

“The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders”

Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden

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The battlefield at Culloden (Scotland), which witnessed the defeat in April 1746 of the forces of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in a battle against forces loyal to the Hanoverian King George II, remains a site charged with powerful associations. Largely forgotten for a century, the memories of the battle were steadily revived and recast under the influence of romantic Jacobitism, eventually turning the battlefield from undifferentiated moorland into sacred space. This article traces this process and reflects on its lasting implications. After surveying the nature of Jacobitism, especially its transformation from a political to a predominantly romantic movement, it considers film representations of Culloden as a way of unpacking the myths of romantic Jacobitism. The type of reinterpretations found in film, however, have only slowly permeated the narratives presented at the site itself. The conclusion discusses issues arising from the experience of Culloden, making particular reference to the recently announced Memorial Project.

Culloden Battlefield is an iconic and emotive site. Even today, more than 250 years after the Jacobite army faced government troops on this bleak and windswept moor, the events of that day remain deeply ingrained and significant in the consciousness of the Scottish people.

These words comprise the first paragraph of a display erected in mid-2005 to introduce the Culloden Memorial Project, which aims to create

a new interpretation center at Culloden (Scotland), the location of the last formal battle fought on British soil. They hint not just at the next stage in a continuing process of heritage interpretation but also at an important agenda of issues arising from the narratives associated with this site. Culloden witnessed the defeat in April 1746 of the forces of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in a battle against forces loyal to the Hanoverian King George II. In the short term, the battle extinguished any prospects of the Stuarts overthrowing Hanoverian rule by force and effectively eclipsed Jacobitism—the movement dedicated to restoring the Stuart dynasty to the thrones of Scotland, England and Ireland—as a viable political force.¹ It also marked an important moment of change in the socioeconomic and political relationship of Scotland, especially its Highland regions, to the wider British state. In the longer term, the significance attached to Culloden fluctuated as succeeding generations remembered and re-remembered the events and aftermath of the battle in the light of their own needs.

This article focuses on the changing interpretations of Culloden against this background. Although historiographic in the sense of examining the writing and visual representation of history, it focuses less on the content of academic scholarship than on considering the unfolding narratives of the past in the visual media and through interpretation at the battlefield site itself. The first section opens by examining contextual issues relating to the past and the way in which societies remember, before turning to issues specifically arising from the interpretation of battlefields. The next section briefly surveys the transformation of Jacobitism from a political to a predominantly romantic movement, albeit one possessing a vision that retained some political purpose. The third section uses film representations to unpack the range of possible interpretations of Culloden, showing how filmmakers have recently interrogated the myths of romantic Jacobitism. That development, as the fourth section shows, has only slowly permeated the site interpretations offered by the agencies charged with care and restoration of the battlefield. The conclusion discusses issues arising from the experience of Culloden, using the current Memorial Project to point to the continuing way in which memory is represented and re-represented in the light of changing needs.

MEMORY AND REMEMBERING

Exploration of the connections between battlefields and memory necessarily invokes a wider set of issues, prominent among which are questions arising from understanding the ways in which people remember. One line of thought links changes in the process of remembering with the evolution of society. The change from pre-literate to literate societies, for instance, allegedly presaged a transformation in both the tools and role of remembering. Memory was no longer intertwined with what the French social historian Pierre Nora called a time of “real memory” or a “tradition of memory,” where everyday life incorporated memory in such media as song, ritual or ceremony.² It could now be recorded and stored in a separate sphere. For Paul Connerton, this meant a shift from incorporating memory to “inscribing” memory; from memory embodied in performance (habit memory) to memory increasingly recorded as retrievable text.³ In the present era, as Nora further asserted, memory is “archival,” in that we feel impelled to “keep everything” because we cannot predict what we should be remembering.⁴ The result is an accumulation of “memory texts” that mediate between the past and the individual or group and yet is too large for any one person to remember.

Other authors elaborate the range of potential “texts,” including traditional sources such as diaries, folk songs and written reminiscences alongside newer media such as photography, film, television, video and the Internet.⁵ There are physical manifestations of memory in the form of museum collections, monuments and memorials, archives, cemeteries, ritualized commemoration of anniversaries, festivals and pageants. Festivals and pageantry, in particular, can play an important role in refreshing memory as, for example, seen in Britain during 2005 with the celebrations marking the sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War II and the bicentenary of the battle of Trafalgar. The former provided an opportunity to collect and broadcast reminiscences from veterans, while the latter presented a suitable occasion for acquainting a new audience with aspects of the national past.

Such events also serve as reminders of the continuing relevance of performance as the embodiment of memory. Despite familiar assertions about the erosion of once-common folk practices (ceremonies, song and dance) by forces of modernity, their supposed decline did not seriously

impair the operation of “traditional” mechanisms for transmitting memory across generations. On the contrary, the “invention of tradition,” in which groups constantly devised new anniversaries and festivals that assert connection with “a suitable historic past,” served to fill the gap.⁶ Looking at the role of the past in English culture, for example, Paul Readman showed how anniversaries and pageants became increasingly common media for celebrating the past by the end of the nineteenth century. He suggested that popular concern for the past rose in direct response to increasing fears that the quickening pace of social, political and economic change would sever society’s connections with its heritage.⁷

Ironically, too, even what some regard as “commodified mass culture” can provide powerful new channels for transmitting information about the past. Alison Landsberg used the term “prosthetic memory” to refer to memories formed at “experiential sites” such as museums and galleries, where visitors can literally immerse themselves in a “larger history” and incorporate these memories into their own “archive of experience.”⁸ Her notion of prosthetic memory highlights the individual’s ability to acquire the memory of others. Although this may simply revive individuals’ connections with their own past or reinforce group identity, it can also open up memory to others from radically different backgrounds. As a result, she argued, cultural memories no longer have exclusive owners.

By extension, these ideas have application in contexts other than the heritage industry. For example, the perennial popularity of historical costume dramas in the cinema and the ever-increasing availability of history programming on television (especially with proliferation of digital channels) have served to focus attention on the way that these visual media help to shape public views of history. Drawing on the idea of a “useable past,” for example, Gary Edgerton and Peter Rollins argued that television produces a different kind of history in which narratives of the past are used to “clarify the present and discover the future.”⁹ Some go further and claim that the media also have the power of agency, directly encouraging people to engage actively with the past through travel and tourism. David Crouch, Felix Thompson and Rhona Jackson, for example, noted that film and television could play a similar contemporary role to that once played by literature in encouraging cultural tourism. As such, these visual media might promote “an emotional disposition, coupled with imaginative and cognitive activity” that can stimulate the desire and decision to visit des-

tinations. Moreover, the experience of the visit can fire the imagination of erstwhile tourists once they return home and reengage with the wider culture of the society in which they live. Such representations, therefore, become “circulating texts” that can provide opportunities for the engagement with the past that families and communities once provided.¹⁰

This idea of representations of the past circulating within society through active engagement has specific relevance to battlefield tourism. An activity with a long pedigree, battlefield tourism developed significantly during the nineteenth century through a mixture of people’s desire “to see for themselves,” historical consciousness, sentimentality and greater personal mobility.¹¹ The traditional approach conceived visitors as passive consumers, with their experience shaped by interpretive materials, such as custom-drawn maps that indicated the sites of interest, guidebooks that advised on the best route around particular sites, and memorials and markers that supplied field interpretation. Given that the place visited was invariably unfamiliar to the tourist, conventional wisdom assumed that these materials unproblematically directed the visitor’s gaze to significant points of interest and imparted approved narratives.

