Experiencing Popular Culture in Museum Exhibitions

*Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites* in The National Museum of Scotland

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Abstract

Attracting new audiences to visit them is an important priority for modern museums. Museums are no longer places reserved for a small ‘elite’ in the society, at least they should not be that. What does it take to attract new audiences to museums? Between June 23\textsuperscript{rd} and November 12\textsuperscript{th}, the National Museum of Scotland housed the exhibition \textit{Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites}. The Jacobite era has inspired numerous writers and artists throughout the years. In recent times the \textit{Outlander} series, which is based on Diana Gabaldon’s book series with the same name, has had huge success. When I was in Scotland in 2017, I found that this was reflected in the tourist industry. The National Museum of Scotland also referred to the series in the advertisement for the exhibition, and several of the actors in the series were invited to entertain on an event hosted by the museum. This thesis deals with the question of how the direct or indirect use of references to phenomena of popular culture influence the museum’s audience. Does popular culture attract new audience groups to visit museum exhibitions? This is the question I have worked with in this thesis.
Preface

First, I want to thank all my informants for taking time off to answer my questions! This project would not be possible without your contributions.

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# Contents

A study of the exhibition Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites in the National Museum of Scotland

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**Chapter 1: Introduction** .......................................................................................................................... 1

- Introduction .................................................................................................................................................... 1
- The Jacobites – an Inspiration for Writers and Artists .................................................................................. 2
- Outlander ....................................................................................................................................................... 2
- Outlander’s Role in Scottish Tourism ............................................................................................................ 3
- Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites ......................................................................................................... 4
- The National Museum of Scotland ................................................................................................................ 5
- Research Question ........................................................................................................................................ 6
- Structure ....................................................................................................................................................... 7

**Chapter 2: NMS Before and the Situation of Today** ................................................................................. 8

- Introduction .................................................................................................................................................... 8
- The National Museum of Scotland Before It Became the National Museum of Scotland ....................... 8
- National Museums of Scotland and Their Values and Visions ........................................................................ 10
- Remarks ....................................................................................................................................................... 13

**Chapter 3: Methodology** ......................................................................................................................... 14

- Introduction .................................................................................................................................................... 14
- Approaches to Ethnographic Fieldwork ....................................................................................................... 14
- Access to the Field ....................................................................................................................................... 15
- Interviews ..................................................................................................................................................... 16
- Fieldwork on the Internet ............................................................................................................................... 17
- Ethical Dilemmas and Implications ................................................................................................................ 18
- Remarks ....................................................................................................................................................... 20

**Chapter 4: Experiencing Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites Part I: My Experience** ................. 21

- Introduction .................................................................................................................................................... 21
Perspectives on the Museum Exhibitions........................................................................22
Introduction: Creating the Myth..................................................................................23
Theme One: The Royal House of Stuart ....................................................................23
Theme Two: The Dynasty Restored............................................................................24
Theme Three: A Dynasty Divided .............................................................................25
Theme Four: A Court in Exile..................................................................................26
Theme Five: ‘Prefer your own brother, the last of our line’ ........................................27
Theme Six: All Roads Lead to Rome..........................................................................27
Theme Seven: The Final Jacobite Challenge ............................................................29
Theme Eight: Kings Over the Water.........................................................................30
Perspectives on Museum Exhibitions – Again............................................................32
Museum Lates: Jacobites – My Experience.................................................................34
Concluding Remarks: From the Curator’s Point of View ........................................36
Chapter 5: Experiencing Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites Part 2: The Visitor’s Experience ...........................................................................................................37
Introduction .............................................................................................................37
Target Groups ...........................................................................................................37
Categorising Visitors ..............................................................................................38
Accompanying Others ............................................................................................40
Interest for the History ............................................................................................41
Learning Something New .......................................................................................44
Interest for Outlander .............................................................................................46
Personal (and Political) Engagement .....................................................................47
Museum Lates: Jacobites – The Visitors’ Experience ...............................................49
Museum Lates: Jacobites as a Place to Party ............................................................50
Museum Lates: Jacobites as a Place to Party (and Meet with Outlander?)................52
Concluding remarks ..............................................................................................53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 6: Conclusion</th>
<th>54</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldwork and Observations</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What Did I Find Out?</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List Over Photographs</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachments</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachment 1: People I Interviewed in the Exhibition</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachment 2: People I Interviewed at Museum Lates: Jacobites</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

The history of the exiled Stuart dynasty and their supporters, known as Jacobites, has held an enduring and romantic fascination for generations, from the writings of Sir Walter Scott to the current Outlander books and television series. Featuring the very best of Scotland’s national collections, alongside treasures from across the UK and Europe, this exhibition presents the wider story of the Jacobites, one which is more layered, complex and dramatic than any fictional imaging.

This is how the exhibition Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites was advertised on the National Museum of Scotland’s (from now NMS) website. The exhibition was in the museum from June 23rd to November 12th, 2017. It was the largest exhibition about Jacobites that had been held in 70 years, and in addition to the museum’s own collections, the exhibition contained loaned artefacts from other major institutions across the UK and Europe including the Royal Collections, the Royal Armouries, the Musée de Louvre, the National Galleries, National Records and the National Library of Scotland plus a number of private collections (National Museums Scotland, 2017). Dramatic historic events do often inspire authors or artists in their work, either directly or indirectly. The American author Diana Gabaldon has done so with the popular Outlander series that I will explain more in detail later in this chapter. Many references were made to the Outlander series on The National Museum of Scotland’s web page. What impact does the use of references to popular culture have on visitors? Does the use of such references attract new groups of visitors to the museum, and if it does; to what extent? In order to find out about this I have talked to the visitors that saw the exhibition Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites. I have also studied the exhibition itself, participated on a Museum Late event, and interviewed people who participated on that event over e-mail. All my informants are anonymised and given pseudonyms. I did my study in October and November 2017, while I had my work placement at the National Museum of Scotland as a part of my master in Museology and Heritage Studies at the University of Oslo. Before I define my research question, I will give a short introduction to the exhibition Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites and to the role the Outlander series has is Scottish tourism in general. However, before I do that and give a short presentation of the series, I will shortly mention the importance the Jacobite era has had for authors and artists in general.
The Jacobites – an Inspiration for Writers and Artists

The Jacobite era has inspired the works of many artists, musicians and authors. I will not problematise all of them here. The main focus will be on Outlander. However, it may be useful to have in mind that Diana Gabaldon is not the first author that has let herself inspire by this era in her work. In the text that advertised the exhibition, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) is mentioned. Of course, there are many others, however, in this thesis I will focus on the impact of the Outlander series and not go into detail on the works of other. Nevertheless, it is useful shortly to mention Robert Louis Stevenson’s (1850-1894) children’s classic from 1886, *Kidnapped*, as many of the Scottish people I talked to had read that book in Primary School. The plot in this book is set in Scotland shortly after the Battle of Culloden in 1946. (I will come back to The Battle of Culloden in Chapter 4.) After the death of his father, young David is left to his uncle, Ebenezer, who sells him to a ship’s captain to be sold as a slave in America (St. George’s Bookclub, 2014). The reason for this short summary of this book particularly is that many of my informants had read it in school, and therefore had a relationship to it. A good example is Graeme, one of the informants that I spoke to and that I will come back to in Chapter 5, told me that it was this book that made him interested in the Jacobite era. People tended to know about or mention the book. Now, I will have a look at the Outlander series and what it is all about.

**Outlander**

The first episode of Outlander came out in the USA on August 9, 2014 (Www.dianagabaldon.com, 2014). The books, however, dates back many years. Outlander, or *Cross Stitch* which was the title it was published under in the UK, was the first book in the series, and it was published as far back as 1990. The book series consists of eight books and several side books. On Gabaldon’s website one can find summaries of each book, retold by Gabaldon herself. So far, three seasons of the Outlander series have been launched. The first season had its premiere on August 9, 2014.

My first encounter with the series happened in December 2014. I had a one-month free trial on the streaming service Viaplay, and I was looking for a new series to watch. I wanted something interesting, preferably with supernatural elements as I am a dedicated fan of horror and fantasy. As I scrolled through the list of shows, an image caught my attention. Three people were depicted in a misty mountain scenery, one woman and two men. The woman
wore a light blue floor length dress. One of the man wore a suit, and the other wore a Scottish kilt. He was placed in the background, stretching out a hand to the woman, who stretched out her hand to the man in the front, who wore a suit. You could only see the arm of the third person, in front of the picture reaching backwards. Next to the image the word Outlander was written with capital letters next to it. I read what it was about, and I was immediately fascinated by the time travelling aspect. Therefore, I decided to give the show a try.

For me, the show was entertaining. I had to keep watching it to find out what happened to Claire, as the main character was named. In the first episode, the year is 1945. Former World War II nurse Claire Randall and her husband, Frank Randall, who had been fighting in World War II, visited Inverness. Already in the first episode, Claire is carried back in time from the standing stones at Craigh na Dun to the 18th century, more specifically 1743. The first person she meets here is Jack Randall (also called Black Jack Randall), who is Frank’s six times great grandfather. Unfortunately, he got his nickname Black Jack for a reason. Claire manages to escape from him, and falls into a group of Highland Scots who are among Black Jack’s enemies. In order to avoid being handed over to Randall, she marries the young Jamie Fraser, with whom she later falls in love. As Frank is a Historian, Claire knows the story of the Jacobite era inside out. With her knowledge of the tragic ending of the Jacobite era, she tries to warn the Highlanders against pursuing a rebellion. Season two follows Claire and Jamie on their journey to France and their negotiations with Prince Charles Edward Stuart, or Bonnie Prince Charlie, in order to stop a rebellion. In season three, Claire is back in the Post World War II era, raising her and Jamie’s daughter together with Frank. This season had its premiere September 10, 2017, just in time for the Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites exhibition at The National Museum of Scotland. Or was it the exhibition that was just in time for the series? I shall give a short presentation of the exhibition in the introduction, but first I shall account quickly for how the tourist industry in Scotland has used Outlander in their marketing.

**Outlander’s Role in Scottish Tourism**

When I came to Scotland in September 2017, I was surprised to discover how important the Outlander series was for the tourism. The tourist stores sold souvenirs related to the series, and the *Skye Boat Song*, which is used as the main soundtrack in the series, was often played around tourist spots. I will say more about this song later. Tour bus companies like
Timberbush and Rabbies had organised tours that visited different locations where the series filmed. During one of the first weeks I went on one of these tours with the Timberbush company. Back then, I did not think about my thesis or my masters; it was a tour I joined for my own fun and to see the area around Edinburgh.

The majority of the participants on this tour were women. Only one man was signed up for the tour, and he was there with his wife. The Outlander series is very romantic, and for certain people it would appear as a guilty pleasure. According to the ultimate guilty pleasure among academics, Wikipedia (2018), a guilty pleasure is “something, such as a film, a television program or a piece of music, that one enjoys despite the feeling that it is not generally held in high regard, or is seen as unusual or weird”. I have chosen to use the definition that is to be found on Wikipedia because it was the most complete definition I could find of the term.

The span in age reached from mid-twenties to mid-sixties. All the people I ended up talking with had seen the Outlander-series, and some of them even claimed the series one of the reasons why they chose to go to Scotland. Besides buying Outlander souvenirs in the tourist shops and go on Outlander tours, dedicated fans could learn more about the Jacobites in the exhibition Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites at NMS.

**Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites**

The Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites exhibition opened a few months before Outlander season 3 had its premiere. Next to flyers and posters, newsletters and posts on social media, NMS promoted their exhibition in two posts on the museum blog. One of the posts is written by guest blogger Lin Anderson, who is best known for the Rhona MacLeod books. This post was published June 28, 2017, only a few days after the exhibition was opened. The other blog post was published September 7, 2017 by Digital Media Content Manager Elaine Macintyre.

Macintyre writes generally about artefacts from National Museums Scotland Collections that have been used or copied in films. For instance, she mentions the Lewis chessmen and the fact that they were used in the first Harry Potter film (2017, p. 99). However, her main focus is on a silver travelling canteen used by Charles Edward Stuart on the battlefield at Culloden. She writes (Macintyre, 2017):
Hands up who was glued to the first episode of season three of *Outlander* week? But were you eagle-eyed enough to spot the rather splendid silver travelling canteen used by Bonnie Prince Charlie on the battlefield at Culloden? This intricate prop was lovingly recreated by the *Outlander* team after seeing the original in the National Museum of Scotland. Thought to be a 21st birthday present from a Jacobite supporter (although probably not, as claimed on telly, the Prince’s father) the canteen is emblazoned with symbols denoting his position – fit for a Prince indeed! For those of us who think those plastic wine glasses that screw together are classy, the picnic set is in a league of its own, coming complete with a wine-taster, cruet (a small container for salt, pepper, oil, or vinegar – and yes, I had to Google that), a teaspoon and a marrow scoop, a corkscrew, a nutmeg grater and a knife and a fork. Charles brought the canteen with him to Scotland in 1745. After his disastrous defeat at Culloden in 1746, the victorious government commander, William, Duke of Cumberland, captured the canteen and gave it to one of his aides, George Kepple, and it remained in his family until 1963.

Anderson has met and interviewed Gabaldon, and she expresses great enthusiasm for her work. Shortly, Anderson mentions an event that took place at the museum in April where fans got the chance to learn the story behind the characters, the books and the TV-series. Seemingly, the popular literary phenomenon has been used actively in the advertising of the exhibition. Anderson shows fascination both for the Jacobites and for Gabaldon’s books:

The Jacobite story has an enduring appeal, both in Scotland and further afield, in particular the USA, Diana’s home. The *Outlander*-series has encouraged people to know more about that turbulent time in Scottish history, the truth and the misconceptions. If you didn’t manage to make it to Diana’s event at the Museum there’s plenty of time to plan for a visit to this major exhibition (23 June-12 November 2017) where you will ‘discover a compelling story of loyalty, loss, rebellion and retribution’. Which is also a perfect description of the *Outlander*-series of novels.

