as great a
> consideration as that of raising a lasting memorial to the
> clansmen who had fallen.

Gold and Gold (2003) see this as a reflection of the "Romantic Jacobitism" that was prevalent at the time popularised by the settings and characters of Scott's novels. If the

battle had been lost to the nation then attempts were now made to find the actual spot on which it had been fought for a new memorial and the original clan graves were now delineated by a stone and earth dyke (Masson and Harden, 2009). Although the foundation stone for the memorial was laid in 1849 the project lay in abeyance for many decades afterwards for lack of funds. In the 1880s, however, the Tenth Forbes of Culloden decided to accelerate the process of memorialisation and erected grave stones at the grass covered mounds to mark each clan. Pollard (2009) has cast doubt as to whether each grave pit holds the members of a particular clan in that in the confusion of burial many clan members might well have been mixed up. Nevertheless the significance of these markers has held the attention of visitors ever since. The identification of the site with the clans was further enhanced with Forbes's erection in 1881 of a large cairn nearby which states that 'The graves of the gallant Highlanders...are marked by the names of their clans' (Gold and Gold, 2007: 25). The site was thus and for the first time uplifted within the framework of tangible objects (memorials). These provided symbolic significance for the cause of Highland clan culture by now dismantled under the rapid social and economic changes which followed Culloden. Unusually for a battlefield there were now more memorials to the losers than the victors (in stark contrast to Waterloo, for example) and Gold and Gold (2007: 23) believe that at this time the Stuart dead were 'appropriated...for the cause of Scotland and Scottish national identity'. Memorialisation is rarely apolitical.

Other memorials have followed since such as stones marking the deaths of Lord Strathallan and MacDonell of Keppoch and a stone to commemorate the Irish forces in Jacobite service ("the Wild Geese") was erected by the Military History Society of Ireland in 1963. The Leanach Cottage was said to be the site of a particularly brutal massacre of Jacobite prisoners after the battle but as Pollard (2009) has argued it is not certain which features of the building date back to the time of the battle, if any. It was partially rebuilt by the Gaelic Society of Inverness after 1912 but whether it is authentic or not it forms an important marker for visitors to the site. The framing of the site had been further enhanced with the building of the first Visitor Centre at the site in 1959 by the National Trust for Scotland (its successor was opened in 2007) and a renewed conservation ethos at the site has tried to restore it as much as possible to what it looked like on the day of the battle (Pollard, 2009). Any interpretational initiative can be seen as contributing to the general framing and elevation of the site both physically and perceptually. The move towards authenticity is a form of marking in itself in that it is designed to provide an experiential imprint on the visitor's mind. Giving a site distinctiveness can be undertaken powerfully by physicality

but the creation and nurturing of an event in the imagination is an equally powerful form of sacralisation in providing a memorable imprimatur for both pre- and post-visit experience.

4.3.4.3 Culloden: Enshrinement

Although Culloden remained lost to the public consciousness it did attract a steady stream of visitors who commented upon the ambiance and historical magnitude of the event. Before the 1880s the focus of these visits was the collection of grave mounds (Masson and Harden, 2009) and after the construction of Forbes's memorial cairn the centre point of the site was this construction, the tourists being assisted by the new road after 1835 (Pollard, 2009). Nevertheless the numerous markers at the site are not in any way competing with the place in itself but continue to act as constituent parts of the whole. There is no 'frame competing with the picture' here and the site is enshrined through its conceptual and non-tangible aspects rather than any physical iconicism.

4.3.4.4 Culloden: Mechanical Reproduction

Culloden is well represented in literature, art, story and song and even in the present day it has a palpable impact on popular discourse, particularly within Scottish culture. This form of reproduction started immediately after the battle in the numerous accounts from those who had fought there which is in sharp contrast to the medieval sites previously discussed. Brander (1975) has shown how there were no ballads or songs written for many decades after the event. There was, however, a keen literary market for eyewitness accounts of this conflict which had very nearly toppled a dynasty and re-introduced the popular fear of Catholicism. The earliest accounts are from three soldiers who fought on the government side as volunteers: Michael Hughes, James Ray and an anonymous writer (Stephen, 2009). The works of those who were not present were also important in shaping the myth of the event, the most notable of whom was Robert Forbes (1708-75) who went on to craft his *magnum opus* about the rebellion, *The Lyon in Mourning* (between 1746 and 1775). This was re-published in abbreviated and edited form in the 1830s and went on to provide the basis for the first guidebook to Culloden written by Peter Anderson in 1867 (Gold and Gold, 2007). In 1802 John Home (1722-1808) published his *The History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745* based upon visits to the battlefields with individuals who had been present. Lord George Murray (1694-1760) wrote his account of the battle in the form of letters within months of the defeat and one was published in London in 1749 (Stephen,

2009). This was rare, however, in that most Jacobite accounts appeared much later including the accounts of James Maxwell of Kirkconnell (1708-62) in 1841 and Lord Elcho's (1721-87) had to wait until 1907. Walter Scott used the manuscript forms of the latter two to write his famed *Tales of a Grandfather* (1827-31) which showcased the Jacobite revolt and its denouement at Culloden to a very wide reading public.

Indeed the literary activity of Scott was of paramount importance in the reproduction of Scottish historical events and themes and the so-called Jacobite novels *Waverley* (1814), *Rob Roy* (1818) and *Redgauntlet* (1824) were particularly popular for much of the nineteenth century (Gold and Gold, 1995). One cannot underestimate Scott's impact in sustaining the Culloden name through his Jacobite subjects and the romantic fusion of place and historical theme was a potent ingredient in the encouragement of travel to the sites mentioned in his literary outpouring. The 'Bonnie Prince Charlie cult' predated Scott but took direction from his works and added to the continuing reproduction of the stories surrounding him (including his political end at Culloden) in the literary and popular conscience. Other appearances of the battle in literature include David Carey's *Lochiel: Or, the Field of Culloden* (1820) and as part of the martial undertones within the *Jacobite Relics* (1819) of James Hogg (1770-1835). Much of the literature above would have been the preserve of the more wealthy classes however. Within Scotland's more vernacular chapbook tradition, Dougal Graham (c.1724-1779) produced his *An impartial history of the rise, progress and extinction of the late rebellion in Britain, in the year 1745 and 1746* (1774) which gives a detailed account of all the battles of the uprising including Culloden (Cowan and Paterson, 2007). More recently the battle has formed a backdrop to such novels as *The Master of Ballantrae: A Winter's Tale* (1889) by Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94) and *Outlander* (1991) by Diana Gabaldon (1952 -).

The inclusion of Culloden in numerous travel accounts also contributed to the reproduction of the event in popular culture. The difficulties of travel in the north of Scotland were compounded by the tense political situation after the battle although Dr Johnson visited the site in 1773 and Robert Burns in 1787 (Brown, 1973), both having Jacobite leanings. The latter was unusually laconic in his description of the visit commenting in his journal, 'Thursday 6th September: Come over Culloden Muir – reflections on the field of battle – breakfast at Kilraik' (Brown, 1973: 21). What these reflections were is not recorded (unlike his visit to Bannockburn) although at this time it was still unfashionable to have Jacobite sympathies (ibid.: 62). With the lifting of Proscription in 1782, and the increasing interest

in travel to scenic places with the rise of Romanticism, the Highlands became popular destinations for travel. This was particularly the case during the period of war between 1791 and 1815 when travel to the continent was not feasible. As Durie has remarked

> The land of the rebellious had become the land of the
> respectable, where rain rather than rapine was the main
> concern (Durie, 2003: 36).

Nevertheless as mentioned above Culloden remained on the periphery of this interest until well into the nineteenth century when it joined the ranks of historic attractions being developed to serve the growing appetite for historic sites amongst the travelling public. As Durie has further commented

> The presence of the past was preserved for profit, rather
> than plundered for stone, and judiciously enhanced by
> man-made artefacts, evocative of past personages and
> episodes (Durie, 2003: 45).

The poem *Culloden* (1905) by Andrew Lang (1844–1912) is a morose and sympathetic lament for what was lost at the battle in the tradition of the Celtic idea of the 'glorification of sorrow'[24]. This literary motif is also popular within the category of 'remember the fallen' sites where lives were lost in defence of national principles and this intensifies the sacredness of the place. The reproduction of Culloden has been coloured by its association with a lost way of life and a lost cultural reference point: it is short-hand for trauma and sorrow. This is crystallised in the words of Acherson who says, 'Few nations do not incorporate a wound and Culloden allows Scotland to finger such scars' (Acherson, 2002: 174).

In addition to the impact of non-fiction one cannot underestimate the importance of *Culloden* (1962) by John Prebble (1915-2001) which brought a detailed, serious, yet readable approach to the subject. Gold and Gold (2007: 19) claim that it

> sought to strip away the romanticism of prevailing
> accounts and tell "the story of ordinary men and

---

[24] The phrase is that of H.V. Morton from his *In Search of Scotland* (London: Methuen, 1929).

women" rather than adhere to the tragic narrative
surrounding Prince Charles.

The book inspired the making of the docudrama *Culloden* (1964) by the film maker Peter Watkins (1935 -). The latter was made for TV and its gritty *cinéma vérité* style did much to portray the battle to new and wider audiences and continued to be shown at the old Visitor Centre until its closure in 2005. Gold and Gold (2007) have analyzed the importance of cinema and TV in the visualisation of Culloden and how the battle has often been conflated with the figure of Bonnie Prince Charlie all the way since his first portrayal in film in 1923. These films do play to the lachrymose sentiments of Romantic Jacobitism which is why the new approach adopted by Watkins above was so revolutionary. His film attempted to replace Romantic Jacobitism with political realism (the film was made under the shadow of the Vietnam conflict) and the importance of seeing places with new eyes and hitherto unrepresented voices. Gold and Gold's thesis is that cinematographic and TV representations now play a role that was once held by literature in cultural tourism. Their analysis 'considers film representations of Culloden as a way of unpacking the myths of romantic Jacobitism' but they conclude that the 'reinterpretations found in film...have only slowly permeated the narratives presented at the site itself' (ibid.: 5). This is important for Mechanical Reproduction in demonstrating that whereas the post-modern interpretation of sites is one of renewal and re-interpretation there is a danger that stale representations can persist if cultural reproduction and in turn heritage interpretation remains static.

In addition to its representation in literature Culloden was the subject of a large number of artistic works which generated a further layer of popular awareness of the event in British culture. The most celebrated and commonly reproduced painting was *An Incident in the Rebellion of 1745* (1746) by David Morier (1701/02-1770). The title does reflect the insignificance attributed by the Hanoverians to this conflict which most modern historians regard as having posed a mortal threat to the state at the time (Duffy, 2003). The engraving *Battle of Culloden, 16 April 1746* published by Laurie and Whittle two years after the battle gives a more panoramic view of the event with strong formulaic images enhancing the glory of the victory in a decidedly propagandistic manner. This approach is similar to that of other popular engravings of the time such as *An Exact View of the Battle of Culloden* (1746) and *The Battle of Culloden, near Inverness in Scotland* (1746). A more unusual representation of the battle is the Culloden Tapestry which, in the manner of the more

famous example from Bayeux, shows the battle in coloured silk threads and dates from the late eighteenth century (Anon., 2007).

As in literature there is a strong theme of loss and sorrow in some representations of the battle which emphasise the brutality of the conflict. This is particularly apparent in *Culloden Moor, looking across the Moray Firth, 1746* (c. 1830) and this has continued into modern artistic works such as *The Battle of Culloden* (1972) by Richard Hook (1938 -). The emotional resonance of the battle is also represented in such works as *The Lone Piper* by David Rowlands. That the drama and melancholia of the battle and the events surrounding it has relevance to a modern audience is evidenced by the popularly produced *Culloden: The Aftermath* by Brian Wood which sets the battle within the entire context of the uprising. The dramatic sweep of the painting as well as the intricacy of detail expresses a wide range of human emotions relating to a skilfully embedded artistic narrative. This is a painting with great relevance to contemporary Scotland if not the wider world and shows how the last chapter has not yet been written in the reproduction of the events of Culloden.

4.3.4.5 Culloden: Social Reproduction

The name Culloden was transported around the world into the Imperial age but not to the same extent as Waterloo. There are 'Cullodens' in Canada (Ontario and two in Nova Scotia) and Jamaica. At Knoydart, Nova Scotia, there is a Culloden Memorial with a cairn not unlike the one at its Scottish namesake in memory of men who survived the battle and moved to this part of Canada. These were Jacobites who fought in the Clanranald Regiment but according to the inscription on the cairn they did not emigrate until 1790-1. This would suggest that they were not fleeing in the face of persecution. Similarly Culloden in Digby County, N.S., was settled in the 1780s. Hawkins (1996) has analysed the impact of the Jacobite rebellion on North America and shows how the colonies there were profoundly loyal throughout the rebellion. However this was not the case by the 1770s when the American colonies started to seek detachment from British overlordship. This might account for the lack of place names associated with a particular chapter of Scotland's history in that, as Hawkins has shown, the '45 created a level of mistrust of Scots which survived for decades after the crushing of the rebellion. The blame for the rebellion was directed at Highlanders, however, and 'ardent defenders of the Scots focused primarily on the lowlands' (ibid.: 32). Scots were nevertheless moving to the colonies in large numbers (ibid.: 39-40) as emigrants or as soldiers serving in the British army. Some were also

transported as prisoners including Jacobites after the '45. But there is a paucity in the number of places named after the Jacobite cause which might reflect a certain amount of embarrassment amongst the newly arrived community. Although not an inherently "Scottish" event it is unlikely that Scotland's diaspora community would have been interested in transporting the name of a British victory on Scottish soil to their new homes overseas.

4.4 The site sacralisation process: analysis and discussion

The site sacralisation process is a useful template with which to understand the development of tourist sites and their position within the popular consciousness. Indeed Waterloo is a very powerful exemplar and can be seen as a benchmark for other battlefield sites. It is important, however, to be aware of the political and cultural differences which distinguish the battle from those in the above survey. Waterloo was fought at a time when Britain was emerging as a great industrial and imperial power and the fact that the battle put a decisive end to a national territorial threat gave it added kudos. Additionally interest in the event coincided quite fortuitously with a great increase in the numbers of people able to travel and this coupled with the technological revolution in transport over the century set the battle on a pedestal of military sites worthy of visitation (Seaton, 1999). Waterloo certainly fed the nationalistic appetites of an age keen for symbols of hegemonic glory but in the last century its influence has waned as Britain's position as an imperial power has diminished. This might demonstrate that the sacralisation of a site is subject to wider influences and there are no guarantees for perpetuation of a name or the cultural associations surrounding a place. Modern interest in a site could have an equally important role to play and this is outlined in Chapter 5.

These caveats aside it is clear that the four sites have certain similarities with the benchmark although stages of the process are better represented in some than in others. The framing, elevation and subsequent enshrinement of place is very well represented by Hastings and the influence of the mechanical reproduction stage is particularly strong at Culloden, for example. This might suggest that the success of a site is not necessarily related to the equal presence of each of these stages; it is notable that the social reproduction of all the sites is weak and it might be stretching the definition of that stage in

highlighting *local* examples of the cultural reproduction (as with Bannockburn). Another interesting factor which is clear from the analysis is the way sites can be popularised through historically important personages connected with the events. All four are connected with famous individuals but the subsequent link between cultural reproduction of place and personage is particularly strong at Bannockburn (Robert the Bruce) and Culloden (Bonnie Prince Charlie). Much of the mechanical reproduction of these sites has benefited from these associations. A further issue with the model is that MacCannell's chronological sequence of the process as outlined above is not always accurate. Seaton (1999) did point out that markers were being added to Waterloo long after the mechanical and social reproduction of the battle was underway and this is true of all four of the sites above which are still being marked in some way or another. Some sites have no markers at all but are well represented in the other forms of sacralisation. Sea battles are an obvious example of this with Trafalgar (1805) the clear doyen. Seaton held that the mechanical and social reproduction stages are the most crucial aspects in attracting visitors to a site. Without a popular awareness of a site or event tourist bodies have a difficult task and might need to create the cultural awareness that is necessary. Anniversaries of events are a form of this and (as mentioned above) there was little public awareness of Bosworth until the quincentennial events of 1985. The process of sacralisation should never stand still and this awareness needs to be sustained through regular promotion of the event and site to the public consciousness. Anniversary events (such as at Bosworth where the Richard III Society play an important role) and celebrations are used to do this and these activities can be seen as an integral part of the sacralisation process itself. Gold and Gold (2007) have demonstrated the importance of "memory texts" and how festivals and pageantry play a vital role in 'refreshing memory' (ibid.: 7). These events remind us of the abiding relevance of performance as a way of 'embodying memory' and although this chapter has not touched upon this area the importance of folk practices (ceremonies, song and dance) is of particular salience to the cultural reproduction of events such as battles. Re-enactment could thus be seen as another form of mechanical reproduction which is particularly valid in acquainting new audiences with the past.

Not all sites maintain their sacredness, however, and this 'dimming of the gaze' is evident in the case of Waterloo. A more prosaic comparison is with Butler's Product Life Cycle theory where as an attraction diminishes in importance attempts are made at rejuvenation in what can be seen as an attempt to re-sacralise (Cooper et al, 1999: 114-16). The opening of a new Visitor Centre at Culloden by the NTS in 2007 can be seen as an example of this.

Desacralisation of a site might be nothing more than an inability to keep pace with changes in market tastes. The site sacralisation model is unlikely to be a strict chronological sequence and not everybody is affected by the stages of the model in the same way. Although Seaton sees the cultural reproduction stages as more important not all tourists are affected by the representation of an attraction in this way. For some the site and its physical marking might be sufficient (as with the motorist who might see a tourist sign and visit a site on impulse with little or no prior knowledge). Conversely the framing and elevation stages might not be significant with those 'tourists' who are content to 'visit' a site through virtual on-line representations or through text alone. Although this might question the very definition of a tourist it does introduce the concept of cyber-tourism into this argument as an interesting cultural phenomenon.

The foregoing has highlighted some of the problems in using the model and how the sacralisation process can be developed through other means. It is important to realise that the sum total of the received canonical tradition of a site is not solely through written text. This is particularly important with regard to the medieval sites where in a pre-literate society much of the narrative would have been processed through memory. This tradition of memory of warfare is well represented through such works as Homer's *The Iliad* and the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*. Although the above discussion of the model has given examples of written forms of mechanical reproduction there would clearly have been a parallel culture of non-written memory of the events. Drawing on sociological theory Gold and Gold (2007) have shown how there has been a shift in the dynamics of memory over time from that embodied in 'performance' (habit memory) to that increasingly recorded as 'retrievable text' (archival memory) (ibid.: 7). Carruthers (2008) has shown how medieval society was 'fundamentally memorial' in nature and that the book did not change the function of memory until many centuries later. As she says,

> ...in a memorial culture a "book" is only one way
> among several to remember a "text", to provision and
> cue one's memory with "dicta et facta memorabilia"
> (Carruthers, 2008: 9-10).

This would suggest that the process of mechanical reproduction is influenced by an undercurrent of 'text' whether written or via the non-literary expression of memory. Memory was of singular importance in these memorial cultures and it would be appropriate

to see it as an important adjunct to mechanical reproduction with medieval sites. To take this further folklore and storytelling is an important part of battlefield 'lore' and is still a vibrant aspect of the perpetuation of the names and events of battles (e.g. performers at the Scottish Storytelling Centre still continue to relate tales of the Jacobites including their battles). It is convenient here to emphasise another relevant aspect of the place of text in mechanical reproduction in that a written text can also be an inscription on a monument or memorial. Slade (2003) has shown how this epigraphic legacy inputs meaning to the reader which is part of the process of framing and elevation or mechanical reproduction of the model (although the boundaries are unclear).

Much of the reproduction of site and event is thus experienced through text but in contexts detached from place itself. There is a great building of anticipation through the whole process of aspatial inspiration and text has an important function in cultivating the motivation to visit a site (in tourism terms the 'push' factor). In Gold and Gold's (2007) discussion of this phenomenon this emotional disposition to visit is seen to have an added value in firing 'the imagination of erstwhile tourists once they return home' (ibid.: 9). Representations therefore become 'circulating texts' in that they 'can provide opportunities for engagement with the past that families and communities once provided' (ibid.: 9). Text stimulates visitation which in turn stimulates more interest in the reproduction of the site/event in cultural discourse. This implies that reproduction is an active agent which is the underlying premise of MacCannell's argument. However, text alone does not make the experience. In his study of the Gettysburg battlefield 'storyscape' in the US Chronis (2005) argues that visitors play a much more active role in the construction of experience than previously thought. Although the initial text is produced by a 'culture producer' it is shaped and re-worked by both marketers and consumers in a process of negotiation. As Chronis has remarked

> Through differential readings of mere happenings, culture
> bearers provide their own interpretation and assign their own
> meanings to what might otherwise appear as a chaotic
> environment (Chronis, 2005: 401).

This 'coconstruction' is where existing meanings of the past are renegotiated in the context of the present and is based upon a mixture of pre-existing messages and refashioned personal meanings of a site from exposure to differing interpretations. A key feature of this

is that visitors come to sites not to experience the 'Other' in some *tabula rasa* manner but to see something they already know about (Gold and Gold, 2007). As we have seen from the Waterloo example, this familiarity is important and in the case of the Scottish sites mentioned above is fuelled by varying degrees of exposure to 'tartan nostalgia' (ibid.: 10) particularly among the diaspora communities (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995). This is the product of an intensively worked process (some would say 'industry') which is deeply embedded within the mechanically reproductive milieu described above. The English sites are unlikely to have the advantage of the same level of nationalistically rooted cultural persona. That battlefields sites are subject to such contestation is underlined by Raivo who in the context of Finnish sites has commented that they

> ...have markers, authors, readers and spectators, who both
> produce and re-produce the cultural and historic signifying
> processes attached to them (Raivo, 1998: 65).

What this discussion has assumed throughout is what is being represented. No attention has been paid to the silences, however, and cultural reproduction is inherently selective in its portrayals and crafting of 'text'. Urry (1996: 50) indicates how 'forgetting is as socially structured as is the process of remembering' which demonstrates that all reproduction exists within a tightly choreographed social setting which can defer to the *totschweigen*. It is only now that the voices of the under-represented are being heard at battlefield sites after being overlooked for so long in the process of sacralisation.

In answer to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter there has been a clear awareness of these sites throughout history expressed in a variety of forms of cultural reproduction. This process has affected the sites differently but the discussion has shown how site sacralisation has been a potent (if at times latent) force in the development of these sites. There has not been space here to examine the level of sacralisation of battlefield sites which have not become 'attractions ' but from the above discussion of developed sites it is my contention that this process has to be present to provide the foundations for the subsequent touristification of a site. The next chapter will examine the superstructure of site attraction installed on these foundations.

In his discussion of the structure of attraction MacCannell (1999: 41) defined a 'marker' as any 'piece of information about a site' and acknowledged that 'markers' could take on a

wide variety of forms. These would normally be tangible objects such as monuments, information boards or pictures. In addition to this he does include intangible definitions like the name of the site itself, the text of lectures and stories told by visitors (ibid.: 110). Nevertheless the importance of these intangibles is not sufficiently established in MacCannell's thesis and the above discussion of the way the four sites have been marked demands a more prominent position for these types of markers. Neither MacCannell nor Seaton (1999) provide markers with an appropriate identity and the types tend to be grouped into one amorphous definition. In my opinion a clearer understanding of the sacralisation process can be achieved if markers are divided into *physical* and *perceptual* types. The former would include tangible markers such as monuments, memorials, structures, churches, abbeys and even modern Visitor Centres. The latter would include the variety of forms of literature, guide-books, poetry, story-telling, song, dance, festival, film, TV and Internet but also guides, costumed actors and re-enactment. The two definitions are not mutually independent, however, and one serves to inform the other (e.g. guide books describe features and buildings). This does imply that marking can be non-tangible on the one hand and that tangible markers can be forms of cultural reproduction on the other. In trying to draw up an eclectic framework for understanding the sacralisation process, however, this does clarify the definition of 'marking' to include a range of items which serve to promote and interpret a site itself. It also allows us to interpret the value of each type in a particular way and how it impacts on the visitor. This new approach would acknowledge the immense importance of perceptual forms of marking which are of growing value in an increasingly 'visual' age. It would also highlight the influence of non-site specific perceptual marking in guiding the pre-visit decision making processes of tourists as to whether the site is worthy of visitation or not. The influence of a managed 'agency' involvement existing within a defined socio-cultural milieu is an important consideration in these decisions and this is now examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Beyond Sacralisation - The Heritage Boom and the Creation of Commercial Attractions

The sacralisation model provides an insightful explanation of the historical development of heritage tourist 'attractions' and the importance of marking in the establishment of a site in the national consciousness. Nevertheless whether MacCannell's five stage marking process is sufficient to account for the contemporary success of heritage sites is debatable and forms the subject of this chapter. Cultural appreciation of the past is a complex process and Holtorf (2008) argues that rather than being a function of original sites and objects themselves, understanding of the past is far more dependent on the broader socio-economic context in which it is being viewed. The past is thus a cultural construct (Lowenthal, 1985) and someone must make a judgement over what is viewed and how it is presented *in the present*. The site sacralisation model can explain this to a certain extent but the past is subject to contemporary meanings and evaluations set within powerful societal forces and this has to be incorporated into the model as a further stage. These processes are discussed below.

5.1 The socio-political background

The late twentieth century saw a burgeoning of interest in heritage in Western Europe to the extent that in the mid-1980s Hewison commented that 'the past is growing around us like ivy' (Hewison, 1987: 30). By the late 1980s museums in Britain were being opened at a rate of one a fortnight (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995: 2) and in the late 1990s Lowenthal was to report that 95% of existing museums post-dated World War II (Lowenthal, 1998: 3). 875 new museums were opened between 1971 and 1987 (Hewison, 1987: 24) while membership of the National Trust increased from 157,581 in 1965 to 1,046,864 in 1981 (National Trust, undated). Heritage has always been umbilically linked to tourism and the new penchant for heritage at this time cannot be seen in isolation from the rapid growth in tourism in the UK particularly from the 1950s onwards. Middleton (2005) has shown how UK tourism expanded from this time as a result of far-reaching economic and structural changes. These included increasing levels of disposable income

which rose by nearly 80% between 1971 and 1990 (Torkildsen, 1999: 137) and greater leisure time. There was also a dramatic increase in private car ownership rising from 3.1 million in 1955 to over 7.7 million in 1965 and 10.4 million in 1971[25], allowing greater mobility for the average Briton than at any other time in history. The wealth of British heritage attractions was now accessible and in addition to domestic visitation the country's tourist attractions were important in the stimulation of incoming tourism. In 1967 4 million overseas visitors arrived in Britain (Middleton, 2005: 38) although new opportunities created by advances in aviation technology also made it easier for Britons to travel abroad in ever increasing numbers.

The relationship between demand and supply within these changes is difficult to determine but one of the most enduring outcomes of the 'heritage boom' has been an orientation towards the provision of facilities for tourists and the introduction of the concept of the 'Visitor Centre'. As an example the National Trust for Scotland realised the need to provide for the requirements of visitors from the 1960s and new style Visitor Centres were opened at Glencoe in 1962, Ben Lawers (1966) and Glenfinnan (1966). This was a new departure from the more staid attitude of heritage provision which had taken a long time to move away from a rigidly didactic and unimaginative museology based on Victorian principles of taxonomy. The opening dates for the battlefield visitor centres surveyed in this study are significant (Table 5.1) and demonstrate a response to the new winds of change blowing through the heritage sector.

Culloden	1959[26]
Bannockburn	1967
Bosworth	1974
Hastings	1976

Table 5.1: Opening dates for first visitor centres at surveyed battlefield sites

In tandem with societal change Britain also experienced massive changes in its economic structure in the last quarter of the twentieth century, a context within which commentators

---

[25] Department of Transport vehicle statistics data table VEH0103 at http://www.dft.gov.uk/statistics?orderby=date&post_type=table&series=vehicle-licensing-parent-series

[26] Exhibition opened in the Leanach Cottage. The first large Visitor Centre was opened in the early 1970s (demolished 2006).

have been apt to interpret the growth in heritage. Hewison (1987) argues that this was a period of economic stagnation and decline in Britain's economic fortunes as the traditional heavy industrial and manufacturing industries gave way to a service economy. His thesis asserts that this decline is inextricably linked to the rising star of heritage in that 'instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing heritage' (ibid.: 9) although this has not been a deliberate choice. In addition there is the belief that in times of hardship a nation tends to look backwards into an idealised past which is 'summoned to the rescue of the present' (ibid.: 21). The idea is taken up by Lowenthal who states that 'dismay at massive change stokes demands for heritage' and 'remnants of stability' (Lowenthal, 1998: 6). In times of trouble 'we show chronic affection for anything apart from the present...' (ibid.: 10). The past is not only a 'foreign' country but a more appealing one. Hewison might be criticised for his Anglo-centric view of heritage (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995) and Urry (2011) criticises his views as being too limiting in neglecting the public's own readings and resistances to heritage. Nevertheless one cannot ignore the fact that the sites analysed in this study have been part of a wider heritage movement which is as strong as any other stage in their sacralisation. The growth of an industry in the service of national integrity is a force which cannot be ignored in this process.

The political climate of Britain in this period is also of significance to the growth of heritage which was ripe for appropriation for nationalistic agendas. McCrone, Morris and Kiely (1995) felt that heritage became a key issue in Scotland in the latter part of the century because it was a stateless nation with a 'continuous questing for identity' (ibid.: 6) (although it is debatable whether this is a widely held view outside the academy). Heritage was able to furnish these needs and legitimise national identity in providing distinction between Scotland and England. This was particularly important as the Scottish National Party (SNP) gained strength in the 1960s and 1970s up until their Devolution defeat in 1979 (Mitchell, 1996). An upswing in nationalistic sentiment is reflected in the release of the song *'Flower of Scotland'* by *The Corries* in 1967 with its Bannockburn associations. In that same year the SNP gained control of Stirling Council and the visitor centre was opened at the Bannockburn site. The site had become the focus for nationalist rallies from the 1950s onwards and McCrone, Morris and Kiely felt that so important was the battle site for Scotland that denying it's sacredness would be 'political suicide' for any political party (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995: 191). In these decades before the reestablishment of a Scottish Parliament in 1999 the site took on a particular resonance as the place that stood for independence not lost in war but in peace. Although Culloden was not a strictly

Scottish-English battle the site became established as a Scottish icon in the decades after the building of the first visitor centre. McArthur (1994) has shown how the 'magic' of the site is a nineteenth century creation stemming from sentimental Jacobitism and its 'rediscovery' through memorialisation. This challenges the importance of an ongoing process of cultural reproduction in the site sacralisation model and underlines the previous suggestion that sites often 'come into their own' at later stages in different politico-cultural contexts.

Heritage is often used to enhance nationalistic agendas and other areas of the UK use events and sites to establish distinctiveness and identity. In Northern Ireland Loyalist communities have appropriated the Battle of the Boyne (1690) for political ends (even though the site lies within the Republic of Ireland) (Ferguson, 2008) although there is not such a strong site specific equivalent in Welsh nationalism. The link between English nationalism and battlefields does exist but is not as strongly established as in Scotland which has the strongest regional fusion between nationalism and battlefield heritage. The above discussion has demonstrated how the latter part of the twentieth century was a period in which there was an additional array of forces impinging on the sacralisation of these sites. Although their memory has always existed within recognisable economic, social and political contexts the contemporary era has provided a different and potent form of sacralisation. Changes in the commercial outlook of agencies have also had a bearing on the heritage industry and these are examined in the following section.

5.2 The marketing background

Public access to British heritage has its origins in the Victorian museum movement although up until the 1950s and 1960s this was based upon the stern ethos that the visitor was privileged to be allowed entry and would have the necessary pre-existing knowledge to make sense of the collections (Millar, 1999). The educational value of heritage, the need for interpretation and a customer orientation within heritage organisations are distinctly modern concepts. The development of heritage as an industry since the 1960s (Hewison, 1987) has necessitated a more sharpened business orientation and managerial approach, particularly within the varied economic fortunes outlined above, where state support is mostly unreliable. A marketing orientation has thus developed as a crucial adjunct to heritage organisations.

Misiura (2006) shows how the birth of heritage marketing coincided with the birth of the marketing discipline itself in North America in the 1950s. The science of marketing has at its core the 'identifying, anticipation and satisfying of customer requirements, profitably' (UK Chartered Institute of Marketing, quoted in Misiura, 2006: 1) and this centrality of the customer is a crucial departure from the product-centric approach of earlier heritage provision. The 1970s saw an increasing conservation ethos in the UK and the inauguration of an active preservationist movement. The National Heritage Act (1980) made provision for protection of 'the heritage' but also sought to ensure public access and cultural consumption of the heritage resource. This came into force at a time when heritage tourism was developing as a strong sector of the industry, the burgeoning of heritage resulting in a profusion of provision as described above. It thus became important to understand the customer in the face of increasing competition from other providers and an understanding of the marketing mix (the four 'P's of Product, Price, Place and Promotion) and segmentation became important management considerations from the 1980s onwards (Misiura, 2006). Ever innovative forms of interpretation were at the vanguard of this marketing approach as the 'Product' became enhanced and made more appealing to wider market segments. As heritage sites became firmly identified within the stock of national tourist 'attractions' this approach mutated into an understanding of lifestyle choices and psychographic analysis as sites attempted to gain an edge on their competitors.

Ritchie and Crouch (2003) have described how advantages between places or sites in tourism terms are predicated by the differences between 'comparative' and 'competitive' advantage. The former refers to the naturally inherent resources endowed upon places which others do not have. These can include historical and cultural resources and the four surveyed sites are clear examples of this in that there are no comparable examples nearby. This might imply that these sites have no competitors but the raw resources themselves will not have true competitive value unless they are developed by the building of tourist amenities normally in the form of a visitor centre.[27] The idea of 'competitive advantage' (Porter, 2004) is vitally important in heritage marketing as it is in the marketing of any other product or service. Despite their generously endowed historical resources heritage sites can no longer simply see themselves in the heritage business as their competitors are those from diverse areas of the 'attractions sector' and competition can come from

---

[27] Ritchie and Crouch (2003) give the example of crude oil which is a naturally endowed resource giving countries a 'comparative advantage' but it does not have 'competitive advantage' until an entrepreneur adds value to it by refining the product.

seemingly unsuspecting places. In the case of Culloden, for example, the Manager sees other heritage attractions as competitors but also a nearby Garden Centre which can attract those who might be seeking a pleasant afternoon out but not necessarily at a battlefield site (Culloden Visitor Centre Manager, personal correspondence). Heritage sites need to think laterally and seek to understand their customer requirements realistically to avoid the pitfalls of 'marketing myopia'. In addition, heritage visitor centres need to be constantly aware of the quality of the visitor experience and seek to maintain as up to date interpretation and visitor facilities as possible. Competition thus stimulates improvement and the newly opened visitor centres at Hastings (February 2007), Bosworth (February 2008) and Culloden (April 2008) are indicative of this. There is a clear compulsion to provide a fresh experiential environment and at the time of writing a new Centre at Bannockburn is being developed,[28] the first replacement of the building dating from 1967. Table 5.2 illustrates the main product features of the four sites, their ownership and levels of nationalistic interest which have been discussed in this section.

The figures in Table 5.3 demonstrate how the opening of new facilities – *ceteris paribus* – results in an increase in visitor numbers. The analysis of pure throughput in visitor management is an inevitable consequence of a more focussed commercial outlook but does

	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Culloden	81,766	87,442	87,642	89,180	89,157[a]	124,053	112,565	99,335	69,186[d]
Bannockburn							41,697		
Bosworth (not including Country Park)	-	16,398	12,439[b]	12,167[b]	8,814[c]	35,392	40,297	34,462	18,184[e]
Hastings	158,638	117,629	105,413	118,584	129,340	119,448	131,480	137,805	84,750[d]

Table 5.3: Visitor Numbers - Battlefield Visitor Centres (excluding events)

Based on accounting years; opening year of new centres marked in red. For comparative purposes the annual closure dates are: Bosworth: January; Hastings: 1/11 – 23/12, 2/1 – 12/2, 18/2 – 31/3 open weekends only, 24/12 – 1/1 closed; Culloden: 24 December – 3 January and Bannockburn: November – February.

[a] March – February
[b] April – October
[c] December – March
[d] to end September 2011
[e] to August 2011

Sources: National Trust for Scotland, English Heritage and Leicestershire County Council.

---

[28] http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/news_article.htm?articleid=32999

	Reliable Location	Ownership	Major Events	Open Site	Additional Recreational Use	Car Park	Restaurant	Nationalistic interest	Level of commercialisation
Bosworth	No	Local Authority	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	High
Bannockburn	No	Charity (Trust)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Med/High
Culloden	Yes	Charity (Trust)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Med/High
Hastings	Yes	Government Body	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Med/High

Table 5.2: Characteristics of the four 'historic' British battlefield sites

gloss over the more important question of the basis of success in an attraction and the true quality of experience. Do healthy visitor numbers indicate success or is the quality of experience more important? Visitor surveys can help in our assessment of this and work done by the NTS at Culloden and Bannockburn in 2009 demonstrates a highly positive visitor experience.[29]

The sacralisation process is able to explain site development in cultural terms but stops short of highly relevant contemporary commercial processes which are crucial in our understanding of how the surveyed sites have developed to the present day. The above has shown how their success has been linked to a dynamic marketing approach and the challenges presented by the acceleration of a climate of competition in heritage provision. In marketing parlance the key offering here is based on the Product and the ingredients of this are communicated through various forms of interpretation which are described in the next section.

5.3 Interpretation at the surveyed sites

Interpretation is a constantly evolving process which seeks to engage the visitor through education and provocation. In the contemporary heritage market interpreters strive to provide stimulating experiences which are driven by the marketing exigencies of competition and commercial profitability. British heritage interpretation owes much to the pioneering approach of US roadside environmental interpretation of the 1950s (Calder, 1990) and the central importance of the visitor centre as the focus for the interpretative message.

There is no single best method of interpreting a heritage site and the tools available are normally blended into an appropriate mix depending on local circumstances, the nature of the 'story' and available budgets. The battlefield sites utilise a range of techniques which are outlined in Table 2.1. Some are common at all four (Information Boards, Films and Hands-on or working displays) whereas others like Lectures are only found at Culloden.

---

[29] For overall quality of visit the mean value was 8.89 for Culloden and 7.74 for Bannockburn and asked whether a visitor would recommend each site the results were 9.09 for Culloden and 7.74 for Bannockburn (Opinion scale: 1 = low; 10 = high). Survey conducted by Lynn Jones Research Ltd for the NTS. Results given in e-mails dated 30/07/10 and 02/08/10.

All sites emphasise the importance of the human story with a particularly powerful example at Bosworth where four 'talking heads' take the visitor through the display (Figure 5.1). These are audio-visual (AV) clips of actors playing figures from the time - three fictional (Alice the Innkeeper's daughter, John the Archer and Colette the French mercenary's wife) and one real historic figure (Sir Thomas Stanley). The visitor can follow these around as they reveal more of their experience of hardship, horror and moral dilemma as the story unfolds.
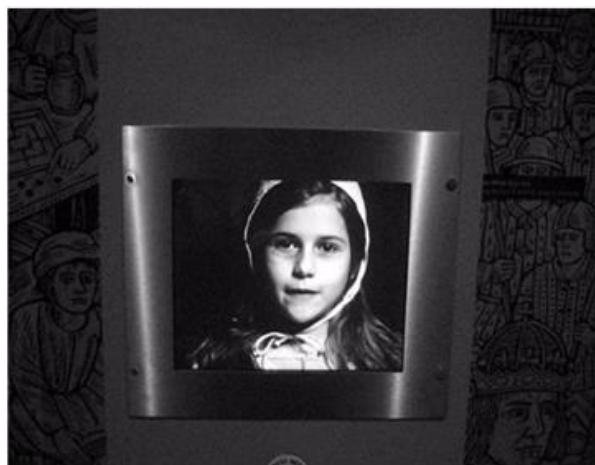
Figure 5.1: Bosworth – Alice the innkeeper's daughter

Figure 5.2: Culloden – Portable Guide. Picture courtesy of CMC Associates & Zolk C.

Figure 5.3: Bosworth - crossbow exhibit

Figure 5.4: Bosworth – armour exhibits

Wider AV forms of interpretation are well utilised and Hastings and Bannockburn have a film which visitors are encouraged to watch before they venture on to the site. At Bosworth this is integrated into the sequential display. The unremarkable legacy of battlefield sites does require certain stimuli for the imagination and films are an excellent and well appreciated tool to achieve this. The film at Culloden is a 'full-emersion' 360 degree battle experience comprising a room with a screen covering each wall and a graphic film of actors re-enacting the battle is shown simultaneously on each. The noise effects are

particularly loud and the whole experience grittily realistic. This is positioned at the end of the historical display sequence providing the visitor with a suitable climax to the visitor centre visit. Only Culloden and Hastings use hand-held audio-guides and the advantage of these is their ability to explain specific aspects of the events at certain points on the battlefield itself (Figure 5.2). This is able to provide a fusion between story and place which is of such importance in battlefield interpretation. Visitors are encouraged to take visual clues and look out and around them and imagine what it must have been like to have been there on the day.

The inclusion of real and replica artefacts into the displays is an important adjunct to interpretation at these sites and all had some kind of material evidence from the events. The most realistic examples are at Culloden and Bosworth where replica arms and armour and (in the former case) guns are provided. The key aspect of this is that visitors are encouraged to touch, lift and even try on the replica arms and armour which is a refreshing departure from the traditional 'don't touch' ethos of the traditional museum (Figures 5.3 and 5.4). It was clear that visitors were struck by the weight and uncomfortableness of these objects, a much more powerful way of demonstrating this aspect of battle hardship than the use of narrative alone.

Costumed actors are used at Culloden, Bosworth and Bannockburn, another well appreciated interpretational method (Figure 5.5). There was a definite educational focus

Figure 5.5: Culloden - costumed actor

which was most marked at Culloden where the actors gave talks and demonstrations on a range of battle related topics. They also led walks around the field and were a common sight in the centre's foyer being the inevitable subject of photography.

Interpretation is a highly visible and unavoidable aspect of the sites and speaks volubly in any contemporary narrative surrounding these places. The whole package of interpretation is thus a key 'marker' in itself both physically (visitor centre or information boards) and perceptually (dissemination of information and stimulation of popular discourse).

5.4 Chapter conclusion

As limned at the beginning of this chapter the cultural construction of the past is well acknowledged and the site sacralisation model explains much of the dynamics behind it. This chapter has shown how modern socio-political forces have had a more important role to play in this process than has previously been admitted in the literature and the growth of a commercial orientation in heritage is crucial in our understanding of the contemporary existence of tourist sites.

In the contemporary commercial age the visitor centre is the most striking example of the physical aspects of sacralisation as a solid and enduring presence within the historical landscape. The centre's attendant interpretational aids are also a powerful complement to this in having a dual physical and perceptual sacralisation role. Apart from monumentalisation there has been no comparable physical marking of the tourist site like this and modern marketing and promotion of the sites and media interest has provided a dynamic perceptual public image of them as 'attractions' unparalleled at any other stage in their development. For this reason I have introduced the new phenomenon of 'commercial marking' as a further stage in the process and this is included in my revised model of site sacralisation in Figure 5.6. This is not to say that the Mechanical/Social Reproduction stages of the model need to be in abeyance before this new stage can be present (the stages are not necessarily in chronological order for different sites). Commercial 'marking' of a site can operate in tandem with the other stages, but more accurately, in addition to being the precursors, the five stages provide a foundation for my sixth stage which can be seen as an overarching superstructure to the entire model.

The discussion above has outlined how heritage sites exist within a sharply defined commercial climate and there is no guarantee that a site will flourish or even survive despite a solidly established presence in the public consciousness as a result of sacralisation. Furthermore one could argue that sites might be able to operate as tourist attractions without the building of a visitor centre as is the case at Flodden (1513). As the site of what was perhaps the worst military disaster in Scottish history this site has been well established through a process of sacralisation (English Heritage, 1995b) and a series of footpaths and information boards have been developed. Nevertheless the main interpretational effort is provided through the Remembering Flodden Project website which has a series of high quality virtual tours and free MP3 downloadable audio guides[30]. In addition the Flodden Eco-Museum includes sites associated with the battle around the area and has developed a 'Virtual Visitor Centre'[31]. This raises the interesting question of whether physical interpretation is a necessity and if in a post-sacralisation era sites can be 'marked' by other means (Figure 5.6).

---

[30] http://www.flodden.net/

[31] http://www.flodden1513.com/index.php/site. Virtual Visits have also been introduced by the NTS – see http://www.nts.org.uk/Learn/virtual_home.php. The Eco-Museum concept is described by Davis (2011).

Figure 5.6: A new look at the Site Sacralisation process

Virtual Marking – the Eco-museum concept?

(6) Commercial Marking (buildings, marketing and promotion, media interest)

Socio-political forces

Perceptual and non-perceptual marking

(5) Social Reproduction

   (4) Mechanical Reproduction

      (3) Enshrinement

         (2) Framing and Elevation

            (1) Naming

Normally in chronological order but exceptions exist
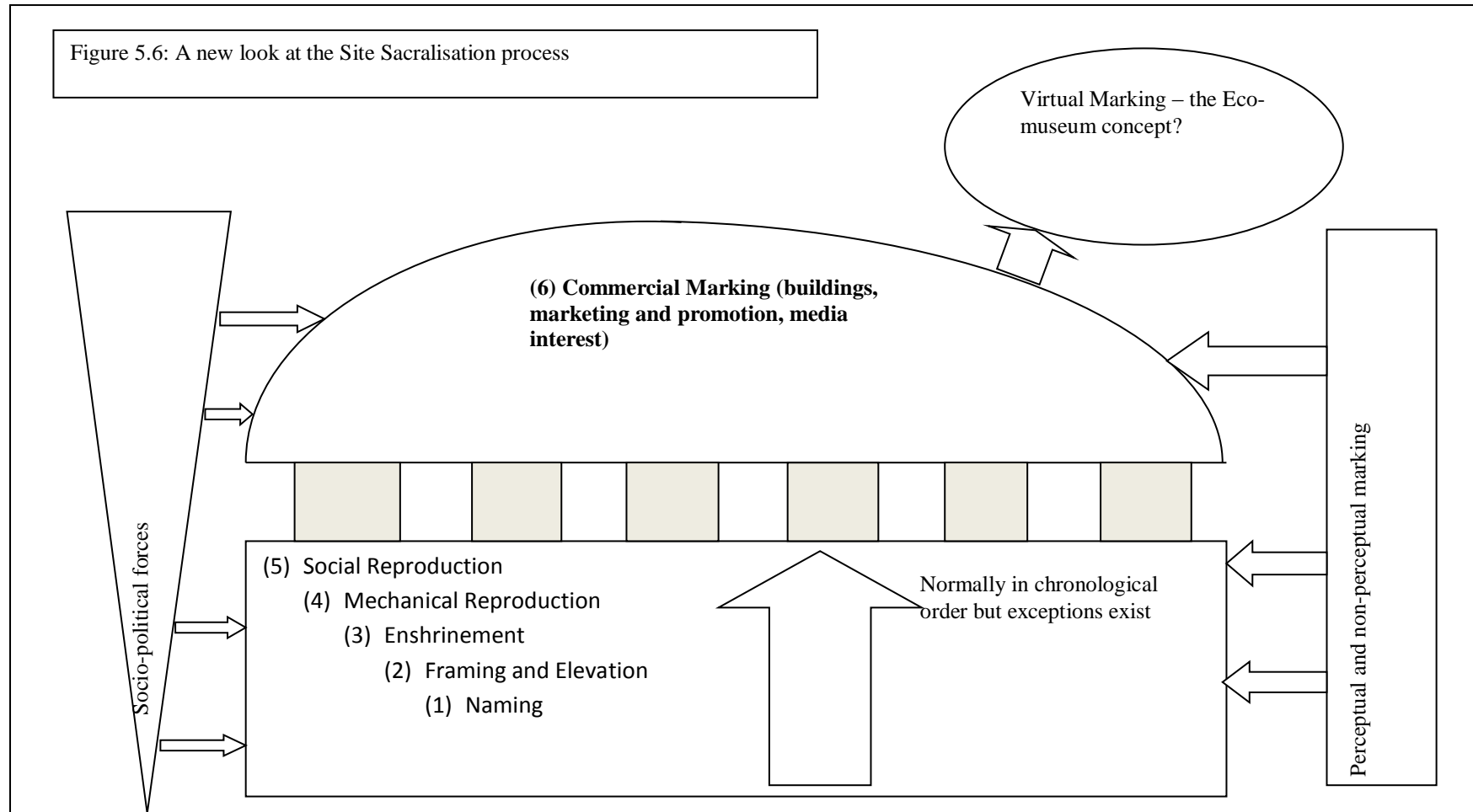
Chapter 6

Non-visitor (Expert/Stakeholder) experiences of battlefield sites

The previous discussion has shown how battlefield sites develop as attractions and has upheld the importance of modern interpretation and commercialisation in this process. The survey now moves on to a closer analysis of experience at these sites in order to investigate meaning and examine the impact of interpretation. The first chapter in this series (Chapters 6 – 9) consolidates the results of taped interviews with 15 Experts/Stakeholders who have a close involvement with battlefield sites. The transcripts were analysed and broad themes were identified which are discussed here.