Recent studies, however, suggest that visitors may play a more active part in constructing their experience. In his study of the American Civil War battlefield at Gettysburg (Pennsylvania), for instance, Athinodoros Chronis adopted what he termed a “coconstructionist” model of culture to show how tourist providers, interpreters and visitors shape, transform and negotiate meaning at the site.¹² Visitors arrive with preconceived ideas about Gettysburg shaped by school lessons, novels, and films such as Ronald Maxwell’s *Gettysburg* or Ken Burns’s documentary *The Civil War*.¹³ These notions may well be at variance with the physical reality of the site itself and the multiple interpretations available. Chronis argued that visitors then treat the battlefield like a puzzle that they piece together. As they fill in gaps and actively imagine the events that occurred, they enter into a process whereby they and “tourism producers” collectively create a “meaningful cultural text” that circulates within the lived culture and is itself transformed through further reinterpretation. He concluded that “contemporary views of Gettysburg ... shape the Gettysburg of 1863 and it is the present that builds the story of the past.” This process transforms a “bloody fratricide” into a national narrative of unity and birthplace of the American nation.¹⁴

The thrust of these findings parallel those presented in this article, since there are powerful similarities between Gettysburg and Culloden. Both were sites associated with decisive military outcomes that profoundly affected the subsequent course of national history and processes of nation building. Both are places deeply etched into social memory as places in which unhappiness at the nature of the carnage overlies any sense of pride in the victors' triumph, and where prevailing sadness is only ameliorated by such compensating factors as pride in gallantry, demands for redress of perceived brutality and hopes for renewal. The interpretive histories of both places point to memory as a complex notion working on many levels, which, in its twenty-first century manifestation, has a capacity for inclusiveness that embraces a wide public. The sizable numbers of international tourists visiting both sites, for example, come not through the appeal of the "Other"—the positive experience that arises from an encounter with other peoples' unfamiliar pasts and cultures—but primarily because of the site's *familiarity*. In the case of Culloden, official agencies and émigré Scottish associations throughout the world carefully propagate that characteristic. Culloden is part of the "sights of Scotland," an integral part of the package of "tartan nostalgia" routinely used to promote Scotland.¹⁵ Visitors often arrive with a sense that they are already acquainted at least with what Culloden stood for and, for those with claims to Scottish ancestry, a sense of belonging. That this is the case owes much to the enduring impact, in all its various guises, of Jacobitism.

JACOBITISM

Till then upon Ararat's hill
My hope shall cast her anchor still
Until I see some peaceful dove
Bring home the branch I dearly love;
Then will I wait till the waters abate;
Which now disturb my troubled brain,
Else never rejoice till I hear the voice,
That the King enjoys his own again.¹⁶

This fragment of a seventeenth-century ballad symptomizes the complexity that surrounds Jacobitism. Written in 1643 and originally sung during and

after the English Civil War by the Royalists, its biblical references to the Great Flood and the sense of waiting for disaster to recede became attached to the campaigns to restore Charles I and then Charles II to the thrones of England, Ireland and Scotland. The song gained renewed topicality after the departure of the Catholic James II (James VII of Scotland) in the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688 and particularly after the accession in 1714 of George I, of the house of Hanover. From then until the death in 1788 of James II’s grandson Charles, the last credible Stuart claimant to the British thrones, Jacobitism remained a political movement, with the ruling Establishment living in periodic fear of French- or Spanish-backed interventions to restore the exiled Stuarts and Catholicism to Protestant Britain.

They were justifiably fearful. The Stuarts had exploited the considerable sympathy for their cause in continental Europe to gain material assistance to foment “uprisings” in 1689–91, 1708, 1715, 1719, 1744 and finally 1745. In the case of the ’Fifteen (1715) and the ’Forty-Five (1745), armies were raised in Scotland, first by supporters of James Francis Edward Stuart (son of James II and recognized by Jacobites as James III) and then directly by his son Prince Charles Edward Stuart.¹⁷ The government in London took the ’Fifteen extremely seriously given the level of support for the Stuarts in England as well as Scotland. It tapped into considerable antigovernment feeling in England and succeeded in instigating rebellion in the northeast. Perhaps by virtue of the uprising’s having won “no glorious victories” and finally disintegrating “piecemeal,”¹⁸ its memory quickly faded. By contrast, the ’Forty-Five “lingered longest in popular memory” and became most closely associated with the Jacobite cause.¹⁹

The ’Forty-Five saw Prince Charles Edward Stuart wage a roller coaster campaign that began upon his landing in Eriskay in the Outer Hebrides in July 1745 and eventually led to a military advance south to the English Midlands by December 1745. At that point, concerned at the lack of English support, uncertain of French assistance and losing confidence in their ability to take London, the Jacobite forces retreated to Scotland. After a series of further skirmishes, the Jacobites experienced their first but devastating defeat on 16 April 1746, when barely 5,000 of their troops faced some 9,000 Hanoverian government troops on a stretch of barren moorland at Culloden, near Inverness (figure 1). The reason for choosing to fight a pitched battle at this point rather than retreating further



Fig. 1. View north across Culloden Moor toward the Moray Firth (the photos reproduced here are by the authors).

reflected an assessment of the logistical problems of quartering an army in the Highlands, combined with the fact that this was the last chance to block the road to Inverness, the last major burgh within the Jacobite sphere of control. The precise choice of the battlefield on Culloden Moor was “a matter of much argument ... the details of which are still unclear.”²⁰ Hurriedly selected after a bungled attempt to mount a surprise night attack on the Hanoverian forces, the marshy and constricted site was ill suited to the Jacobites’ preferred broadsword infantry charge, while favoring the artillery of the government forces led by William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. After witnessing the rout of his forces in a battle that lasted barely forty minutes, Charles went into hiding, evading capture for five months before finally escaping to France in September 1746.

In the months following the battle, the British government instituted a policy of forcibly pacifying the Highlands, seeking to curtail further possibilities that the region might act as a springboard for Jacobite military action. A raft of legislation was introduced in 1747, most notably the Act of Proscription that banned the teaching of Gaelic, the wearing of tartan, the holding of ceremonial Highland gatherings and even the playing of bagpipes in Scotland. Collectively, this legislation sought to remove the markers of a distinctive culture, abolish the feudal powers of

Highland proprietors, confiscate the lands of rebel landowners, and generally merge the Highlands and Islands into the wider British economic and political realm. The clan system, with its associated land tenure that provided support for the Highland warlords, was irrevocably changed. In many respects, these measures achieved their objectives. Although Charles plotted further campaigns for the next decade, there were no succeeding uprisings in support of the Stuarts.

The climate of repression associated with the aftermath of Culloden, however, stimulated another type of movement, at once romantic and nostalgic, that served to keep the memory of Stuart rule alive in spite of the passage of years. In doing so, it gradually succeeded in propagating a dominant narrative for an event about which protagonists initially contested almost all details. At the outset, rival newspapers and distributors of pamphlets disputed the numbers of soldiers involved in the battle, the casualties, the arms carried, the position of troops, and the events that immediately followed the battle. Both sides “understood the value of influencing public opinion.” The “vitriolic” and generally Whig press supported the government case, resurrecting memories of hangings and inquisition, while painting a picture of wild savage Highlanders led by a proud, foreign Pretender who nevertheless ran away (“the Fright’ned Italian Bravo”).²¹ They contrasted his behavior with that of his cousin, the Duke of Cumberland, the young, handsome and English-born-and-bred commander of the Hanoverian forces. The pro-Jacobite Tory press stressed Charles’s religious tolerance, humanity to the captured and wounded, and his fair dealings with the local communities through which he passed. This contrasted with stories about the brutal repression freely meted out by the government’s troops, in which the Duke of Cumberland (nicknamed “Butcher” Cumberland) was deemed to have personal complicity.

The efforts of Stuart sympathizers continued after the ’Forty-Five. Individuals assembled reports of the prince’s wanderings and eventual escape, as exemplified by the publication in 1749 of Dr John Burton’s *The Genuine and True Journal of the Most Miraculous Escape of the Young Chevalier*, based on the accounts of fellow Jacobite prisoners and further evidence collected in Edinburgh. Bishop Robert Forbes, an ardent Jacobite imprisoned in Stirling during the uprising, compiled *The Lyon in Mourning*, a ten-volume collection of manuscript folios, bound in black leather with black-edged pages and a deep black border on the title pages. These

incorporated relics of the rising: a piece of the prince's blue velvet garter and tartan waistcoat, various souvenirs of the women's clothes he had used to escape from South Uist to Skye with Flora MacDonald, and a piece of wood from the boat he had used to reach Benbecula. Although it was not published in Forbes's lifetime, Robert Chambers purchased *The Lyon in Mourning* from a private buyer and published it in abbreviated and edited form as *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*. This account, in turn, influenced the early guidebooks written about Culloden, most notably that by Peter Anderson (see p. 22 below).²²

Groups loyal to the cause also formed associations to maintain support for the Stuarts, with over 140 social clubs with strong Jacobite allegiance established in the decades following Culloden. The best-known clubs operated in England, especially in London and the northwest, albeit concealing their activities behind anodyne or ambivalent titles such as the Oak Society, Benn's Club of Aldermen, the Fraternity of the True Blue Hunt and the Society of Sea-Sergeants.²³ Their counterparts in Scotland met covertly to avoid the problems of proscription. A group of Culloden veterans, for example, met in Edinburgh each year to celebrate the prince's birthday (31 December). Scottish supporters, in particular, recognized the importance of visual imagery, acting on the belief that gazing on the Stuart family's features would inspire loyalty. They therefore commissioned artifacts such as engraved drinking glasses and portraiture, often featuring allusive symbolism or hidden images that were reconstituted using devices such as concave mirrors. The portrayals of Charles were emblematic rather than realistic; with the abiding image of him as the dashing and youthful "Bonnie Prince Charlie" whose behavior and demeanor matched the chivalry of the knights of yesteryear. Different conventions applied to the Duke of Cumberland who, by contrast, increasingly appeared as arrogant, elderly and obese.

