

CULLODEN 300

Living with the Battlefield

Full Report

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Executive summary

Culloden Battlefield is the site of the last pitched battle in Britain fought between Government and Jacobite troops in 1746. The cultural landscape surrounding the battlefield is of vital importance to people who inhabit, work, and visit it from around the world. But we are currently risking the ruin of this landscape by allowing inappropriate development. More than 3,000 people surveyed made it clear that this landscape holds deep resonance.

Current conservation mechanisms are not working. This is evidenced by the 16-housedevelopment at Viewhill, visible from the middle of the battlefield. The stakes are high and action is needed now.

The integrity of the site is currently under threat from piecemeal decision-making, unclear guidance and a lack of focussed resource. Without integrated planning, community support and a holistic response to the resource, it is likely that the cultural landscape surrounding the battlefield will be lost. This will happen not because agencies, communities and Government do not value the site, but because we were not proactive enough in working together. Active, collaborative and future-focused management is vital to conserve the cultural landscape of Culloden Battlefield.

The most visited area, the part of the battlefield in NTS ownership, cannot be separated from the wider landscape, and current historical research suggests that this may only be a third of the total land fought over during the battle. The fields and farms that surround the

property inform understanding of the site, and through the vistas and views, visitors to the site can gain a greater understanding of the scale of the battle. It is the context of the site that makes the experience: the openness of the landscape that gives it the sense of place.

It is the intersection between the story of the site, the landscape itself and how this is tied up with issues of cultural identity that gives the site its sense of place. While these things may be intangible and are currently not measured, the feelings that are engendered by these elements coming together are legitimate and valid. For Culloden, it is the actions that took place on the battlefield as well as the impact of these actions that give the place its cultural significance. It is reasonable to say that those actions affected not only the local populations but also resonated through Scottish and UK culture, ultimately resonating around the world.

Culloden Battlefield in its widest sense is a community asset: one that is valued across the globe but is particularly focused on communities of interest. The relative intactness of the extended battlefield landscape contributes significantly to the sense of place and it is there that the site is most vulnerable. It is fundamental that this wider area is recognised, and a better way of protecting it is found.

This report summarises the findings of a six-month survey carried out by the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), during spring and summer of 2019. The NTS team at Culloden engaged with stakeholders locally, nationally and internationally, in an exercise to understand the impact of the site, its story and the landscape, on both local people and those communities of interest that care about the site.

The biggest concern appears to be that current mechanisms clearly do not protect the sense of place or wider cultural landscape associated with the battlefield. Action is needed now because the number of planning applications is likely to increase.

Background and purpose of the report

Culloden Battlefield is a site of international importance – the location of the last battle between Government and Jacobite troops in the Jacobite rising of 1745. The impact of the battle and its aftermath resonates not only in Scotland but across the UK and the wider world. The National Trust for Scotland has long been aware that we look after only a small part of the battlefield; the wider area is largely un-investigated.

Over the past 10 years agricultural land in the Inverness/Culloden area has come under increasing pressure from development. This is due to a range of factors, not least the growth in population in the Inverness area and the lack of housing.

Culloden Battlefield is a hugely evocative site. In 2019 it attracted over 300,000 people from across the world who wanted to explore the wider story of the battle and the Jacobite risings. It's clear from our work that visitors and local people value the site and, crucially, the wider setting of the battlefield itself. When asked what makes the site

special, one participant responded: 'The lack of buildings. With your back to the visitor centre **you can actually blank out modern life, and envision it as it was.** It would destroy the atmosphere of the place to build anywhere near this.' What's clear from the reactions of visitors is that the site is different – there's a special resonance, a sense of place associated with it that brings together emotion, the history of the site and the landscape. Together these elements create an atmosphere that has a significant effect on visitors and holds cultural significance.

Although the site sits within a statutory conservation area, the process for decision-making is far from ideal and inappropriate development is taking place that impacts on the battlefield setting. This presents a critical risk to the site and ultimately could destroy its sense of place as articulated by the communities of interest that surround Culloden.

This report is intended to explore those communities of interest, to identify what our communities want and to gauge how participants feel about the battlefield. From this we make recommendations on how the cultural landscape should be managed based on the needs of our communities, both local and those who are invested in the wider Culloden story.

Methodology

The Culloden 300 project research was split into three phases:

1. An online survey of three questions targeted at our communities of interest – this was intended to establish the context of feeling towards the site and ensure that the recommendations delivered in the document were broadly in line with what our communities wanted.
2. Town and community hall events across Croy, Balloch, Smithton and Culloden – these were to ensure we were engaging with local people about issues that affected them.

3. Targeted conversations with experts, councillors and interested groups – we wanted to gain a better understanding of the context we were working within and, where appropriate, to test ideas.

This research has given us a sense of what our communities of interest care about when thinking about the battlefield and its wider landscape. It is the beginning of a conversation on the future of the Culloden Battlefield area. Any actions that come from the work mentioned in this document must be tested with our communities; it's only with their support that the wider landscape should be managed.

Detailed analysis

Online survey

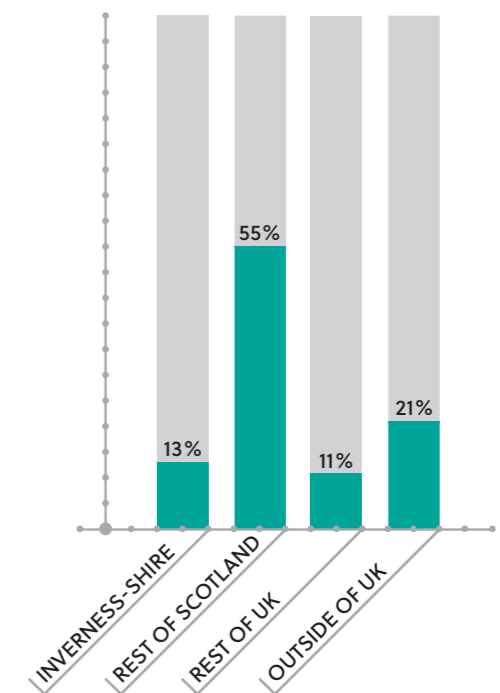
This survey was designed and delivered by market research agency Arkenford Ltd, and ran from April to August 2019. We asked participants to 'Tell us what three things you think are important about the landscape at Culloden; this could be what you enjoy, what concerns you or what you would not want to lose...'

Free text boxes were completed, which were then analysed for common words and themes. Participants were also asked to identify where they were from.

The survey was publicised through leaflets, social media, local and national press, as well as an exhibition in Leanach Cottage on Culloden Battlefield itself.