The value of using phenomenological methods to provide as wide an illumination of socio-cultural attitudes as possible is well attested in the literature (e.g. Robson, 2002; McClanahan, 2004; Ritchie, Burns and Palmer, 2005) and is an important tool in eliciting the meanings that people attach to places (Jones, 2004). This flexible approach is designed to allow the respondent to speak in an untrammelled manner and express a level of breadth and depth in an answer which is not possible within the restrictions of directed surveys and quantitative methods. The subjectivity of this approach is welcomed and individuals are encouraged to express their own points of view freely. The ensuing chapters utilise this method in order to provide a richer picture of the meanings attached to battlefields and their locations.

6.1 Interpretation

6.1.1 General Aspects

Chapter 3 has already underlined the overriding importance of interpretation in theory and how Tilden's principles provide a firm and enduring foundation for the practitioner. Interpretation is different from just relating facts and good interpretation will provide enrichment through meaning and perspective (Tilden, 1977: 18). The key facts need to be

covered but interpretation moves beyond that into a deeper and enlivening realm. As one respondent recounts:

> …it's a bit like writing a story. Everyone's heard of the story – [like] the Pied Piper of Hamlyn. If you're going to write a story you have got to get the Pied Piper in, the mice and the children (at that level) so that people know where they are. But then your job is to bring it alive in whatever method that may be. Whether it is film or whether it is an object that has a different sort of iconic immediacy. Your job is to actually pull people into the past and to allow them to be able to interrogate that past... (Senior Curator, English Heritage).

'Pulling people into the past' is a necessary tactic for any heritage attraction but is even more critical for those intangible sites which leave little to see on the ground. The visiting public will need to be guided and provided with a narrative on which to base their 'interrogations':

> Unless you are an expert in a particular battlefield that you're going to visit or a particular property that you are going to visit and you can stand there and recall all the information in your brain and satisfy yourself that way, interpretation is hugely important otherwise you are just looking at a field or just looking at a pile of stones...In whatever form it works for you its having someone giving you that information in the way that you need it, in the way that makes you [say] 'right actually I can understand now what happened here' and [you] leave feeling that you have had an actual experience (Head of Events, English Heritage).

This is re-iterated by another respondent who hoped 'that interpretation would…lead people to have some sort of private experience…of the site…' (Head of Strategy and Operations, Historic Scotland). The historical background behind battlefields and the task of relating the configuration of army units on the day to the current topographical features on the ground (or lack of them) is quite demanding. This was emphasised by another respondent:

I'm not even sure why I would particularly visit battlefields to be quite honest. I sometimes find it very difficult in going to a new battlefield site looking at a landscape and...trying to connect with it...desperately trying to connect with the people who fought there...It's kind of a jumble looking at it (Battlefield Archaeologist).

If an Archaeologist with an intimate understanding of landscape can encounter this problem then it is all the more important to explain the events of a battle in a clear and engaging way to tourists who might only want to spend a limited amount of time at the site.

Skilfully designed and executed interpretation can thus stimulate interest in a site and serve to provide a fertile environment for learning. This fulfils Tilden's overarching principle that interpretation exists to educate (Tilden, 1977: 8). As a tool in broadening the appeal of heritage attractions and their underlying messages interpretation is vitally important and this is well understood by some heritage managers:

…gone are the days when it was thought that really you had to have a history degree before you were allowed to visit a castle or a battlefield or a museum and I think people with even only the smallest amount of knowledge should be able to go and visit these places and take something away with them, you know, take some kind of understanding away with them and I think you have to work out what different ways work for different people (Head of Events, English Heritage).

…we have been trying very hard over the past few years to get away from that image that heritage is for clever or white middle class people who have had a good education and that they are the only people who deserve to go. Only those who are going to make the most of it should be allowed to go and therefore probably only those people who can understand it. We have spent a long time trying to make these places as accessible as possible so that anyone who feels [like it] can go (Head of Events, English Heritage).

The feeling that battlefields are better in helping people understand the past than other heritage attractions was reflected by a number of respondents. The suggestion is that this stems from their sense of drama and emotiveness and also the concentration of events into short periods of time. This makes their stories easier to comprehend than the complexities of sites spanning many eras:

> I think people really get a sense that something's happened here [at battlefields]. I think it's that happening, is that sense that it's an event, it's a lot easier to comprehend than decades of living or occupation of a particular site. I think it's often difficult to get that in your mind's eye and that people actually lived here or worked here. Whereas if there's an event and something's actually happened and it's quite famous that's…quite an attractive thing because you can almost understand it in a day rather than an archaeologist who has to or an historian who has to read through quantities of [documents]...You go to Lindisfarne for example where you get museum fatigue trying to read through hundreds of years of this and that. But if you go to a battlefield it's there, its fresh, it's exciting (Battlefield Archaeologist).

> I think I see battlefields as quite an important means of getting people to engage with their past more fully. I think they are things which people know about, they are things which are very emotive and therefore they are a good way in to helping people engage with the wider past which is much more varied and complicated than simply battlefields. And I would also see them as a way of engaging people in understanding how the landscape has changed…(Head of Strategy and Operations, Historic Scotland).

Interpretation must, however, be designed and executed subtly in a manner which complements the site and not drawing the visitor's gaze away from it:

> …if the interpretation overwhelms the experience then it's bad. And if the design detracts from the site or the event then it's bad interpretation. An audio guide that doesn't encourage people to

take visual clues and look at the things is a bad audio guide and so is a multi-media guide which is only there to show off its technical capabilities. Good interpretation and good design is probably very boring and unobtrusive (Acting Head of Interpretation, English Heritage).

This comment presupposes the preponderance of the visual in site interpretation which is alluded to elsewhere in these results. The idea is also emphasised in other comments:

…interpretation ought to be as unobtrusive as possible. Personally I quite like site boards [but] not too many and not too obtrusive because it helps people identify whereabouts they are. But I think the more common use of hand-held GPS technology which gives people a commentary as they go around [is] also very helpful and gives people the chance to experience things in a completely unobtrusive manner. Over and above I think that interpretation needs to respect both original features and perhaps particularly sensitive areas of a site perhaps where graves are and should let some parts of the site be fairly respectful places of silence perhaps and let the place speak for itself (Head of Strategy and Operations, Historic Scotland).

The organisational intent of interpretation varies between sites. Bannockburn and Hastings seem to present the facts as they are and allow visitors to make up their own minds although the management of the other two surveyed sites have a more nuanced approach:

A lot of people have come here previously and still come to some extent with…pre-conceived ideas of what the battle was about - Scotland and England, Catholic and Protestant - and we try and explain to them that actually in reality that's not what it was about (Property Manager, Culloden).

…we have a role to try and re-interpret history or at least to re-educate the public perception of history (Operations Manager, Bosworth).

All four surveyed sites are open to contention in their historical interpretations but this is particularly marked in the case of Culloden and Bosworth. The former has often been seen as an English – Scottish battle whereas in reality there are likely to have been as many if not more Scots fighting for the Government side as there were on the Jacobite (Duffy, 2003). In the case of Bosworth the issue relates to the location of the battlefield which at the time of the survey was being accurately relocated after fresh archaeological discoveries (Foard, 2010). The interpretational endeavour was thus to try and divert the public's attention away from the 'old' location on Ambion Hill at the Visitor Centre itself and redirect it towards the new site a few miles away (even though public access for this site had not been secured). The site management reflected a considered need for a flexible approach to interpretation conducted in a spirit of sincerity:

> …ultimately we have a moral duty to the public at large to…tell the truth. Now I'm not saying therefore you have to say everything but you certainly can't carry on saying a known lie (Operations Manager, Bosworth).

A further issue surrounding this site is the overwhelming presence of the Richard III cult which visitors cannot avoid. The site's interpretation is inexorably drawn into the controversy over Richard's character and Bosworth as the place of his death plays an important role in being the place where this discourse is embodied and perpetuated. The Richard III Society plays a key role in this and was involved in the planning of the new Visitor Centre which opened in 2008.

Whereas the new location at Bosworth has given the site an opportunity for rejuvenation and renewed public interest the location of the event at Bannockburn is proving to be a difficult challenge.

> Depending on an academic point of view the problem with the interpretation of the site is that it's quite controversial. We are located traditionally at the New Park…where Bruce trained his troops and [its where] he awaited the approach of the English line. It's also...where we have the Borestone where Bruce is traditionally supposed to have placed

his Standard…and that's one of the main points. The problem is that the battle is fought over two days and that is the main issue here – where exactly is the location of the second battle on the second day? That's the main problem. And it's locating that. I don't think to be quite honest we might ever find it. Historians will say 'yes it's here' but others say it could be in two locations (Property Manager, Bannockburn).

Bannockburn does suffer in that the site of the battlefield is mostly under the suburbs of Stirling (Watson and Anderson, 2001) and this is clearly an interpretational problem as the Manager points out.

6.1.2 Importance of the human story

The importance of emphasising the human story in interpretation was well appreciated by many of the respondents and is a central aspect of interpretational design at all surveyed sites:

The human side is what grips people...and the archaeology and the genealogy start to tell us more about the human side. So the fact that we have fragments of jewellery, saddlery [and] coins dropped by people, [and] occasional discoveries of the dead tells us quite a lot about the human side…If you have the politics and the economics without the military history or without the human side [then] it's lifeless, it's dull and it's not the whole story (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

The preference for personal stories amongst visitors to heritage sites is well attested in the literature (e.g. McIntosh and Prentice, (1999); Cameron and Gatewood, (2000)). As limned in Chapter 3 Cameron and Gatewood (2003) demonstrate how visitors are not attracted to exhibits that describe large industry or technology (ibid.: 58). Rather than detail the preference is for small-scale personal stories and anecdotes to which people are better able to connect. This confirms the point made above about the great strength of battlefield sites in that they are places where immensely personal stories are played out. It is sharing in an individual drama and as one respondent comments, with 'people who go through perhaps the most traumatic times of their lives, ever'. This person continues:

It's probably the most personal that you'll ever get to anyone. If you find a bone or a quern stone or something like that that has been used, other people might have used it. It's very interesting, that's fine. But if you find a musket ball that's been impacted or a trigger-guard that has a musket ball scar on it, then that's a single event, it's something that's happened immediately, and it's something that has had an immediate effect on somebody, on that person, whether it [caused] death or serious injury and how it affects everything else (Battlefield Archaeologist).

A particularly moving example of the power of the personal and its link to the present is given by one respondent in the context of a visit to a First World War site museum in Belgium:

I took a group of kids to a place called Tyne Cot cemetery, the Visitor Centre there, [with] a school from Leeds. And we go into this Visitor Centre. [There's] a very well chosen series of artefacts these ones...an exchange of letters. One of them is a postcard saying 'I'm well', dated August. The next one is a letter dated 9th October saying – a reply from this man's wife – saying 'I'm so glad you're well and I trust you are still well'. The next is the notice of death of this man of the same day. By the time she had wrote and posted that letter he was dead, on the same day. And this girl picked this up and said, 'I know that street, I know those cottages'. Because the address was on there...if you like [there's] this interaction of local...and to walk down that street and to know that somebody in 1917 had sat in that cottage and penned a letter not knowing her husband was already dead (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

Because of the rawness of events in more recent history visits to such sites often elicit deeper emotions concerning human stories than events further back in time. The same respondent continues:

> …there is no doubt that the places that people feel the greatest
> intensity are very often those which are places which are more recent.
> Where you have still got evidence of the battle around – the trenches in
> the First World War, the beaches – Omaha Beach – and it helps if you
> have seen something like *Saving Private Ryan* and television and film
> and computer games play a big part in setting people's
> expectations...In my view I've never seen anybody have an intense
> experience at a place like Barnet, Naseby or Towton[32] as they would
> seem to at Omaha Beach or the first day of the Somme… Where it
> does happen is where people become concerned about causes. In
> sociological terms you have to look at these in terms of symbolic
> locations, sacred places of ground sanctified by the loss of blood
> (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

Empathy with those who fought in these conflicts is a common sentiment of visitors to the
sites as examined later in this study. But the duration of time does make such feelings
unrealistic especially when compared to more modern conflicts. When talking about
twentieth-century battles one respondent commented:

> …you're much closer and the human connection is much closer
> because, you know, it's the story of your grandfathers or at least my
> grandfather's generation – the First World War – and young people's
> great –grandfathers. Whereas actually there's very few of us who can
> really say, 'I had a relative who fought at Hastings or at Bosworth'.
> That makes a difference. The other thing is the human experience-
> thinking through the eyes of the fifteenth century man, thinking
> through the ideas of what a Catholic Englishman of the fifteenth
> century or a thirteenth century Scotsman thought. Well actually that's a
> lot harder for a twentieth century or twenty-first century person to do
> than to think like your granddad (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

---

[32] The battles of Barnet (1471), Naseby (1645) and Towton (1461).

Another facet of getting close to the participants is relevance and comparison with our lives today. Often we hear of numbers of armies or the scale of losses with no way of comparing them with anything that is meaningful:

> [At Hastings] we compared the size of the two forces which were facing
> themselves to the size of towns at the time and the losses were
> comparable to a small town. I think that sort of brings it across and that's
> probably what I [mean] by relevance. In order to be relevant things have
> to be comparable and people have to have a point of relation to their daily
> life to make...the impact understandable (Acting Head of Interpretation,
> English Heritage).

This chimes with Tilden who believed that 'interpretation must relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor' (Tilden, 1977: 9). Otherwise its effect is limited and a valuable method of understanding is lost.

6.1.3 Educational aspects of interpretation

The idea of battlefields as educational resources was mentioned by a number of respondents. An important feature of this is to make sure the processes employed are innovative:

> It's about learning rather than education in the sense that the key
> thing is to allow people to learn...it's not the didactic dissemination
> of information to people; you are giving people the information so
> that they can then learn and make up their own minds in that way. By
> presenting the facts people can then make their own minds up
> (Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust).

The value of battlefield sites in contributing to history teaching in schools also comes through in the responses and this is evidenced by the number of school groups who visit the four sites. Experiential and hands-on learning is acknowledged and as one respondent reported:

…it can be touchy feely and for kids to get off a bus on a battlefield trip and to [get into] full armour and pick it up and have a go, and take them out on a walk and then they're brought back and [see] some artefacts and then they have a go at a long-bow is completely different from what they would imagine a history trip to be. The history trip I used to have as a kid used to be to a museum and some fuddy-duddy bloke telling you stuff and then you get back on the bus and having to write a project (Chairman, Towton Battlefield Society).

Making learning interesting and fun is therefore a key element in battlefield interpretation and the best examples follow Tilden's Sixth Principle in viewing children's interpretation as different from that of adults (Tilden, 1977: 9).

The use of costumed actors and 'living history' encampments is a common feature of these managed sites and is frequently used in a wide range of heritage attractions. These are well acknowledged educational tools and are widely used in interpretation of events for all ages. At one 'unmanaged' battlefield site (with only a small portacabin as a Visitor Centre) a local interest group runs a popular and informative session to bring the battle to life:

The most successful method we employ – and it seems to work every time – is that [we have] people in good authentic kit working as guides. So when they stop and tell they can bring back the emotive moments as to this is what it looked like, this is what it would have felt like, go on pick the sword up and see how heavy it is, this is all in the cold and the snow[33]. That really does bring it home to people. I think also that if you can get them to take part in something. When we take kids around we always get them to have a go at a long-bow...It's that traditional craft value, it's unlocking something inside somebody. Someone might walk around the battlefield and say 'I'm not actually interested in this' but when you get them back to somewhere and get a long-bow in their hand they might say 'oh, this

---

[33] The battle of Towton was fought in a snowstorm (Smurthwaite, 1984)

is quite interesting, I'm quite interested in military history'
(Chairman, Towton Battlefield Society).

It is noteworthy that the idea of handling the equipment and 'having a go' is in stark contrast to the more reverent attitude to learning in the museums of the past where handling anything was forbidden and the approach to learning was heavily didactic. Rather than pictures of armour and equipment or the real thing behind a glass case visitors are now given the opportunity to learn about such aspects in a practical and realistic way. How can one appreciate the weight of armour without actually trying it on?

Battlefields can also be the learning portals to other areas of interest which demonstrates other layers of their meaning:

> And for them [the visitors] their visit to Towton might actually spark
> an interest in the First World War. It's getting the battlefield of
> Towton or wherever to spark that imagination. I've walked people
> around the battlefield and they've gone mad about the hedgerows,
> because there are ancient hedgerows. And you can capture someone
> who's got a keen interest in walking [or] people take up photography
> on the back of it…I mean I moved to Pontefract many years ago [and
> had] never heard of the battlefield, went for a walk, came across a
> couple of signs, read a book, went to a meeting and didn't get too
> heavily involved, but got involved with the long-bow and that's how
> I got into the history really (Chairman, Towton Battlefield Society).

Battlefields thus play a further role in providing a social context for learning and this often goes beyond the *prima facie* attraction of the site and story itself.

6.1.4 Comments on Visitor Centres

As sites with little physical remains the need for interpretation at a battlefield is of particular importance and this has been discussed elsewhere in this study. The central position of the Visitor Centre in the presentation of the site is underlined in the following comment:

...when I go into a new battlefield or a new site and look at it sometimes it takes me a long time just to look at the maps and try to work out where things happened. I don't have that natural ability to say 'oh, yes and they came down this hill and they went through here'. And I think for a visitor who maybe has a few hours to look around, and maybe doesn't have a historical or an archaeological background, then I think it's very necessary to have a Visitor Centre in order to provide that background and to give that support to a visitor as they are going through. You can't expect people to look at a field…we are talking about an event here that might have taken half an hour or an hour or a day. It's not tangible as any other archaeological monument would be. Therefore that Visitor Centre provides that tangibility, what you can see. As Culloden does it prepares you to go out and you have got that background to say 'ah yes' and that's there and where everything happened. And I think that it's very important to have that (Battlefield Archaeologist).

What is clear here is the overall preponderance of the visual in this respondent's experience and the expectations of the wider visitor body. There is a strong 'privileging of the eye' in western societies (Urry, 2002) which values visual images in any interpretation of a site (the reason why other senses have been downplayed is explained by Urry (2000: 94-113)). When properly planned and executed Visitor Centres are a powerful medium in transmitting this tangibility and the point made in this quote about preparing the visitor to 'go out onto the field' is at the very essence of this form of interpretation. Visitors are being furnished with the basic facts and pre-loaded with a range of visual prompts which are the fertile stimuli for the imagination. The latter is of particular importance in the interpretation of battlefield sites and provides the foundations for the cognitive rumination of the events of the day and the matching of narrative to topography which gives substance to the development of meaning at such sites.

If Visitor Centres have an important role to play in interpretation then they also invite opposition from those who see them as intrusive and damaging to the cultural ambience of small settlements:

I think if you put a battlefield centre anywhere on there [the battlefield], anywhere near it, you would begin to damage the infrastructure around it and the environment around it. You would have to widen roads and have new roads and shops would appear and new houses, increased traffic levels and I think you would take away a lot of the aspects of what is Towton (Chairman, Towton Battlefield Society).

Again we don't have a large and intrusive Visitor Centre...I'm highly envious of Bosworth's…but I think if we had something like that actually in Branxton it might well detract from the feeling of calm that does pervade here (Chairman, Remembering Flodden Project).

This could reflect the general anti-development sentiments of local communities in modern society. But the fact that battlefields in all areas of Britain do not enjoy statutory protection (English Heritage, undated; Historic Scotland, 2009) means that battlefield enthusiasts do not want large developments such as this in case they are seen to be endorsing one kind of development and opposing other forms. Small scale Centres are, however, welcomed although away from the sites themselves:

I think if we did get one locally then I don't think it should be on the battlefield site. Within walking distance all well and good but not to actually to detract from the battlefield site itself. There's a ruined farm steading – they considered converting it into a Visitor Centre but nothing came of it. Whereas it's perfectly placed to be a Visitor Centre it's perfectly placed to spoil the battlefield itself. But you'll have cars coming and going [and] parked there of course. I hope that doesn't happen and I don't think it will happen now (Chairman, Remembering Flodden Project).

The emphasis here on the ambience and sense of place is striking and is further evidence that battlefield sites are valued not just for their link to an event but for deeper aesthetic reasons also. They also elicit a strong sense of local pride.

Visitor Centres are clearly important in commercial terms also and this is seen as an example of the use of heritage within the tourist industry for pure economic gain. Large Visitor Centres are thus 'cash cows' selling a commodified form of heritage. This point was put to the site managers interviewed and was universally refuted by all of them:

> I would have to respond by saying have a look at our books –
> Bannockburn operates at a huge deficit every year. The thing is and the
> bottom line is that the NTS are a charity but it is a business, it has to be
> run as a business, we have to be…able to wash our faces…So I think in
> terms of a cash cow we need to generate money to basically survive – its
> as simple as that. But in terms of looking at it as a cash cow, no we're
> not; I would deny that completely (Property Manager, Bannockburn).

The dilemma facing the National Trust for Scotland (and other heritage charities) is one of having to look after a large number of properties and areas of land many of which cannot generate their own revenue. The idea of cross-subsidisation is brought out here:

> Yes, I can see [that] some people feel that. But the NTS is a charity and it
> has over 130 properties in its care. Some of these are the most important
> places in Scotland, are iconic sites, and we need to preserve them. [But]
> you can't do that without money. A lot of our properties don't make any
> money and they are very very expensive to maintain and keep. The
> money has to come from somewhere so it comes from membership and
> the money that's raised at the properties. It's a balancing act. We need to
> balance conservation and access and allowing people to go on the site and
> with conserving it (Property Manager, Culloden).

There is also a sense that visitors are going to come anyway and an important role of the Visitor Centre is to manage these numbers:

> …it is a difficult balance and some people think there shouldn't be
> Visitor Centres on the site but there is a need for it. If visitors are
> coming to your site they are coming in anyway [so] you have to
> provide facilities for them basically to protect your site. Because a lot

of damage can be done just due to that fact if you don't have car

parks and toilets and Centres (Property Manager, Culloden).

The management interviewees at Bosworth and Hastings also echoed the above practical explanations for having a Visitor Centre. The need for a recent redevelopment of the Visitor Centre at Hastings was because there was confusion amongst visitors coming to the site that the town of Battle and it's Abbey had existed before the battle of 1066 (Head of Visitor Operations, 1066 Battle Abbey and Battlefield).

Visitor Centres are thus pivotal aspects of interpretation and provide a clearly defined focus for any visit. Although important they are not essential, however, as the many examples of smaller scale interpretation at battlefield sites demonstrates.

6.1.5 Comments on battlefield re-enactment

Battlefield re-enactment is a firmly established form of interpretation in the British heritage scene with an estimated 20,000 members of re-enactment societies in 2009 and the flagship English Heritage *Festival of History* held every year in Northamptonshire featuring over 2000 performers and drawing crowds of around 20,000 (Giles, 2009). The 2006 anniversary re-enactment of the battle of Hastings attracted 22,000 visitors and increased the yearly income of the site to £1.25 million.[34] Re-enactments provide spectacle and entertainment and 'unlike monuments…have the potential to create more open ended and contextual historical commemorations' (Gapps, 2009). They are not without their detractors, however, and much of the opposition to re-enacment centres around the suitability of entertainment as a serious interpretation of history and issues of authenticity. These aspects were put to interviewees and a range of opinions was reflected as follows.

Not surprisingly representatives of government heritage bodies who use re-enactment gave positive comments:

---

[34] Personal correspondence with Head of Visitor Operations, 1066 Battle Abbey and Battlefield, July 2010.

I think it has an enormous immediate impact because you get the whole site sense – apart from the blood - but you get a much more three-dimensional sense of it (Senior Curator, English Heritage).

I think because you can actually see it physically and you can feel it almost and in some cases you can feel it - the re-enactors will let you go up and touch things and so forth. But also the fact is you hear the noise and the sounds of battle when shields were split, when swords were clanging off each other, when men were shouting and screaming and so forth. And you get a sense of what was going on, how heavy these weapons are when you actually see how difficult it is when a guy is struggling to lift something, to bash another person with…The vivid colour of it as well and the sense of scale in terms of if you get a lot of re-enactors [then] its pretty incredible (Property Manager, Bannockburn).

The latter comment gives a hint at why re-enactment events are considered so useful in transmitting the reality of battle and the fact that visitors can handle the props gives an added sense of realism. This is important from an educational perspective also and the use of re-enactment in stimulating interest is emphasised by another respondent:

We find that we get quite a different audience to our sites on days that we have live interpretation as opposed to days when we don't. We get a lot more family visitors and we get a broader range of visitor because it makes it more straightforward for people. To be able to stand at Battle Abbey and watch hundreds or thousands of people re-enacting a battle makes it one step easier for people often to understand particularly children whose parents might be trying to ignite some kind of spark of interest in a particular era or event. They don't want to stand and read a board or read a guide book; they want to watch something which is colour and drama and - dare I say- 'excitement' – and something that actually engages them (Head of Events, English Heritage).

This has been criticised as a frivolous attitude to serious history but as the same respondent continues:

> I think you have to be very careful in the way you do it. We always try and make the point that what we do is commemorative rather than just a light-hearted scrap and hopefully the participants will take it very seriously... I think it is possible to balance the two so that people can come and have an educational but engaging day out; they have learnt something but we haven't disrespected the area and we are helping to preserve it for future generations (Head of Events, English Heritage).

The commitment of participants in maintaining authenticity is a redeeming feature of re-enactment in that it is executed with great enthusiasm and a respect for the period. These points have been ably outlined by Horwitz (1998) and Gapps (2009) and this is also reflected by the interviewees:

> We like to pride ourselves on the fact that we have very high standards of authenticity. We don't believe it is worth doing unless you do it properly because people are looking to us as experts to educate their children. We can't and don't want to get that wrong. We therefore publish and ask our groups to sign up to quite stringent guidelines on what is and is not acceptable and if they don't meet those guidelines then they don't come back to our sites (Head of Events, English Heritage).

Of those who opposed the idea of battle re-enactment there was a common feeling that the weakness of these events was in their inability to really portray the true horror of the event:

> If you haven't been in battle yourself – and I haven't – I think it's very difficult to conceive what hell battle is and from that point of view re-enactment is – to use the analogy – it's a comic as opposed to real literature. It is a plaything. Re-enactment is tremendous fun and

lots of the bits of kit that go with it – cannon and toys that go bang

are tremendous fun. But they can't give any idea of what the absolute

hell was (Chairman, Remembering Flodden Project).

The idea that re-enactment is a comic portrayal is reflected by another respondent who felt that they have their uses in 'engaging with the public' but:

The purpose of a battle in the past was to hurt each other; the purpose

of a battle re-enactment is not to hurt each other. And you have to

have health and safety on the battlefield and as a result the battle that

is portrayed...bears no relation to the reality of the matter at any

stage...it's terribly gentle filled with people very carefully prodding at

each other with axes and spears, whereas of course the reality would

have been gags of blood, screams and smells and goodness knows

what (Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust).

Re-enactment actually on the site is opposed by archaeologists for technical 'contamination' reasons (Battlefield Archaeologist) and for others it can be an ethical issue particularly if the battle is a fairly recent one in history:

Culloden didn't happen that long ago and it's still very fresh in

people's memories and I think certainly never on the site but I don't

even think it would be suitable off the site really. As a re-enactment

bringing lots of people in for a day's entertainment I don't think that

would be the way to go (Property Manager, Culloden).

The same respondent suggested that the event is still fresh in people's memories because of the raw feelings that still exist in many parts of the Highlands towards the Clearances which came about in the wake of the battle (Richards, 2000).

Further respect was given in the comments to the idea of 'living history' than re-enactment *per se* which was described by one respondent as 'a black and white image of somebody following a book and acting to a script' (Chairman, Towton Battlefield Society). This was also reflected in other comments:

> …I think there is more value in the…hands-on living history part of re-enactment than there is with a couple of hundred people running around a battlefield knocking seven bells of fun out of each other. And it's not in the right landscape and it's not the right numbers of people and it's a show. But I think if people know it's a show there's no harm in that (Operations Manager, Bosworth).

Describing a major living history event another respondent commented:

> …what people really enjoy is actually being able to interact with people and take part in activities and talk to people and try things on and really see the more detailed side to life (Head of Events, English Heritage).

This can include 'costumed interpretation' which Maines and Glynn (1993: 16) regard as particularly effective in evoking a 'numinous identity' at sites. Re-enactment remains a useful adjunct to the array of interpretational techniques available but it is important that it is conducted authentically and that spectators are given clear indications when elements are inauthentic embellishments.

6.1.6 The role of the guide

The power of the spoken word in enhancing tourist experience at heritage sites has been emphasised in the literature (e.g. Fine and Haskell, 1985) and Edensor (2001) has shown how it is a key factor in the staging and performance of the tourism act. The importance of the human touch in battlefield interpretation was underlined by several interviewees, as were the characteristics of a good guide:

> A guide is a storyteller...an oral historian…it's about the story telling and how you communicate and what bits you leave out what bits you use, which oral sources you use, how do you bring it to life. And the best things that do bring it to life actually...[are] the human side of

it…the advice given to guides [is] it's generally a good thing to use first hand accounts. You want to put somebody in a position where they can see the point from a human being's point of view. It's a bad thing if you find yourself talking about it in the third person, particularly if you're dealing with abstract concepts such as strategy or big blobs such as brigades or divisions (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

Human stories are best communicated through human channels. Experienced guides will also permit timely lacunae in the narrative:

…there's a place for quiet and reflection and actually…people want to stand on the site and use their own imaginations [sic]. So I think that a guide can at one level bring a site to life but the guide has to know also when to be quiet and to let people build their own pictures in their minds. Perhaps using the information you have given as a guide but you've got to be able to keep quiet because I think that is part of it, the ability to stand there and use your imagination (Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust).

The guide is thus more correctly a facilitator who provides the essential material for the visitor to use to try to picture the site and the events as they were. This also highlights the value of silence and an appropriate context for reflection which is discussed in later sections of this chapter.

6.2 Authenticity

One of the reasons why interpretation is needed at heritage sites is that otherwise visitors will provide their own interpretation which is not always accurate (Schouten, 1995a). But the way sites are interpreted is plagued by issues of what is to be said and in what way and this can challenge the very basis of authenticity. Lowenthal (1985) feels that the past is, in essence, unknowable and 'no account can ever recover the past as it was…The sheer pastness of the past precludes its total reconstruction' (ibid.: 215). For him authenticity can only ever be socially constructed. This question of authenticity was discussed with the

interviewees and a range of responses were provided. The view that authenticity is important is reflected in the following comment:

> I think authenticity is very very important. I think we have to be as
> authentic and to stick as close to the lines as possible…I think the line
> for the NTS is that they shouldn't go down the academic line and say its
> definitely here. What we should be doing is telling a story and saying
> basically [that] this is what happened at this event. We're not sticking to
> this exact story and we're not fence sitting either. We're giving you the
> basic outline. If you want to go further than that then you should buy a
> book. We'll give you the basic bones of the subject and then you can
> flesh it out from there (Property Manager, Bannockburn).

This does put the onus on the visitor to investigate aspects of authenticity themselves but at the same time demonstrates how reluctant site managers are in providing too much certainty. This is a particularly salient feature of those battle sites with an uncertain location but as the same commentator continues:

> The thing is we're not saying it isn't the place of the battle either…So
> when people come in here they are coming to a part of the battlefield
> they are not coming to the whole battlefield (Property Manager,
> Bannockburn).

The issue is of particular importance at Bosworth where the actual site of the battle has long been the subject of debate and there is great excitement at the time of writing about the discovery of the actual location. This proved a difficult dilemma for the site as to how these theories were interpreted for the many visitors with an interest in seeing where the event took place. As a member of the management team commented:

> When we knew that he [Richard III] didn't go charging down the hill,
> when we knew that Ambion Hill wasn't a marsh, we had to try and
> tactfully take that out of whatever we were saying. However, we had
> a period of time…when we actually had a void and that was a

difficult time…[because] we knew a certain amount but we couldn't

say it because of landowners, access, etc, etc. There were all sorts of

reasons why we couldn't start talking about it but we had already

stopped saying some of the things that we knew were untrue. And

then you get into that quandary between a rock and a hard place

(Operations Manager, Bosworth).

This raises questions about whether it is important to provide as much accuracy as possible even if this reveals that the Visitor Centre is several miles from the new site. The hiatus is also a time when the visiting public might be getting a less than accurate 'official' story without realising it.

This is reflected in an interesting point made by one interviewee who felt that authenticity is not always important:

I suspect that a lot of visitors think that they are getting an authentic

experience even if they're not! Again...I suspect it depends on your

purpose. If you want to educate people about the past or you wish to help

people find out about the past rather than themselves then maybe

authenticity is not that important. It's important that you're not

misleading and you're helping people understand how a structure or a

place worked. [But] maybe it's not as important that what they are seeing

is 100% authentic. I think the difficulty there is letting them know that it's

not what they are seeing so if they have got something which is a modern

reconstruction or partial reconstruction it's important that people know

that that's what they're looking at. That it can be valid - to do that will

help them understand the feature or event as it actually was...It's

important not to mislead somebody – its got to be clear what you are

giving them…(Head of Strategy and Operations, Historic Scotland).

This reflects the dilemma in heritage that any reconstruction of the past is never going to be perfectly accurate and authenticity is inherently an elusive concept (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). The initial comment that visitors could be misled does raise concerns about what interpretation of history is being presented to the public and also the huge level of

responsibility that interpreters have in public education. Conversely it suggests that it doesn't really matter whether an attraction is authentic or not so long as the visitors have had a quality experience which meets the principal objective of tourist attractions anyway. Appreciation of authenticity can differ between visitors and as Herbert (1995) has commented, 'If the experience is authentic to the visitor, that is sufficient' (quoted in Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 244). This echoes the ideas of Wang (1999) who suggests that a sense of 'being at the actual place' is not important for many visitors which challenges the conventional interpretation of authenticity as truth, reliability and accuracy against an (albeit) elusive historic template. The key factor is, however, to indicate to visitors what aspects are authentic and which ones are not and this point was well made by the above interviewee.

The passage of time has changed the landscape of battlefields - in some cases out of all recognition - so in terms of authenticity visitors should perhaps be more realistic in their expectations. One interviewee felt that this compromise was inevitable, 'I think that an unchanged landscape is desirable but one has to be practical about this' (Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust). Even so in some cases battlefield conservationists are in the invidious position of needing to support some rather radical actions:

> There are places – Towton is an example – where the removal of hedgerows, which is something on the whole we don't like, has in fact returned the battlefield to something nearer to what it would have been like at the time. We bemoan the removal of hedges...because obviously it has an impact upon the wildlife but hedgerows of course are not natural they are manmade…Naseby [was] fought in essentially open fields - but [is] now considerably more enclosed. It's important what you can do and the interpretation is to at least enable people to know that in their minds they can maybe remove those hedges (Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust).

This proves in some way the point made above that it is very difficult to reconstruct the past either conceptually or physically. Removing hedges in the mind to try to maintain authenticity of landscape is extremely difficult which is why the forms of interpretation

mentioned in the first section of this chapter are such a useful aid to modern visitor management.

One aspect of this type of interpretation is the use of characters from the time who are represented as 'talking heads' on screens. At Bosworth there are four of these – Lord Thomas Stanley[35], Alice (an eight year old innkeeper's daughter), John (an archer and Norfolk farmer) and Colette (a French mercenary's wife). The characters are followed through the exhibition and add narrative to various stages of the story. They are very popular with visitors and the young girl 'is the one that most of our young visitors press again and again' (Operations Manager, Bosworth). Only the first of these is actually a real historical personage and this has led to questions about the authenticity of the presentation of characters from the time. Is it authentic to weave fictional characters into the historical narrative without making it clear to the visiting public that these people did not actually exist at the time? At the end of the film of the battle the narrator states that many people died that day 'including John the archer'. This mingling of fact and fiction is a tricky issue in heritage interpretation and this was put to the Operations Manager:

> Personally I don't have a problem with that. We do certainly make out, perhaps not overtly clearly, but we do make out that they are fictional characters, that Stanley is the only one out of the four that is a real character. But also I think just the sheer fact that they are just 'Joe ordinary' or 'Jane ordinary' actually means that they are in some ways more real than Stanley because they [the public] can associate with them. Alice hits the nail on the head with the kids because she is just an ordinary girl and there were hundreds of Alices around at that time. So in that respect they are not a specific real person but they are a real person in their own way (Operations Manager, Bosworth).

In this case it is more important that the characters are human and modern audiences can relate to them than that someone of their name lived at the time and was involved in these

---

[35] The Stanleys played a key part in the battle and refused to commit themselves to one side or the other until the end by which time Henry Tudor was the clear victor. Lord Stanley is thus a controversial character who brings out the agonising dilemmas of a man who was the stepfather of Henry Tudor but whose son Richard III was holding hostage on the field.

events. This is another example of the importance of the human touch which has been mentioned above.

In questioning the interviewee about whether it was right to include John the archer in the film script as if he was a real character the following reply was given:

> That I think is also a gentle reminder to say, 'hang on a minute here we are talking about a battle', and ultimately in a battle people die. So it's saying it's a fun site to be now, you can run around and enjoy the weather, or whatever but in 1485 in this area people were dying and they were dying through quite horrific injuries. You know, either roundshot was taking limbs off or some guy with a sword was taking limbs off – it would have been a brutal place. I think the fact that you've had this nice character you have met all the way through the exhibition and then there's just that quiet comment saying that John died. It brings it home to some, not to everybody. For some it will just go over the top but some people will turn around and say, 'yeh, actually we've got to remember that people died here'… What we didn't want to do was to turn around and say, 'and Richard [III] died'…because everybody knows that he died… It was also the 'Joe ordinaries' that died. They were told by their Lord and Master 'you're going to go out and fight and some of you aren't coming home' (Operations Manager, Bosworth).

This use of one fictional character to represent the wider body of ordinary and anonymous fighters is a powerful tool. It is ostensibly saying that men *like* John died at Bosworth and he was a representative symbol of all the suffering that was visited upon the common man on that day. The viewer gets close to John who comes across as a simple and likeable man caught up in large events well beyond his control. He has effectively been press-ganged into going along to fight for his master and there is a very subtle yet visceral moral aspect to his tale. It is highly moving and within the time of following him around the exhibition one feels they have got to know him. This is clearly a potent example of authenticity and whether he really lived or not there is almost a sense that he is a vicarious member of that 'band of brothers' who are all but anonymous in historical sources. Whether this message was received and appreciated by the visitors was, however, not detected by this survey.

Much of the image and representation of battle which comes through in the interpretation at the four sites surveyed is graphic and in some cases quite disturbing. The question as to how much realism should be portrayed in interpreting war is a difficult one to answer and is crystallised in the idea of 'hot' interpretation given by Uzzell (1989). This suggests that interpreters should not shy away from experimenting with more graphic and 'hot' representations of warfare since any sanitisation is likely to lead to distortion and a diminution of the true understanding of events and conflicts. However battlefields are essentially places where extreme violence took place involving a savage form of mortality which in its uncensored from would be impossible to present to modern public audiences. One interviewee felt that battlefield sites have to portray a stylised from of violence aided by technology to overcome this:

> …what we've done at Battle is we've created a computer generated image
> (CGI) of the battle so you can be sort of quite graphic but because it's
> CGI no one's going to get offended. It's become part of our visual
> lexicon that this isn't real and it ends up in the same way – I suppose in
> the past they would have interpreted these things using lead soldiers – it
> becomes a stylised violence. It's not the real thing; what you're not
> looking at is the effect that it has on the individual or the family... [where]
> you can go and watch a battle…[you see] people pretending to hit each
> other with swords…its stylised...it's almost like the sort of violence you
> get in Arthurian legends (Senior Curator, English Heritage).

For the battlefield guide whose raw narrative cannot be insulated by the advantage of technology this can leave difficult choices:

> This is an interesting area because it depends on who your group is and
> what your purpose of doing this [is]… If I have a group of re-enactors or
> military history enthusiasts or even soldiers and we have to talk about
> the realities of tank warfare and what happens when an armour piercing
> shot hits a tank and three seconds later that is an inferno of fire. And
> perhaps of that tank one or two of them get out and two of them don't.
> That is not a conversation that you can have with the children of the men

who died in that tank...[So] there is an element of sensitivities
(Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

Context can determine the extent to which one can employ 'hot' interpretation as a way of getting as close to authenticity as possible. The only way to be truly authentic in presenting war is to draw blood and suffer real casualties and this was amusingly brought out in Tony Horwitz's participation with American Civil War re-enactors one of whom felt that they were being too soft. He suggested that they actually die in a re-enactment - 'At least then we'd know for sure if we were doing it right' (Horwitz, 1998: 16).

This discussion has shown how expert opinion is aware of the problems of authenticity and the fact that battlefields do not readily explain themselves. Sites are faced with the dilemma of providing an interesting and engaging experience in an environment where there may be many uncertainties and silences. As Schouten (1995a: 30) has commented, interpreters must 'navigate between the Scylla and Charybdis of 'evidence' and 'attractiveness''. Nevertheless authenticity is not wholly dependent on the forefronting of historical 'truth' and legitimacy. Other aspects of authenticity relating to artefact and re-enactment are discussed further below.

6.3 The Numen

Another area of investigation in this study is the idea of the deeply felt 'otherness' attached to places known as the numinous and the theoretical background to this has been outlined in Chapter 3. Interviewees were asked about this phenomenon directly and most agreed that battlefields do possess a spiritual depth:

> I think people always talk about that kind of shivering feeling they
> have when they go onto [a battlefield]...whether that's true or not
> but whether they feel that that's a connection they might not feel
> with any kind of other historic site (Battlefield Archaeologist).

> …there is without doubt a thrill for many people of standing on the
> site of where these things actually happened in the past and you only

have to look, for example, at people's reactions to Culloden where they say that the battlefield has something that they seem to react to (Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust).

…you would have to be devoid of imagination not to go out on the battlefield and if you thought about [it] for a minute not to have some kind of…experience and an empathy with what happened here (Property Manager, Culloden).

Those who live on the site of battlefields are also affected as the following comment would suggest:

…you now know there was a major battle here and whereas before I used to stand there and just think 'oh this is lovely' and how peaceful and just chill out for a few minutes, now I look over and think I wonder who was here and exactly what did happen and that sort of thing (Landowner, Bosworth).

The sense of direct attachment and engagement with place is clearly an ingredient in the deep feeling many people get at battlefields and is akin to the idea of 'sacred space' which is felt to inhabit other historic sites (Trubshaw, 2005).

There is a special feeling to be had at the location of an event or where figures from history would have stood. As one respondent stresses, this is because people 'have a physical contact with the past' and

they are standing on the same ground or on the same spot that somebody in the past has. And I think physical remains can do this perhaps more than anything else. Or again to see a letter that was penned by somebody in the past. Normally you can't pick up a letter that was written by Queen Elizabeth to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, you can look at it behind glass. But when you are actually part of the landscape and you're doing exactly the same thing, not

fighting and killing, but (you know) moving through the landscape,

you are in doing that actually having a tangible link with the past.

Because you are doing that very thing, standing on the very spot or

walking down the very lane to look in the very direction - that's what

it takes to physically connect you with things in the past

(Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust).

There is a feeling here that it is the movement which is important in conveying the sense of the past and the numen is experienced in terms of 'following in the footsteps' of real people. The landscape becomes real as the story is shadowed and this is something that an artefact in a case cannot provide no matter how important. The 'setting' has a key role to play in this movement and Garden (2009: 284) has examined this in her work on 'Heritagescapes' where the site is seen within the context of boundaries, cohesion and visibility.

This idea of the importance of propinquity is developed by another respondent:

With the interpretation boards we say you're standing perhaps where

King James would have been at the head of his particular battle or

battalion and this was the view that the Scottish soldiers would have

seen. [We] try and put you in the place or try and relate the place now

to the place 500 years ago (Chairman, Remembering Flodden

Project).

However, it is right that the respondent has used the word 'perhaps' because there is rarely sufficient evidence at battlefield sites to locate events with any precision. It would be remiss of any interpretation to provide precise locations without very firm evidence. This dilemma is particularly relevant at Bosworth where

there are certain people who are adamant that they need to stand on the

field, they need to know exactly what happened. There are also a

percentage of people who actually don't care two hoots where it was. If

you can give them the atmosphere and the impression of what may have

gone on [then] that's sufficient. So you have definitely got two markets

(Operations Manager, Bosworth).

The authenticity of place has already been discussed but it is enough to say here that the *genius loci* of sites is recognised by the expert and professional body.

The view that the numen is linked to the hardships of previous generations set aside the relative comfort and security of contemporary life is also noted:

> If you speak to most people...when you walk onto the battlefield for
> the first time you feel something. Whether it's an aura or an
> atmosphere, a sense of something. To a lot of people it's that sense of
> the past, it's that sense of being a lucky generation not having to
> suffer through such trials and tribulations. And that's really
> intangible - it's that emotional feeling, the feel good factor
> (Chairman, Towton Battlefield Society).

This empathetic aspect is a key part of the numinous experience as demonstrated in work undertaken at the Gettysburg battlefield site in the US by Gatewood and Cameron (2004). The latter saw the presence of suffering and hardship at a site as having a strong numen inducing effect. It is interesting that the hardships and sufferings of those who fought in the above quotation are presented as stimulating a 'feel good factor' which is something which is not revealed in the Gettysburg empirical research.

Notwithstanding the problems of location interpretation has an important role in directing visitors to the places where events happened. The inducement of the numen can therefore be seen as one of its roles:

> …if the visitors don't know that this is the spot or where, for
> example, James IV may have fallen at Flodden or Harold was cut
> down at Hastings, or where Monmouth's rebels were creeping along
> at night – if they don't know that then they're not necessarily going
> to get the most out of the visit. Clearly the role of the guide or
> interpretation I think actually helps people to have those feelings. I
> think people like to know that they are on the spot where these things
> happened (Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust).

The impact of the Visitor Centre was also held as important in this inducement by another interviewee:

> I think a Visitor Centre can really enhance [the numen]… It really depends on how much they [the visitors] immerse themselves in the Visitor Centre as well and I think that good Visitor Centres can have that effect in that you learn so much about this place and you think about it and you hear about what people have said about it and people who have fought there and you see the artefacts that have come out of it and then suddenly you walk outside and you are actually there in that place. It's almost like you are being transported in a sense because you've heard so much about it and the way the Visitor Centre at Culloden works you don't really see it from the car park. You are hidden from it for quite a lot and then you go in and you have all this information here about what has happened and you see all the weapons and people tell you about it and then suddenly you're out in it and it's there and it's... It's like seeing the Queen for the first time. You see her on the back of [a bank note] and then suddenly 'my God, she's there'! (Battlefield Archaeologist).