References to the series were used actively in different texts that were written about the exhibition in the different media that the museum used to promote the exhibition. Before I introduce my research question, I shall shortly present The National Museum of Scotland.

**The National Museum of Scotland**

The National Museum of Scotland is located in Chambers Street in Edinburgh. The museum had approximately 2.4 million visitors in 2016. There are around 500 employees and 300 volunteers working in the museum. The museum has six main galleries. First it is the Grand Gallery, which is situated in the centre of the museum. Here, you can enjoy the view from one of the terraces, or you can sit down for a cup of coffee in the cafeteria. The other galleries are located around the Grand Gallery. There is The Art, Design and Fashion Gallery, the Natural
World Gallery, The Scottish History and Archaeology Galleries, The Science and Technology Galleries, and the World Cultures Galleries. The *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites* exhibition was located in Exhibition Gallery 1, Level 3, next to the World Culture galleries and the Art, Design and Fashion galleries.

NMS is a part of the *National Museums Scotland*, a foundation that was established in 1985. Other museums in this foundation are The National Museum of Flight (East Lothian), The National War Museum (Edinburgh), and The National Museum of Rural Life (East Kilbride). I will explain NMS and the National Museums of Scotland foundation more detailed in Chapter 2. Now, I will explain the research question.

**Research Question**

What happens when museums use elements from popular culture in their marketing? Defining popular culture is a difficult task. Lecturer in Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, Kevin Moore, points out (1997, p. 2) that popular culture more often is defined by what it is not, and that it is often whatever is not high culture. Said with other words, popular culture may be whatever that can be described as guilty pleasures. Since there are so many definitions, I will here use the term to describe phenomena of literature, music or art that has a value of entertainment. Art historians Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago points out (2004, p. 2) that it is often difficult to distinguish museum practices from the entertainment, tourist and heritage industries; department stores and shopping malls; the market; and even artistic practices. What do museums have that those other industries lack? Preziosi and Farago (2004, p. 2) explain that it is the way in which museum representations deploy and disseminate knowledge that separate museums from other institutions. Brita Brenna, who is Professor in Museology at the University of Oslo, underlines (2016, p. 37) that museums are social institutions with great openness to the world, that will be influenced by changing educational principles, scientific paradigms, political ideologies, and aesthetic forms. Moore (1997, p. 1) points out that museums used to be “temples of ‘high’ culture, a celebration of the extraordinary and the outstanding”. Furthermore, Moore (1997, p. 1) explains that popular culture often has been seen as ‘low’ culture – the ordinary. Assistant Director for Operations and Adjunct Professor in the Museum Science Program at the Museum of Texas Tech University, David Dean, points out (1994, p. 20) that museums should always be open to identifying and attracting new audiences, those beyond their existing visitorship. How does
use of elements from popular culture influence the audience in a museum? How are the relations between the exhibition, the popular culture and the audience? This is what I want to discuss.

**Structure**

It is time to say something about how the thesis is structured. As it would take too much space to introduce the informants during the thesis, a list over all the people I have interviewed is to be found as an attachment. It is also important for me to point out that Bonnie Prince Charlie and Prince Charles Edward Stuart is the same person, namely the oldest son of James VIII and III and his wife Clementina. I will use both names, and there is no particular reason why I am using one or the other in each setting. The reason why James and other Jacobite kings had two numbers will be explained in Chapter 4, where the exhibition is presented from my point of view. As you may already have found out, this thesis is divided into six chapters. First, there is the introduction chapter – this chapter – where I have given a short introduction to the topic and the field, and presented my research question. There will be an answer to that question in Chapter 6. As Chapter 4 is about the exhibition seen from my point of view, I also need to see it from the point of view of my informants, and I will do that in Chapter 5. In Chapter 3, I will account for the methodology that I have used to find answer to my research question. Before all that, I will give a short presentation of the history of the National Museum of Scotland and account for theoretical perspectives in Chapter 2.
Chapter 2: NMS Before and the Situation of Today

Introduction

Today, the National Museum of Scotland has millions of visitors every year. However, the museum has not always been the way it is today. A couple that visited the exhibition, Donna and Carl, pointed out that not long ago the atmosphere in the museum was more strict and formal; it was “very Victorian”, Donna explained. In Chapter 1, I gave a short presentation of the museum and the other museums that are in the National Museums Scotland foundation. In this chapter, I will account more in detail for the National Museum of Scotland, National Museums Scotland and what they stand for. First, I shall give a short presentation of the history of the National Museum of Scotland.

The National Museum of Scotland Before It Became the National Museum of Scotland

Cultural memory bank is the term Dean (1994, p. 1), uses to describe the role museums had in the beginning. Museums were places where memories were stored. Artefacts are important memory banks as they can tell a lot about certain historic époques. The Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites exhibition contained, as explained in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, a great deal of artefacts. Professor of Archaeology at the University of Tromsø – The Arctic University of Norway, Bjørnar Olsen, points out (2000, p. 15) that museums started out as collections of mysterious artefacts that had names as World Theatre, Cabinet of Curiosities and so on. The Paris-based writer, publisher and collector Patrick Mauriès, who has written many books on design, fashion and visual culture, refers (2011, p. 23) to the Belgian scholar of German adoption Samuel Quiccheberg, whose ideal museum was ‘a theatre of the broadest scope, containing authentic materials and precise reproductions of the universe’. Professor Emeritus in Museum Studies at University of Leicester, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, explains (2007, pp. 80-81) how the museums in the 19th century – the modernist museums – changed from being private collections to an elite in the society to play a public role as part of the nation-state, a major part of which concerned the education of large sections of society. Even though it is
obvious that the museum as an institution has changed a lot since its beginning, it is not always easy to find information about the history of certain museums, or museums within a certain country.

When I asked one of my colleagues at NMS if he knew any literature about Scottish museum history, I was told that there existed very little of it. People here in Scotland take museums for granted, he told me. People seem to have the impression or idea that the museums have always been there. Seeing museums this way – as permanent institution that just are there, like mountains and other natural phenomena – is quite common, and it has been pointed out by a lot of academics who have studied museums. Olsen (2000, p. 15), formulates it nicely: Museums appear as a natural part of our society, and therefore it is easy to forget that museums in themselves are cultural and historical objects that represent values, discourses, and practises that are localised in time and socio-political space. Museums are good examples of ‘invented traditions’ in the way the British Historian Eric Hobsbawm uses the term. According to Hobsbawm (1983, p. 1), the term includes both traditions that are actually invented, constructed and formally instituted, and those that have emerged in a less traceable way within a brief and dateable period and that established themselves rapidly. Modern museums may fit into both categories, and they are easily taken for granted and seen as somehow unchangeable. Research fellow at Linköping University, Magdalena Hillström, underlines (2017, p. 99) Olsen’s point by pointing out that museums will be a product of internal factors as how old they are, ownership and size, and by external factors as the culture the museums are surrounded by. These factors may change, and so museums are changeable (Hillström, 2017, p. 101). Said with other words, museums are a product of the society in which they exist, and so are their exhibitions. Anthropologist Henrietta Lidchi points out (1997, p. 204) that museums have emerged as highly contestable entities, with distinct histories and purposes.

After a moment, my colleague could recommend a book about Scottish museum history after all. It was a book named *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition – Essays to mark the bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1780-1980*. The book is edited by author Alan. S. Bell, and has several contributors that all have connections to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The book was, as given in the title, a celebration of the 200th birthday of the Society. Ronald G. Cant, former President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has written an introduction about the founder of the Society – David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, born in 1742 (Cant, 1981, p. 1). He founded The Society of Antiquaries of
Scotland in 1780 (Cant, 1981, p. 9). The considerations that prompted his initiative was explained in the printed Discourse, that was read at the initial meeting, started like this: “It has long been a subject of regret that no regular society for promoting antiquarian researches has subsisted in this part of Great Britain” (Cant, 1981, p. 9). This was the time of Enlightenment in Britain. In his book Cabinets of Curiosities, the Paris based author Patrick Mauriès describes a process that was speeded up around 1750, namely the process of specialisation. Collectors of curiosities slowly gave way to the Encyclopaedists, and the crowded and claustrophobic spaces devoted to ‘theatres of the world’ dwindled in numbers, and became fragmented into a series of private cabinets, each devoted to a particular speciality (Mauriès, 2011, p. 189). One of the ways through which this was expressed, was through the establishment of societies of antiquaries. Already in 1707, The Society of Antiquaries of London was established (Cant, 1981, p. 10).

Another past President of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland, R. B. K. Stevenson, point out (1981a, p. 33) that the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, like the Society of Antiquaries of London but in contrast to for instance the British Museum and the university museums of Oxford and Glasgow, formed their collections without having any major nucleus from individual collectors who had the concentrated interest, the money, and perhaps the time, which societies – and in later days museum staffs – cannot devote to systematic acquisition. The Society survived despite some challenges in the beginning. In 1851, the Board of Manufactures was prepared to give the Society certain accommodation in the Royal Institution free of rent, but not until the new National Gallery had been completed and opened for the reception of pictures (Stevenson, 1981a, p. 80). Another seven years should pass before the collections could be transferred, housed and financed by the Government (Stevenson, 1981b, p. 142). However, at the Royal Institution the Society could open the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland (Stevenson, 1981b, p. 143). In 1904, the Royal Scottish Museum was established (Miller, 2006). The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and the Royal Scottish Museum were the two museums that should Later become The National Museum of Scotland(Miller, 2006).

**National Museums of Scotland and Their Values and Visions**
The National Museum of Scotland has changed a lot throughout the years. In fact, it would be more correct to say that it was not The National Museum of Scotland into quite recently. The British Sociologist Anthony Giddens, who is famous for his theory of structuration and his holistic view of modern institutions, claims (1991, p. 1) that modern institutions differ from all preceding forms of social order in respect of their dynamism, the degree to which they undercut traditional custom and habit, and of course their global impact. Another change, pointed out by Moore (1997, p. 6) is the development of social history as a subject within museums. A younger generation of graduates of the new social history in the universities have entered the museums, attracted by the idea of developing people’s history outside of an elite academic environment (Moore, 1997, p. 6). Hege Børrud Huseby is independent exhibition consultant and cultural mediator. Pia Cederholm is editor in chief of Utställningsästetiskt Forum (Exhibition Aesthetic Forum). Huseby and Cederholm (2017, p. 7) points to the fact that throughout the history of the museum the limit between the museum and the exhibition has been vague. A museum used to be a place that contained an exhibition. Today, however, the exhibition is only one of many medias that the museum can use to disseminate knowledge, create experiences, and communicate with its audience (Huseby & Cederholm, 2017, p. 7).

Preziosi and Farago (2004, p. 3) points out that the museum as an institution stands in the intersection of a wide variety of social, cultural, scientific, and political development in every corner of the world. In line with ICOM’s famous definition of a museum (see ICOM, 2007, p. 2), National Museums Scotland as a foundation aims to “take care of, preserve, and interpret collections of national and international importance and to make them accessible for a broad audience” (National Museums Scotland, 2018). The vision of the foundation is to inspire people and to “connect Scotland to the world and the world to Scotland” (National Museums Scotland, 2016b, p. 7), and it aspires “to engage and inspire people across Scotland by sharing our collections, their stories and our expertise for the widest benefit” (National Museums Scotland, 2016a, p. 5).

This is exactly how I experienced the National Museum of Scotland. It had, as I will come back to later, a broad range of audience. And I am not talking about the exhibition that is the field of study for this thesis. Now I am talking about the museum as a whole. It was a nice place for kids with all its interactive elements. Several of my informants pointed out that they liked to visit the museum with their kids because it was so much fun for them. Many of them were in fact very noisy, but I did not experience that as disturbing. The noises just were there, as a part of the experience. The Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites exhibition, however,
was characterized by a solemn silence that was not to be found in the rest of the museum. I will come back to that in Chapter 4.

The National Museums Scotland as an organisation has four aims and values through which they work to fulfil their vision (National Museums Scotland, 2016b, p. 7). The first of their four aims are to put people first. The organisation aims to create inspiring experiences that help the audience to understand themselves and the world around them. This goes along with the first of the four values, namely creativity in the sense of being innovative and thrive on good ideas (National Museums Scotland, 2016b, p. 7). The word experience is important here.

The second aim of the National Museums Scotland is to value the collections by preserve, interpret, share and make them accessible for all. The Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites exhibition contained artefacts not only from the collections of the National Museums, but also from other collections. As we shall see in Chapter 5, seeing all the artefacts was an important motivator to visit the exhibition.

Thirdly, the organisation strives to increase its reputation and reach: The National Museums of Scotland wants to connect with more people locally, nationally, and internationally. Being generous and collaborative are the second and third value. National Museums of Scotland aims to be generous as in being open, friendly and enabling, and collaborative by being enquiring, receptive and well connected (National Museums Scotland, 2016b, p. 7). Several visitors travelled across the country to see the exhibition.