Demographics

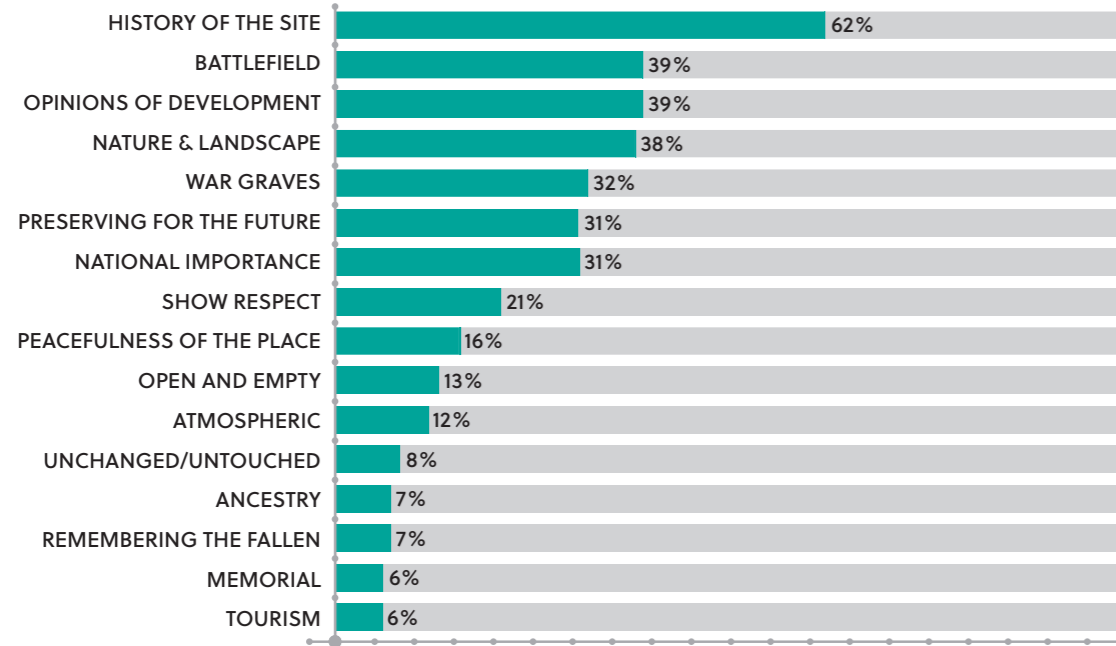
In total **2,900 people participated** in the online survey, the majority of which (**68%**) came from **Scotland**. This indicates a strong national response to issues around the battlefield. While there was good awareness from the **Inverness area (13% of participants)**, it was predominantly a national issue (55%). There were also good numbers of responses from the **rest of the UK (11%)** and the **wider world (21%)**, which shows that concern for the site is international.



Themes

16 key themes emerged from the analysis of the responses. Overall, people spoke about the importance of the history of the site as well as the battlefield and gave opinions on development. The importance of preserving the site and showing respect to the people

whose lives were affected by the battle was clear from the survey responses. Significantly, the setting for the battlefield was highlighted through keyword themes such as peacefulness, open and empty, atmospheric and unchanged.



CATEGORY NAME	RESPONSE COMMENT
HISTORY OF THE SITE	I enjoy walking alone around the battlefield (all of it). It has a unique sense of history which I haven't found anywhere else on earth – and in that I include the likes of Gettysburg.
	The unspoiled atmospheric feel of Culloden is irreplaceable; the history is laid out in front of you.
BATTLEFIELD	Impressive and beautiful battlefield.
	It is such an important event in Scottish history and should be regarded as a recognised battlefield and given protection.
OPINIONS ON DEVELOPMENT	The atmosphere and context of the site will be threatened by any modern development and should be protected.
	It's just wrong to have any developments on this land.
NATURE & LANDSCAPE	It's a serene and breathtaking landscape.
	The size and open nature of the site.
WAR GRAVES	It's a war cemetery, where men fought and died for the freedom of our country and should be respected.
	Culloden is a war grave and this should be respected. Countries all over the globe respect their war graves and none would let developers desecrate them.
PRESERVING FOR THE FUTURE/ FUTURE GENERATIONS	Visiting Culloden leaves you feeling that your history should be kept for future generations.
	The land should belong to the people of Scotland forever and preserved for prosperity.
NATIONAL IMPORTANCE	It's our Scottish history and should remain for all locals and tourists.
	It is part of our Scottish heritage and should be protected.
SHOW RESPECT	It must remain as it is, out of respect for the fallen, so that generations that come after us, will be able to pay their respects.
	It is a place of respect. The history surrounded us. It is a special place to give thought to all those buried here and who fought for their beliefs.
PEACEFULNESS OF THE PLACE	The eerie peace of the place.
	It's quiet, ideal for reflecting on the lives lost.
OPEN AND EMPTY	In particular, the empty bleakness is what moorland should be. This should be left as it is.
	I love the peace and open feel of the moor.
ATMOSPHERIC	The site's atmosphere of quiet contemplation.
	To have the atmosphere of a historic site disturbed or removed would dilute the visitor's experience. People died, for causes rightly or wrongly adopted, and the visitor needs to be allowed to reflect on this in an ambience befitting the aftermath of such an event.
UNCHANGED/ UNTOUCHED	The battlefield and immediate surrounding area should be left as it was at the time of the battle to allow visitors to better appreciate the events.
	In keeping the site as much as it was in 1746 not only do you do honour to those that fought (being the last pitched battle fought in the UK) but you also maintain the natural flora and fauna of the region for environmental aspects.
ANCESTRY	I have ancestors who died there. It's sacred ground for all who lost family there.
	It's more than a graveyard; Remembrance and respect for our Ancestors.
REMEMBERING THE FALLEN	Culloden is a historical place, we have to respect the dead soldiers lying there. This landscape reminds us of our memories and for me and my family it is important to let it be that way.
	Respect for the fallen who fought to save our country, now it's our turn to save their historic battleground.
MEMORIAL	As Scotland's memorial to one of its greatest upheavals, Culloden deserves to be given war grave status.
	It is a memorial site of something historical, terribly important to the Scottish culture and Scottish people and may never be forgotten.
TOURISM	It's an important landmark and draw tourists to the area.
	While tourism is important for the local area, it should never be allowed to get out of control. Please keep a fair balance between tourism and respect for what is essentially a cemetery and site of special interest.

The themes were analysed for regional variation of importance. The history of the site features highly across all areas, but there was an especially high response in the Inverness area for the importance of the site in terms of development and as a natural landscape.

	INVERNESS-SHIRE	REST OF SCOTLAND	REST OF UK	OUTSIDE OF UK
HISTORY OF THE SITE	50%	65%	62%	62%
BATTLEFIELD	43%	36%	42%	45%
OPINIONS ON DEVELOPMENT	48%	37%	40%	36%
NATURE & LANDSCAPE	44%	36%	47%	34%
WAR GRAVES	27%	36%	28%	27%
PRESERVING FOR THE FUTURE/FUTURE GENERATIONS	31%	30%	34%	32%
NATIONAL IMPORTANCE	19%	35%	26%	29%
SHOW RESPECT	16%	22%	21%	23%
PEACEFULNESS OF THE PLACE	17%	14%	22%	16%
OPEN AND EMPTY	19%	13%	16%	8%
ATMOSPHERIC	12%	13%	15%	6%
UNCHANGED/ UNTOUCHED	5%	9%	10%	7%
ANCESTRY	6%	6%	3%	11%
REMEMBERING THE FALLEN	6%	6%	7%	8%
MEMORIAL	4%	6%	7%	7%
TOURISM	7%	7%	3%	5%

The highlighted cells show the regions that afforded the most importance to given themes.