Unusually, the telling of history turned against the victors, especially once it became clear that the 'Forty-Five was truly the end of a half century of Jacobite insurgency. Attitudes toward the north of Scotland had changed. The Repeal of the Act of Proscription in 1782 allowed open practice of previously clandestine commemorative and associated activities. With the passage of time, political Jacobitism effectively gave way to romantic Jacobitism—broadly defined as a movement that sought to revive the values and practices notionally associated with the political cause of

Jacobitism long after the demise of any credible Stuart Pretender to the thrones of the British kingdoms. This sentimental and nostalgic movement was broadly allied, at least initially, to the Romantic Movement that swept Western Europe around the turn of the nineteenth century. Scotland already provided sufficient ingredients to satisfy the new enthusiasms of Romanticism, which emphasized imagination and emotion and valued the fantastic and exotic, natural forces rather than intellectual order, and wild landscapes (including mountains and moorland) rather than the cultivated and ordered. The remarkable popularity of the poetry of Ossian throughout northern Europe, despite its disputed authenticity, also drew visitors anxious to see the landscapes that acted as the backdrop to antiquarian tales of a heroic age.²⁴

Importantly, this also helped to bring in its wake a more general transformation in the status of those who inhabited the Highlands. Although land managers still freely reorganized their estates whenever agrarian returns seemingly favored displacement of the landed population in the interests of livestock husbandry, there was progressively a reappraisal of the virtues of the Highlanders in British culture. The Gaels were no longer seen as a backward, violent and feckless people living in primitive conditions, as had often been the case before the mid-eighteenth century.²⁵ Instead, they were recast as the survivors of an older chivalrous order now rapidly fading from memory; an unsophisticated or “primitive” people living in isolated corners whose way of life was treasured by the visitor because it was presumed to remain unaffected by the forces of modernity. Perhaps even more significant for the rehabilitation of the Highlands was the new respect for its people’s military prowess. The state drew extensively on Highland regiments in the Seven Years’ War (1756–63) and the Napoleonic Wars. Their soldiers’ much-praised contribution seemingly transferred the martial spirit of the clan system to the defense of the British Empire. Tartan, indeed, was now the favored dress of the warrior rather than a subject for derision.²⁶

So successful was the process of pacifying the Highlands after Culloden that even prominent members of the Establishment felt themselves free to re-remember the Stuarts as heroic figures associated with the virtues of a traditional Scotland uncorrupted by modernization and industrialization; a world in which the clans and Gaelic culture once thrived. The “tragic quest” of Prince Charles became a subject for lament by poets

such as Robert Burns and Carolina Oliphant (Lady Nairne). Fictionalized accounts of the Jacobite rebellions became staple fare of historical novels in Scotland and England during the early nineteenth century, led by the works of Sir Walter Scott. In *Waverley*, for example, Scott has his hero respond to the news of the army's defeat at Culloden in the following manner: "The generous, the courteous, the noble-minded Adventurer, was then a fugitive, with a price upon his head; his adherents, so brave, so enthusiastic, so faithful, were dead, imprisoned, or exiled."²⁷ Scott's interpretation of Jacobitism gave short shrift to the clan system, which he saw as "hostile to liberty and the progress both of religious and moral improvement" and where a people's happiness and whole existence was at the disposal of individuals "influenced by no restraint saving their own pleasure."²⁸ Yet Scott clearly appreciated the practical benefits that the Hanoverian government might itself extract by embracing the outward trappings of Jacobitism. In 1822 he arranged a pageantry of reinvented Scottish traditions for the visit of King George IV to Edinburgh, replete with regalia ceremonies, knightings and extravagant processions. The visit's protocol presented George IV as a kilted successor to his distant relative Bonnie Prince Charlie, and the descendent of the lineage of Scottish kings.

The perceived success of the visit was an important harbinger of what was to come. Romantic Jacobitism was not simply a shared focus found in the work of artists and historians but also supplied an important ingredient in the political rapprochement that finally set aside the divisions left by the 'Forty-Five. It conveniently supplied a narrative that removed the ambiguities of the dynastic conflict, with its complex patterns of allegiances, and supported broad "ways of seeing"²⁹ that would shape prevailing interpretations of the places and events most closely linked with the 'Forty-Five. Nowhere was this more significant than for Culloden, the uprising's most iconic site.

VISUALIZING CULLODEN

The cinema has a natural subject in the story of the Young Pretender and the '45. He gave the world a new romance ... and truly romance is all about the ways of the prince who landed with his seven compan-

ions at Moidart, inspired a forlorn hope to moments of miraculous success and after final, inevitable disaster wrote a legendary chapter of escape.

The cinema, then, has only to respect the facts and the historical record of Prince Charles and the historical record will do the rest; but respecting the facts has never been a game at which the cinema has excelled.³⁰

These opening words from a review of Alexander Korda’s film *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (1948) indicate both the appeal of the ’Forty-Five as a subject for filmmakers and the extent of the common acceptance of Jacobite historical narrative. Not surprisingly given the importance that Culloden played in the story of the prince’s year in Britain, explicit representations of the battlefield have routinely appeared in films since the silent era. The earliest known portrayal occurred in the 1923 feature film *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (directed by Charles Calvert), which starred the hugely popular Ivor Novello in the title role. Although filmed on the Isle of Arran rather than on location in Inverness-shire, its brief battle scenes conveyed the bleak moorland and hand-to-hand fighting that one reviewer found “very stirring.” The same writer, however, took exception to an ending that made “the combatants settle their differences in a way that might have surprised some of those fierce fighters who actually took part in the affair.” It was a narrative “untainted by any relationship to history.”³¹

Alexander Korda’s version of *Bonnie Prince Charlie* portrayed Culloden not only as the pivotal point in the military campaign but also as the moment of final justification of the prince’s worth as a leader. Perhaps predictably for a film made in the late 1940s, the screenplay assimilated World War II conventions into the story of the ’Forty-Five. David Niven’s portrayal of the prince as an upper-class English officer and gentleman, the role to which he was often typecast,³² contrasted with the Welsh actor Elwyn Brooke-Jones’s representation of the Duke of Cumberland as an arrogant and scheming German general with a strong Teutonic accent.³³ The battle itself involved two studio scenes, each carefully designed to reduce the number of extras necessary to portray the battle. The first saw small groups of elderly clansmen and women watching from the vantage point of a (nonexistent) adjacent hillside. The field of battle stretched out in front of them, with a rock-strewn landscape illuminated by fires burn-

ing at irregular intervals. A painted backdrop and studio lighting bathed the heads of the onlookers in what appeared to be the crimson rays of the setting sun, but this was less an indication of the hour of day than recourse to a familiar part of the iconography of Culloden. The smoke of battle might well have stained the sky blood red, but the sunset was the symbolic ending of Stuart hopes. The screenplay featured a blind harpist whose song lamented “they shall not return; they are gone forever.” The second scene cut to the battlefield itself, revealing a landscape more reminiscent of twentieth-century warfare, replete with rocky terrain, scorched earth, blackened trees and smoldering vegetation seemingly nestling in a bowl in the hills. The prince wandered, alone and unscathed, in the midst of the devastation rather than watching from a distant grassy knoll, far behind the lines, as in reality. In a set of imaginary encounters, the testimonials of his generals fully vindicated the prince’s personal integrity and leadership. Together, they begged the reluctant Charles to flee for the good of Scotland rather than gain the hero’s death to which he supposedly aspired. The scene ended with Charles swearing before God to preserve Scottish liberty.