The fourth and last aim is to transform the organisation. More detailed the organisation aims to develop their staff and work together to deliver their ambitions and increase their income. The fourth and last value is being forward-thinking by looking for the big picture as well as the detail (National Museums Scotland, 2016b, p. 7). Visiting NMS does not require buying a ticket. However, visitors are encouraged to make donations. In order to visit the *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites* exhibition, guests had to buy separate tickets. Jin from Singapore, one of the informants that I spoke with, said that he thought the entrance fee was too high, but he thought the exhibition was worth seeing. The entrance fee had not kept him from seeing the exhibition.
Remarks

In this chapter, I have accounted for what a modern museum is, and I have roughly shown the history of the National Museum of Scotland, which is today a modern and audience friendly museum with audience friendly exhibitions. Or are the exhibitions as audience friendly as they appear to be? Before I present how I and my informants’ (in that order) experienced the exhibition, I will account for methodology.
Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I introduced the research question and the field of study. In Chapter 2, I dived into some theoretical perspectives and the history of the National Museum of Scotland. Now, it is time to look at the methodology. The data for this thesis was collected over a time span of three months. This is a qualitative survey based on ethnographic fieldwork. Doing interviews with the visitors have been important in order to answer my research question. I will account for how I did my interviews both on the internet and outside the exhibition. Before I explain how I did my interviews, I will account for the usefulness of the methods that I have used and the usefulness of these methods. I will round off the chapter by reflecting around a few ethical dilemmas.

Approaches to Ethnographic Fieldwork

Ethnographic fieldwork (from now on referred to as ‘fieldwork’) is an established way of doing qualitative research within social sciences and humanities. How to do fieldwork differs slightly from case to case. Associate Professor in ethnology Magnus Öhlander, who has done research on ethnicity and postcolonialism and how we use the term culture, claims (2011, p. 11) that fieldwork is an ethnologic skill to be learned while in the field. No field is the same, so the fieldworker must learn to know and adapt to it during the process. After I found the field I wanted to study, I had to find the best way to study my field in order to get answers to my questions.

As a fieldworker, one must step into different roles in relation to the people or the field one studies to get a deeper and more complete understanding of the field. Antonius C. G. M. Robben (1953-) is Professor of Social Anthropology at Utrecht University, the Netherlands, and past President of the Netherlands Society of Anthropology. Jeffrey A. Sluka is Associate Professor of Social Anthropology at Massey University, New Zealand. Robben and Sluka describe (2012, p. 2) participant observation as a “dynamic and contradictory synthesis of subjective insider and objective outsider”: As an insider, the fieldworker learns and adapts to
the ways of the people he or she is studying, while as an outsider, the fieldworker makes observations and comparisons that he or she as an insider will not be able to. Said with other words, the fieldworker should step into the society of study and adapt to their ways, but at some point, the fieldworker needs to step back and see the actual society from the outside to see the complete picture. During my fieldwork, I took the role as an insider when I visited the exhibition and did my interviews. The outsider role came when I was not in the museum, when I was going through my notes and planning how I should do the next round of interviews. In the following, I will account for how I got access to the field and how I did my observations and how I did my interviews.

**Access to the Field**

As the field was in an exhibition in the Museum, I had to gain permission from the staff before I could start doing interviews. What I could do, however, was to start doing observations. I had found out that the exhibition about the Jacobites was interesting for my study, so I decided that a good starting point was to go and see the exhibition. Since I worked during the opening hours during the week, I had to spend the weekend seeing the exhibition. I did not do further research on the topic before I went to see it. The Danish exhibition critic Marie Carsten Pedersen (2017, p. 362) attempts to see the exhibition from the visitor’s point of view, and as a visitor would not do a whole lot of research in advance, she does not make a lot of preparations either. Of course, the level of knowledge about the topic that the exhibition focuses on would differ a lot between visitors. However, there will always be something new to learn. I bought a student ticket by the entrance to the museum and went up to the third floor and to the exhibition. Professor of Anthropology at Macalester College, James P. Spradley, has written lots of books on fieldwork within Anthropology. He points out (1980, p. 59) that there is a lot to learn from doing non-participant observation. From walking around in the exhibition, I saw not only the exhibition but also the people visiting it. This was useful for me when I started planning my interviews. Pedersen insists (2017, p. 361) on always seeing an exhibition while the audience is there. How she as a critic expect a certain element – for instance an interactive display – will work, especially if she knows it has been something that the curator has put a lot of effort in, is one thing; another thing is to see the exhibition and the way the audience end up interacting with it (Pedersen, 2017, p. 361). This work was not only
essential to do before preparing my interviews, seeing the exhibition from my own point of view has been necessary in the process of analysing it.

Shortly after seeing the exhibition, I told the staff at the department I worked in more about my project, and asked for permission to do interviews. It did not take long to arrange permission for me, and a few weeks later I could start doing my interviews. I spent both Saturday and Sunday the last weekends the exhibition was open to do interviews, and I did 29 interviews. It happened that I interviewed two people who had seen the exhibition together, and these cases are counted as one interview. During my 28 interviews I talked to 42 people. I will encourage the reader to look at the list of informants that is to be found as an attachment while reading Chapter 5.

Since there was no talking inside the exhibition, I had to wait outside the exhibition for people to come out. In order not to look like a random person, I had to wear the badge with my name on it that I used at work. Because of this, visitors occasionally thought that I worked in the museum, and they asked me questions about the other exhibitions or the museum. The badge may also have made the whole atmosphere more formal, and they would maybe answer the questions differently in another setting. The exhibition itself was very formal, with entrance and exit, and with guards and expeditors outside of it. If the atmosphere had been more relaxed both inside and outside the exhibition, I would have been able to have less formal conversations with people inside the exhibition, which could have given me answers that I did not get through the interviews.

**Interviews**

The interviews that I did were perhaps the most important part of my fieldwork. In order to answer my research question, I had to do interviews. The interview is an essential part of an ethnographic fieldwork (Fägerborg, 2011, p. 85), and researchers who have done practical social research have used the interview in one form or another as a method of collecting data (Kaarhus, 1999, p. 33). As I have mentioned before, I did some of my interviews over email. This will be accounted for in the next paragraph. Now, I will account for how I planned and did the interviews that I did outside the exhibition. The interviews are maybe the most important part of my study. The Swedish Ethnologist Eva Fägerborg underlines (2011, p. 85) that through the interviews, the an aspect of reality can be described and portrayed by people who tell about their experiences, their thoughts and experiences from their point of view. By
doing interviews, I got honest opinions about how the visitors experienced it, and I also got to know what kind of audience that visited the exhibition.

Of course, I made sure that the opening questions did not lead the interviewees thoughts to Outlander or other phenomena of popular culture. Anthropologist Randi Kaarhus stresses (1999, p. 36) that the questions should, as far as possible, be free of elements that would influence the interviewee. This seems very obvious, however, I had to be very careful not to ask any questions that would lead the interviewee to think of Outlander. At the same time, I wanted to know if my informants had a relation to the Outlander series or other phenomena of popular culture, and therefore I had to ask questions about it. However, I saved these questions to the end of the interviews, and I tried not to mention Outlander specifically unless the interviewees did it first. The opening questions were mainly about the visitor and his or her motivations to see the exhibition. Fägerborg claims (2011, p. 88) that the term ‘interview’ should only be used about a situation that both the interviewer and the interviewee agree about. Later, I asked about the visitor’s relation to popular culture, and if they mentioned Outlander, I could ask questions about the series. It did happen that I talked about the series even though the interviewee had not mentioned it, but I made sure not to ask direct questions about popular culture and the Jacobites until the last part of the interview. The names are pseudonyms that I made up after the interviews.

Fieldwork on the Internet

The Swedish ethnologist Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius (2011, p. 205) says that internet can be useful in all stages of fieldwork. I had to do some of my interviews online. On the last weekend of the exhibition, the museum arranged a Jacobite-themed late event. The organisers did not want me to do interviews during the event, but I could collect email addresses and send the survey. To do that, I was given a standard paper for collecting email addresses that I printed and copied. I got 36 email addresses. After the event, I wrote down my observations in a note book and made a survey with questions about how the visitors found the event and about their interest in the theme that the event was based around.

At first, I was sorry that it had to be this way. Interviewing people on the event would be so much easier. After all, the interviews had a semi-structured natured. What I really hoped and wanted was to find people I could join so that I could see how they really experienced the event. It was challenging to see this as a good way of doing research of a qualitative nature.
On the other hand, sending out a survey could perhaps give me more responders than making short interviews while joining the event. All I needed was the copies of the papers and a few pens for people to write their email addresses. In addition, the event had a high party factor. There was live music and a bar. Walking around with my notebook was not the activity I would prefer on this kind of event. Furthermore, that would take my attention away from the event and kill my own experience of it. Only having to ask for email-addresses gave me the chance to see and experience more of the event.

Of course, far from everyone responded to my online survey. That is one of the reasons I collected so many of them. For a while, I was afraid no one would reply at all, and I would not blame them. The questions were made so that the interviewees would have to write at least a few words about their opinions. Since there were around 20 questions, I informed the interviewees that I would not expect anyone to answer all of them. So, would anyone at all answer? Days went by and nothing happened. One day I received a mail from someone who had given some of her time. This happened eight times. Many of them had given me full sentence answers, and I was more than happy. However, the responder may have had reasons to take their time and answer the survey. Many of them had strong political opinions about Brexit, Scottish history or literature. For instance, the responders tend to write ‘Scottish’ or ‘English’ under the nationality field. Said with other words, I must consider that the answers from this online survey are not representative for all the people who participated on the event.

**Ethical Dilemmas and Implications**

When studying people, ethical dilemmas will always occur. First, information is important. Before interviewing people, I made sure that they knew what the interviews were for. I explained to all my informants what the interviews were for.

Anonymization is maybe the most important point when it comes to my interviews. I have interviewed many museum visitors as a part of this project. Spradley (1980, p. 23) points out that informants have the right to remain anonymous. In Norway, all research that happen within the fields of social sciences and humanities have to be reported to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). According to NSD all data that contain personal information about private individuals should be anonymised and be treated in a way that makes it impossible for others to identify informants (see [http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvernombud/en/notify/index.html](http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvernombud/en/notify/index.html)). I made sure that all my
informants knew that they would be anonymised and given pseudonyms. While interviewing visitors to the museum, I never asked for names. However, if I should have a chance to remember my interviewees, I had to give them an identity. The solution was to give them pseudonyms. Most often I just chose a name that fell into my head. Of course, I did not write it down in my notebook until they left. I did the interviews outside the exit from the exhibition. The exit was facing the back of the museum, next to a bridge that lead to the group rooms and toilets. I had no table, so I had to use the railing on the bridge to support my notebook. If they wanted to, my informants could see everything that I wrote. Therefore, I chose not to give them pseudonyms until they had left. There was a chance they would see that I wrote a random name and be confused of maybe even offended by my choice of pseudonym for them.

However, I did some of my interviews online through e-mail. There was an event connected to the exhibition: Museum Late: The Jacobites. This event took place the 10th of November, from 19:00-23:00. This was only two days before the exhibition was closing. I will explain the event in more detail this event later. At this point it is important to say something about how I dealt with this in terms of anonymization. Communicating this way made it impossible not to get personal information about the informants. I knew their full name and their e-mail addresses. Of course, I have given all of them pseudonyms. In the process of giving them new names, I tried to find names as different from their real names as possible.

Finally, there is a question of the institution itself and whether it should be anonymised or not. Anonymising places and institutions is crucial if the data and field of study is of a sensitive nature. However, The National Museum of Scotland is a public institution, so there should be no point in hiding. Sometimes, anonymising a public institution like a museum can be useful if it has few visitors and everybody knows who those visitors are. However, the National Museum of Scotland has millions of visitors every year, and at least thousand visitors per day, so there is no way it would be possible for anyone to know who I have been talking to from knowing the fact that they were at the National Museum of Scotland. I therefore find it unnecessary and even pointless to give the institution a pseudonym.
Remarks

In this chapter I have accounted for the methodology that I used to answer my question. Now, it is time to have a closer look at the material. In the next chapters I will look at and analyse my material. In Chapter 5, I shall account for how the audience saw the exhibition. Before that, I shall explain how I saw the exhibition and my experience of the Museum Late: Jacobites event.
Chapter 4: Experiencing Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites Part I: My Experience

Introduction

Step into the world of the Royal House of Stuart, a dynasty divided into two courts by religion, politics and war, each fighting for the throne of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland. Discover how four Jacobite kings became pawns in a much wider European political game. And follow the Jacobites’ fight to regain their lost kingdoms through five challenges to the throne, the last ending in crushing defeat at the Battle of Culloden and Bonnie Prince Charlie’s escape to the Isle of Skye and onwards to Europe.
In this chapter I will account for how I experienced the exhibition. I will do that with help from some theoretical perspectives of Hillström, Dean, Marstine and Pedersen. Before going on to portray my experience of *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites*, I will account for some main perspectives on exhibitions.

**Perspectives on the Museum Exhibitions**

Anthropologist Henrietta Lidchi, whose PhD focuses on visual images produced by British NGOs in the context of debates regarding the ethics and politics of representation, defines (1997, p. 168) exhibitions as “discrete events which articulate objects, texts, visual representations, reconstructions and sounds to create an intricate and bounded representation system”. Hillström (2017, p. 99) points to some conflicts or tensions that appear within bigger cultural historical museums: On the one hand there is the conflict whether the fundamental orientation should be towards the collections or the audience, and on the other hand there is the conflict between the museum’s role as an educational institution or as a producer of experiences on a market of attractions. According to Hillström (2017, p. 99), it is in the centre of these tensions that the four ideal types of museums appear: The archive, the treasure chamber, the training institution, and the theatre. Before jumping to how I experienced the exhibition, I will have a closer look at those four ideal types.