History of the site

62% of comments mentioned the history of the site.

This was the most important theme across the online survey. There were several emotional responses to the history of the site itself, and there were also numerous mentions of the need to care for the site and the potential loss of historical significance.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'Culloden is hugely important in the history and culture of Scotland and its people.'

'Teaching history is more engaging when it's real, not just in a textbook. Having access to sites like Culloden allow us to inspire more people, young and old, to take an interest in our history.'

'I wouldn't want to lose a part of Scottish history; once it's gone it won't come back. Why would anyone consent to letting anyone take away such a significant part of Scottish history?'

'I'm concerned the historical significance of the area would be lost forever.'

'Culloden is very important in Scottish history. The site needs to be preserved so that future generations can visit and be taught the history of the site.'

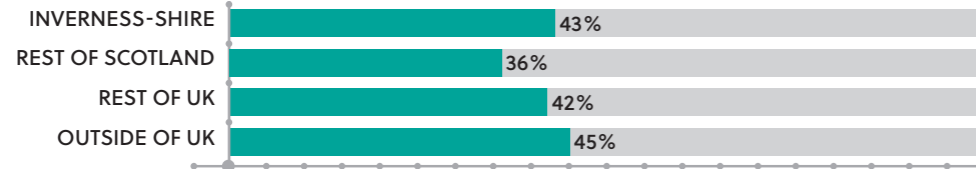


Battlefield

39% of comments mentioned the battlefield.

It's natural that the battlefield should feature prominently in the responses of participants, but they seem to be commenting on the significance of the site as a historical event and one that should be preserved. This is quite closely linked to the first theme of the history of the site.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'It's the site of a major battle, where thousands died and were buried.'

'It is the site of a major battle and is an intrinsic part of Scottish history.'

'Culloden was the last great battle fought on Scottish soil. It represents the tragic loss of the clans people, their lands & customs.'

'Preservation of one of the most significant battle sites in Scotland.'

Opinions on development

39% of comments were opinions on development.

There were strong opinions on developing the area around and on the battlefield, with high responses across all demographics. The opinions were mostly negative, with concerns centring on the loss of a significant site and questioning the ethics around development in the area. This theme was ranked third in importance across all responses, but was the second most important theme in the Inverness and rest of Scotland communities.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'This site is Scottish history, not a development opportunity. It should be preserved for the nation.'

'The fact that it is a war grave to the ancestors of many people worldwide, myself included and should not be desecrated to satisfy developers' greed.'

'The atmosphere which can only be maintained if the landscape is preserved. Only with the wide open spaces can you feel how it must have been for both sides on that day. Any development in the area would encroach on history.'

'Shocking that a commercial development on site is even being considered.'

'I am concerned that by allowing development the battlefield and surrounding area will be changed forever.'

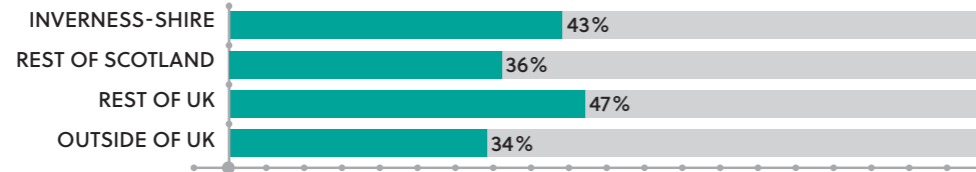


Nature and landscape

38% of comments mentioned the natural landscape.

This was a significant concern for people outwith Scotland, ranking as the second most important concern in the Rest of UK group. Again, the concerns centre on the sense of place, for both peacefulness and the ability to see the expanse of the battle. It's important to note that the battlefield is frequently visited by red kites, is home to rare orchids and provides an important green corridor for wildlife.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'The beauty and simplicity of the landscape with a perfectly clear horizon.'

'The physical landscape and structures, as well as the sanctity and sacred aspects of the hidden landscape of Culloden Moor and Drummoissie Moor, the site of a battlefield and last resting place of the many who died.'

'The moor is an important area for wild flowers and the wildlife that lives there.'

'The natural beauty of (the) windswept landscape itself.'

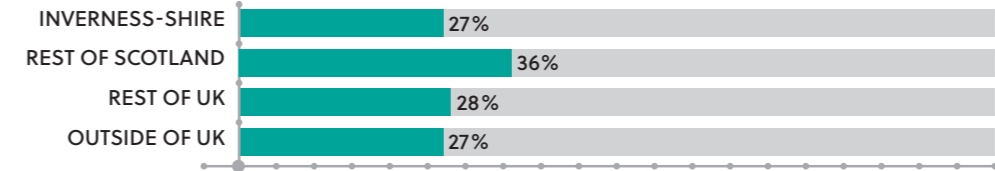
'We can't allow anyone to build on the land because of the natural beauty and its wildlife.'

War Graves

32% of comments mentioned the site as a war grave.

This was closely linked with the protection and preservation of the site. This theme was also linked to concepts of respect and ancestry. There was a general anxiety around the need to protect the site and specifically the graves. This too was linked to the concept of sense of place.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'The protection of war graves, and proper respect given to the battlefield site, is extremely important both within Scotland and to the huge Scottish diaspora overseas who feel this place is theirs too.'

'There is a sense of peace there now and it is a gravesite for so many men, and should be treated with reverence and respect.'

'Culloden is a war grave and as such should be properly protected.'

'It's where my ancestors are buried. You cannot build on a graveyard.'

'The lands of Culloden are sanctified with the graves of over 1,500 brave warriors. To disturb their resting place would be immoral. These men died fighting for their freedom and should be respected.'

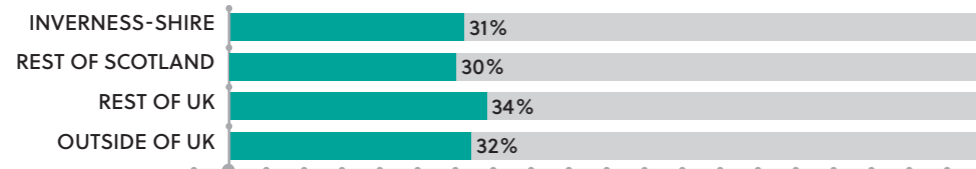


Preservation for the future

31% of comments mentioned the need to preserve the site and the stories attached to it for the future.

This included the need to protect the site against development and look to alternate designations such as World Heritage status. It was clear from the comments that there was an emotional connection with the site and that it had significance for communities within and without Scotland.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'This is a national monument to our history and should be retained for future generations.'

'Culloden should be given World Heritage Site status. It is hallowed ground which needs to be protected and it is a mass grave site as well as the battle lines extending far beyond the current boundaries. History must be preserved of this most important site.'