Documentary films avidly reproduced the sorrowful treatment of Culloden. Travelogues produced in the late 1950s featured the flight of Bonnie Prince Charlie after Culloden as part of the romance of the Highlands, in which the filmmakers invited visitors to participate by following in his footsteps. Indeed, films such as *Enchanted Isles* (1957, directed by Bernard Davies), *A Song for Prince Charlie* (1959, Anvil Films) and *Over the Sea to Skye* (1961, directed by Hans Nieter) recurrently traced the defeat at Culloden and Charles’s escape, assisted by Flora MacDonald, in personal terms. They invited visitors to come and see places given special meaning by the quest and ensuing wanderings of the royal fugitive: a trail that stretched from Eriskay, where Charles landed in July 1745, through Culloden to Loch nan Uamh, from which he departed in September 1746. These sites of memory were heritage; physical reminders that served to “guarantee the authenticity of Scotland’s history as a nation, [provide] evidence of a tradition of national resistance to other nations, and serve as physical monuments to the nation’s collective past or memory.”³⁴

From the 1960s onwards, however, dissenting voices expressed opposition to the standard cinematic interpretations of the ’Forty-Five. An early example was *Culloden* (1964), written and directed by the radi-

cal filmmaker Peter Watkins. Watkins saw the battle as more than just a Scottish or British affair. In particular, he detected parallels between the pacification of the Scottish Highlands and events in contemporary Vietnam, deciding to use nonprofessional actors to make the reconstruction reminiscent of daily media reportage from Southeast Asia.³⁵ Advised by John Prebble, whose recent book *Culloden* sought to strip away the romanticism of prevailing accounts and tell “the story of ordinary men and women” rather than adhere to the tragic narrative surrounding Prince Charles,³⁶ Watkins set out to debunk the mythology surrounding the battle. His immediate target was the Stuart side. The film opened by introducing the Jacobite commanders. Shown shivering on the moor in the freezing rain, the narrator variously introduced them as aged, vain, intoxicated and suffering from advanced disability. As for the prince, the commander-in-chief, the narrator noted that his military experience only amounted to ten days spent observing a siege at the age of thirteen. The Prologue captions then stated the film’s purpose as:

An account of one of the most mishandled and brutal battles ever fought in Britain.

An account of its tragic aftermath.

An account of the men responsible for it.

An account of the men and women who suffered because of it.

Cinéma-vérité methods enhanced the documentary appearance of the film, with hand-held cameras and face-to-camera interviews imparting the sense of presenting the battle as if seen by eyewitnesses. The interviews indicated the overlap between the two armies in terms of nationalities and social composition. These were the cannon fodder, brought to Culloden by a dynastic feud in whose outcome they had little stake. The narrator highlighted the heavy losses caused by the Stuart commanders’ strategic errors, including the failure to reconnoiter the battlefield, the mistake of not using the time available before the battle to remove the stone walls that the Hanoverians used as defense, and indecision over ordering the Highland charge. *Culloden* depicted Charles in a consistently poor light; vain, incompetent, indecisive, ungracious and ultimately cowardly. As he fled from the advancing government forces, one of his generals, Lord Elcho, shouted out: “run, you cowardly Italian.” The film contrasted the Stuart

commanders' ability to retreat into comfortable lives in exile with the fate of those they left behind. After the battle, the film dwelt on the butchery of the defenseless wounded by the government side and the retribution inflicted on the rebel Highland clans in the succeeding months.

This version of Culloden clearly diverged sharply from that shown in the earlier feature films. The account of the battle lacked the overtones of a sacred quest or sense of righteous struggle and destiny. Shot unsentimentally in monochrome without haunting mists or blood-red skies, the battlefield was a featureless but surprisingly constricted place. Hemmed in by stone walls and marsh, the Highland forces were arrayed in clusters that made them sitting targets for the government artillery and were too restricted to mount an effective charge. This was a place of slaughter, where a brief battle gave way to a killing field. The moor was scarred by the futility of war, not sanctified as a memorial to the cause for which the Jacobites died.

Understandably, the film drew sharp criticism, from both those who objected to its relentless attack on what they regarded as Scotland's national identity and those who felt that the sense of "realism" allowed viewers to consign the events to history and not make the connection with the Vietnam War, imperialism and so-called "documentary" journalistic practices.³⁷ Yet as with Watkins's other film made for the British Broadcasting Corporation—*The War Game*—*Culloden* retained a potency that belied the fact that it was seldom screened. Indeed, it successfully imparted a counternarrative that challenged later filmmakers seeking to depict the same subject.³⁸

Chasing the Deer, released in 1994 and directed by Graham Holloway, was a good example. This film also emphasized the human cost, offering a subplot of the fortunes of a fictional family torn apart by a conflict in which they had no desire to participate. This device switched the focus away from the life of the prince, who only appeared in the film in a supporting role. Played by the French actor Dominique Carrara, who spoke English with an authentically nonnative accent, this version of Prince Charles was also vacillating, conceited, and ultimately cowardly. The film emphasized the half-hearted support given to his cause by the clans, understandable since it was almost sixty years since the Stuarts had been ousted, and the complex unfolding of alliances—more reminiscent of a civil war than a battle for national destiny.

The portrayal of the battlefield followed similar lines to Watkins’s film. Commencing in the blue light of dawn, the initial scene showed bedraggled groups of clansmen, back from the abortive night raid on Cumberland’s camp, standing around in the rain and the biting northeast wind, waiting to form battle lines. The opening artillery salvos indicated the likely outcome, with the Highland army’s cannonade having minimal impact compared with the devastation caused by the government side. The disastrous delay and the commander’s indecision limited the impact of the eventual charge, which then turned into full retreat without any serious attempt to regroup. As with Watkins’s film, the wide expanses of moor gave way to a strangely claustrophobic space when dealing with the exchanges of artillery fire and the Highland charge. The victors again methodically butchered the Jacobite wounded lying on the battlefield, with their bodies looted for personal valuables. Yet the relationship between the soldiers on each side was quite different, as befitted the treatment of the ’Forty-Five as a civil war. Scots here killed Scots. This Culloden was neither the place of destiny for commanders nor a place of indiscriminate slaughter for the ranks, but a site where a vicious internecine struggle reached its conclusion.

INTERPRETING CULLODEN

These changing patterns of remembering and representing Culloden, however, contrast with the interpretations available to visitors to the battlefield, which have followed a much longer and less volatile cycle than that shown by the film industry. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the site attracted few visitors. The immediate aftermath of the battle saw the dead from both sides gathered, sorted into groups and buried in collective graves without any markers or memorials. Thereafter, the battlefield itself quickly faded from public consciousness. Tourists seldom sought out the site which, given the undifferentiated moorland, was difficult to find. Travelers’ journals were more likely to comment on nearby Culloden House than reflect on the battle. Those who did comment initially celebrated the battle as being beneficial. When traveling across Culloden Moor in 1769, for example, the travel writer and naturalist Thomas Pennant described it as the place to which “North Britain owes

its present prosperity ... by the victory of April 16, 1746.”³⁹ A generation later, John Lettice wrote that “it was not possible to pass the scene where it was fought, without some feeling of triumph,” but he also noted that his feelings were mingled “with regret, that the victor, on that decisive day, should not have been contented with conquest.”⁴⁰ By the 1830s the sense of sacrifice had taken hold even for those not overtly subscribing to romantic Jacobitism. Beriah Botfield described Culloden as a “grim and shelterless waste” that afforded a moral lesson on the “vanity of human wishes” in the person of Prince Charles, but the “genius of the place” lay in its being the resting place of warriors, where mounds of earth are an “eternal memorial to the rash enterprise.” Nevertheless, he also recorded his concern that after seventy years “oblivion” had swept away the memory of the Stuarts and that the “traditions” of the peasantry were “floating down the stream of forgetfulness.” “Tradition,” he wrote, “is a meteor, once it falls it cannot be rekindled.”⁴¹

