

Re-imagining the Past:  
The Construction of Resettled Communities as Tourist Attractions in  
Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland

by

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## **Abstract**

The province of Newfoundland and Labrador and the country of Scotland have many similarities, among them a legacy of resettled communities, the result of the modernization process. With the emerging industries of tourism and off-shore oil, each region has found itself in a position to re-examine the past. The creation of resettled communities as tourist attractions has raised questions regarding how history and heritage are incorporated in their construction. While these sites provide the ideal opportunity to present a different perspective from the national narrative, they often merely reinforce stereotypes instead of challenging them. Their construction results in little more than a purchasable experience instead of providing a voice to those who once lived there.

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## **Introduction**

Heritage is one of the fastest growing niche markets of the travel industry. Built heritage is situated within both the past and its surrounding landscape. This creates an abundance of opportunities for heritage sites as they rely on pre-existing resources, and the initial investment required is minimal in comparison to their enormous money making potential. While these sites come situated within a given location and historical context, questions arise as to how the past is used in their creation. Each site has the potential to reinforce or contest national narratives. Nowhere is this more evident than in places that contain contested spaces. These spaces have been constructed in different ways, depending upon the meanings assigned to them by those involved. The province of Newfoundland and Labrador and the country of Scotland both are home to contested spaces. They are both failed states, whose citizens and institutions carry with them the remnants of nation-building. Each has established its own flag and other requisite symbols, as well as its own stories and myths. They share a strong attachment to place, a history of underdevelopment and a burgeoning tourist trade. While each occupies a defined cultural space, it is not contained within the bounds of a state. Each was subsumed by larger political entities; Scotland was united with England in 1707 and Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949. Among the consequences of these developments was the failure of modernization and money making schemes to bring a better and more prosperous way of life to their inhabitants. This path to modernization resulted in a series of abandoned communities whose residents were, at times, forcibly removed from their homes and told to settle elsewhere. The resulting arrangement did little to alleviate the problems facing the rural poor in each area. Located on the

peripheries of their larger political unions, they did not receive the same attention or resources as those communities found in more central regions.

For Scotland, the Highland Clearances took place following the Jacobite rebellions and the battle of Culloden in 1746. These Clearances have been viewed as an attempt to finally rid Highland Scotland of its clan system and to make room for more economically fruitful endeavours, namely sheep farming and tourism. As Ross Noble asserts “[i]n the space of less than half a century, the Highlands became one of the most sparsely populated areas in Europe”.<sup>1</sup> The image of the displaced Highlander remains part of the national consciousness, and calls to mind why it has endured.

In Newfoundland and Labrador the newly formed Provincial Government, later in conjunction with the Federal Government, engaged in a project to resettle more isolated communities in the

name of progress and access to previously unavailable services and resources. In all, more than 250 communities were resettled to designated



growth centres from

**Figure 1** In 1962 Malcolm Rogers tows his home down Bonavista Bay

1954 to 1975.<sup>2</sup> This, in turn, involved the relocation of over 20,000 people.<sup>3</sup> Images of

<sup>1</sup> Ross Noble, “The Cultural Impact of the Highland Clearances” *BBC online* available at [http://bbc.co.uk/history/state/nations/scotland\\_clearances\\_07.shtml](http://bbc.co.uk/history/state/nations/scotland_clearances_07.shtml)

families floating their homes across the bays on oil drums remain fixed within the history of the province.

While the events surrounding these relocations are quite different, what remains is eerily similar. Sandra Gwyn notes that the passing of these tiny outpost settlements “has had the same traumatic effect on Newfoundland’s psyche that the Highland Clearances of the early nineteenth century had on Scotland’s”.<sup>4</sup> Each place, in turn, has produced books, movies and songs all concerned with the effects of resettlement and the loss of people’s homes. These cultural products have helped cement the notion of abandonment within the cultural memory of each place, keeping individual stories alive and reinforcing the emotional scars that have been left behind. As recently as 2003, there was talk of producing a film in Scotland, centred on a Highlander exiled by the Clearances to rekindle ties with the Highland Diaspora.<sup>5</sup>

Today, the spaces made empty long ago are being restored in a variety of ways as a means of attracting tourists. In Scotland, a group of private investors has created the Clearances Project, an attempt to organise the remaining artefacts, as well as create a lasting physical reminder of the Highland Clearances. Billed as the focal point for the commemoration of the Clearances and a gathering place for the Highland Diaspora, this project is to be finished for 2008. Creations such as these reflect a tangible link to the region’s history and heritage and serve to further economic development. While economic interests play a large role in the development of these sites, they also are

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<sup>2</sup> Kevin Major, *As Near to Heaven By Sea* (Toronto: Viking, 2001), p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> Brian C Bursey, *Discovering Newfoundland* (St. John’s: Harry Cuff Publications, 1993), p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Sandra Gwyn, “The Newfoundland renaissance” in *Saturday Night*, April 1976, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> John Ross, “Clearances could bring them in” in *The Scotsman*, December 6, 2003 available at <http://heritage.scotsman.com/topics/cfm?tid=1272&id=1338482003>.

responsible for telling a story to those who visit and serve to represent the surrounding communities. What must be asked is to what extent is their history of resettlement being included? These sites are constructed for tourist consumption but as Gregory Ashworth notes, “[t]he difficulties lie ... in rendering preservable, promotable and accessible what is by its nature unpreservable, non-promotable and inaccessible...”<sup>6</sup>

In order to render these sites accessible and promotable, the conception of history may not necessarily be the focus or even included within the presentation of these sites. Abandoned spaces raise the question as to how they became so. Tourism relies on the commodification of the past in such a manner that it guarantees a break from the everyday world, often to a perceived different or exotic location. As John Urry contends, “part of what is involved in tourism is the purchase of a particular social experience...”<sup>7</sup> This social experience is situated within spaces that reflect conflict and failure. One way of circumventing this reality is to sell these sites through tourism advertising and promotion before the tourist has even left his or her home. In addition to attracting the general touring public, both Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland have large expatriate populations, which are also a target of tourist promotion. They are also looking for a specific experience, and sites are seemingly being constructed and promoted in different ways to target these different audiences.

As it stands, both Newfoundland and Labrador’s and Scotland’s tourist promoters rely on pre-existing cultural landscapes and so-called natural beauty as a means of

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<sup>6</sup> G. J. Ashworth, “Places, Images and Identities for Visitors and Residents: Interactions in Newfoundland”, Conference Paper Given at *Making Contacts*, University College of Cape Breton, Louisbourg, 2004, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze Second Edition* (London: Sage Publications), 2002, p. 141.

distinguishing their product from other destinations. These images feature prominently within their

advertising campaigns. If one looks at the official visitor's guides from 2004 and 2005 one will notice that the cover pictures feature a rugged coastline devoid

of people, marked only by the presence of an established cultural



**Figure 2** Cover photos, (left), the 2004 Newfoundland and Labrador Travel Guide and (right), the 2005 Scotland Travel Guide

symbol; a lighthouse for Newfoundland and Labrador, a castle for Scotland. A certain aesthetic is being used to capture a particular way of seeing that appeals to a specific understanding of what one can expect to see when one visits. The landscapes seem naturally uninhabited, which allows for the presentation of a pristine wilderness. These spaces appear untouched by the passage of time and have come to be automatically associated with the regions they seek to represent. This vision, however, is seemingly disrupted by the reality of the resettlement story. Tourists who are searching for a break from their everyday lives are not often looking to glimpse into the horrors of the past. Ultimately, they will, more often than not, only interact with a sanitised version of history, which enables them to experience the past without any of the associated trauma. This creates a struggle, not only between producers creating sites as part of a national tourist effort and those created by local community organisations, but also between those who are constructing sites with the goal of attracting as many tourists as possible and

those who are seeking to remember or commemorate the past. As such, sites are marketed differently depending upon the body responsible for their development. State-sponsored organisations are not likely to promote a site that, in some way, clashes with the national narratives they espouse. As well, local organisations tend to promote local interested and stories. While these places provide a visible presence there is a decided lack of accountability on the part of the producers. It is often hard to tell who is producing these sites but they determine what is ultimately created.

Through the examination of various resettled communities, this thesis will explore the use of these spaces with specific attention to how the history of these sites have been preserved and presented. Some rely on the plaques to tell the story while others have restored the buildings themselves, and other sites have created museums or interpretive centres to explain the past. The producers of each site will be discussed as well as how the site is positioned within the state sponsored tourist material. This will be compared to the tourist material produced by the sites themselves. All material examined has been produced by the sites themselves or the tourist boards of Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland. Through assessing how these sites are produced and marketed this thesis will contribute to the understanding of how meanings are assigned to contested spaces. In doing so, this thesis will chart a path through the theories of tourism and heritage in order to understand how spaces and their histories can be contested and how physical remains are constructed in very deliberate ways for specific purposes.

This thesis will be examining the sites in terms of their different ways of remembering. There have been several different approaches to “producing” these sites; some focus on entertainment and the tourist’s overall experience; others try to reconstruct

the remaining artefacts or simply serve as a reminder of the past, commemorating what has been lost. However, each is marketed differently and tells the story of resettlement to varying extents. Theories of tourism will be used to understand and examine this phenomenon. As Charles O'Hara notes in his thesis *Tourism and the Social Construction of Place*, "...tourism is seen as a process which involves the ongoing (re)construction of place through practice".<sup>8</sup> There is a cleavage between those trying to present these places as heritage while ignoring or simply not raising the question of how they came to be in their current condition, and those who are attempting to tell the story of resettlement. Through the examination of the promotional material for each region, one can examine how these sites are presented and how they fit into the larger tourist strategy. With the advent of the internet, each specific place is able to produce its own website and material for dissemination. As O'Hara asserts, "advertising works to create, or at least encourage, fantasy and dreaming and it draws on already existing myths and images to do so".<sup>9</sup> This thesis will examine the difference between the kinds of sites that are included within the official tourist promotion and mesh with the images and stories previously presented as representative of the regions and those which clash with the pre-existing understandings and are left out. Each site represents a community whose inhabitants were resettled to other locations and has now been recreated in some way as a tourist destination. Each site was discovered through some form of promotional material, writings on the subject or by word of mouth. While all sites involved are not directly to the Highland Clearances

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<sup>8</sup> Charles O'Hara, *Tourism and the Social Construction of Place: A Case-Study of Tourists' Spatial Practices in Pangnirtung, Nunavut*, Master's Thesis (Ottawa: Carleton University, 2000), p. 165.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

or the Newfoundland resettlement programs they do represent a population that had to move from their homes, homes that are now being re-imagined for tourist consumption.

This process requires examining how the past can be used for present day purposes, and how the concepts of heritage and identity can be constructed and reconstructed. For Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, the story of heritage, “involves acknowledging the ways in which interpretations are context bound and power laden. Moreover, the conceptualization of heritage as meaning rather than artefact inevitably ensures that it is a field of social conflict and tension, carrying differing and incompatible meanings simultaneously.”<sup>10</sup> As well, identities, like heritage, are constructed and reconstructed based on interaction with, and interpretation of, our surroundings. Identity is not inherent; it is constructed and reconstructed based on experience. As Charles Withers asserts, it “...may be defined either by adherence to given senses of meaning from within, often derived from the past, or by being *not* something, the conscious result of difference”.<sup>11</sup> Because history occurs in spatial terms, the reinterpretation of the past requires a re-examination of place identity. In turn, this place identity helps to reinforce the requisite national identity. As Brian Osborne notes,

People’s identification with particular places is essential for the cultivation of an awareness – an a-where-ness – of national identity: that is, nationalizing-states occupy imagined terrains that serve as mnemonic devices. Commonly held sets of symbolic meanings about places have often been developed to reinforce peoples’ identification with specific social values. Carefully selected because of their emotive power, they become iconic and are empowered by the careful cultivation of

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<sup>10</sup> Brian Graham, G.J. Ashworth and J.E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, (London: Arnold, 2000) p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Charles W J. Withers, “How Scotland came to know itself: geography, national identity and the making of a nation, 1680-1790” in *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 21, No. 4, 1995, p. 392.

associated mythologies. In this way, the familiar material world becomes studded with symbolically-loaded sites and events – as well as silences – that provide social continuity, contribute to the collective memory, and establish spatial and temporal reference points for society.<sup>12</sup>

The creation of landscapes is intricately interwoven within the construction of identity. Within the history of the Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland, the physical location of “home” has been used to unite people under the national umbrella. The burned and abandoned houses stand as markers to the past, much like the erection of plaques today. For each, these sites may conflict with the spatial identity that national organisations are trying to create. In understanding who is restoring and creating these sites and to what effect, one can come to a greater understanding of the role of place identity and its interaction with heritage tourism.