The power of anticipation and a building up of the interpretative message is seen here as an effective way of providing a special feeling when the site is finally reached. Another interviewee gives an opposing view regarding the numinous and the role of interpretation:

> That is the sensation you get when you stand on a battlefield and you know that thousands of people died here...it does send a shiver down your spine. I think *trying* to achieve that too much is unnecessary. I think you can do it in the simplest ways, just giving people the information people understand even on the most basic level the extent of loss or damage then that sensation is very common. I don't know whether interpretation needs to kind of actually try and achieve that [or] aim to achieve that. I think we should be concentrating on providing people with the facts in the most accessible way and that

will do the work for itself (Head of Events, English Heritage. Italics
added to reflect emphasis provided in the interview).

The idea of allowing a site to speak for itself with a more subtle approach to interpretation
is also mentioned in another response:

> …spirit of the place is a kind of personal thing and in a way you have
> to give people information and let them draw that personal thing out
> themselves...I guess it's using interpretation to try and make a person
> engage with the place and what happened in the place and what is left
> in the place rather than necessarily interpretation somehow providing
> that feeling (Head of Strategy and Operations, Historic Scotland).

This more reductive idea does diminish the role of interpretation but one could argue that
too much interpretation can spoil the very private engagement that is so enriching at any
heritage site.

The numinous was a phenomenon experienced only by certain visitors (7.1.2.6) although
Oubré (1997) felt it was a distinctly human trait and could be latent in all of us. Whether
this deep sense of attachment can be experienced collectively is another question and the
following interviewee clearly thought that this was part of the feelings some nationalists get
at battlefields:

> I think people will go to a lot of Scottish battlefields and feel that
> connection because they feel they are connecting with people in the
> past because it's their own past and it's not a shared past. It's
> nationalist feelings…especially if they are clansmen [and] their
> ancestors fought here and they feel that connection that way. It's
> different for people who don't have that (Battlefield Archaeologist).

Artefacts with close personal stories attached to them have been recognised as having
strong numinous properties and this has been well evidenced in the work of Maines and
Glynn (1993). One interviewee acknowledged that 'they are always venerated…Seeing
objects found on the battlefield…are a tangible link with the past (Development Officer,
The Battlefields Trust). The story about the letters in the Western Front museum recounted

above (Chairman, Battlefields Trust) is a good example of the 'socio-cultural magic' such artefacts can elicit particularly when associated with the person's death. Gatewood and Cameron (2004: 209) were apt to demonstrate that places associated with mortality and human suffering have a higher numinosity than those which do not and this can also be transferred to objects. Apart from these few comments no other interviewee associated the numen with artefact.

A final observation from the discussion of the numen concept relates to a deep eschatological feeling that battlefields sites provoke in those who visit them. One interviewee stated:

> I don't think you can go to somewhere like the Menin Gate or the fields of France without taking away mortality with you because you're surrounded by death…I think what's under the surface (and no-one really talks about it although they do when they visit battlefields) is…the sense of changing history and also as a *momento mori* for a nation. "Remember we are all mortal"...Remember you can die and a nation can die and war is a very final thing (Senior Curator, English Heritage).

This perceptive comment suggests that the deep feelings attached to battlefield sites can also be understood in ontological terms as a constant reminder of our common mortality. The same interviewee agreed that 'war is a great leveller of men' and battlefields are places where this can be seen in its stark reality.

6.4 Reverence and Respect for the Site

Allied to this depth of feeling many interviewees expressed a deep sense of respect for battlefield sites. Because of the sensitivities surrounding Culloden, for example, any tourist use was seen as a particular challenge:

> We have to be so careful what we do here that it's appropriate and fitting and in keeping with the site. People feel very very strongly about the battlefield; it is a war grave and we have to be very

careful what we do here. We, for instance, couldn't have a battle re-enactment. We can do other things, we can do costumed camps and soldiers and all sorts of different types of interpretation but we couldn't re-enact the battle itself - that would be a bridge too far. We also keep the interpretation [and] anything we do away from the main battlefield. The Visitor Centre and the exhibition are not built on the battlefield itself it is just behind it so that makes a difference. We wouldn't use the battlefield to do anything, it wouldn't be…in keeping (Property Manager, Culloden).

The same interviewee felt that the site was the most powerful aspect of the tourist visit which reflects the potency of place mentioned in the previous section:

I think the battlefield itself is the most important thing. There's nothing like being on the place where events happened. It has a much much greater meaning than somewhere else - if you're in the exhibition or reading a book it just doesn't have the same [meaning]…people connect much more because they are standing on the site of these events (Property Manager, Culloden).

An interesting comment was provided by a landowner who underlined this sanctity of place:

…As farmers anyway we feel like we are custodians of the landscape…and obviously we are looking after it for the next generation. And I think that's just exactly the same how we feel about this as a historical site really. And now that we know the importance of it I couldn't imagine that we would ever want to do anything that would in any way destroy that (Landowner, Bosworth).

In the absence of clear conservation protection legislation for British battlefields this is an encouraging viewpoint. The idea that the battlefield landscape should be left undisturbed is

also represented and this also extends to objects beneath the surface. One interviewee felt that the graves of those who fell at Flodden should be left untouched:

> There's also the bone pits...The archaeologists haven't found them...[and] I feel very strongly that [they] aren't found because I class them as war graves and I would like to see them left undisturbed (Chairman, Remembering Flodden Project).

One interesting bi-product of a conservation orientation to battlefield sites was provided by another interviewee:

> …the most mercenary measure is house prices. If you look at house prices in Towton, Saxton and that area they are phenomenally way above the regional average. A lot of people now increasingly know, whereas before they thought, that when they buy a house in that area then they know that the landscape is protected. I may be wrong but you know if you buy a house in that area there's going to be some level of environmental or development protection. You say if you're spending your money on your 4 bed roomed house, which is quite a bit more than if you're buying one in Leeds or York, you know you're buying a bit of future assurance (Chairman, Towton Battlefield Society).

This is clearly based upon a misconception in that no conservation legislation is yet in place and there is no statistical evidence that the battlefield is directly responsible for this increase. It is an interesting comment nevertheless and just demonstrates that popular perception can often be just as powerful as the truth.

This respect for the battlefield surroundings is also an issue in determining a behavioural code for visiting battlefield sites. This is particularly an issue with sites more recent in memory and those which are visited by relatives of the fallen such as the large Western Front sites. This would, however, extend the definition of a 'battlefield' to the accompanying cemeteries. One interviewee and experienced guide at such sites questioned

whether it is appropriate to smoke in a cemetery or 'run around and be cheerful'. He gives further examples relating to tourism at Western Front sites:

> …as an old soldier I will use a whistle, and if you have a big cemetery or location and you send everyone to have a look and a think and a reflection, a whistle blast is not a bad way of calling everybody back together. But some people take great exception to people using whistles because they used whistles to send people over the top. I know of one incident where a battlefield guide got into a lot of trouble because he wanted people to smile (and I think it was a group of soldiers) [when] they took a…group photograph. Bearing in mind these are a group of soldiers [with] a military sense of humour. They are on a battlefield [and] they are going to go on a battlefield, all of them within the next couple of years. So instead of saying 'say cheese' he said 'gas, gas, gas'. [This] was overheard by somebody who felt it was deeply inappropriate on a First World War battlefield. Now I suspect that soldierly humour would not have been any different from the early twentieth century to the twenty-first. But members of the public might perceive this as very different (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

This story does suggest that there are different ways of interpreting behaviour at battlefields and these vary with context and the nature of the visit. This is different in cultural and situational terms as the following account demonstrates:

> There's a story told by one of the great battlefield guides…He told me last year about when he was in a place called Tyne Cot [Cemetery]…And he was in there on his own and he watched a coach appear. And out of this coach came a load of Primary School children who charged into the cemetery running around, playing, screaming, shrieking...And he said I'll go and find out who this is and I'll give them a bollocking but I'll find out who it is first. [He] saw it was a Belgian coach and thought...mm...better be careful. [He] found the teacher and said 'excuse me what are you doing? I'm a guide'. He said, 'I'm terribly sorry I didn't think there was

anybody here. I'm actually from a local Primary School. Our children grow up amongst symbols of death. Around Ypres – there are hundreds of cemeteries around – and death is in the air. So what we have to do is to teach the children who live here that this is part of their local heritage but we say to them that most these men here who died would have loved children. They would have been children themselves once, many of them were fathers [and] many of them had little sisters and brothers. And the one thing that would keep their spirits happy is to know that little children, free children, can play and hear the sound of laughter'. That strikes me as either an extremely good explanation of some unruly children but is also a side of this which has to be considered...or two sides of it. One of which is...you have to think about the people who grow up amongst those battlefields (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

There is a clear reverence for sites amongst the comments gathered but the discussion does provide further evidence that different visitor groups will view these sites with varying degrees of respect.

6.5 An Exploration of Silence

This study also set out to explore the hypothesis that the visitor experience at battlefield sites is enhanced by silence. This does have a number of conceptual problems from the outset, however, not least of which is the highly subjective interpretation of the notion of silence. Nevertheless there is empirical evidence that unpredictable noise can require greater effort of attention and affect memory tasks than silence (Bell et al., 2001). There is not sufficient space here to examine the complex psychological issues surrounding silence but that it does contribute to the general ambience of a heritage site is a common acknowledgement. Noise as a feature of overcrowding is an unpleasant aspect of the tourist visit. An English Tourist Board paper on this (1991) confirmed that overcrowding resulted in a 'reduced opportunity for visitors to experience and appreciate the ambience of a site' (quoted in Garrod, Fyall and Leask, 2002). Pearce (2005) has shown how at heritage sites/galleries visitor satisfaction levels drop in direct proportion to increased numbers of

people. This was not the case at events/sites like Concerts, Festivals and Theme Parks (ibid.: 119).

Not all noise is the result of overcrowding, however, in the same way that at times crowds are relatively silent. It is doubtful whether it is possible to experience true silence and in a far-reaching study of silence Maitland (2008) shows how there is a difference between quietness and peace and silence itself. The former could include noise so paradoxically one might be experiencing a type of noise which actually enhances experience. The irony is that battlefields were anything but silent places. These issues are discussed in the comments which follow.

There was a general feeling that silence at battlefield sites was important in allowing the visitor a time for reflection:

> I think silence is important to at least some visitors because it gives
> them a chance to be quiet to maybe think or experience, to get a
> sense of place, a sense of the event that took place perhaps, a silent
> sort of memory of people who died there…I do think it's important
> to give people the opportunity of having a silent experience of at
> least part of the site if the site lends itself to that or if there are
> features within the site that we know about which demand that sort
> of experience (Head of Strategy and Operations, Historic Scotland).

Silence is also seen as a way of allowing the imagination to develop and also as a platform for contrast:

> …by having silence there you are giving people a canvas on which
> metaphorically they can paint their own noises. That's why I like
> there to be silences where people can use their imagination and
> contemplate what happened and imagine the noises that might well
> have been happening at the time…But what it is, I think, is that
> people are making the contrast between the peacefulness of today
> and the violence and noise of the past (Development Officer, The
> Battlefields Trust).

This is also underlined by another interviewee who stated:

> We don't need this relentless attack with media and especially at these
> sites, people need a moment of silence and to let it sink in…(Acting Head
> of Interpretation, English Heritage).

The power of this contrast is also expressed in the different stages of a re-enactment:

> ...we've had five or six thousand people around Battle Abbey
> during a Hastings re-enactment and you could hear a pin drop and
> the atmosphere was unbelievable...Every five years or so we do a
> large international Hastings re-enactment where about three
> thousand people take part and there are two key moments in that
> when you just feel...the atmosphere. The main one really is when
> people are walking out onto the battlefield and the two sides are
> both walking out…and they keep on coming, they're coming and
> coming and coming and there's thousands of them and they're
> lining up to face each other and it's an unbelievable atmosphere.
> And I think anyone there would argue that you don't need to be on
> your own in order to achieve that [atmosphere]. And then all of a
> sudden five minutes later it explodes into noise and action and then
> at the end there's another time for reflection; there's moments and
> minutes of silence at the end of the battle which gives people a
> chance to understand the impact a bit. It really works (Head of
> Events, English Heritage).

One interviewee felt that in western culture we show respect through silence (Senior
Curator, English Heritage) and the commemorative aspect of silence at battlefields which
are memorialised places was highlighted by another (Battlefield Archaeologist). However a
deep engagement with a battlefield site is not always brought about by silence as the
following comment shows:

> …one of the most eerie moments [was when] I did a battlefield tour
> in 1992 for a military unit and we had resources that go well beyond

the normal span for a number of reasons...[This was] an eighteenth century battle. One of the things that made this thing work was that we followed the path of the French infantry at Hastenbeck[36]. We had our group – our participants – fallen-in in three ranks. We made them shoulder staves and as they picked up the staves out behind came a drummer [and] fifer and they played jaunty little tunes as we marched across the field. Now actually in the sense of the time and place that got me. Similarly [on] the same tour standing there at the site and location where the French infantry were scattered by three squadrons of Hanoverian dragoons, and standing on the hill, and hearing the hoof beats of six horses coming up the other side of the hill - that was an awe inspiring [experience]. Those are sounds that evoke. Some of the sounds and sights of re-enactors and living history can do well, can make that work (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

The same commentator felt there was an important place for silence and reflection and that they were key ingredients for an 'immersion' experience where

you feel yourself in the place. You can imagine yourself as one of the participants and make that [connection] between the inner life of the imagination, the life of reflection, the emotional life that we have inside us and the world outside (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust).

The material presented would suggest that although silence at battlefield sites is valued it is most effective when used as a way of providing opportunities for reflection alongside other interpretational experiences. It is also considered more important at more recent commemorative sites than at more 'historic' battlefield sites.

---

[36] A battle in the Seven Years War fought between the forces of Hanover, Hesse Cassel and Brunswick and the French on 26 July 1757.

6.6 Battlefields as forces for peace and reconciliation

Battlefields are places where great horror, carnage and loss were experienced and as has already been discussed the human element of interpretation is given particular prominence (visitor attitudes to this are discussed in Chapter 7). Although some see it as a trope usually associated with the First World War even heritage professionals remark upon the futility of war:

> Well what I'm mostly struck with…is just the sheer horror and meaninglessness of war and politicians sending people to the slaughter. And it's all thought out by normal people like you and me and you just wonder if there's a way that it could have been sorted out differently (Acting Head of Interpretation, English Heritage).

If education is a core aspect of interpretation then the promotion of peace through the commemoration of past events such as battlefields would seem a reasonable inference (Linenthal, 1991; Leopold, 2007). There is also a feeling that moral lessons can be drawn out of the tragic stories of war particularly for future generations. An interpretation board at the Flodden Battlefield site shows how the message can go beyond just relating the facts:

> This ground, known as Flodden Field, was once a field of battle, enmity and carnage. But today, there is the spirit of reconciliation, co-operation, and most of all of friendship…

One interviewee agreed that the moral message was an important aspect of relevance to contemporary visitors:

> There's a moral here for everyone no matter where they come from – Scotland, England, Britain, Europe. There's definitely a moral because the things that happened then are still happening now and history, we need to learn from history. We're not learning very

quickly and we need to do that so it has got a message. It shows what civil wars can do and it's very very important that people appreciate and learn from this (Property Manager, Culloden).

A powerful example of the promotion of peace at battlefield sites is the Messines Peace Project in Belgium (2001) which commemorates the lives of all Irishmen who died in the First World War from both sides of the community.[37] This was highlighted by one interviewee as 'the right atmosphere in which to discuss reconciliation' because it is actually on the site of the battlefield itself where men from both Nationalist and Unionist regiments fought and died side by side (Chairman, The Battlefields Trust). Some see a message of peace and reconciliation as more important for recent conflicts but all wars result in close personal tragedies so there is a case for the promotion of an anti-war stance at all sites (Ryan, 2007a).

Nevertheless some interviewees did not see the promotion of a moral message to be important or in some cases an appropriate objective of an interpretation policy:

> From my own experience or rather my own objectives in relation to battlefields I don't think I would particularly regard that as a core purpose. But I can see that they can serve that purpose and it's perhaps as valid a purpose as any. I think quite often an understanding of the events that took place can help get away from some the mythology or stereotypes that quite often surround the events of a battle. For instance, some of the medieval battles [of the] Scottish Wars of Independence [are seen] as Scotland against England. Well that's not quite true, it's a bit more complicated than that although they certainly can serve a purpose in helping to crystallise what is closer perhaps to the truth than we can sometimes have in popular imagination or popular memory. And that's important because we sometimes help break down some of the stereotypes and some of the negative connotations that arise from some of the events. So I guess I think that is a valid purpose but I

---

[37] http://www.schoolforpeace.com/content/peace-school/24

don't think in terms of our own battlefields and the objectives in terms of the interpretation and public engagement I would see it as necessarily a highest priority myself (Head of Strategy and Operations, Historic Scotland).

I think it's always dangerous to impose personal morals on other people. I think that's a way of alienating people who would have otherwise come and take something away with them. I think they [interpreters] need to give you the facts... I don't think they should...be there to lecture people on rights and wrongs. I think that as far as possible they should just be there to give people the facts and allow them make up their own conclusions (Head of Events, English Heritage).

A *dirigiste* approach to moral interpretation can be off-putting and even with 'historic' battlefield sites open to fierce contention. This could be a shying away from Tilden's fourth principle that interpretation should provoke (Tilden, 1977) but although the interpretation mentioned does not ostensibly seek to provide a moral message this is what some visitors take away with them. Peace and reconciliation is therefore a lesson that is learned from such sites in spite of the interpretative intent.

Seeing battlefields as classrooms for moral improvement is highly problematic for another interviewee who takes a rather more longitudinal view of this issue:

Well you can't re-write history, can you? And therefore I think [with Bannockburn] to say that [it] was a reconciliatory battle and all was well thereafter would be completely wrong, wouldn't it?... But I don't think...a message of reconciliation [is right]...I mean these battles were fought over and over and over again so you would be hard pressed to say that each one of them was promoting peace and reconciliation (Scottish Clan Chief).

The idea of '*plus ça change…*' is undoubtedly another sentiment that people take away from these fields of conflict.

This discussion of the theme of peace and reconciliation underlines the point that battlefields speak to people on many different levels and are highly emotive areas of space. There is a cautious view amongst professionals about presenting moral viewpoints to the public but as sites of commemoration of great tragedy battlefields are used to advance pacifist opinions.

6.7 Community Involvement, Learning and Place

There were a number of points made by interviewees which did not fit comfortably into the above categories and these are discussed in this section. That battlefield sites can address wider agendas than merely the immediate historical event itself has already been covered and their importance for local community integration is an important factor:

> [The battlefield] is no longer seen as something which academics only are interested in, it's a community resource for tourism, for heritage, for education. All ages can take part whether it's a walk or a longbow shoot on a Sunday afternoon or somebody going to give a talk to the WI or the Round Table. I think the local Society get involved with the local Christmas lights appeal we make sure we use all the pubs in the area and not just focus on one for meetings. So we share really the success of the battlefield…(Chairman, Towton Battlefield Society).

There is a firm sense of *communitas* in these organisations which contributes to local pride and the constructing of a lucid community identity. Memory of events is important for constructing such identities (Lowenthal, 1985) and in the creation of a local distinctiveness. Not all communities have important battlefield sites within their localities and this is a very important factor in the creation of place image for tourist purposes. As one interviewee commented, 'If you went abroad and you found a town or an area such as this…I think you would be absolutely fascinated by it' (Chairman, Remembering Flodden Project). The implication is – so why can't it also happen here at Flodden?

Battlefields can also be used to foster local pride in encouraging community involvement in problematic areas. Bannockburn is near to a large area of poor housing and vandalism had become a local issue. An outreach type programme was started from the site:

> Its about education and involvement into the actual site…I have
> had a policy of going out and working with the kids and talking
> with them and engaging with them and make them a part of
> it…What you have to do is get the community involved so that
> when the 700th anniversary comes then they feel that they are a
> part of this, that they have an actual say [and] they will come to
> meetings [and] they'll have an input into it (Property Manager,
> Bannockburn).

The way a Visitor Centre is named can also be significant as the following comment suggests:

> We call it 'Culloden Exhibition and Visitor Centre'…I don't
> think it necessarily needs to be called a 'Learning Centre'
> because that might actually stop people…thinking that they can
> visit it and that it's only for a particular type of person. So no,
> we want to reach out to everybody so that everyone can come
> here. So I think 'Exhibition and Visitor Centre'…works quite
> well (Property Manager, Culloden).

One interviewee felt that the key factor in the success of Visitor Centres as commercial enterprises was location and selectivity:

> I think it…depends on what the battlefield is surrounded by
> now. If it's…[an] industrial environment I think that a
> battlefield probably doesn't work very well. I mean Culloden is
> lucky because it's got that huge open space and it works…I
> don't know which other battles in Scotland would create the
> same atmosphere as Culloden (Scottish Clan Chief).

The majority of British battles were fought in rural areas anyway mainly because of the fact that up until the modern period commanders chose deliberately to avoid destruction of an urban environment that might be of use to them later (Carman and Carman, 2006). But the same respondent felt that not all sites could be a success:

> ...I think that if the battle has a sort of resonance in history -
> Bloody Dundee and all that at Killiecrankie – that's something
> that has been sung about and in music and all the rest of it. I
> think that does attract people. But I think one has to be pretty
> careful about what one hopes to achieve by promoting much
> smaller battlefields unless it's just...an information board...you
> have to be pretty careful about what you choose to promote
> (Scottish Clan Chief).

This assumes that only those sites which are iconic will be successful which chimes with the question of how they become important in the first place for tourism and the 'sacralisation model' already outlined. Some commentators see this as a privileging of the 'natural' in the experience of authenticity in history and Carman and Carman feel that a natural state of a battlefield is not necessarily conducive to a sense of the past (ibid.: 184).

6.8 Personal Meanings

Interviewees were also asked what battlefields meant to them personally and a range of these answers is here given which serve to contribute to our understanding of this factor.

> …they are places where I am physically in touch with the past,
> where extraordinary things happened and you can actually
> stand on the spot and you can imagine that at Sedgemoor, for
> example, creeping through the darkness. At Towton you can
> imagine the two armies coming over the two bits of high
> ground between each other and giving a great shout…you can
> stand on tiny bits of ground which on the face of it are just bits
> of farmland or wasteland but they are spots of immense

historical significance to us (Development Officer, The

Battlefields Trust).

For me they are very sobering, reflective places and a memorial

for thousands of people who have died there. I find them a very

good leveller and a very important part of our history (Head of

Events, English Heritage).

It's where history was made. It's perhaps where history was

altered...I think the battlefield is a crescendo of history

(Chairman, Remembering Flodden Project).

My battlefield – I see it as a hub of history…(Chairman,

Towton Battlefield Society).

Battlefields certainly elicit deep personal feelings from these experts/stakeholders and the
last quote demonstrates quite vividly how close to the individual these sites can be.

6.9 Chapter conclusion

This discussion has highlighted a number of issues of relevance to the management and
interpretation of battlefield sites. The comments make clear that interpretation is an
important aspect of the presentation of these sites to the visitor in that in most cases they
do not leave any physical traces. Battlefields are seen as excellent places for the
understanding of the drama of history and could be seen as better at doing this than many
built heritage sites. Good interpretation should allow for a blend of private and public
experience and provide opportunities for silence in order for visitors to reflect on their
experiences. Interpretation has to meet the challenges of the complex disputes over site
location and the contentions of historical enquiry and present these to the public in a
straightforward and appealing way. Some interviewees felt that it was important just to
present the facts and not much more.

The most powerful method of interpretation was seen as an emphasis on the human story and the use of human channels to do this in the form of guides was upheld as particularly good practice. Interpretation should also appeal to the visual in visitors and not involve too much heavy text. There were a number of different views on re-enactment ranging from those who felt they were an important aspect of enlivening the interpretation of a site to those who felt they were the 'comic form rather than real literature'. Those who opposed this method also felt that it was inappropriate to have such events at sites which were relatively recent in memory (Culloden) and that it was important to respect the sanctity of battlefield sites. There was a feeling that 'living history' was a better way of presenting the past than re-enactment in that it provided a much broader context for learning. Several views were expressed against the idea of the Visitor Centre in that it can impair the sense of place that sites possess. With regard to the emotional impact of battlefield sites one interviewee commented that more modern and commemorative sites were more likely to induce deep feelings amongst visitors than older sites. This was particularly the case where those more recent sites had family connections. One respondent saw battlefields as hubs (portals) to further learning and felt that they could provide a unique social context for the pursuit of educational experiences.

The issue of authenticity was also explored and many interviewees felt that the interpretational output of their sites was authentic. This included the use of 'talking heads' and films and the introduction of fictitious characters and facts at Bosworth was seen as acceptable. The latter as representative of the time were thus not seen as in-authentic which underlines the point made above about authenticity being a socially constructed concept anyway. The comments that the fictitious characters are 'more real than' the only historical example reflects the idea that some 'simulacra' are more authentic than reality itself (Eco, 1986) and this is a finding present in other parts of this study. Finally it was acknowledged that visitors often had deep numinous experiences at sites but there were varying ideas as to how interpretation could generate these experiences or whether this was appropriate.

The body of comments gleaned from experts/stakeholders has provided a positive overview of the heritage value of battlefield sites and how they are perceived from those with more durable cultural, commercial and emotional investment in them. From the 'supply side' battlefields thus present specific issues. The next chapter explores the extent to which these are reflected in the views of those representing the 'demand side'.

Chapter 7

Visitor Experiences at Battlefield Sites: a survey of Culloden, Bannockburn, Bosworth and Hastings

The previous chapter has outlined a broad range of issues relating to battlefield sites from experts and stakeholders and this is now complemented by a survey of visitors to these sites. The underlying premise of this study is that we can learn a significant amount about 'meaning' from examining 'experience'. The assertion that the battlefield visitation experience generates a wide and multilayered range of discursive fields has been made for sites associated with World War One (Seaton, 2000) and this is the subject of Chapter 9. There has been less work in this area for more 'historic' battlefield sites, however, and this chapter is an exploration of this relatively untapped research area. This provides an analysis of the experiences at the four sites of a range of visitors and utilises a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods gleaned from the survey questionnaire (Appendix A). The former are used here to provide a foundation for the analysis based upon data and the latter are a way of providing enrichment to the results through a deeper probing and exploration of themes which quantitative methods are unable to impart.

7.1 Quantitative results and analysis

7.1.1 Demographic data and group structure

In order to place the results in context a presentation of the basic characteristics of the sample is given here.

More males than females were interviewed at all sites with a particularly marked difference at Bosworth (Table 7.1). The results for Culloden and Bannockburn are in sharp contrast to a survey conducted by the NTS in 2009[38] at these sites which showed more females than males and this is indicated in the table. The reasons for this are unclear.

---

[38] Surveys undertaken by Lynn Jones Research Ltd. and results given in e-mails dated 30/07/10 and 02/08/10.

	All sites %	Culloden %	Culloden NTS (2009) %	Bannockburn %	Bannockburn NTS (2009) %	Bosworth %	Hastings %
Male	57.5	52.0	*39*	56.0	*39*	66.0	56.0
Female	42.5	48.0	*61*	44.0	*61*	44.0	44.0
n =	200	50	*366*	50	*227*	50	50

Table: 7.1: Gender distribution

The age distribution showed a bias towards the older age groups with a strong result for the 50-65 year old category in each site (Table 7.2). This reflects the results of the NTS survey which for those over 45 years showed 72% at Culloden and 65% at Bannockburn. In

	%				
Age:	18-24	25-39	40-49	50-65	66+
Culloden	6	20	14	38	22
Bannockburn	4	24	22	32	18
Bosworth	2	18	22	38	20
Hastings	6	16	24	46	8
All sites	4.5	19.5	20.5	38.5	17.0

Table 7.2: Age distribution

Milloy's (1997:107) survey of Bosworth 57% of respondents were over 41 and the predominance of older age groups at heritage sites is well attested (see for example DCMS, 2011 : Figure 4.3).

The majority of groups interviewed comprised two or three people at all the sites although slightly larger group sizes were found at Bannockburn and Hastings (4 and 5+) (Table 7.3). The NTS survey (as above) found 64.0% of the sample at Culloden and 72.0% at Bannockburn were in groups of two. Very few interviewees were on coach tours although this might reflect a methodological issue where passengers were reluctant to stop because they were being taken around a site as part of a large group. It was therefore not possible to reach this visitor constituency.

	%				
	Alone	2-3	4	5+	Coach Tour
Culloden	10	58	22	8	2
Bannockburn	6	66	10	18	-
Bosworth	6	62	26	6	-
Hastings	4	50	28	14	4
All sites	6.5	59	21.5	11.5	1.5

Table 7.3: How many in your group today (including self)?

The educational background of visitors was dominated by those who had gained formal educational qualifications and the Higher Educational groups (Graduate and Postgraduate) were the most prevalent at each site comprising 56.0% of the total sites sample (Table 7.4).

	%						
	Secondary	Technical	Further	Higher - Graduate	Higher - Postgraduate	Other	None of the above
Culloden	22.0	8.0	4.0	40.0	20.0	2.0	4.0
Bannockburn	20.0	12.0	10.0	32.0	22.0	2.0	2.0
Bosworth	16.0	12.0	14.0	26.0	26.0	-	6.0
Hastings	20.0	2.0	16.0	38.0	20.0	2.0	2.0
All sites	19.5	8.5	11.0	34.0	22.0	1.5	3.5

Table 7.4: What is your highest level of education?

The analysis of occupational categories (Table 7.5) uses the National Readership Survey Social Grade system (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2001). The survey reflects how the higher socio-economic groups (A and B) are well represented in the sample with all sites showing 52.5% from these categories. The manual C and D groups are significantly underrepresented which mirrors the findings of the English Heritage Taking Part survey that those in higher socio-economic groups have a higher predicted probability of visiting

heritage sites (CEBR, 2007 : Table 11). The E group is also strongly represented (apart from at Hastings) and this is likely to reflect the large number of retired visitors

	%					
	U/R/S/LTS (E)	Semi-skilled/ Unskilled Manual (D)	Skilled Manual (C2)	Junior Managerial (C1)	Middle Managerial (B)	Higher Managerial/ Professional (A)
Culloden	38.0	-	6.0	10.0	18.0	28.0
Bannockburn	36.0	-	8.0	8.0	18.0	30.0
Bosworth	34.0	-	8.0	8.0	20.0	30.0
Hastings	18.0	-	10.0	6.0	18.0	48.0
All sites	31.5	-	8.0	8.0	18.5	34.0

Table 7.5: What is your occupation?

interviewed. At Hastings there were larger numbers of A and B group visitors than at the other sites and this might reflect the relative affluence of the south of England over these other areas.

A postcode analysis of interviewees using the UK European Administrative Units was used to determine the provenance of visitors (Appendix F (i) and (ii)). For UK visitors there is a clear predominance of local interest in the sites although one anomaly was the larger representation of visitors from the South-West at Bannockburn. No visitors were interviewed from Northern Ireland and there were small numbers from Wales.

The analysis shows how the overseas category comprises a noteworthy proportion of visits to all four sites at 39% of the sample with a greater pronouncement at Culloden and Bosworth (although this group was under-represented at the Bosworth Re-enactment (Chapter 8)). Such a high proportion cannot be discounted since there are well attested cultural differences in tourism (Reisinger and Turner, 2003) which could affect the way the site is viewed between respondents of varying cultural and national backgrounds. The table in Appendix G (i) shows the percentage response rates by country and how these compare with the NTS surveys mentioned above. The figures for the four sites appear to be larger

than the NTS data but the latter have the advantage of a larger sample size and should thus be read as more accurate here. In addition to this, overall dominance of the groups masks the true nature of the data which is based upon very low numbers (for example, 18% of visitors from the USA at Culloden amounts to only 9 people). For this reason to analyse the questions in this survey by nationality is statistically invalid. If national cultural differences are discounted, however, and the overseas category treated as a block, then some reliability is provided and this is discussed further below (7.1.2.6.).

7.1.2 Principal question analysis

7.1.2.1 Previous visits and organisational membership

The vast majority of interviewees were on their second visit with 83% for all sites (Table 7.6). The result was particularly strong for Culloden and Hastings which suggests that these sites are used by regular and local visitors for recreational purposes. Very few interviewees had visited any of the sites more than twice.

	%		
	First Time	Second	More than twice
Culloden	8.0	90.0	2.0
Bannockburn	28.0	72.0	-
Bosworth	22.0	78.0	-
Hastings	8.0	92.0	
All sites	16.5	83.0	0.5

Table 7.6: Is this your first visit to the battlefield site?

Overall interviewees had little experience of visiting battlefield sites and this was reflected in the results for all the sites (Table 7.7). This important result should be read alongside the other surveyed material in that it shows how visitors in this survey are not on the whole able to compare their experiences with a variety of other sites. Interviewees who had visited other sites were asked which they had visited within the last twelve months and the top mentions overall were: Culloden (11), Hastings (6) and Bosworth and Stirling Bridge (=3).

	%	
	Yes	No
Bosworth	5.5	19.5
Culloden	2.0	23.0
Bannockburn	8.0	17.0
Hastings	1.5	23.5
All	17.0	83.0

Table 7.7: Visited other battlefields in the UK in last 12 months

More respondents stated they were not members of heritage organisations than those who said they were for all sites (Table 7.8). For Bosworth and Hastings, however, significantly

	%	
	Yes	No
Culloden (NTS)	46.0	54.0
Bannockburn (NTS)	54.0	46.0
Bosworth (Leicestershire CC)	40.0	60.0
Hastings (EH)	38.0	62.0
All sites	44.5	55.5

Table 7.8: Are you a member of any heritage organisation?

more of the sample were not members as opposed to Culloden and Bannockburn which demonstrates the number of NTS members visiting their 'own' sites and benefiting from free entrance.

Of those who said they were members of organisations the following were represented (all sites, number of mentions in brackets):

National Trust (England and Wales) (40), National Trust for Scotland (23), English Heritage (30), Historic Scotland (9) and local heritage or family history societies (8). Those with under 8 mentions included Cadw and various overseas heritage organisations.

7.1.2.2 Words used to describe the sites

Interviewees were asked to state words to describe the site they were at and these were collated and separated into the following three broad categories of meaning: thoughtful, descriptive and emotional. The researcher used his own judgement in choosing these and the system is not perfect in that words may overlap between categories. Nevertheless this does provide a useful analysis of general trends in the expressed opinion of visitors. An example of the way words were divided in this way is given in Appendix H.

Figure 7.1 shows how the Thoughtful category dominates all sites and the Emotional is the weakest representation. This would indicate a stronger cognitive than emotional response

Figure 7.1: Main Survey Question 5: Word Categories - a comparison between the four sites
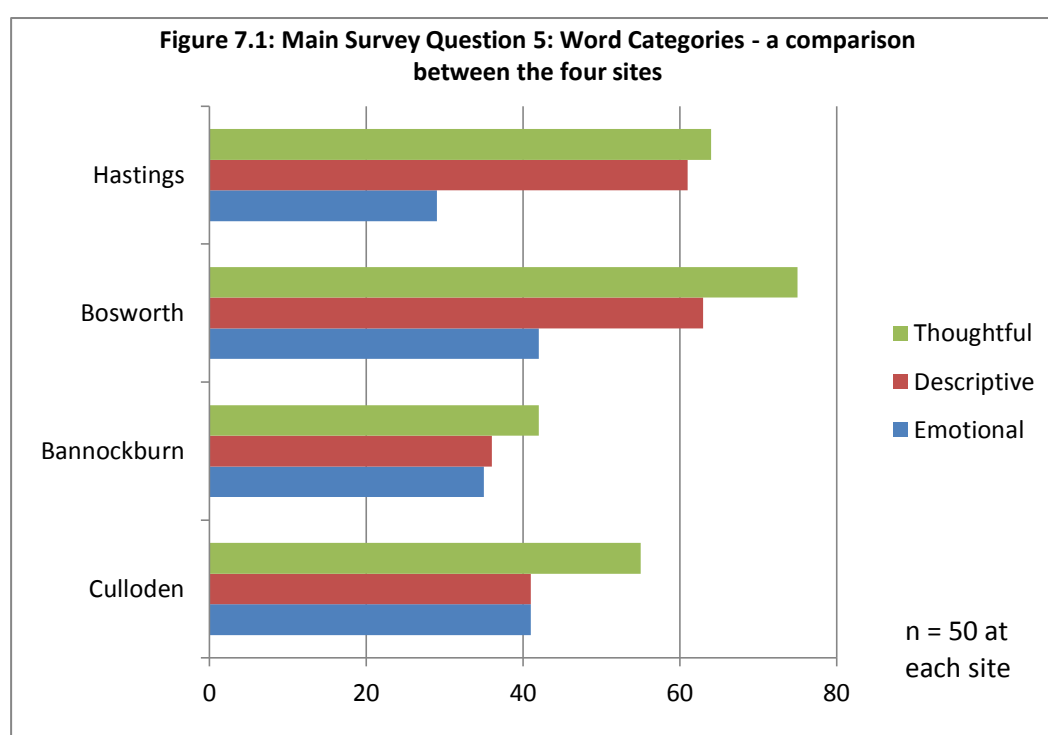
from visitors. Nevertheless this does raise the question whether these responses are directly prompted by the interpretational intent of the sites or whether they are the individual's own eisegesis of the messages communicated through a variety of interpretational vectors. Are the public receiving the interpretational content which site management had intended? That heritage sites can generate meanings contrary to 'official' intentions has been evidenced by

Jones (2004) who demonstrates that technocratic designs are not always 'bought into' by a public well able to fashion heritage to its own particular needs and discourses. Interviews with site managers outlined elsewhere in this thesis suggest that there is no considered awareness of interpretation from a thoughtful, descriptive or emotional perspective. Whether these approaches exist unwittingly on a meta level would have to involve further research including in-depth textual analysis of interpretational tools. Text-based interpretation might prompt a more cognitive response whereas less textual messages a greater emotional response.

These hermeneutical issues can be explained by the nature of the visitors themselves however. Table 7.4 shows how the majority overall were from the higher educational groups and as Merriman (1991) has argued these tend to be more 'text' orientated. This suggests visitors who are more thoughtful and less emotional and explain why they re-negotiate the interpretational message to suit their own cognitive bias.

7.1.2.3 The Visitor Centre

One of the main objectives of this study is to examine the value of interpretation in contributing to the experience and meanings of battlefield sites to visitors. To do this a number of questions were asked linked directly to interpretation including the Visitor Centre. There was a highly positive appreciation of the value of the Visitor Centre at each of the sites (Figure 7.2.) and this is particularly marked at Culloden. As an interpretative tool this would suggest that these facilities are successful although the result says little about their effectiveness.

Figure 7.2: Main Survey Question 7 - "The Visitor Centre has added to my understanding of the site today"
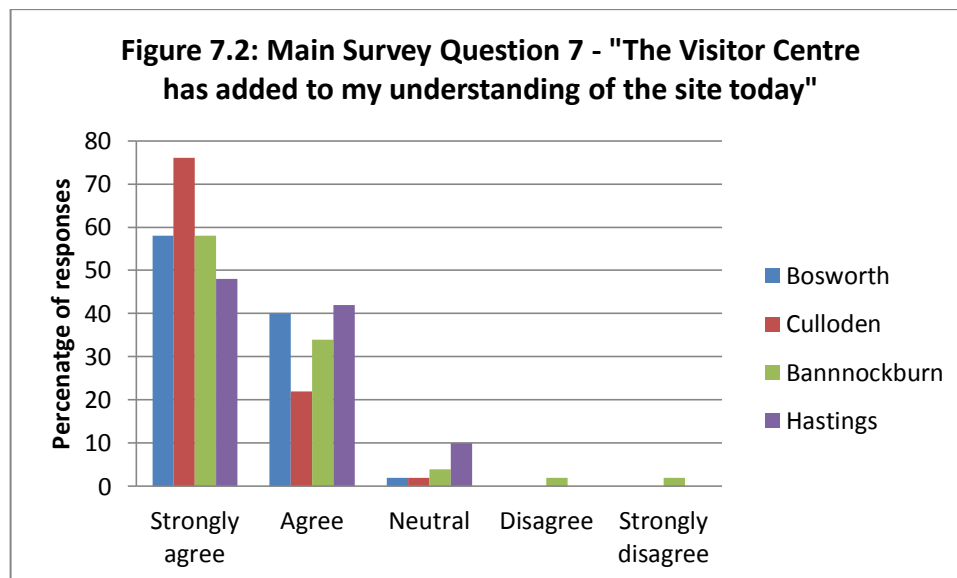
7.1.2.4 Interpretation at the sites

To provide a more precise analysis of the interpretation at the various sites interviewees were asked to comment on a number of different types of interpretational tools and how they felt these contributed to the experience of their visit (Question 6). These were:

1. Information Boards
2. Audio Guides
3. Guidebooks
4. Guides (Guided Tours)
5. Self Guided Trail
6. Lectures
7. Costumed Actors
8. Films/ audio visual
9. Models/ Dioramas
10. Hands on or working displays

Table 7.9 demonstrates by the use of the sample arithmetic mean and the standard deviation (SD) from the mean[39] in each case that overall there is a generally positive attitude amongst interviewees for the way in which the range of interpretative methods

---

39 The sample arithmetic mean is an acknowledged way of describing what the data is saying when comparing sites in that it marks the central location of the data rather than the finite number of responses (n) which will be different in each case. This is calculated by adding together the sum

	Information Boards	Audio Guides	Guidebooks	Guides (Guided Tours)	Self-guided Trail	Lectures	Costumed Actors	Films/Audio Visual	Models/Dioramas	Hands on or Working Displays
Culloden										
Mean Values	8.83	7.73	6.97	8.39	-	7.9	7.31	8.74	8.12	7.69
St. Dev.	1.19	2.15	1.90	1.61	-	1.94	2.3	1.29	1.59	2.19
n	50	40	30	18	N/A	20	36	47	49	45
Bannockburn										
Mean Values	7.98	5.25	6.50	7.40	8.80	7.00	6.67	9.11	8.46	8.04
St. Dev.	2.02	4.35	2.55	3.65	1.79	3.39	3.50	1.20	1.69	2.03
n	50	4	46	5	5	5	6	46	50	45
Bosworth										
Mean Values	8.08	-	-	7.00	7.08	-	-	8.98	8.55	8.57
St. Dev.	2.23	-	-	3.46	2.36	-	-	1.22	1.26	1.41
n	50	N/A	N/A	4	48	0	0	49	49	49
Hastings										
Mean Values	8.44	8.81	5.59	10.00	8.43	-	-	8.84	8.22	7.27
St. Dev.	1.42	2.01	2.30	0.00	1.43	-	-	1.31	1.28	1.72
n	50	47	34	2	49	N/A	0	49	50	45

Note: In the tables a zero response is indicated by - and an item that was not present at that site by N/A. Not all of the interpretational methods were present at each site so comparison between them remains incomplete. Bannockburn was the only site where all the interpretational methods were represented.

Table 7.9   Main Survey question 6 - Contribution of interpretation to experience of site based on mean values and standard deviation

of the values and dividing by the number of values. SD is a measure of how much these mean values vary from the central tendency and is thus a measure of dispersion. It is an indication of how close the responses are to the central tendency. The lower the SD then the more confidence we can have in the result. Conversely the greater the SD then the less confidence that can be had in the result. A low SD indicates that the data points are very close to the mean while conversely a high SD shows that data are spread over a large set of values. SD is thus a measure of statistical reliability (Argyrous, 2005).

contribute to the experience at the sites in question. This is particularly strong for the Films/Audio Visual, Models/Dioramas and Hands on or Working Display categories at all sites. Grouped together these reported a consistently high mean value (the lowest being 7.27 at Hastings) and SD scores which show that these views are quite well concentrated amongst the high response rates in each case. Within this result one can detect a particularly high value for film at Bannockburn (MV = 9.11, SD = 1.20) which demonstrates the premium attached to this form here. Comparison with other items related to this site show that this is only matched by the value attached to the Self-guided Trail and Information Boards. The sample size for the former is very small (n = 5) so it can be discounted but the latter is a strongly appreciated interpretational method.[40] Visitors had mixed views of the Costumed Actors at the site (SD = 3.50) and Guidebooks also scored quite lowly (MV = 6.50, SD = 2.55). One can conclude that the film is a dominant interpretational presence at Bannockburn and tends to eclipse other forms. The site manager openly stated that this audio-visual presentation was introduced to add sparkle to an outdated interpretational suite so these results would confirm that it is effective [41]. The audio-visual at Culloden is an all-around 360 degree battle immersion experience designed to take the visitor to the 'centre of the action' and relive the 'horror of the battle' (National Trust for Scotland, undated b). This does appear to be the highlight of the interpretational experience and scores highly (MV = 8.74, SD = 1.29) but it is interesting to note from Table 7.9 how this does not stand out above other items. It is surpassed by Information Boards (MV = 8.83, SD = 1.19) and visitors to the site seem to value all aspects of its interpretation.

Information Boards score highly for all sites as do Audio-guides at Culloden (MV = 7.73, SD = 2.15) and Hastings (MV = 8.81, SD = 2.01). The former has a highly innovative immersion audio guide to the battlefield which operates with the assistance of GPS technology (this triggers commentary in relation to where the user is located and is able to reposition if the trail is lost). The Hastings guide is a more conventional user operated 'wand' although scores higher than the more advanced technology at Culloden in this survey. Regrettably the sample rates for Guided Tours were too low to draw meaningful

---

[40] Very low or zero returns were experienced for some items because of an interviewee not having experienced a particular method during their visit either by deliberate choice or if a visit had not coincided with a timed event (e.g. a guided walk). The sample size is crucial in reading these results and because of this some of the answers have to be discounted. The response rate for Guided Tours and Lectures was particularly low throughout in the latter case because these were relatively infrequent events.

[41] Interview with Bannockburn Property Manager, July 2010.

conclusions at Bannockburn and Hastings although they were well appreciated at Culloden. This site has a highly visible programme of guided walks using costumed actors although it is interesting to note that the tours are rated more highly than the category Costumed Actors itself (MV = 8.39 as opposed to 7.31 respectively).

Guidebooks score relatively lowly throughout although there was a greater variance in response at Bannockburn (SD = 2.55). At Hastings the mean value was only 5.59 and the relatively low response rates at this site and Culloden would suggest that they are not popular with visitors. Bosworth does not have a guide book due to the level of contention surrounding the location of the battle. The conclusion is that other forms of interpretation are largely eclipsing the Guidebook which tends to be used as a souvenir item purchased at the end of the visit.

As a site Culloden is clearly the one with the least variance in visitor scores with low SD reported for all questions (the highest is 2.3). It is matched by Hastings and without having to undertake more involved statistical analysis one can remark that these two sites are the ones with the most consistent and consensual levels of visitor validation.

7.1.2.5 The effectiveness of interpretation: educational aspects

In order to gauge the impact of these Centres and the entire interpretational offering of the sites in contributing to informal learning, three multiple-choice test questions were included at each site (Questions 15-17, Appendix I). The questionnaires were only administered to visitors who filled the two basic filtering criteria of having seen the site (outside) and visited the exhibition (although it was not possible to determine how much of the exhibition sequence respondents had actually been exposed to). The questions were different for each of the four sites and related to information which the visitors should have been able to absorb from walking around the exhibition. Questions were chosen generally from the beginning, middle and end of the exhibition in each case and the location of the correct answer varied within the choices available. A 'Don't know' option was also provided to counter the problem of guessing. If interviewees answered a question correctly they were then asked if they knew the answer before their visit. This adapts a method used by Light (1995) in his study of Welsh heritage attractions where six 'recognition test' questions were directed at visitors. The thrust of this method is the extent to which visitors had gained knowledge about the site from their experience which is particularly important

in determining the effectiveness of site interpretation. This 'added value' is a telling indication of the success or otherwise of the educational objectives of a site. It was important to know how many people who answered questions correctly had not known the answer before coming to the site since this would indicate that learning had taken place.