The treasure chamber is – as given by the title – characterized by artefacts (Hillström, 2017, p. 107). This ideal can be traced back to the very beginning of the museum as an institution. According to Hillström (2017, p. 107) the treasure chamber is what connects the modern museum with its predecessors. The archive is characterised by information. Just as the treasure chamber, the article is important, however, they are not significant in themselves but through the information that they represent (Hillström, 2017, p. 107). In the museum theatre, the artefacts on display are subjects to exciting dramatizations and stage scenarios (Hillström, 2017, p. 108). Last but not least, the museum as a training institution is characterised by knowledge: It is neither the artefact’s curiosity or its value as a source that is in the centre: It is the but the knowledge that the museum conveys (Hillström, 2017, p. 108). Those four ideal types will be useful to have in mind while looking at the exhibition. It is also important to remember the common mission of all types of museum exhibitions, namely to provide places for education and reflection (Dean, 1994, p. 2). Now it is time to have a quick look at what kind of experience the Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites exhibition was.
Introduction: Creating the Myth

Once I entered the exhibition, I saw a wall with a great painting a landscape from the Highland of Scotland. To the right, there was another painting, one of Prince Charles Edward Stuart. The light was dimmed, and in the background, they play the *Skye Boat Song*. When I first saw the exhibition, my only knowledge of the song was that it was being used as soundtrack in the series, so I immediately thought of the series. I will come back to the Skye Boat Song later.

It was clear from the texts that was to be found in this part of the exhibition that the aim was to make the visitor start separating facts and fictions. The specific goals of museum exhibitions involve the desire to change attitudes and increase the availability of knowledge (Dean, 1994, p. 3). One of the key messages to the audience was that the Jacobite conflict was never a conflict between Scotland and England: Jacobite supporters could be English, Irish or from other European countries. The next part of the exhibition was an introduction of the Stuart family, and I am not surprised that there exist many misunderstandings and misconceptions about the Jacobites, because the Stuart family is complicated.

Theme One: The Royal House of Stuart

As I rounded the corner next to the painting of Bonnie Prince Charlie, I came into a small room with blue coloured walls. Three artefacts that immediately caught my attention. The artefacts were placed inside display cases many times their own sizes, so the focus was immediately drawn towards them. Six banners with the same colour as the walls that hung from the roof over them – one on each side of each artefact. One of the words ‘monarchy’, ‘faith’ or ‘power’ was written on each banner. It was obvious from the way the banners were set up that the artefacts were connected to these words. The first – the one that symbolised monarchy – was a coronation ampulla that was used for the coronation of Charles I at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh June 18th, 1633. The artefact that symbolized faith was a communion bread plate from Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, made by Thomas Kirkwood and Deacon George Crawfurd, 1633-1635. A lobster tail helmet symbolized the last of the three words, namely power. Through the exhibition I learnt that this helmet was typical for the post Renaissance, and it was popular in Europe from around 1600. It was particularly used by cavalry and officers.
I walked further into the exhibition and saw a beautifully made tree painted on the wall. After a closer look, I found out that it was a family tree that showed the Stuart family, more specifically the direct descendants of James VI and I, who united the crowns of Scotland, Ireland and England. All the kings of the Jacobite era had two numbers; the first represented Scotland, and the second represented England. This was explained in the exhibition. People crowded around it to learn the family tree, and more people queued around it to have a closer look. When I visited the exhibition for the first time it was one of the elements in the exhibition that I remembered without problems, even though I did not learn the Stuart family by heart. Getting to know four generations is not done by looking at a family tree for a couple of minutes while people are queueing around you, impatiently waiting for you to move on so that they can have a closer look at the tree.

Further, this part of the exhibition contained an interactive map that depicts the three kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland from a European perspective. The purpose of this map, I was told, was to encourage the visitor to discover the type of monarchy, religion and politics that dominated a particular country, and how that informed a country’s relationship with other nations. With this in mind, I moved on to the next part of the exhibition, where I got to know James VI and I better.

**Theme Two: The Dynasty Restored**

The most obvious transition between theme one and theme two was the change of colour. From theme two and to the end of the exhibition, the walls were painted in different shades of red or pink. My first thought was that the colours were chosen to hold on to the attention of an
audience that was interested in romantic fictions or art. I also have to point out that as I walked further into the exhibition, the Skye Boat Song slowly faded away and was replaced by other sounds, for instance the sounds from the audio-visual elements that occurred later in the exhibition. Earlier, I pointed out that inside the exhibition, the constant noise that characterized the rest of the museum was gone. Of course, there were the sounds that was supposed to be in the exhibition, like the music and the audio-visual elements, but there were no loud talking. People who visited the exhibition as groups communicated by whispering or low talking. There were no kids running around screaming “come and look at this”. If it did happen that kids talked louder and started running around, their parents or the adults that were responsible for were quick to tell them not to do that.

Now it is time to go back to what this part of the exhibition was about. It contained several paintings of James VII and II, who is the main person here. What happened to the Stuart Dynasty after the death of James VI and I? The key focus is, as the paintings initiates, on James VII and II. No one had expected that he would succeed the throne after his brother Charles II when he died in 1685 without a legitimate heir. Charles II had succeeded the throne after the execution of Charles I in 1660. However, James’ Catholicism led to political unrest, and the crown was offered to his Protestant daughter, Mary and her husband, William of Orange. They accepted the offer. Of course, James challenged their claim, but he was defeated and exiled to France. What happened now that the Dynasty was divided? This is what I am supposed to get an answer to in Theme Three.

**Theme Three: A Dynasty Divided**

Now, the main persons are Mary and William of Orange. One of the many objects in this part of the exhibition was a dish with a portrait of William III. There were also medals that depicted the flight of James VII. In February 1689 the English Parliament declared James’ VII and II escapes constituted an abdication, and Mary and William were crowned monarchs in England. The Scottish Parliament was willing to hear both claims, however, James’ appeal was badly represented. Scotland declared for William and Mary.

Several attempts to restore James VII and II were made. Viscount Dundee raised an army of Jacobite Highlanders, but in June 1689 Dundee was killed at the Battle of Killiecrankie. Later that year the Highland Jacobites were defeated at the Battle of Dunkeld.
James arrived in Ireland in March 1689. He raised an army, but was defeated in the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690 and returned to France. In the aftermath of the first Jacobite challenge, William III demanded the Highland clans sign allegiance to him. The deadline for this was 1st January 1692. The MacDonals of Glencoe were deemed to have failed to sign in time. A pair of iron and silver pistols that belonged to the Earls of Stair and a warrant for an inquiry into the slaughter of the MacDonals of Glencoe are highlighted as the key objects in this part of the exhibition. The MacDonals were brutally slaughtered February 13th, 1692 by soldiers under the command of Captain Robert Campbell. The soldiers spent twelve days as their guests before they slaughtered all McDonald’s men, women and children. The Scottish Parliament declared it an act of murder, providing the Jacobites with powerful anti-government propaganda.

A movie screen on the wall caught my attention. In front of it several benches were placed for people to sit down. On the screen there was a short film played on repeat. People crowded around the screen to see the film. The benches were filled up, so several people had to see the film while standing. I walked closer to the movie screen and over to Theme Four.

**Theme Four: A Court in Exile**

The film is, not surprisingly, an important part of this theme. In fact, it was more a slide show than a film. A narrator voice told the story of James’ flight and Château Vieux, the location for his exiled court. Château Vieux was provided James and his family and court by his cousin, Louis XIV. Louis had used Château Vieux as official residence since 1660, but by 1682 the French Court had relocated to Versailles. In 1692, James’ daughter Louisa Maria Stuart was born at St. Germain. The Château was depicted in the film. This theme contained several portraits, for instance one of Louis XIV welcoming James VII and II to St. Germain-en-Laye.

When James died in 1701, his son was officially recognised by Louis XIV as King James III of England and VIII of Scotland. In Britain, the lack of a Protestant heir to the throne created fears of a Catholic restoration. As a result, the English Parliament introduced the Act of Settlement. If William III or his successor, Anne, failed to produce an heir, the Crown of England and Ireland would go to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her Protestant descendants. Sophia was James VI and I’s granddaughter.
Theme Five: ‘Prefer your own brother, the last of our line’

The Challenges of James VIII and III was printed on the wall over a portrait of James VIII and III. In this part of the exhibition I learnt about the second and the third Jacobite challenge. Among the key artefacts were Herald’s coat. Actually, Herald’s coat was one of the first artefacts in this part of the exhibition. Another key artefact is a targe that is believed to have been carried by the 2nd Duke of Gordon, as Marquis of Huntly, at Sheriffmuir in 1715. Several snuff boxes were also on display along with a goblet decorated with horsemen and war trophies. It is assumed that the goblet was made to commemorate the Quadruple Alliance of 1718. A small purse of deerskin that is said to have been owned by Rob Roy MacGregor is also on display. It has a rectangular brass clasp incised with dot-and-circle ornament. So, what did I learn from Theme Five?

I learnt about the three Jacobite challenges that was mounted by James III and VIII. When the Act of Union was introduced in 1707, many Scots were unhappy about a single parliament governing from London. As a result, the second of the five Jacobite challenges was sparked in 1708. However, this challenge was doomed to fail. James contracted measles, and when they eventually set sail the British Navy were aware of their plans. When James reached the Firth of Forth, the weather was so bad the French naval commander refused to land, and, despite James’ protests, turned back for France.

James mounted his next challenge in 1715, on the death of Queen Anne, George, Prince of Hanover, became king in 1714 by the Act of Settlement. Many were outraged by this decision and were keen to support the return of the exiled monarch. James seized the opportunity to regain the crown from the House of Stuart. This attempt was more successful than the one in 1708, but also this attempt failed.

James undertook his final challenge in 1719 with the aid of the Spanish. This attempt also failed, and it was James’ last. What happened to James and the rest of the Stuart Dynasty after the third failed attempt?

Theme Six: All Roads Lead to Rome

Finally, I was introduced to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, or Bonnie Prince Charlie, and his brother Henry. Charles was born in 1720 and Henry in 1725. Among the artefacts here is a
double portrait of Henry and Charles. However, this theme did not only introduce the famous figure head of the Jacobite era. It also explained how James moved his court four times between 1713 and 1718. He was living in Bar-le-Duc in 1713. In 1715 he was in Avignon; in 1717 Pesaro, then Urbino. In 1718 he finally left for Rome.

One of the key artefacts in this part of the exhibition was a part of a set of wall hangings and valances of white linen embroidered in coloured wools and silks. It is Scottish and was made in 1719, and it has cypher of James Francis Stuart and Clementina Sobieska. The story of how James in 1719 married the wealthy Polish princess Clementina Sobieska, who would later give birth to his two sons, was told more or less straight forward. It was emphasised that the Pope recognised James as the rightful king of Scotland, Ireland and England, and provided the couple with a residence in Rome – the Palace del Re, and an allowance. The texts explained that Charles was born in 1720 and Henry in 1725, and that they both were raised as royal princes even though James’ and Clementina’s marriage broke down shortly after Henry was born. The court relocated to Bologna in 1726. Clementina did return to James in 1727, but they lived separate lives. In 1729 the court returned to Rome. Clementina died in 1735 when Charles was 15.

What happened after Clementina died is explained more in detail in the texts. James and his sons became popular figures in Roman society, entertaining their friends and courtiers at the Palazzo del Re. For his 21st birthday, Charles received a beautiful travelling canteen set made by Ebenezer Oliphant of Edinburgh around 1740. In 1744, Charles left for France. This was the first stage in his journey to regain the British crown for his father. Henry followed Charles in 1745, leaving their father James in Rome to await news of their fate. The preparations for the final Jacobite Challenge had begun.

Figure 3. Prince Charles Edward Stuart’s travelling canteen. Photo: BBC News.
Theme Seven: The Final Jacobite Challenge

After the film that told the story of James VIII and III in France, I had been waiting for more audio-visual elements. In theme seven, my expectations should be fulfilled. There were not only one but TWO audio-visual elements. Of course, I went to see the audio visuals before I saw the rest of Theme Seven. The first audio-visual was about the few weeks in 1745 that Bonnie Prince Charlie held court at the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Charles’ plan for his stay in Scotland was to raise forces so that he could reclaim his father’s throne. His plan did not go as expected, but he was eventually joined by several hundred Highlanders, and they marched south to Edinburgh and to the Palace of Holyroodhouse. This film included footage of the palace and objects that Charles brought with him from the continent. As the first Stuart to do so since his grandfather James VII and II, Charles hosted a ball to celebrate the victory over the government troops at Preston Pans. Several of the outfits that were used during this ball was to be seen in the exhibition.

The victory over the Preston Pans’ did not only give Bonnie Prince Charlie an opportunity to host a ball. It also gave him confidence to march with his army to London. They made it to Derby, where they met the army of the Duke of Cumberland and were forced to turn back north. I also must add that in the Outlander series, Claire and James try hard to stop the doomed battle of Culloden from happening. However, both in the series and in the reality this battle did find place. In April 1746 the Jacobite army, beleaguered, exhausted, and ill-equipped stood against Cumberland’s forces at Culloden. The battle lasted less than an hour. The Jacobites were mercilessly cut down. And this led me to the second audio-visual element. This film starred a young woman walking on a deserted battlefield. The sky was full of clouds, and the woman was obviously mourning. She talked about her husband, who was killed at the Battle of Culloden. In the Outlander series, the Battle of Culloden happens at the end of season two. Claire is pregnant at that point, and Jamie is going to fight in the battle. They both know that the battle is doomed, and that Jamie will most likely die. Therefore, they decided that Claire should go back to the stones at Craigh na Dun and travel back to “her own time”, the end of the 1940s, and raise their child together with her husband Frank Randall. They have an emotional good bye before Claire goes back through the stones. In season three, many years have passed since Claire went back through the stones. Her husband Frank is dead, and her daughter is in the beginning of her twenties. It is obvious that Claire never managed to put her relationship with Jamie behind her, and therefore the relationship between
mother and daughter is tense. Claire and the widow in the film that was used in the exhibition have in common that they do not manage to go back to their old selves after what happened to their husbands at Culloden. In the Outlander series, however, it turns out that Jamie did not die, and that is what season three is about. However, the use of a widow in the film that shows the aftermath of the Battle of Culloden is quite interesting, and I immediately drew parallels to Claire in the Outlander series when I saw this film. However, that was the first time after the introduction that this happened. Of course, I wondered if the choice of colours in the exhibition was made to please Outlander fans, but I did not feel any strong connections to the series when I walked through the exhibition. This film about the widow at Culloden was different from the other films as it had an actress that played a role. The other films had narrators that were placed in the background reading facts about James III and VIII and Bonnie Prince Charlie. This video contained no facts in the sense that the other films did, only the widow who mourned over her husband who died at Culloden.