'This is an important historical site and should be preserved for that reason alone.'

'Culloden is an area of great historical importance and should be preserved intact for future generations.'

'This is our History. This is sacred ground, there are many hundreds of men buried there, and as part of our Scottish History and a site of huge significance it should be preserved.'

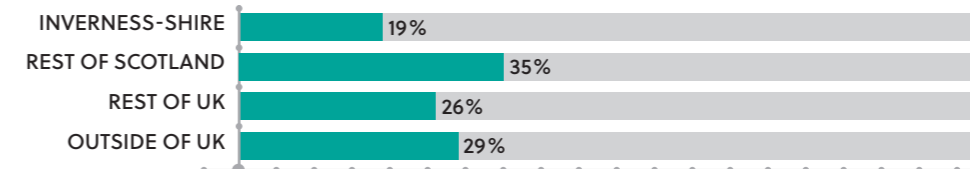
'Every inch of Culloden is sacred to the memory of the clansmen who fought and died there, and should always be protected.'

National importance

31% of comments stated that the site was of national importance, not only in terms of its impact on the economy but also as a historic site.

There was anxiety around the need to preserve the landscape and the sense of place associated with the site. Again, the emotional element was clear in the responses – there is a visceral reaction to the site and its role in Scotland's history.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'Culloden is one of the main tourist attractions in the whole of Scotland. It is a world-renowned site, financially benefitting Inverness and the surrounding areas.'

'Surely this place which means so much in the history of Scotland should be kept as much as possible as it was when the battle took place. Probably the most moving place that I have ever been to and must be preserved.'

'It is a very important part of Scotland's history and is a resting place for the men who fought for their country and heritage.'

'It is (one of the) most historic sites in Scottish history and no building should be allowed that desecrates the memory of the Jacobite struggle.'

'As a Highlander, I think it is an important part of our local and national history, which should be preserved.'

'It's one of the most important historical sites in Scotland.'

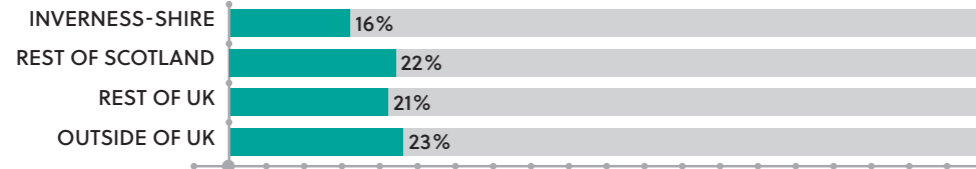


Importance of showing respect

21% of comments mentioned the need to show respect for the site and the people who died there.

Again, there was significant anxiety around development and a tension between concerns around commercialisation of the site and the need to respect the people who died there.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'It's a war grave. Those who lie beneath the ground should be respected.'

'The preservation respects that real people lost their lives and have been buried there.'

'It must remain as it is, out of respect for the fallen, so that generations that come after us, will be able to pay their respects.'

'This is the final resting place of some of my ancestors and anything other than leaving it as it is is abhorrent and disrespectful.'

'Culloden should be as respected as the beaches of Normandy; the enormity of the events that happened here should not be plowed over for commercial gain.'

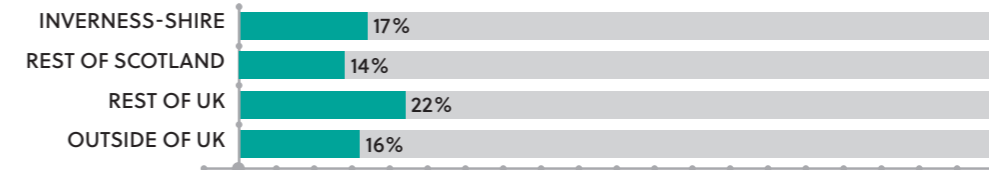


Peacefulness of the place

16% of comments mentioned the peacefulness that could be found out on the battlefield.

This theme is closely linked to Open and empty, Atmospheric and Unchanged, which together featured in 49% of the comments. The concept of sense of place and the importance of preserving that is a strong thread throughout the survey. Additionally, it's the wider landscape (not in the care of the National Trust for Scotland) that contributes to the peacefulness. If there were significant changes in the way the landscape was used, it could impact on the sense of place. This is particularly significant when thinking about development in this context.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'The solitude and silence ... I don't ever remember hearing a sound when I have visited Culloden.'

'It is a final resting place for our fallen ancestors; it should not be desecrated and those of us who go to pay our respects would like to do so in the peaceful, desolate landscape that reminds us of their true sacrifices.'

'The feeling of stepping back into history and having the peace and quiet to imagine what took place there.'

'The haunting peacefulness of the landscape – quiet. The quiet of such a tragic place should not be disturbed.'

'The calm and quiet out on the battlefield allows you to really think and reflect on the history of the location.'

'Sense of quiet and isolation.'

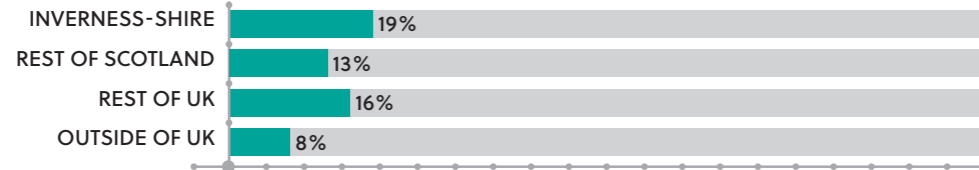


Open and empty

13% of comments mentioned a feeling of openness on the battlefield; as mentioned above, this is closely linked to the themes of peacefulness and sense of place.

It's the wider landscape that influences the atmosphere on the moor; while communities appreciate the space that's protected by the National Trust for Scotland, the surrounding landscape also influences the experience.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'The wide open spaces in and around the battlefield made it feel like we had taken a step back in time. We could almost picture what it must have been like for the people gathered to fight...'

'A wild, desolate, lonely place. A graveyard for many brave men.'

'The open lands and waving grasses of Culloden serve as a gateway view to Scotland's historic past.'

'Wide open space, looking as close as possible to how it would've looked in 1746, where you can hear birdsong, reflect and find peace.'

'The feeling of remoteness when on site.'

'The impressive, untouched, thought-provoking, empty landscape where once a nation fought for their right of self-governance.'

Atmosphere

12% of comments mentioned the importance of atmosphere, closely linked to the earlier themes of peacefulness and sense of place.

These comments underline the connection between the landscape and the events that took place on the moor; it is in the space in-between that communities are making their meaning. Participants linked the historic events, their own emotions and the landscape to create something that's larger than the sum of its parts. This sense of place, spiritual connection or resonance creates a special atmosphere that is difficult to describe but easy to destroy.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'The atmosphere – it has a sense of the past, the windswept moorland. It was a battlefield and is a mass graveyard that should be afforded respect. Development would detract from that.'