Appendix F (iii) shows how there was a great variance in whether interviewees knew the answers to the questions or not. In some cases as many as 94% answered correctly and in others this was as low as 36%. What is more instructive, however, is the number of interviewees who knew the answers beforehand or had learnt them from their visit. The right hand charts show that for all the questions the majority of respondents had not known the answer before the visit although there is significant variety in the extent of this 'added value'. Only 1% knew the answer beforehand for question 16 at Hastings and 2% for question 16 at Bannockburn, for example, as opposed to 34% for question 17 at Bosworth. The former suggests a substantial amount of knowledge that was gained from the visit and the latter more which was likely to have been held in the private consciousness beforehand.

Since the questions were tailored to their respective sites there is little to be gained by comparing them individually between each other. The interpretation of the results becomes more significant, however, when the answers for all the questions between sites are compared. The graphs in Appendix F (iv) show how there was a high level of added knowledge from the visit at each of the sites ranging from 57% at Culloden to 44% at Bannockburn. This is a measure of effectiveness and we can therefore assume that there is a hierarchy of success in impacting upon the visiting public between these sites. It is no coincidence that the site with the most up to date interpretation (Culloden) is the most effective and that with the oldest and most outdated (Bannockburn) is here identified as being the least effective.

Nevertheless a word of caution has to be made in interpreting these results. The assertion is that interpretation has an impact on visitors exposed to it but as Miles (1986) has shown visitors differ in their predilection towards learning at museums and heritage sites. Although this theory was presented in the mid 1980s it is likely to be as significant now as then in an understanding of audiences. Three segments of visitor are identified: those who are highly motivated to learn; those who can be motivated to learn and who have a modicum of interest and curiosity in the subject; and those who are not at all motivated to learn. This schema would suggest that visitors can be exposed to the same level of

interpretation but come away from the experience with widely different levels of absorption of the message and knowledge conveyed. For this reason the results above might be less a feature of the level of effectiveness of interpretation and more a comment on the intrinsicality of the visitors themselves.

7.1.2.6 An exploration of deep feelings (Question 4)

This section sets out to investigate whether visitors had any awareness of the deeper numinous aspects associated with a sense of place (Trubshaw, 2005) which is particularly important in an understanding of the deeper meanings attached to sites by visitors. That battlefield sites have the potential to arouse emotion is acknowledged (Prideaux, 2007; Uzzell and Ballantyne, 2008) but the nature of this is less clear. It is notoriously difficult to interpret emotional responses through data and the following analysis provides a measure of scope rather than any comment on the depth or intensity of feelings which are explored in the qualitative results outlined later.

An investigation of visitors to the Gettysburg Military Park in the USA by Gatewood and Cameron (2004) utilized a numen-seeking scale which measured visitor responses to 10 items (ibid.: 214, note 5).[42] The scale was devised to incorporate a number of facets of the numen experience such as a connection with the past, a spiritual awareness (Otto's '*mysterium tremendum*') and a sense of timelessness (akin to Csíkszentmihályi's notion of 'flow', see 3.1). This provided a template for my own study and it was decided to adopt this method with some variations (Table 7.10). Seven of Gatewood and Cameron's items were used with slight changes in the wording (these are items $1 - 4$ and 6 and 7 in question 4). An extra question was inserted (question 4/5) which represented the authors' item relating to hardship ("I want to learn about the hardships of earlier times, not just the high points"). Table 7.10 shows how the numen questions relate to Gatewood and Cameron's three shorthand dimensions of the concept: a deep engagement or transcendence; awe or reverence; and empathy.

The results of this question are represented in Appendix F (v). At all sites visitors felt that they were able to 'go back in time' (4/1) and this was a particularly strongly held view at Hastings and Culloden. The popularity of battlefield sites and their presence in media

---

[42] 34 items were analysed and the 10 selected were strongly correlated for 'numen-seeking'.

representations might well provide a visual platform for the imagination and a vehicle to assist in this cerebral time travel. The more common the media representations of places and events then the easier it is for visitors to imagine what it must have been like at the time (although this could be defined in a number of ways). Hastings is a well established event in English popular consciousness and as has been discussed earlier in this thesis Culloden is the most strongly culturally reproduced of the case study sites. This could explain why their visitors felt it easier to go back in time than at the other sites.

With regard to the material culture of battlefields interviewees also felt that they could connect deeply with objects (4/2) and this was particularly prominent at Bosworth and Culloden. The latter two sites have many original artefacts on display and at Culloden these are given a special sense of importance in a designated gallery at the end of the

Numen Questions (Appendix A: question 4)	Gatewood and Cameron's (2004) – numen dimensions
Represented	
1 I was able to use my mind to go back in time while visiting the battlefield	Deep engagement or transcendence
2 I was able to connect deeply with the objects displayed in exhibits (if applicable)	Awe or reverence
4 I enjoyed reflecting on the battlefield site after visiting it	Deep engagement or transcendence
5 I was able to imagine the horrors of battle whilst at the battlefield site	Empathy
8 I enjoyed talking about my personal reactions to the battlefield site	Empathy
Mid representation	
3 Whilst at the battlefield I was able to feel the aura or spirit of earlier times	Awe or reverence
Weakly represented	
6 The battlefield site provoked an almost "spiritual" response in me	Awe or reverence
7 At the battlefield site I lost my sense of time passing	Deep engagement or transcendence

Table 7.10: Survey questions and dimensions of the numen

exhibition. At Bannockburn there are no original items and replicas are used but despite this the site still scored highly with regard to visitor connection. This would suggest that at some sites either visitors do not feel authenticity is important (Wang, 1999) or that they have been led to believe that the objects on display are authentic. The question was deliberately designed to refer to 'objects' and not necessarily *realia* so the implication is that visitors are able to 'connect' whether the items are authentic or not. This would suggest that the numen is unrelated to authenticity and can be experienced with *simulacra*. This echoes Baudrillard's theory that reality has been replaced with signs like the copy which reduces human experience to a simulation of reality (Baudrillard, 1994).

Nevertheless there was quite strong agreement that the sites were able to illicit the aura and spirit of earlier times (4/3) and again this was most pronounced with those sites of more authentic location at Hastings and Culloden. The latter also benefits from its melancholic image which is played out in the interpretational message. There was a slightly lower score for Bosworth which might reflect the uncertainly of its location. This result underlines the idea that more authentic sites are able to elicit deeper numinous feelings but conflicts with the uncertain relationship between artefact and numinosity in question 4/2. A large majority of interviewees felt they were able to reflect on their visit and this was expressed at all sites (4/4). This does suggest a deep level of impact in that the effects of the visit were still prevalent between the end and the time that the interview was taking place. Whether this deep affect remained in the days or weeks after the visit is less certain. There was again a strong agreement that visitors were able to imagine the horrors of the battle at each site (4/5). All interpretational messages described the horror and suffering of battle and this was clearly something that impacted on those interviewed.

An exploration of the spiritual aspects of the site was at the heart of numinosity but the results show how this concept is weakly represented (4/6). It is highest for Hastings and Culloden which, as already alluded to, are the most authentic sites. Bosworth scores lowest which might be an indication of its uncertain location or perhaps that it is also a busy Country Park. The wide range of recreational and public use at the site could diminish its spiritual value but this cannot be read into the data with any certainty. However there is evidence that the spiritual connection to historic sites is enhanced by solitude and 'untamed' places rather than crowded and commercialised ones are considered more spiritually conducive (McClanahan, 2004). From field experience the concept of spirituality was difficult to communicate to many respondents and it is clearly not a widely

held view. Some visitors felt they were not 'spiritual people' and any transcendental appreciation of these sites was a rarity. This might suggest that interpretation is not normally designed to elicit 'spiritual' responses and such imprints are normally imposed onto sites by individuals through complex psycho-spiritual processes. This sentiment is paralleled in the low scores reflected for an awareness of time passing at the sites (4/7). As a component of 'flow' (Csíkszentmihályi, 1975) this phenomenon is not widely experienced but this might be more a result of the personal time schedules of tourists than any deficient aspects of the sites themselves. There was quite a strong agreement that sites stimulated discussion after the visit and this was most common at Bannockburn (4/8). The nature of this discussion is uncertain, however, and whether it was deep or merely superficial.

The survey has demonstrated how interviewees had mixed views in response to questions about feelings at these sites. There was generally a high level of engagement and emotional appreciation of the sites but this was less well represented with the more visceral aspects such as spirituality and a sense of time (4/6 and 4/7). Auratic aspects were appreciated but not particularly convincingly (4/3). Hastings and Culloden generally scored higher than the other sites and there is thus a deeper recognition of them as numen-inducing places. The results would suggest that visitors have an ambivalent relationship with objects used in interpretation and do not necessarily connect more deeply with authentic artefacts (4/2). Only 2.7% of the comments from the qualitative survey which follow related to the numen so although these views are present they are not widely held.

The potential distortion of the results by a weighty overseas component has been mentioned above (7.1.1) so to determine whether there were any differences between overseas and non-overseas respondents a test analysis of question 4 was carried out (Appendix G (ii)). The question was chosen as a more 'affective' example and thus more indicative of perceived differentiation. Appendix G shows how there were some differences in the results but these are not considered significant and it was not deemed necessary to repeat the analysis with other questions. On this basis there were no wide differences in responses between overseas and non –overseas *when considered as a block.*

The graphs in Appendix F (v) show a very clear positive orientation for all but questions 4/6 and 4/7 and this might suggest the presence of a social response bias in the survey. The presence of the interviewer in influencing the responses of interviewees is well

acknowledged in the ethnographical and anthropological literature (see for example Watson, 1992; Valentine, 1997; Robson, 2002). One aspect of this can be 'acquiescence bias' where the respondent answers in a way that he or she thinks the interviewer wants. If a question has a high or low scale for instance then a respondent will naturally defer to the extreme scores particularly if the interviewer is present. Although there is a possibility of this kind of contamination in this study it must be stressed that every effort was made to avoid this problem occurring. This involved the complete absence of prompts from the interviewer – verbal or non-verbal – in the questioning process and there were no reactions to answers in any way. In addition to this one can ask the question why this would be a case of response bias anyway. This is just how the interviewees answered these questions and the results although unusual are nevertheless genuine.

7.2 Qualitative results and analysis

The second research tool described here used open ended questions to ascertain the opinions of respondents. This allowed them to express their own feelings and opinions in an unrestricted manner and this chapter demonstrates the great depth of response brought out. Questions 8 and 18 of the face-to-face visitor questionnaire (Appendix A) were used and 200 questionnaires were administered between the four sites. This resulted in 402 individual comments. Because of the volume of this information it is only possible to present the highlights of these results (see Appendix J for a summary of the total number of answer responses). This includes those answers which were not used in the qualitative analysis.

Although the four sites are different in chronological terms they are here discussed together. In this discussion the sites are coded as follows: C – Culloden; Bk – Bannockburn; B – Bosworth and H – Hastings.

7.2.1 History

This was a prominent theme in the responses (18.2%) reflecting a strong awareness of the historical importance of the sites. It is possible to sub-divide these comments into further categories as follows.

7.2.1.1 The magnitude of the events

Visitors to Hastings were affected by the scale of the event and how this contributed to the historical development of the country.

> Hastings is an intimate part of our history and tells us who we are and where we came from. The fact that we haven't been defeated since then is interesting and shows an element of luck in fighting (H, female, 50-65).

> The battle was a turning point in English history and we would be speaking a Nordic language rather than a French language if it had gone the other way (H, male, 66+).

> [It's] important because England was built from this battle. If William the Conqueror hadn't won England today would have been different (H, female, 50-65).

It is noteworthy that no other sites provoked such comments although at Culloden one interviewee thought the battle to be a pivotal event:

> The totality of it…it's powerful because it is so historic and part of the nation's consciousness. [It was] a turning point (C, female, 66+).

"What if" answers were also common as the following example demonstrates:

> It was never a foregone conclusion and if events had happened differently things now could be vastly different [and] we might not be sat here (B, male, 40-49).

An appreciation of dynastic change was another view (8 comments):

> Understanding your heritage and how we ended up with a French king. When you see the family tree on the wall it demonstrates the order of how life in Britain was established (H, female, 50-65).

The fickleness of history and the way events can be decided within moments was also mentioned:

> How history hangs on single events and those single events hang on things like the guys not having enough sleep[43]. If they had had enough sleep the battle would have been different and England would have been different. Great events of history on a balance which now look certain but on the day were on a knife-edge (C, male, 40-49).

> It was an accident that Harold died and that is why England is as it is today. Some minutes can decide history (H, male, 40-49).

Many of these comments are doubtless open to dispute from the historical academy but the important point is that they reflect what the sites mean to visitors.

7.2.1.2 A sense of history

The historical value of the site is mentioned by a number of interviewees and how the experience is enriched by the presentation of the battle in its proper context:

> Just putting it into the proper time in history because so often you hear about it in isolation (C, female, 50-65).

---

[43] On the night before Culloden the Jacobite commanders decided to launch a surprise attack in darkness upon the Hanoverian camp which was at Nairn some 12 miles away. This ended in disorder and the exhausted and hungry Jacobites had to return to the field of Culloden where the battle took place later that day. Many dispersed in search of food and others fell asleep in ditches and buildings (Duffy, 2003).

It gives a good impression of how the battle was fought and the two opponents. It was well explained why William came here…A good historical context to the battle (H, male, 50-65).

This would suggest that for these visitors the interpretative message is succeeding and a process of learning is taking place (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). For others the value of the site is linked to physical markers which have a clear historical significance:

The graves separated into clans because people cared about the cause and defending their lifestyles and ways of living. The cottage – someone lived and worked here at the time of the battle. This showed the way of life at this time and the battle must have impacted on this (C, female, 25-39).[44]

It's good to get a visual aspect of where it took place and where it all 'kicked off' (H, male, 40-49).

One American visitor appreciated the balanced view being presented at Culloden in contrast to sites in his home country:

[The] dual history from both sides…I have never seen this done before [and it] makes history better to understand. Our Civil War we only see from one side – whoever owns the battlefield, north or south. Culloden allows you to form your own judgements on the events and to draw your own conclusions (C, male, 25-39).

Interpreters have a duty to provide as balanced a presentation of the event as possible and allow visitors to feed on impartiality.

---

[44] Some doubt has recently been cast upon the accuracy of the account that the Jacobite dead were buried according to clan affiliations and the Leanach cottage is now thought to be a later structure (Pollard, 2009). These theories had not been incorporated into the interpretation of the Visitor Centre at the time of writing although they are controversial.

For visitors to the Scottish sites there was a clear feeling that they were of importance in Scottish history. The following comment would suggest this:

> [The] history between the English and Scots is interesting so this
> provides the most meaningful understanding of this history. And this
> large monument must mean a lot to the Scots (C, female, 25-39).

This is a particularly revealing comment, however, in that it is acknowledged that the battle of Culloden was not a Scottish – English conflict but one between the forces of Jacobitism and the Hanoverian government of the day (Duffy, 2003). This visitor has thus confused the event with a nationalistic agenda which is inaccurate although research has shown that Culloden does have a deep resonance with the Scots as a part of their history (McLean, Garden and Urquhart, 2007). It has moreover 'come to stand for Scotland, especially as it has acquired a patina of heritage' (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995: 195).

Battle sites do not always have a positive impact on visitors as the following comment demonstrates:

> It doesn't strike me as historic unlike Culloden and Flodden which are
> more open and bleak. I don't get that feeling here. [The] exhibition is
> good but it doesn't give you a sense of the battle at all. There is less a
> sense of realism here but it doesn't lose anything from being not exactly
> where Richard died (B, male, 50-65).

From the interviews undertaken this was a very rare sentiment and the positive response to the realism of the sites is discussed later.

These battles have been firmly entrenched in the visiting public's socio-cultural milieu through folklore, education and media representations and any visit is likely to be a process of validation of events previously 'known'. The auratic 'draw' (Benjamin, 1999) of these

184

sites thus allows people to find out what really happened allowing them to 'form their own opinion and…take ownership of the events themselves' (Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood, 2010: 5). This is particularly relevant with visits to First World War sites which are discussed later.

7.2.1.3 Importance of battle tactics

For some visitors the tactical aspects were pre-eminent and there were a total of 11 comments relating to this theme (9 male and 2 female). The following were typical:

> As far as winning battles [is concerned] the importance of tactics
> because the English lost it by lack of tactics and the impulsive reaction
> of Harold…William had several disadvantages yet won the battle (H,
> male, 50-65).

> Strategy. Basically the leaders' strategy is more important than the
> numbers…[The] English had enormous power but didn't use it properly
> (Bk, male, 66+).

7.2.1.4 Personal history

The impact of the site on a number of visitors was highly personal and in the case of Culloden was underpinned by ancestral connections as the following comment from a Scottish resident demonstrates:

> Returning after 67 years and seeing all the changes. It was more
> meaningful then because there were only the headstones, cairn and the
> well – the rest was desolation…now it's all just money. It was a far truer
> experience then. Now it's just commercialism and has lost its mystery
> and history. You also had to make an effort to get here and now they are
> rolling up by the barrel-load…The meaning has been diluted. Also I'm a
> MacIntosh and they feature so prominently in this escapade. So if you

> take all these people away it means a lot to me. I'd prefer to be here on
>
> my own or with a few people (C, male, 66+).

This nostalgic view makes clear the perceived destruction of a relative historical ambience and is an echo of the melancholic value of the site where the scar of the Gael is 'fingered' (Acherson, 2002: 174). It is clear here that the experience is marred by the modern development of the site and one can detect a characteristic feature of nostalgia which harks back to 'a land of lost content'.

7.2.1.5 Views of foreign visitors

The views of non-British visitors are important in revealing the meanings of these sites to those who have in most cases been brought up outside the domestic cultural milieu. Typical comments were:

> It helped me understand the history of that period more deeply. There is
>
> some similarity in history between England and China. These battles are
>
> not special in England because it's normal and common in human
>
> history (B, female, 25-39).

> [It has] given us more insight – even for us Dutch it's important what
>
> our neighbours have gone through (H, male, 40-49).

These responses reflect a common appreciation of the historical background to the conflicts and it would be interesting to learn more about how different cultures value battle sites. This survey was regrettably unable to shed light on this intriguing issue.

7.2.2 Nationalistic views

These comprised 6.5% of the total and were dominated by views from and about the Scottish nation at the two Scottish sites as the following examples demonstrate:

It makes you proud to be Scottish because of the sacrifice and this has never left us (Bk, female, 40-49).

We came here to see a place where the Scots didn't make a shambles of themselves. Bannockburn was heroic and taught the English a lesson (Bk, male, 50-65, New Zealand).

[I'm] proud to be Scottish. We were so outnumbered and we made such a dent even though we were outnumbered…We are a small nation but we can still win (Bk, female, 18-24).

[The battle] relates to the modern position of Scotland to some extent – the feeling of needing to be independent from England is rooted in this (C, male, 50-65).

It was noteworthy that there were more nationalistic comments from the Bannockburn site than Culloden. The latter tended to highlight the events after the battle and in particular the Highland Clearances and the demise of the clan system. This is reflected in the results of a similar qualitative survey of the site in 2005-06 which suggested that to Scottish visitors the experience was more a reinforcing of identity than seeking out a deep sense of nationhood (McLean, Garden and Urquhart, 2007). This has been all the more relevant in the years since this survey in the connection of Culloden with wider Highland identity and the resurgence of Highland language and culture. As a clear victory over the English, Bannockburn serves as the focus for Scottish nationalistic prowess and this was also reflected in comments about the major personage of the event:

Being able to walk to the statue [which is] where Bruce was. Also the time of the year - Bruce's death tomorrow and the battle as fought in June. It gives an extra sense of awe…(Bk, female, 18-24).

The fusion of iconic figure and place is a powerful combination and one that adds value and historic kudos to the site. Bannockburn is the sort of site where nationhood is crystallised

through the presence of a hero and as has been demonstrated this is an important aspect of 'site sacralisation' (Chapter 4). This is unlike at Culloden where the site itself dominates the nationalist interpretation.

7.2.3 Realism

Although the questions were open ended the interviewer felt the need to ask interviewees about issues of realism and the answers below are thus responses to more direct questions (15.0% of the total). On being asked none of the respondents stated that realism was unimportant.

7.2.3.1 Authenticity

The following comment demonstrates the value of an 'authentic' experience:

> Authenticity is important to me – other battlefield sites fall victim to
> commercialism and become garish and kitsch. What's nice here is the
> authenticity and it's natural. It's been allowed to evolve through the ages
> and there's no need to create every divot or trench which you sometimes
> get in the USA (H, male, 50-65).

The above interprets authenticity in terms of a natural setting and implies that this is one that has been left untouched. This is, however, rarely achieved in the management of heritage in that human forces have had a hand in changing even what seem to be the most natural of sites (Gold and Gold, 2003).

A model explaining the factors involved in the educative process at heritage sites (Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 200) shows how a degree of prior knowledge is a key variable in the achievement of a learning outcome. This was reflected in comments which provided a strong link between pre-visit preparation and the power of place:

We have been reading about this and now we're here…seeing it makes
it come alive more than just reading about it (H, male, 18-24).

…seeing it "live". Being at the site gives an extra dimension to the story
rather that reading about it in a book (H, female, 25-39).

The power of authenticity in being at the actual place was the main reason for visiting for
several interviewees:

The field itself – just being at the actual site. This is the reason for
visiting – trying to imagine what it was like at the time of the battle (C,
female, 18-24).

One person had a very zealous appreciation of authenticity:

I hate everything that disturbs the authenticity. We always wonder what
is real that they tell us. Which was a real wall and which was restored?
Authenticity matters to us, e.g. Edinburgh Castle is all fake and has
never been like this in the past. Where there's a stone in a ruin I like to
think that the person who has touched the stone before me was the last
one to do this 400 years ago (C, male, 50-65).

The reliability of the 'original' in this comment implies that to this individual the *Objective-
Related* experience is paramount (Wang, 1999). Nevertheless the fact that the directions of
experts ('what…they tell us') are important would also suggest that for this person the
authenticity projected onto objects by others is a key factor. This is a form of 'curatorial
authority' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1999: 249) and is the basis for Wang's *Constructive
Authenticity* (Wang, 1999: 352). The imposition of authority on objects or places can,
however, detract from an authentic experience as the following comment shows:

> What spoils it is that people are coming up with new theories. At
> Towton it's now only 7000 slain[45] and now the battlefield here is in a
> different area. That tinges it a little bit – if you're not told any different
> you might be standing where he [Richard III] was actually slain (B,
> female, 66+).

This person's sense of authenticity has been threatened by the power of developing academic theory and new symbolic fealties are resulting in an uncomfortable feeling of cognitive dissonance for her. Authenticity does matter to her ('…actually slain') and she cannot adhere to Wang's *Existential Authenticity*, the third type which interprets authenticity outside of the power of individual objects and places (Wang, 1999).

Replica weapons were felt to contribute to the realism of the experience as one interviewee stated:

> Seeing all the weapons and armour. Being able to touch them and being
> close to them (B, male 25-39).

However another comment about the use of replica weapons points towards a particular view of authenticity not shared by any other respondents:

> If it [a sword] was authentic it would be uncomfortable for me to pick it
> up because it might have been used to kill people (H, female, 50-65).

This suggests that some people might not prefer real objects because of their macabre associations. Nevertheless in reality very few weapons from the medieval era have such an exact provenance which can endow them with numinous qualities.

---

[45] Towton (1461) was once thought to have been the longest and bloodiest battle in medieval England with 28,000 casualties. A recent re-interpretation of the texts, however, has shown how the figures should be more in the region of 2,800-3,800 and this is for the three battles of Towton, Ferrybridge and Dintingdale, the latter two fought on the previous day (Sutherland, 2009).

7.2.3.2 Propinquity and appreciation of location

In socio-psychological terms the word propinquity is used to define physical proximity between people but it is here used to describe the special attachment visitors get to the actual places where events took place. A number of comments expressed the need to be close to events as the following examples show:

> Just to be somewhere where people got up in the morning and it was to be their last day. I find it extraordinary that 500 years ago people were walking across the same ground and looking at the same hills (B, male 25-39).

> This is where it actually happened – the actuality of it (C, male, 50-65).

> Being at the very place is important for me. You have to be on the spot to visualise it. That's why we don't bother visiting sites that are covered with houses and development (B, male, 66+).

> It's great to be able to stand there and look up and say I'm standing where the Normans were looking up at the English. It gives you a greater sense of what happened on such an important day… To feel it, see it and touch it makes me remember it better afterwards (H, male, 18-24).

It could be argued that much of this is a perceptual phenomenon since it is extremely difficult to locate the location of events which happened many hundreds of years ago. In addition the definition of where an event happened is highly subjective. Which event and at what stage of the battle? How precise does this have to be for an individual to appreciate being 'on the spot'? These are in essence questions of authenticity.

There were further comments relating to the attraction of place such as one which upheld the importance of being near to the death site of a historical personage:

I hold this site in reverence because of its associations with Richard III. It's the closest I'll ever come to the man himself…I have been to Nottingham castle[46] but didn't get the same feeling. Bosworth is the place! (B, female, 40-49, Chairperson of the Richard III Society of Canada).

Places associated with death have a special sense of 'magic' for those acquainted with the story and carry 'emotional weight' with them (Maines and Glynn, 1993: 10). Bosworth is hallowed ground for Ricardians who attach a deeper meaning to it than other places associated with him as the place of his betrayal and subsequent death.

There were several comments on the realism of the terrain at Culloden as the following example shows:

[The] untouched field. You get a sense of the boggy ground – the grass and mud. There's nothing romantic about the battlefield because of the terrain (C, male, 40-49).

The terrain had been altered at the time of the building of the new centre in 2007 in a bid to restore it to the condition it might have been in on the day of the battle (Massen and Harden, 2009). Another visitor appreciated the abbey ruins at Battle:

The ruins of the monastery [sic]…made me step back into time. I couldn't see the battle but just fields and had to use my imagination. If it hadn't been for the ruins I wouldn't have been able to get very much out of the visit (H, female, 50-65).

---

[46] Richard's principal residence and known as his 'Castle of Care'.

There were several comments about the controversy over the site of Bosworth and the discovery of what archaeologists think is the true location of the battle. One interviewee felt he had suspected this all along:

> I've been coming here for twenty years and I've never felt this is the
> right place just looking at the disposition [sic] of the troops which could
> not have been possible on Ambion Hill (B, male, 50-65).

Another interviewee who had a parallel feeling for the topography expressed a similar sentiment:

> It's flat. I had always thought the battle had been on a hill. It doesn't go
> down as much as I thought and there is not much of a challenge coming
> up that hill (H, male, 50-65).

This demonstrates that visitors are often well attuned to subtle topographical details and do read the landscape.

7.2.3.3 Comments over the size of the battlefield

An interesting set of comments gleaned from the survey related to the size of the battlefield at Hastings and its position within the pre-visit consciousness of the public:

> You would normally think a battlefield would be larger than this…We
> are all taught it is an important battle but when you get here you realise
> it isn't huge…When you compare an average football ground with
> around 25,000 people is 50% more than were at the battle. Relative to
> the population of the time, however, it was a large number and makes
> more sense (H, male, 50-65).

For such a massive battle and such an important part of history it isn't

huge and overwhelming. 14,000 men were fighting in that little area.

This was one tough, condensed battle. The largeness is a preconception I

brought with me, a bit like Stonehenge – you think it's bigger and

grander than it actually is (H, male, 50-65).

The amount of people – it just doesn't seem large enough but then the

only other battlefield I have been on is Agincourt which is smaller and

they didn't have as many men (H, female, 50-65).

These comments presuppose that an 'important' battle has to be large but the sense of surprise is clearly brought about by an erroneous impression of scale. Medieval chroniclers would exaggerate the numbers of combatants[47] and this is likely to have conspired to colour the popular perception of battlefield sites throughout history. Modern TV and film representations of battles are furthermore likely to over-exaggerate scale and this is sure to have an important effect on the visiting public's prior impressions. The above visitor comments might therefore be representative of a popular yet inaccurate view of scale. The last one might even have been preordained by the interviewee's only prior visit to a battlefield which she felt was small. Lowenthal confirms this disappointment of visitors expecting much more of objects which have been subject to the photographer's privileged yet distorted perspective. Using the example of art works he opines:

Just as live performances sound thin to ears jaded by souped-up

recordings, so have ultra glossy reproductions in art books corrupted the

public eye (Lowenthal, 1985: 307).

This is true of a wide range of heritage offerings including battlefield sites.

It should be stressed, however, that the site open to the public at Hastings (as at Culloden) is only part of the area over which the main battle was fought and as with most battles a

---

[47] See for example the discussion over the disputed numbers of casualties at Agincourt (1415) given in Barker (2005: 313-333).

much wider zone was covered by the subsequent rout. Lennon and Foley have highlighted this problem and how it can affect an authentic interpretation of a battlefield site. They point out that 'some 'dark' sites have become abbreviated as part of the commodification process' and are 'less than what they purport to represent' (Lennon and Foley, 2000: 167). It is to be noted, however, that similar comments were not proffered by interviewees at the other sites who presumably felt these places were in line with their preconceived ideas on scale. Alternatively factual confirmation might have been provided by the interpretative message at these sites.

7.2.3.4 The importance of personal stories

Visitors were keen to learn about the individuals involved in the events and well appreciated the personal aspects of the sites as mirrored in the views held by experts (6.1.2). The interpretation of the sites was oriented towards the personal, and this does demonstrate the effectiveness of the message at least for some interviewees.

> Soldiers thought a lot about their families – if they were killed or
> maimed they would not be able to support [them] (B, male, 40-49).

> From the human standpoint I could feel Stanley's dilemma. They all had
> dilemmas like all of us humans (B, female, 66+).

The last comment brings these sentiments into the contemporary sphere in acknowledging that the feelings of the figures involved are no different from our own.

7.2.3.5 The importance of artefacts

Maines and Glynn (1993) have shown how objects have a high value in bringing events and figures from history to life in providing tangible and three dimensional evidence (ibid.: 22-23). The persuasiveness of numinous 'objects imbued with magic by participation in some meaningful event' (ibid.: 24) is used to enhance the interpretative content of displays and this is particularly powerful at Bosworth and Culloden. They argue that no-one is above the

charm and fascination created by these objects (ibid.: 25) and this was reflected in some of the comments:

> The finds – where there's actually something material because if you have objects you can understand how people used them whereas if you have a battlefield site there is nothing…to connect with. I can't put myself in the shoes of someone in the battle if it's just a field (B, female, 25-39).

> Personal objects – it brings it home to you that they are individuals rather than names in books…People have handled these things (C, female, 50-65).

Figure 7.3: The Bosworth Boar

The personal aspect of this is clear here and the realities of the events are greatly enhanced. No mention was made, however, of the most iconic artefact discovered at Bosworth, the so-called 'Bosworth Boar' discovered in 2009 (Figure 7.3 and Foard, 2010). This is likely to have been dropped by a member of Richard III's personal retinue and is the closest we have to marking the location of his death. Such a powerfully numinous object might have been overlooked simply because the object on display at Bosworth at the time was a replica and not showcased particularly prominently.

7.2.4 Hardships and Horror

As already mentioned visitors to heritage sites are more affected by the stories of personal hardship and suffering than bland technical statements of fact (Gatewood and Cameron, 2004). This was a prominent feature of the comments gathered with 26 from all the sites (6.5% of the total). Nine (36%) of these were from Bosworth, 5 (20%) from Bannockburn, 4 (16%) from Hastings and 8 (32%) from Culloden. Typical comments were:

The sheer horror of a medieval battle particularly for the average soldier – kill or be killed (there were no neutrals). It contrasts with how lucky we are today compared with what it was like then. It was not "Merrie England". Most armies were forced to fight because of loyalties and there were no conscientious objectors in those days. [This is] contrasted with human rights and today's compensation culture. In those days you were dragooned into fighting with no choice (B, male, 50-65).

The awful waste of ordinary human life in the service of powerful Lords and ambitious men. Most of them had no choice and were just part of the feudal system. They turned up with little training or weapons and were hacked down…It was a conscript rather than a volunteer army. [The] display gives the impression that most were fully equipped but the reality was probably different. They would have had no or makeshift weapons…This might have a bearing on modern wars filtering back from Afghanistan regarding lack of equipment for our own troops now (B, male, 50-65).

Both these comments provide a direct link between past and present which is a strong feature of much understanding of heritage (Lowenthal, 1985). Although the last comment is based upon an interpretation outside of the display content it does suggest that topical issues are often at the forefront of the visitor's understanding of the discourse surrounding events.

The feeling that ordinary people were forced to fight and didn't know what they were fighting for was a common response. One interviewee was affected by the thought that 'their families would have been left destitute if they had been killed' (B, female, 50-65). Nevertheless another recognised the position of royalty as just as perilous:

It was not safe to be royalty or close to royalty in those days. The treachery and people being executed (B, male, 66+).

Other comments highlighted the brutality and savagery of the hand-to-hand fighting. One highly imaginative comment gives a flavour of the effects the site can have on a visitor:

> You were able to imagine the noise, sights and smells of the battle. The guns, people screaming, [the] horses, [the] smell of blood [and] gunsmoke (C, female, 50-65).

This might have stemmed from watching the 360-degree visual 'immersion' film of the battle in the Culloden Centre which does provide a highly realistic representation of the battle. At Bosworth a display of a replica skeleton with war wounds affected several respondents. One of the characters depicted there was an archer whose comments a respondent thought were an early form of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder ("You never forget battles, even at night"). The physical conditions of the battle were represented in some comments such as:

> The poor souls going over these muddy moors with their heavy swords and everything. Uggh! (C, female, 66+).

Comments on the uncomfortableness of the armour and heaviness of weapons were frequent such as the following:

> Wearing the armour – just to see how hard it was to live and fight and how uncomfortable it was (Bk, male, 40-49).

The physical endurance of the soldiers at Hastings was remarked upon by one interviewee who stated:

> I walked the South Downs Way recently and just to think they marched 40 miles per day! It's awesome – we wouldn't dream of it. Even soldiers nowadays don't walk that far (H, male, 50-65).

There is again a comparison with contemporary attitudes to hardship and almost a guilty feeling that in some way 'we have it easy these days'. The strength of character of the people was highlighted by another commentator who stated:

> The sheer determination of people. The leaders must have been so
> charismatic to inspire so many people to follow them, fight the battle
> and stay there all day. As I've got older I look at the human psychology
> behind actions and it makes you understand your own frailty a lot more
> (H, female, 40-49).

The impact of the horror of war is described quite dispassionately in the corpus of comments but in some cases the frustration of hearing about so much bloodshed breaks the surface. One German interviewee could scarcely be contained in exclaiming, 'I don't want to see war. War is horrible!' (H, female, 40-49). This presages the moral lessons learned from such visits which are described in the next section.

7.2.5 The moral message

Some comments underlined the way in which the past still speaks to the present (1.7% of the total) and this was brought out in an emphasis on the similarity between the way people thought then and now.

> People and issues don't change. The technology today is different but
> the issues are the same. People's craving for power and wanting to be
> economically comfortable enough to have a roof over their heads.
> Sometimes people don't know the depth of the issues and the whole
> picture. Not because they're stupid but they are busy with their day to
> day lives...It's comforting…that people felt the same way. Modern life
> is very frightening…but if we were transported back we would probably
> fit in…(B, female 50-65).

This sense of historical continuity and '*plus ça change…*' often leads to a frustratedness reflected in such comments as:

> We still haven't got it right even now – people have to fight over things. They can't just sit around and reach a democratic decision (B, female, 66+).

There is almost the idea here that 'those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it' (Santayana (1905) quoted in Lowenthal, 1985: 47). For one interviewee the interpretation spoke on a particularly personal level:

> The message of the spider and Robert the Bruce. Last year I found out I had MS so I must hold on – the message is thus important to me (Bk, female, 25-39).

The polyvocal nature of battlefield sites means that they have many different meanings to a range of visitors (Ryan, 2007a: 5) and their moral impact is a significant facet of how they are understood.

7.2.6 Numinous and spiritual aspects

An investigation into the deeper aspects of visitation was part of this study and a number of instructive comments were elicited. However these only comprised 2.7% of the total. The comments highlighted what Lowenthal described as 'the shiver of contact with ancient sites [bringing] to life their lingering barbarity or sanctity' (Lowenthal, 1985: 246). In some cases the factors affecting these more visceral phenomena were connected with the timing of the visit and the weather. This echoes Lowenthal's belief that 'the felt past is a function of atmosphere as well as locale' (ibid.: 240). The following were typical:

> Walking around on my own first thing in the morning, the quietness of it and being on my own. I could really imagine it even though this is contradictory with it being a battle. If there was a big group it would take away the atmosphere (H, female, 50-65).

…being on my own was important. With a big group it would have been

disruptive and distracting. I can engage with the site better on my own.

My frame of mind will determine how deep this is on the day. I have

just finished reading books which have given me more of a kindred

spirit with the site. This has given me a deeper experience and put me in

more of a receptive frame of mind (C, female, 40-49).

For these visitors the atmosphere is key to the enrichment of their experience. The silent ambience allows for reflection of the events and in the second response this is aided by the utility of an underpinning pre-existing knowledge of the site. Timothy and Boyd (2003) have shown how the more interested and knowledgeable a visitor is the more learning will take place at a heritage site. Some visitors can take on personal responsibility for their own learning at heritage sites and it is notable that the first commentator above eschewed the need for a Visitor Centre in a later comment.

That weather can influence the quality of experience is illustrated by the following comments:

…having good weather helps. Bad weather would have affected the

experience because we would have been rushing around with no time to

amble (H, male, 66+).

Feeling the elements of the outdoors and the weather so you feel it

better. [It's] intellectually stimulating being outside since you can

discuss the validity of the site. It's better than doing it in your living

room (H, female, 50-65).

A particularly deep engagement with the site was expressed by one interviewee who claimed to have rather unusual experiences:

We have experienced paranormal events at certain sites in Scotland.

[This is] some sort of guidance – someone with you. Culloden is not as

strong as at other places. You realise, however, that although the other people have gone their actions are still there. It is unexplainable. It's better if there are no houses so you can feel it. I don't like places that are made to attract tourists…Culloden is not like this but the building has disturbed the feeling (C, male, 50-65).

This was the only comment of this nature from all the sites surveyed and is unlikely to be a widely held view. It does show, however, that for these respondents building development and evidence of human activity can detract from the deeply held feeling they claim to experience. This is emphasised by another commentator who thought Culloden had 'lost its mystique. It's unlikely to get a spiritual experience now because there are far too many people around' (C, male, 66+). This is in sharp contrast to several other comments which upheld the special atmosphere of Culloden compared to the other three sites.

7.2.7 Interpretation

The comments relating to interpretation that were used comprised 12.4% of the total as follows.

7.2.7.1 Audio-visual interpretation

All four sites had audio-visual (AV) presentations which were very well appreciated by interviewees. The value of AV in heritage interpretation is now acknowledged (Edensor, 2005) and their use in bringing the events of the past to life for a visually-inclined audience is well understood. Viewers feel they participate in the past through AV and evidence of this was brought out in several of the comments:

The audio-visual film [is] so well presented…It puts it in context more than going around the sites because the site has altered. You still need to come, however, to see the two and put them side by side. If I hadn't seen the film first the site wouldn't have had the same impression on me than seeing the film alone (H, female, 66+).

This juxtaposition of place and moving image is a powerful tool in allowing for a person's imagination to compare the events with the reality on the ground. Using the imagination at sites which have changed a great deal since the actual battle is quite demanding for the casual visitor and AV is a useful aid to this exercise:

> The actual film…because you can visualise the battle and then relate it to what you see on the trail. You can match events to the ground – the ebb and flow of the battle. Wherever the marsh was you can envisage bits of marshy ground around the place (B, male, 50-65).

The personal stories recounted on the AV added another dimension to the experience as this interviewee commented:

> [The] accounts of people in the audio-visual brings it to life and makes it more about people. This makes it realistic – they were just like us (B, female, 40-49).

Several interviewees felt that the sense of 'immersion' in the action provided by the film was particularly powerful and that 'it was like being in the field [battle] itself. I was immersed in the event [and] it's important to have this sense of realism' (B, female, 66+). At Culloden the new Centre includes a 360-degree immersion film of the battle set up in a plain room with screens on all four walls. Events happen simultaneously from the start to the end of the battle and the experience is quite graphic (there is a warning that it is not suitable for children). The viewer is able to appreciate the fear and anxiety of participants as well as the moving sense of shock amongst the Government soldiers after the carnage has taken place. These aspects are difficult to truly portray in other forms of heritage communication. The film has a strong effect on many visitors as the following comment demonstrates:

> The 360-degree film - you can read about history but until you see the faces of individuals and their reactions to the battle itself you don't appreciate what it meant to the people involved (C, female, 50-65).

Differing degrees of immersion exist in relation to the extent to which a viewer is isolated from the real world. True immersion is really only provided by virtual reality technology which has not yet arrived in the heritage interpretation world (Guttentag, 2010). There are concerns that the immersion effect might make it difficult for the user to distinguish between the real world and that which is generated by new technologies. In addition to this the effect might dissuade people from visiting the actual sites where events took place (Cheong, 1995) particularly if there is little to stimulate the visual as in the case of a battlefield site. These concerns could also be applied to AV technology as it exists although it is reassuring to read comments such as those above which uphold the importance of the site and see AV as a compliment to a proper understanding of it.

A further comment introduces the idea that AV is particularly important for those who need alternative methods of communication:

> The film because it is the moving image and visual. It's easy because it's self-evident. It depends on your age. If you learn better from books your powers of concentration slip as you get older and you need something more 'in your face' (H, female 50-65).

Indeed another interviewee stated that the film was good because 'it was easier than reading' (Bk, female, 66+).

AV presentations are important adjuncts to the educational experience at heritage sites and are useful in providing an overview of events or characters. Several interviewees felt that they would be remembered long after the visit and are useful for those who don't have the time to read everything. One comment from an ex-soldier would suggest that the film at Bosworth was realistic compared to real experiences of war:

> I fought in Vietnam and think a lot of movies about it are bullshit. But being here I can see the way the land is laid out and there's more realism (B, male, 50-65).

AV is used appropriately at the four sites and does not seek to showcase the technology itself instead of the message which is a pitfall identified by Timothy and Boyd (2003). As with all media representations of history, however, film provides a dramatised account which might distort the more academic interpretation of the events it seeks to portray.

7.2.7.2 Audio-guides

At Culloden and Hastings a hand held audio-guide was available to visitors and this was included in the admission charge. At Culloden this used state of the art satellite (GPS) technology to locate the visitor at places of interest which were then commented upon (see Figure 5.2). Visitors appreciated the way hand held guides could provide quite detailed information:

> …it's very informative and in-depth. It's important for me that I get in-depth information (H, male, 40-49).

> You can understand events leading up to the day. It puts context around it [sic] (C, male, 40-49).

The combination of moving around the site and listening was remarked upon because

> …you can feel it, you are there, you are on the move [and] you can imagine it. The site is really important to me – it's about [being] at a place (H, female, 40-49).

One of the perceived disadvantages of using a hand held guide is that it is a very individual experience and whilst listening users tend to shut themselves off from interaction with others (Walter, 1996). There is little opportunity for comparison of impressions or discussion of points learnt. One interviewee, however, felt that because it was such a private experience then the narrative could 'be more focussed and intense' (H, female, 50-65). Another response highlighted another problem of using the device:

> I was so preoccupied with the audio-guide that I didn't look at the
> scenery. If I hadn't had it I might have gone to other places. It's good to
> use it but it prevents you from exploring (H, female, 50-65).

These guides are certainly directive in nature and for the more ambitious visitor can stifle the opportunity to discover the site at their own pace and time. In the above comment the audio-guide was clearly achieving its purpose in engaging with the visitor but it should be said that the latter is still in charge of the experience. The visitor could use the guide to compliment their own exploration of the site perhaps in tandem with other interpretational tools.

7.2.7.3 Re-enactment

There were no re-enactment events at the sites during the fieldwork although some interviewees felt the need for these events which were described positively:

> Re-enactment is not disrespectful. It's a super way of introducing
> history. Seeing someone fighting uphill like William at Hastings is
> amazing and they won! Having a re-enactment is a dynamic thing just
> like seeing a tactical plan (B, female, 66+).

Further discussion of re-enactment is given in Chapter 8.

7.2.7.4 The educational value of interpretation

The effectiveness of the interpretation at these sites was clear from a number of comments relating to the way visitors' understanding had been improved:

> [It] has changed my perspective. We covered it in Primary School so
> had a basic idea. Today has given me more of an understanding and I
> will be more likely to visit similar places in the future. I'm not patriotic

but it is worth visiting because it's very important to understand your
country's history (C, female, 25-39).

The stimulation of further interest in the site and its background was also expressed by
another interviewee:

We have done other historical sites but this one will stand out. This has
prompted us to go [and] research the history ourselves on our own (C,
male, 25-39).

For these respondents at least the interpretational intent has succeeded although this does
not attach any inherent value to the experience. It nevertheless implies that there has been
an added value benefit from the visit and the educational value of this is set to continue
after its conclusion (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). This should be read in conjunction with the
high level of 'added knowledge' at Culloden (7.1.2.5).

The idea that interpretation should encourage the visitor to widen their horizons and
stimulate greater knowledge and enjoyment (Tilden, 1977) provides a solid justification for
investigating customer reactions to it. Good interpretation will garner the sort of respect
reflected in the following comment:

I do think it is important that as a nation we protect these places and that
they are passed down to further generations. I think it's important that
we don't forget our past because it is often a pointer towards the future
(H, male, 40-49).

These responses indicate that interpretation at these sites has many positive aspects and is
achieving a level of change which underscores its true role, that of alchemy.

7.3 The appearance and topographical presentation of the case study sites

Despite an on-going interest in marking the sites through history all have been subject to varying degrees of change. It would be unrealistic to expect any battlefield site to be close to its appearance at the time of the event although without the process of sacralisation it is doubtful whether any of these sites would have left much of a trace above ground in the present era. What follows is a discussion of the issues of preservation and restoration of the sites and how this relates to their identity as tourist attractions.

Society is obsessed with recapturing a past long gone through elaborate processes of conservation, preservation and restoration. Lowenthal (1985) has shown how what remains from the past is not enough and is subject to constant reconstruction so that 'we replace or add to an inadequate past' (ibid.: 325). This faithful augmentation is a conscious attempt to enhance the authenticity of our heritage and is executed with great care and professionalism. It is not enough to restore the fabric of an old building; this now has to be done using the same materials and work methods as were used when it was originally built.

Culloden has been subject to this process of restoration more than the other case study sites. A road had been built across the site in the 1830s and it had been at the mercy of farming and forestry operations particularly after the breakup of the old Culloden Estate in the 1920s. Large forestry plantations established by the Forestry Commission on the site at this time obscured much of the battlefield and these were not removed until the early 1980s (those on the north side of the site still survive). In the 1960s the local authority designated the site as a Conservation Area in an attempt to stem development pressure from the growth of Inverness and the public road was redirected in the early 1980s (Masson and Harden, 2009). There was thus an attempt to mitigate the effects of insensitive development although by the early 2000s a more radical approach was adopted to coincide with the building of the new Visitor Centre which opened in 2007. The Culloden Battlefield Memorial Project brought together archaeological and historical expertise to provide a fresh analysis of the site and part of this was a revised restoration to its appearance on the day of the fighting. An intensive regime of mechanical scrub control is now used to maintain the site as open moorland and a 450m long stone-and-turf dyke has been reconstructed using locally sourced materials to reproduce the site to what it would have been in April 1746 (Masson and Harden, 2009).

At Hastings the most far-reaching change to the battlefield was the building of the Abbey in the years following 1066 and the inclusion of the wider site within the monastic estate. In the Middle Ages fish ponds were built at the foot of the hill where William started his charge (Appendix K (i)). Another pond was added in the nineteenth century when the estate had passed into private ownership and the parkland was substantially transformed (English Heritage, 2007). Since 1976 when the site came into the care of the state the lower part of the site below the Abbey buildings has been preserved as grassland within open parkland. There has been no determined effort to return the site to its eleventh century state even if we know precisely what that would have been.