Charles eventually escaped back to France. On his escape from Culloden, Charles was sheltered in Arisaig by Angus MacDonald of Borrodale. He was provided with a tartan outfit from Angus’ wife, Catroina, to make him pass for one of the country. So, what happened to Charles, who has always been portrayed as a hero and galant gentleman, after he was defeated at Culloden? Most of the transitions in the exhibition were rather smooth, however, theme eight had the closest thing you would come an entrance to it. What was it that waited for Bonnie Prince Charlie on the other side of the Battle of Culloden?

**Theme Eight: Kings Over the Water**

The first thing that I noticed about this part of the exhibition was the walls. They were painted in a shade of red, but unlike the other parts of the exhibition, the walls were not neutral. They were decorated with leaves. As I did not know much about leaves or symbols, this occurred to me as strange that the walls suddenly were decorated. It was nice, though. As I read the texts, I found out that the leaves on the walls were oak leaves, and that they were among the symbols used by the supporters of the Jacobite cause and Bonnie Prince Charlie to express loyalty to their exiled king. The texts explained how butterflies and white roses were also important symbols of loyalty, and that they were often engraved on glasses that were used to toast *the king over the water*, as Prince Charles Edward Stuart was also called. It is explained that the glasses were held over a bowl of water as the toast was made – literally toasting the
king over the water. By the entrance to theme eight, a collection of decorated glasses is presented in a mass display. This part of the exhibition explains the faith of the Stuarts after the Battle of Culloden.

Figure 4: Towards the end of the exhibition. Photo: BBC News.

The first thing I noticed was what happened to Charles. It was obvious that he had changed, and people were not as welcoming as they used to be. His heavy drinking is problematised, and one of the events that the texts focus on is when he was banned from Paris by Louis XV in 1748. Another important event is the birth of his daughter, Charlotte, in 1759. Clementina Walkinshaw, Charlotte’s mother, is introduced as Charles’ mistress. According to the texts, “Charles’s drinking and increasingly volatile and abusive nature saw both mother and daughter leave in 1760”. Charles’ relationship with his father was also problematic towards the end. James III and VIII died in 1766 at his palace in Rome, and was buried in the crypt of St. Peter’s Basilica. On January 14th, 1766, the Pope accepted the Hanoverians as the legitimate rulers of Britain – negating the Jacobite claim.

Charles kept struggling to regain the power, and he faced one disappointment after another. After his father James’ death, Charles moved to Rome in anticipation of being acknowledged king by Benedict XIV. He was bitterly disappointed. He married Louisa of Stolberg in 1772, she also left him. He was described as a lonely, isolated alcoholic. He invited his daughter to live with him in Florence, and she accepted the offer and looked after
him until his death in Rome in 1788. It is shortly mentioned that Charlotte herself died the year after.

Henry was obviously far more popular than his brother towards the end, and that was emphasised in the exhibition. It seemed that Henry was more open to adapt to changes than his older brother. He joined the church and was made Cardinal in 1747, which made Charles furious because it ruled out the Stuart line continuing with him. It seemed like Henry was not interested in the throne though, because he did no effort to claim it when Charles died. It is obvious, however, that Henry had an important role towards the end:

*In Jacobite circles, Henry was known as the Duke of York, and latterly as Henry IX when he inherited the claim to the thrones. He lost his French Royal benefices during the French Revolution and his property in Frascati was also seized. Impoverished, George III granted him a pension. He returned to Frascati in 1803, and lived there until his death in 1807. The exiled Stuarts were later rehabilitated into the British Royal Family. Henry, his brother, his father and his mother are buried in the crypt of St. Peter’s Basilica in the Vatican, where there is a monument to the Royal Stuarts. One of the subscribers was the Hanoverian George IV. The monument was subsequently restored at the expense of the late Queen Mother.*

I found it interesting to read the faiths of Charles and Henry towards the end, even though what happened to Charles was tragic. To me, Henry seemed to be the “winner” towards the end. As I walk towards the exit, I can again vaguely hear the Skye Boat Song, as it is played just inside the entrance on the other side of the partition.

**Perspectives on Museum Exhibitions – Again**

So, what can I say about *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites*? It contained a lot of information, and I had to go through it several times before I saw the system. Of course, this is also since it was constantly crowded. However, I made a few reflections on the exhibition. Going back to Hillström’s four ideal types of exhibitions; the theatre, the treasure chamber, the archive, and the training institution, I will say that this exhibition could fit into all these categories – at once. The goal of the exhibition was to kill of myths and romantic misconceptions about the Jacobites, and I think it did so very well. The title of the exhibition is *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites*, and a portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart was used on the posters that advertised the exhibition. I did not know much about neither Charles Edward Stuart nor the Jacobites except from the little part of it that I saw in the Outlander series. From the advertisement I got the idea that Charles was regarded as a hero and figure
head of the era. However, knowing that he ended his life as an abusive drunk, I asked myself if the nick name Bonnie Prince Charlie was as suitable after all. The Outlander series has, as I have said before, been awarded for the degree of historical correctness. In the series, Charles is depicted as a guy who liked parties. However, I personally think the exhibition about the Jacobites was set up in a good way. There was a lot of information to take in, along with a lot of visual and audio-visual elements in the form of artefacts, portraits, interactive maps and the family tree, and the three films. How the role of the artefacts has changed is interesting to look at. What role did the 300 artefacts that were on display in the exhibition have? Anne Eriksen, who is Professor of Cultural History at the University of Oslo, claims (2009, p. 183) that the artefacts are only elements in what makes up the exhibition, and that it is not the artefacts themselves that the artefacts do not “speak” through the exhibition, but that the obviousness that they are surrounded by occurs when those who have made the exhibition and those who sees it share the same set of knowledge. Brenna underlines (2016, p. 36) that museums have gotten new tasks: From being places where particularly valuable artefacts are kept, they are now being transformed into places for dialog social inclusion. Hooper-Greenhill points out (2007, p. 81) that what she calls the post-museum (the reborn modernist museum that was established in the 19th century) will hold and care for artefacts, but it will more on their use rather than on further accumulation. The artefacts of an exhibition are given importance and meaning because they represent a certain kind of cultural value (Lidchi, 1997, p. 205). The post-museum will have a strong focus on and interest for intangible heritage: Where the tangible artefacts of a cultural group have largely been destroyed, it is the memories, songs, and cultural traditions that embody the past and the future of the given culture (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007, p. 81). Artefacts definitely do not have the same voice in the exhibition as they had in the old cabinets of curiosities, but I do think they have an important role to play in the exhibition, and that they have an independent voice and stories to tell. I also do think that for some visitors the artefacts have a great importance. For me, the 300 artefacts in the exhibition was an important part of the experience, as they, along with the other visual and audio-visual elements made it easier for me to visualise the history.

The exhibition was also open during the Museum Late: Jacobites event that took place a few days before the end of the exhibition. In the following, I will account for my experience of this event.
**Museum Lates: Jacobites – My Experience**

On Friday 10 November the legendary Museum Lates returns with a Jacobite theme marking the end of the Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland.

I was very excited about the event. Personally, I think such events give the museum a chance to deal with serious matters in a more informal setting. The atmosphere is more relaxed; there are often live music and alcohol is served. For me, this kind of events would be the perfect way to start the weekend after a long week of work. Going to the event at NMS, a part of me wished I could go there just for fun and not to collect information for my thesis. However, I was still very excited about it.

The Grand Gallery were beautifully lit up with pink and purple lights. Seeing the terraces and the great hall almost empty was strange to me. During the visiting hours, these places would always be crowded. After leaving my jacket downstairs in the wardrobe, I was given a flyer with the program for the evening. I had read everything in advance, but I found it useful to have the flyer. It also contained a map of the museum, so that people could know where everything was. Even though I had been working in the museum for a while when this event took place, I did not know the museum by heart. The National Museum of Scotland is a big museum, and getting to know it takes time. All the Grand Gallery was open, and Level 1 and 3 of the Natural Science Galleries, World Culture Galleries and Art, Design and Fashion galleries were open. Level 1 of the Science and Technology galleries were open. You could drink in the Grand Gallery and in the halls outside the other galleries. There were two bars in the Grand Gallery, one on each side of the stage where the bands performed. There was also bars in the Discoveries and in Hawthornden Court. In the Grand Gallery you could also buy food.

From 19:00 the museum was slowly filled up with people. I tried to figure out what groups of people would come to the event. I expected to see most young people, but all age groups over 18 were represented. A short look at the flyer revealed that there were events that all groups of people could enjoy, and, in my opinion, the opening hours were perfect. 19:00 to 22:30 is neither too early or too late for anyone, and one could always go before the event ended.
Between 19:30 and 21:30, the talks *Jacobites Fact or Fiction, Damn Rebel Bitches* and *Inside Outlander* took place in the auditorium on the first floor. The first talk – Jacobite Fact of Fiction – was held by the curators of the exhibition. This talk dealt with the aim of the exhibition itself, namely to kill old myths about the Jacobites. The speech was more fact based than the other speeches, and therefore I thought it was a good thing that it was held before the other speeches. Of course, the myth that the Jacobites were Scots was discussed and killed. So was the myth that the conflict was a war between Catholics and Protestants. As shown in the exhibition, there were conflicts about religion within the Stuart family. The core of this speech was that the Jacobites were the people who wanted the descendants of James Stuart on the throne. There were certainly many people from all age groups who found this talk interesting, but the auditorium was far from full.

As an interesting contrast, there was not a seat left in the auditorium during the Inside Outlander talk, that started at 21:00. Sadly, there were not enough seats for all the people who wanted to hear this talk, that was more a speech held by five or six of the actors from the Outlander series. They talked about the locations that they had visited during filming, and about what it was like filming the series. The actors had central, but not the main roles, in the series. They talked about the places around Edinburgh, like Linlithgow Palace and the Hopetoun House. The atmosphere was more relaxed during this speech, and the actors had chairs that they sat in during the speech. It was more open for questions from the audience not only towards the end, but also throughout the speech.

After having listened to this talk, I went to see what the silent disco was. During the week, I had heard my colleagues in the museum talking about the silent disco and how fun it was, so I understood the museum had a tradition for silent disco, whatever that may be. I went to the Imagine room where this silent disco was supposed to be. That room was just next to the auditorium. During the opening hours, this room was a place for children to play. The walls were covered with all kinds of mirrors that made you look different. By the entrance to the room I was given a headset. It had to channels, so I could listen to whatever I wanted and nobody else would hear it. The room was crowded, but not over crowded. People were walking around alone or in groups. Some people danced in front of the mirrors, other just walked around. I fell into the last category, and I did not stay there very long. I guess a place like that would be funnier after a drink or two.

The rest of the evening I walked around while collecting email addresses. When I left at 22:30, I was happy with the results that I had gotten.
Concluding Remarks: From the Curator’s Point of View

According to one of the curators, the theme for the exhibition was not chosen for any particular reason. The exhibition could be seen as a sequel to an exhibition about Mary Queen of Scots: “The last exhibition we had was about Mary Stuart, so an exhibition about the Jacobites fitted into the program,” the curator explained. The Outlander-hype was not taken into the account when they decided to curate the exhibition. But of course, they would welcome everything that would make people want to come to see the exhibition. The curator also highlights the fact that Diana Gabaldon’s books are historically correct. He stresses that there are lots of myths about the Jacobites that they try to kill through the exhibition and that the Jacobite story is incredibly complex. It is not merely about religion and nationality, as people from both Ireland and England supported the Jacobites, and not only people who identified themselves as Scottish. He also pointed out that the Skye Boat Song was written by Sir Harold Edwin Boulton (1859-1935), who was an Englishman.

What is left now is to see how the audience found the exhibition. What did the visitors gain from visiting the exhibition or go to the event? The next chapter is dedicated to the visitors’ experience of the exhibition and the event.
Chapter 5: Experiencing *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites* Part 2: The Visitor’s Experience

**Introduction**

So far, I have introduced the field of research in Chapter 1, and I have dived deeper into theory and museum history in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I have accounted for the methodology that I have used, and I have given a presentation of the exhibition *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites* and the *Museum Lates: Jacobites* in Chapter 4. Now, it is time to see how the audience liked or disliked the exhibition and the event. Lidchi (1997, p. 202) claims that as museums seek to widen their natural constituency to reach more varied audiences, so the visiting public will become increasingly more diverse and may have more varied, or even competing, demands. What kind of audience did the exhibition attract, and what about the event? What motivated people to visit the exhibition or go to the event? These are questions I will do my best to answer in this chapter.

**Target Groups**

First, it may be useful to look at the groups that NMS had in mind when the exhibition was set up. Anticipating visitor needs and tendencies demands a clear notion of which groups to apply resources toward attracting (Dean, 1994, p. 20). The public attending museums expect their representations of the world to be confirmed, and a little extended, by the museums (Lidchi, 1997, p. 202). The curator of the exhibition pointed out five groups that they were trying to reach through the exhibition. These groups were:

1. Adult and family groups with an interest in Scottish history
2. An international visitor audience.
3. Edinburgh Festival-going visitors with an interest in art and history.
4. Special interest groups, particularly students, genealogists, and armchair detectives.
The aim of this study was to find out what motivated people who visited the museum during their spare time to come and see the exhibition. Said with other words, I have tried to figure out what motivated people to choose to go and see the exhibition. For that reason, I have not interviewed school classes. Festival going tourists with an interest in art and history are also excluded as the festival was in August, and I did my research in October and November. This leaves me with group one, two, and four. I tried to cover these groups while I did my interviews, and I have talked to people from all three categories. Said with other words, there is no doubt that they reached out to its target groups through the exhibition.