'The silent, dignified atmosphere honouring the dead which even my dog picked up. To interfere with this with further development would be nothing short of undignified and disgraceful. There is no justification for it and if NTS do not stand against it we will resign our membership.'

'The atmosphere of the place was amazing – made the hair on the back of my neck stand up. That must be maintained somehow ...'

'The Visitor Centre is really good, but the atmosphere when you walk around the battlefield, and see the stones is something else. It gave me goose bumps just to imagine what happened that day. It would be a crime to lose such a beautiful landmark.'

'Culloden is a very atmospheric place. On the brightest, warmest days there is a deep, brooding (I cannot describe it any other way), melancholy, sorrowful feel on the place. Sends shivers down your spine, a truly amazing place.'

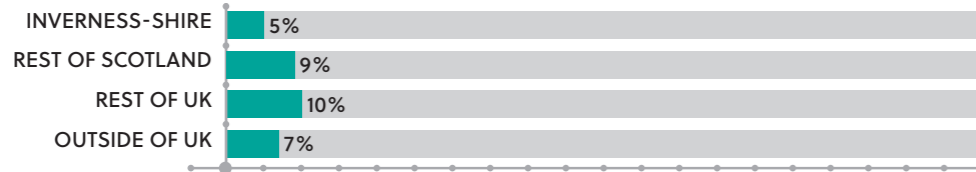


Unchanged

8% of comments mentioned the site feeling unchanged. This concept is closely linked to the earlier concepts of peacefulness and sense of place.

There's a false perception that the land has remained unchanged since the battle – on the contrary, it's a constantly changing landscape that (at least in reference to the land protected by the National Trust for Scotland) is carefully managed. Indeed the Conservation Area zone has been instigated in part to manage change in the landscape, and there's work to be done with community members to help them understand how managed change affects the wider Culloden area. The sense of place associated with the landscape needs to be carefully managed to ensure that key elements are not lost due to piecemeal decision-making.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'The lack of buildings. With your back to the visitor centre you can actually blank out modern life, and envision it as it was. It would destroy the atmosphere of the place to build anywhere near this.'

'The natural surroundings should remain untouched to allow the preservation of the area.'

'Untouched by modern world.'

'Maintaining the landscape as it was at the time of the battle.'

'That this place be forever – forever – kept empty and untouched. It is the most important historical place in Scotland, both a memorial and a war grave where we look to the past and weep, and an inspiration for the future of this beautiful land, where we strive to ensure that mass slaughter never happens again. We should preserve and treasure it for all time.'

'Culloden is a war grave & should be left untouched in memory of the soldiers that died there.'

Ancestry

7% of comments mentioned ancestry.

These responses were predominantly from outwith the UK, and there were strong links with the themes of war graves and remembrance (mentioned in 6% of comments, as outlined below). It's clear that the site is emotionally charged. Again, there's the sense that the site itself should be preserved and the setting is important.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'I haven't been to Scotland but my ancestors are from there. I want to be able to visit and pay my respects. This is a huge historical site of where my DNA came from.'

'No soulless and characterless housing developments built where our ancestors were genocidally butchered.'

'It would be a disgrace to have ANYTHING built on sacred land of our ancestors – END OF.'

'It is unthinkable to build on top of war graves. Tourists come from all over the world to see where their ancestors died for Scotland's freedom.'

'There are still family members of ancestors who sacrificed their blood, the ultimate sacrifice of life, who visit the battlefield, like a cemetery. Don't take that from them.'

'Resting place for my ancestors.'



Remembering the fallen

6% of comments mentioned the need to remember the fallen.

This theme is closely linked to comments about the war grave (7%), memorial (6%) and sense of place, offering further evidence that the site is emotionally charged for the communities of interest.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

The most important is that it stays the way it is out of respect for the lives lost and the history that occurred there. This needs to be preserved for generations to come.'

'Walking around the moor stirs up lots of emotions; it has a very haunting natural beauty and should be left as it is. I feel very privileged to be able to visit any time and love just walking around the place quietly remembering the fallen.'

'The mere fact that thousands of Scots lost their lives there should be enough to preserve it. Give those who died fighting their honour and their dignity.'

'It's more than a graveyard; remembrance and respect for our Ancestors.'

'A haven of peace and remembrance. A reminder of the sadness of war.'

'Remembering and honouring the souls whose lives were lost – this is a revered burial site.'

Memorial

More important to people outside of the Inverness area, the memorial theme was mentioned in **6%** of comments. This is closely linked to ancestry, war graves and remembering the fallen.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'It will be there as a memory to our forefathers and a memorial where our children's children may visit.'

'The Scottish people have lost so much in terms of their culture, language and heritage; it would be devastating to lose a memorial to those who lost their lives fighting for Scotland (regardless of personal opinions about the battle itself).'

'It's a beautiful memorial to all of the fallen from the Battle of 1746.'

'The memorial at Culloden is EVERY BIT as important as the War Memorial in London ... I know who lies under Culloden – my 5xGreat Grandfather! But I don't know where. But he IS there! And to disregard his resting place is to him & his comrades a deep dishonour!'

'I love the memorial clan stones, and many had flowers on them. It still means a lot to our nation.'

'Culloden is a memorial to the fallen who fought against insurmountable odds for the freedom of our nation against tyranny.'

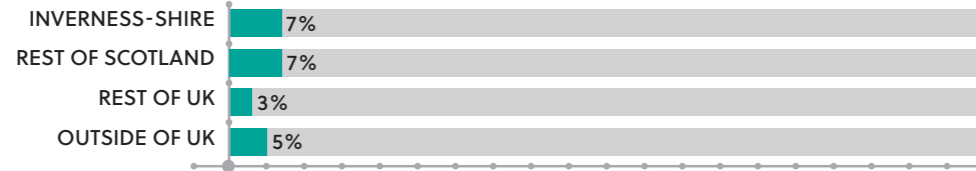


Tourism

6% of overall comments mentioned the importance of tourism for the site.

This theme highlights the importance of the site's atmosphere as part of the tourist experience.

% MENTIONED WITHIN:



Key comments included:

'Apart from all this, its part of Scotland's Heritage and a great tourist attraction bringing in much-needed funds to the National Trust for Scotland.'

'By reducing the atmosphere, desecrating the view and the encroachment of modern life will be highly detrimental for tourism, respect for our culture and respect for the military who still fight our battles for us.'

'It attracts tourists all year round who spend money towards the upkeep of the site and learn about the history of the battle not to see a housing estate.'

'Important – the National Trust for Scotland has done a great job in keeping the field at Culloden looking as close as possible to how it did then. It would be a shame to see it go down a more tourist-centred route with advertising and billboards throughout the centre/moor as is the case with so many other tourist sites.'

'It is a world tourist destination. You cannot learn about a culture without understanding its past. Reduced tourism would result.'