The two sites that will be examined in Scotland reflect divergent ways of remembering. The Strathnaver Trail, in the county of Sutherland, contains the resettled communities of Achanlochy, Grunmore, Grumbeg and Rossal. The Trail itself links the remnants of these resettled communities with other relics of the past, allowing the tourists to chart their own paths using trail markers and a brochure outlining the various stopping points. This map enables the tourists to guide themselves around the site and provides some context to what they are viewing. The Gearranan Blackhouse Village on the Isle of Lewis contains refurbished and restored blackhouses; the type of house primarily used by crofters, and provides the tourist with an opportunity to observe a working blackhouse. These blackhouses are part of Lewis’ traditional crofting way of life and

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<sup>12</sup> Brian Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place” Commissioned by the Department of Canadian Heritage for the Ethnocultural, Racial, Religious, Linguistic Diversity and Identity Seminar, (Halifax, Nova Scotia: November 1-2, 2001), p. 3.

only remain in use at Gerrarannan and the Blackhouse Museum at Arnol, also located on the Isle of Lewis.

Three sites will be examined in Newfoundland and Labrador: Battle Harbour in Labrador was designated a National Historic District to tell the story of fishing off the Labrador coast in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hebron, also in Labrador, has been designated a National Historic Site. It houses one of the few remaining Moravian mission buildings in Canada. While still under development, this site remains a port of call for a number of cruise ships. In contrast, Woody Island lies much closer to the provincial capital of St John's in Placentia Bay and presents itself as an authentic resettled community offering a full itinerary of activities within the requisite two day stay.

Why are these sites important to investigate? After all, every country has ghost towns, those places that for whatever reason have been left, by choice or by necessity, empty and abandoned. The difference lies in that these stories of resettlement remain within the collective consciousness of its people. As Jennifer McLaughlin observes in her dissertation on the Highland Clearances, "...the fact is clearly apparent that this crisis constituted and left behind a cultural trauma, and that the people involved felt and their descendants still feel, that a great wrong had been wrought against the people who looked back to Highland glens that were once their home."<sup>13</sup>

These stories and images have the ability to influence not only how an individual views him or herself but also help shape the wider world's understanding of the region. Landscape and sense of place are part of how we construct our identity. How these sites

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<sup>13</sup> Jennifer McLaughlin, *Fractured Voices and Cultural Memory: The Trauma of the Highland Clearances*. PhD Dissertation, University of South Carolina, 2001, p. 2.

are produced and sold will have an impact on those who still identify with them. As Basso contends, “we are in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine”.<sup>14</sup> Geography is something to which we, as human beings, affix meaning. The meanings ascribed, however, are not set in stone and are often contested. Among resettled populations, claims are made by those who have been removed from their homes as well as those who conducted the move. Depending upon who is responsible for constructing these tourist sites, the past will be reinterpreted and the landscape re-imaged to coincide with the producer’s point of view. Once constructed, this understanding can become more widely accepted, as the claim becomes fixed and recognized as true. Each party will attempt to convince the audience that their version of events is the correct account and is representative of how the audience should feel. Once the meaning is established, it is communicated through images and stories to larger audiences for whom this may be the sole source of their understanding.

Chapter One situates the concepts of history, heritage and identity within the context of tourism. Chapter Two presents the case of Highland Scotland, examining the sites of Strathnaver and Gairrannan and how they are presented and situated within the national tourism effort. Chapter Three presents the sites of Battle Harbour, Woody Island and Hebron in Newfoundland and Labrador. Chapter Four will compare the sites presented within the two case studies, examining their shared similarities as well as discussing the problems inherent in rendering contested spaces fit for tourist consumption.

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<sup>14</sup> Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996) as quoted in Osborne, p. 4.

## Chapter One

### Contexts of Tourism

*The Island-rendezvous escape is more than a boat ride, more than a trip to a beautiful Newfoundland outport. It's like slipping through a hole in time into a bygone era...experience for another while the beauty and serenity and the way of life that brought people to this bay centuries ago.<sup>15</sup>*

#### Introduction

Tourists seemingly have the world at their feet. Whether seeking adventure or relaxation, tourists are able to fulfill their heart's desire. This can range from a scenic boat ride along the coast of Newfoundland, to rock climbing in British Columbia, to visiting the Louvre in Paris. The reality is that tourism is a cross cultural phenomenon, 'heralded' as the world's largest industry. Lee Seymour recognises the impetus behind this tourism boom in stating that "[i]ncreasingly, people are seeking to 'get away from it all' and are searching for natural environments, wilderness experiences, tranquility and harmony with nature, and contact with other cultures and histories."<sup>16</sup> Although the activities a tourist can engage in are incredibly diverse, the resulting advertising and promotional campaigns often focus on natural landscapes and cultural attractions. Scotland, along with Newfoundland and Labrador, are seemingly ideal destinations as each offers a variety of activities set against the backdrop of a vast and picturesque wilderness accompanied by easily identifiable cultural symbols that can flawlessly grace the pages of their promotion material. These images are deliberately chosen, and great

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<sup>15</sup> Woody Island promotion video available at [www.woodyi.com](http://www.woodyi.com)

<sup>16</sup> Lee Seymour, "Tourism Development in Newfoundland: The Past Revisited" in *Canadian Geographer*, Vol. XXIV, 1, 1980, p. 33.

care has been taken to present each destination in the best possible light, using images and stories that will draw the tourist's interest and attention.

Research in the area of tourism has generally focussed on tourists themselves; their behaviour and motivations for travelling as well as the effects they have on the areas they visit. Studies have been done regarding the type of promotional activity used as well as the perceived success or failure of advertising campaigns by measured factors such as the number of visits to a given site.<sup>17</sup> Relevant to this discussion is the work done on the cultural aspects of tourism such as image and heritage creation. Producers of resettled sites utilise the symbols and stories from the culture at large to reinvent the context in which a site is to be viewed. A large part of this construction process draws its substance from a region's pre-existing history and identity. While a community emptied of its inhabitants is a seemingly empty canvas, it is a repository of meaning, containing the histories and identities of the people who once lived there. These sites represent, to varying degrees, an attempt by the producers to use this history and, more often than not, heritage, to construct, promote and sell their sites within an expanding tourist market. In order to understand what is presented to tourists, one must first understand how the story is constructed.

This chapter seeks to lay the groundwork to answer the questions of how the story of resettlement is preserved, how these communities are made accessible to tourists and how they are promoted. The tools that the producers have available to them will be examined. In doing so the ideas of history, heritage, landscape and identity will be

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<sup>17</sup> See Ashworth and Voogd, "Marketing and Place Promotion" in John Gold and Stephen Ward (eds), *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions*, (West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 1994).

explored and contextualised within the rubric of tourism in an effort to understand how a resettled community is transformed and then promoted as a bona fide tourist attraction.

### **Tourism**

Tourism is made up of essentially two components, the tourist and the destination. Regardless of who is doing the travelling and the place to which they are going, these two conditions must be met. Julia Harrison recognises four views of the tourist's experience. Travel may represent the opportunity for human connection, an expression of a personal aesthetic, a way to understand both 'home' and Canada and an aid to the construction of a personalized landscape in the confusion of the globalized world that we are now all told we live in.<sup>18</sup> Many have studied tourist behaviour including Dean MacCannell and John Urry. Urry's analysis centres around the concept of the 'tourist gaze' while MacCannell focuses on the search for authenticity.<sup>19</sup> However, people become tourists for a myriad of reasons. It is too difficult to posit the many motivations any given person has to travel. This discussion will centre on the destinations themselves.

Tourism can be generally understood as a type of leisure activity, engaged in away from one's home. A tourist will be understood as someone who has travelled outside of his or her own city, town, or place of residence. This is in contrast to a local resident who may be engaging in the same activity but approaches it from a much different social position and connection to the area. This distinction is drawn in order to understand how a site may be produced for a local population or for the larger tourist

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<sup>18</sup> Julia Harrison, *Being a Tourist: Finding Meaning in Pleasure Travel*, (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2003, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> See Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), and John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, (London: Sage Publications, 2002).

market. As local residents are exposed to different meaning systems and insider cultural understandings, they approach a site from a different perspective and with a different array of cultural tools.

Often tourism is distinguished from leisure, travel and other like-minded terms. However, for the purposes of this discussion a distinction is not necessary. Tourism will be understood as a journey from one's home to a destination of one's choice, regardless of length of stay or the ultimate motivation for doing so. As Williams observes, it is a need, whether real or perceived "to escape temporarily from the routine situations of the home, the workplace, and the familiarity of their physical and social environments".<sup>20</sup> As this creates a term that is quite encompassing, this discussion will focus on heritage tourism. As Ashworth notes, "selling the past, in various forms, to the present has become one of the largest and most profitable parts of the tourism industry in many different contexts worldwide."<sup>21</sup> Tourism has become more than just fun and entertainment. In selling the past, one interpretation can become reinforced and presented as the accepted understanding. Resettled communities fall into this purview, as they are constructed as representations of the past.

There are those, such as Charles O'Hara, who are highly critical of the practice of tourism and view it as nothing more than a "self-indulgent consumption of leisure and commodified images and places".<sup>22</sup> Tourism has been criticized for doing nothing more than commodifying places and providing the opportunity for local and national

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<sup>20</sup> Stephen Williams, *Tourism Geography*, (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Gregory Ashworth, "The Historic Cities of Groningen: Which is Sold to Whom?" in Gregory J Ashworth and Brian Goodall (eds), *Marketing Tourism Places*, (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 138.

<sup>22</sup> O'Hara, p. 18.

organisations and businesses to display their wares. While this is yet to be proven, if the past is for sale, one must understand the different ways in which it can be packaged.

### **Heritage versus History**

As Paul Connerton observes, “we preserve versions of the past by representing it to ourselves in works and images”.<sup>23</sup> What history we choose to preserve and how we choose to remember it depends greatly on our own experience and point of view. In constructing a tourist attraction that relies on history and heritage as a selling point, producers choose versions of the past that reinforce their point of view. A site may be framed within the context of a particular history or national heritage.

Heritage, Melanie K. Smith argues, is traditionally associated “with that which is inherited or handed on from one generation to the next”.<sup>24</sup> Today heritage represents so much more, as there is no single accepted meaning or understanding. What once was the domain of the powerful elite now belongs to everyone. In fact, the academic debates surrounding the creations of heritage are as Smith continues “generally contentious and consensus has rarely been reached among scholars and academics within the heritage field.”<sup>25</sup>

For Patricia Wood,

heritage is the aesthetic of history. Lacking both depth and specificity, it is history reduced to an economic and political commodity. The emphasis is on a sensory experience of the past, its exoticism and spectacle. The entertainment value of heritage sites is not merely their selling point, but increasingly their *raison d’être* and a

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<sup>23</sup> Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 72.

<sup>24</sup> Melanie K Smith, *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 82.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

principal influence in the selection of historical narratives recounted.<sup>26</sup>

Heritage, therefore, is a story from the past, polished up and decontextualised. The product being sold is the experience, the atmosphere, the location, and not any kind of understanding. She continues: “‘Old things’ are not history. History is the context and meaning we impose upon such objects from the past. When little or nothing is done to contextualize those objects, to emphasize their relevance and the relevance of the past to the present, then they do not create any but a superficial sense of historic value.”<sup>27</sup> For a resettled community to be considered part of the historical consciousness, the site must explain the story of resettlement within the context of the region’s past and its inhabitants. This would ultimately have to include an explanation of power relations and other relevant factors. However, she contends: “history, especially in its public, spatial forms, has become driven by consumerism, tourism and a flight from the ugliness of the past”.<sup>28</sup> The story of resettlement in both Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland is still filled with anger and frustration. While this is understandable, it does not create a cheerful picture that is easily sold to visiting tourists.

For many, the difference between history and heritage is not its content but its use. For David Lowenthal, the distinction is clear cut, as he states that, “[i]n fact, heritage is not history at all; while it borrows from and enlivens historical study, heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually

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<sup>26</sup> Patricia K. Wood, “The Historic Site as Cultural Text: A Geography of Heritage in Calgary Alberta” in *Material History Review*, Vol. 52, Fall 2000, p. 33.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

happened but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present-day purposes.”<sup>29</sup>

Therefore, for Lowenthal, heritage is but one interpretation that is promoted and glorified due to present day motivations and set within the context of today. Wood agrees with Lowenthal arguing that heritage represents a decontextualised past constructed with entertainment value in mind.

We can understand heritage as the use of one aspect of the past, motivated by present day circumstances in an effort to glorify a specific understanding. For Lowenthal, “the heritage fashioner, however historically scrupulous, seeks to design a past that will fix the identity and enhance the well-being of some chosen individual or folk.”<sup>30</sup> As either local populations or government bodies produce the resettled sites, it would suggest that if they were fashioned within the confines of heritage, they would represent opposing viewpoints of the story. This would create sites that would celebrate those who were resettled as well as those who carried out the resettlements. He continues with his distinction between history and heritage, in stating that they diverge in aim and intent as well.<sup>31</sup> History’s prime motivation is understanding, not entertainment, and seeks to contextualise events and their various accounts. It provides a space for discussion and an opportunity for opposing points of view.

What John Urry finds problematic about heritage is its emphasis on visualization.<sup>32</sup> He argues that it is “an ‘artefactual’ history, in which various kinds of social experiences are in effect ignored or trivialized, such as the relations of war,

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<sup>29</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1998), p. x.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Urry, p. 102.

exploitation, hunger, disease, the law, and so on”.<sup>33</sup> These stories would, largely, be ignored or deemed irrelevant to the reality being presented.