Of all the sites Bannockburn suffered the most from housing development as the city of Stirling started to expand in the late twentieth century. This has covered most of the proposed sites for the battle as suggested by Watson and Anderson (2001). The recently revised positioning of the battle site at Bosworth is on farmland about two miles from the current Visitor Centre and its rural location has left it largely unaffected by large scale building development. Nevertheless the site was transformed by the enclosure movement from the sixteenth century which disrupted the ancient open field patterns of this area of the English Midlands (Yelling, 1977) as well as more modern agricultural practices such as drainage. The latter masked one of the most significant topographical features of the battle – the marsh known as Redemore – which has now been identified through soil survey (Foard, 2010). There has been no attempt to return the site to what it is thought to have been like on the day of the battle and this would in any case be difficult over such a wide area now in private ownership.

The case study sites have thus suffered varying degrees of change since the battles were fought and approaches to restoration are similarly diverse. But what do visitors feel about changing sites to their supposedly original appearance? The visitor survey did reflect some lamentation and a feeling that meaning could be diluted by too much change (see comment from Culloden at 7.2.1.4.). Nevertheless what is clear from this survey is that visitors appreciated the sites whether they had been restored or not. The comments in 7.2.3.2 demonstrate that 'being there' is a key factor independent of whether a site has been restored. The higher numinosity scores given to Hastings and Culloden (7.1.2.6.) might reflect a greater appreciation of site authenticity but whether this is in response to the way a site has been restored (as at Culloden) is uncertain and will have to await further research.

The restoration of sites to what they were purported to have been like when the battle was fought does raise certain issues. Often our reconstruction of the past is more faithful than

what once existed and we seem to know more about the past than those who lived in it (Lowenthal, 1985). Despite sophisticated scientific and archival investigation one needs to question just how much we can reconstruct the finer points of past topography and landscape after all. Culloden is a restored landscape within a carefully delineated area but its surroundings are still subject to change. This raises the question about visual intrusion from outside of the restored area. Will a wind farm or factory development creating visual intrusion result in an inauthentic 'heritagescape'? Does noise pollution or smells affect the authenticity of the restored landscape because these would not have been present on the day of the battle? Despite enormous efforts at a restoration of the landscape large numbers of visitors and the tourist amenities designed to support them (e.g. buildings, paths, and signs) can diminish the ambience and thus authenticity of a site. It is difficult to avoid the above factors which might question the wisdom of trying to restore a landscape in the first place.

If reconstruction of the past is so elusive then one approach to site presentation might be to view the site as it is today accepting all the changes in topography and landscape that have occurred since the event. This acknowledges that all landscapes and places are a product of their pasts and exist as palimpsests of change. This means rather than preserving the past in aspic we allow it to develop and embrace change as part of a progressive heritage. This questions how much of our past we should excise and, in the case of Culloden, would see a road built across the site (in the 1830s as described above) as an integral part of the site's heritage and something to be retained[48]. Those who manage heritage need to make decisions about what to retain and restore but also whether as time moves on they are to continually modify and alter landscapes to keep them looking like they were in the past. After all a restored landscape is still subject to change. We want to alter the present to make it like the past but we still live in the present and will also live in the future.

---

[48] Undeveloped places and buildings are rich heritage resources in themselves and are often seen as important to personal and collective heritage (Woodward, 2002). There is anecdotal evidence that visitors to Culloden before the building of the Visitor Centre used to take delight in wandering among the undergrowth and finding the old grave stones.

7.4 Chapter conclusion

Some general trends regarding battlefield visitors are reflected here. The profile tends to be of the older male and those formally educated to a high level as well as those in the E group (including retirees) are predominant. From the sample overseas visitors dominate all sites. The typical visitor is one who has visited the site more than once but still has little experience of visiting battlefields sites overall. The data gathered shows how the typical national profile of a heritage visitor with regard to age and socio-economic background is represented here (for comparison see CEBR, 2007: Table 55 (for England)).

In analysing the meanings of the sites a number of revealing points are made. The words used to describe the sites tend to be more cognitive than emotional giving some weight to the idea that interpretation rarely experiments with emotional impact. This would challenge the assertion made by Uzzell and Ballantyne (2008) that visitors experience heritage sites through emotional as well as cognitive processes and that this is a feature of Tilden's fourth principle (Tilden, 1977). There was a particularly strong appreciation of Film/Audio-Visual, Models/ Dioramas and Hands-on or Working displays suggesting that visitors want to be actively engaged with their experience and the visual is privileged over more traditional forms of interpretation like the Guidebook. This is also evidenced from the subject interviews (7.1.2.4). Audio-visual cannot supplant the experience of the site, however, and the interviews showed how although the quality of AV might be excellent the actual place is what tourists have come to see (Urry, 2011; Bath, 2006).

The data shows how more 'cutting edge' interpretational offerings like Culloden have a greater positive statistical validation than those which are older like Bannockburn although further statistical tests would have to be undertaken to prove this conclusively. In analysing the effectiveness of interpretational displays the majority of questions at all the sites were answered positively with an admission from subjects that they didn't know the answers before the visit (Appendix F (iii) and (iv)). This was strongest at Culloden and weakest at Bannockburn showing how the former is more effective in communicating knowledge than the other sites. This would suggest that for the majority of this sample of visitors at least visiting a heritage attraction is not a form of 'window shopping' (Schouten, 1995b) but an active engagement with the material being presented. This in turn proves that the communication of this material is successful at all sites.

The qualitative data re-enforces this by showing how the great events of history have an impact on visitors and there is a clear validation and consolidation of events known beforehand. Realism is important for visitors (7.2.3) although some felt that the size of the site was distorted by their pre-existing impression of the event. Artefacts were well appreciated by visitors (7.2.3.5) and the quantitative data supports this (7.1.2.6).

Much of the deep feelings attached to the sites seemed to be the result of atmospheric and situational factors (7.2.6) and the overall conclusion is that a numinous appreciation of the sites *per se* is not widespread. This is also reflected in the quantitative results (Appendix F (v)) which show that the spiritual dimensions of the numen (question 4/6 and 4/7) are weakly represented as opposed to the less bathic items relating to reflection and imagination in the other questions. Nevertheless the auratic aspects of the sites (4/3) scored quite highly at Hastings and Culloden suggesting that these sites are more numinous than their counterparts. A more nuanced conclusion from this sample is therefore that we should interpret the numen in a dual way. The lighter aspects of the numen are to some extent positively represented in this sample within questions 4/1, 2, 4, 5 and 8. The deeper dimensions (4/6 and 7) are more weakly represented which suggest that visitors have a lighter appreciation of the numen. This does not resemble the visceral and chthonic nature of the '*mysterium tremendum*' (Otto, 1923) and therefore a two-tiered interpretation of the results is the only suitable conclusion here.

Chapter 8

A survey of the Bosworth Battlefield Re-enactment

Any study of heritage interpretation cannot ignore the pivotal position provided by historical re-enactment and the way it attempts to enliven history for those who are unmoved by unappetising museums, monuments or books (Lowenthal, 1985). Activities attract more people than artefacts (Lowenthal, 1985) and although considered by some to be shallow, frivolous, pompous and misleading, re-enactments do reach an audience which would otherwise be closed to an appreciation of history. As another commentator has stated:

> History offers up enormously attractive sites for physical and
> conceptual visitation, but oftentimes the 'reality' of such an
> encounter can be alienating. Reenactment and heritage
> performance can contribute to meaning by reinserting the body,
> making the empty landscape of the past live again (de Groot,
> 2011: 589).

This enlivening of the past can have important educational benefits and as a form of 'edutainment' introduce historical narrative and material culture to wide sectors of society. This study has already demonstrated a number of positive views by experts and stakeholders with regard to re-enactment (6.1.5).

In order to investigate the contribution battlefield re-enactment makes to the meanings and interpretations of battlefield sites a survey was conducted of visitors at the Bosworth re-enactment held on 21-22 August 2010. In addition to this the author attended the annual re-enactment at Hastings on 9 October 2010 as a spectator. The results presented here are designed to complement the findings of the interviews conducted in Chapter 6 at all sites which were not based upon the actual event. This combination of comments from visitors who attended the event and those with more perceptual views should give a rounded and informative appraisal of the re-enactment experience. It is enhanced by the following observational account.

8.1 Observation of the Bosworth and Hastings Re-enactments

Both events were preceded by demonstrations of medieval martial prowess such as horsemanship, jousting and mock skirmishing. The main battles were the culmination of the day and involved 'armies' of a few hundred on each side. The emphasis was very much on entertainment and spectacle although an accurate and engaging commentary describing the events on the field as they unfolded accompanied both. The 'battles' presented a highly staged form of violence with rather lame slashing with swords and flat tipped arrows falling gently onto the opponents. Nevertheless at Bosworth the loud noise of cannon and hand-guns added a huge sense of realism.

As entertainment these events did experiment with other forms of dramaturgical expression and at Bosworth one of the knights was seen appealing to the crowd to decide whether he should take the life of a subdued foe lying on the ground before him. This dialogue lasted some minutes and resulted in the captive being spared for later ransom and his armour taken to be sold at the request of the crowd. This reflected an element of pantomime in the way the performer played with the distance between stage and audience and the involvement of the audience in a seemingly subversive activity. As in pantomime the audience were given a task which momentarily increased the distance between them and the story yet diminished the distance between them and the performer (Taylor, 2007). The pantomime analogy was extended at the end of the battle when the compere asked the crowd to clap and cheer louder. At Hastings the crowd were encouraged to 'cheer for Harold' and when this was not to the compere's satisfaction were asked to be louder and goaded, 'no, you can do better than that!' Another comment was, 'In the hope that they don't put the rent up, let's hear it for King William!' Some of the commentary was reminiscent of sports coverage as, for example, at Bosworth: 'I've heard a report from the field that the Duke of Norfolk is down, perhaps even dead'. The final act was a 'curtain call' after which the massed ranks charged towards the crowd with a blood-curdling cry. The event was theatrical with an appeal to a wide audience who were allowed to be complicit in the performance.

8.2 The Bosworth Re-enactment: Demographic data and group structure

The discussion which follows is based upon the questionnaire which can be found in Appendix C. 40% of those interviewed were male and 60% female which is at variance with the 66% male and 44% female of respondents at this site for the main survey (Table 7.1). 74% of respondents were over 40 years of age although the 25-39 age group did form a sizeable minority (Table 8.1).

n = 50			%		
Age:	18-24	25-39	40-49	50-65	66+
Bosworth	2	24	38	32	4

Table 8.1: Age distribution

The majority of interviewees were in groups of two to three people (Table 8.2) and there were very few on coach tours or alone. The preponderance of small families or couples might reflect the typical visitor profile for an entertainment type event.

n = 50			%		
	Alone	2-3	4	4+	Coach Tour
Bosworth	2	52	32	12	2

Table 8.2: How many in your group today (including self)?

The sample was dominated by more highly educated groups with 58% in the Higher Graduate/Postgraduate category (Table 8.3). The largest occupational category represented

n = 50	%						
	Secondary	Technical	Further	Higher - Graduate	Higher - Postgraduate	Other	None of the above
Bosworth	26	4	12	40	18	-	-

Table 8.3: What is your highest level of education?

was the Higher Managerial/Professional (A) although it is notable that the C1, C2 and D categories formed 30% of the sample (Table 8.4). This suggests that re-enactment events are of interest to wide socio-economic groups unlike other heritage activities which are dominated by the higher groups (CEBR, 2007). It is also contrary to the results from the Bosworth site survey where these groups comprised just 16% (see discussion in 7.1.1). The E category comprised nearly a quarter of the sample demonstrating a keen interest amongst those not in formal employment.

n = 50	%					
	U/R/S/LTS (E)	Semi-skilled/ Unskilled Manual (D)	Skilled Manual (C2)	Junior Managerial (C1)	Middle Managerial (B)	Higher Managerial/ Professional (A)
Bosworth	24	8	10	12	18	28

Table 8.4: What is your occupation?

A postcode analysis of respondents showed how the vast majority were local with the East and West Midlands and East England regions strongly represented (Appendix F (ii)). Very few of the sample were from overseas and this is in contrast to the main site surveys described in Chapter 7. This might indicate that overseas visitors are more likely to visit a mainstream heritage site than a staged event which might have more culturally specific appeal but the precise reasons for this are unknown.

8.3 The Bosworth Re-enactment: Principal question analysis

8.3.1. Previous experience of re-enactments

The annual re-enactment of the Battle of Bosworth at the Bosworth Visitor Centre has been taking place for over 25 years yet this was the first visit to the event for the majority of respondents (Table 8.5). Nevertheless the fact that 40% of the sample had been before is

significant and does reflect a high level of repeat visitation. This coupled with the large number of respondents who had not visited any other re-enactment (Table 8.6) might suggest that there is a sizeable group who are habitual visitors to this one event. None of the site survey sample had visited more than twice (Table 8.6) and this might also support the idea that there is a cohort of visitors who visit the event regularly.

n = 50	%		
	First Time	Second	More than twice
Bosworth	60.0	28.0	12.0

Table 8.5: Is this your first visit to the Bosworth re-enactment?

n = 50	%	
	Yes	No
Bosworth	42.0	58.0

Table 8.6: Visited other battlefield re-enactments

Of those who answered yes to the above question five mentioned a re-enactment at Tewkesbury and four the large English Heritage Festival of History at Kelmarsh Hall in Northamptonshire. Other single mentions included Civil War re-enactments and occasional events at mainstream heritage sites.

8.3.2 The impact of the event

The event at Bosworth took place over a day with two battles being 'fought' (Tewkesbury – morning; Bosworth – afternoon) accompanied by a large number of mini-events and activities outside the main arena. These were all educationally based and included talks, demonstrations, *ad hoc* living history (e.g. a medieval priest conducting a service in a nearby chapel), falconry and stalls set up by various period societies and interest groups. These clearly provided a complement to the main event and it was decided to gauge the effectiveness of the most relevant to the visitor experience. This was based upon the visitor's own scored level of appreciation of these activities and the results of the question asked are given in Table 8.7. Based upon a mean value score for each item (see questionnaire in Appendix C and discussion in footnote 39 of 7.1.2.4) one can see that all five activities were well appreciated by visitors who felt they contributed to the experience of the re-enactment (the SD for the items is low in each case demonstrating an acceptable level of confidence in the results). The Living History Encampment was particularly well

	Living History Encampment	Jousting	Guided Walks	"Dressing the Knight" session	Meet the King (at lunch)
Mean Values	8.48	7.16	7.53	7.48	7.67
St. Dev.	1.28	1.58	1.77	1.63	2.0
n	50	44	17	21	27

Table 8.7: Bosworth Re-enactment question 5 – Contribution of interpretation to experience of re-enactment based on mean values

received and the 'hands-on' nature of this area and the opportunity to talk to 'medieval people' about their lives was a powerful aspect of the event.

Visitors were asked whether they felt the re-enactment had added to their understanding of the events of Bosworth and the results for this are given in Figure 8.1. This shows how there was a strongly held view that the event was successful in adding to their

Figure 8.1: Bosworth Re-enactment question 3 - Do you agree or disagree with the statement that "the battle re-enactment has added to my understanding of the events of the battle of Bosworth"?

Legend: Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree
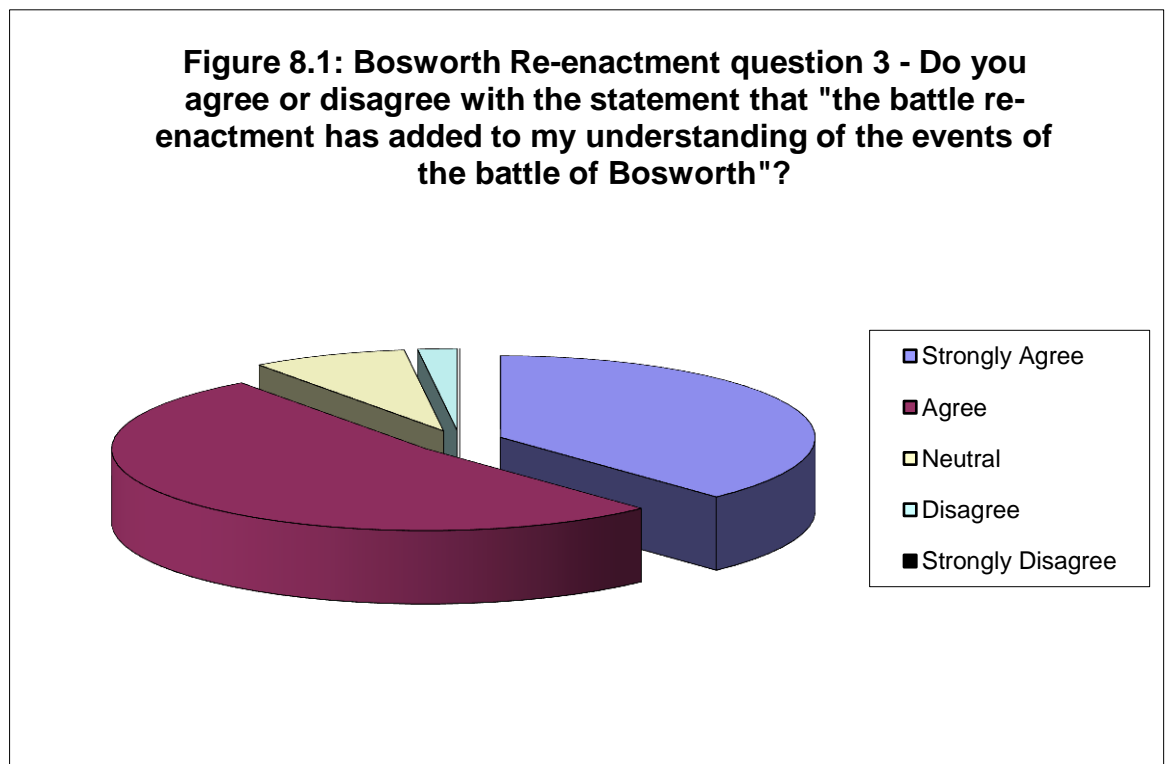
understanding but because of the limitations of this survey it was not possible to determine the extent or nature of this result. Further research could determine the veracity of these views in gauging the level of 'knowledge added' as in the site surveys. Authenticity is a

key aspect in understanding visitors' views of re-enactment which on a superficial level has been subject to criticism from those who see it as at best a shallow representation of history and at worst dangerously misleading (Walsh, 1991). Interviewees were asked to comment on how authentic they thought the event had been and although this might raise questions over the public's ability to judge levels of authenticity it does give some indication of the public perception of events such as this. Figure 8.2 demonstrates a strong positive feeling that the event was authentic.

Figure 8.2: Bosworth Re-enactment question 4 - How would you score the authenticity of the re-enactment along the following scale?

Frequency (y-axis: 0 to 14)

Authenticity Score: 1 = Low, 10 = High
n = 50
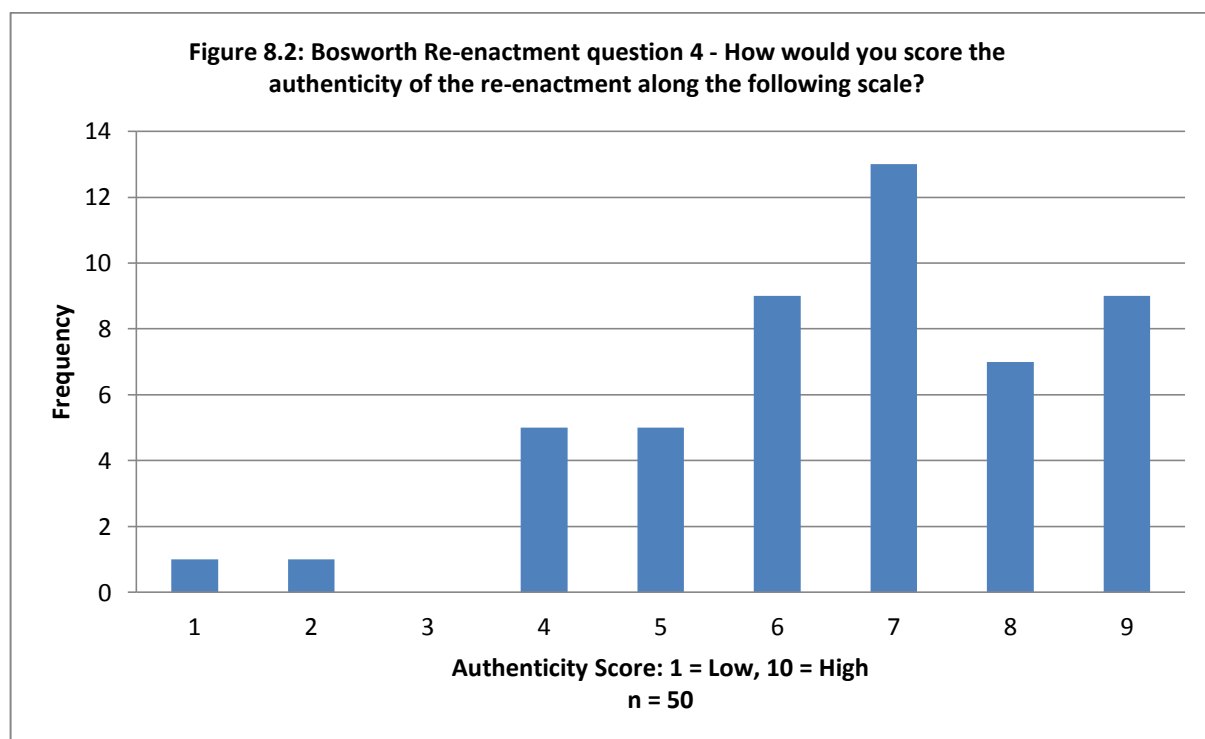
This question was complemented by interviewee comments (Questions 4 and 12) which provided a richer picture of the concept. There were a number of responses which suggested that authenticity was not important and the entertainment aspect was what counted:

> A damn good show with a bit of fun. If they spoke in medieval
> French no-one would understand it, so it's OK (male, 50-65).

The educational value of the day was upheld by another who stated

> ...just to come here and see people dressed [up] and the authentic
> houses. Just to be able to see and touch it is amazing. For a

youngster being able to experience this may just spark a love of
history (female, 50-65).

There were, however, a number of detractors who felt the event fell short of what they defined as authentic:

People aren't actually fighting. It would have been very violent,
scary and bloody. There would have been more people (female,
25-39)

No-one being killed so that spoils it...what about stage blood?
(male, 50-65)

Didn't think it was very realistic especially with the St John's
Ambulance standing by making sure no-one got hurt (female,
40-49).

With some respondents a high level of authenticity is important and these might be judging the event using Wang's (1999) *Objective Authenticity* (Chapter 3). The study has shown how although there is a statistically positive appreciation of the 'authenticity' of the event the range of comments elicited from the sample paint a more varied picture. One can conclude that visitors do superficially feel an event to be authentic but when probed have a wider range of opinions. It is notable how many of the respondents who felt the event lacked authenticity in some areas made positive comments elsewhere in their answers. This would demonstrate the complexity of the issues but also how there is a latent appreciation of Constructed or Existential types of authenticity (Wang, 1999). The former is authenticity based upon values, beliefs and interpretations crafted by societal impositions (Urry, 2011). The latter is authenticity detached from the realism of object or place and is predicated more on what a person gets from the object rather than how authentic it is. As mentioned in Chapter 3 there could be a disparity between those who saw the event as a spectacle and thus worthy of objective scrutiny and those who were in search of a more personal authenticity who were unconcerned whether the event was authentic.

8.4 Chapter conclusion

This analysis has demonstrated how re-enactment is a well appreciated form of historical representation and succeeds in its aim of bringing history closer to the viewing public. The event's admixture of 'living' history encampments and visually impactive performance provided a rich historical pageant at once highly entertaining and at the same time educationally rewarding. Critics of re-enactment must countenance the fact that history itself is by its very nature re-enactive and 'essentially a set of narratives performed by individuals in the present' (de Groot, 2011: 594). This is relevant to the study's focus on meaning and interpretation in that as a key aspect of interpretation re-enactment can make a worthy contribution to the transmission of meaning into past events within the new democratisation of historical knowledge.

Nevertheless this does not imply that these media communicate an accurate or even desirable form of historical 'truth' to a receptive audience and the question of authenticity is thus a salient one. Notwithstanding the essential suspension of disbelief required by an audience in any dramaturgical performance the positive appreciation of the event's authenticity demonstrates a level of trust in the way the event has been delivered (Walsh, 1991). The meaning attached to the event is thus presaged by the knowledge that it is delivered by a pedagogically trustworthy organisation (Leicestershire County Council and English Heritage) which embellishes its authenticity. No object exists in isolation from human activity and all are dependent on interpretation (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1999) which can hold true of events also (Carnegie and McCabe, 2008). But does this level of institutional trust mask the deeper aspects of authenticity if we are to judge it by objective standards only?

The institutional structure surrounding the event suggests really that it is a constructed form of authentic performance (Wang, 1999) and the visitor comments as discussed above in several cases provide a critique of this offering at odds with the statistical picture presented. An interesting aspect of the survey is that the majority of the respondents were from the higher educational groups (although there was a wider spread of occupational categories). One might attach a more sober and considered view of authenticity and a greater suspicion of shallow representations of history to such groups who are likely to be better endowed with 'cultural capital' and a preference for 'text' (Merriman, 1991).

However statistically at least in this survey the results showed how the sample was overwhelmingly positive about the authenticity of the experience.

The visitor comments above about lack of realism within the event raise questions about exactly what spectators want and expect. Wang (1999) has questioned whether tourists really desire an unsanitised version of events if they are seeking ever purer forms of authenticity. If tourists say they want the unalloyed truth with the 'real' blood and gore of battle then perhaps they are deluding themselves. A neat, wholesome and acceptable presentation of the past is a strong feature of heritage (Hewison, 1987) and undoubtedly a necessary adjunct to representations of violence.

This study has shown how visitors react differently to questions of authenticity. To some it is of little importance being irrelevant in their quest for enjoyment and entertainment but to others it is a salient factor in their appreciation of re-enactment events. One could also argue that temporal factors play a largely unrecognised role in whether authenticity is important: the concept might be of little regard to the wider public for events far back in time and outside of human memory but of greater importance for those events nearer in time and within a cultural and familial locus. The public might be more sensitive to an inauthentic re-enactment of a First World War battle than one fought many hundreds of years before. Authenticity might also be affected by one's own life experience and image of an event; recent events like the Falklands or Gulf conflicts have had a more immediate impact on personal and national consciousness than older events and this is likely to have an effect on the level of acceptable authenticity if such events were to be re-enacted. These questions will have to await further research but do highlight the issue of how more recent battlefield events are received by visitors which is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 9

Visitor Experiences at Battlefield Sites: a survey of passengers on a coach tour of the Western Front

The First World War, although now beyond direct human memory, continues to remain highly contemporary and stimulates enormous public interest. The promise 'We will remember them' has had a deep impact on the nation's consciousness and inevitably lies behind much visitation to the sites of the Western Front (Smith, 1996; Lloyd, 1998). In investigating meanings and interpretations at battlefield sites this study aims to provide a contrast between the experiences of visitors to First World War sites and more 'historic' battlefield sites. This will be instructive in comparing and contrasting the realm of meaning between the two types of sites and also gauging the effect of interpretation and the directiveness of the experience on tourists. Edensor (2001) has shown how tourists are at once audience and performers and this idea has been applied to the Western Front by Iles (2008) who upholds the way in which tourists identify and empathise with the symbolic space at these sites. To examine these areas a survey was conducted with a group of visitors on a commercial coach tour to sites of the Western Front in Belgium/ France.

Tourism to the battlefields of the Western Front is well established with an estimated 326,900 visitors at the Belgian Westhoek sites and cemeteries in 2006 (Vandaele and Monballyu, 2008) and an estimated 200,000 – 250,000 per year at the Somme sites[49]. In 2009 the Thiepval Memorial and Visitors Centre had 133,987 visitors (Comité du Tourism de la Somme, 2010). Battlefield sites can provoke deep emotional responses in visitors (Prideaux, 2007) and this was a clear feature of this survey. Nevertheless it must be remembered that these were comments elicited at or soon after the actual experience itself; it has not been possible to gauge whether the feelings aroused were still held by these interviewees on return home after the tour.

---

[49] E-mail from M. François Bergez, Director of Development, Historial de la Grande Guerre, Péronne (28 June 2010).

The methodological background for this fieldwork can be found in Chapter 2.

9.1 The objectives of the tour

To put the survey results in context some comment on the tour objectives should be provided. This is important in establishing the underlying constructed meanings surrounding the tour and the way these were expressed in the narrative provided by the guides (Seaton, 2000). A record was made of the amount of time taken at different categories of stop as follows:

Category	Timings in minutes	%
1. Memorials	127	25.4
2. Cemeteries	141	28.2
3. General war related sites, e.g. trench systems	171	34.2
4. Museums	30	6.0
5. Other (inc. Menin Gate ceremony)	31	6.2
Total:	500	100

Table 9.1: Somme/Ypres tour structure

Together Memorials, Cemeteries and the Other (including the Menin Gate ceremony) categories comprise 59.8% of the allocated timings suggesting that the dominant message of the tour was one of commemoration and reverence for the human casualties and loss. This is in contrast with tours that might emphasise the historical or tactical aspects of a campaign or the importance of artefacts. The "Special Visits" arranged also reflected this intent.

9.2 The Importance of place

As with the results from the four 'historic' battlefields there was a strong appreciation of the importance of actually visiting the sites and the need to validate events well known to

the participants (Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood, 2010). One interviewee cited the value of seeing 'the ground they went over and lived in and lived on…' and stated:

> Just to actually see them [the sites] and physically see them having read
> so much about them. That's the main reason for looking at it [because] I
> can get it in my head when I'm reading…(female, 61).

The fusion of cognitive process and landscape is a vital ingredient of this individual's experience reflecting Rojek's belief that 'most tourists feel that they have not fully absorbed a sight until they stand before it, see it and take a photograph to record the moment' (Rojek, 1997). Furthermore for this visitor the knowledge of the landscape provided a heightened sense of identity:

> …I can talk or feel things…with authority, that I have actually seen it.
> And if anybody else says anything to me then no, it wasn't like that, it
> isn't like that, it wasn't glorious, it was quite awful (female, 61).

The tourist 'gaze' (Urry, 2011) has furnished this viewer with a certain level of 'inside knowledge' over and above that of someone who may have read about the sites but not actually seen them on the ground. This 'cultural competence' (Walsh, 1991: 123) is akin to what Bourdieu (1986) termed 'cultural capital' which is a non-financial asset conferring power and status on the holder. Thus the experience of 'being there' gives one an enhanced standing amongst others based upon landscape knowledge. The irony is that the Western Front is topographically unremarkable and has left very little physical legacy of the events of 1914-18. This might suggest that the narrative is of particular importance rather than the physical remains of conflict and this is underpinned by highly moving and evocative personal stories which those with family connections to the events are well able to relate to.

9.3 Family Links and Pilgrimage

All those interviewed were motivated by a desire to visit the grave of a relative, the site of their death or where they had been in action (in most cases they had never met the person). Although cemeteries and memorials are not necessarily on the actual sites of battles they are important in the whole experience of visiting battlefield sites and are thus included here

in the battlefield tourism experience.[50] Family links are the most common reason for visiting the Western Front sites as attested to in the literature (Seaton, 2000; Iles, 2008; Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009) although Vandaele and Monballyu (2008) and Winter (2009) suggest that there has been a decline in visitors with a direct connection to soldiers. Nevertheless the following was a typical comment:

> …two of my uncles fought in the First World War. One was killed at the battle of Poziers in the Somme…The other...was very badly wounded at the battle of Vimy Ridge…He was repatriated to Scotland and had something like twenty operations on his leg before he was well enough to walk and he always walked with a stick…And I remember my mother telling me, and it always stuck in my mind, that she was a young girl of 12 or 13 when the war took place and she remembers very well when my uncle came back from the battlefront. He was in the Scottish regiment and the kilts, which were filthy with mud and dirt and everything else, would be put in a big tub in the kitchen with hot water and she and her younger sister would have to tramp them out to get the mud out of those kilts. So I suppose it's a family background which is partly the motivation [to visit]…(male, 66).

There is a feeling of getting close to a family member, of trying to relieve an inner tension and the imperative of completing a duty that needs to be done, not unlike a 'rite of passage' (Turner and Turner, 1978). Several interviewees said they were 'paying their respects' to their distant relative. This duty is a form of 'regulated emotional catharsis' (Walter, 1993: 82) which is realised by visiting the sites and places associated with loss and the resting place in particular. There is a sense of release and closure and a great sense of pride in the

---

[50] Some cemeteries on the Western Front lie directly on the sites of conflict the most notable of which is Tyne Cot near Ypres which comprises German block houses fought over in the advance on Passchendaele in October 1917. One of these became a forward allied dressing station and its cemetery formed the basis for the existing one (see Commonwealth War Graves Commission entry at http://www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_details.aspx?cemetery=53300&mode=1).

sacrifice of a person who they might never have even met. Baldwin and Sharpley (2009) give examples of this phenomenon amongst second and third generation visitors.

Walter (1993) sees visiting war graves as a form of pilgrimage and a vitally important feature in the attempt to make sense out of chaos. Visiting sites of war and cemeteries in groups fosters a sense of camaraderie and *communitas* (Turner and Turner, 1978) which is similar to the experience of religious pilgrimage. This is underlined by the fact that tourists often develop a collective sense of grief and a deep nexus with all soldiers who fought in the conflict and who lost their lives, not just those who they were related to.

> …there was a sense of proximity, of closeness to
> the real people. And just wandering through the
> graveyards and so on – there is a sense of
> connection I suppose with every soldier that you
> see there. There's a sense of family, there's a sense
> of who he was, what he was, a living breathing
> ordinary person. What were his interests and his
> foibles, his loves, his hates? (male, 66).

This is a form of 'vicarious grief' and many visitors become 'representative pilgrims' for the relatives of all the war dead (Walter, 1993). Moreover it is as if visitors as pilgrims come to pay homage to their saints as in medieval Christendom and there is psychological healing in the presence of the hero's grave (Walter, 1993). Although acknowledging the personal nature of their motivations to visit, interviewees did not readily identify themselves as pilgrims. One respondent stated that there was 'a specific difference between a visit somewhere from a spiritual point of view as opposed to a fundamental interest' (male, 60). This is corroborated in a study by Winter (2011) at Ypres where only 3.6% of interviewees classified themselves as pilgrims and there was great similarity in the characteristics between tourists and pilgrims with little phenomenological divergence. Pilgrimage does rely on a whole symbolic lexicon of 'culturally-supplied language' (Pfaffenberger, 1983: 72) and this reticence might be the result of an unfamiliarity with or reluctance to use a more spiritually defined vocabulary on the part of the subject.

The personal nature of the visits was an underlying factor in the unfamiliarity of interviewees with more 'historic' battlefield sites. Only two of those interviewed had

visited this type of site which might suggest that the 'grief' tourist is in a different category from the more mainstream heritage tourist. For one respondent the scale of the conflict and the range of written accounts was something which made it typologically different from the 'historic' type battlefield.

> [With older sites] there's not these huge
> monuments to all these people who were killed and
> there weren't so many killed obviously as there
> were here… and there wasn't the correspondence.
> There wasn't the postal service and people didn't
> really report as such about the battles or the deaths
> really (male, 73).

The appeal of the scale of the carnage was a primary motivator in the decision of one interviewee to visit the sites:

> …for me [it] is the fascination that so many young
> men would actually blindly obey orders going over
> the top of a trench knowing they are going to walk
> into machine gun fire, shell fire and Lord alone
> knows what else (male, 60).

This sense of awe in the face of enormous suffering and loss of life is also reflected in the results of the study by Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood (2010) and stands as a parallel emotion to the private loss associated with distant relatives.

9.4 Comments on loss/ absence

There was an overbearing sense of loss in all of the comments and sadness over a level of waste beyond comprehension. In asking whether this is something unique to non-accidental death in a war context one interviewee responded:

I think…there is the sense that if somebody dies
accidentally there is a huge sadness about it but it's
isolated and it's set aside from the normality of life.
I think it's just that there were so many tens of
thousands of young men who were being almost
deliberately sent into certain death in the
battlefields and the sense also that people were just
manipulating battalions of men to gain small
acreages and yards of ground. I think the sheer
enormity of it and the sheer wastage of human life
was just overwhelming (male, 66).

Again the scale of the killing is a key factor but the sense of absence made a deep
impression as well:

I was the child of an RAF sergeant and all I
remember was long long terms of never ever
seeing our father. In fact when my father came
back from the war he must have come quite late at
night because my brother got up the next morning
and come into my room and woke me and said,
'[name] there's a man in my mum's bed'. And I
said, 'well it's probably our dad'. We really
couldn't remember him because he had been away
so long…(female, 70).

For this visitor the impact of the conflict was enhanced by the thoughts of the families at
home in the Second World War experiencing long periods of absence of their menfolk and
the abnormality of a childhood deprived of family cohesion. This resonates with her in a
kind of 'retroactive association' (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999) and the realities of the
Home Front are transposed onto her experience of visiting the battle site, even though it is
of a different era and a different conflict. The experiences of families in the First World
War would have been no different.

9.5 Moral dimensions of the conflict

The exposure of tourists to sites of tragedy and suffering caused by human agency is bound to result in the forefronting of a moral discourse (Logan and Reeves, 2009). Smith (1996) has suggested a 'Lest We Forget' type of site where the poignancy of events is projected onto contemporary moral concerns including the concept of freedom. Interviewees felt that sites had a clear message for modern society:

> I think the message is really one of the re-affirmation of humanity…that these awful things do happen but that people are concerned about what happened and how it happened and that we need to remember. We don't always learn from the battlefield and we don't always learn to put things right after they happen. But I think there is a sense of a battlefield providing a sense of the awfulness of what happened but also perhaps the qualities of courage and nobility and self-sacrifice and just the humanity that went into them (male, 66).

This comment is a powerful précis of the underlying *raison d'être* of battlefield visitation and why the Western Front still has such a perennial appeal.

The stories of heroic acts by those involved made a big impact on the visitors and this was no doubt influenced by the bias in this direction given by the guide's narrative. One interviewee commented upon the rigid class distinctions that were present on the battlefield and how this has changed:

> …if the whistle was blown today and the bugle blown for Queen and Country you would get nothing like the response you got a hundred years ago (male, 60).

For others war is seen as a great leveller which cuts through class difference and the anonymity of death is seen as a most humbling phenomenon:

> …it was the fact that you had so many unknown
> soldiers, you had soldiers four or five [or] six
> buried in one grave where they couldn't separate or
> identify the bodies…The fact that rank didn't
> matter…officers were buried next to their men
> (female, 63).

The First World War is seen as morally repugnant in that it was the last large scale conflict which was 'full frontal' and 'was more man to man [where] you looked your enemy in the face' (male, 60). However the presentation of violence in the interpretation of the conflict posed few moral dilemmas for the guide who felt that it was important to 'put it into the context of what actually happened' and stated:

> You cannot distort the fact that it happened, you
> cannot pretend it didn't. So say it as it was, how it
> occurred. It may well be an awful event but that's
> what happened (male, Tour Guide).

Seaton (2000) has commented how war cemeteries and memorials have the potential to generate a number of 'discursive fields' through the inclusion of coded verbal information. Moral discourse is the product of these 'eloquent texts' (ibid.: 68) and the above examples are evidence that the narrative and landscape of the Western Front stimulates deep and enduring questions, standpoints and dilemmas.

9.6 Gender differences in the interpretation of the sites

Although the tour group comprised male and female passengers there was an acknowledgement of the difference in meanings attached to the sites between genders. One interviewee felt that war was a 'man's thing' (male, 62) although this view was countered by a number of female interviewees with a keen interest in the conflict. One in particular was on her sixth visit with the same tour company and was motivated by visits to her grandfather's grave and as a 'representative pilgrim' for the families of other soldiers. Her

interest stemmed from family history and investigating the biographies of the fallen from her home city with the view that

> …men talk about battlefields more than women
> perhaps, so battlefields tend to bring to mind…tales
> of the battles…of the armaments, stories of the
> fighters and that was a bit of a turn-off because I
> didn't really believe in war as such. But…since
> coming you see the cemeteries, you hear the stories
> [and] you get a better idea of the people that
> returned home (female, 63).

She had, however, benefited greatly from the opportunity to fire a real rifle from the First World War because 'I had shot a gun just like my grandfather used…'

A Royal British Legion survey in 2006[51] found that around 6% of men and 4% of women said they 'definitely' planned to visit an overseas battlefield and 25% of men and 20% of women said they 'possibly' planned to make such a visit. 34% of men and 11% of women said they were interested in 'military history' and 43% of women and 30% of men in 'family history' (Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009). This reflects a slight bias in the numbers of potential visitors towards males but the interesting result is that men tend to be more interested in the 'historical/technical' background and women in the more human related family stories.

9.7 Respect and reverence

All the interviewees felt that their visits were a way of paying their respects to the fallen. The idea that the level of suffering could be used to inculcate a sense of respect was expressed by one respondent:

---

[51] Conducted within the UK from a sample of 1000.

> …I think the younger generation should all be sent over here if you like
> just to visit the graves and really see what these poor guys went through
> (male, 73).

Several interviewees expressed disgust at the behaviour of a large group of University age students at Tyne Cot cemetery where they had been rowdy and generally disrespectful within the environs of the cemetery. This was held up as the very antithesis of reverence and symptomatic of the pressures tourism brings to sites of human suffering. A Code of Conduct at War Heritage Sites has been devised which includes the monitoring of visitor behaviour (Leopold, 2007) but this evidently needs more rigorous application to these sites which are very heavily utilised. Mosse (1990) felt that battlefield tourism *per se* was a trivialisation of the sufferings endured in this war and a problematic interface between the sacred and the profane. Nevertheless the above example does demonstrate that 'pilgrimage' has different meanings to members of other groups and that there can be a clash of values between cultures and generations at these sites (Pfaffenberger, 1983).

9.8 Pre-existing knowledge, the imagination and the visual

An understanding of the visitor's pre-visit cognitive and emotional connection with a site is important in assessing the impact of interpretation. To explore this interviewees were asked whether they though a level of pre-existing knowledge was important in getting the best out of a trip of this nature. This reflects the theory of Timothy and Boyd (2003) who see this is a normal pre-requisite to a heritage tourism visit (7.2.3.1). Most had in fact read about the war period and had at least some level of preparation for the trip although not down to the topographical detail. This was vitally important for one respondent 'otherwise…it's just another uneven piece of ground' (female, 61). One respondent felt the quality of guiding and the commentary was so good that

> I think someone could go on a tour that I have just been on [and be]
> totally blind and ignorant of the 14-18 war and I would defy them to
> come away and not having been affected by it (male, 60).

Whether this affect would have been cognitive or emotional is not certain but clearly the tour can result in a change of perception and a process of reflexivity in a person's viewpoint on the events.

The unremarkable nature of the terrain requires an active process of imagination and visualisation of events (Urry, 2011). War sites are landscapes charged with meaning (Purbrick, Aulich and Dawson, 2007) and this is accessed by an imagination pre-loaded by cultural representation and memory:

> You only need to half close your eyes when you're looking across an open landscape [or] looking at a ridge or a valley to imagine what it may have been like. Devoid of all trees, mud heaps, trenches, the noise…I also think [its] coupled with what we've seen…in terms of film - both real and artificial - over the years that it's very easy to get that mental picture (male, 60).

This echoes the idea of Crouch and Lübbren (2003) that tourists consume 'signs' *before* consumption which in heritage terms can be used to visualise a site as it was. These imaginational precursors are powerful in their own right but in the case of an organised tour are supported and enriched by the narrative of the guide (Fine and Haskell, 1985). The importance of the guide in facilitating 'memorable experiences' has been emphasised by Tung and Ritchie (2011) and an informative and stimulating narrative is central to this. One could argue that because of the distinctly a-visual nature of the Western Front (in heritage terms) the narrative is more prominent and is a necessary aspect of a true understanding and visualisation of the landscape. Moreover Urry (2002) has questioned the quality of a visual experience fleetingly glimpsed from the window of a coach (the 'spectatorial gaze') and this might further enhance the status of the narrative.

9.9 Deeper meanings

Interviewees were questioned about the nature of their engagement with the sites and a wide range of emotional responses were reported which are outlined throughout this

discussion. These feelings stemmed from a sense of shock at the fusion of violence and place and many passengers felt overwhelmed by the tragic weight of events. This led several of them to silence and a withdrawn reflectiveness. Comments such as, 'You just can't imagine what it was like' and 'It must have been awful for them' were common. Nevertheless whether these feelings can be categorised as 'numinous' is open to debate. This welter of emotional response is more focussed on sadness and disgust over the extent of the slaughter at these sites and the very personal nature of the narrative. This is not the same as the sense of 'otherness' or 'shiver of contact' (Lowenthal, 1985: 246) associated with place which is at the heart of the numen. There is no mystery here, only bewilderment. Although it is difficult to measure depths and types of 'feeling' it is unlikely that these passengers were having a transcendental experience and the depth of feeling was different from that reported in other studies (Gatewood and Cameron, 2004). There was at least some experience of the numen in the results from the 'historic' sites (Chapter 7) and one might contend that the numen is more common with older sites or artefacts. Nevertheless many of the examples of numinous objects provided by Maines and Glynn (1993) show how the numen can be associated with highly contemporary material culture and place.

To seek an understanding of these results one has to re-assess the nature of the feelings experienced here. Human responses are often highly complex phenomena caught up in a roiling kaleidoscope of different emotional, cognitive, behavioural and physical reactions. What these passengers are really expressing is a form of grief and this is very different from the reverential and awe-inspiring dimensions of numinosity. Grief is a response to loss of someone or something a person has developed an attachment with. The unusual factor with these passengers, however, is that few of them had met those who had suffered or died and the essence of their feelings is disembodied. The experience here is therefore mainly one of 'collective grief' based upon a collectively held memory (Winter, 1998; Fussell, 2000). Numinous feelings might exist for these subjects but if so they have been subsumed into a complex *bouillabaisse* of emotions.

The link between atmospheric conditions and quality of experience was a feature at the 'historic' sites (7.2.6) but this was not matched with one passenger who felt:

> Because the people that go there genuinely have
> gone there…for a reason. They want to be there.
> And in some respects pouring rain might even be a

> better environment to look at it. And if I ever go
> back I think I would probably…choose a different
> time of the year to get more of a feel for what it
> may well have been like (male, 60).

This might suggest that the visitor to the Western Front is highly motivated and orientated towards what can be understood rather than what there is to see (Iles, 2008) even though place is an important aspect in the comments (9.2). This level of empathy might result in a dilution of the numen in favour of a more reverential connection with the human story.

9.10 Interpretation

There was much discussion about the importance of good interpretation of these sites and the interviewees generally agreed that a good guide was crucial to a fulfilling experience:

> …the knowledge of the guides is huge. What I've
> really appreciated about [name of guide] is that he
> doesn't stop and preach and lecture too much…but
> will engage in conversation with individuals who
> are interested enough to ask him leading questions
> and his fund of knowledge, his grasp of detail, is
> absolutely amazing… (male, 66).

One might have expected this comment from someone who had made a deliberate choice to join a guided tour but it does underline the importance of informative interpretation of a landscape that does not speak for itself.

This unprepossessing environment might also underlie the overwhelming appreciation amongst the interviewees for media representations of the conflict. The DVDs played on the coach between visits were upheld as a first-rate complement to the experience of moving through the landscape and one was described as the 'most poignant and probably the most real documentary that I had seen ever' (female, 63). This might be a countervailing aspect of Urry's argument above over fleeting glimpses in that passengers prefer representations than the somewhat disappointing reality they see out of the coach window or it might be a genuine complement to what they see. Whatever its nature the

appreciation of media reflects the dynamics of memory which is gained not from real events but from a media generated concept of reality (Prosthetic Memory). Technology provides a 'world of images' and '…film is imagined as an instrument with the power to "suture" viewers into pasts they have not lived' (Landsberg, 2004: 14).