Around this time, two parallel and enduring concerns emerged—the fear that the events associated with this place would soon be forgotten and the wish to preserve the site in some way for posterity. Common to both was the sense that Culloden Moor had a special atmosphere imparted by the memory of death and sacrifice, although not all visitors wished simply to contemplate the scene. In 1836, for example, William Howitt noted how visitors would dig the shallow graves for fragments of bones to take away as souvenirs, which he promptly demonstrated by uncovering some fragments of bone with his knife.⁴² The arrival of the railways brought new visitors, partly enticed by guidebooks directly sponsored by the railway companies. The first battlefield guidebook, produced by Peter Anderson in 1867 and in print until the 1920s, mapped out the battlefield for the visitor and provided background to the ’Forty-Five from a standpoint that epitomized the sentimental constructs of romantic Jacobitism. Expressing the fear that memory was fading and that the circumstances of the battle were becoming “unfamiliar to the public at large,” Anderson’s account went beyond mere topographical detail. The uprising was called a “romantic” and “chivalric” enterprise, with the prince hailed as a farsighted individual; a tenacious, energetic, cheerful, commanding and vigorous leader let down by mediocre, frequently “foreign” advisers. He depicted Charles as wholly Scottish despite his foreign birth and upbringing. While noting that the prince’s failure to listen to the “natural leaders” of

his army had led the Highland chiefs to fight “with a halter round their necks,” he felt the conduct of the prince and his army during the battle was beyond reproach. By contrast, the opposition attract epithets such as “cool,” “fresh,” “well-appointed,” “orderly” and “determined.” Their superiority in numbers, arms and training gave them an unfair advantage so that their actions received little scrutiny until dealing with the aftermath of the battle and their “barbarous” conduct toward the defeated. The writer directed visitors, for example, to the site of a barn, adjacent to Old Leanach Cottage, where troops acting on the orders of the Duke of Cumberland had allegedly burned wounded Jacobite prisoners alive (see p. 2 below).⁴³

Sustained attempts to memorialize Culloden only began in the mid-nineteenth century, fully a century after the battle, although there had been discussions about erecting a “tumulus or obelisk” in the 1830s.⁴⁴ On 29 September 1849 the *London Illustrated News* reported celebrations surrounding the laying of a foundation stone of a “gigantic cairn ... the top of which will be accessible by flights of rustic steps and winding paths. Various spots will be so formed that tablets and small monuments to particular clans or individuals may at any time be erected; and in front it is proposed that a group of statuary should be placed.” However, the necessary subscriptions required to complete this ambitious project were not forthcoming. Edward Power, an enthusiastic Jacobite, commissioned a cairn in 1858, but, despite the preparation of a dedication stone, this too was not completed. Finally, Duncan Forbes, the major local landowner, erected a traditional twenty-foot cairn in 1881 (figure 2). This incorporated Power’s dedication stone and a new inscription (figure 3) that codified the dominant site interpretation of Culloden: “The Battle of Culloden was fought on this moor 16th April 1746. The graves of the gallant Highlanders who fought for Scotland & Prince Charlie, are marked by the names of their clans.”

This inscription thereby appropriated the Stuart dead for the cause of Scotland and Scottish national identity.⁴⁵ At the same time, Forbes also commissioned headstones for the clan graves, clearly marking and humanizing the contributions of different groups. Subsequently, other supporters of the Stuart side received memorials. In 1963, for example, the Military History Society of Ireland sponsored a commemorative marker for the “Wild Geese”—the French army’s Irish Brigade—with a dedication in Irish

Gaelic that translated as “The breed of Kings, the sons of Mileadh, eager warriors and heroes.” In 1994, the White Cockade Society commemorated the Royal Ecossois (Scots serving in the French army) with a stone saluting their “brave rearguard action.” No such heroic language applied to the burial place of the government troops. Notwithstanding the numbers of Scots, and especially clansmen, who fought for the Hanoverians, the single memorial stone bears the frostily cryptic inscription: “Field of the English. They were buried here.”

Commemorative celebrations similarly developed more than a century after the battle. Analyzing interest in the battlefield as measured by coverage in the pages of the local newspaper, the *Inverness Courier*, Colin McArthur showed that there were few mentions of the site until the centenary of the battle in 1846. The ad hoc ceremony invented for the occasion saw declaration of a public holiday in Inverness, on which more than 3,000 adults and children walked or drove out to Culloden in carriages, gigs and carts. This was an opportunity for the adults to relate “the exploits of their fathers or grandfathers” and listen to “tales of the battle and the positions of the rival armies as detailed by the peasantry,” while the children hunted for rabbits or picked flowers. This “carnavalesque mood,” noted McArthur, was very different from later commemorations of the battle, and the *Inverness Courier* noted that the brightness of the sunny day and the holiday mood of the crowds were in stark contrast to the usual quietude and somberness of the site.⁴⁶

The general impact of the American Civil War and later World War I on the process and styles of remembering the dead gradually transformed commemorative practices.⁴⁷ The Gaelic Society of Inverness, which had a particular interest in Culloden due to its importance for Highland history, inaugurated an annual ceremony in 1925 to mark the anniversary of the battle. The first ceremony included pipers sounding laments and wreath laying at the cairn. An address by the Earl of Cassillis clearly conflated the dead of Culloden with that of the Great War:

During the last war many districts of the Highlands were depleted of able-bodied men who went to fight and die for King and country. Those men ... would not return to them. Those who lay on Culloden field would not return, nor would those who died in the Great War.... Their love and devotion would ever remain the pride



Fig. 2. The Memorial Cairn, built by Duncan Forbes in 1881

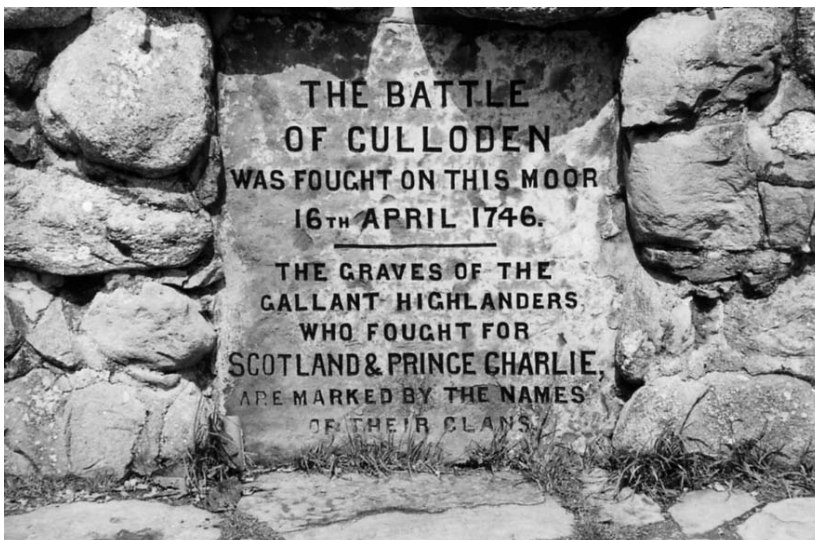


Fig. 3. The Inscription Plaque from the Cairn

of the Gaelic race whether in this country or scattered in many lands and divers climes.⁴⁸

His words symbolized the new sensibility that conceived the battlefield as a war grave and reinforced the idea that this was a sacred space. As such, it demanded a certain treatment by those charged with looking after the site and required appropriate respectful or contemplative behavior from the visitor. Above all, the site needed a dignity suitable to stir the imagination.