K. Walsh also finds heritage sites problematic in that they are constructed as “‘time capsules’ severed from history... they represent a form of historical bricolage, a melting pot for historical memories... History as heritage dulls our ability to appreciate the development of people and places through time.”<sup>34</sup> Walsh decries the lack of context, noting, “heritage is a false representation of the past, which captures a moment or moments in history, and isolates them from any historical context.”<sup>35</sup>

Urry, through his discussion of Hewison, notes that “[t]here is an absolute distinction between authentic history (continuing and therefore dangerous) and heritage (past, dead, safe). The latter is short, conceals social and spatial inequalities, masks a shallow commercialism and consumerism, and may in part at least destroy elements of the buildings or artefacts supposedly being conserved”.<sup>36</sup> The producers of each site must decide how the physical buildings and their remnants are to be preserved, whether by recreating artefacts or leaving them as they are.

Ultimately, Lowenthal argues, heritage is still “the term that best denotes our inescapable dependence on the past”.<sup>37</sup> For the purposes of this discussion, heritage will be understood as stories of past events that have been selected to be remembered by a given group for a certain purpose, but largely absent of context. Thus, Ashworth’s definition of heritage as “the history you remember: or more likely that which someone

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> K Walsh, *The Representations of the Past; Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World* (London: Routledge, 1992) as quoted in Smith, p. 82.

<sup>35</sup> Smith, p. 82.

<sup>36</sup> Urry, p. 99.

<sup>37</sup> David Lowenthal, “Identity, Heritage and History” in John R. Gillis (ed), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 43.

has decided is worth remembering”<sup>38</sup> will be used to add to the idea that heritage is to be understood within the confines of the present. Ultimately, history and heritage represent opposite ends of the same spectrum. While each engages with the past, they reflect divergent interests. The sites produced are can be placed somewhere between the two poles of objective truth and identity myth.

In questioning whether one is dealing in history or heritage, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge suggest that if the concerns, “focus upon the ways in which we use the past now, or upon the attempts of a present to project aspects of itself into an imagined future, then we are engaged with heritage... heritage is a view from the present, either backward to a past or forward to a future.”<sup>39</sup> It follows that, “if people in the present are the creators of heritage and not merely passive receivers or transmitters of it, then the present creates the heritage it requires and manages it for a range of contemporary purposes”.<sup>40</sup>

Within the discussion of heritage, there has always been a tension between those who view heritage’s use as merely for entertainment purposes and those who feel that it contains educational elements as well. The educational aspect of heritage has come under question and, for the purposes of this discussion, heritage will remain the recounting of the past in the present day for present day purposes and advantage.<sup>41</sup>

Above all, heritage is about telling a story, a story that has been meticulously chosen and presented. While history is grounded in a context of multiple stories and

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<sup>38</sup> Ashworth, “Places, Images and Identities for Visitors and Residents”, p. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 46.

interpretations, heritage is far less rigorous. As such, heritage tourism can be problematic. The construction of each site falls somewhere along the continuum between history and heritage. To understand how a resettled site is constructed, we must first understand who is responsible for its production. Then we must ask whether the site is a heritage attraction or an attempt to contextualise events to obtain some kind of understanding. These sites represent how the past can be produced in a consumable way.

### **Place**

This package includes not only the history of the displaced people but how the geographical space is identified as well. Equally useful and problematic, the physical locations in which these places are found are filled with cultural understandings. Just as history can be interpreted and reinterpreted, so to can spatial identities. Through the reinvention of the past, spatial identity is reconfigured as well. The place that is consumed by the tourist may, in fact, barely resemble the space as it was constructed by those who inhabited it.

Producers of resettled communities must not only overcome the problems posed by creating a tourist attraction within a somewhat isolated and physically challenging location, but must also overcome the role geography plays within identity construction. Spaces hold meaning for people. These sites represent loss, abandonment, and failure. You cannot stand amid crumbling and destroyed houses without wondering what happened. The empty spaces raises the question – how did they become so? Reconstructing these sites requires not only renegotiating the past but renegotiating the landscape as well.

Mitchell believes that landscapes are best thought of “as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed”.<sup>42</sup> He suggests that landscape “is an instrument of cultural power” instead of signifying power relations.<sup>43</sup> Landscape is a tool that can be used to reinforce the resettlement story. The question to be asked is “not just what landscape *is* or *means* but what it *does*, how it works as a cultural practice.... Landscape as a cultural medium thus has a double role with respect to something like ideology; it naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable....”<sup>44</sup> Cosgrove and Daniels describe landscape as “a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings.”<sup>45</sup> These images are what will be sold to the touring public. Simon Schama also asserts that landscapes are first and foremost cultural, “constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock.... Once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery”.<sup>46</sup> Tourism promoters rely heavily on creating these understandings to sell their product. These geographies can be reinterpreted and given new meaning as they are able to change through time and space.

As Bender notes, “[t]he landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it. It is part of the way in which identities are created and

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<sup>42</sup> W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels “Introduction: Iconography and Landscape” in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays of the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (New York: Knopff, 1995), as quoted in Osborne, p. 11.

disputed, whether as individual, group or nation-state”<sup>47</sup> Within the context of tourism, part of this manipulation is to entice others to visit and to render palatable what is being seen. As well, in recreating these landscapes, producers may also attempt to renegotiate identity to reflect a larger national narrative.

However, as Glassberg notes, “[b]y and large tourists look for novelty in a landscape, what is not back home, whereas local residents look at the landscape as a web of memory sites and social interactions.”<sup>48</sup> While resettled communities house innumerable memories, they are individual and depend largely on a person’s worldview. Recalling past events, regardless of use or intent, is an exercise in memory. Lowenthal argues that the prime function of memory is not to preserve the past but to adapt it so as to enrich and manipulate the present.”<sup>49</sup> Therefore, much like heritage, memories can serve a present day agenda. He continues;

...far from simply holding on to previous experiences, memory helps to understand them. Memories are not ready-made reflections of the past, but eclectic, selective reconstructions based on subsequent actions and perceptions and on ever-changing codes by which we delineate, symbolize, and classify the world around us.<sup>50</sup>

Whereas individual memories of an event vary from person to person, a collective memory is often an agreed upon construction of events. However, as Glassberg notes, “an individual memory is the product of group communication, intimately linked to a

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<sup>47</sup> Barbara Bender, *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, (Oxford: Berg, 1993), p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> David Glassberg, “Public History and the Study of Memory” *The Public Historian*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Spring 1996, p. 20.

<sup>49</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 210.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

collective memory of the community”.<sup>51</sup> What the collective understands has an impact on how an individual interprets his or her understanding. For Patrick Hutton:

Collective Memory is an elaborate network of social mores, values, and ideals that marks out the dimensions of our imaginations according to the attitudes of the social groups to which we relate. It is through the interconnections among these shared images that the social frameworks (*cadres sociaux*) of our collective memory are formed, and it is within such settings that individual memories must be sustained if they are to survive.<sup>52</sup>

Memories help us make sense of the world we live in. While each individual retains his or her own personal memory – there is an overarching cultural memory, which represents what has, for one reason or another, been chosen to be remembered.

For both regions studied here, the resettlement story contains conflicting accounts and engenders competing memories. These memories are used to reinforce the competing narratives. In reinforcing one understanding, one set of memories, the producers are able to negate others. There is more than one side to every story and memories are positioned by how one identifies oneself. Identity and memory are, as Gillis notes, very much political and social constructs.<sup>53</sup> He observes that “[j]ust as memory and identity support one another, they also sustain certain subjective positions, social boundaries, and, of course, power”.<sup>54</sup> The resettlement story contains versions by those who conducted the move and those who were removed. The resulting memories reinforce certain social understandings and are included in the creation of resettled communities to reinforce or contradict present understandings.

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<sup>51</sup> Glassberg, p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> Patrick Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*, (Hanover: University of Vermont), 1993 as quoted in Osborne, p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> John R Gillis, “Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship” in *Commemorations*, p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Memories of past events are vital. In constructing heritage, one must also invent and interpret memories. This, in turn, has an effect upon identity construction. As John R Gillis explains, the idea or “notion of identity depends on the idea of memory, and vice versa”.<sup>55</sup> Much as heritage can be understood as a polished version of history, so too is nostalgia a cleaned up version of memory. Described as “memory with the pain removed”<sup>56</sup> nostalgic memory is a socially organised construction.<sup>57</sup>

The question that must be asked is what kind of past has been chosen to be preserved?<sup>58</sup> As Doody notes of Hewison, “it is in times of ‘discontent, anxiety or disappointment,’ that people most strongly feel nostalgia towards the past”.<sup>59</sup> There is perhaps none more nostalgic than one who is forced to leave their home. There is often a search for a lost or forgotten time, a desire for a past that cannot be recovered but merely glimpsed. As Lowenthal notes, “[p]eople flock to historic sites to share recall of the familiar, communal recollection enhancing personal reminiscence. What pleases the nostalgist is not just the relic but his recognition of it, not so much the past itself as its supposed aspirations, less the memory of what actually was than of what was once thought possible.”<sup>60</sup> With nostalgia comes a romanticised view of the past. This can be exploited by tourist promoters who are able to recreate the past to suit the present climate. As Wood notes, “Nostalgic sentiments are fulfilled by being seen to remember, rather

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> Maureen E Doody, *Cultural Tourism in Newfoundland*, M.A. Thesis, (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1999), p. 21.

<sup>58</sup> Urry, p. 99.

<sup>59</sup> Robert Hewison *The Heritage Industry in Britain in a Climate of Decline*, (London: Methune, 1987) in Doody, p. 21.

<sup>60</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 8.

than remembering and living the consequences of such memory”.<sup>61</sup> One may remember the outport or highland way of life, without having to come to terms with why it must be remembered.

What ties the idea of spatial identity together is a collective sense of sameness that is shared among a given group of people. We all come from somewhere and in some way identify ourselves as being part of a given city, town, county, province or country. Where we call home may change but the fact that we do call somewhere home persists. This becomes part of how we understand ourselves, how we engage with each other and situate ourselves within the world at large. Each person cobbles together their own personal sets of meaning which they have derived from various objects and occurrences. It is impossible to analyse how each person comes to know and use symbols. These symbols however are incorporated within a collective and territorial identity. History, landscape and memory all combine to create place identity.

As Osborne asserts, “there is no inherent identity to places: this is constructed by human behaviour in reaction to places”.<sup>62</sup> These constructs are learned and enforced within a given environment. History plays the role of orienting us to this given environment.<sup>63</sup> Identities themselves are not static but are constantly constructed, negotiated, and renegotiated. They are the product of a dialogue between an individual or group and the surrounding environment. This discourse has multiple participants and involves the negotiation of various claims. As Stuart Hall notes “[i]dentities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within

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<sup>61</sup> Wood, p. 41.

<sup>62</sup> Osborne, pp. 3-4.

<sup>63</sup> Glassberg, p. 17.

the narrative of the past. Cultural identity is a matter of becoming as well as being. It belongs to the future as much as the past”.<sup>64</sup> In reconstructing resettled sites, producers are able to renegotiate their positions within the narrative by reinterpreting the past. As Doreen Massey notes, “identity of places is very much bound up with the *histories* which are told [of] them, *how* these stories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant”.<sup>65</sup> Historical and place consciousness are linked, as notes Glassberg; “we attach histories to places, and the environmental value we attach to a place comes largely through the memories and historical associations we have with it”.<sup>66</sup>

Richard Haesly argues that, “[t]he formation of territorial identities is not simply a matter of individual choice. The accessibility and fit of various historical myths (i.e. the availability of a ‘usable past’), the influence of political entrepreneurs and the existence (or absence) of socio-political institutions all interact to determine the shape and salience of a given territorial identity”.<sup>67</sup> Both Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland are part of larger political entities. They have not only constructed their own symbols and fostered a collective sense of sameness but have also had these foisted upon them. Gillis argues that what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity.<sup>68</sup> As the area takes on a different subject position, a different identity is negotiated. Whether the site that producers are creating is intended for a national or local context will affect the way the site is presented. Resettled communities may hold different meaning within a local

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<sup>64</sup> Stuart Hall “Cultural Identity and Diaspora” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: An Introduction*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), as quoted in Osborne, p. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Doreen Massey, “Places and the Past” in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 39, Spring 1995, as quoted in Osborne, p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> Glassberg, p. 17.

<sup>67</sup> Richard Haesly, *Nested and Contested: Meanings and Patterns of Territorial Identity in Scotland and Wales*, PhD Dissertation, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001), p. iv.

<sup>68</sup> Gillis, p. 3.

context than within the larger political framework. Lowenthal argues that, “[t]o forge identity and buttress self-esteem, each people vaunts or invents a distinctive legacy”.<sup>69</sup> There are, in turn, a number of factors at play, as the legacies of Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland confront those of Canada and Britain. As Lowenthal states, “most heritage reflects personal or communal self-interest”; that in fact, through celebrating given symbols, societies are in fact celebrating themselves.<sup>70</sup> Through heritage, societies distinguish themselves from others.<sup>71</sup> Heritage enables them to set themselves apart and forge new understandings and new ways of identifying. The deliberate construction of heritage and identity is necessarily neither authentic nor unselfconscious. As heritage attractions, these sites will inevitably represent the intentions of those who created them.