However, I found that there was nothing that necessarily separated the international student from the genealogist in terms of how they saw the exhibition. Categorising people, even into general groups, is an undertaking charged with problems and pitfalls, such as stereotyping, labelling, and unfair biasing (Dean, 1994, p. 20). Anyways, while working with research material, one must put it into categories for it to make sense. There are many ways of categorising museum visitors, and researchers, museum educators and others that have done research on museum audience have put them into different categories. In the following, I will have a look at how different theorists have categorised museum visitors, before I explain my findings.

**Categorising Visitors**

Marilyn G. Hood is a museum consultant specializing in audience development, evaluation and market analysis. She divides (1983, p. 52) museum visitors into three groups: Frequent participants, occasional participants, and nonparticipants. She has also identified (1983, p. 51) six major attributes underlying adults’ choices in their leisure time: Social interaction, doing something worthwhile, feeling comfortable and at ease in one’s surroundings, having a challenge of experiences, having an opportunity to learn and participating actively. Which of these attributes people value the most, are important for whether they chose to go or not to go to the museum.

Those whom Hood characterize as frequent participants visit museums between three and 40 times per year (Hood, 1983, p. 52). According to Hood (1983, p. 54) these ‘loyalists’ go to museum wherever they are and whatever is showing, because they have chosen to place
museums on their leisure agenda. Their experience with museums has developed over time, and therefore they know the “museum code” of exhibits and objects, and the benefits offered by museum visits consistently outweigh the costs in for of time, money, travel and other factors that may prevent others from going.

John H. Falk is Director of the Institute for Learning Innovation and Sea Grant Professor of Free Choice Learning at Oregon State University. Falk has done research on visitor behaviour, and has made five (2006, pp. 156-158) visitor categories: The spiritual pilgrim, the explorer, the facilitator, the professionalist/hobbyist, and the experience seeker. Each of them have different traits that I will come back to. However, what they have in common is that all of them most probably would fall under Hood’s category of frequent visitors. Perhaps a few of them would fall under the category occasional participants, but this way of categorising does not say anything about people who do not go to museums. According to Hood (1983, pp. 54-55) the frequent visitors highly value all the leisure attributes, but the three they value the most are having an opportunity to learn, having a challenge of new experiences, and doing something worthwhile. These attributes go well along with Falk’s categories, and I shall come back to that later.

It is challenging and difficult to put people into categories based on what kind of visitors they are, and doing that would not say much about the motivation people had to visit the exhibition. The reasons why an individual chooses to visit a museum and an exhibition – the motivation – is a complex sociological and psychological construct assembled from a great selection of sources, a visitor’s prior knowledge of and experience with a certain topic or setting, perceived social relationships and expectations, the social and cultural meaning s/he attributes to the institution, and personal interests and sense of identity included (Falk, 2006, p. 153). The same people could have different motivations to visit the exhibition. Instead of placing the visitors into one category or another, I will look at what motivations people had to see the exhibition. Of course, these motivations can in some cases be almost similar to the categories of Hood or Falk, but unlike Hood and Falk, I do not put the individuals themselves into categories but their motivations. I have found five types of motivations that the visitors to the Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites exhibition. Of course, some people were motivated by their political point of view, and people were also motivated to learn more after having seen or read Outlander. Many people also wanted to learn something new, and some visitors came mainly to accompany others.
Accompanying Others

One of the reasons why people visit the museum is because they want to learn, or that they want others to learn, about a certain topic. One of Falk’s (2006, p. 157) five categories is the facilitator. The facilitator visits the museum mainly to satisfy the needs or desires of someone they care about (Falk, 2006, p. 157). To several groups of visitors, accompanying someone else is the most important reason why they visit museums and exhibition. That could be their child(ren), a partner, or someone else.

James visited the exhibition together with his wife, his ten years old son Tommy, and Tommy’s little sister. I met James and Tommy when they came out of the exhibition, and as the rest of the family was still seeing the exhibition, they had time for a few questions about the exhibition. James explained that the main reason why they chose to come and visit the exhibition was that Tommy just learnt about the Jacobites in school. He was surprised and impressed over how much Tommy had learnt. James himself knew a lot about the Jacobites as he remembered the history from his own school days, and he also pointed out that everyone had to read Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Kidnapped* in school. They enjoyed the exhibition, especially the texts and the artefacts. James explained that they did not pay attention to the films as it was too crowded in front of them and they found the texts and the artefacts more interesting. James thought that the exhibition was very well set out, and that the information was very good. That was a comment that often – but not always – came from people who came mainly to follow others. They were positively surprised and thought they had learnt a lot. Well spent time. However, that was not always the case.

Dave and Scott visited the exhibition together with their partners, Charlotte and Alice. They came separately, they did not even visit the museum on the same day. However, it is interesting to look at their different experiences together. Both Dave and Scott quickly underlined that it was their partners who wanted to see the exhibition in the first place. Both Charlotte and Alice had read the *Outlander* books, and it was especially after we started talking about the Outlander series that Dave and Scott repeated that it was their partners who wanted to go in the first place. Even though it was Charlotte who wanted to go in the first place, Dave admitted that he was interested in the military aspects of the Jacobite era, and that he also wanted to see the exhibition. After all, he had a master’s degree in Military Arts and Science. Both Dave and Charlotte, Scott and Alice liked the exhibition. Scott said he was impressed even though he needed a break halfway through it. He thought the timeline was
very nice. Dave did not like the timeline. He and Charlotte agreed that the timeline was hard to follow. Dave claimed that the transitions between the different époques were not very smooth. He also thought that one needed to do research in order to follow it. However, Dave thought that the curators had done a decent job explaining how complicated political matters were: “We think that conflicts are so much more complicated these days,” he explained. “But conflicts have always been complicated. They dressed better back in the day,” he continued smiling. “But the underlying motives for the conflicts were just as complex as they are now. Human beings have always been complicated, and therefore conflicts have always been at the same level. Only the settings change.”

When Thomas and Ginny visited the exhibition, Thomas insisted that it was Ginny who wanted to see the exhibition in the first place. Ginny explained that she had seen posters around town and that Thomas’ mother had recommended the exhibition. Even though it was Ginny who wanted to go in the first place, Thomas enjoyed the exhibition just as much as Ginny did. “It was awesome!” he said when I asked him about the exhibition. “I’ll admit it was a bit overwhelming, but you can still follow the storyline if you are patient and take your time.” He said it was a lot more than he expected it to be, but it was “really good”, especially the first movie of King James VII and II.

There is no doubt that people who visit the exhibition mainly to accompany their children who, according to them, should see the exhibition and learn more about the Jacobites and Scottish history, or their partners “who wanted to see the exhibition in the first place, do have an interest in the topics that the exhibition deals with. The facilitator that Falk (2006, p. 157) describes would rather be somewhere else, and visited a certain museum or exhibition mainly to do good things for someone else. This was obviously not the case for James, Thomas, Scott nor Dave. They all seemed to enjoy the exhibition just as much as the people they accompanied.

**Interest for the History**

Of course, people who visits a museum would have an interest in history. At least they will have an interest for the history that is communicated through the exhibition or the museum in the moment they see the exhibition, even though they have been “forced” by other to visit the museum. Or they will try their best to create an interest for the history that is on display. One of the missions of the museum is to wake people’s interest for certain topics.
However, the degree of interest differs from person to person. When I write about people who visited the museum due to their interest in history, I am writing about those people who spend a lot of their time researching history, either as a part of their job or education, or as a hobby. I am writing about those who came because of a genuine interest in historic époques and/or artefacts. I am writing about those who were motivated mainly by their interest in history.

Falk’s (2006, p. 157) professional/hobbyist category includes people who possess a strong knowledge and interest in the content of the institution, and with specific and not general motivations to visit the museum. It is obvious that at least James and Dave would fit into this category. Dave had studied military history, and James seemed to have a genuine interest in history even though he only said he knew almost everything from his own school days.

Given their backgrounds, the Falkian hobbyist or professional was more interested in learning how the information is conveyed than the information per se (Falk, 2006, p. 157). Penelope came all the way from Dundee, where she lives and studies history, to see the exhibition. She had recently learnt about the Jacobites in a course that she was taking, and she came to the museum specifically to see the exhibition. “As a History student, I like to see the artefacts and relate them to certain historic eras. Seeing the artefacts in the exhibition makes the historical era more vivid,” she explained. Penelope said she knew almost everything before she saw the exhibition, but that she learnt a few new names. The people motivated by an interest in history may not necessarily fit into Falk’s professionalist/hobbyist category, and they could be motivated by the history itself as much as by the way it was conveyed. What was new to several of the visitors of the exhibition was the faith of Charles’ brother Henry. Elizabeth and Sarah were both in the beginning of their forties. They visited on separate days, and while Sarah was alone, Elizabeth was with her husband. Both were motivated by their interest in history, and they wanted to learn more. This wish was fulfilled by the information about Henry towards the end. Both said they did not know much about him, and therefore she liked that there was a focus on him towards the end.

Another example of how even people who know their history learnt from the exhibition is Laura. She came up to me after having seen the exhibition and asked me what happened to Charles’ daughter Charlotte. Laura had a Master’s degree in History with focus on European history. However, she said the 1708 rebellion was new to her. She knew about the other rebellions, and thought it was a good thing that the exhibition shed some light on George III’s role, as it has often been overlooked.
Seeing artefacts may also be an important motivation to see the exhibition. That was the case for Mary, Emily and Graeme. They visited separately, but they had in common that they had an interest for the artefacts. Mary and Graeme had travelled far to see the exhibition. Mary lived in the North West of Scotland and Graeme lived in the North of Wales. Both Graeme and Mary said that they came to Edinburgh specifically to see the exhibition and the artefacts. Mary said that seeing all the artefacts together was an amazing experience for her, and she thought the exhibition was “very well curated”. Emily said it was a great and rare opportunity to see artefacts from so many different collections together, and that was an experience that was important for her. Graeme said it was great to see so many artefacts from different collections together in the same exhibition. He said that everything was beautifully presented, and he also pointed out that the texts were well written. Mary complained that the tablets were dirty.

Tom (61) has lived in Edinburgh for the last 30 years, but that he grew up in the North of Scotland. He got to know about the exhibition through a flyer, and he describes himself as a hobby historian. He claims that he is more interested in history than his wife, and therefore he came here alone today. However, he came together with his wife to see an exhibition about the rainforest that was in the museum last Christmas. When he explains what he thinks about the exhibition, he says that it was “very well curated” and that the advertising was also good. Except from Kidnapped he has not read any fictions. In fact, he does not have any relation to fictions about the Jacobites.

Joseph is 70 years old and has lived in Scotland all his life. He is not interested in the history of the Jacobites specifically, but he has read a lot about the topic whatsoever. He usually keeps himself updated about what is going on in museums, and that is how he knew about the exhibition. His grandmother’s cousin was Napoleon III’s grandson’s wife, he explains to me before leaving.

Tabitha and Gordon visited the exhibition on the last opening day. Tabitha explained that in the sixties, when she and her husband grew up, the Jacobites were covered everywhere; on TV, radio, newspapers, so they were “surrounded by the history throughout their adolescence”. Tabitha thought the collections of materials were very good, and Gordon thought the exhibition was very good in terms of the story. Tabitha also liked the audio-visual elements, and pointed out that the paintings were in an impressive condition their age considered. Richard and Caroline were impressed over how all the rare artefacts had found its way into the exhibition.
Signe from Norway learnt about the Jacobites while she worked as a tourist guide when she was young. Her interest in the era was the reason she joined her Scottish husband and some friends. She thinks museums nowadays are really nice with all their interactive tools, and she thought the exhibition was very well curated.

Martin, who worked at the Holyroodhouse Palace and was a librarian by education, also thought that the exhibition was great and had a good mix of different elements. It was his interest for Scottish history that made him go and see the exhibition. He found the exhibition very informative, and he said one gets to disprove oneself and one’s own assumptions and pre-conceptions a few times during the exhibition. As a librarian, he considered fictions and other works of art and music inspired by the era important as it gives people a chance to “meet with the era”. In Martin’s opinion, the exhibition was suitable for people between 18 and 30 years old in terms of the way it is put together with the mix of elements.

How people who were motivated by their interest in history got to know about the exhibition differed. Mary subscribed to newsletters from NMS. Penelope got information about the exhibition from social media and from the University Museum in Dundee, where she worked. Tom got to know about the exhibition from a flyer. One thing all these visitors had in common was that they did not have an interest in fictions or art that was inspired by the Jacobite era. Penelope said she had heard the Skye Boat Song in Primary School, but she had no interest in fictions inspired by the era. Caroline said that she thought a lot of the fictions or other phenomena of popular culture that have been inspired by the Jacobite era give a romanticized picture, and she thought that had happened because it was written a long time after this era. She had no relationship to any of it. It is fair to say that this group of visitors do not care much about phenomena of popular culture: They could and would visit the exhibition regardless of trends, and they might not even know about their existence. Even if they do know about for instance the Outlander series, heard the Skye Boat Song or read Kidnapped, they will not see it as a motivation to see the exhibition. There are other factors than modern literature, TV-series or art that motivate them to see an exhibition – namely that they somehow know a lot about the topic beforehand.