9.11 Emotional responses

The experience of visiting the sites of the Western Front elicited genuinely deep reactions amongst these passengers and for some this was truly life-changing. It brings to the fore a bathos of moral questions and issues not normally encountered in everyday life and this was well summarised in the interviewees' final comments as, for example:

> I found today and this whole trip deeply disturbing.
> I've been horrified at what man is capable of. I felt
> deeply saddened and just depressed and distressed
> by the whole thing. It's been so real and so horrific
> for me and it makes us realise that even down to a
> family quarrel has to be avoided at all costs,
> because the next step is this (female, 67).

9.12 Chapter conclusion

A deeper understanding of visitor experiences is instructive in illuminating the nature of war sites but also in providing further understanding of how past events still speak to the present through the vehicle of tourist reactions. As performers the passengers on this tour were adapting to a role shaped by a highly moving narrative set within a commemorative context (Table 9.1). Other tours to these sites might have had a different intent and thus alternative narratives so it would be unwise to make sweeping conclusions from the results above. Nevertheless a pivotal conclusion is the central place taken by the narrative in a landscape which often cannot speak for itself. Thus the role of the guide was well appreciated and for these visitors a crucial aspect of their experience. Prior knowledge of the sites had been gained by most interviewees with film the most prominent of sources and these 'imaginative precursors' were seen as a vital complement to the narrative.

Place is important but only within the textures of memory and this is underlined by the deep family connections expressed in the comments. The phenomenon of vicarious pilgrimage (Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood, 2010) is well represented although the passengers interviewed did not see themselves in this way. The identification of the sites with wider moral concerns was a commonly held view and the sites stimulated a lively and far-reaching discourse.

One of the aims of this study was to investigate the idea of the numen yet the results above suggest that the experience of visitors is more akin to grief and this does challenge the assertion that battlefield visitors can be affected by a numinous spirit of place. A further discussion of this is given in the Conclusion which also compares the results with the 'historic' sites.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

This study has painted a particularly broad canvas upon which many aspects of meaning and interpretation have been situated. It is a *pointillist* approach and it is the task of this chapter to provide form and texture to the patterns that have emerged. In doing so we must bring to the fore the underlying premise that much can be learned about culture from the meanings people give to various cultural expressions such as heritage. This chapter addresses the central research questions of the thesis which are:

1. How do battlefield sites develop into attractions (the 'Site Sacralisation' model)?
2. What do battlefield sites mean to visitors?
3. How does interpretation contribute to the experience of the visitor?

The thesis addresses these questions by providing a wider appreciation of the nature of the battlefield 'attraction'. A broader understanding of a site's development stages and an acknowledgement of the multisensual nature of the tourist experience is suggested. Visitors have conflicting views of the deeper meanings attached to sites although benefit greatly from interpretation which is seen as a necessary adjunct to the battlefield site as marked 'attraction'. There are similarities and differences between the meanings attached to more historic sites and those of the First World War. These findings are expanded upon in the ensuing discussion.

10.1 The development and contemporary context of battlefield sites: a new approach to Dean MacCannell

This study made use of Dean MacCannell's site sacralisation model and the 'semiotics of attraction' (MacCannell, 1992) in explaining the development of battlefield sites into modern tourist attractions. The study calls for a broader understanding of MacCannell's theories through the following *four* findings. *Firstly* MacCannell's staged understanding of site development assumed a chronological trajectory and, perhaps because of its anthropological conception, neglected the more contemporary forces affecting site

entrenchment such as commercial interest. The study has shown how the sequential processes described by MacCannell are still in operation to varying degrees but extends his theory in introducing commercialisation as a sixth and more enduring stage (Figure 5.6). This is here presented as a new dimension in our understanding of the sacralisation process. *Secondly* MacCannell asserted that visitors rely on 'markers' which are integral to sacralisation and are crucial signifiers in understanding an attraction. A marker is a piece of information about a site transmitted through such 'vehicles' as guidebooks or information boards or intangible methods such as verbal messages about a site. By demonstrating the centrality of the visitor centre at interpreted battlefield sites this thesis upholds the importance of such buildings as more encompassing types of vehicle in their own right. A visitor centre is at the same time a highly visible and culturally significant marker effectively standing as an enduring monument to a site (as with those monuments so common in the earlier stages of a site's development). Thus as both vehicles and markers buildings can be important in the continuing sacralisation of a site and in constituting the sixth stage. *Thirdly* there is a definite difference between physical and perceptual forms of marking and any understanding of sacralisation should acknowledge that there might be other ways of marking a site aside from the more tangible examples (as with virtual representations). *Fourthly* MacCannell (1992: 128-130) felt that battlefield sites were an example of what he called 'marker-site obliteration' whereby a site is standardised to the extent that the visitor tends only to look at the marker and not the site itself. This identity crisis is compounded by the physical blandness of battlefield sites and MacCannell argues that standardised markers only serve to emphasise their anonymity. This thesis challenges this idea in that the sites investigated are clearly not eclipsed by their interpretation (vehicle/markers) and the battlefield site is still the focus for visitation greatly enhanced by engaging interpretation.

When adorned with tourist infrastructure battlefields are a well appreciated tourist resource and are able to attract large numbers of visitors. At the historic sites tourists do, however, mostly visit on a casual serendipitous basis as they happen upon a site on seeing a tourist sign, for example. The low numbers of repeat visitors for all sites supports this conclusion which is also evident from the interviews. Although nationally iconic these sites are constituent parts of a local and regional tourist offering and there was little evidence of visitors coming to the sites specifically to see them alone. Battlefield sites are commonly viewed as 'Dark' tourist attractions although there was no evidence of visitors coming to visit them motivated solely by a search for closeness to places of death and suffering as

described by Stone and Sharpley (2008). This suggests that the perceptual understanding of such sites is out of step with the motivational characteristics of those who visit them.

10.2 Meanings: Visuality - developing Urry and MacCannell

In the first edition of John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) the influence of the visual in tourist encounters was given overarching prominence and this has been an underlying presence throughout this thesis. MacCannell (1992) saw attractions as 'sites/sights' and were what *sightseers* came to 'see'. Although he did acknowledge that information about a site – the marker – could be both visual and what people hear about it (MacCannell, 1992: 110) the visual dominates his argument. This is corroborated by the corpus of visitor comments within this thesis in that most defer to the visual in their explanation of the site visit. The sites are dominated by a scopic regime which ostensibly seems to dictate much of the image and myth of place associated with all the sites. Visitors are *shown* the Well of the Dead (Culloden) or the site of Harold's death (Hastings). In addition to this the distorted view that was expressed over the size of the sites has a strong connection to pre-visit accumulation of visual images (7.2.3.3.).

This study has, however, demonstrated that there are other ways of marking a battlefield site using alternate senses. Visitors touch and try on armour (Bosworth) and at re-enactments are immersed in a multi-sensual experience. They can smell the gunsmoke, the sweat of the performers in close-combat and the freshly churned up turf of the field; they hear the loud shouts of the armies, the roar of the cannon and the hoofs of the horses; at the Living History encampments they can touch the clothing and equipment of the medieval soldiers and their followers. They can even taste their food.

To view the battlefield experience and the consumption of markers purely in visual terms is restrictive and several of the visitor comments acknowledged the importance of using the other senses. Urry later revised his idea of the 'gaze' to acknowledge a more polysensual tourist experience (Urry, 2000; 2011; also developed by others, e.g. Dann and Jacobsen, 2003) although he maintained that 'the organizing sense in tourism is visual' (Urry, 2011: 18). Moreover his most recent thinking on visuality proposes that the gaze is performative and involves 'touching and doing' rather than just seeing (Urry, 2011: 15).

The results of this study underline Urry's revised interpretation of tourism in providing further evidence of the need for wider sensual involvement. In line with the suggestion made above that markers should be recognised as both physical and perceptual, MacCannell's 'site/sight' interpretation should therefore be extended to include wider sensual aspects since the objects of the senses are really other types of markers themselves. It is noteworthy that one of the visitors to Hastings said he could remember it better afterwards because he 'could feel it, see it and touch it' (7.2.3.2.).

10.3 Meanings: Authenticity

Authenticity was an important feature of both site based and performative forms of interpretation at the historical sites and the study concluded that visitors had mixed opinions of it. This was clearly demonstrated in the re-enactment survey where there was a general agreement that the event was 'authentic' but a deeper probing of the responses indicated a range of often conflicting opinions. There was a feeling that more realism was needed and for some 'heritage sanitisation' was a detraction from the quality of the event. The nature of this increased realism was, however, unspecified. The type of organisation delivering the event was likely to be a feature in judging its authenticity although this could lead to an assumption by visitors that all aspects were trustworthy even down to the historical detail of the narrative. A firm conclusion is thus the overriding responsibility of pedagogically reliable organisations and their role in shaping public concepts of history. The survey demonstrated how re-enactment events are watched by a wider cross section of society than attend mainstream battlefield visitor centres although the majority were from the more highly educated and higher socio-economic groups. This is important in countering the assertion that such groups are sceptical of textual representations of history (Merriman, 1991) and provides a tentative suggestion that performative interpretation is appealing to a wider socio-economic base than previously thought.

10.4 Meanings: The concept of the numen

The deep feeling known as the numen was not a widely held experience among the sample at the historic sites although it would be correct to say that there are elements of the numen in visitor experiences at battlefield sites. Responses characterised by imagination and

reflection were dominant with a much weaker representation for the deeper and more visceral aspects such as spiritual awareness. Culloden and Hastings scored higher than the other sites in terms of their numinosity but as previously explained only 2.7% of the total sample expressed numinous awareness in their verbal responses as opposed to Gatewood and Cameron's 27.0% in their Gettysburg study (2004: 208). The reason for this low appreciation of numen awareness could be purely the result of situational factors and the way these sites are set up as commercial entities. This study has suggested that overcrowding and loss of ambience could be a major factor in militating against numinosity in that there has to be the correct 'ecology of the moment' (Latham, 2007) to nourish the deep experience. The difference between the UK sites and Gettysburg could be a function of the latter's greater size and a greater dissipation of visitor presence although further investigation into the effects of site characteristics and the numen would be needed to establish this.

One interesting result from Bannockburn was the numinous attachment to objects whether authentic or not. This does challenge the assertion that the numen is related to authenticity and could have a bearing on the way artefacts are presented in many different types of heritage attraction. It would thus be incumbent on heritage professionals to indicate clearly when items are replicas or not as ethical good practice. The re-enactment survey suggested that visitors didn't necessarily mind aspects of interpretation which are in-authentic as long as they were told and this should also be mirrored in clear artefactual presentation. The power of place image in stimulating demand is greatly enhanced by media representation and this is likely to have a particularly potent influence on tourist decision making. If much visitation of the historical sites is serendipitous then TV associations have a key role in triggering 'on the spot' decisions. There should be a clearer awareness of the potential interdependencies between media and battlefield site visitation and further investigation of this could be of great benefit to site marketers.

10.5 Interpretation: the 'larger truth'

One overwhelming conclusion of this study is that the interpretational offering is well appreciated by visitors who are actively engaged in its message. Visitors were able to absorb the educational intent of the visit experience and learning was shown to have taken place (7.1.2.5.). From a 'value-added' perspective therefore the interpretation is successful

in that it makes a difference to the visit and the general finding is that visitors left the sites having learnt something about the 'story'. However, there was a hierarchy of educational impact between the sites with Culloden the most effective and Bannockburn the least. This demonstrates how interpretation using the most up-to-date presentation like Culloden is more successful than at older sites like Bannockburn. It might also reflect the nature of the visitors to these sites: Culloden had the highest percentage of Higher Graduate and Postgraduate visitors at 60% (Table 7.4) and the result could well indicate simply a higher level of absorption of new information from the more educated groups.

The idea that interpretation should challenge the visitor (Tilden, 1977) was reflected in the broad number of visitor comments at all sites where wide and varying questions and dilemmas were raised. These ranged from personal, moral and ethical issues to questions of historical and technical fact. This rich and roiling discourse was a feature of all sites but particularly the Western Front.

Despite the success of the methods employed the professional interpretational intent of management was rather vague. On interviewing managers there was little predetermined overarching purpose for the interpretation apart from at Bosworth where three distinct outcomes were identified. On interviewing all experts/stakeholders there was a strong feeling that interpretation should aim to present only the facts to the audience who would be at liberty to make their own conclusions. This is particularly important in an area as morally sensitive as war and the potentially powerful *seigniorial* nature of managing tourist experiences. It was deemed inappropriate to impose moral values on a site and this was also evidenced in the comments of the Western Front guides.

Battlefield sites are seen as rather unremarkable landscapes with very little physical evidence of the events that took place there. This was particularly the case with the historic sites which represented very transient events lasting in some cases less than an hour. The value these sites have been given by public and professional interests in spite of their physical ephemerality is a noteworthy observation from this thesis. But a most pivotal conclusion is that because of their unprepossessing nature battlefield sites *need* incarnative interpretation including a narrative of the events. Unlike more tangible heritage they can rarely speak for themselves except to those well-versed in the story and the historic terrain. At all sites high quality audio-visual presentation and audio-guides were used to communicate the narrative and visitors appreciated these methods above all others.

Interpretation is important for all historical sites but battlefields rely on effective interpretation more than, for example, historic buildings.

Amongst experts there was a very strongly held view that human stories worked best in interpretation and this was mirrored in the views of visitors who had a keen appreciation for stories they could relate to. The stories behind places and events clearly endow them with a special value which is not unlike the concept of 'cultural capital' used with humans. The importance of linking sites to historical personages is a key aspect of 'sacralisation' as discussed elsewhere in this thesis in that all four historic sites are linked to famous characters. Much tourist capital can be gained from association with well known figures. Stories also have a bearing on the motivations for visiting a site in that consumers are now felt to be more interested in 'consuming' the background concepts to products than the products themselves (Ariely and Norton, 2009). If this idea is transferred to heritage sites then it could be argued that visitors are drawn towards Harold, Bruce, Richard or Bonnie Prince Charlie sites rather than Hastings, Bannockburn, Bosworth or Culloden as historic *loci* in their own right. Not all stories relate to the famous, however, and interest in the stories of all is a clearly expressed outcome of this study.

An interesting finding of the study was that the words used by visitors to describe the sites were more cognitive than emotional (Figure 7.1). Tilden (1977) argued that interpretation should challenge and provoke but interpretation rarely experiments with emotional content in order to achieve this. This seems to be reflected in the results and suggests that the interpretational message of the four sites was more cerebral. Alternatively it could indicate that the narrative was text-orientated inviting a more cognitive response. Another explanation for this is that the majority of visitors came from the more highly educated groups who tend to be more text based (Merriman, 1991). The combination of a text-orientated interpretation and a text-receptive audience has here resulted in a more cognitive response.

The study concludes that the best form of interpretation is one which allows for a blend of public and private experience. Expert comments upheld the importance of interpretation as a primer or facilitator enabling the visitor to process and interpret the material towards a bespoke type of experience. A key part of this was the judicial use of silence to allow visitors 'emotional space' for reflection in the face of death and human suffering. There

was, conversely, a feeling that silence was not always appropriate particularly in the context of re-enactment.

10.6 A comparison between the historic and Western Front sites

One of the main aims of this study was to compare and contrast the experience of visitors at historic and more recent battlefield sites. These sites do span differing time periods and geographical areas, there were contrasts in the nature of visitation and the choice of methodological approach between the two types was different. Nevertheless some observations can be made with regard to tourism between the two and these are outlined in Table 10.1.

Unlike the historic sites tourism to the Western Front is dominated by those with family interests and there is a definite premeditation in visiting mostly characterised by the organised coach tour. Visits to historic sites are far more *ad hoc* with less of a shared experience and accompanying sense of *communitas*. Due to the more recent nature of the events and the presence of family connections the Western Front adopts a more sensitive form of interpretation within a distinctly commemorative context. The concept of memory is much stronger here even though no visitors would have experienced the events first hand. Despite this there is less of a sanitised view of the conflict although this might be due to the high involvement of ex-soldiers as guides who prefer a more realistic account of events 'as they were'. The role of the guide here is more important than at the historic sites. One of the reasons for this could be the enormous area of the Western Front and the need to illuminate the drama of events in a much changed landscape that otherwise would require particularly well honed powers of the imagination. There is no visitor centre and attendant interpretation on hand in the landscape as at the smaller and more localised historic sites.

Human interest stories are common at both types of sites and this study has throughout demonstrated the overwhelming power of this interpretational *modus*. On the Western Front, however, there is a much more widespread emphasis on the written accounts of soldiers and their poetry in what was the first great 'literary' war (Fussell, 2000). This is

	Historic	Western Front
Tourist interest	Mostly *ad hoc* who are visiting other attractions along with the sites; shared experience less common	Most have a premeditated reason for visiting and have an interest in the WF and its background; vicarious pilgrimage phenomenon; purposeful coach tours lead to a sense of *communitas* and shared experience
Use of interpretation	A wide range of interpretative methods used based upon commercial commoditisation of the product and education; guide another form of interpretation; dedicated coach tours rare; a sanitised version of violence	Most forms of interpretation avoid overt commercialisation and remain sensitive; educational orientation common; the guide central; coach tour predominant; a greater unsanitised presentation of violence
Interpretational focus	Human interest stories; technical features (e.g. weaponry); re-enactment	Powerful human interest stories augmented by written accounts and poetry; re-enactment downplayed
Visit purpose	General interest, educational, recreational (a good day out)	Highly commemorative; pilgrimage
Sense of place	Interpretation of events linked to small sites; greater level of site uncertainty	Interpretation of events linked to a wide number of sites spread over a large area; greater level of site reliability
Sites	Small and self contained; further back in time; battles lasted a short time; no cemeteries	Very large areas; nearer in time; large time scale for battles; cemeteries part of the visit
Discourse	High level of discursive fields; slight validation of events previously known; a level of post- visit impact	Stimulation of deep and enduring questions, standpoints and dilemmas; strong validation of events previously known; discourse endows those with insider topographical knowledge with a certain level of enhanced 'cultural capital'; very great post- visit impact
Propinquity	Visitors did not know the participants	Visitors would often have known the participants
Moral angle	Moral lessons drawn from the event	Moral lessons drawn from the event within a modern moral discourse
Deep feelings	Low experience of numinosity	Grief rather than numinosity

Table 10.1: Main characteristics of the 'historic' and Western Front battlefield sites

strongly attached to place and guides use literary accounts dynamically to bring home the realities of trench warfare. At the historic sites this method is used less often (the narratives of costumed actors at Culloden being a notable exception) and any literary allusions are confined to written text and occasionally as part of the audio-visual narrative. At the Western Front re-enactment is downplayed in keeping with the commemorative and respectful ambience of the visitor experience although it is notable that this also forms the

basis of the decision by management at Culloden not to have re-enactment events on the field itself.

There are very different underlying motivations for visitation between the two groups of sites. As explained above the historic sites are more appealing for educational and recreational purposes whereas at the Western Front the commemorative aspects stimulate an almost quasi-religious approach akin to pilgrimage. The literature supports the view that pilgrimage is common at recent war sites especially those where there is war related interment. One of the interesting features of this study, however, was that the coach passengers interviewed did not see themselves as pilgrims. This was despite the fact that much of their behaviour and discourse at the sites reflected a pilgrimage disposition which mirrors the findings of Winter (2011). This is contrary to the findings of Gatewood and Cameron (2003; 2004), however, that visitors to heritage (including historic battlefield) sites often start as tourists and end up as pilgrims. The study has also identified a group of visitors to the Western Front who take on the responsibility of visiting and paying their respects at the graves of soldiers completely unrelated to themselves. This 'vicarious pilgrimage' phenomenon was identified by Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood (2010) and the study thus provides further evidence for it.

Both types of sites are established in the public consciousness particularly through continuous media representations but this is stronger with the Western Front. There is a validation of what the visitors already know and the study has shown how there is an enhancement of memory of events not directly experienced by visitors (Prosthetic Memory). Both types of sites are likely to provoke levels of post-visit impact but the study was not able to confirm this with any empirical evidence. There are definite discursive similarities between the two types of sites in that they stimulate deep questions and dilemmas which are talked about amongst visitors. This is particularly strong at the Western Front where notions of futility, waste, misplaced loyalties and the questionable morals of enormous human suffering and carnage were common themes and much more potent than at the historic sites. Several passengers on the coach tour exemplified the figure of the knowledgeable hobbyist well versed in the wider details of the conflict as described by Seaton (2000). These were pivotal in priming discussion surrounding the broad range of discursive fields which is less likely in the more restricted surroundings of the historic sites. The 'enclavic space' of the coach tour can provide a particularly fertile environment for such discussion.

Finally the study has shown how the deeper feelings attached to visiting battlefield sites are not present at the Western Front in the same way as at the historic sites. Although not particularly widespread there was an awareness of the numen at the historic sites but the interviews with Western Front passengers reflected a different type of experience. Their feelings were intense and even visceral but clearly stemmed from the enormity of the events at the places they were visiting. These feelings were more akin to grief than the numen so it can be concluded that although more prevalent at sites of death and suffering the 'shiver of contact' is diminished in the face of extreme and widespread violence such as at the Western Front. The commemorative aspects and presence of cemeteries with clear individual and collective symbolism would seem to determine the nature of any deep feelings and a family connection with the fallen refract any historic or topocentric view of experience into one of grief, often personal. This has implications for our understanding of the relationship between visitors and wider heritage sites and whether numinosity is diluted under more momentous and personal circumstances.

10.7. Implications of the study

This study has through an array of methodological approaches broadened and deepened our understanding of a particular arena within cultural heritage and provided new perspectives on the nature of battlefield sites. It has through phenomenological enquiry profiled a rich panoply of visitor experiences and has illuminated the dynamism of the relationship between site and visitor. Battlefield sites are areas of space (accessible or otherwise) where many and varied discourses are stimulated and their intangibility has been shown to present special challenges to those who seek to manage and interpret them in a worthwhile and engaging way. They are sites of immense potential and this study establishes a framework for understanding which will enable more as yet unmarked sites to be interpreted in an imaginative way.

The limitations of the study have been previously explained although the issue of non-generalisability should not reduce the value of the findings in contributing to an understanding of national cultural heritage. The historic sites examined closely have a very effective interpretational offering which is well appreciated by tourists who, visiting on an *ad hoc* basis, do have a need for appropriate explanation. The study demonstrates how the

educational value-added is generally impressive. Site managers should be more aware of the multi-sensual nature of the tourist experience and the fact that pre-existing knowledge especially from media coverage is a vital component of the visit. Finally the differences in experiences between historic sites and those of the First World War clearly show how there are a variety of types of battlefield sites based upon spatial, temporal and cultural factors. These need to be interpreted and presented in particular ways according to how they are perceived within their own socio-cultural setting.

This thesis began by postulating the theory that in order to examine the true meaning of culture one has to start with investigating the opinions and attitudes of people who move within the cultural milieu. In studying battlefield tourism it has been possible to illuminate perhaps a small part of that cultural context within which heritage and historical consciousness is situated and add a new and challenging perspective to our historical perceptions and tangible surroundings.

APPENDIX A: 'Historic' sites questionnaire (example)

Battlefield Sites as Tourist Attractions: Meanings and Interpretations

Questionnaire: Bannockburn

This questionnaire will be administered by the interviewer face-to-face.

1. Is this your first visit to the battlefield site?

First Time	Second	More than twice (state number)

2. What other battlefields in the UK have you visited in the last 12 months?

3. Are you a member of any heritage organisation?

Yes		If Yes please state:
No		

4. How would you agree with the following statements about today's visit?

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	I was able to use my mind to go back in time while visiting the battlefield					
2	I was able to connect deeply with the objects displayed in exhibits (if applicable)					
3	Whilst at the battlefield I was able to feel the aura or spirit of earlier times					
4	I enjoyed reflecting on the battlefield site after visiting it					

5	I was able to imagine the horrors of battle whilst at the battlefield site					
6	The battlefield site provoked an almost "spiritual" response in me					
7	At the battlefield site I lost my sense of time passing					
8	I enjoyed talking about my personal reactions to the battlefield site					

5. What single words would you use to describe the site?

6. On a scale of 1 (low) to 10 (high) how important do you think the following are in contributing to the experience of this site (if applicable)?

		Low					High					
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
1	Re-enactments											
2	Information Boards											
3	Audio Guides											
4	Guidebooks											
5	Guides (Guided Tours)											
6	Self Guided Trail											
7	Lectures											
8	Costumed Actors											
9	Films/audio-visual											
10	Models/Dioramas											
11	Hands on or working displays (inc. computer interactive displays)											

7. Based upon the following scale do you agree or disagree with the statement that "the Visitor's Centre has added to my understanding of the site today"?

Tick one ✓				
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

8. What has been the most meaningful aspect of the battlefield for you today?

9. How many are in your group today (in addition to self)?

Alone	State Number	Coach Tour

10. What is your highest level of education?

	✓
Secondary (GCSE, Highers, A Level)	
Technical (e.g. C&G, RSA)	
Further Education (e.g. HNC/HND)	
Higher Education – Graduate	
Higher Education – Postgraduate	
Other	
None of the above	

11. What is your occupation (interviewer to insert into the correct box)?

	✓
Unemployed/Retired/Student/Long Term Sick	
Semi-skilled/Unskilled Manual	
Skilled Manual	
Junior Managerial	
Middle Managerial	
Higher Managerial /Professional	

12. Age

18-24	25-39	40-49	50-65	66+

13. UK Postcode

Please state country (including whether England, Scotland Wales or Northern Ireland):

14. Gender

Male	Female

15. What was the name of the English king who fought against the Scots at Bannockburn?

   (i)   Robert the Bruce
   (ii)   Edward I
   (iii)   Edward II
   (iv)   James 1
   (v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

16. On the first day of the battle Robert the Bruce is thought to have raised his standard at?

   (a) Stirling Castle
   (b) The Borestone
   (c) The Wolfstone
   (d) The Carse of Balquhiderock
   (e) Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

17. What was the name of the Scottish knight who was chosen to take Bruce's heart to Jerusalem?

- (i)   Sir James Douglas
- (ii)   Sir Henry de Bohun
- (iii)   Edmund Bruce
- (iv)   Sir Ingram de Umfraville
- (v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

18. Do you have any other comments about your experience at the battlefield site today?

………
………
………
………
………
………
………
……………..

Ask respondent if they are willing to be contacted later to undertake a more in-depth interview/self-report on their experiences. Write contact details below:

………
………
………
……

Appendix B: List of job titles interviewed

Charitable Sector

Property Manager, NTS
Property Manager, NTS
Chairman, The Battlefields Trust
Development Officer, The Battlefields Trust
Chairman, The Remembering Flodden Project
Chairman, The Towton Battlefield Society

Public Sector Bodies

Head of Strategy and Operations
Acting Head of Interpretation
Head of Events
Head of Visitor Operations
Senior Curator
Operations Manager

Academic

Battlefield Archaeologist

Other

Landowner
Clan Chief

Appendix C – Bosworth Re-enactment 2010 questionnaire

Battlefield Sites as Tourist Attractions: Meanings and Interpretations

Bosworth Battlefield Re-enactment 2010

Questionnaire

1. Is this your first visit to the Bosworth Battlefield re-enactment?

First Time	Second	More than twice (state number)

2. Have you been to any other battlefield re-enactments apart from this one?

No ☐

Yes ☐   If yes, then which ones:

3. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that "the battle re-enactment has added to my understanding of the events of the Battle of Bosworth"?

Tick one ✓				
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

4. How would you score the authenticity of the re-enactment along the following scale:

Low									High
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Comments:………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………

5. On a scale of 1 (low) to 10 (high) how important do you think the following are in contributing to your experience of the site today (if applicable)?

		Low									High	N/A
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
1	Living history encampment											
2	Jousting											
3	Guided Walks											
4	"Dressing the Knight" session											
5	Meet the King (at lunch)											

6. How many are in your group today?

Alone	> 1 (State Number)

7. What is your highest level of education?

	✓
Secondary (GCSE, Highers, A Level)	
Technical (e.g. C&G, RSA)	
Further Education (e.g. HNC/HND)	
Higher Education – Graduate	
Higher Education – Postgraduate	
Other	
None of the above	

8. What is your occupation (interviewer to insert into the correct box)?

	✓
Unemployed/Retired/Student/Long Term Sick	
Semi-skilled/Unskilled Manual	
Skilled Manual	
Junior Managerial	
Middle Managerial	
Higher Managerial /Professional	

9. Age

18-24	25-39	40-49	50-65	66+

10. UK Postcode

Please state country (including whether England, Scotland Wales or Northern Ireland):

11. Gender

Male	Female

12. Do you have any other comments about your experience at the battlefield re-enactment today?
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……………..

Appendix D: Coach Tour Information Letter

University of Glasgow

Dear Respondent

Research project: Battlefield Sites as Tourist Attractions: Meanings and Interpretations

I am a postgraduate Doctoral student at Glasgow University undertaking research into the meanings and interpretations of battlefield sites and would be grateful for your help with my project. The work will be useful in our understanding of these sites and the results will help contribute to more effective interpretation and presentation.

As part of this I am hoping to interview participants on this coach tour exploring the way visitors respond to the battlefield sites. Your help in agreeing to be interviewed would be much appreciated and I will make sure that this does not detract from your enjoyment of the tour. The interview would last about 30 minutes and be taped but would only be conducted with your consent. I will also be taking photographs of the sites but again not of participants without their consent.

Please be assured that the material gathered will remain confidential and participants will remain anonymous.

Once again, thanks for your help!

Yours faithfully

Stephen Miles

607 Gower Road
Upper Killay
Swansea
SA2 7DP

Tel: 07546 583702

Project Supervisor:

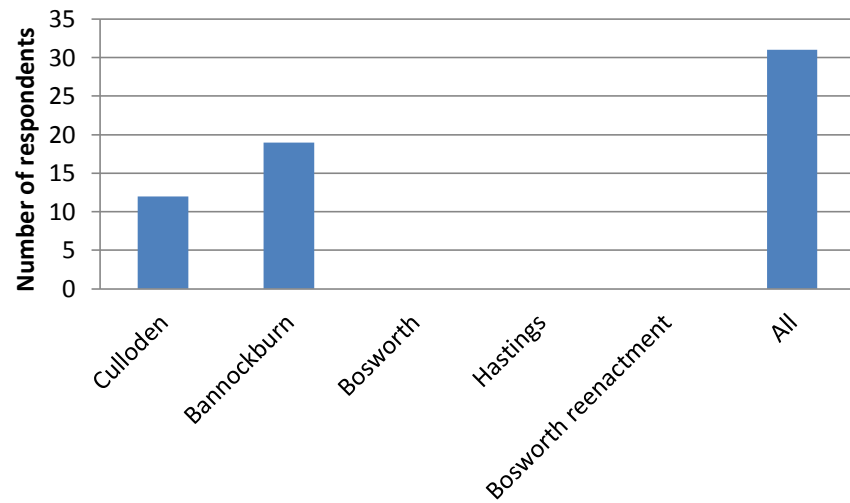| Dr Donald Macleod | Tel: 01387 702010 |
Head of Tourism and Heritage	E-mail: D.Macleod@crichton.gla.ac.uk
University of Glasgow	
Rutherford/McCowan Building	
Crichton Campus	
Dumfries	
DG1 4ZL	

Appendix E: Ethical Considerations

(i)   Notes from Glasgow university (Crichton Campus) Ethical Committee Meeting (4 November 2009)

1. A full and open statement of what the research is about and why you are there will need to be provided. An announcement from the front of the bus as well as an information sheet will be needed
2. Consent will be needed from the Tour Operator as well as the Guide on the bus
3. The Guide should not be coerced into accepting to be part of the research and the researcher should not appear to be working on behalf of the Company or as an ally of the management
4. The Guide's narrative should not be used later and the researcher should respect the intellectual copyright of the Guide's words and the product
5. Covert observation and eavesdropping will not be acceptable under any circumstances
6. Interviews can be made with subjects only with their consent
7. Observation of participants (including those on the coach) can be made in Open Field circumstances using post-trip notes
8. One-to-one interviews should be conducted in private out of earshot of others and not on the bus
9. All suspicions regarding the intent of the research should be removed from the beginning

However, for quality of research purposes observing people with consent is not a good idea since it will bias the results.

(ii)   Example of Consent Form - interviewees

The University of Glasgow in Dumfries

Research project: Battlefield Tourism: Meanings and Interpretations

CONSENT FORM

I consent for the information I have agreed to provide to be used for the purposes of this research project. All information will be used anonymously.

Signed:……………………………………………………………………………….

Date:………………………………………………………………………………….

Researcher: Stephen Miles

(iii)   Letter – questionnaire respondents

The University of Glasgow in Dumfries

Dear Respondent

Research project: Battlefield Sites as Tourist Attractions: Meanings and Interpretations

I am a postgraduate Doctoral student at Glasgow University undertaking research into the meanings and interpretations of battlefield sites in the UK and am very grateful for your agreeing to help with my project. The work will be useful in our understanding of these sites and the results will help contribute to more effective interpretation and presentation.

Please be assured that your answers will remain anonymous. You will not receive any further correspondence from this survey unless you agree at the end of the questionnaire to be contacted for further comments. Your details in this case will not be passed on to anyone else.

If you have any questions about what I am dong then please feel free to contact my Supervisor whose details are at the bottom of this letter.

Once again, thanks for your help!

Yours faithfully

Stephen Miles

607 Gower Road
Upper Killay
Swansea
SA2 7DP
s.miles.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Tel: 07546 583702

Project Supervisor

Dr Donald Macleod Head of Tourism and Heritage University of Glasgow Rutherford/McCowan Building Crichton Campus Dumfries DG1 4ZL	Tel: 01387 702010 E-mail: D.Macleod@crichton.gla.ac.uk

APPENDIX F: Data relating to Chapter 7

(i)   UK European Administrative Units
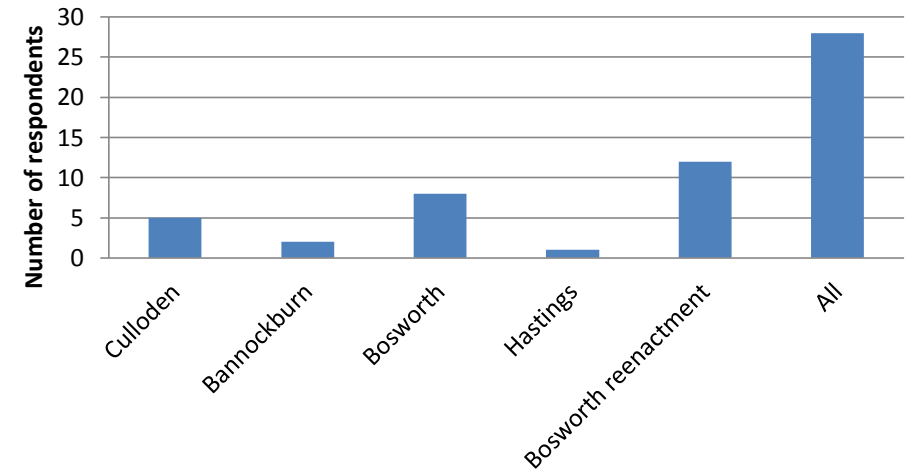

Scotland

North-East England
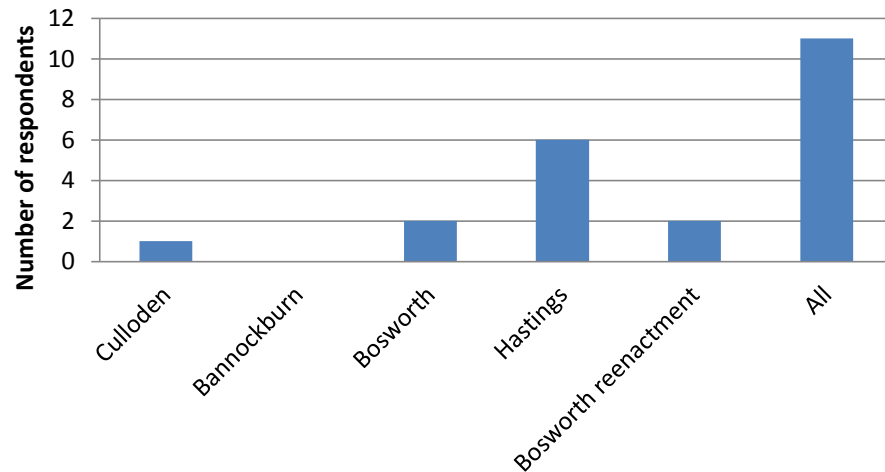
Northern Ireland

North-West England

Yorkshire and Humberside

East Midlands

West Midlands

Wales

East England

South-West England

South-East England

Greater London

Scotland
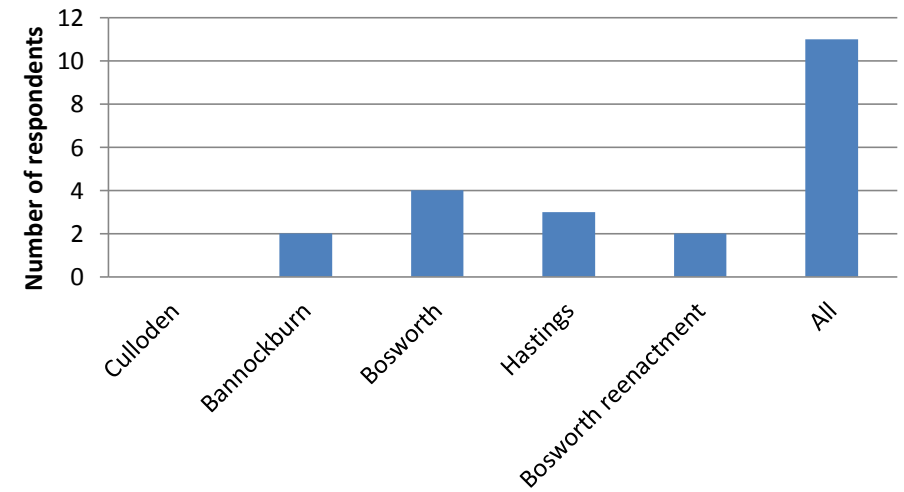
North-West England

North-East England
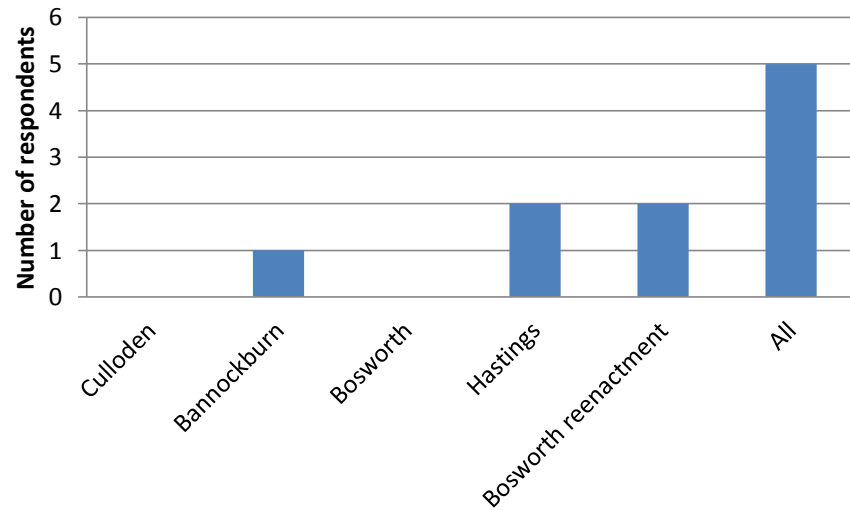
Yorkshire and Humberside
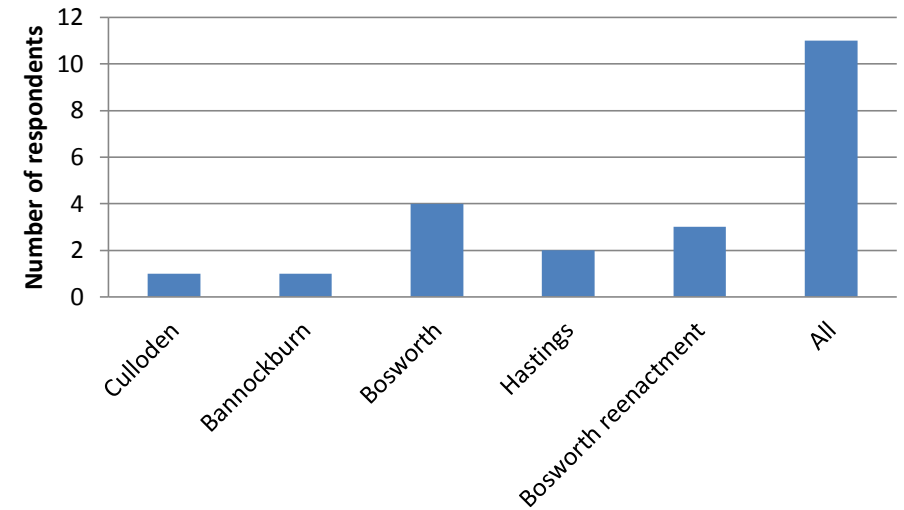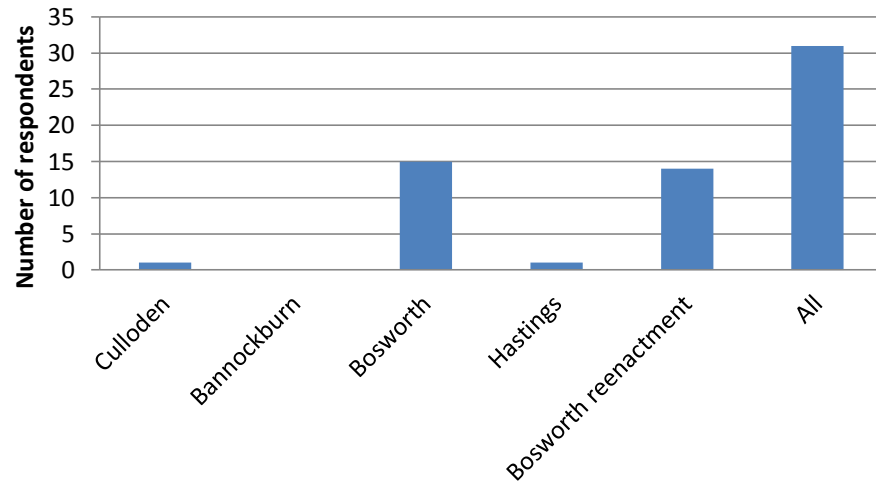
East Midlands
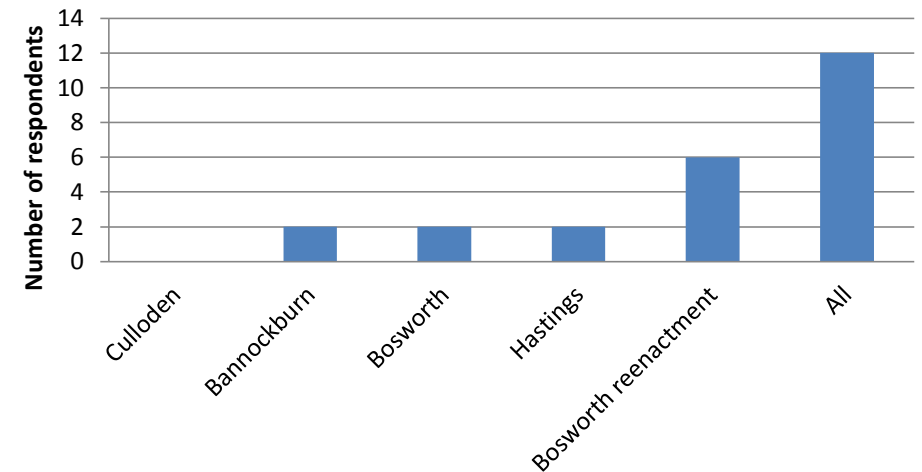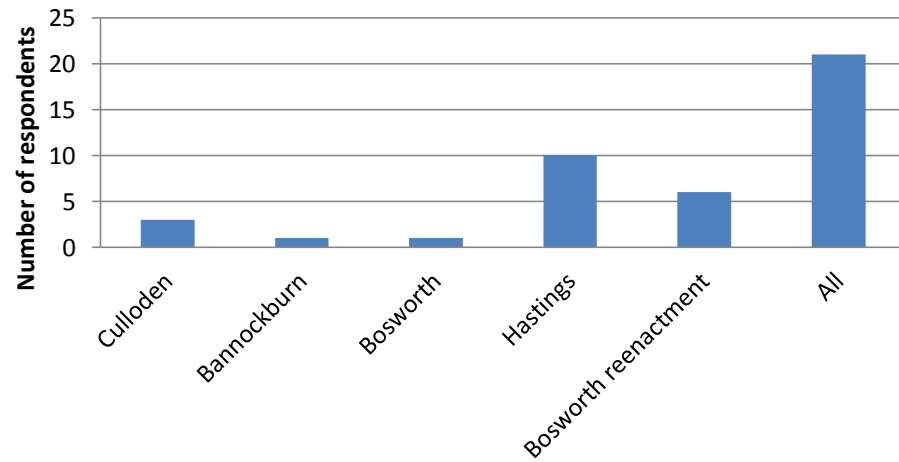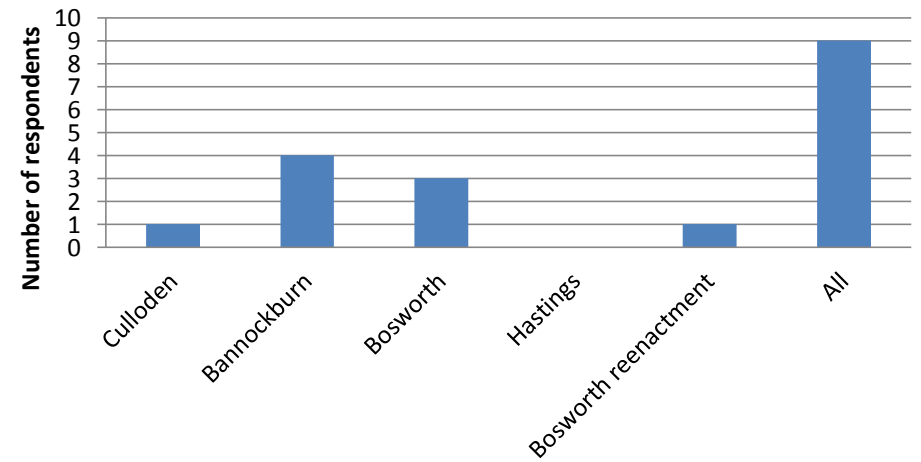
West Midlands

Greater London

East England

South-East England

South-West England

Overseas
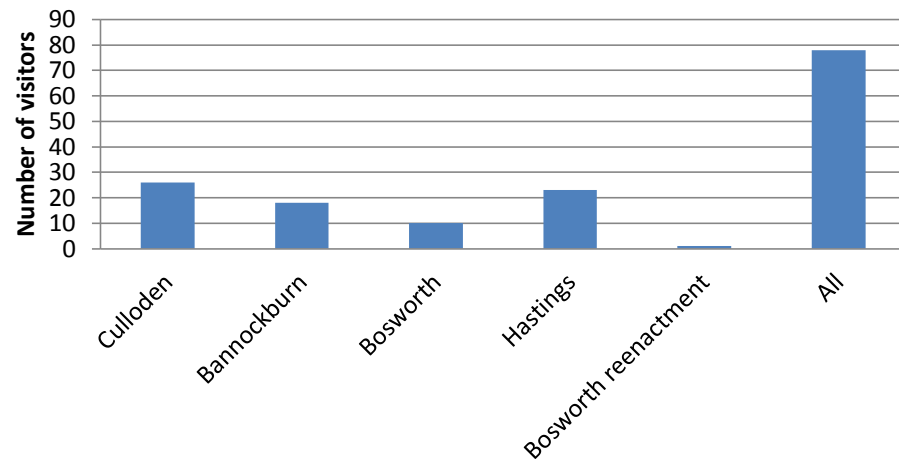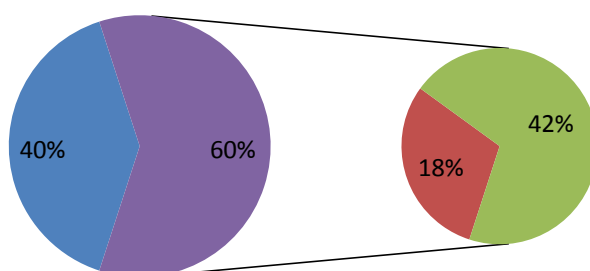
Question 15: Bannockburn