Even though these spaces are often intended to be “state reinforcing” or “state creating”, they will always have multiple meanings, some of which are other than those intended. As Hall has argued, the “‘preferred reading’ accepts the dominant norms, values, and ideas that represent the current distribution of power; an ‘oppositional reading’ challenges the dominant ideology; a ‘negotiated meaning’ is situated within the dominant ideology, but applies more local or particular inflections to accommodate specific situations.”<sup>72</sup> What is important is that people are seldom merely passive recipients, and that their reaction to a range of mnemonic devices intended for national cohesion often reveals more about the present than it does of the past.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> David Lowenthal, “Identity, Heritage and History” in *Commemorations*, p. 46.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>72</sup> Stuart Hall, “Encoding/Decoding” in Hall et al. (eds) *Culture, Media, Language*, (London: Hutchinson, 1980), as quoted in Osborne, p. 8.

<sup>73</sup> Osborne, p. 8.

The resettled communities serve as mnemonic devices, but symbolize something different to each party. Each party involved puts forth its own memories and claims with regard to the ownership over a given story and a given space. Ashworth argues that the outpost serves the purpose for residents of “legitimizing their place identities” and for visitors it serves as a “defined brand-image, an on-site experience and purchasable souvenir”.<sup>74</sup>

While creating their own memories, tourists must rely on the memories of others to inform their understanding. For the tourist, there may be only one set of meanings, one understanding which is presented to them. This is reflective of the present day. As Lowenthal notes “since ‘past events...have no objective existence, but survive only in written records and in human memory’ it follows that ‘the past is whatever the records and the memories agree upon’, and therefore ‘whatever the Party chooses to make it... Recreated in whatever shape is needed at the moment, this new version *is* the past, and no different past can ever have existed.”<sup>75</sup> With the site created, the producers turn to promotion and advertising to sell their destination to tourists.

### **Promotion**

Resettled communities are by their nature remote and isolated. These places above all others must rely on advertising and promotion, as a tourist cannot simply drop in or stumble upon them. That requires planning and the knowledge of the sites’ existence in the first place. Sites are not produced within a vacuum and must compete

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<sup>74</sup> Ashworth, “Places, Images and Identities for Visitors and Residents: Interactions in Newfoundland”, p. 13.

<sup>75</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 190.

with other destinations for the tourist's time and money. Site producers use promotional material to make their product stand out.

Place promotion is often considered as part of place management, whether it be to attract tourists, businesses or new residents. Place promotion involves the use of images of landscapes, people and activities as well as highlighting various aspects of history and heritage. In the case of resettled communities, those involved move beyond place promotion, as they have constructed these sites as well. This means that the image they create is one that has not necessarily been negotiated within the public at large.

Tourism is first and foremost a business and often the images used are more reflective of what the producers are trying to sell and not what actually exists. As Maureen Doody notes in her examination of the Newfoundland tourism industry, "tourism boosters and entrepreneurs play a vital role in constructing and promoting a particular atmosphere and visual image for the tourist. Consequently, it is important to examine the role that textual and visual representations (e.g. tourism ads, brochures, attractions) and tourism policy play in perpetuating... stereotypes and shaping what tourists expect to see and how they conceptualise what they do see."<sup>76</sup> When tourists arrive at a site, they have pre-conceived images in their heads that have been planted by the promotional material to which they have been exposed.

The idea of marketing place has a long history, as Ashworth and Voogd note, "[e]ver since Leif Ericson recruited settlers for his 'Green' land, places have been promoted by means of the projection of favourable images to a potential market of users

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<sup>76</sup> Doody, p. 25.

by those who have an interest in attracting them".<sup>77</sup> They have also noticed that there has been a shift in not only what is produced but who is doing the producing as well.<sup>78</sup> While in the past, producers tended to be government officials, today's promotion involves professional agencies and marketing plans. It is becoming more and more difficult to distinguish between private productions aimed at individual profit and public endeavours.<sup>79</sup> While it is sometimes difficult to determine who is shaping the message, it is as equally important as the story being told. As Lowenthal notes, expressions of the past reflect vested interests.<sup>80</sup> Tourism has exacerbated this process as places are readily consumed, bought, and sold.

There are essentially three types of producers that are relevant to this discussion, those being government bodies, tourist agencies and local community groups. Each has different goals and outcomes in mind when producing a particular site. Each group uses the resources at their disposal to tell the story they want to tell in order to promote their destinations. Destinations are advertised and promoted in "a way which is never designed to genuinely impart full meaning and understanding, which typically would be impractical, perhaps discomfoting, or even subversive of prevailing myths and images".<sup>81</sup> The first tool that promoters have at their disposal is glossy images of the intended destination.

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<sup>77</sup> Gregory Ashworth and Henk Voogd, "Can Places be Sold for Tourism" in Gregory Ashworth and Brian Goodall (eds) *Marketing Tourism Places*, (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 1.

<sup>78</sup> Gregory Ashworth and Henk Voogd, "Marketing and Place Promotion" in John R Gold and Stephen V Ward (eds) *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions*, (West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 1994), p. 40.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 35.

<sup>81</sup> S. Britton, "Tourism, Capital and Place: Towards a Critical Geography of Tourism" *Env. And Plan. D.: Society and Space*, Vol. 9, as quoted in O'Hara, p. 20.

The majority of tourist promotion is made up of pictures. Images play a central role to the practice of tourism. As David Crouch and Nina Lubben suggest in *Visual Culture and Tourism*, “tourists do not necessarily respond to economic and social realities; they do, however, respond strongly to the images that are in circulation about their touristic destinations”.<sup>82</sup> It is the pictures that take up the majority of the space in tourist promotion and these pictures draw people in. For Dilley, in his analysis of tourist brochures and images, “the cliché of a picture being worth a thousand words is rarely truer than when gazing at a glossy representation of a suntanned blonde on a palm-fringed beach, or at a fairy-tale castle in a romantic Old-World setting.”<sup>83</sup>

The images presented to the tourist have been constructed specifically by those selling the product. Whoever created the image is also responsible for telling the story. It has been argued that through tourism images, ideas are created about specific people and places.<sup>84</sup> In order to understand the meaning inherent within the advertisement, one must explore the ideas implicated in the imagery. While the interpretation made by the tourist is dependent upon how each tourist perceives the message being conveyed, one can still come to an understanding of the type of image being presented.<sup>85</sup> Following Dilley, pictures can be examined using the themes of landscape, culture and recreation and services.<sup>86</sup> Charles O’Hara argues that, “[t]ourism sits at an interesting crossroads because in consuming places people are also ‘consuming’ social understandings of place

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<sup>82</sup> David Crouch and Nina Lubben, “Introduction” in David Crouch and Nina Lubben (eds) *Visual Culture and Tourism*, (New York: Oxford, 2003) p. 4.

<sup>83</sup> Robert S Dilley, “Tourist Brochures and Tourist Images”, *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 30, 1, 1986, p. 60.

<sup>84</sup> Doody, p. 1.

<sup>85</sup> Brian Goodall and Gregory J Ashworth, “Tourist Images: Marketing Considerations” in Brian Goodall and Gregory J Ashworth (eds), *Marketing in the Tourism Industry*, (London: Croom Helm, 1988) p. 229.

<sup>86</sup> Dilley, p. 60.

and environment”.<sup>87</sup> Images are able to reinforce or espouse a particular spatial identity and understanding.

While these images may appear on posters and in newspapers and magazines the majority of promotion is done through tourist brochures and websites. Usually the first contact a tourist has with a site is not the site itself but a representation of that site in the form of a website or brochure. Simply put, the tourist brochure is a form of advertising designed to sell one product, the site itself. Using pictures, visitor anecdotes, detailing services and providing a glimpse into what the destination holds, the brochure engages with the tourist’s imagination. While a website can provide as much or as little information as the producers wish, a brochure is much more contained and to the point.

Roy C. Buck, in his discussion of the use of tourist brochures within Amish settlements, states that, “brochures take on an added significance in their being inventions and value judgements on the part of the tourist attraction enterprisers regarding what will gain and hold tourist attention”.<sup>88</sup> The same can be said for any site that is produced by an outside source. Resettled communities to a large extent do not have a local population to contradict what is being advertised. There are few to reinforce or authenticate the picture or story that is presented.

Through his analysis of tourist material of Pangnirtung, Nunavut, O’Hara notes three tendencies that exist within the tourist literature. First, the simplification or need for brevity, secondly, an attempt to create an individual and unique experience and lastly, the appropriation of dominant modes of representation by marginal groups, or

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<sup>87</sup> O’Hara, p. 1.

<sup>88</sup> Roy C Buck, “The Ubiquitous Tourist Brochure: Explorations in its Intended and Unintended Use” in *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. IV, 4, 1977, p. 200.

transculturation.<sup>89</sup> He continues stating that, “commodification necessarily includes some form of simplification of reality. Place is marketed using certain key visual signifiers and historical highlights.”<sup>90</sup> Tourist promotion never tells the whole story, but creates an image of what is to be expected.

Most research conducted on promotional material involves some form of content analysis. This often involves counting the frequency of use of any number of items. This discussion will examine brochures produced by the sites themselves as well as the official tourist guides produced by the Governments of Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland.

### **Case studies**

Using the specific examples of sites that have been created from resettled communities, the use of imagery and the past will be examined in detail. As Gillis asserts, “commemorative activity is by definition social and political, for it involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and, in some instances, annihilation.”<sup>91</sup>

However, the question remains, are these sites made over to represent a more successful and shiny past, or do they truly represent those who were removed and tell the story of resettlement? In the following chapters two sites from Highland Scotland and three sites from Newfoundland and Labrador will be examined with regard to who

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<sup>89</sup> O’Hara, pp. 61-2.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>91</sup> Gillis, p. 5.

produced them and the extent to which their promotional material reflects historical events or a created heritage.

## Chapter Two

### Scotland Case Study

*You can't move forward unless you straighten out the past, and the Highland Clearances have a huge impact on how Scotland is today... The Clearances have never been fully acknowledged or commemorated. Instead they have been played down by a combination of diminishing the extent of the violence and force used by fallacies that every soul who emigrated did so voluntarily and benefited greatly at no risk or cost or simply dismissing them as 'victimology'.<sup>92</sup>*

#### Introduction

The circumstances surrounding the Highland Clearances are still contested today. Numerous accounts exist as each generation re-examines the evidence and places it within its own perspectives and experiences. Lucille Campey's work *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852*<sup>93</sup> created a controversy in 2004 when it was released. It argues that there is little evidence in shipping records and archival sources to justify the representation of Highlanders as 'hapless victims of greedy landowners'.<sup>94</sup> Other authors, such as James Hunter, contest her claims, stating that, "The early emigrants were much like today's asylum seekers, moving around the world in the same horrible, uncertain conditions".<sup>95</sup> These arguments continue to surface as the debate continues.

At the time of the Clearances, Highland society consisted of a largely oral culture. As such, detailing the stories of those who were removed can be problematic. Eric

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<sup>92</sup> Kate Smith as quoted by Ben McConville, "Clearing the Air on the Clearances" in *The Scotsman*, September 5, 2005 available at <http://heritage.scotsman.com/topics.cfm?tid=1272&id=1927552005>.

<sup>93</sup> Lucille Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852*, (Toronto; Natural Heritage Books, 2004).

<sup>94</sup> Kurt Bayer, "Canadian tries to nail 'myths' of Clearances" in *The Scotsman*, August 15, 2004, available at <http://heritage.scotsman.com/topics.cfm?tid=1272&id=941322004>.

<sup>95</sup> James Hunter as quoted by Bayer.

Richards, in his work *The Highland Clearances*, notes that, “[t]he greatest historical problem is that almost all the written evidence comes from the landowners’ side of the story; in compensation it is often necessary to give disproportionate prominence to fragments of evidence from the less well-recorded members of Highland society – the crofters, the cottars, the women, the rioters – often through their petitions, their songs, their ephemera.”<sup>96</sup> However, the fact that these stories and songs survived, given their absence from the written record, is telling. Despite Richards’ problems with the disproportionate reliance on oral accounts, Jennifer McLaughlin, in her work on the Highland Clearances, details how they have been represented in narrative form. She begins with the letters written by Donald MacCleod to the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* in defence of the displaced crofters and continues the journey through time ending with the most recent accounts written by historian John Prebble and playwright John McGrath.<sup>97</sup> She contends that even though each succeeding generation has narrated the events differently “the story itself has proved resilient”.<sup>98</sup> The reality remains that at one time the Highlands and Islands of Scotland was home to a well-established clan system that today is little more than a memory.

This chapter will examine the sites of Strathnaver in the county of Sutherland and Gairrannan on the isle of Lewis to discover how the story of resettlement is presented, as well as how these stories are promoted and made accessible to the tourist.

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<sup>96</sup> Eric Richards, *The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000), p. xi.