Attempts to achieve these ends, especially the goal of creating the right “atmosphere” at the site, gave rise to a complex agenda of preservation, memorialization and interpretation that is still evolving. Initially, Forbes’s monuments provided a focus for the visitor to the battlefield, but the moorland itself lacked any recognition of its status as sacred space. The planting of stands of conifers and larches in the second half of the nineteenth century had quickly obscured the battlefield from view, with only a small clearing containing the cairn and the clan marker stones left visible alongside the road. Disquiet grew about public behavior in the unprotected site, with the main guidebook appealing to visitors not to “destroy or dig up the graves” and to show respect to “the last resting-place of many a brave highlander.”⁴⁹ Lack of planning controls added to the indignities. The Post Office ran a line of telephone poles and wires across the site. A bungalow appeared on a plot of land close to the memorials in 1937. By the late 1940s, cafés and teahouses “threatened” to become the dominant feature of the site, with vehicles parked on the grass verges at busy times in summer—often unwittingly on or close to the graves themselves.⁵⁰

Most observers agreed that the site lacked “atmosphere” and needed more protection from damage. The roots of action dated back to 1902 when the Gaelic Society of Inverness placed a fence round the cairn to prevent visitors from defacing the monument, especially by carving their initials. In 1921, the society appointed a committee to restore and repair the memorials, with a campaign for scheduling them as ancient monuments being finally successful in 1925. The ability to manage the site *in toto* came only gradually as the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), a conservation charity set up to protect Scotland’s natural and cultural heritage, purchased the separate plots of land that comprised the site. Between 1937 and 1998,

almost all the battlefield came into NTS hands by gift or purchase, with Hector Forbes of Culloden giving the memorials and Old Leanach Cottage to the Trust in 1944. Unified ownership allowed the introduction of a threefold strategy, whereby the NTS sought to preserve the integrity, atmosphere, graves and memorials of the battlefield; to restore it to its 1746 appearance; and to interpret it to the visitor.

These seemingly straightforward aims, however, masked considerable complexity, particularly over the appropriate state to which to restore the battlefield. At a general level, this raises questions of authenticity—the notion that in some sense the “real” can be identified, distilled or rediscovered from the morass of the modern. In the case of a battlefield like Culloden, continuously used for agriculture and forestry over 250 years, the difficulty of matching inconsistent eighteenth-century accounts with the contemporary physical site was understandably problematic. Clearly modern structures such the 1937 bungalow and the wooden cafés could be removed, the telephone lines placed underground, and the B9006 Inverness–Nairn road, which ran across the site, rerouted. The tree plantations, too, could be cleared. Rather greater problems arose from the fact that the original battlefield was an area with farm buildings, enclosures and roadways, which have required archaeological work to distinguish the 1746 pattern from those structures and other features not present at that time. Further difficulties arose with buildings believed to have had connection with the battle.

Old Leanach Cottage provides an instructive example (figure 4). Tradition held that it was a survival from the 1740s, with interpretive materials and battlefield signage suggesting that a nearby barn provided the scene for the worst atrocity associated with Culloden, in which government troops set the building alight with thirty Jacobite wounded inside. With that history in mind, the NTS opened Old Leanach Cottage as a “Battlefield Information Centre” in 1959, housing a small display of relics, facsimiles and a model of the battlefield. After the construction of a purpose-built center in 1970, the NTS reinterpreted the cottage as a Highland croft, which apparently fitted very neatly with the idea of restoring the battlefield to its original state. The restorers furnished the cottage in a manner thought appropriate to the mid-eighteenth century, with a mother comforting her baby in front of a peat fire, surrounded by furnishings and domestic utensils. Gaelic music and verse resonated in



Fig. 4. Old Leanach Cottage (2005)

the background. This depiction also reinforced the idea of the traditional Highland way of life destroyed by the battle. More recently, even though two histories of the NTS have suggested that it served as Prince Charles's headquarters during the battle,⁵¹ the NTS reinterpreted the cottage as a dressing station for the government troops, complete with bloodstained table and bandages, military trunks and a Union flag. This at least fitted the general position of the present cottage close to the government lines, even if there was no evidence of use of the cottage for that function.

More recent archaeological work, however, cast doubt on all these interpretations. There was no evidence of any settlement on this site in 1746. The cottage dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and was not present at the time of the battle. There were no signs of burning. What were previously assumed to be the foundations of a barn are in fact the remains of a walled vegetable garden. If the associated atrocity did occur, it was likely that the original settlement of Old Leanach was some distance from the present cottage. Indeed, if one were to apply rigidly the logic of stripping away the accretion of subsequent generations to reveal the landscape at the time of the battle, then Old Leanach Cottage would be a prime candidate for demolition.

The Visitor Center offers the NTS's "official" history of the site, conveyed by audiovisual presentation, a permanent display of information

boards and an exhibition of artifacts. The standard narrative of romantic Jacobitism, eroded at the margins by incremental revision and reappraisal, pervades presentation of the memory of the battle and the associated events of the 'Forty-Five. The audiovisual presentation comprises a 15-minute film made in 1996 entitled *Culloden—The Jacobite Rising of 1745*, written and narrated by the Hebridean actor and writer Finlay J. Macdonald. The production company has added new visual material to take account of new understandings of Culloden as the result of a dynastic conflict, but the soundtrack commentary remains intact given that Macdonald has since died. The commentary portrays Culloden as “the graveyard of the dream for which men died.... A civil war fired by the dream of this man that he would one day occupy the throne from which his Stuart ancestors had been banished 60 years before—the man we now call Bonnie Prince Charlie.”

The narrative did not attempt to address the political background from which the events of the 'Forty-Five developed. Macdonald merely asserted that both armies fought for causes they did not understand—the Highlanders because “their chiefs had ordered them to,” and the enlisted men of the Hanoverian army because they had “no option but to obey.”⁵² Typically, the personality of Prince Charles Edward received greatest emphasis. The film portrayed him as a magnetic figure who derived moral strength from passionate pursuit of a sacred quest; a position that allowed him to persuade clan chiefs “against their better judgement” to support his venture. Initially the clans seemed unstoppable, inflicting bloody defeats on the government forces and invading England. The turning point stemmed as much from the disenchantment of the Highlanders as from their leaders’ actions. Restive, far from home in an “English winter,” they lost heart and succumbed to the temptation to slip away to their homes. Eventually, they assembled on an ill-chosen field of battle at Drumossie Moor (Culloden), tired, hungry, with biting wind and sleet blowing in their faces. They were armed, according to the commentary, “only with broadsword, axes and shields and the fearsome reputation of their charge”—although in reality most of the soldiers had muskets and bayonets, discarded before undertaking the charge, and their commanders could also call on field artillery. The Hanoverian army, by contrast, enjoyed the seemingly unsporting advantages of being more numerous, more experienced, well equipped, better trained and properly provisioned. Acting on the broadcast of a

deliberate lie that the Jacobites had been ordered to give no quarter to their opponents wounded in battle, the Hanoverians exacted revenge for past defeats and murdered the wounded where they lay, pursuing the “tattered remnants of the Jacobites with vicious cruelty.” Supporters led the dazed Charles from the field of battle to his legendary wanderings, exile in Rome and eventually to a drunken middle age. Meanwhile in the Highlands “revenge ... was terrible.” An alien culture engulfed the land, “emigrations and evictions followed and the way of life of the Scottish Highlands [was] destroyed forever.”

The permanent displays of information boards and artifacts support this partial rendering of the story of Culloden. The information boards, now modified versions of a display put up in 1984, emphasize the traditional Highland way of life, the society and loyalty of the Highlanders at the start of the uprising and the loss of that way of life at the end. The text explains the reasons for war in purely dynastic and religious terms—originating with the unpopular pro-Catholic and despotic policies of James II, his flight to the continent and subsequent attempts of the family to regain the throne. The battle itself is seen as an unequal match between a disordered, tired and hungry Highland army and well-disciplined government troops, swords against guns and bayonets. The death toll is given as 1,200 Jacobites to 400 government troops—the latter figure itself a significant change from the fifty casualties claimed in earlier interpretive material—with 3,000 men, women and children killed in the “ensuing carnage.” The final section deals with repression of the Highlands, economic change and resultant Clearances⁵³ and emigration, ending with the dutiful statement that now “all over the world proud claimants to highland descent bear witness to the continuing strength of the Gaelic tradition.” Recent addenda discuss the experience of Scots in the American colonies, their fear of the Crown, and a poster from Moores Creek Bridge National Battlefield, North Carolina—known as America’s Culloden because so many Scots fought on both sides. Nevertheless, on leaving the exhibition, the visitor encounters a life-size figure of the Duke of Cumberland as he was in middle age rather than at the time of Culloden, conveying the image of a large, ugly, obese and snarling man to set alongside that of the dashing Prince Charles.