■ No ■ Yes/Yes ■ Yes/No

20% 80%

30% 50%
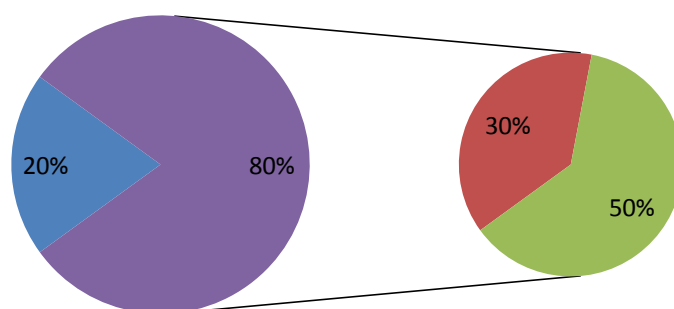
Question 16: Bannockburn

■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3

64% 36%

34%

2%
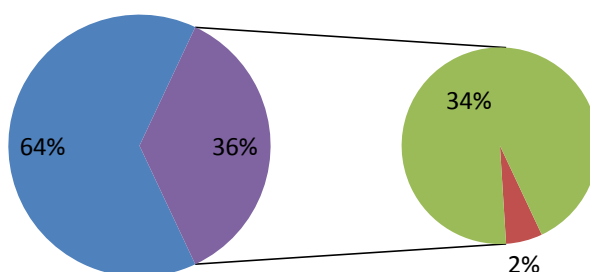
Question 17: Bannockburn

■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3

40% 60%

18% 42%

Question 15: Hastings

No   Yes/Yes   Yes/No

10%   90%   29%   61%
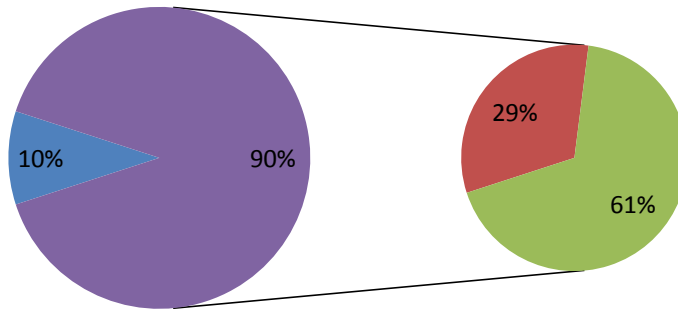
Question 16: Hastings

No   Yes/Yes   Yes/No

64%   36%   35%   1%
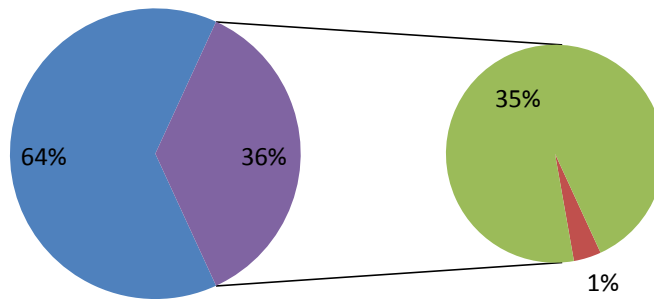
Question 17: Hastings

No   Yes/Yes   Yes/No

36%   64%   14%   50%
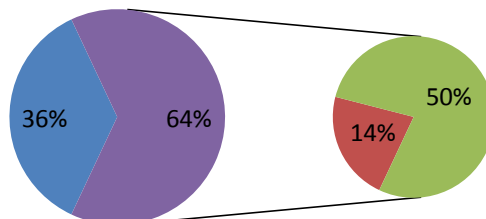
Question 15: Bosworth

■ No **■** Yes/Yes **■** Yes/No

18% 82% 30% 52%
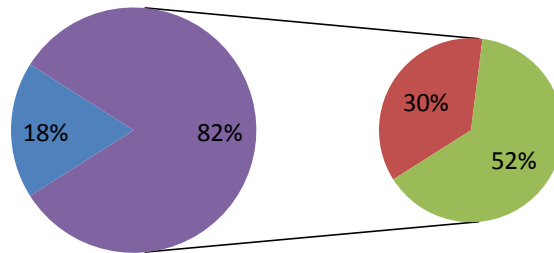
Question 16: Bosworth

■ No **■** Yes/Yes **■** Yes/No

30% 70% 28% 42%
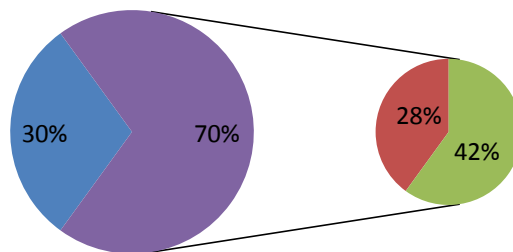
Question 17: Bosworth

■ No **■** Yes/Yes **■** Yes/No

14% 86% 34% 52%

270
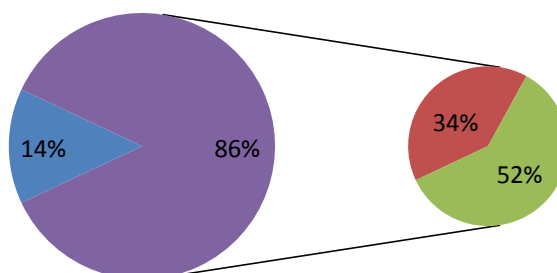
Question 15: Culloden

No Yes/Yes Yes/No

20% 80% 16% 64%
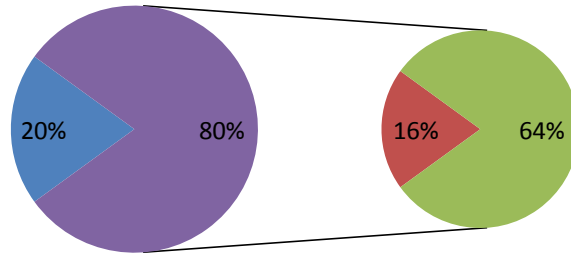
Question 16: Culloden

No Yes/Yes Yes/No

6% 94% 24% 70%
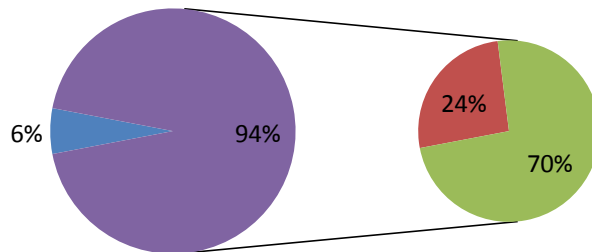
Question 17: Culloden

No Yes/Yes Yes/No
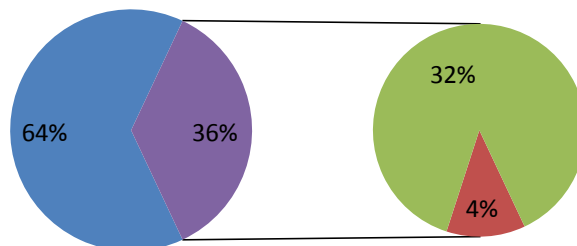
64% 36% 32% 4%

Questions 15 - 17: Bosworth - all questions

Legend: No, Yes/Yes, Yes/No

21% 79% 31% 48%
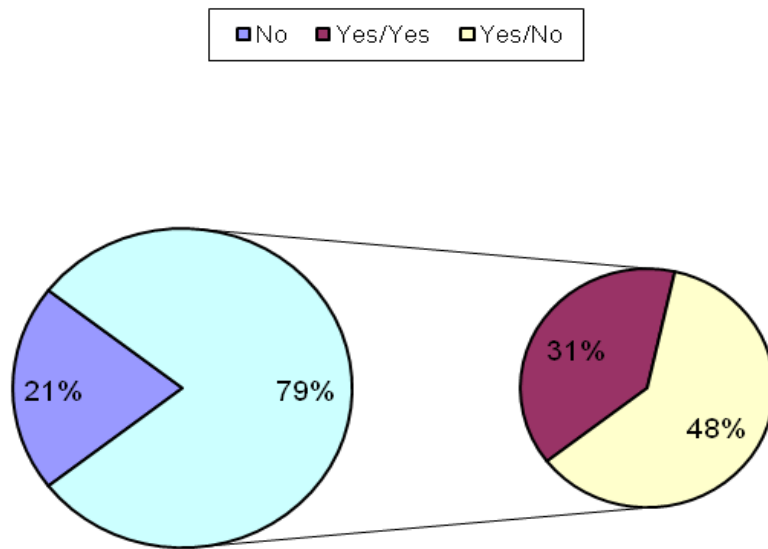
Questions 15 - 17: Bannockburn - all questions

Legend: No, Yes/Yes, Yes/No

41% 59% 44% 15%

272
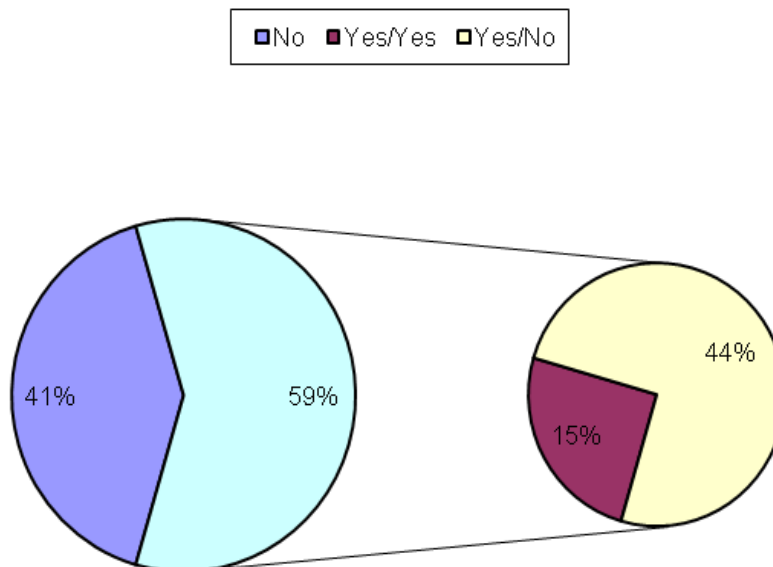
Questions 15 - 17: Hastings - all questions

No   Yes/Yes   Yes/No

37%   63%   51%   12%
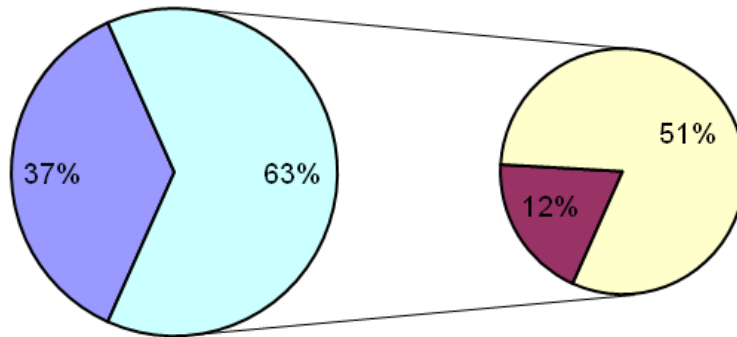
Questions 15 - 17: Culloden - all questions

No   Yes/Yes   Yes/No

30%   70%   57%   13%
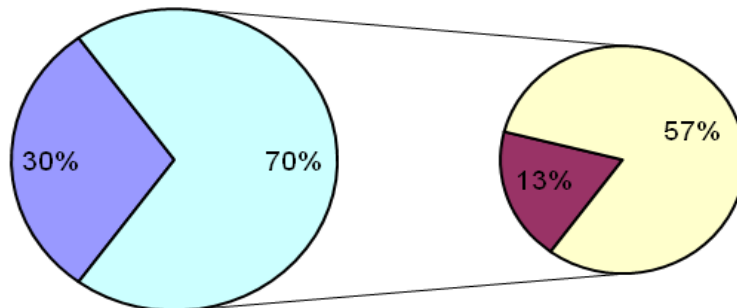
Question 4/1: I was able to use my mind to go back in time while visiting the battlefield

n = 50 at each site
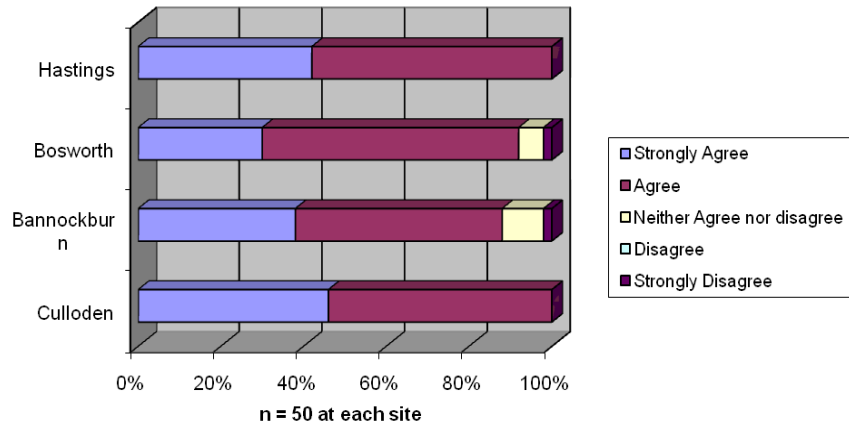
Question 4/2 - I was able to connect deeply with the objects displayed in exhibits

n = 50 at each site
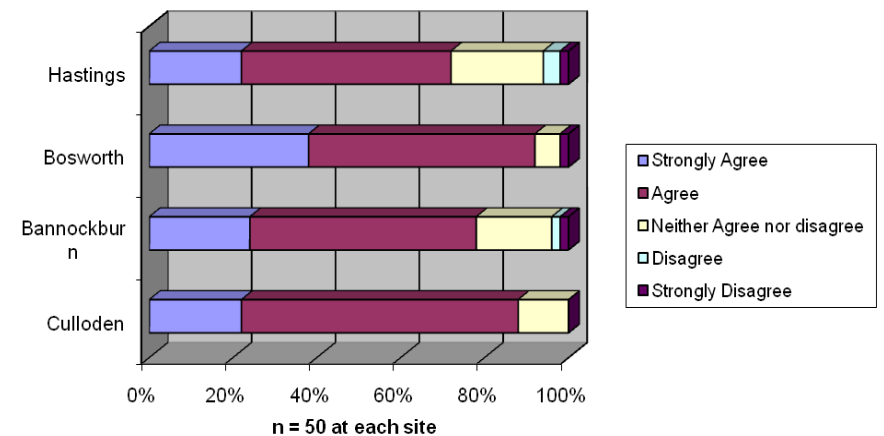
Question 4/3: Whilst at the battlefield I was able to feel the aura or spirit of earlier times

n = 50 at each site
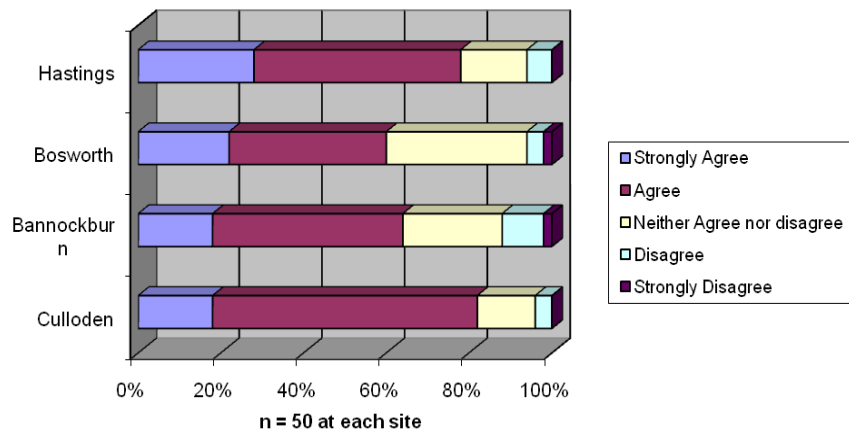
Question 4/4 - I enjoyed reflecting on the site after visiting it

n = 50 at each site
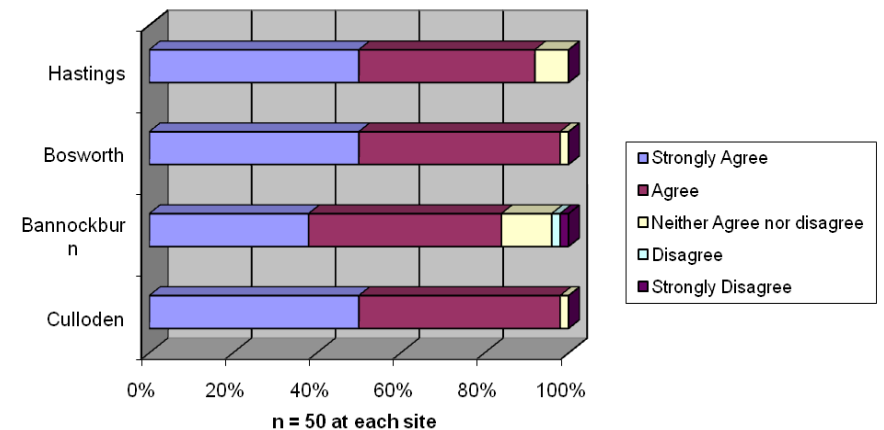
Question 4: All sites

Question 4/5 - I was able to imagine the horrors of battle whilst at the battlefield site

n = 50 at each site
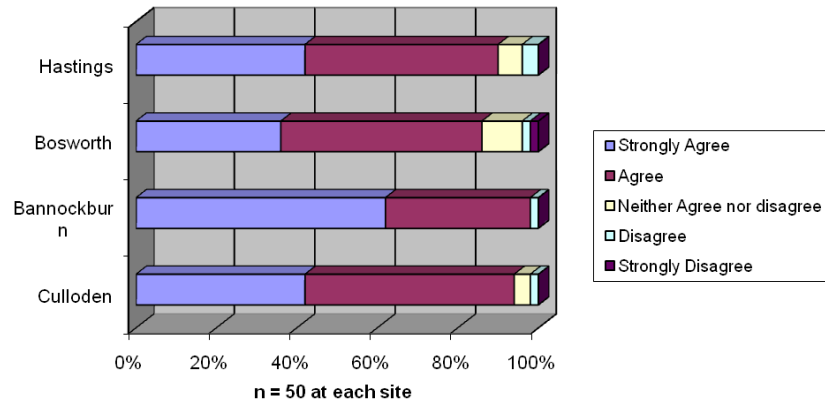
Question 4/6: The battlefield site provoked an almost "spiritual" response in me

n = 50 at each site
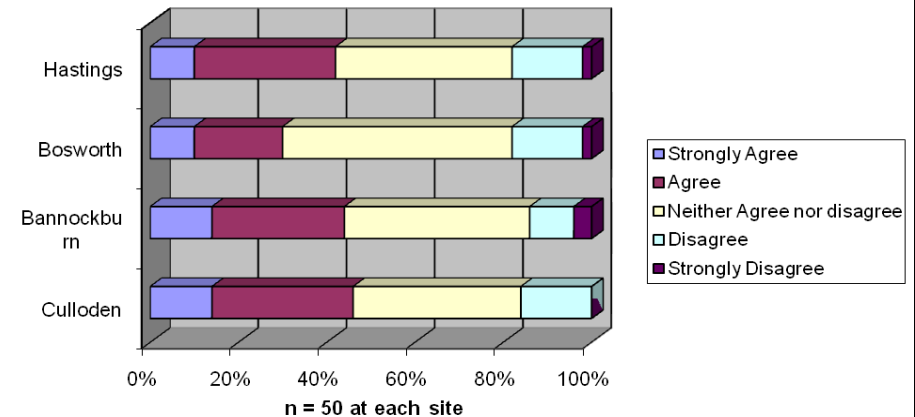
Question 4/7 - At the battlefield site I lost my sense of time passing

n = 50 at each site
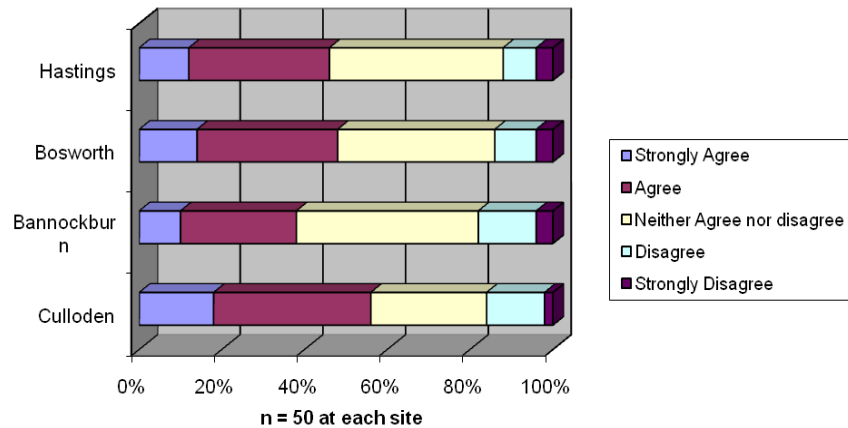
Question 4/8 - I enjoyed talking about my personal reactions to the battlefield site

n = 50 at each site
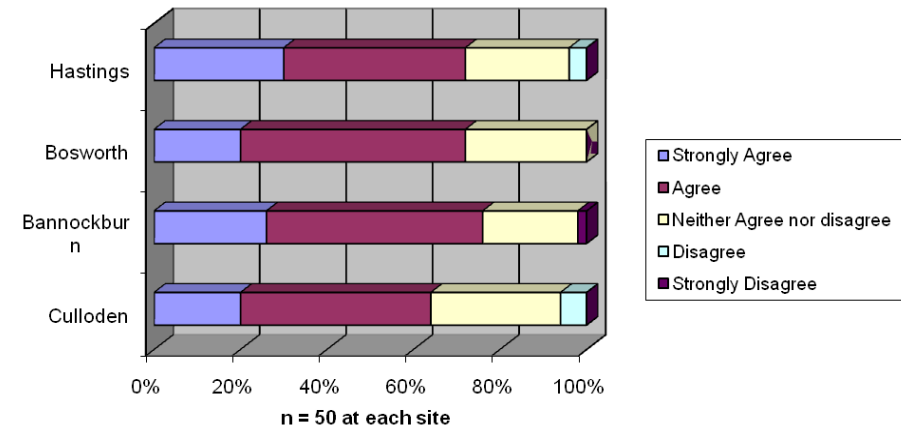
Question 4: All sites (continued)

Appendix G: Overseas visitor analysis of question 4

(i)   Overseas respondents per country of origin – a comparison between surveys

%						
	N = 50	N = 213	N = 50	N = 350	N = 50	N = 50
	Bannockburn	NTS Bannockburn (1)	Culloden	NTS Culloden (1)	Hastings	Bosworth
Australia	6	3	12	6	6	2
Canada	4	2	6	2	4	2
USA	14	1	18	4	4	6
Switzerland	2	1				
France		**		1		
Netherlands	2	**	4		12	
New Zealand	2	**	2	1		2
Channel Islands		**				
Other EU 27		**	2	**	2	6
Other Rest of World		**				2
Germany	6		4	1	14	
Spain				**		
Belgium			2		4	
Isle of Man			2			

As a percentage of the total sample at each site. Official overseas statistics unavailable for Hastings and Bosworth.

Key:

      ** below 1%

   (1) Lyn Jones Research – surveys undertaken September/October 2009.

Culloden Question 4 – analysis of answers between overseas and non-overseas respondents

Question 4 Culloden - overseas repondents only

n = 25

Question 4 Culloden - non overseas respondents only

N = 25
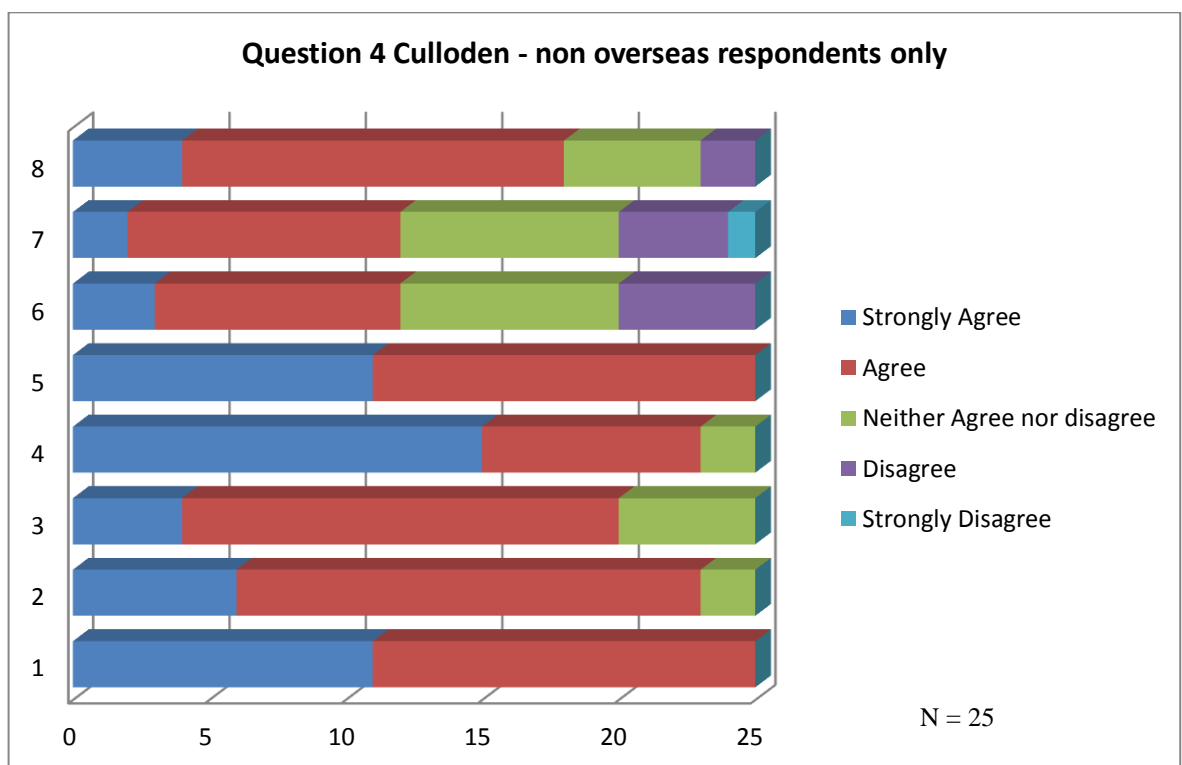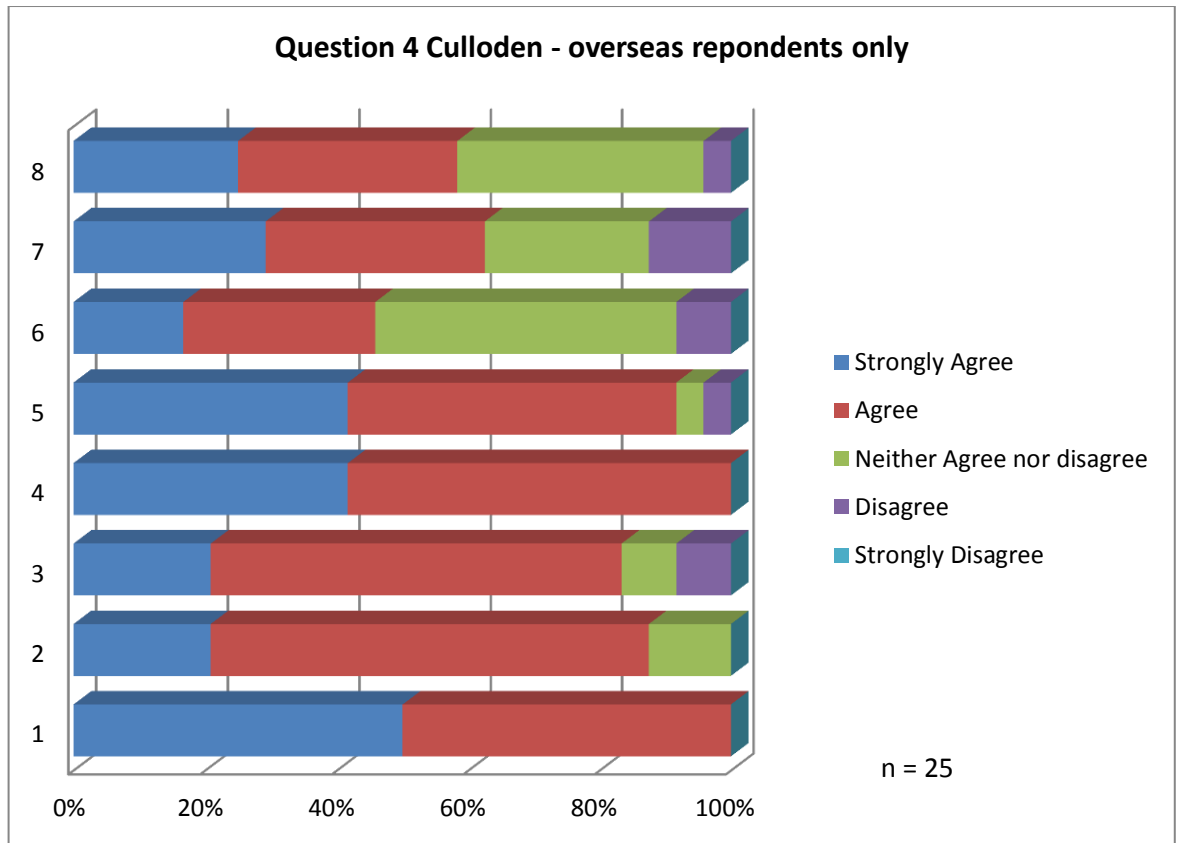
There were some differences in the statement responses:

8 – non-overseas scored higher

7 – overseas were stronger on this statement

4 - there was slightly more disagreement from the non-overseas but they were also stronger on the Strongly Agree category

With the other statements there was no statistically significant disparity between the answers between the two groups.

Appendix H: Category Analysis of Question 5 - example

Category Analysis of Question 5 (Bannockburn): What single words would you use to describe the site?		
1. Emotional/affective	**2. Descriptive**	**3. Thoughtful**
Embarrassed	Rip off	Reverent x 2
Moving	Modern	Justice
Emotional	Contemporary	Resonant
Pride	Historic x 7	Peaceful x 6
Evocative x 2	Commercial	Spiritual
Sad x 4	Beautiful	Thought provoking x 2
Fantastic	Spacious	Experiential
Impressive	Small	Memorable
Evocative	Confined	Disappointing
Depressing	Great	Disconcerting
Amazing x 2	Detailed	Poignant x 3
Underwhelming	Nice x 2	Interesting x 4
Awesome x 3	Mixed	Informative x 3
Disturbing	Very good	Tranquil x 2
Ghostly	Good x 3	Very informative
Emotive	A treasure	Interpretative
Gory	Realistic x 2	Hardship (of people)
Beautiful	Incredible	Patriotic x 2
Fantastic	Superb	Imaginative
Enthralling	Poor	Reflective
Moving x 2	Authentic	Hallowed
Eerie x 2	Exposed	Non-stimulating
Proud	Cold	Still
Emotive	Topographical	Nostalgic
Horrific	Unspoilt	Inspiring x 2
Breathtaking	High (ground)	
35	36	42

Total = 113

APPENDIX I: Questions 15-17 at Culloden, Bosworth and Hastings[52]

Culloden

15. Who was the leader of the Hanoverian army at the battle of Culloden?

   (i)   The Duke of Cumberland
   (ii) Charles Edward Stuart
   (iii) Captain James Wolfe
   (iv) Lord George Murray
   (v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

16. The Jacobites were defeated because:

   (i)   Their leader was taken prisoner
   (ii) They ran out of ammunition
   (iii) They were tired, underfed, badly deployed and out gunned
   (iv) They were betrayed
   (v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

17. The battle of Culloden was fought between:

   (i)   The English and the Scots
   (ii) The Germans and the Italians
   (iii) People from all over Britain
   (iv) The English and the Highlanders
   (v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

---

[52] The questions for Bannockburn are contained in Appendix A.

Bosworth

15. What was the personal emblem of King Richard III?

    (i) The red rose
    (ii) The white boar
    (iii) The red lion
    (iv)The white horse
    (v) Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

16. What was a *halberd*?

    (i)   A sword
    (ii)   A type of harness for a horse
    (iii)   A type of scythe
    (iv)   A pole-type weapon
    (v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

17. Which nobleman changed sides at a decisive moment of the battle?

    (i)   Richard Duke of York
    (ii)   Lord Thomas Stanley
    (iii)   The Earl of Oxford
    (iv)   Polydore Vergil
    (v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

Hastings

15. Who was king of England before Harold Godwinson was elected to the throne in January 1066?

(i)   Cnut
(ii)   Edward the Confessor
(iii)   Aethelred the Unready
(iv)   Tostig
(v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

16. What was a *housecarl*?

(i)   A private servant of the Saxon king
(ii)   An elite Saxon soldier
(iii)   A chronicler attached to the royal household
(iv)   A camp follower
(v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

17. At the end of September 1066 William of Normandy landed at which of the following places?

(i)   Hastings
(ii)   Bexhill
(iii)   Pevensey
(iv)   Folkstone
(v)   Don't know

If correct answer ask if they knew this before today's visit:

Yes	
No	

Appendix J: Analysis of answer categories for questionnaire survey of the historic sites (questions 8 and 18)

		B	Bk	H	C	% of section		% of total (n = 402)
1	History					n	%	
	(i) Magnitude of events	7	1	11	3	22	30.1	
	(ii) A sense of history	1	5	9	8	23	31.5	
	(iii) Importance of battle tactics	5	4	2	-	11	15	
	(iv) Personal history	1	1	1	7	10	13.7	
	(v) Views of foreign visitors	3	1	3	-	7	9.6	
						73	100	**18.2**
2	Nationalistic views	-	14	2	10	**26**	100	**6.5**
3	Realism							
	(i) Authenticity	5	3	4	4	16	26.7	
	(ii) Propinquity and appreciation of location	11	8	10	4	33	55.0	
	(iii) Comments over the size of the battlefield	-	-	8	-	8	13.3	
	(iv) The importance of personal stories	4	-	-	1	1	1.7	
	(v) The importance of artefacts	4	-	-	2	2	3.3	
						60	100	**15.0**
4	Hardships and Horror	9	5	4	8	**26**	100	**6.5**
5	The moral message	5	7	-	-	**7**	100	**1.7**
6	Numinous and spiritual aspects	-	-	7	4	**11**	100	**2.7**
7	Interpretation							
	(i) Audio-visual interpretation	9	7	3	3	22	44.0	
	(ii) Audio-guides	-	-	7	1	8	16.0	
	(iii) Re-enactment	2	-	2	1	5	10.0	
	(iv) The educational value of interpretation	3	5	2	5	15	30.0	
						50	100	**12.4**

Answers not included in the chapter analysis:

		B	Bk	H	C			
8	Interpretation, cont.							
	(i) Positive comments about Visitors' Centre	16	3	1	3	23		
	(ii) Criticism/improvements needed	5	2	3	5	15		
	(iii) Displays appreciated	4	3	-	1	8		
	(iv) Customer Care comments	10	9	8	17	44		
						90	100	**22.4**
9	Comments about quality of the day out	5	6	4	1	**16**	100	**4.0**
10	Will follow up with more	3	-	-	3	**6**	100	**1.5**

	research							
11	Didn't like the site	1	1	3	-	**5**	**100**	**1.2**
12	Didn't have an answer	2	2	-	-	**4**	**100**	**1.0**
13	Other	4	3	4	2	**13**	**100**	**3.2**
Total by site:		120	91	98	93	**402**	**100**	

Percentages in this table do not always add up to 100 due to rounding.

APPENDIX K

SITE MAPS
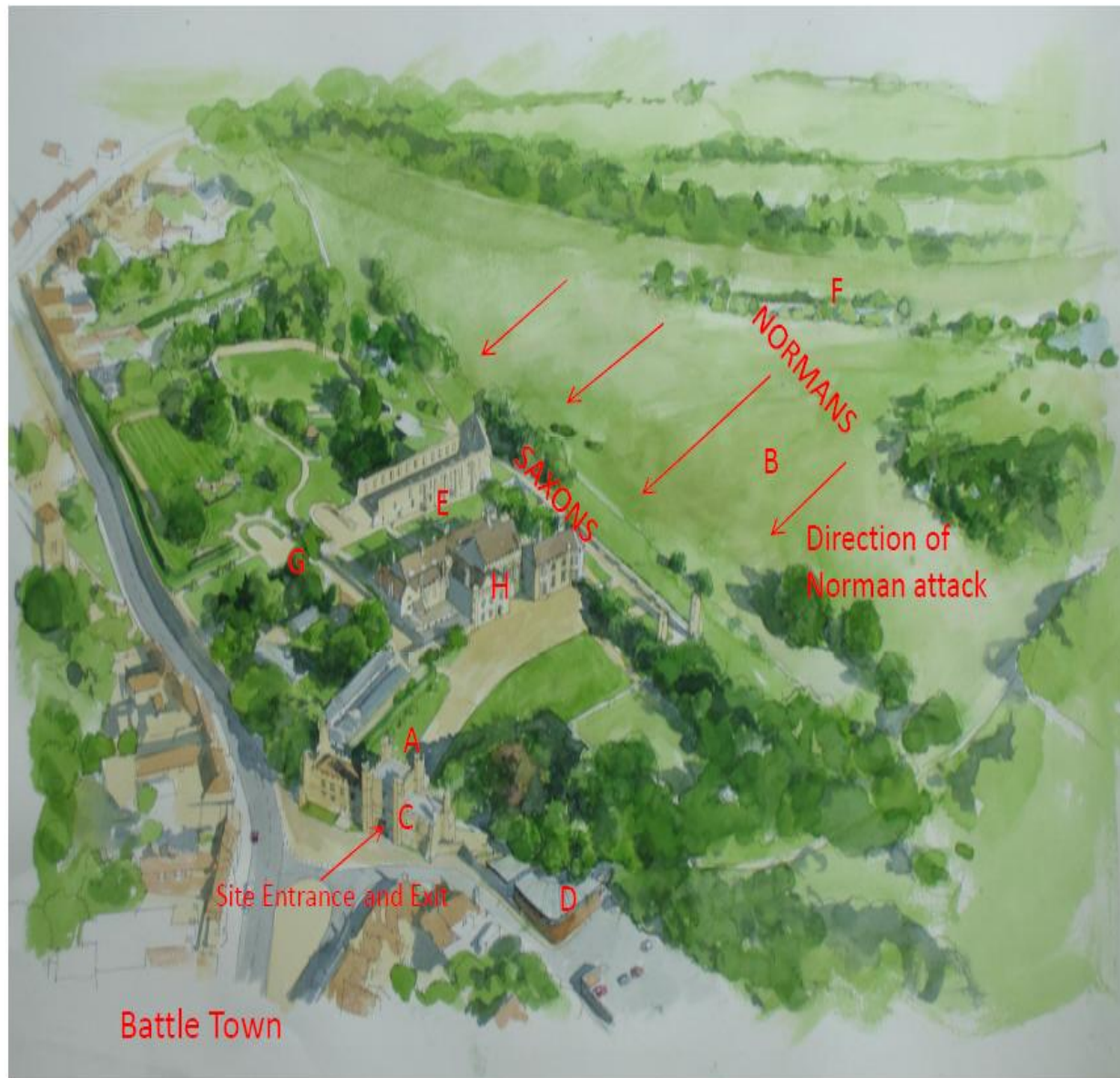
(i) Hastings Site Plan

Hastings Site Plan: Key

A – Location of interviews

B - Battlefield

C – Gate House (Ticket Office, Shop, Museum)

D – Visitor Centre and Restaurant

E – Abbey Buildings

F – Monastic Fish Ponds

G – Site of High Altar

H – Battle Abbey School

Used with the permission of English Heritage

KEY

NTS Boundary

N

C

B

D E A

National Trust for Scotland

TITLE:Bannockburn HC

CPH:

OS GR:

SCALE:1:3,000

DATE:23/04/2010

WORKSPACE:KM
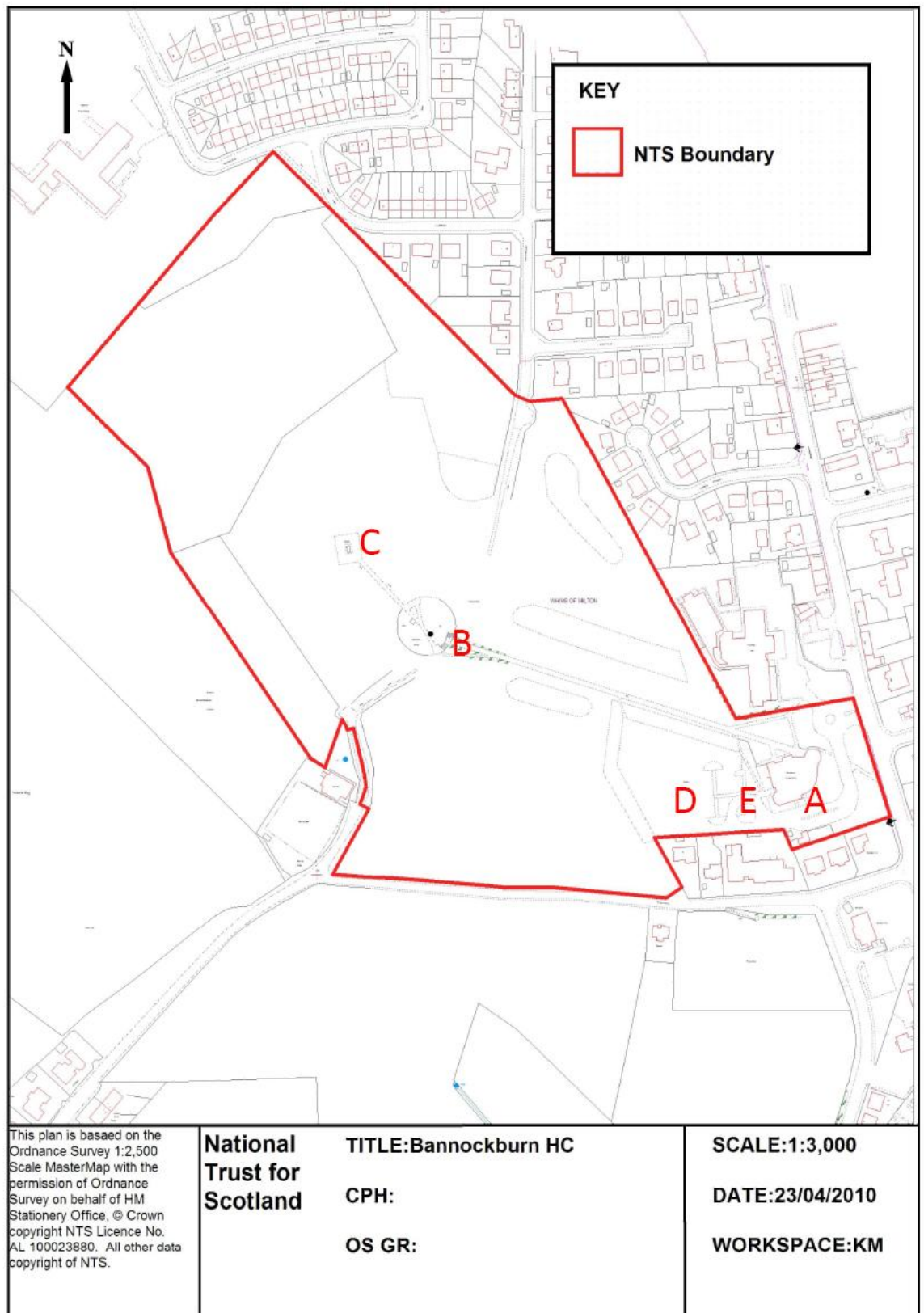
(ii) Bannockburn Site Plan

Bannockburn Site Plan: Key

A – Visitor Centre

B - Rotunda

C – Bruce Statue

D – Car Park

E – Approximate interview location

Used with the permission of the National Trust for Scotland

Bosworth
BATTLEFIELD HERITAGE CENTRE
AND COUNTRY PARK

Sutton Cheney, CV13 0AD
Tel: 01455 290429
Fax: 01455 292841
E-mail: bosworth@leics.gov.uk

WHERE TO FIND US
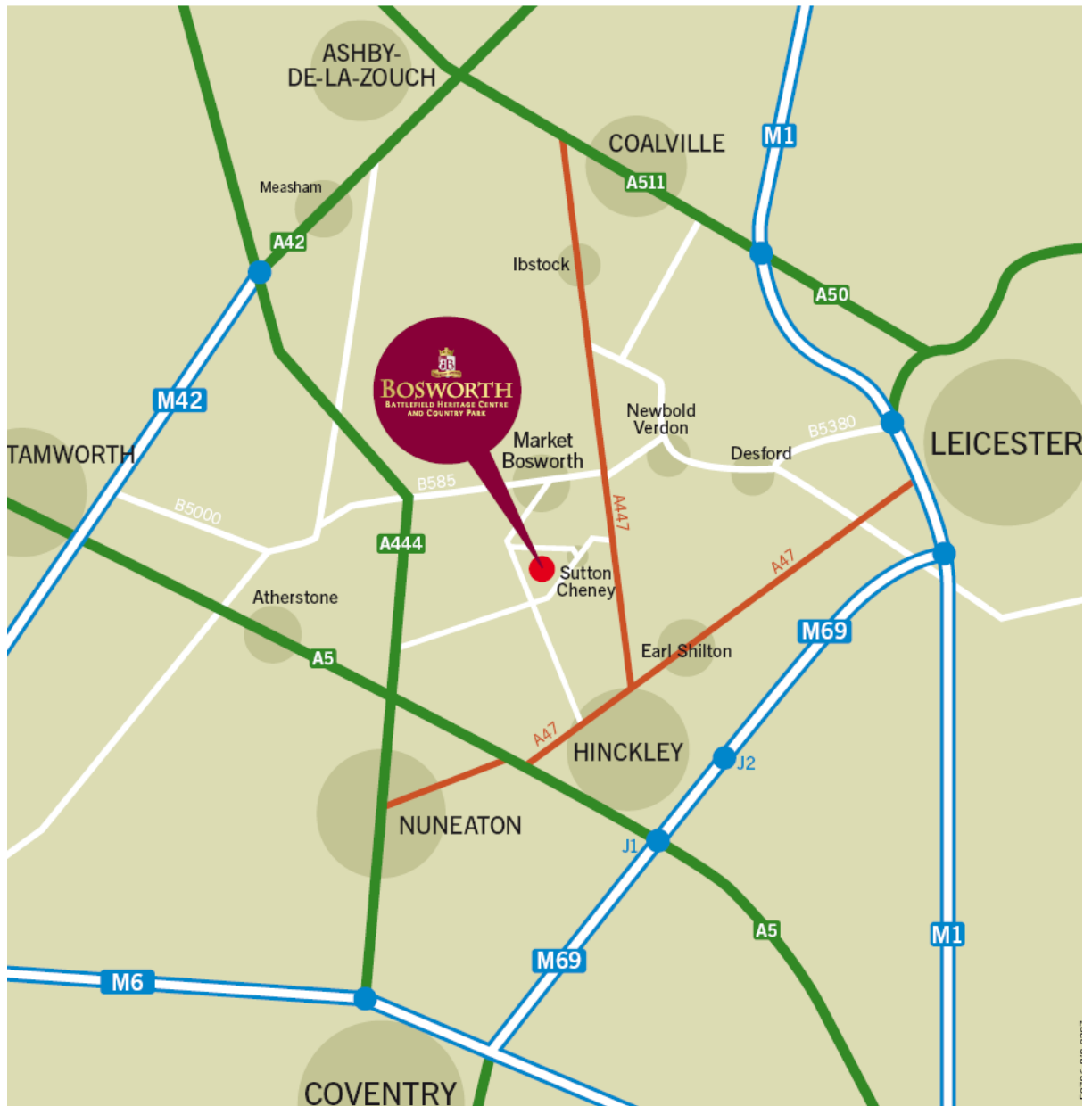
(iii) Bosworth: Regional location map
Bosworth Maps used with the permission of Leicestershire County Council