<sup>97</sup> McLaughlin, p. iv.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

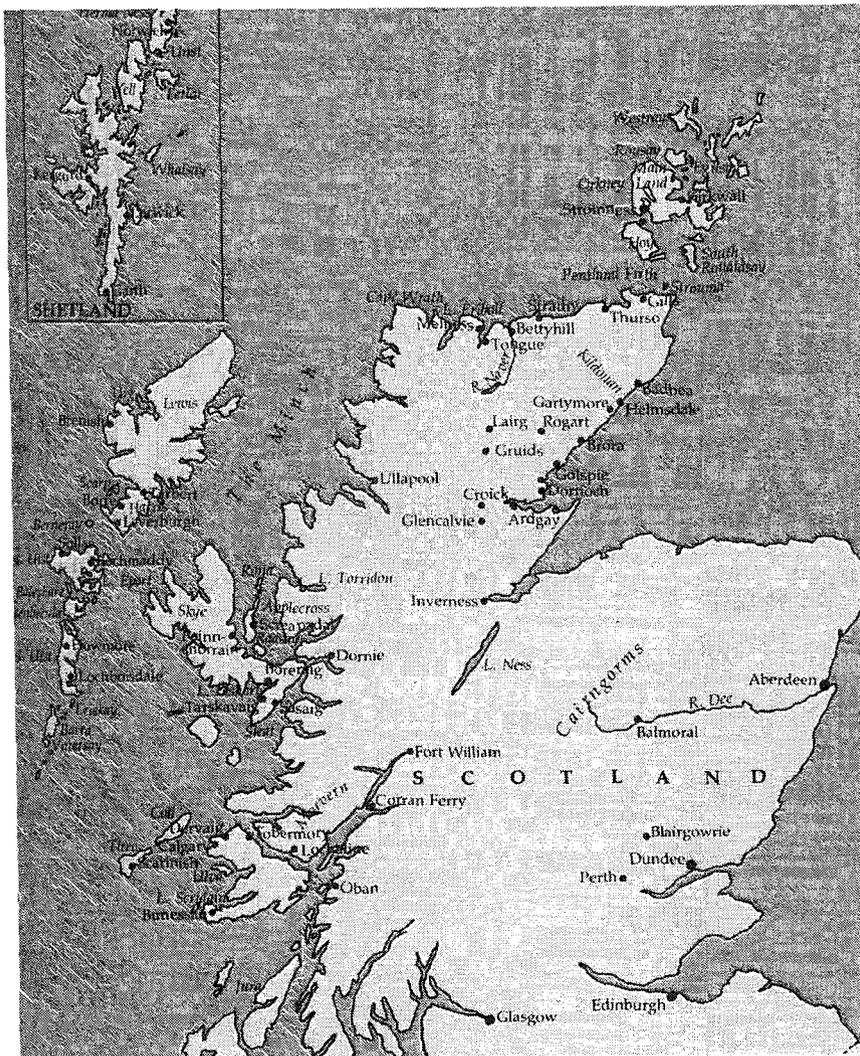


Figure 3 Map of Scotland.

### Historical Background

In order to understand how the resettled communities are produced, we must first understand what the Clearances entailed. Eric Richards states that, “[a] Highland Clearance was ‘an enforced simultaneous eviction of all families living in a given area such as an entire glen’”.<sup>99</sup> Labelled ‘removals’ by the landlords, the term ‘clearance’ did

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<sup>99</sup> Eric Richards, p. 310.

not gain wide usage until the 1840s.<sup>100</sup> These clearances took place throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the pursuit of economic interests.

Highland society prior to the Clearances was dominated by the clan system. The economy was based on subsistence.<sup>101</sup> Families grew their own food and raised their own cattle.<sup>102</sup> Crofters also worked as wage labourers, such as during the kelp boom, but when it collapsed the landlords were not satisfied with the little rent they paid.<sup>103</sup> Between 1780 and 1860<sup>104</sup> thousands of men, women and children were evicted from their homes to make way for more fruitful economic endeavours. With the age of improvement came the desire of landlords to find more productive uses for their estates as well as render more financial rewards.<sup>105</sup> During the period between 1785 and the passing of the Crofter's Act in 1886, it is estimated that around 500,000 Highlanders were forced to leave their lands or did so by choice.<sup>106</sup>

As Richenda Miers notes, not all of those who left were forced to do so, many left voluntarily for Canada, the United States, New Zealand and Australia to escape persecution.<sup>107</sup> This does not outweigh the fact that they were required to leave, whether they were forcibly removed or not. Some authors, such as Rob Gibson, in his *Highland Clearances Trail*, argue that the landscapes found in Highland Scotland today are a direct

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>101</sup> David Craig, *On the Crofters' Trail: In Search of the Clearance Highlanders*, (London: Pimlico, 1990), p. 7.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> The actual time frame of the Clearances is debated with dates ranging from 1760-1880.

<sup>105</sup> Noble.

<sup>106</sup> McConville.

<sup>107</sup> Richenda Miers, *Scotland's Highlands and Islands 4<sup>th</sup> Edition* (London: Cadogan Guides, 2003), p. 34.



**Figure 4 The Remains of Grumbeg Settlement**

result of the clearance policies.<sup>108</sup> The empty glens, crumbling houses, and overwhelming presence of sheep testify to the absence of any inhabitants and reinforce the Clearance story.

One of the most prominent Clearances took place in the county of Sutherland. Determined to make ‘improvements’, the Duke of Sutherland and his wife set about reclaiming their land. Lord Stafford was an English billionaire whose wife, Elizabeth Gordon, was the principal source behind the Sutherland clearances. By 1809, their attention turned to the area of Strathnaver. They were advised to move the people away from the straths to allotments in the west, east, and north coasts of Sutherland. Between 1814 and 1820, 15,000 people were evicted and the Duchess of Sutherland appropriated over 3,000 square kilometres of clan land.<sup>109</sup> In the years that followed, “between one and two-thirds of the population of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross-shire, and Inverness-shire were dispersed”.<sup>110</sup> By the 1820s, the Sutherland family owned one and a half million acres.

<sup>108</sup> Rob Gibson, *The Highland Clearance’s Trail – The Clue to the Highlands of Today*, (Dingwall: Highland Heritage, 1993), p. 1.

<sup>109</sup> Murray G.H. Pittock, *A New History of Scotland*, (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 2003), p. 255.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

The Strathnaver clearances themselves, took place in two waves. Gold and Gold note that the first of these clearances took place in the upper part of the valley.<sup>111</sup> Authorized by the Sutherlands, the forcible removal of many families created an enormous sheep farm. This initial clearance was undertaken by Patrick Sellar who was later put on trial in 1816 as a result of his actions. He was acquitted, however, of all charges ranging from culpable homicide, real injury, and oppression. As Richards states, "...the Sutherland clearances were the most dramatic and sensational of all the removals and they occupy centre stage in all accounts of the Highland Clearances".<sup>112</sup>

Gerrannan, on the isle of Lewis did not undergo such a forcible eviction.



**Figure 5 (above) Gerrannan Blackhouses**  
**Figure 6 (below) White house on Lewis**

However, the blackhouses themselves seemingly stand as a testament to resilience. As noted by Gold and Gold, blackhouses "were widely condemned during official inquiries in the late nineteenth century due to their lack of sanitation, their use of a central peat fire without a chimney or other ventilation, and for having a freely intercommunicating dwelling space and animal byre within the same building."<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> John R Gold and Margaret M Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750*, (Hants: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 147.

<sup>112</sup> Eric Richards, p. 120.

<sup>113</sup> Gold and Gold, p. 153.

Blackhouses were a common form of dwelling throughout the north-east of Scotland and were used until the end of the 1800s. A blackhouse is usually a long narrow one storey building with animals housed in one end and living quarters in the other. The roof was normally re-thatched each year as the smoked thatch was used as fertilizer. The new cottages that were built became known as white houses to distinguish between the two types of housing. They were used solely as a family dwelling and animals were left outside. The blackhouses symbolise a way of life and reflect how communities were organised.

The attempts to recreate these spaces affect the larger culture. Richards argues that, “[o]ne of the abiding characteristics of the remnants of Highland society has been its sustained anger against the Clearances. The story has been re-told with the accumulated bitterness of posterity in the oral record of the Highlands.”<sup>114</sup> In 1994, there was a movement afoot to blow up the statue of the first Duke of Sutherland, which sits upon Ben Bragghie, having been erected in 1834 on behalf of his tenantry. With such animosity and lingering bitterness, one must question how the recreation of resettled communities affects the community at large.

While the local communities of Caithness and Sutherland as well as those surrounding Gairrannan are involved in their respective heritage projects, the stories of the Clearances are told in very different ways. The recreated blackhouse village at Gairrannan focuses on celebrating a way of life while the Strathnaver Trail project details what was taken.

### **Scottish Tourism**

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<sup>114</sup> Eric Richards, p. 311.

Tourism in highland Scotland is hardly new. However, to the first few travellers, the Highlands and islands were largely *terra incognita*.<sup>115</sup> Travel was hindered by the geography and culture of the region, as the prevalence of the Gaelic language made it difficult for visitors to communicate with local residents.<sup>116</sup> The Jacobite rebellions led to greater accessibility, as the London government improved roads and communication to aid their military forces.<sup>117</sup> Following the last rebellion in 1746, the Highlands were made further accessible by the dismantling of the clan system and the introduction of a money economy.<sup>118</sup> The prevalence of travel books also encouraged more tourists to travel to the area. By the mid-nineteenth century, tourism in the Highlands was arguably dominated by the sportsman and the romantic traveller. As Katherine Haldane notes, “instead of a forbidding harsh, and unattractive land, Scotland was seen as a romantic, mysterious country, with a unique culture”.<sup>119</sup>

Following its union with England in 1707, Haldane argues that Scotland lost one of the means by which it defined itself as a nation.<sup>120</sup> As the Highland way of life began to disintegrate, its traditions began to be envisioned as distinct and unique.<sup>121</sup> The Highlands became *the* representation for all of Scotland.<sup>122</sup> As Gold and Gold note, Highland history and tradition were reinvented in the nineteenth century to meet a

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<sup>115</sup> R. W. Butler, “Evolution of Tourism in the Scottish Highlands” *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 12, 1985, p. 372.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 373.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 374-5.

<sup>119</sup> Katherine Jean Haldane, *Imagining Scotland: Tourist Images of Scotland, 1770-1914*, PhD Dissertation, (University of Virginia, 1990), p. 1.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

broader social and political agenda.<sup>123</sup> Sir Walter Scott embraced the adoption of these reinvented Highland traditions and symbols as a way to bury outstanding political differences and create new ground for consensus.<sup>124</sup> Tourists flocked to the locations he described in his works as he often presented landscapes as backdrops for the characters and events in his novels.<sup>125</sup> As Gold and Gold state, “[i]t was Scott who conflated the highland identity with the Scottish identity, peopled the landscape with characters from a mythical past and ensured that visitors would feel that they needed to visit the highlands to see ‘authentic’ Scotland”.<sup>126</sup>

Haldane contends that the image of Scotland evolved in conjunction with the arrival of tourists en masse.<sup>127</sup> These Highlanders represented an unchanging way of life, which remained uncorrupted by the passage of time in the eyes of many.<sup>128</sup> The Victorian era later viewed Scotland “as a place untouched by modernization”.<sup>129</sup> Scotland has continually been envisaged with the tourist in mind and its history is very much intertwined with the development of its tourist industry.

### **State Tourism**

Three main bodies are involved within the tourism industry in Scotland, Historic Scotland, the Scottish Tourist Board, and the National Trust for Scotland.

The National Trust for Scotland is the conservation charity aimed at protecting and promoting Scotland's natural and cultural heritage for present and future generations

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<sup>123</sup> Gold and Gold, p. 147.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>127</sup> Haldane, p. 2.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

to enjoy. Founded in 1931, the Trust is recognized by an Act of Parliament. With over 260,000 members, it is the largest conservation charity in Scotland and it depends for its support on donations, legacies, grants, and membership subscriptions.<sup>130</sup> The Trust “acts as guardian of the nation's magnificent heritage of architectural, scenic and historic treasures”.<sup>131</sup> While the trust manages the visitor’s centre and battlefield at Culloden Moor, it is not directly involved with any of the clearance sites throughout the Islands and Highlands of Scotland.

Historic Scotland, formerly the Historic Buildings and Monuments Board, is an agency within the Scottish Executive Education Department. It is housed within the Tourism, Culture and Sports portfolio and is directly responsible to the Scottish Ministers. Established in 1991, it cares for over 330 properties, which ‘portray Scotland’s colourful and industrious past’.<sup>132</sup> Its states that its mission is to “safeguard Scotland’s historic environment and to promote its understanding and enjoyment”.<sup>133</sup> This historic environment consists of “those structures and places in Scotland of historical, archaeological or architectural interest or importance”.<sup>134</sup> As one marketing director commented, “We are not in the theme park business. Ours is real heritage and not created. Although we feel visits can be enjoyed as well as being worthwhile, we

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<sup>130</sup> The National Trust for Scotland, “About the Trust” available at [http://www.nts.org.uk/web/site/home/about/About\\_the\\_Trust\\_home.asp?navid=2011](http://www.nts.org.uk/web/site/home/about/About_the_Trust_home.asp?navid=2011), National Trust for Scotland, 2004.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Historic Scotland Welcome newsletter 1991-4, as quoted in David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely, *Scotland the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p. 89.