Taken collectively, the NTS presentations still essentially consolidate the lachrymose account offered by romantic Jacobitism, with the battle-

field expressing the notion of sacred space. The Trust’s first official guide pointed to the graves as marking the spot where “the traditional way of life of Highland Scotland died in a most horrible manner, mown down by musket fire, cannon and grapeshot, while armed with swords, dirk and targe.”⁵⁴ The “Highlanders,” fighting against terrible odds, were let down by their leaders:

As with all battles there were brave men on both sides, but on Drumossie moor, thoughts inevitably turn to the defeated. They were outnumbered ... ill equipped, their artillery poor, their cavalry few; exhausted, having marched all night on an abortive foray; hungry, because poor staff work had left their food supplies in Inverness. They were badly led, being required to fight over ground which suited Cumberland’s cannon and cavalry and handicapped their main tactic, the charge.

Yet they went into battle with a courage which has passed into legend, and which today we still salute.⁵⁵

Moreover, the interpretation at the battlefield situates these events in a golden age, hinting that the struggle at Culloden was in support of an order in which people lived close to the land in their ancestral domains. Their defeat meant the irrevocable destruction of that order by enemy forces that were alien, colonizing and Other. This then was no mere political cause that was at stake, but the cultural and economic future of the Gaelic Highlands.

There are suggestions, however, that matters are not necessarily as simple as this and that Culloden “gave brutal impetus” to what otherwise would have been a gradual social change⁵⁶—thoughts that perhaps presage wider changes in interpretive content. One can note too that there are already different emphases and occasionally conflicting details offered by the different interpretation media. More perhaps would be forthcoming to replace outdated explanations if it were not for lack of funds for investment in the interpretive infrastructure. Comparison of emphases from past interpretive materials shows some shifting of positions. The 1965 guidebook described the conflict as a battle between two nations, albeit dressed up in racial terms:

For whatever its dynastic and military effects might be, Culloden was to prove the final defeat of an ancient race; the race which gave its name to the country, the race which won independence for Scotland at Bannockburn, and a race which was now doomed. The Celtic Scot had at long last been conquered by the Anglo-Saxon.

By 2003, the author had eradicated this element and restated the conflict in terms of civil war:

Culloden was a battle in a civil war. As in all civil wars there was for some the special agony, facing the enemy, of seeing a brother or a son on the other side.... Perhaps the deciding factor in the Rising of 1745, however, was the great majority who did not rise; the Highlanders and Lowlanders, Scots and English, who stayed at home and awaited the outcome.⁵⁷

Yet even this rendition still testified to the long-established modes of representation. It still signally fails to face up to reinterpretations that see this as a dynastic dispute with European as well as British dimensions, as an event that accentuated processes of economic and social change that were already in operation, and as one in which Scot fought against Scot.

CONCLUSION

Seen against that background, the Culloden Memorial Project, announced in 2004, faces a considerable challenge. At one level, it addresses the practical needs for better staff accommodation, visitor services, education and conference facilities that will see yet another visitor center, the third in fifty years, constructed at a projected cost of £7.25 million. In the process, it will allow demolition of the existing structure, itself located on a part of the battlefield in favor of a new center located off the field of combat, 200 meters to the south. At another level, it seeks to improve Culloden as a visitor attraction, meeting “the expectations of today’s discerning, well-travelled visitors,”⁵⁸ who might reasonably compare its interpretive practices with international competitors. This is intended to halt the fall in paying visitor numbers, which declined from 109,810 in accounting

year 2000–2001 to 85,120 in 2004–5. The forecast is for an increase to 400,000 by 2008.⁵⁹ Yet most crucially, the project needs to perform a balancing act in representing the memory of Culloden. On the one hand, it deals with an event that, despite having occurred over 260 years ago, remains “deeply ingrained and significant in the consciousness of the Scottish people.”⁶⁰ On the other hand, it needs to adjust its interpretive narratives to take into account changing national circumstances, such as the *return* of the Parliament to Edinburgh in 1999 following devolution and the place of Scotland, like the rest of the United Kingdom, in Europe.

When dealing with the redesign of the interpretation, the design team has looked to international practice. This was perhaps inevitable given that Culloden is exceptional in British experience. Hence, while Gareth Hoskins Architects, a Scottish firm based in Glasgow, received the commission for building design and interpretive landscaping of the battlefield, the contract for interpretation at the center and the battlefield went to Ralph Appelbaum Associates (RAA), based in New York, London and Beijing. Commonly recognized as the world’s largest interpretive museum design firm, RAA’s other credits include the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Newseum in Washington, DC, the American Civil War Visitor Center in Richmond, Virginia, and the Clinton Presidential Center in Arkansas.

The initial plans for this latest exercise in the re-remembering of Culloden envisage a narrative-led approach, maintaining a focus on the European dimension as an underpinning to the story of the raising of the standard, the march on London and events leading up to the battle itself. This approach will also allow for parallel development of themes such as the role of women, the churches and the ’Forty-Five, the impact on London and Londoners, and an exploration of Gaelic culture. The interpretation of the battle will incorporate two elements, both drawing on international practice. One uses audiovisual, live interpretation and interactive displays to engage the emotions by seemingly immersing visitors in the sights and sounds of battle. The other echoes the approach taken at In Flanders Fields (the World War I museum at Ypres, Flanders) and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum by emphasizing the personal stories and eyewitness accounts of those involved.

It remains unclear whether commitment to the latest techniques of heritage interpretation will succeed in generating understanding through

creating personal involvement or will simply trivialize by turning the visitor's experience into a superficial game. It also remains uncertain whether enlisting the armory of the international heritage industry can substantively dent the prevalence of a conflict still locally conceptualized as the outcome of "one man's dream,"⁶¹ as the conflict between the traditional and modern orders, and as a battle that pitted Scotland against England. One visitor's written comments, made in 2005 after inspecting the current exhibition displays, illustrate the extent of that task: "Be careful not to give a biased account of the battle. Scotland needs to move forward not back, there is a huge ANTI-ENGLISH feeling here—you need to get over it."

Nevertheless, as we have seen in this article, the past is not only remembered but also re-remembered as meanings evolve and as fashions in remembrance and interpretation are played out. The field of victory became a landscape of sorrow after a long period in which there was little or no public interest in it. A nondescript patch of moorland, devoted to rough pasture and later forestry plantations, turned into a sacred and protected space complete with memorials and commemorative ceremonies. Yet it is not without significance that a substantial part of the funding for the new Visitor Center comes from the European Union and the Scottish Executive, the post-1999 devolved government for Scotland, which has a major concern for promoting and shaping national identity. Their involvement implies the possibility of challenging elements of site interpretation still suffused with Jacobite myth and the image of Scotland that it supports. If, as Hodgkin and Radstone noted, "contests over the meaning of the past are also contests over the meaning of the present and over ways of taking the past forward,"⁶² then further change in representation of the memory of the 'Forty-Five is possible even at what currently appears one of Scotland's most emotive and iconic heritage sites.

NOTES

1. The word "Jacobitism" stems from "Jacobus," the Latin for "James." The Jacobite movement was not confined to Scotland but found its key military recruiting grounds there (see below). For general sources on Jacobitism, besides the more specific sources cited below, see Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689–1746* (London, 1980); Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689–1759* (Edinburgh, 1982); Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland*

and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment (Dublin, 2000); Doron Zimmermann, *The Jacobite Movement in Scotland and in Exile, 1746–1759* (Basingstoke, 2003); Geoffrey Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire* (Philadelphia, 2006).

2. Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations*, no. 26 (1989), 11.

3. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989), 75.

4. Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 13.

5. James V. Wersch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, (Cambridge, 2002), 13; Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, “Introduction: Contested Pasts,” in idem, eds., *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory* (London, 2003), 13; and Jeffrey K. Olick, “Introduction,” in idem, ed., *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts and Transformations in National Retrospection* (Durham, NC, 2003), 7.

6. Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Tradition,” in idem and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 1.

7. Paul Readman, “The Place of the Past in English Culture, c. 1890–1914,” *Past and Present*, no. 186 (Feb. 2005): 147–99. These anniversaries additionally played a role in framing conceptions of nationhood and Englishness. With regard to the theme of loss of folk practices in the face of modernity, see John R. Gold and George Reville, “Gathering the Voices of the People? Cecil Sharp, Cultural Hybridity and the Folk Music of Appalachia,” *GeoJournal* 63, no 1 (2006): 55–66.

8. Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York, 2004), 2, 9, 18.

9. Gary R. Edgerton and Peter C. Rollins, “Introduction: Television as Historian—a Different Kind of History Altogether,” in idem, eds., *Television Histories Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age* (Lexington, 2001), 1–16.