Bosworth
BATTLEFIELD HERITAGE CENTRE
AND COUNTRY PARK

Sutton Cheney, CV13 0AD
Tel: 01455 290429
Fax: 01455 292841
E-mail: bosworth@leics.gov.uk
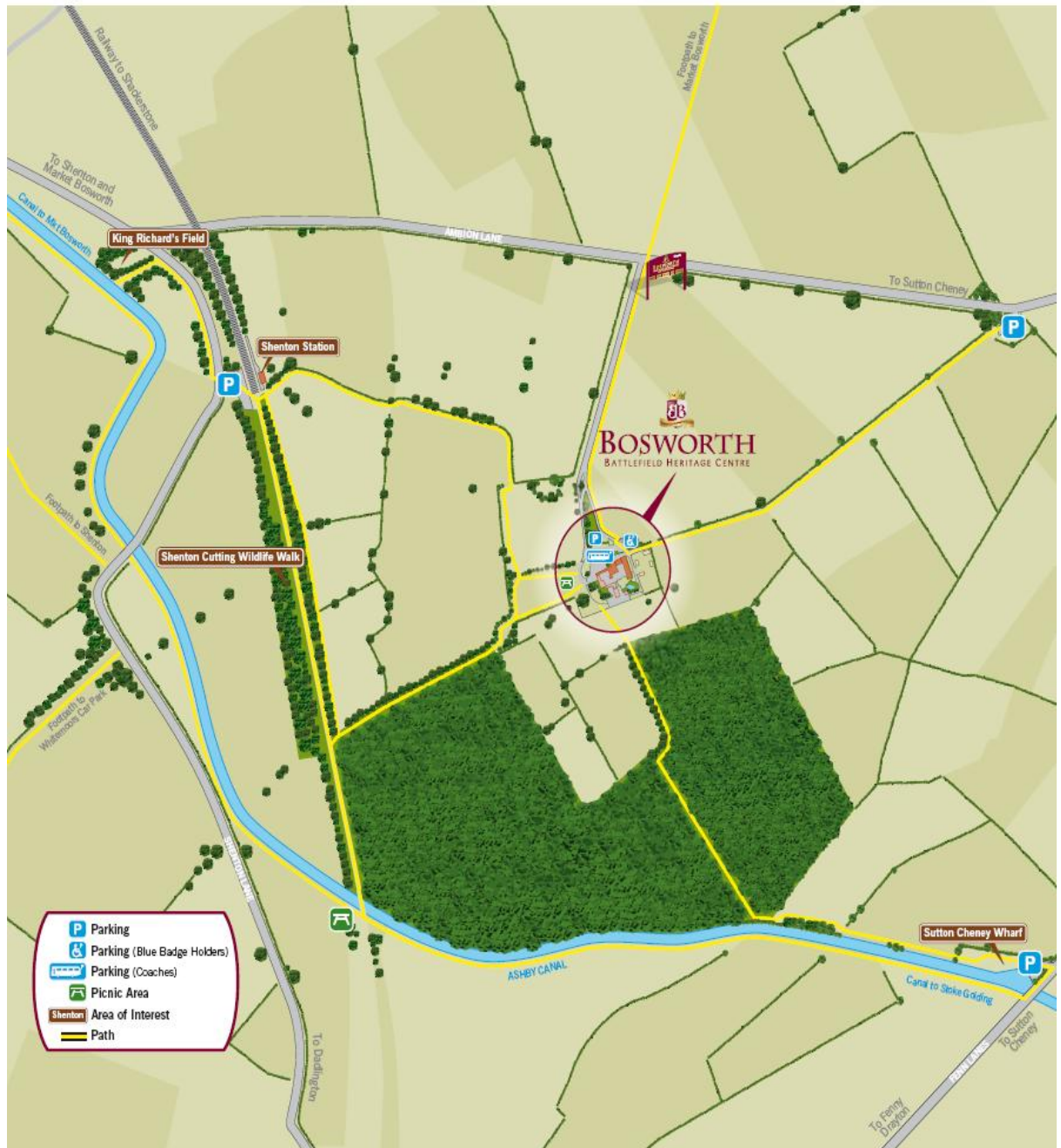
SITE MAP

(iv) Bosworth: Site Map

SITE MAP:
HERITAGE CENTRE

Fire assembly point

Heritage Centre Main Entrance

Heritage Room

Tithe Barn Restaurant

Ambion Parva
Medieval Village

Coach Parking Only

Exhibition

Shop

Ticket Office Entrance

Wildlife Pond

Path

(v) Bosworth: Site Map - detail
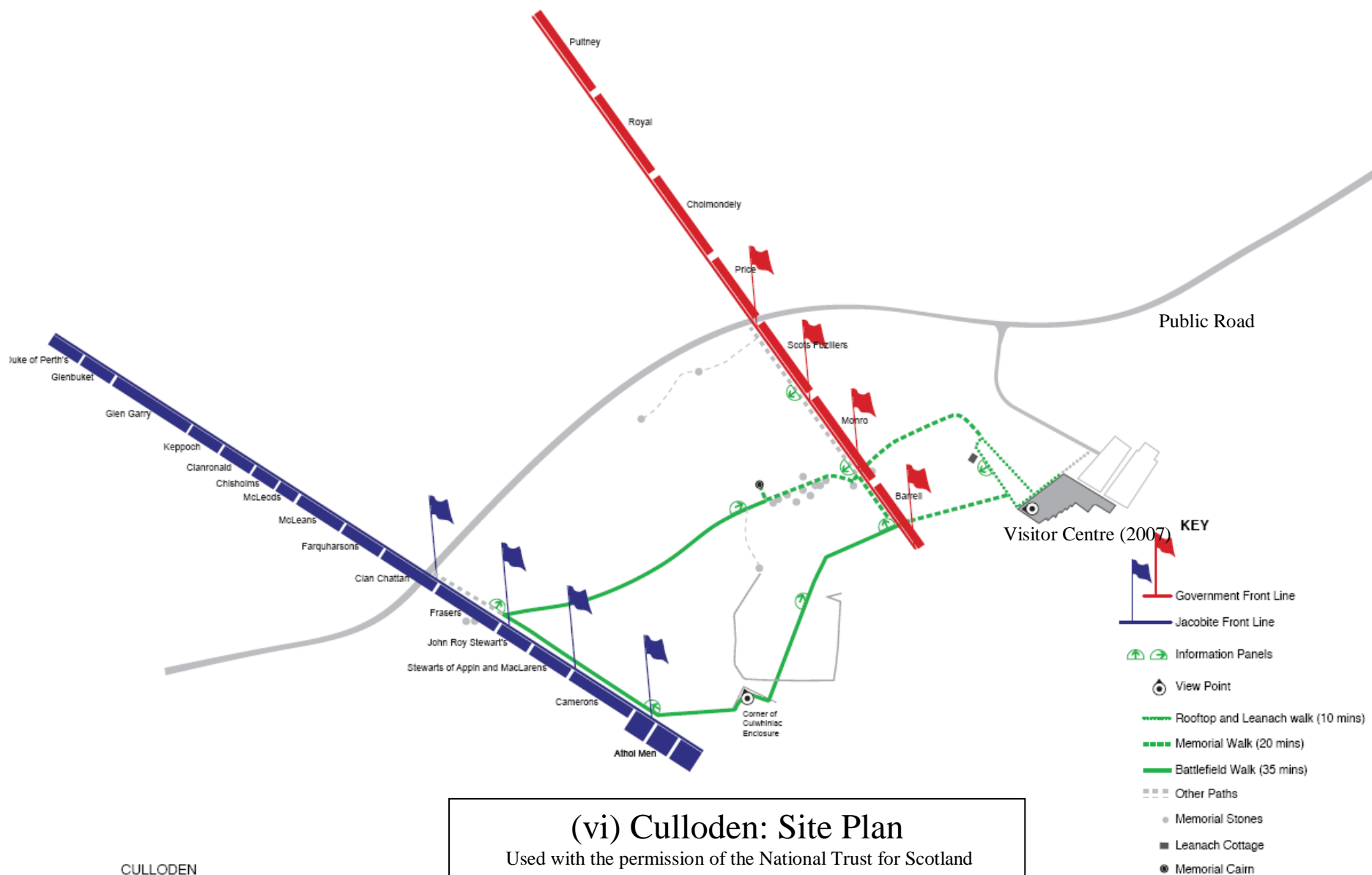
(vi) Culloden: Site Plan

Used with the permission of the National Trust for Scotland

Pultney

Royal

Cholmondely

Price

Scots Fuziliers

Public Road

Monro

Duke of Perth's

Glenbuket

Glen Garry

Keppoch

Clanronald

Chisholms

McLeods

McLeans

Barrell

Farquharsons

Clan Chattan

Visitor Centre (2007)

Frasers

John Roy Stewart's

Stewarts of Appin and MacLarens

Camerons

Corner of Culwhiniac Enclosure

Athol Men

KEY

Government Front Line

Jacobite Front Line

Information Panels

View Point

Rooftop and Leanach walk (10 mins)

Memorial Walk (20 mins)

Battlefield Walk (35 mins)

Other Paths

Memorial Stones

Leanach Cottage

Memorial Cairn

CULLODEN
BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL PROJECT

References

The Abbotsford Trust (undated) *Abbotsford: The Home of Sir Walter Scott*. Melrose.

Acherson, N. (2002) *Stone Voices: The Search for Scotland.* London, Granta.

Adams, M. (2002) *Echoes of War: a Thousand Years of Military History in Popular Culture.* Kentucky, University Press of Kentucky.

Alderman, D.H. (2008) Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes. In: Graham, B. & Howard, P. (eds.) *Heritage and Identity*. Ashgate, pp. 195-213.

Allcock, J.B. (1993) Kosovo: The Heavenly and Earthly Crown. In: Reader, I. & Walter, T. (eds.) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*. Basingstoke, MacMillan, pp. 157-178.

Anderson, H. & Robinson, M. (eds.) (2002) *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts.* London, Continuum.

Anon., (1832) *Scottish tourist and itinerary being a guide to the scenery and antiquities of Scotland and the western Islands.* Edinburgh, Stirling and Kenney.

Anon., (2007) *National Trust in row over Culloden tapestry*. The Herald. 23 November. Available from: http://findarticles.com/p/news-articles/herald-the-glasgow-uk/mi_8039/is_20071123/national-trust-row-culloden-tapestry/ai_n46723647/ [last accessed 2 February 2010].

Argyrous, G. (2005) *Statistics For Research*. London, Sage.

Ariely, D. & Norton, M.I. (2009) Conceptual Consumption. Annual Review of Psychology, 60, pp. 475-99.

Arrian (1958 translation) *The Campaigns of Alexander.* Harmondsworth, Penguin. [Translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt].

Ashworth, G. & Hartmann, R. (eds.) (2005) *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism.* New York, Cognizant.

Bachrach, B.S. (1999) The Feigned Retreat at Hastings. In: Morillo, S. (ed.) *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations*. Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, pp. 189-94.

Baldwin, F. & Sharpley, R. (2009) Battlefield Tourism: Bringing Organised Violence Back to Life. In: Sharpley, R. & Stone, P.R. (eds.) *The Darker Side of Travel: the Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism.* Bristol, Channel View, pp. 186-206.

Ballard, S. (2000) *Rudolf Otto and the Synthesis of the Rational and the Non-Rational in the Idea of the Holy*. Theion: Annual for Religious Culture No. XII, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang.

Barker, J. (2005) *Agincourt: The King, the Campaign, the Battle*. Little, Brown & Company.

Barrow, S. (2008) Keeping It Real: Is Authenticity a Fad or the Future? (Tourism Insights). Available from: http://www.insights.org.uk/articleitem.aspx?title=Keeping+It+Real%3a+Is+Authenticity+a+Fad+or+the+Future%3f [last accessed 2 June 2011].

Bath, B. (2006) The Use of New Technology in the Interpretation of Historic Landscapes. In: Helms, A. & Blockley, M. (eds.) *Heritage Interpretation*. London, Routledge, pp. 163-72.

Battlefields Trust, The (undated) *UK Battlefields Resource Centre: UK Battlefields*. Battlefields Trust. Available from: http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/resource-centre/battlefieldsuk/ [last accessed 1 March 2010].

Battlefields Trust, The (2006) *Bannockburn Battlefield Report Text*. Battlefields Trust. Available from: http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/media/672.pdf [last accessed 15 January 2010].

Baudrillard, J. (1981) *For a Critique of the Economy of the Sign*. St Louis, Telos.

Baudrillard, J. (1994) *Simulacra and Simulation*. University of Michigan Press

Beck, L. & Cable, T. (2002) *Interpretation for the 21st Century. Fifteen Guiding Principles for Interpreting Nature and Culture.* 2nd ed. Urbana, IL, Sagamore Publishing.

Bell, P.A. , Greene, T.C., Fisher, J.D. & Baum, A. (2001) *Environmental Psychology*. 5th ed. Harcourt.

Bender, B. (1993) Stonehenge – contested landscapes (medieval to present-day). In: Bender, B. (ed.) *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Oxford, Berg, pp. 245-80.

Benjamin, W. (1999) *Illuminations.* Pimlico.

Bennett, M. (1993 [1985]) *The Battle of Bosworth.* New York, St. Martin's Press.

Berlyne, D.E. (1962) New Directions in Motivation Theory. In: Gladwin, T. & Sturtevant, W.T. (eds.) *Anthropology and Human Behaviour*. Washington DC, Anthropological Society of Washington.

Bogle, K.R. (2004) *Scotland's Common Ridings*. Tempus.

Boorstin, D.J. (1964) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America.* New York, Atheneum.

Borg, A. (1990) Some Medieval War Memorials. In: Fernie, E. & Crossley, P. (eds.) *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson.* London, The Hambledon Press, pp. 1-7.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York, Greenwood, pp. 241-258.

Brander, M. (1975) *Scottish and Border Battles and Ballads*. London, Seeley Service.

Brown, R.L. (1973) *Robert Burns's Tours of the Highlands and Stirlingshire, 1787*. Ipswich, Boydell.

Brunsden, G.M. (1999) Aspects of Scotland's Social, Political and Cultural Scene in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as mirrored in the Wallace and Bruce Tradition. In: Cowan, E.J. & Gifford, D. (eds.) *The Polar Twins*: *Scottish History and Scottish Literature.* Edinburgh, John Donald, pp. 75-113.

Butler, R.W. (1980) The concept of the tourist area life-cycle of evolution: implications for management of resources. <u>The Canadian Geographer,</u> 24 (1), pp. 5-12.

Butler, R.W. (2011) Tourism Area Life Cycle. <u>Contemporary Tourism Reviews,</u> Goodfellow Publications. Available from: http://www.ibtcl.co.uk/web_documents/toursim_area_life_cycle_original.pdf [last accessed 20 February 2012].

Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Burns, P.M. & Holden, A. (1995) *Tourism: A new perspective*. Harlow, Prentice Hall.

Calder, J. (1990) *Scotland in Trust*. Glasgow, Drew.

Cameron, S. (1999) Keeping the Customer Satisfied: Barbour's Bruce and the Phantom Division at Bannockburn. In: Cowan, E.J. & Gifford, D. (eds.) *The Polar Twins*: *Scottish History and Scottish Literature.* Edinburgh, John Donald, pp. 61-74.

Cameron C.M. & Gatewood, J.B. (2000) Excursions into the Un-Remembered Past: What People Want from Visits to Historical Sites. <u>The Public Historian,</u> 22 (3), pp. 107-27.

Cameron C.M. & Gatewood, J.B. (2003) Seeking Numinous Experiences in the Un-Remembered Past. <u>Ethnology,</u> 42 (1), pp. 55-71.

Carman, J. & Carman, P. (2006) *Bloody Meadows: Investigating Landscapes of Battle*. Thrupp, Sutton.

Carnegie, E. & McCabe, S. (2008) Re-enactment Events and Tourism: Meaning, Authenticity and Identity. <u>Current Issues in Tourism</u>, 11 (4), pp. 349-368.

Carruthers, M.J. (2008) *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture.* 2nd ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

CEBR (2007) *Main technical report: Attending heritage sites (A quantitative analysis of data from the English Heritage Taking Part Survey)*. London, Centre for Economics and Business Research.

Cheong, R. (1995) The virtual threat to travel and tourism. <u>Tourism Management</u>, 16 (6), pp. 417-422.

Child, F.J. (1898) *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Boston.

Chronis, A. (2005) Co-constructing heritage at the Gettysburg storyscape. <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u>, 32 (2) April, pp. 386-406.

Cohen, E. (1985) The Tourist Guide: The Origins, Structure and Dynamics of a Role. Annals of Tourism Research, 12 (1), pp. 5–29.

Comité du Tourism de la Somme (2010) *Evolution de la fréquentation des lieux de visites de la Somme: 2008/2009/2010* [unpublished chart].

Committee of Scottish Clearing Bankers, The (undated) *Current Banknotes: Clydesdale Bank.* Available from: http://www.scotbanks.org.uk/banknotes_current_clydesdale_bank.php [last accessed 24 January 2010].

Commonwealth War Graves Commission (undated) *Menin Gate Memorial*. Available from http://www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_details.aspx?cemetery=91800&mode=1 [last accessed 7 October 2011].

Cooper, C., Fletcher, J., Gilbert, D. & Wanhill, S. (1999) *Tourism: Principles and Practice*. Harlow, Pearson.

Cooper, M. (2006) The Pacific War Battlefields: Tourist Attractions or War Memorials. International Journal of Tourism Research, 8 (3), pp. 213-222.

Copping, J. (2009) Search on for 'lost' battlefields of England. The Daily Telegraph, 4 April.

Cowan, E.J. & Paterson, M. (2007) *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage 1750-1850*. Edinburgh, John Donald.

Crouch, D. & Lübbren, N. (eds.) (2003) *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford, Berg.

Crouch, D., Thompson, F. and Jackson, R. (eds.) (2005) *The Media and the Tourist Imagination: Converging Cultures.* London, Routledge.

Csíkszentmihályi, M. (1975) *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety*. San Francisco, Jossey Bass.

Dann, G. and Jacobsen, J.K.S. (2003) Tourism and Smellscapes. Tourism Geographies, 5 (1), pp. 3-25.

Daugberg, M. (2009) Pacifying War Heritage: Patterns of Cosmopolitan Nationalism at a Danish Battlefield Site. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 15 (5) September, pp. 431-446.

Davis, P. (2011) *Ecomuseums – a sense of place*. London, Continuum.

DCMS, (2011) *Taking Part: The National Survey of Culture, Leisure and Sport. (Jan-Dec 2010 Statistical Release).* London, Department for Culture, Media and Sport.

De Groot, J. (2008) *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Routledge.

De Groot, J. (2011) Affect and empathy: re-enactment and performance as/in history. Rethinking History, 15 (4) December, pp. 587–599.

Deloitte MCS. (2010) *The economic contribution of the Visitor Economy: UK and the nations*. Deloitte MCS.

Duby, G. (1990) *The Legend of Bouvines: War, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages.* Cambridge, Polity.

Duffy, C. (2003) *The '45: Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Untold Story of the Jacobite Rising.* London, Cassel.

Dunkley, R., Morgan, N. & Westwood, S. (2010) Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. Tourism Management, 32 (4) August, pp. 860-868.

Dunn, J.C. (1988) *The War the Infantry Knew: A Chronicle of Service in France and Belgium.* London, Abacus.

Durie, A. (2003) *Scotland for the Holidays*. Edinburgh, Tuckwell.

Eco, U. (1986) *Travels in Hyper-reality*. London, Harvest.

Edelman, C. (1992) *Brawl Ridiculous: Swordfighting in Shakespeare's Plays.* Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Edensor, T. (2000) Staging tourism: Tourist as performers. Annals of Tourism Research, 27 (2), pp. 322-344.

Edensor, T. (2001) Performing tourism, staging tourism: (re)producing tourist space and practice. Tourist Studies, 1 (1), pp. 59-81.

Edensor, T. (2005) Mediating William Wallace: Audio-visual technologies in tourism. In: Crouch, D., Jackson, R. & Thompson, F. (eds.) *The Media and the Tourist Imagination: Converging Cultures.* Abingdon, Routledge, pp. 105-18.

Eliade, M. (1958) *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. London, Sheed and Ward.

Elton, G.R. (1992) *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government: Volume 4, Papers and Reviews, 1982-1990*. London, Cambridge University Press.

English Heritage (undated) *Registered Battlefields. Available from* http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/caring/listing/battlefields/ [last accessed 21 September 2011].

English Heritage (1995a) *English Heritage Battlefield Report: Bosworth 1485.* Available from http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/a-e/bosworth.pdf [last accessed 18 September 2011].

English Heritage (1995b) *English Heritage Battlefield Report: Flodden 1513.* Available from http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/f-j/flodden.pdf [last accessed 18 September 2011].

English Heritage (2007) *Battle Abbey and Battlefield* (Guidebook). London, English Heritage.

English Heritage (2010) *Heritage at Risk 2010. Available* from http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/har-2010-report/HAR-report-2010.pdf [last accessed 21 September 2011].

Farmer, S. (2000) *Martyred Village: Commemorating the 1944 Massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane*. University of California Press.

Fengqi, Q. (2009) Let the dead be remembered: interpretation of the Nanjing Massacre memorial. In: Logan, W. & Reeves, K. (eds.) *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'.* London, Routledge, pp. 17-33.

Ferguson, N.N. (2008) Platforms of Reconciliation? Issues in the Management of Battlefield Heritage in the Republic of Ireland. In: Pollard, T. & Banks, I. (eds.) *Scorched Earth: Studies in the Archaeology of Conflict*. Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers, pp. 79-94.

Fine, E. & Haskell, J. (1985) Tour Guide Performance as Site Sacralisation. Annals of Tourism Research, 12 (1), pp. 73-95.

Fleming, D. (2008) *Day of symbolism at Boyne site*. BBC News on-line available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/7386906.stm [last accessed 16 April 2009].

Foard, G. (2004) *Bosworth Battlefield: A Reassessment*. Leicestershire County Council. Available from http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/media/584.pdf [last accessed 30 March 2009].

Foard, G. (2009) Finding Bosworth.... Battlefield: The Haunted Acres, 14 (4) Winter, pp. 9-11.

Foard, G. (2010) Bosworth Rediscovered. BBC History Magazine, 11 (3) March, pp. 23-30.

Foard, G. & Partida, T (2005) *Scotland's Historic Fields of Conflict: An Assessment for Historic Scotland.* The Battlefields Trust. Available from: http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/media/660.pdf [last accessed 24 January 2010).

Foss, P. J. (1990) *The Field of Redesmore: The Battle of Bosworth, 1485*. Leeds.

Foys, M.K., Overbey, K.E. & Terkla, D. (eds.) (2009) The *Bayeux Tapestry: New Interpretations*. Boydell Press.

Fraser, A.H. & Brown, M. (2007) Mud, Blood and Missing Men: Excavations at Serre, Somme, France. In: Pollard, T. & Banks, I. (eds.) *Scorched Earth: Studies in the Archaeology of Conflict*. Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers.

Fussell, P. (2000) *The Great War and Modern Memory.* 25th Anniversary Edition. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Gairdner, J. (1896) The Battle of Bosworth. Archaeologia, 55 January, pp. 159-181.

Gapps, S. (2009) Mobile monuments: A view of historical reenactments and authenticity from inside the costume cupboard of history. Rethinking History, 13 (3) September, pp. 395-409.

Garden, M. (2009) The Heritagescape: looking at heritage sites. In: Sørenson, M.L. & Carman, J. (eds.) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. Routledge, pp. 270-291.

Garrod, B., Fyall, A. & Leask, A. (2002) Scottish visitor attractions: managing visitor impact. Tourism Management, 23 (3) June, pp. 265-279.

Gatewood, J.B. & Cameron C.M. (2004) Battlefield Pilgrims at Gettysburg Military Park. Ethnology, 43 (3), pp. 193-216.

Geertz, C. (1993) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays.* London, Fontana.

Gerald of Wales (1978 translation) The Description of Wales in *The Journey Through Wales/ The Description of Wales.* Harmondsworth, Penguin. [Translated by Lewis Thorpe].

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge, Polity.

Giles, H. (2009) *A Brief History of Re-enactment*. Available from http://www.eventplan.co.uk/history_of_reenactment.htm [last accessed 3 September 2010].

Gillen, S.E. (2001) *A moving experience?: investigating the social significance of emotion in tourism.* Unpublished dissertation: MA in Tourism and Leisure, Lancaster University.

Gold, J.R. & Gold, M.M. (1995) *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish tourism since 1750.* Aldershot, Scolar.

Gold, J.R. & Gold, M.M. (2003) Representing Culloden: Social Memory, Battlefield Heritage and Landscapes of Regret. In: Hanna, S.P. & Del Casino, V.J. (eds.) *Mapping Tourism*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 108-131.

Gold, J.R. & Gold, M.M. (2007) *"The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders": Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden.* History & Memory, 19 (1) Spring/Summer, pp. 5-38

Graburn, N.H.H. (1989) Tourism: The Sacred Journey. In: Smith, V.L. (ed.) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 17-31.

Gravett, C. (1999) *Bosworth 1485: The Last Charge of the Plantaganets*. Osprey.

Grenier, K.H. (2005) *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia.* Aldershot, Ashgate.

Groome, F.H. (1882) *Gazetter of Scotland.* (6 Volumes) Available from http://www.gazetteerofscotland.org.uk/ [last accessed 24 January 2010].

Guttentag, D.A. (2010) Virtual reality: Applications and implications for tourism. <u>Tourism Management</u>, 31 (5) October, pp. 637-651.

Hallam, E.M. (1985) *Monasteries as 'War Memorials': Battle Abbey and La Victoire.* <u>Studies in Church History,</u> 20, pp. 47-57.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1994) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. 2nd ed. Routledge.

Hammond, P. (2010) *Richard III and the Bosworth Campaign*. Barnsley, Pen and Sword.

Hawkins, J. (1996) *Imperial '45: The Jacobite Rebellion in Transatlantic Context*. <u>The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History</u>, 24 (1) January, pp. 24-47.

Haycock, R.G. (2005) The Relevance and Role of the Battlefield Tour and the Staff Ride for Armed Forces in the 21st Century. <u>Defence Studies</u>, 5 (1), pp. 5-14.

Heritage Lottery Fund (2001) *Developing New Audiences for the Heritage: Research Study for Heritage Lottery Fund Final Report.* PLB Consulting Ltd.

Heritage Lottery Fund (2010) *Investing in Success: Heritage and the UK tourism economy.* London, HLF. Available from <u>http://www.hlf.org.uk/aboutus/howwework/Documents/HLF_Tourism_Impact_single.pdf</u> [last accessed 07 October 2011].

Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London, Methuen.

Hicks, C. (2007) *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Life Story of a Masterpiece*. London, Vintage.

Historic Scotland (undated) *Inventory of Historic Battlefields*. Edinburgh, Historic Scotland. Available from <u>http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/index/heritage/battlefields/battlefieldsunderconsideration.htm</u> [last accessed 29 March 2011].

Historic Scotland (2009) *Scottish Historic Environment Policy.* Edinburgh, Historic Scotland. Available from <u>http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/index/heritage/policy/shep.htm</u> [last accessed 16 October 2009].

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1998) *On History*. London, Abacus.

Holguín, S. (2005) "National Spain Invites You": Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War. <u>American Historical Review</u>, 110 (5) December, pp 1399-1426.

Holmes, R. (1997) *War Walks: From Agincourt to Normandy*. BBC Books.

Holmes, R. (1999) *The Western Front*. BBC Books.

Holtorf, C.J. (2008) Is the Past a Non-Renewable Resource? In: Fairclough, G., Harrison, R., Jameson, J.H. and Schofield, J. (eds.) *The Heritage Reader*. Routledge, pp. 125-133.

Horwitz, T. (1998) *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War.* New York, Pantheon.

Howarth, D. (1992) *Waterloo: A Guide to the Battlefield*. Norwich, Jarrold.

Hutcheon P. & Gordon, T. (2009) It was the battle which sent the English home to think again ... now Alex Salmond wants it at the heart of Homecoming 2014. The Herald Scotland, 13 September. Available from http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/it-was-the-battle-which-sent-the-english-home-to-think-again-now-alex-salmond-wants-it-at-the-heart-of-homecoming-2014-1.919556 [Last accessed 14 January 2010].

Hutton, E. (1914) *England of My Heart: Spring*. London, J. M. Dent & Sons.

Iles, J. (2008) Encounters in the Fields – Tourism to the Battlefields of the Western Front. Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 6 (2), pp. 138-154.

Jones, S. (2004) *Early Medieval Sculpture and the Production of Meaning, Value and Place: the Case of Hilton of Cadboll.* Edinburgh, Historic Scotland Ancient Monuments Division.

Keesing, R. (1984) Rethinking mana. Journal of Anthropological Research, 40 (1), pp. 137-156.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1999) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage.* Berkeley, University of California Press.

Kirwan, J. (2005) *Sublimity: The Non-Rational and the Irrational in the History of Aesthetics*. Routledge.

Landsberg, A. (2004) *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture.* Columbia University Press.

Latham, K. (2007) The poetry of the Museum: A Holistic Model of Numinous Museum Experiences. Museum Management and Curatorship, 22 (3), pp. 247-263.

Lennon, J. & Foley, M. (2000) *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. London, Cassel.

Leopold, T. (2007) A Proposed Code of Conduct for War Heritage Sites. In: Ryan, C. (ed.) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation*. Oxford, Elsevier.

Light, D. (1995) Heritage as Informal Education. In: Herbert, D. T. (ed.) *Heritage, Tourism and Society.* London, Mansell.

Linenthal, E. T. (1991) *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press.

Lloyd, D. W. (1998) *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1919-1939*. New York.

Logan, W. & Reeves, K. (eds.) (2009) *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'*. London, Routledge.

Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

MacCannell, D. (1999) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. 3rd ed. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Mackie, J. D. (1952) *The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Macky, J. (1722) *A Journey through England and Scotland*. London, Pemberton.

MacLeod, D.V.L. & Carrier, J.G. (2010) Tourism, Power and Culture: Insights from Anthropology. In: MacLeod, D.V.L. & Carrier, J.G. (eds.) *Tourism, Power and Culture: Anthropological Insights*, Bristol, Channel View.

MacSween, A. (2001) Preserving Scotland's battlefields: powers, practices and possibilities. In: Freeman, P.W.M. & Pollard, A. (eds.) *Fields of Conflict: Progress and Prospect in Battlefield Archaeology*. BAR International Series 958.

McArthur, C. (1994) 'Culloden: a pre-emptive strike?' <u>Scottish Affairs</u>, 9, pp. 97–126.

McArthur, C. (2003) *Brigadoon, Braveheart and the Scots*. London, I.B. Tauris.

McCalman, I. & Pickering, P.A. (2010) *Historical re-enactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn.* Basingstoke, MacMillan.

McClanahan, A. (2004) *The Heart of Neolithic Orkney in its Contemporary Contexts: Report on the Orkney World Heritage Sites and Community Study*. Unpublished report prepared for Historic Scotland.

McCrone, D, Morris, A. & Kiely, R. (1995) *Scotland - the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage.* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

McIntosh, A. & Prentice, R.C. (1999) Affirming Authenticity: Consuming Cultural Heritage. <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u>, 26 (3), pp. 589-610.

McLean, F., Garden, M & Urquhart, G. (2007) Romanticising Tragedy: Culloden battle site in Scotland. In: Ryan, C. (ed.) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation.* Oxford, Elsevier.

McLynn, F.J. (1999) *1066: The Year of the Three Battles*. Pimlico

McNeil, R. & Morrison, E. (2006) BPP Honours English Heritage…A Towton Battlefield report. <u>Nationalist Week,</u> 90, 27th March.

Maines R.P. & Glynn J.J. (1993) Museum Collection Policy: Numinous Objects. <u>The Public Historian</u>, 15 (1) Winter, pp.9-25.

Maitland, S. (2008) *A Book of Silence*. Granta.

Marcuse, H. (2005) Reshaping Dachau for Visitors: 1933-2000. In: Ashworth, G. & Hartmann, R. (eds.) *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism.* Cognizant, New York, pp. 118-148.

Masberg, B.A. & Silverman, L.H. (1996) Visitor experiences at Heritage Sites: A Phenomenological Approach. Journal of Travel Research, 34 (4), pp. 20-25.

Maslow, A. (1984) *Motivation and Personality*. New York, Harper.

Masson, E. & Harden, J. (2009) Drumossie Moor: Memorialisation, Development and Restoration in an Evolving Historic Landscape. In: Pollard, T. (ed.) *Culloden: The History and Archaeology of the Last Clan Battle.* Barnsley, Pen and Sword, pp. 203-217.

Mee, A. (1937) *Sussex.* (The King's England Series). London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Merriman, N. (1991) *Beyond the glass case: the past, the heritage and the public in Britain*. Leicester, Leicester University Press.

Middleton, V. (2005) *British Tourism: The Remarkable Story of Growth*. Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann.

Miles, R.S. (1986) Museum Audiences. International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship, 5 (1), pp. 73-80

Miles, W.F.S. (2002) Auschwitz: Museum Interpretation and Darker Tourism. Annals of Tourism Research, 29 (4), pp. 1175-1178.

Millar, S. (1999) Co-ordination, co-operation and collaboration: operations management – the neglected heritage profession. Interpretation Journal, 4 (3).

Milloy, R.G. (1997) *An Investigation into visitor behaviour towards heritage interpretation at the battlefield sites of Bosworth.* Unpublished thesis: MSc in European Leisure Resource Management. Swansea Institute of Higher Education.

Misiura, S. (2006) *Heritage Marketing*. Oxford, Elsevier.

Mitchell, J. (1996) Scotland in the Union, 1945-95: The Changing Nature of the Union State. In: Devine, T.M. & Finlay, R.J. *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*. Edinburgh University Press.

Mitchell, R. (2000) *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image, 1830-1870.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Morgan, E. (2004) *Metrum de praelio apud Bannockburn* (by Robert Baston) Edinburgh, Scottish Poetry Library.

Morgan, P. (2000) The Naming of Battlefields in the Middle Ages. In: Dunn, D. *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*. Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press, pp. 34-52.

Morillo, S. (ed.) (1999) *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations.* Woodbridge, The Boydell Press.

Moscardo, G.M. (1988) *Visitor studies at the Gallipoli and Sinai galleries, Australian War Memorial*. Townsville, James Cook University.

Mosse, G. L. (1990) *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World War.* New York, Oxford University Press.

Mottram, R.H. (1936) *Journey to the Western Front Twenty Years After*. London, G. Bell & Son.

National Trust (undated) *Time Line*. Available from http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-trust/w-thecharity/w-history_trust-timeline.htm [last accessed 12 September 2011].

National Trust for Scotland (undated a) *Bannockburn* (site guide). Edinburgh, NTS.

National Trust for Scotland (undated b) Culloden website. Available at: http://www.nts.org.uk/Culloden/PPF/WhatsNew/ [Last accessed 6 April 2011].

National Trust for Scotland (2007) *Cùil Lodair/ Culloden Site Guide*. Edinburgh, NTS.

Otto, R. (1923) *The Idea of the Holy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Oubré, A.Y. (1997) *Instinct and Revelation: Reflections on the Origins of Numinous Perception.* London, Routledge.

Palmer, C. (2001) Ethnography: A Research Method in Practice. International Journal of Tourism Research, 3 (4), pp. 301-312.

Patton, M. Q. (2002) *Qualitative Research Methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Pearce, P. (1993) Fundamentals of tourist motivation. In: Pearce, P. & Butler, W. (eds.) *Tourism and Research: critiques and challenges*. London, Routledge, pp. 113-134.

Pearce, P. (2005) *Tourist Behaviour: Themes and Conceptual Schemes*. Clevedon, Channel View.

Pearce, P. & Moscardo, G.M. (1986) The concept of authenticity in tourist experiences. Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 22 (1), pp. 121-132.

Pfaffenberger, B. (1983) Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists: The Chimera of Tourism in the Pilgrimages of Sri Lanka. Annals of Tourism Research, 10 (1), pp. 57-74.

Piccini, A. (2007) *A Survey of Heritage Television Viewing Figures*. (Issue 1) Council For British Archaeology and the University of Bristol.

Piekarz, M. (2007a) It's just a bloody field! Approaches, opportunities and dilemmas of interpreting English battlefields. In: Ryan, C. (ed.) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation.* Oxford, Elsevier, pp. 29-47.

Piekarz, M. (2007b) Hot War Tourism: The Live Battlefield and the Ultimate Adventure Holiday. In: Ryan, C. (ed.) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation.* Oxford, Elsevier, pp. 153-169.

Plog, S.C. (1974) Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity. <u>Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly,</u> 14 (4), pp. 55-8.

Pollard, T. (2007) Burying the Hatchet? The Post-combat Appropriation of Battlefield Spaces. In: Purbrick, L., Aulich, J. & Dawson, G. (eds.) *Contested Spaces: Sites, Representations and Histories of Conflict.* Palgrave.

Pollard, T. (2009) Capturing the Moment: The Archaeology of Culloden Battlefield. In: Pollard, T. (ed.) *Culloden: The History and Archaeology of the Last Clan Battle.* Barnsley, Pen and Sword, pp. 130 – 162.

Poria, Y., Reichel, A. & Biran, A. (2006) Heritage Site Management: Motivations and Expectations. <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u>, 33 (1), pp. 162-178.

Porter, M.E. (2004) *Competitive Advantage: Creating and Sustaining Superior Performance*. New York, Free Press.

Powlett, L. (1877) *History of Battle Abbey*. London.

Prebble, J. (1962) *Culloden.* New York, Atheneum.

Price, J. (2005) Orphan Heritage: Issues In Managing The Heritage Of The Great War in Northern France And Belgium. <u>Journal of Conflict Archaeology</u>, 1 (1), pp. 181-196.

Prideaux, B. (2007) Echoes of war: Battlefield Tourism. In: Ryan, C. (ed.) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation*. Oxford, Elsevier.

Purbrick, L., Aulich, J. & Dawson, G. (2007) *Contested Spaces: Sites, Representations and Histories of Conflict.* London, Palgrave.

Raivo, P. (1998) Politics of Memory; Historical Battlefields and Sense of Place. In: Vuolteenaho, J. & Antti Aikas, T. (eds.) *NGP Yearbook*, 27 (1), Oulu, Nordia Geographical Publications, pp. 59-66.

Raynor, M. (2004) *English Battlefields*. Stroud, Tempus.

Reader, I. (1993) Introduction. In Reader, I. & Walter, T. (eds.) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*. Basingstoke, MacMillan, pp. 1-25.

Reader, I. & Walter, T. (eds.) (1993) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*. Basingstoke, MacMillan.

Reisinger, Y. & Turner, L.W. (2003) *Cross-Cultural Behaviour in Tourism: Concepts and Analysis.* Oxford, Butterworth Heinemann.

Richards, E. (2000) *The Highland Clearances*. Edinburgh, Birlinn.

Ritchie, B.W., Burns, P. & Palmer, C. (eds.) (2005) *Tourism Research Methods: Integrating Theory With Practice.* Wallingford, CABI.

Ritchie, J.R. & Crouch, G.I. (2003) *The Competitive Destination: A Sustainable Tourism Perspective.* Wallingford, CABI.

Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner – Researchers.* 2nd ed. Oxford, Blackwell.

Rojek, C. (1997) Indexing, dragging and the social construction of tourist sights. In: Rojek, C. & Urry, J. (eds.) *Touring Cultures*. London, Routledge.

Rojek, C. & Urry, J. (eds.) (1997) *Touring Cultures*. London, Routledge.

Rose, G. (1995) Place and Identity: A Sense of Place. In: Massey, D. and Jess, P. (eds.) *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures and Globalization.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 87-132.

Ryan, C. (ed.) (2007) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation.* Oxford, Elsevier.

Ryan, C. (2007a) Introduction. In: Ryan, C. (ed.) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation.* Oxford, Elsevier.

Ryan, C. (2007b) The Battles of Rangiriri and Batouche – amnesia and memory. In: Ryan, C. (ed.) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation*. Oxford, Elsevier.

Saunders, N.J. (2001) Matter and Memory in the Landscapes of Conflict: The Western Front (1914-1999). In: Bender, B. & Winer, M. (eds.) *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place.* Oxford, Berg, pp. 37-53.

Schouten, F. (1995a) Heritage as Historical Reality. In: Herbert, D.T. (ed.) *Heritage, Tourism and Society.* London, Mansell, pp. 21-31.

Schouten, F. (1995b) Heritage and information technology. In: Stevens, T. & James, V. (eds.) *The Future for Europe's Past*. Proceedings of the COMETT workshops held at Margam Park, Port Talbot, 15th-17th February. Swansea, Swansea Institute of Higher Education, pp. 1.3-1.6.

Searle, E. (ed.) (1980) *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*. Oxford, Clarendon.

Seaton A. V. (1996) Guided by the dark: from thanatopsis to thanatourism, <u>International Journal of Heritage Studies</u>, 2 (4), pp. 234-244.

Seaton, A.V. (1999) War and thanatourism: Waterloo 1815–1914 <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u>, 26 (1) January, pp. 130-158.

Seaton, A.V. (2000) ''Another Weekend Away Looking for Dead Bodies,,,'': Battlefield Tourism on the Somme and in Flanders. <u>Tourism Recreation Research</u>, 25 (3), pp. 63-77.

Seaton, A.V. (2002) Observing conducted tours: The ethnographic context in tourist research. <u>Journal of Vacation Marketing</u>, 8 (4), pp. 309-319.

Seaton, A.V. & Hay, B. (1998) The Marketing of Scotland as a Tourist Destination, 1985-96. In: MacLellan, R, & Smith, R. (eds.) *Tourism in Scotland*. London, Thomson Business, pp. 209-240.

Selwyn, T. (1996) Introduction. In: Selwyn, T. (ed.) *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism.* Chichester, Wiley, pp. 1-32.

Semmel, S. (2000) Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory After Waterloo. Representations, 69 Winter, pp. 9-37.

Sharpley, R. (1994) *Tourism, Tourists and Society.* Huntingdon, ELM.

Shaw, P. (2002) *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination*. Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan.

Shearer, R.S. (1893) *Shearer's Guide to Stirling*. Stirling, R.S. Shearer.

Slade, P. (2003) Gallipoli Thanatourism: the Meaning of ANZAC. Annals of Tourism Research, 30 (4), pp. 779-94.

Smith, V. (1996) War and its tourist attractions. In: Pizam, A. & Mansfeld, Y. (eds.) *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*. Chichester, John Wiley, pp. 247-264.

Smurthwaite, D. (1984) *The Ordnance Survey Complete Guide to the Battlefields of Britain.* Exeter, Webb and Bower.

Stephen, J. (2009) Irish Intriguers and Scottish Councils: Post-Culloden Narratives and Their Recriminations. In: Pollard, T. (ed.) Culloden*: The History and Archaeology of the Last Clan Battle*. Barnsley, Pen and Sword, pp. 187-202.

Stone, P.R. (2006) A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal, 52 (2), pp. 145-160.

Stone, P.R and Sharpley R (2008) Consuming Dark Tourism: a thanatological perspective. Annals of Tourism Research, 35 (2), pp. 574-595.

Sutherland, T (2009) Killing Time: Challenging the Common Perceptions of Three Medieval Conflicts - Ferrybridge, Dintingdale and Towton - 'The Largest Battle on British Soil'. Journal of Conflict Archaeology, 5 (1), pp. 1-25.

Tabraham, C. & Grove, D. (1995) *Fortress Scotland and the Jacobites.* London, Batsford.

Taylor, M. (2007) *British Pantomime Performance*. Bristol, Intellect.

Tilden, F. (1977) *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.

Timothy, D.J. and Boyd, S.W. (2003) *Heritage Tourism*. Harlow, Pearson.

Torkildsen, G. (1999) *Leisure and Recreation Management*. London, Spon.

Trilling, L. (1972) *Sincerity and Authenticity*. London, Oxford University Press.

Trubshaw, B. (2005) *Sacred Places: Prehistory and Popular Imagination*. Loughborough, Albion Press.

Tunbridge, J.E. & Ashworth, G.J. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict.* Chichester, Wiley.

Tung, V.W.S. & Ritchie, J.R.B. (2011) Exploring the Essence of Memorable Tourism Experiences. <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u>, 38 (4), pp. 1367-1386.

Turner, V. & Turner, E. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York, Columbia University Press.

Utley, R.M. (1991) Foreword. In: Linenthal, E. T. *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, pp. ix-xi.

Urry, J. (1996) How Societies Remember the Past. In: MacDonald, S. & Fyfe, G. (eds.) *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a changing world*. Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 45-65.

Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*. London, Sage.

Urry, J. (2000) *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-first Century*. London, Routledge.

Urry, J. (2002) *The Tourist Gaze.* 2nd ed. London, Sage.

Urry, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. 3rd ed. London, Sage.

Uzzell, D.L. (1989) The Hot Interpretation of War and Conflict. In: Uzzell, D.L. (ed.) *Heritage Interpretation: Volume I (The Natural and Built Environment).* London, Belhaven, pp. 33-46.

Uzzell, D.L. & Ballantyne, R. (2008) Heritage that Hurts: Interpretation in a Postmodern World. In: Fairclough, G., Harrison, R., Jameson, J.H. and Schofield, J. (eds.) *The Heritage Reader.* London, Routledge, pp. 502-513.

Valentine, G. (1997) Tell me about...; using interviews as a research methodology. In: Flowerdew, R. & Martin, D. (eds.) *Methods in Human Geography: A guide for students doing a research project.* Harlow, Longman, pp. 110-126.

Vandaele, D. & Monballyu, M., (2008) Understanding battlefield tourism in the Westhoek. In: Proceedings of the Annual Travel and Tourism Research Association Conference 'Competition in Tourism: Business and Destination Perspectives', Helsinki, Finland, pp. 539- 546.

Walle, A. H. (1997) Quantitative Versus Qualitative Tourism Research. <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u>, 24 (3), pp. 524-536.

Walsh, K. (1991) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and heritage in the post-modern world.* London, Routledge.

Walter, T. (1993) War Grave Pilgrimage. In: Reader, I. & Walter, T. (eds.) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture.* Basingstoke, MacMillan, pp. 63-91.

Walter, T. (1996) From museum to morgue? Electronic guides in Roman Bath. <u>Tourism Management</u>, 17 (4), June, pp. 241-45.

Wang, N. (1999) Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience. <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u>, 26 (2), pp. 349-370.

Watson, D. (1992) Correcting for Acquiescent Response Bias in the Absence of a Balanced Scale: An Application to Class Consciousness. <u>Sociological Methods & Research</u>, 21 (1), pp. 52-88.

Watson, F. & Anderson, M. (2001). *The Battle of Bannockburn: A Report for Stirling Council.* Stirling Council.

Wedgwood, C.V. (1960) *Truth and Opinion: Historical Essays*. London, Collins.

West, S. & Ansell, J. (2010) A History of Heritage. In: West, S. (ed.) *Understanding Heritage in Practice.* Manchester, Manchester University Press and The Open University, pp. 7-46.

Winter, C. (2009) Tourism, Social Memory and the Great War. <u>Annals of Tourism Research,</u> 36 (4), pp. 607-626.

Winter, C. (2011) Battlefield Visitor Motivations: Explorations in the Great War Town of Ieper, Belgium. <u>International Journal of Tourism Research</u>, 13 (2), pp. 164-176.

Winter, J. (1998) *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Winter, J. (2006) *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century.* New Haven, Yale University Press.

Woodward, C. (2002) *In Ruins*. London, Vintage.

Yelling J.A. (1977) *Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850*. London, Macmillan.