<sup>133</sup> Historic Scotland, *Historic Scotland Framework Document*, November 23, 2004 available at [http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/framework\\_document\\_2004.pdf](http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/framework_document_2004.pdf), p. 2.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

should remember the dignity of the monuments. It would be quite wrong to change royal castles and palaces into theme parks.”<sup>135</sup>

In 1969, the Development of Tourism Act established the national tourist boards of England, Scotland and Wales. The Scottish Tourist Board was asked to “attract holidaymakers to destinations in Scotland, to encourage the development of visitor facilities, and to coordinate tourism interests”.<sup>136</sup> VisitScotland hosts the official website of Scotland’s National Tourism Board. Along with this website, VisitScotland is also responsible for the official visitor’s guide to Scotland. While there is a visitor’s guide for all of Scotland, there are also guides dedicated to the Highlands as well as the Hebrides, which were previously produced by their respective tourist boards.

However, David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely, authors of *Scotland the Brand*, criticize the Board, arguing that it places a “much higher priority on generating income and creating jobs than on conservation and preservation”.<sup>137</sup> Previously a conglomerate of 14 regional tourist boards, in April of 2005 the area tourist boards were replaced as ‘hubs’ managed by VisitScotland to create one national marketing body.<sup>138</sup> The aim of the amalgamation is to provide “a better marriage of local and national tourism strategies”.<sup>139</sup> Chief executive of VisitScotland Philip Riddle stated that, “[t]he customer is king; our job is to research what they want and make sure it is provided”.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> K Blair, “Making Economic History” *Scottish Business Insider*, November 1989 as quoted in McCrone, Morris and Kiely, p. 90.

<sup>136</sup> McCrone, Morris and Kiely, p. 77-8.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>138</sup> Sharon Ward and Colin Donald, “Tourism’s crisis deepens as leaders clash” in *The Scotsman*, September 9, 2005 available at <http://thescoatsman.scotsman.com/index.cfm?id=1911122005>

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> Philip Riddle as quoted by Ward and Donald.

The current tourist strategy for highland Scotland is outlined in *Tourism in the Highlands: Towards 2005*. Emphasis is placed on developing the four key niches of culture and heritage, golf, walking, and nature based tourism. Their aim is “to develop a dynamic, responsive and sustainable tourism industry providing superb value and a quality of service that matches the beauty of our scenery”.<sup>141</sup> The report recognizes that visitors are no longer attracted just by a destination but an experience as well. As such they are seeking to develop and promote these four key niches to provide “opportunities to target specific groups of visitors, while helping to establish a unique and distinctive character for the Highlands in all visitors’ minds”.<sup>142</sup>

Tied to the aims and objectives of this report is the development of the Clearances Project. Centered at Helmsdale, Sutherland, it is to be the international focal point for the



**Figure 7 Proposed monument on Creag Bun-Ullidh**

commemoration of the Clearances, along with a celebration of the ‘Highland Diaspora’.<sup>143</sup> The centrepiece of the site is to be a statue consisting of four bronze figures mounted on a spiral plinth.

<sup>141</sup> The Highland Council, *Tourism in the Highlands towards 2005: A Strategy for a Dynamic, Responsive and Sustainable Industry*, p. 4, available at [http://www.highland.gov.uk/plintra/edr/tourism/tourism\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.highland.gov.uk/plintra/edr/tourism/tourism_strategy.pdf)

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>143</sup> Caithness.org “Clearances Project will Enhance Capital of Culture Bid” September 5, 2002 available at <http://www.caithness.org/fpb/september2002/clearancesproject/htm>

As the press release details the statue depicts “a clearance family and consist[s] of a father gazing out to sea, his wife looking back up the empty glen and their two children. The statue, or clearance icon, will be located on top of Creag Bun-Ullidh at a height of 600 ft above sea level.”<sup>144</sup> The path to the site will be lined with stylised versions of the ancient standing stones, which will tell the story of the Clearances.<sup>145</sup> The Clearance centre will play host to an archives and genealogy facility. Also included in the centre will be a museum containing artefacts from the Clearances, information on emigration, and the Highland Diaspora, cultural archives and a Hall of Fame outlining the achievements of various Highlanders. The Founding Director of the Clearances Centre Ltd. stated that “While this project will record the history and culture of the Highland people over the last 250 years, it will be more than anything a celebration of the achievements of Highlanders and their descendents throughout the world”.<sup>146</sup>

Despite this recognition of the Clearances, the official tourist guide of Scotland presents a conception of the Highlands that is little changed from the Victorian era:

For many people around the world, the Highlands are Scotland. They’re the pictures in the postcards, the legendary warriors, the haunting music and song. They’re the majestic scenery, awesome wild places, towering mountains, ancient pine forests and sparkling lochs. You’ll find they’re all of that – and a great deal more.<sup>147</sup>

Highland Scotland is still presented using the same imagery that Sir Walter Scott relied on. The picture featured with the above description is that of Loch Scavaig, its calm waters surrounded by rocks and mountains in the distance. Even the Highlands of

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> VisitScotland, *Scotland: Welcome to our Life, Where to go and What to See 2005* (Edinburgh: VisitScotland, 2004), p. 30.

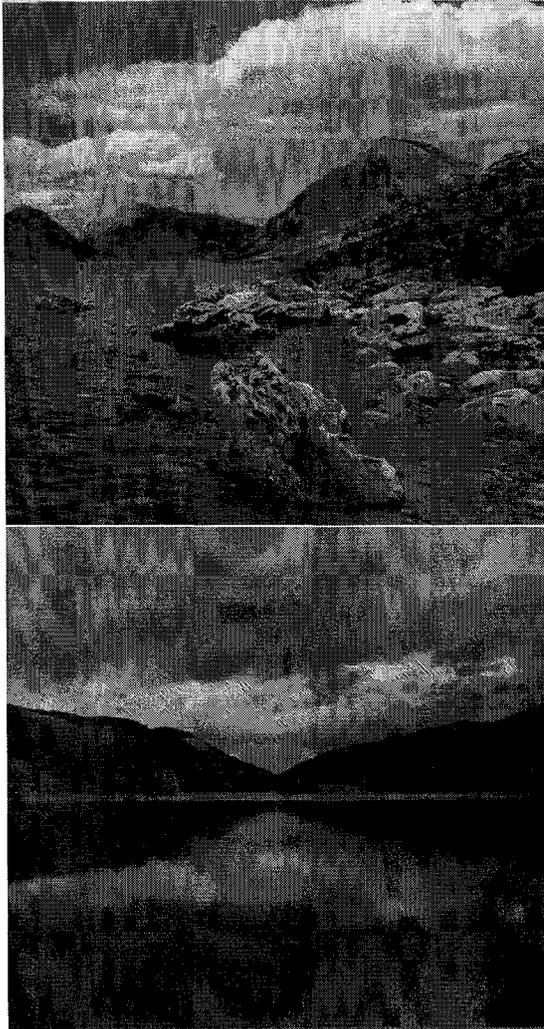


Figure 8 (above) Loch Scavaig  
Figure 9 (below) Loch Eilt

Scotland Tourist Board plays into these conceptions, using the tag line “all the drama, all the romance, all the excitement” running through their entire guide. In introducing the Highlands, the 2004 Scotland visitors guide features a picture of Loch Eilt, calm waters amid rolling brown hills, and states:

Here is the distilled essence of Scotland – the landscape is every bit as grand and romantic as the postcard suggest. The rugged interior offers you a real taste of wilderness – and a true escape from everyday urban preoccupations.<sup>148</sup>

The 2004 guide includes a timeline

that notes the battle of Culloden but none of

the after effects. The Guide speaks of a ‘rich and varied history’ but only mentions that, “In Scotland, heritage, and landscape, history and architecture all blend together!”<sup>149</sup> The Clearances are mentioned, however, in the *Freedom of the Highlands 2005 Guide*. This information consists of noting the Croick Church on which the residents of Glen Calvie “evicted during the Highland Clearances, scratched poignant messages on the

<sup>148</sup> VisitScotland, *Scotland 2004: Where to Go and What to See* (Edinburgh: VisitScotland, 2003), p. 30.

<sup>149</sup> VisitScotland 2003, p. 57.

window”.<sup>150</sup> Of Strathnaver the Highlands Visitor’s Guide states, “discover the history of this breathtaking land at Strathnaver Museum, Achanlochy Clearance Village, and on the Rossal Trail.”<sup>151</sup> The Guide does not acknowledge what the Clearances entailed nor does it explain the nature of the sites.

As Gold and Gold note, the Guides fail to address the question as to how the Highlands became emptied of its inhabitants. The Guide states that the Highlands have a “low population density”, however that is the extent of it. The focus remains on the presentation of the Highlands within the context of a romanticised past. Therefore, do they, as Gold and Gold suggest, show “a country that masquerades as being timeless and unchanging?”<sup>152</sup> For McCrone, Morris, and Kiely, Scottish tourist advertising utilizes three sets of images: peopleless places, majestic landscapes and ‘everyday’ Scotland.<sup>153</sup> While all of these are present within the official promotional material, what is missing is the promotion of the sites themselves. With this in mind, how do Strathnaver and Gearranan promote themselves?

### **Strathnaver**

The Strathnaver Valley runs for 17 miles from Bettyhill at the north coast of the river Naver to Altnaharra. This site consists of a series of trails that contain the remains of four different clearance settlements. Grunmore was a large settlement on the west side of Loch Naver. It was emptied to make room for sheep farming. Grumbeg was also located on the west side of the Loch while Rosal and Achanlochy settlements were

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<sup>150</sup> Visit Highlands, *Freedom of the Highlands 2005* (Strathpeffer: The Highlands of Scotland Tourist Board, 2004), p. 78.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 79

<sup>152</sup> Gold and Gold, p. 7.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

located to the east of the river. Along with these clearance settlements, the Strathnaver Trail is also home to some eleven sites of historical interest. As the trail map encourages, “explore the fascinating landscape of Strathnaver, in the North Highlands... an area of beauty, steeped in history...”<sup>154</sup> The Strathnaver Trail map is provided at tourist information centres as well as being accessible online. It consists of a short history of the region and what can be found along the trail. The map itself details each of the sixteen sites and gives a brief explanation for each one. A book is also available from the museum, which gives a more detailed account of the history of the area.

The trail was officially opened on May 30, 2003 with aid from the Heritage Lottery fund, Scottish National Heritage, The Highland Council and Historic Scotland. John Wood, the Highland Council’s Senior Archaeologist, stated in a Highland Council press release that, “Strathnaver has a long history and until the Clearances was a well populated place. The north Sutherland coast was in fact known as the Province of Strathnaver in the Middle Ages. The Trail takes visitors through over 6000 years of history and landscape, showing how the area has developed. It links archaeology, history, landscape and wildlife.”<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> The Highland Council, *Strathnaver Trail, Trail Map*, (Glenurquhart Road: The Highland Council, 2003)

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., “Strathnaver Trail Opened by Local Community” May 30, 2003 available at [www.highland.gov.uk/cx/pressreleases/2003/may03/strathnaver.htm](http://www.highland.gov.uk/cx/pressreleases/2003/may03/strathnaver.htm)