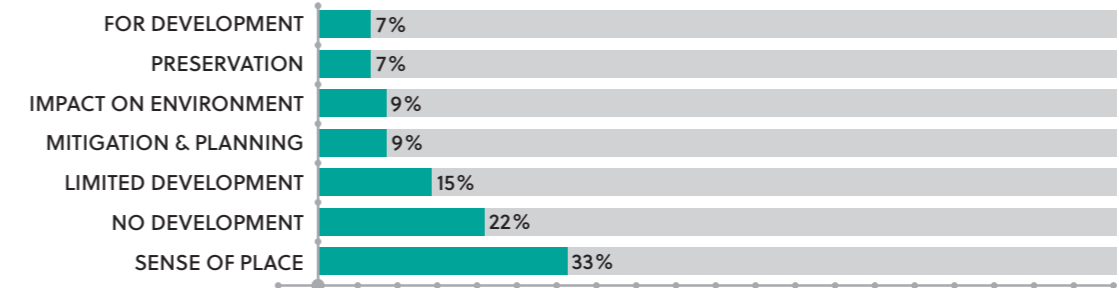
Town and Community hall events

Following on from the online survey, the project delivered town and community hall events across the local area, including Croy, Balloch, Culloden and Smithton. Over 150 people participated across the four events. The majority of these were local people, but there was strong participation from visitors to Culloden Battlefield when the sessions were held at Culloden.

A Zone of Theoretical Visibility from the battlefield was commissioned, to see which parts of the surrounding landscape were the most sensitive to developments

which could affect the battlefield experience. We then commissioned wire-frame illustrations of potential developments, looking in similar directions from five key viewpoints from the NTS-owned area of the battlefield. Participants were invited to see the visibility zones and the wireframe drawings of the impact that development would have on the landscape and feedback their impressions. There were 24 hours of engagement, which resulted in 71 comments that were then grouped under the following 7 themes:

% MENTIONED:



Sense of place

This was the concern that was raised most frequently, with participants articulating anxiety that the site would be impacted by visible development. There were comments that discussed the uniqueness of the place; the emotional connection with the landscape experienced by the people who lived, worked and visited the area; and the impact the battle had on the region.

Key comments included:

'The housing will ruin this most important historical landscape, the landscape would be considered as part of the heritage site too.'

'It's such an emotive and wild place in terms of the landscape but also peaceful and natural, you can lose yourself as you wander and often with the right conditions it can be highly charged with emotion. Precious and important.'

'As a specialist battlefield guide I see much of the destruction of valuable, irreplaceable heritage sites which must be preserved for future generations. Government must be lobbied to introduce legislation to protect such sites for study and research in coming decades.'



No development

This specific viewpoint has received a significant amount of press coverage, and there was a concern that this would not be replicated on the ground in communities that are feeling the impact of development pressures. **22%** of respondents said that they would not want to see development in the landscape around the battlefield.

Key comments included:

'The thought of walking into an extremely important historical site with the horrendous view of a housing estate surrounding it makes me mad! More thought and respect should be given to those who fought here and the history surrounding the moorland.'

'I do not consider it appropriate to build a new development close to the battlefield site. Culloden is extremely evocative and this contributes to its significance.'

'Culloden should be protected as having historical and cultural significance, absolutely no commercial or domestic development.'

Support for limited development

15% of comments were satisfied with limited development, although there were concerns around visibility and ensuring that any development was approved with sympathetic – ie buildings made from traditional materials and style as well as low density. There was also an acknowledgement that there were issues within the current planning system and that compromise would be necessary.

Key comments included:

'I don't mind development as long as it doesn't completely take over the battlefield. Also, I would say keep the buildings traditional to the time period of the battle.'

'It would be a shame if over-development was to happen but if some development happens it needs to be done without spoiling what has existed for hundreds of years. As with most things a compromise may be needed in the end.'

Mitigation and planning

9% of comments encouraged creative thinking and partnership work to find solutions to development pressures. This included more communication between planning authorities, Historic Environment Scotland and the National Trust for Scotland; stronger restrictions within the conservation zone; and screening of developments.

Key comments included:

'More partnerships needed with private land owners and the Trust to have more access to possible historical areas. Therefore the Trust can then bring these stories forward.'

'It is very important that both local council and national government bodies continuously meet with (the) Trust on the future needs of Culloden and other important sites as well.'

'We need to identify key areas to be retained which cannot be built on (they shall not pass). However, there could be areas where we would allow consent to build where it does not destroy the skyline and is shielded from the battlefield. We may have to give a little to gain a lot in retention of other key areas.'

Impact on the environment

9% of comments focused on the impact of development on the environment, with increased light pollution being a serious concern as well as loss of habitat and green spaces. The site is well used by visitors and locals alike, with members of the public using the space as part of the larger Culloden path network as well as to engage with the history of the site. It is estimated that in the past year over 300,000 people have visited the battlefield. In addition, the portion of the battlefield owned by the National Trust for Scotland is isolated as a habitat due to development, but there are some valuable habitats for wildlife and plants. The site has been managed as a low intensity farming system for many years and so the grassland is relatively species rich and supports nesting skylark. The heather moorland and scrub mosaic also provide habitat for a number of nesting birds and invertebrates.

Key comments included:

'There are rare species on the battlefield and if there is development allowed closer this may interfere with the habitats.'

'More housing/buildings would increase light pollution.'

Preservation

7% of comments focused on the need to preserve the site for the future and to ensure the impact is as strong then as it is now.

Key comments included:

'The possibility of achieving the status of Unesco World Heritage Site needs to be pursued to a satisfactory conclusion.'

'If the Trust does not do their best to preserve its boundaries now it will not be here for the next generation.'

'Culloden must be considered a major conservation area and the defined area must be maintained.'

Pro-development

7% of respondents felt that development in the area was necessary, and to hold that back would be unfair on landowners in the area. Additionally, some respondents felt that the battlefield was not negatively affected by additional developments. Within these comments there was recognition of the development pressures that exist in the Inverness area.

Key comments included:

'Why should the landowners lose if the developer offers to buy the land? Can there be a top-up?'

'What is there (NTS property) is big enough to do the job (ie tell the story).'

'Eventually development will happen.'