**Learning Something New**

This is the typical tourist motivation. The visitors have been on a tour somewhere in Scotland and heard something about the Battle of Culloden, or maybe they have seen Outlander.
Anyways, now they want to learn more about the Jacobite era, and “by a coincidence” they discovered that the National Museum of Scotland had an exhibition about the Jacobites. So, they chose to go to learn more. That was the case with Abby and Liza. Liza studied History, however, the reason why they came to see the exhibition was to learn more about Bonnie Prince Charlie. Liza admitted that she had read all the Outlander books and seen the series, but Abby had not. Liza had heard about Kidnapped as well, but she had never read it. Liza’s interests and motivations go beyond Outlander as she studies History. Or they may never have heard about the Jacobites and chose to go and see the exhibition to learn more about Scottish history.

Raul and Barbara, who told me they were from Catalonia, were on vacation in Scotland. They saw the exhibition advertised in the museum and decided to go. They had been travelling in the North of Scotland and visited many places. Inverness had made an impression on them. This was their last day in Scotland, so they thought seeing the exhibition was a nice ending to their holiday. They found the exhibition amazing with a comfortable atmosphere and the first part of it gave a really nice impression. Raul claimed he read a lot of philosophy and religious history. Barbara did not know much about the Jacobites before she came to Scotland, but she said she wanted to learn more and to read more books and watch TV-series about the era.

Jin saw the exhibition advertised outside the museum. As he remembered to have read something about the Jacobites during his childhood, he decided to go and see the exhibition in order to learn more. He thought the exhibition was good and covered a lot, and it was much bigger than he had expected in advance. The fact that the legacy after the Jacobites is still so important today surprised him. He thought the films were hard to catch, but he liked the music and the design. Jin did not know much about popular culture based on the Jacobite era, but he had heard what he called “the kid song about Bonnie Prince Charlie”. Jin was one of the few people who said something about the entrance fee. As he was a student, he thought it was too high, however, seeing the exhibition was worth the money. His girlfriend came out of the exhibition approximately five minutes after him. Both of them had heard about the Outlander series, but they had not seen it nor read the books.
Interest for *Outlander*

While I did the interviews for this thesis, I was surprised that few people talked about *Outlander*. However, I have chosen to give *Outlander* a separate paragraph here. Of course, this motivation is very close – if not similar – to the motivation of learning something new. However, their interest for the *Outlander* series has played an important role in their newly gained interest for the Jacobite era, or it has woken up a sleeping interest in the topic.

Charlotte, who visited the exhibition together with her husband Dave, had read all of Diana Gabaldon’s famous books. She was impressed by the accurate information in the books, and she thought seeing the exhibition after having read the books was a nice experience. She said that having seen the series before she saw the exhibition gave her a deeper understanding of what happened. It made the experience “more real”.

Alice said she caught her interest in the Jacobite era on a trip to Isle of Skye, and she started reading the *Outlander* books and saw the series. She saw the exhibition together with her boyfriend Scott. Alice thought that she saw the exhibition from a very “touristic and international point of view”. Learning about the Jacobites both through her trip to Isle of Skye, reading the *Outlander* books, and seeing the exhibition, has taught her a lot about the Scottish people and why “they are the way they are”.

“Why they hate the English,” Scott breaks in.

Nicole and Sophie had seen the *Outlander* series, and they thought seeing the exhibition after having seen the series was a nice experience. Elements like the background music and the design added to the atmosphere inside the exhibition. They liked the visual effects as they made it easier to take in all the information. They could read and then visualise. The videos were also good and informative, but they did not like the one with the widow at Culloden. It was way too personal, dramatic and cheesy, according to Nicole and Sophie. Huseby and Cederholm point out (2017, p. 7) that there is much good inspiration to find and a lot to learn from related disciplines, for instance the film industry. However, to make it work, it has to be professionalised and developed on its own premises (Huseby & Cederholm, 2017, p. 7). Caroline and Richard thought that a film with a fictional character did not fit into that part of the exhibition as the Battle of Culloden was too raw to be personalised in that way. Nevertheless, for certain people, the Jacobite era was personal matter.
Personal (and Political) Engagement

For a few guests, the history of the Jacobites was a personal matter, and their motivation to visit the exhibition was that they personally related to the history in one way or another. Graeme, for instance, said that he had a distant relative that was killed at Culloden. Gabriella, who visited the exhibition with her daughter Phoebe, said that the exhibition made her relate to the sadness that Bonnie Prince Charlie felt after having been abandoned by both his brother and his father. Gabriella and Phoebe heard about the exhibition from Gabriella’s husband on the last opening day, and they rushed from the Highlands to see it. Gabriella explains that they are both surrounded by this part of the Scottish history, and they both found it very interesting. They were both elegantly dressed. Gabriella had not coloured her long, grey hair, and Phoebe wore a long, red scarf.

This motivation category may seem very similar to the one that covered interest in history. However, the people who visited motivated by their interest in and knowledge about this historic era, but their interest were not on a personal level, at least not to the extent that it was for the people who fall into this category. Their interest may seem similar to Falk’s (2006, p. 158) last category, the spiritual pilgrim. The category that Falk calls the spiritual pilgrim consists of people who visits the museum to “reflect, rejuvenate, or generally just bask in the wonder of the place” (Falk, 2006, p. 158). For Gabriella this seemed to be the motivation. By being surrounded by the exhibition, she could relate to Bonnie Prince Charlie and his feelings, she claimed. However, these visitors’ personal motives were not always that “peaceful”. Personal motivations could be of political nature. Sometimes, people who fell into this category would dress in a way that made them different from the rest of the crowd, like Gabrielle and Phoebe to a certain degree did. Greta and Mike, however, looked like a couple in their late sixties or early seventies would look like. They were both from Scotland, but now they lived in the USA. Greta moved there five years ago, while Mike had lived there for almost 40 years. Greta explained smiling, but with a sense of seriousness behind the smile, why they came to see the exhibition: “Because I think we should have a Scottish king on the throne.” She and Mike think that so much were left to coincidences during this era, and for them, this is about how the Englishmen took away their Scottish identity. They did not say more about it, and they liked the way the exhibition was set up. That was not always the case for people with a very personal interest as a motivation to go and see the exhibition.
One of the days I stood outside the exhibition, a remarkable couple – Gretha and Gavin – came out the exit doors. I would guess they were in their forties, but it was hard to be sure. Gavin was partially bold, but the hair that was left reached his shoulders. Gretha had long, curly brown hair and she wore a black dress that showed her shoulders. They did not say where they came from, but they had a Scottish accent. They told me they had only seen half of the exhibition, and I apologized for interrupting them on their way to have some lunch before going back. Gavin said it was okay.

“We already don’t think it is very good,” Gretha said, almost whispering. She went on to say that it was hard to follow, and Gavin breaks in and insists that several parts are missing. He has been studying the history of the Jacobites at the University of Edinburgh, and he claims that the exhibition was a very simplistic version of the history where some people were given an unfortunate status as bad guys. Gretha agrees that the exhibition was simplistic, and goes on to say that the exhibition in itself was overwhelming and “giving her a headache”. Gavin says that it does not flow, and again he points out how much he has read about the conflict and that he has studied this era in the university. So, I asked them why they came to see this exhibition. Again, both highlighted their interest for Scottish history. Gretha has not studied at the university, but claims to be a hobby historian. They saw the exhibition advertised and wanted to go and see “what they would have done with it”. Gretha thinks it really hits people’s emotions because of what happened. People can be really caught up in that. She thinks the exhibition is very emotional, and asks rhetorically if the exhibition touches the right emotions. She thinks the history could have been better explained. They thought the first video was okay. I asked them about their relationship to the music. Gretha claimed that the music opens for an emotional connection between the past and the present. The music in the exhibition was good, however, it could have had a clearer link to the history. Gavin agrees that the music is a part of the history and the culture. “The songs are the historical landscape,” he explains. Gavin thinks it could have been more Gaelic in the exhibition. Again, Gretha says that she thinks things could have been clearer. She also came here to see some of the artefacts, and they are going back inside after their lunch break.

An hour or so later they come out of the exhibition again. Gavin comes up to me to tell me that he thought the last part of the exhibition was an utter disgrace; it was offensive and insensitive.

Greta and Mike also had strong opinions about politics, but their temperament was way milder than Gretha and Gavin’s. The reason why they came to the museum to see the
exhibition was that they thought there should be a Scottish king on the throne, Greta explained to me. Greta and Mike thought very much was left to coincidences during the Jacobite era, and for them, this is about how the Englishmen took away their Scottish identity. Except for John P.’s novel *Culloden*, they were not into fictions. However, they thought the fact that it increased tourism was a good thing. Normally tourism would end in August or September. “It is absolutely positive if TV-shows and fictions make people want to visit Scotland,” Greta said. However, there are traps and risks associated with popular culture in museums. Laura claimed that one should be careful not to make history too popular as it may gloss over important points and create misconceptions. However, she admitted that she loved classics about the Jacobite era. She had read *Kidnapped* and that she enjoyed it. Now it is time to have a look at the event *Museum Lates: Jacobites*. It is fair to say that *Outlander* was not the main reason why people chose to visit the exhibition itself. Let us now see if that was different with the event!

**Museum Lates: Jacobites – The Visitors’ Experience**

In chapter 4, I accounted for my experience of the event *Museum Lates: Jacobites*. But who came to the event, and how did people experience it? As with the exhibition, people had different motivations to go to the event, and the different motivations may have been more important for how people experienced it than for those who visited the exhibition. Hood’s (1983, pp. 52, 54) last category – the nonparticipant – was represented here. What was it that motivated the non-participant to go to the event? According to Hood (1983, p. 54), the nonparticipants valued the attributes that were less important to the frequent visitors: social interaction, participating actively and feeling comfortable and at ease in their surroundings. The atmosphere at the event was certainly more relaxed than it was inside the exhibition during the daytime. Alcohol was served, the visitors could go to a silent disco or get their face painted, or they could enjoy live music in the Grand Galleries. *Museum Lates: Jacobites* made it possible for visitors to do just that. But there are certainly other things than an event at the museum to go to on a Friday night in Edinburgh. What was it with the event that made people who were not normally interested in museums want to go?
Museum Lates: Jacobites as a Place to Party

There is no doubt that many people enjoyed the party aspect or the event. It was always crowded in the Grand Galleries, the silent disco and the face painting era. At a certain time, I spoke to two ladies in their late forties about my survey, and I got their email addresses. However, one of them said @heineken.com. I did not try to send anything to that email address. Luckily, I had 35 more email addresses.

The responds I got on my survey were interesting. They proved that Hood (1983, p. 54) is right when she claims that “nonparticipants” perceive museums to be formal, formidable places that are inaccessible to them because they have little preparation to read the “museum code”. I got responses from four people who could fall into this category: Sandra, Catelyn, Julia and Nick. Madeleine and Catherin had an interest in what was going on in museums. Catherin went to the event to celebrate her wedding anniversary. Madeleine went because she had an interest in Scottish history. She had been to a museum late event about Celts that she enjoyed. Now she wanted to give this event a chance.

Nick was invited to the event by his cousin, did not consider himself a typical museum visitor. He had not seen or paid attention to the advertising of the event. He said that he thought the event was probably advertised well for those that the museum would normally try to attract, but not to anyone outside “those circles”, that, according to Nick, would consist of people who would be well educated – they would at least have a bachelor’s degree. These are people that according to the famous Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1995, p. 77) would have a high cultural capital. Nick himself had not come across any advertising for the event, so he would not know about it if his cousin had not told him. Catelyn had also heard about the event from a friend, and she chose to go because her friend wanted to go and because it seemed like “something different”. Sandra got to know about the event from a lecturer at the University, and went because she wanted to see what a museum late event would be like. Just like Nick, she had not seen any advertising. It seemed like the advertising mainly reached out to people who visited the museum, and those who did not, got to know about the event from others. Julia may have been the exception to the rule as she saw it advertised on Instagram. Madeleine and Catherin, however, found out about the event from advertisement on Facebook and from newsletter on email.

All of them did enjoy the event. However, Sandra told me that she did not enjoy the Jacobite Fact and Fictions talk at all due to “too many ‘in-jokes’ between the curators that
excluded others from being involved”. She did enjoy the music, though. Her husband played in a ceilidh band, so she had a relationship to the music. For Sandra, listening to the music and the lyrics was important in her understanding of the history of the Jacobites. Nick pointed out the silent disco and the face painting particularly. Sandra, however, thought that the younger participants would get more out of the face painting than she did. “It seemed a bit kindergarten to me,” she explained. Catelyn, however, did like the face painting.

When it came to the exhibition, the opinions varied. Julia thought it was interesting and educational. She learned something new from seeing it. Nick thought it was informative, but the flow was confusing. Catherin thought the exhibition was interesting, but she did not say more about it than that. Neither Catherin nor Nick had heard about the exhibition before they came to the museum. Catherin “accidentally stumbled over it while wondering around”. Madeleine had not seen the exhibition before she came to the event, and she said that she was disappointed. According to Madeleine, it glossed over important facts and simplified certain events. She thought it gave a very British view on Scottish history. She pointed out the Act of Union particularly:

_I would like to see more depth to an exhibit and to see more context given to events and to historical characters, rather than a passive paragraph describing hugely significant events like the Act of Union. Also, one of the placards said that both the Scottish and the English Parliament were dissolved after the Act of Union, which was new to me as it isn’t true. Apart from that, it told me nothing new, and perpetuated many disproven myths about Culloden, which was disappointing._

If Madeleine had visited the exhibition during the day, she would fall into the category of people who were motivated by personal and political interests. None of the other event goers that I interviewed had as much to say about the exhibition as Madeleine. Catherin simply said she enjoyed it. Sandra did not criticise the exhibition for the texts, but she thought it could have been more interactive: The ideal exhibition in her eyes would be a combination of art and music from a period. She also pointed out that elements that engaged other senses would be great, like smells and tastings would be great. Only Madeleine showed dissatisfaction with the historical facts that the exhibition conveyed. In her eyes, the exhibition was “a quick way to cash in from Outlander-fans during the festival”.