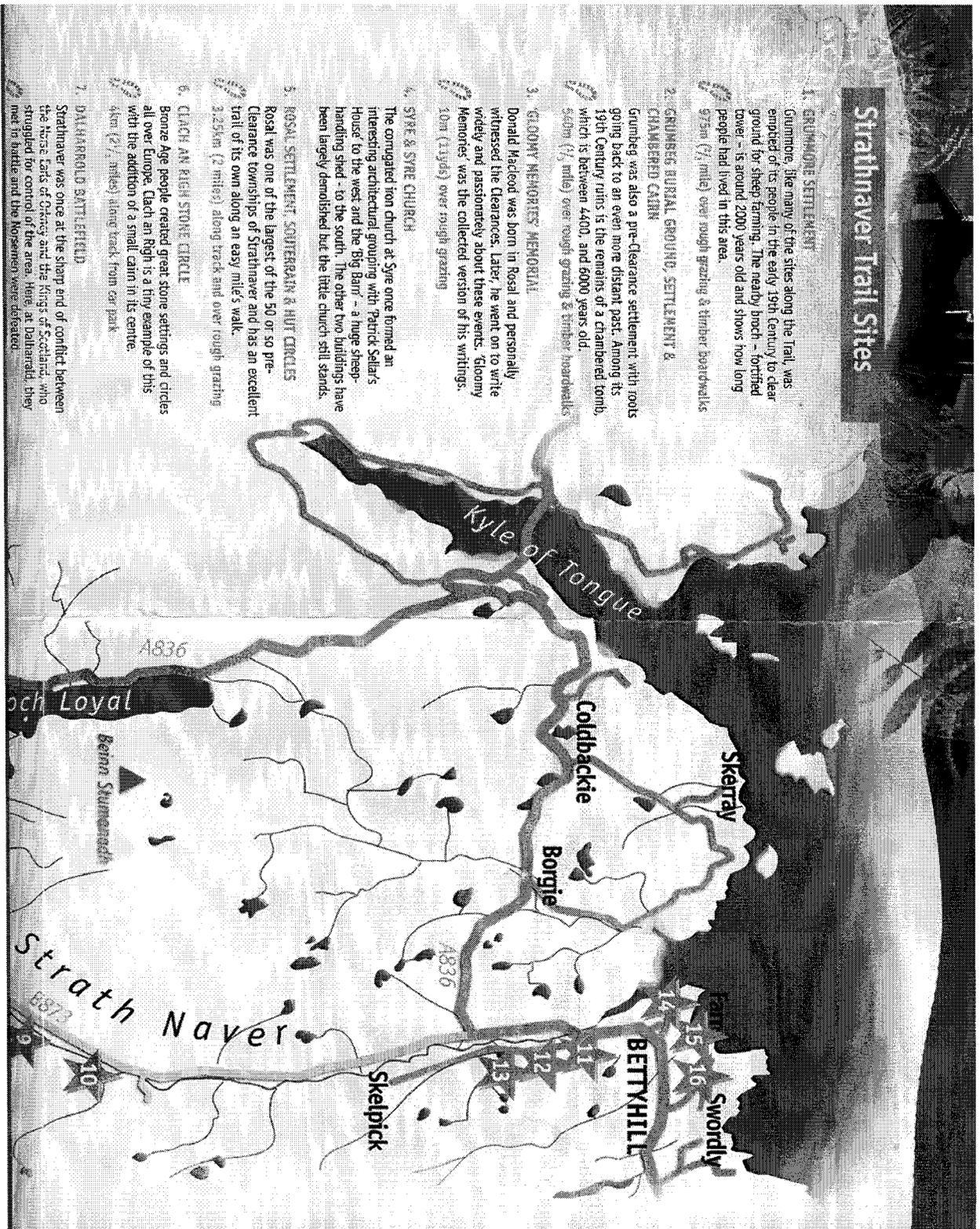


Figure 10 The Strathnaver Trail Map

One more unit of Orkney and the Kings of Scotland, who struggled for control of the area. Here, at Dalharrid, they met in battle and the Norsemen were defeated.  
 4km (2 1/2 miles) along track from car park

**8. RUBERSDALE SETTLEMENT & 2 HUT CIRCLE SETTLEMENTS**  
 Truderscraig, like Grummore, Grumbeig and Rosal, was, for hundreds – perhaps thousands – of years, the home of a stable, pastoral community.  
 3.9km (5 1/2 miles) along track from car park

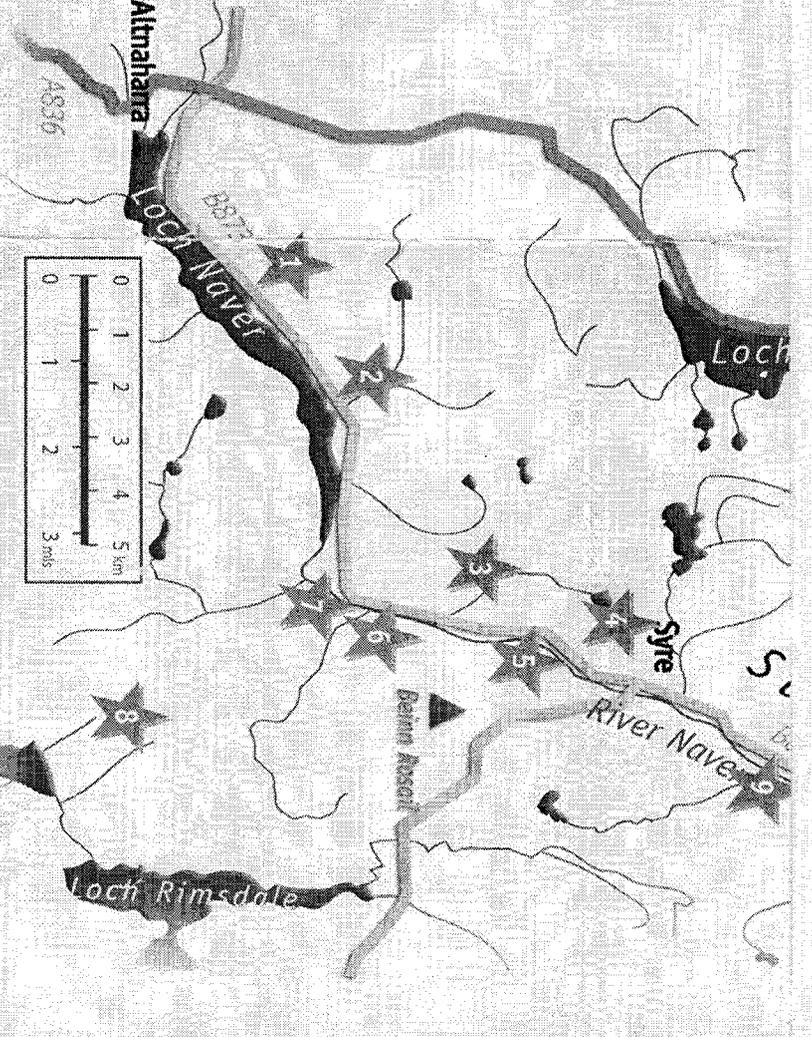
**9. SKALE CHAMBERED CAIRN, CHAPEL, BURIAL GROUND & RED PRIEST'S STONE**  
 Christianity came early to the far North of Scotland, carried by priests and holy men from Ireland. At Skale there is evidence of an ancient burial ground, the remnants of a pre-Reformation chapel and the legend of Maol Ruadh – the Red Priest – who also left his mark at Applecross in Wester Ross.

**10. 93RD SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS**  
 This monument, originally at Syre, commemorates the raising of a famous regiment – the 93rd, Sutherland Highlanders.

**11. ACHCOLLEENABORRIG BROCH**  
 Between 100BC to 100AD many hundreds of 'brochs' were built in north and west Scotland. This one, at Achcollelenaborrig, once dominated the surrounding landscape but is now in a very tumbledown state.  
 150m (170yds) over rough grazing

**12. COILE NA BORGIE NORNED CHAMBERED CAIRNS**  
 Neolithic people (about 6000-4400 years ago) built huge chambered tombs and kept these in use for hundreds of years. There are two here at Coile na Borgie.  
 150m (175yds) along an inclined track

**13. ACHANKLOCH SETTLEMENT**  
 Before they began their policy of 'improvement', involving the eviction or clearance of people from their ancestral homes, Sutherland Estates carried out a detailed survey of all their possessions, including Achankloch, where the land was professionally mapped and all details noted before its transformation to sheep country.  
 400m (7/8 mile) along an inclined track & across rough grazing



**14. BETTYHILL SALMON NET FISHING STATION, CANNING FACTORY & ICE HOUSE**  
 The rich salmon fishery of the River Naver has been exploited on this site for hundreds of years. A sweep net fishing station operated here until recently and, at various times over the last two centuries, an icehouse and a canning factory have been used to preserve fish for sale in distant markets.

**15. BETTYHILL WAR MEMORIAL**  
 Throughout history Highlanders have risen to the call to serve their country in times of war. The price of this can be seen on war memorials throughout the Highlands, including Bettyhill War Memorial, and Strathnaver War Memorial at Syre.  
 Hill top memorial, accessed by steep path

**16. FARR CHURCH (STRATHNAVER MUSEUM) & FARR STONE**  
 St. Columba's Church, now Strathnaver Museum, was built in 1774 on the site of a previous church dating to at least 1223. The Christian heritage of Caechan goes back well before that, as can be seen from the Farr Stone, an 8th century Christianised Pictish stone just to the West of the present church.  
 Roadside information points, at wheelchair height, and parking facilities are available near each site.



Access to sites has been arranged with the kind permission of the owners and tenants of Syre & North Loch Naver Estates, Forest Enterprise, Scottish Executive, The Skelgick Partnership and the River Naver Fisheries Board. RV 1005 can be allowed on common grazing areas and NO CAMPING PLEASE. Enjoy your visit, kindly respect this working landscape and please observe the country code.

This map is available in English, Gaelic, French, German and Russian. The official guidebook Strathnaver Trail – The Story of a North Highland Landscape is also available.

The Strathnaver Museum is one of the sites on the Trail and itself was formed by a group of local trustees after the Parish Church of St Columba, Farr was made redundant due to the union of the United and Free Established Churches. Of the museum, Miers notes that, “The story of the clearances is poignantly told by children on simple posters in a building in which it is likely the minister may have read out eviction notices to his congregation.”<sup>156</sup> This museum is also home to the history of the MacKay clan. The original museum website contained a description of the artefacts to be found in the museum as well as facts about the evictions. It painted a picture of life prior to the Clearances and acknowledged that controversy still exists as to whether life was better or worse as a result of the evictions and raised some of the questions surrounding the manner in which the evictions were carried out. The site included eyewitness accounts as well as a few details of life after the evictions. It acknowledged the impact of the potato famine and concluded by stating that, “many factors combined to make the 1820’s a disaster”.<sup>157</sup> The site has undergone many changes recently, due to the fact that the Strathnaver Company now owns the domain name. Currently, the Strathnaver Museum web site is housed at [aboutbritain.com](http://aboutbritain.com), and tells a much-abbreviated story of the Clearances and the clan MacKay.

Jim Johnston, Head teacher of Farr High School, produced the text of the booklet available at the museum, along with the onsite interpretive panels. An example of these panels is the story of Henny Munro, which is found just outside the Grumbeg burial ground, at site number two on the trail:

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<sup>156</sup> Miers, p. 216.

<sup>157</sup> Strathnaver Museum, 2002, available at [www.strathnaver.com/museum/sheet12.htm](http://www.strathnaver.com/museum/sheet12.htm).

*'At Grumbeg lived a soldier's widow, Henny Munro. She had followed her husband in all his campaigns, marches and battles in Sicily and Spain.'* After his death she returned to her birth-place, Grumbeg where, at an early hour on a Tuesday in 1819: *'Mr Sellar and his iron hearted attendants approached the residence of the soldier's widow. Henny stood up to plead for her furniture – the coarsest and valueless that well could be, but still her earthly all.'* The widow pleaded with the removers, offering several alternatives to save her possessions. *'This was refused, and she was told, with an oath, that if she did not take her trumpery off within half an hour it would be burned.'* Henny commenced to drag her bits and pieces in to the open and managed to rescue them all prior to fire being set to her hut. *'The wind unfortunately blew in the direction of the furniture, and the flames lighting upon it, speedily reduced it to ashes.'* Highlanders, throughout history, have a proud military tradition in which the men of Strathnaver played their part. This remained true at the time of the Sutherland Clearances, when regiments were being raised locally for the great series of wars in which Britain was involved from the American War of Independence in 1776 to the end of the Napoleonic era in 1815. Ironically, the economic dislocation caused by these conflicts was a major contributor to the changed trading conditions which boosted the price of wool and mutton and rendered large scale sheep farming for which townships like Grumbeg were cleared, so profitable. Recruitment to the armed forces was sometimes tied to promises of security of tenure. Despite these promises, usually made by word of mouth, many *'soldiers from the wars returning'* found that their families had been removed and that these guarantees were worthless.<sup>158</sup>

These sites tell the story of the Clearances from the Highlander's point of view. The tourist is able to choose which sites he or she wishes to visit. Arguably the least promoted of the two Scottish sites in this study, Strathnaver seems to be aimed at the local population who wish to remember and pass that understanding on to the next generation. Schoolchildren narrate the events of the Clearances for the tourist and a local schoolteacher wrote each story for the tourist to read. Simplicity is used in its construction, as there are no outlandish promises or wonders guaranteed to the tourist upon arrival. The remnants of the resettled villages are