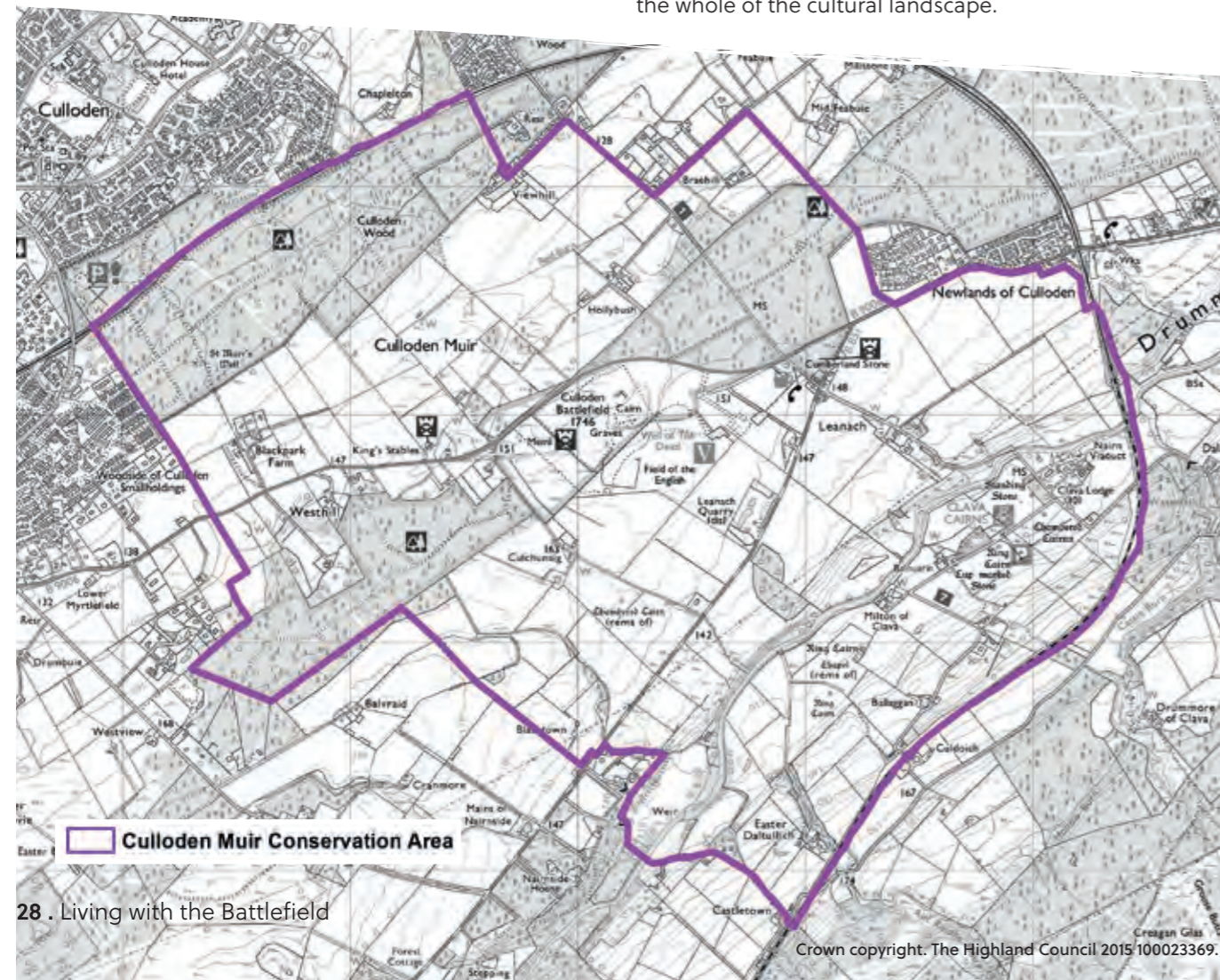
In-depth one-to-one conversations

In addition to the town and community hall events and online survey, key stakeholders were invited to one-to-one conversations to gain a better understanding of not only the logistics of the wider conservation area but also how Culloden and its landscape impacted on their work. These stakeholders included historians, practitioners and politicians.

The conversations centred on the sense of place associated with the battlefield and development in the area. It was clear that stakeholders felt there was an obligation to protect the landscape around the battlefield while still providing opportunities for the area to economically thrive. Specifically, 'Local people need to be given fair opportunities to live and work around the battlefield.' Additionally, 'The Highland Council Conservation Area designation is not a tool to stop development. It is a tool to enable the right kind of development which will not harm the character of the area'.

There was also recognition that the National Trust for Scotland site is a major tourist attraction and that it is important not to compromise the visitor experience. This is linked to the sense of place associated with the Culloden Battlefield cultural landscape, a unique resource – 'We still have the opportunity to protect one of the world's most special and intact historic battle sites. There are precious few sites like Culloden left, where the site itself and the views around it are relatively unchanged from the time of the battle'. Additionally, there was a recognition that the landscape associated with the battle was larger than that cared for by the National Trust for Scotland: *'It is not necessarily about protecting just the land which soldiers fought upon, it is also the big views around the site which matter just as much.'*

For our stakeholders there's a balance to be made – creating opportunities for the economy to thrive and developing opportunities in the area, but also protecting the resource of the cultural landscape associated with the battle. This is not mutually exclusive. The site is culturally significant to Scotland and indeed the wider world, and it is by creatively harnessing that power that we can manage the whole of the cultural landscape.



Summary of findings

Significance of Culloden

Culloden Battlefield, in the care of the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), sits within a cultural landscape. The site owned by the NTS covers only a third of the actual battleground, while the wider area is for the most part under private ownership. It is the field of battle itself and the views that surround the site that give it a sense of place. In the words of one participant, 'It must be BY FAR the most emotionally significant place anywhere in Scotland'. It is clear from the data gathered over the past six months that there is both anxiety and ambition for the future of the NTS site and the land that lies around it.

The NTS property cannot be separated from the wider landscape: the fields and farms that surround the property inform understanding of the site, and through the vistas and views visitors to the site can gain a greater understanding of the scale of this battle. It is the context of the site that makes the experience, the openness of the landscape that gives it the sense of place. It is the relationship between the story, the open vistas and people that make Culloden of significance. This is exemplified through the data that has been analysed in detail in the preceding pages, which can be broadly thought of under the following themes:

Memorialisation and remembrance

This theme was a strong thread throughout the online survey, the town hall events and the one-to-one conversations. The site is closely linked with issues around cultural identity and loss. The historical event, the landscape itself and the impact of the military occupation of the Highlands together transcend the sum of their parts. Participants commented:

'The Scottish people have lost so much in terms of their culture, language and heritage; it would be devastating to lose a memorial to those who lost their lives fighting for Scotland (regardless of personal opinions about the battle itself).'

'Walking around the moor stirs up lots of emotions; it has a very haunting natural beauty and should be

left as it is. I feel very privileged to be able to visit any time and love just walking around the place quietly remembering the fallen.'

The importance of the battle in local and world history

Closely linked to the theme on memorialisation and remembrance, this theme focuses on the events that took place over the course of the battle and its aftermath. While some comments reflected an event-based approach such as: 'It is the site of a major battle and is an intrinsic part of Scottish history', others looked to the broader context: 'Teaching history is more engaging when it's real, not just in a textbook. Having access to sites like Culloden allow us to inspire more people, young and old, to take an interest in our history.'



Sense of place associated with the site

This was the strongest theme that ran across the feedback. Concepts of openness, atmosphere and connectedness with the site contributed to 49% of the feedback from the online survey.

This was echoed in the town hall conversations with comments such as: 'It's such an emotive and wild place in terms of the landscape but also peaceful and natural; you can lose yourself as you wander and often with the right conditions it can be highly charged with emotion.' It was also raised in the one-to-one conversations: 'It is not necessarily about protecting just the land which soldiers fought upon, it is also the big views around the site which matter just as much.'