51
Museum Lates: Jacobites as a Place to Party (and Meet with Outlander?)

The Outlander element did motivate many people to visit the event, the que outside the auditorium ahead of the Inside Outlander speech considered. Catelyn, Julia and Nick had seen the Outlander series, and Catelyn and Julia admitted that they were fans. Outlander was the only fiction about the Jacobites that they had a relationship to. Nick, on the other hand, claimed he watched it mostly to keep his girlfriend happy. Catherin had no relationship to the series whatsoever. Madeleine made it very clear that she hated the series. My thoughts went back to Laura when she pointed out that she thought making history too popular would create misconceptions and gloss over certain important points. Madeleine did not think that making history popular in itself was a problem. She thought history would have many lessons to teach us. Her point was that history is inherently political, and she did not like the way very important events were – according to her – romanticised, dismissed or diluted adding elements of time travel and general fiction. In the aftermath of Brexit, she claimed that Jacobite history was too raw to be romanticized. However, she hoped the Outlander hype would encourage its fans to come to “an informed opinion of what happened and what they think about it”:

When events are shown on TV, they become facts to casual viewers. These are real people’s stories and I find it insulting when halftruths or lies about real people are allowed to become the accepted story! I think that what we are faced with are two extremes: The Outlander viewpoint and the British viewpoint.

Madeleine is a good example that even in a museum late event, where the atmosphere is more relaxed and people are encouraged to have more fun than in the exhibition during the day, the exhibition critic shows up. It was obvious, however, that the Outlander series had trigged an interest for the Jacobite era among many people also in Scotland. Sandra, Nick and Catelyn claimed that seeing the series had been important for their interest in this époque in Scottish history. They also expressed that they would like to come back during the day to see the exhibition more in depth. Catelyn did not think the event was very influenced by elements from the series, except from the speech from the actors, and she said that she personally would have liked to see more of Outlander in the event and in the exhibition. On the other hand, she said there was a fear that having too many references to the series could make the exhibition and the event too commercial.
Concluding remarks

In the beginning of this chapter, I accounted for the target groups that the National Museum of Scotland wanted to reach out to with the exhibition. Then I accounted for a few theorists and their theories on museum visitors, before I put the visitors to the exhibition into different categories based on their motivations. I found five categories of reasons why people chose to see the exhibition: Accompanying others, interest for the history, learning something new, Outlander and personal (and political) engagement. The majority of the visitors to the exhibition were people with an interest for Jacobite history and history in general. The event had a more relaxed atmosphere, and the actors who held the Inside Outlander speech attracted a large audience of Outlander fans. Most of the event goers that I talked to also had a relation to the series. The critic showed up both on the event and as visitors to the exhibition during the day. What does all this say about the influence popular culture has on museum visitors? That is what I am going to discuss in the conclusion.
Chapter 6: Conclusion

Introduction

The time has come to give an answer to the questions that I asked in Chapter 1: How does use of elements from popular culture influence the audience in a museum; how are the relations between the exhibition, the popular culture and the audience? In my attempt to answer these questions, I have looked at the exhibition Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites, that you could see in the National Museum of Scotland between June 23rd, 2017 and November 12th, 2017. The TV series Outlander, which is based on Diana Gabaldon’s book series, has gotten massive attention in Scotland, and the tourist industry knows how to take advantage of the hype. The National Museum of Scotland referred to Outlander among other works of art, music or literature in their advertising of the exhibition, Robert Louis Stevenson’s children’s classic Kidnapped was among them. The museum also hosted an event, Museum Lates: Jacobites. To this event, several actors from the Outlander series were invited to hold a speech. I have tried to find out how important the Outlander series was as a trigger to make people come and see the exhibition and go to the event.

Fieldwork and Observations

In the introduction, I shortly mentioned my surprise over how the tourist industry used Outlander in their marketing. It is no doubt that the series has attracted tourists, but the degree to which it attracted a new audience to the museum is the big question that I wanted to find an answer to. Did it really help the exhibition about the Jacobites that season three of the much hyped up Outlander series had its premiere during the time of the exhibition? I talked to 42 people who visited the exhibition during its opening hours during the day, and I talked to six people who saw went to the event Museum Lates: Jacobites. This is a number that is high enough to see certain trends among the audience. I also made my own observations. It is time to sum up quickly what I found out.
What Did I Find Out?

When I went through the exhibition on my own, I found a lot of elements that I immediately connected to the Outlander series. The strongest reference was the Skye Boat Song, which was played as I entered the exhibition. The first time I heard the Skye Boat Song was when I saw the series. Even though the lyrics in the version of the song that is used in the series differs from the original one, the melody is the same. However, I think the producers of the Outlander series should be given some creds for making an old Scottish folk song popular.

The colours that were used in the exhibition were also possible to relate to the series. The different shades of red made me think about the dramatic storyline of the series, and I waited for more references that I could relate to Outlander. The closest one was the film with the widow at Culloden. I believed that film would be appreciated by Outlander fans who visited the exhibition, but I was wrong. Of course, I shall not judge all the fans on the opinions of two of the visitors, but among my interviewees, the Outlander fans seemed to be the ones that liked the video with the widow the least. I am referring to Nicole and Sophie and their perception of this film as way to personal, dramatic and cheesy. Those who were not big fans of the Outlander series did not point out this film as better or worse than the two other films. Why was it that the Outlander fans did not like this video? Perhaps they saw the film without paying much more attention to it than the fact that it was another audio-visual element?

In Chapter 5, I referred to Huseby and Cederholm when I tried to find the reason why this film fell through. I would agree that for other mediums to work in a museum, they should be developed on their own premises. This audio-visual element could have been taken out of a film. Referring to Huseby and Cederholm who claim that museums have much to learn from other industries, like the film industry, I will say just that: Museums have much to learn from such industries. The film industry has produced films much longer than the museums have, so of course they would be better at it. For the visitor that has seen Outlander, the film with the widow may perhaps appear as a bad imitating of some scene in the series?

The most frequent visitors to the exhibition were people who did have an interest in Scottish history. They were either students or other interest groups like tourist, family groups, or people who worked or had worked in museum or other institutions in the cultural sector. In Chapter 5, I looked at the motivations that the visitors to the exhibitions had. Based on motivations, I found five reasons why people chose to visit the exhibition. People visited the
exhibition either to accompany others, out of interest for the history, in order to learn something new, out of their interest for the Outlander series, and due to personal (and political) engagement. It was obvious that most people who visited the exhibition were motivated by an interest in history. A minority of the visitors to the exhibition admitted being there mainly due to their interest for the Outlander series.

With the event, however, the situation seemed to be slightly different. Among the five people that I talked to, the majority had a relationship to Outlander. Nick saw the series with his girlfriend ‘to keep her happy’. The Outlander series has many romantic elements, and is by many regarded as a “guilty pleasure”: something they like, but that they do not want others to know that they liked. However, as I discovered on the tour that I went on with the bus company Timberbush long before I started working consciously on my thesis, the Outlander series also had many dedicated fans. What I am trying to say is that most Outlander fans did not run their legs off to see the exhibition Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites. What they did do was trying to catch a seat in the auditorium during the Inside Outlander speech at the Museum Lates: Jacobites event.

Outlander is the perfect guilty pleasure, and for certain people, like Dave and Scott, who quickly claimed that it was their partners who wanted to go and see the exhibition in the first place as soon as the series was mentioned. As it is not completely social acceptable to admit that one likes the Outlander series, the active use of references from the series may in fact work the other way around and ‘scare’ people away. Laura pointed out that making history too popular could make people make up misconception of what the history was really like. However, Madeleine is perhaps the most obvious example on how the series had a bad influence on the visitor’s perceptions and prejudices of the exhibition. Of course, she had her political standpoints that coloured her opinion as well as the fact that she did not like the series. In the beginning of this paper, I referred to Moore and how popular culture is often viewed as low culture, while museums traditionally used to be places or ‘temples’ for the extraordinary and outstanding. Modern museums strive to reach broad audiences.

Even though much has changed since museums were mysterious cabinets of curiosities reserved for the elite in the society, museums still differ from other industries of entertainment in the way that they disseminate knowledge. As seen in Chapter 5, most of the people who visited the exhibition were educated people with an interest for Scottish history. These people did not talk much about popular culture, and they gave the impression that they
were not interested in fictions if asked. Their interests centred around the artefacts and the history. So, perhaps there is not much that has changed after all?

For the event the case was different. Both from my interviews and from my observations I can tell that far more Outlander fans went to the event. Among those who answered my online survey, the majority had a relation to the series, and the fact that not a seat was empty during the Inside Outlander speech speaks for itself. There is no doubt that the event attracted more people among those groups that would not normally visit a museum, however, the trend was that they heard about the event from friends. Said with other words, the advertisement from the museum’s side did not reach this group. With this in mind, what can I say about the use of popular culture in museums to attract the audience?

**Conclusion**

I have already answered this question. The way the Outlander series was used in the advertising of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites did not motivate huge amounts of Outlander fans to see the exhibition. Perhaps more Outlander fans would go if there were more direct links to the series in the exhibition? Certain guests expressed great reluctance towards the series, however, still they came to see the event. I will round off this paper by saying that even though the use of Outlander did not work as a huge motivation to attract new audiences, I do not think that museums should avoid using references to popular culture in their advertising. In Chapter 2, I referred to the values through which The National Museums of Scotland works through. Shortly summed up, the organisation wants to be audience friendly and to reach out to a broad audience. Those who are interested in the history will come to see the exhibition despite the popular culture, and the popular culture will be out there either the museums make use of it or not. They might not even have heard about it. The title of this thesis is *Experiencing Popular Culture in Museum Exhibitions*, and that is what I hope museums will do in the future: Find ways to explore popular culture in their exhibition so that the audience can experience history through popular culture in museums, both in exhibitions and on events.
Bibliography


List Over Photographs

Figure 1: Photo: BBC News 22.06.2017: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-40366874

Figure 2: Photo: BBC News 23.06.2017: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-40258979

Figure 3: Photo: BBC News 22.06.2017 http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-40366874

Figure 4: Photo: BBC News 22.06.2017 http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-40366874
Attachments

Attachment 1: People I Interviewed in the Exhibition

- Abby and Liza: Mid-twenties. Both from Scotland. Abby studies Digital Media and Liza studies History.
- Alice (26) and Scott (28): Alice is from Mexico. Has a master in Health Policy. Scott works on a master in Nuclear Physics.
- Barbara and Raul: Tourists. From Catalonia. Both in their mid-thirties.
- Betty and Liam: Farmer couple in their fifties.
- Carl and Donna: Couple in their mid-seventies.
- Caroline and Richard: 43 years old. From Scotland. Both work for an energy supply company.
- Charlotte and Dave: Late forties/early fifties. From the US, live in Germany. Holiday in Scotland. Dave has a master in military arts and science form the US Army Command. Charlotte has a bachelor’s degree in Criminal Justice.
- Claire: 46. Scottish. Lived in Edinburgh most of her life. Works for an insurance company.
- Emily: Late fifties. From Aberdeenshire, Scotland. Works part time for the National Thrust of Scotland and has studied Scottish medieval and post-medieval history. Runs a course at the University of Edinburgh about the Jacobites.
- Gabriella (55) and Phoebe (early twenties): From the Highlands. Gabriella works as an artist.
- Ginny (25) and Thomas (33): Both live in Edinburgh. Ginny is English and Thomas is Scottish. Ginny is Medical Physics Scientist and Thomas works as Director for International Development Charity.
- Gordon (60) and Tabitha (58): From Scotland. Tabitha works as teacher. Gordon is a lawyer.
- Graeme: Forties. From North Wales. Works in the civil services. Used to work in a museum.
- Greta and Mike: Couple in their late sixties or early seventies. From Scotland but live in the US. Greta has lived there for five years, and Mike 37. Educational background: College.
- Gretha and Gavin: Couple in their forties.
- James: 41. From Edinburgh. Works as an accountant. Following his ten years old son, Tommy.
- Joseph: Seventies.
- Laura: 65 years old. From London. She has a master in History with focus on European history.
- Mary: Late thirties. Lives in the north west of Scotland. She has a PhD in social sciences.
• Michelle and Susan: Scottish. Michelle is in her twenties and works as a costume maker. Susan is in her fifties and volunteers in the museum next to working with children with learning disabilities.
• Nichole (21) and Sophie (28): Both are from the west coast of Scotland, but have Asian background. Nicole studies business while Sophie works in a store.
• Sarah: Forties. From Edinburgh. Left school at 15 and has had various jobs in offices throughout the years.
• Signe: 81 years old. From Norway. Moved to Britain when she was young and married a Scottish man. Used to work as a tourist guide in Scotland for many years.
• Tom: 61 years old, lives in Edinburgh and has done so for 30 years. From the North of Scotland. Worked in financial services.

Attachment 2: People I Interviewed at Museum Lates:

Jacobites

• Catelyn: 54 years old. Educational background/profession: MA in Psychology. Nationality: British
• Catherin: 59 years old. Educational background/profession: College degree. Nationality: British
• Julia: 35 years old. Educational/professional background: Bachelor in Biology. Nationality: Scottish
• Madeleine: 28 years old. Educational background/profession: Chemistry teacher. Nationality: Scottish
• Nick: 24 years old. Educational background/profession: Military. Nationality: British
• Sandra: 40 years old. Educational background/profession: Part time Post Grad Student and part time Administrator. Nationality: USA (but has lived in Scotland for 18 years).