10. David Crouch, Felix Thompson and Rhona Jackson, “Introduction,” in idem, eds., *The Media and the Tourist Imagination* (London, 2005), 1, 3. The significance of this source of tourism for Scotland is conveyed by Donald V. L. MacLeod, ed., *Niche Tourism in Question* (Dumfries, 2003).

11. S. Semmel, “Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting and Memory after Waterloo,” *Representations*, no. 69 (winter 2000): 10. For more discussion, see: D. W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919–1939* (Oxford, 1998); Anthony V. Seaton, “War and Thanatourism: Waterloo, 1815–1914,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26 (1999): 130–58; idem, “‘Another Weekend away Looking for Dead Bodies...’: Battlefield Tourism on the Somme and in Flanders,” *Tourism Recreation Research* 25, no. 3 (2000): 63–77.

12. Athinodoros Chronis, “Coconstructing Heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 2 (2005): 386–406.

13. Respectively, *Gettysburg*, dir. Ronald Maxwell (Turner Productions, 1993), and *The Civil War*, dir. Ken Burns (Public Broadcasting System, 1990).

14. Chronis, "Coconstructing Heritage," 402.

15. For more general comment on this theme, see John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Aldershot, 1995). For more specific comment on Culloden, see John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, "Representing Culloden: Social Memory, Battlefield Heritage and Landscapes of Regret," in Stephen P. Hanna and Vincent J. Del Casino, Jr., eds., *Mapping Tourism: Representation, Identity and Intertextuality* (Minneapolis, 2003), 108–31.

16. Lyrics from the anonymous seventeenth-century air, "When the King Enjoys His Own Again"; see H. E. Piggot, *Songs That Made History* (London, 1937), 37.

17. Unlike the 'Forty-Five when Charles Edward Stuart directly participated in raising an army and leading his troops, James Stuart (the Old Pretender) had "precious little impact on the rising proper"; see Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven, CT, 2006), 2.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Cause* (Glasgow, 1986), 43. For discussion of the 'Forty-Five *per se*, see Hilary Kemp, *The Jacobite Rebellion* (London, 1975); Michael Hook and Walter Ross, *The 'Forty-Five: The Last Jacobite Rebellion* (Edinburgh, 1995); Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700–2000* (Harmondsworth, 2000).

20. Christopher Duffy, *The '45* (London, 2003), 502.

21. Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh, 1995), 2–3; Hook and Ross, *The 'Forty-Five*, 112

22. John Burton, *A Genuine and True Journal of the most Miraculous Escape of the Young Chevalier: From the Battle of Culloden to His Landing in France* (London, 1749); Robert Chambers, ed., *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745* (Edinburgh, 1834). See also Chambers's earlier book, *History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745–1746* (Edinburgh, 1827).

23. Peter F. Lole, *A Digest of Jacobite Clubs*, Royal Stuart Papers 55 (Ilford, 1999).

24. See Dafydd Moore, *Enlightenment and Romance in James Macpherson's "The Poems of Ossian": Myth, Genre and Cultural Change* (Aldershot, 2003); Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorenson, eds., *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge, 2004). On Ossian's influence in northern Europe, see Kenneth Olwig, *Nature's Ideological Language: A Literary and Geographic Perspective on Its Development and Preservation on Denmark's Jutland Heath* (London, 1984); Paul M. Marshall and Joan de Ris Marshall, *Fingal's Cave, the Poems of Ossian*,

and *Celtic Christianity* (New York, 1999); Howard Gaskell, ed., *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London, 2004).

25. Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 232.

26. *Ibid.*, 240.

27. Walter Scott, *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, 3 vols. (1814; London, 1972), 429.

28. Walter Scott, *From Montrose to Culloden: Bonnie Prince Charlie and Scotland's Romantic Age* (1828; Nashville, TN, 2001), 332.

29. See John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972).

30. Anon., “Bonnie Prince Charlie,” *The Times*, 28 Oct. 1948, 7.

31. Cinematograph, “Bonnie Prince Charlie,” *The Times*, 21 Nov. 1923, 10; James Harding, *Ivor Novello: 1893–1951* (Cardiff, 1997), 52.

32. Although English-born and trained at Sandhurst, Niven emphasized his Scottish roots—to the point of sometimes claiming to have been born in Scotland.

33. The Hanoverians did retain strong German accents when speaking English for a considerable time, but this particular portrayal owed more to cinematic stereotypes than pursuit of documentary realism.

34. Richard Butt, “The Films of Scotland Documentaries,” part 5 “Touring History,” http://sites.scran.ac.uk/films_of_scotland/Travelogue/chapter05.htm (accessed 17 Jan. 2007).

35. Peter Watkins, “Part II: The Films of Peter Watkins: Culloden,” http://www.mnsi.net/~pwwatkins/PW_Culloden.htm (accessed 17 Jan. 2007).

36. John E. C. Prebble, *Culloden* (London, 1961).

37. Harvard Film Archive, “Uncomfortable Truths: The Cinema of Peter Watkins,” <http://www.harvardfilmarchive.org/calendars/01janfeb/watkins.htm> (accessed 17 Jan. 2007).

38. Peter Watkins, *The War Game* (BBC Television, 1965). This film about a fictional nuclear attack on a British city was banned by the BBC for television showing but allowed cinema release.

39. Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland, 1769* (Chester: 1771), 144.

40. John Lettice, *Letters on a Tour through Various Parts of Scotland in the Year 1792* (London, 1794), 258.

41. Beriah Botfield, *Journal of a Tour through the Highlands of Scotland during the Summer of MDCCCXXIX* (London, 1829), 130, 175.

42. William Howitt, *Visits to Remarkable Places, Old Halls, Battlefields, and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry* (London, 1840).

43. Peter Anderson, *Guide to Culloden Moor and the Story of the Battle, with Description of the Stone Circles and Cairns at Clava* (Edinburgh, 1867), 5, 67.

44. George and Peter Anderson, *Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland including Orkney and Zetland; Description of Their Scenery, Statistics, Antiquities and Natural History: With Numerous Historical Notices* (London, 1834).

45. Colin McArthur, "Culloden: A Pre-emptive Strike," *Scottish Affairs*, no. 9 (autumn 1994): 97–126.

46. *Ibid.*, 106.

47. Michael Heffernan, "For Ever England: The Western Front and the Politics of Remembrance in Britain," *Ecumene* 2, no.2 (1995): 293–323; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995).

48. Cited by McArthur, "Culloden," 106.

49. Peter Anderson, "Guide to Culloden Moor" (Stirling, 1920), 89.

50. Ward Lock and Cos., *Inverness, Strathpeffer and the North of Scotland* (London, 1947), 48.

51. Robert Hurd, *Scotland under Trust: The Story of the National Trust for Scotland and Its Properties* (London, 1939), 20; Jenni Calder, *Scotland in Trust: The National Trust for Scotland* (Glasgow, 1990), 87.

52. The sense that the soldiers fought under duress is questionable, given the numbers of volunteers who participated at Culloden and in the 'Forty-Five generally.

53. The Highland "Clearances" was the name given to the enforced displacement of tenancies from estates in the Scottish Highlands and Islands to make way, initially, for agricultural "Improvement."

54. The dirk is a long, straight-bladed dagger; a target is an oval or circular shield.

55. Source material from NTS (National Trust for Scotland), *Culloden: A Guidebook to the Battlefield with the Story of the Battle, the Events Leading to It and the Aftermath* (Edinburgh, 1965). Later versions of this brochure bear the single-word title *Culloden* and can only be differentiated by their dates.

56. NTS, *Culloden* (Edinburgh, 1990), 33, and (Edinburgh, 2003), 32.

57. NTS, *Culloden* (Edinburgh, 1965), 34, and (Edinburgh, 2003), 2.

58. National Trust for Scotland, "Press Release: Funding Boost for Culloden," 30 Sept. 2004, <http://www.nts.org.uk/web/site/home/press/fundingCulloden.asp?NavPage=1339&NavId=2012&> (accessed 7 Jan. 2007).

59. Anon., "New Battlefield Visitor Centre Project Given £250,000," *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 20 Jan. 2006.

60. See the quotation at the start of this article.

61. NTS, *Culloden* (Edinburgh, 2003), 2.

62. Hodgkin and Radstone, "Introduction," 1.