Need to protect the landscape/resource

Closely linked to the three themes above was a clear call from our participants across the feedback mechanisms to protect the wider landscape. This is exemplified in

comments such as 'It is a memorial site of something historical, terribly important to the Scottish culture and Scottish people', 'I wouldn't want to lose a part of Scottish history, once it's gone it won't come back. Why would anyone consent to letting anyone take away such a significant part of Scottish history?' as well as 'I am concerned that by allowing development the battlefield and surrounding area will be changed forever.'

There was anxiety around development in the area, with high responses across the whole of the demographic. The opinions were negative overall, with concerns centring on the loss of a significant site and others questioning the ethics around development in the area. While it was acknowledged that there is pressure to build in and around the battlefield, participants felt that 'Surely this place which means so much in the history of Scotland should be kept as much as possible as it was when the battle took place. Probably the most moving place that I have ever been to and must be preserved.'

The feedback indicates that there is a strong call to protect the battlefield, coming from people who live in the adjacent communities as well as in other Scottish regions, the United Kingdom and overseas.

Conclusion: bringing threads together

It is the intersection between the story of the site, the landscape itself and how this is tied up with issues of cultural identity that give the site its sense of place. Whilst these things are intangible, the feelings that they engender are legitimate and valid. The sense of place that is created by these elements working in harmony is difficult to measure, but unless carefully managed it can easily be lost. Fowler refers to spaces like Culloden as a 'landscape of ideas', where even though tangible evidence of human activity on the landscape is not obvious, the cultural impact of the events that took place in the space is significant. For Culloden it is the actions that took place on the battlefield and the impact of these actions over time that give the place its cultural significance. It is reasonable to say that those actions affected not only the local populations but resonated throughout Scottish and UK culture, and ultimately resonated around the world in the aftermath of the battle. The landscape, cultural memory, and, to some,

spiritual significance of the events on the field contribute to a powerful sense of place that stretches beyond the boundaries of the National Trust for Scotland's property.

Inverness is a community under pressure – by 2021 the population of the Inverness area is estimated at 83,302, and there are strategic infrastructure improvements planned in the Culloden/Smithton area as well as land allocated to over 4,000 homes in the Inverness East area. Currently the Highland Council is undergoing a call for sites as part of a review and update of the Inner Moray Firth Local Development Plan. It is vital that issues surrounding development in the cultural landscape associated with Culloden are reflected in any regional planning.

The significance of the sense of place has been recognised by Highland Council (through the Culloden conservation area) and Historic Environment Scotland





(through the Battlefield Inventory), but we need to take our conservation efforts further. Allowing the Viewhill development to go ahead, with such a significant negative impact on Culloden Battlefield makes that clear. This can only be achieved through partnerships between community, private landowners, government agencies and charities. This would require a flexible approach that puts the sense of place and community first, engaging local communities in landscape stewardship. Management must be inclusive and transparent, and integrate with the larger planning process for the Inverness East and Croy area. Questions need to be asked when considering the evolving landscape: who are the decisions being made for? How is their voice represented? Is it enough?

Management of the landscape must be both a creative and collaborative venture, and one that all parties support and buy into. It is an ongoing task without a clearly

defined end. While there is a management plan that was put in place in 2014, as well as a visual assessment done in 2015, management of the landscape needs to be revisited and become a more active and collaborative process. It must be community-centred and be able to manage change and protect the sense of place. The cultural significance of Culloden crosses borders and communities as do the responsibilities to the landscape and its sense of place.

The cultural landscape that surrounds the battlefield is a space in which both visitors and local people are able to engage with the cultural impact of the battle in a relatively intact landscape. Currently the integrity of the site is under threat from piecemeal decision-making, unclear guidance and a lack of focused resource. Without integrated planning, community support and a holistic response to the resource, it is likely that the cultural landscape will be lost. This will happen not because

agencies, communities and government do not value the site, but because we were not proactive enough. Active, collaborative and future-focused management is vital to conserve the cultural landscape of Culloden Battlefield.

This stage of the Culloden 300 project was about understanding what our communities wanted from the wider landscape and took the long view. Our responsibility is now to create a coherent and collaborative approach to the cultural landscape. We must ensure the sense of place will be protected and respected for the next 300 years. The stakes are high and action is needed now.

References

- Fowler, Peter, 'World Heritage Cultural Landscapes 1992–2002: a Review and Prospect' in Taking Stock Ten Years After: Cultural Landscapes in the Framework of The World Heritage Convention in Cultural Landscapes: the Challenges of Conservation, World Heritage Papers 7, UNESCO, 2003
- Highland Council, Inner Moray Firth Delivery Programme/Prògram Libhrigidh Linne Taobh a-staigh Mhoireibh, March 2019
- For more information on the Highland Council's Inner Moray Firth Local Development Plan and the consultation process see: https://www.highland.gov.uk/info/178/local_and_statutory_development_plans/202/inner_moray_firth_local_development_plan
- In February 2015 AOC produced a Visual Setting Assessment detailing the impact of development on the landscape. This and the Culloden Muir Conservation Area Character Appraisal and Management Plan are available on the Highland Council website: www.highland.gov.uk/info/192/planning_-_listed_buildings_and_conservation_areas/167/conservation_areas/3
- This is hinted at in People, Place and Landscape: a position statement from Scottish Natural Heritage and Historic Environment Scotland, October 2019 – but we believe that to protect the sense of place you must go further.
- See Culloden Muir Conservation Area Character Appraisal and Management Plan Highland Council 2014 https://www.highland.gov.uk/info/192/planning_-_listed_buildings_and_conservation_areas/167/conservation_areas/3 This document existed during the planning process at Viewhill but does not appear to have been effective.

Work together better – our call to action

We need to:

Work with community and partners to better understand and articulate the character and meaning of the cultural landscape.

Build a coherent vision and guidelines for the wider Culloden Battlefield environment, to ensure that decisions taken to manage the landscape are well informed and protect the sense of place.

Culloden 300 next steps

By 2020

- * Publication of Culloden 300 report

By 2025

- * Vision established for cultural landscape
- * Measurement tool created for 'sense of place'
- * Explore land acquisition and establish long-term conservation agreements
- * Better practical guidelines for planning created
- * No new development that adversely impacts on the sense of place
- * Collaborative group established to advise on the cultural landscape and review planning applications
- * Consider options for increased protection including World Heritage Site status

By 2030

- * No new development that adversely impacts on the sense of place
- * Measurement tool peer-reviewed and methodology improved for 'sense of place' evaluation
- * Revision of planning guidelines

By 2035

- * No new development that adversely impacts on the sense of place
- * Revision of planning guidelines

By 2040

- * No new development that adversely impacts on the sense of place
- * Revision of planning guidelines

By 2046 – 300 Years after the battle

- * No new development that adversely impacts on the sense of place
- * Revision of planning guidelines



CULLODEN 300

'Culloden Moor is at the heart of our culture and spiritual identity as a nation. If we stand back and allow its demise through inappropriate development, future generations will never understand or forgive us'

The National Trust for Scotland

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