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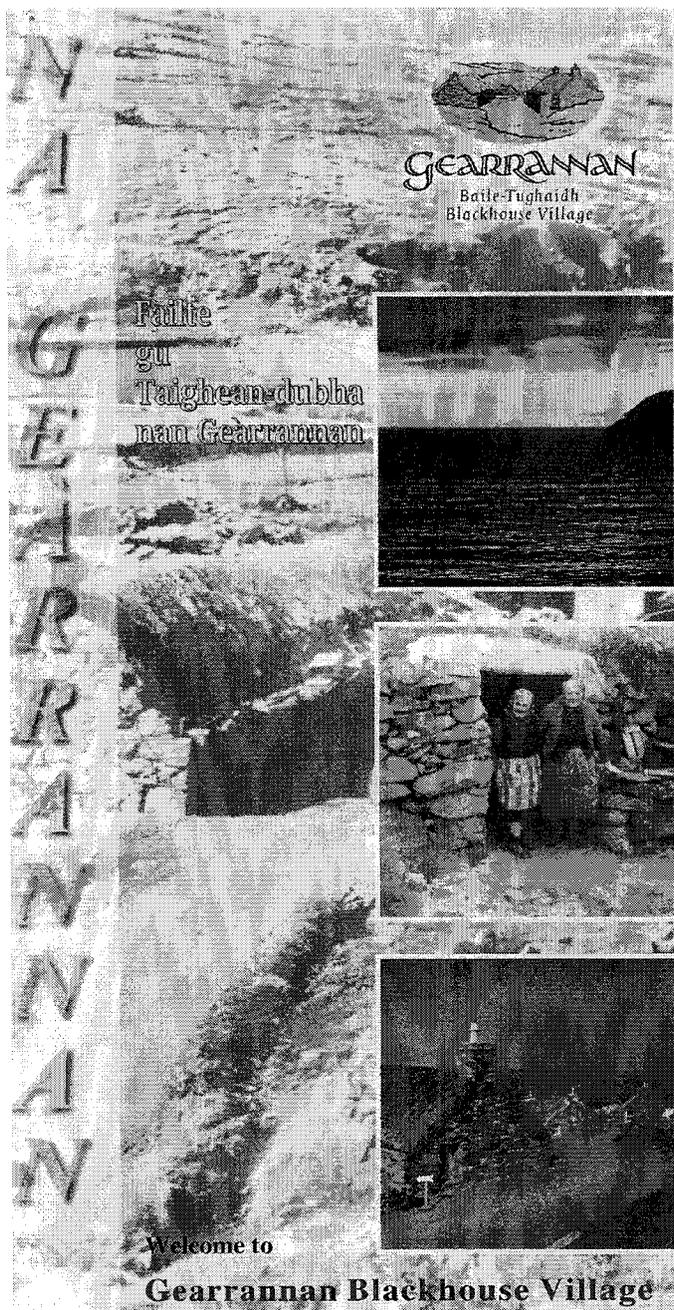
<sup>158</sup> Jim A Johnston, 'Henny Munro' Strathnaver Trail plaque, as it stood June 2004.

made accessible by the interpretive panels displayed at each site and there are car parks provided for those who wish to drive from site to site.

### **Gerrannan Blackhouse Village**

The Isle of Lewis experienced clearances between 1780 and 1813. Along with those who were forced out were those who abandoned their townships for something better.<sup>159</sup> The Gerrannan Blackhouse Village dates back to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century although their brochure states that there was a settlement there at least two thousand years ago. The blackhouses themselves date back to the end of the 1800s. In 1974, the last occupants moved out, following those who left for easier and more modern accommodations.

Beginning in 1989, the Garenin



**Figure 11 Gerrannan Blackhouse Brochure**

<sup>159</sup> Gibson, entry 26.

Trust began to restore the blackhouses and croft land. Their aim was to “restore the village and to breathe life back into what was once a vibrant community”.<sup>160</sup> This Blackhouse village has numerous sponsors, including the Heritage Lottery Fund and Historic Scotland, who also sponsor the Strathnaver Trail.

The website itself is divided into sections including history, news and a virtual tour. The brochure details the history of the site as well as the improvements that have been made and a map outlining the area. Three pictures are displayed on the cover of the brochure: the sun setting over the water, what can be assumed to be two of the last remaining occupants, followed by a picture of the restored village; all superimposed on a photo of the original village in black and white. These pictures project an image of life as it used to be. The website states that the goal of the Trust was “to recreate an authentic settlement offering visitors modern facilities within the surroundings of times gone by”.<sup>161</sup> The Village features a working blackhouse, which is set in 1955 to allow for piped water and electric light. The site also contains four self-catering accommodation units, an interpretive centre/meeting room and a cafeteria/retail outlet. Along with the self-catering facilities is a youth hostel run by the Gatcliffe Trust and the Scotland Youth Hostel Association.

The village caters to a wide variety of visitors. Although one must travel to the site, once there everything else is seemingly provided. Both groups and individual travellers are able to stay and experience firsthand the way life used to be. Groups and individuals are provided the opportunity

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<sup>160</sup> Gerrarannan Blackhouse Village Website, Bramblejam Multimedia Solutions, available at <http://www.gerrarannan.com>.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

to experience traditional rural activities, learn about the rich history of the area, work, relax and socialise in a unique atmosphere. The Garrannan village is complemented by the easy access it offers to outdoor pursuits such as fishing and watersports, the presence of extensive bird and wildlife in their natural habitat and its close proximity to other areas of interest, such as the world famous Calanais Standing Stones and the Iron Age Dùn Carloway Broch.<sup>162</sup>

Both the brochure and the website state the importance of displaying authentic blackhouses with demonstrations of weaving ‘Harris Tweed’ and the use of the traditional peat fire. The self-catering facilities “have the sturdy exterior of yesteryear, but offer tastefully designed interiors that have all the conveniences of a modern home. Each house has a fully fitted kitchen, controllable heating throughout, a comfortable living area, electric shower, solid fuel stove, and snug sleeping accommodation”.<sup>163</sup> One is seemingly given the illusion of yesteryear while maintaining the comfort of today.

Despite including a history section on the website, there is no mention of the Clearances in the area, merely the effects of modernization and the loss of their young people to larger centres. The website only states that

In the late eighteenth century great changes began to take place in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland as landlords sought to make their estates more profitable. These changes completely transformed the landscape as the original crofting settlements were divided up into individual crofts, and the present village landscape was established.<sup>164</sup>

Therefore, Garrannan is accessible to the tourist, as it is included in official tourist promotion; however, it mentions little of the Clearances that occurred and the

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid

<sup>163</sup> Garrannan Blackhouse Village Brochure.

<sup>164</sup> Garrannan Blackhouse Village Website.

changes that it brought. It focuses on providing an experience for the tourist to enjoy, and assures their comfort while doing so.

### **To what effect?**

Both the Strathnaver and Garrannan projects have the involvement of their local communities. As Gold and Gold note, “stories told by interpretive activity depend very much on the ideology of the storyteller”.<sup>165</sup> Along with the local trusts, Historic Scotland has been involved in both the Strathnaver Trail project, as well as the Garrannan Blackhouse Village. However, the Strathnaver Trail presents directly the story of the Clearances to visitors while the Clearances on Lewis are ignored. The Blackhouses have the makings of a heritage attraction as they are trying to celebrate a way of life but with the aid of modern conveniences and a lack of context of the area. Garrannan is selling the experience of a traditional way of life but the refurbishments have altered the integrity of the houses. This site is not a testament to a way of life and a culture but something to be experienced.

It would be largely impossible to ignore the clearances in Sutherland, as they remain a part of the collective consciousness. Strathnaver stands as a tribute to the displaced Highlander. Pictured on the trail map is a grandfather showing the sites to his grandchild, ostensibly passing along the history of the region to the next generation. The remnants of the Clearances are put within a context of other historical events. It is a self-guided tour, as tourists can visit as many or as few sites on the Trail as they wish. There is no accommodation on site and emphasis is placed on the information being presented rather than on the touristic experience.

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<sup>165</sup> Gold and Gold, p. 144.

Gerrannan represents a tribute to a way of life, to the blackhouse itself. The emphasis is placed on the structures themselves, while enticing tourists to stay with their 'modern' improvements to the sleeping quarters and with the addition of a youth hostel. Its primary motivation is not to tell a story but to show life as it was. The Strathnaver Trail stands in direct contrast. It is not surprising; therefore, that Gerrannan is promoted within the context of state tourism while Strathnaver is not.

### **Conclusion**

The sites of Strathnaver and Gerrannan reflect two different ways of remembering the past. Strathnaver stands in memorial to the displaced Highlander and to the history of the region. Gerrannan represents a celebration of a way of life, using modern day conveniences to make the site more accessible. As will be seen in the following chapter, Newfoundland sites offer a still greater variety in commemorating the past.

## Chapter Three

### Newfoundland Case Study

*You can launch a house easy and tow it away  
But the home doesn't move, it continues to stay  
And the dollars you make, sure they'll keep you alive  
But they won't soothe the heart and they can't ease the mind.<sup>166</sup>*

#### Introduction

The story of Newfoundland and Labrador that has persisted is one of isolation and hardship. Central to its construction is the legacy of outport resettlement. The value of the resettlement programs is still being debated today. Like Highland Scotland, outport Newfoundland is often displayed as *the* representation of the province. Images of fishermen in isolated communities have persisted in representing the 'true' Newfoundland to tourists. These outports have been held up as the defining characteristic of Newfoundland life. However, close to fifty per cent of the Newfoundland and Labrador population now resides within an hour and a half hour drive of the capital St John's. This chapter will explore how the resettled communities of Woody Island, Battle Harbour, and Hebron have been reconstructed and promoted. Each tells a different story and includes the history of resettlement in very different ways.

#### Historical Background

While John Cabot was not the first to arrive in what is now Newfoundland, he was the first to lay claim to it, doing so for England at the end of the fifteenth century. In the centuries that followed, Newfoundland remained little more than a fishing station in

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<sup>166</sup> Bud Davidge, "Outport People" recorded by Simani, as quoted in Major, p. 417.

which permanent settlement was discouraged.<sup>167</sup> This ‘great ship moored off the grand



Figure 12 Map of Newfoundland and Labrador

outports, which were usually only accessible by sea.<sup>170</sup> These settlers were far

outnumbered by the transient fishermen who came and went each summer. Following the Napoleonic Wars, English west-country merchants were no longer able to prevent

banks’, had little need for constitutional traditions, an educational system or established civil institutions.<sup>168</sup> The British government, along with local merchants, at times prohibited settlement in order to ensure complete control of the fishery.<sup>169</sup> Those who chose to settle located themselves in isolated, largely secret

<sup>167</sup> Phillip McCann “Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition: Newfoundland 1832-1855” in *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol. 23, Nos. 1 & 2, Spring/Summer 1988, p. 88.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Doody, p. 9.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

permanent settlement.<sup>171</sup> These merchants, who controlled the transient summer fishery, saw the rapid expansion of the spring seal harvest and the need for year round residency.<sup>172</sup> By 1832, Newfoundland was in a position to receive a written constitution, in the shape of Instructions and Commission to the Governor.<sup>173</sup> The economy, however, remained largely centred on outport life and the family fishery. The Second World War brought an increased presence of Canadian and American residents and saw improvements in Newfoundland's infrastructure. Following Confederation with Canada in 1949, "90% of the province's 415,000 people still lived in some 3,000 small villages scattered along 6,000 miles of rugged and often inaccessible coastline".<sup>174</sup> In contrast, by 1961, three quarters of the 1,100 settlements in Newfoundland and Labrador had less than 300 inhabitants.<sup>175</sup> As John Kennedy notes, the cost of providing outport Newfoundland with the promised array of services "unquestionably required some concentration of people".<sup>176</sup> So the newly formed provincial government launched a major resettlement program, intended to move the more isolated communities to growth centres in which the government hoped new industries would take hold.<sup>177</sup> The original program required ninety percent of the population of a given outport to agree to move in order for each family to receive the promised funding.<sup>178</sup> Over 20,000 people were relocated from their communities. The first joint Canada-Newfoundland Fisheries

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<sup>171</sup> John C Kennedy. "At a Crossroads: Newfoundland and Labrador Communities in a Changing International Context" *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 34, August 1997, p. 301.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> McCann, p. 88.

<sup>174</sup> Kennedy, p. 309.

<sup>175</sup> Major, p. 419.

<sup>176</sup> Kennedy, p. 309.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Peter Gard, "Outport Resettlement 20 years later" *Canadian Geographic*, Vol. 105, June/July, 1985, p. 9,

Household Resettlement Program was implemented in 1965. Under it, 143 communities totalling another 16,000 people were resettled between 1965 and 1970.<sup>179</sup> This new scheme required only eighty per cent support within a given community to initiate a move and the amount of money given to each family was increased.<sup>180</sup> All told, between 1954 and 1975 more than 250 communities were resettled to so-called growth centres. This affected not only the communities themselves, but also an idea upon which Newfoundland society was constructed. These tiny outport settlements were being systematically dismantled while remaining the representation of Newfoundland life.

Critics of these programs have argued that Newfoundland did not develop any more in terms of full employment, self-sufficiency and lack of poverty than it had since its original settlement.<sup>181</sup> Cato Wadel, in his study regarding the implications of outport resettlement, notes that the urban-industrial sector of the economy was not able to absorb the growing population, as unemployment in 1969 at the time of his report, was the highest in the western world.<sup>182</sup> As he contends, “the resettlement process has to a large extent been to minor centres, which, although boasting better services, often have a more meagre ecological base and employment situation than the communities that have been left”.<sup>183</sup>

Peter Gard revisited Placentia Bay in 1985 to discover what impact the resettlement programs had on the communities there. Initially, only three communities were resettled; however, under the second Fisheries Household Resettlement Program 15

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<sup>179</sup> Kennedy, p. 309.

<sup>180</sup> Gard, p. 9.

<sup>181</sup> See O’Hollaren p. 34.

<sup>182</sup> Cato Wadel, *Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland: A Study of Strategies and Implications in the Resettlement and Redevelopment of Outport Fishing Communities*, (St. John’s: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1969), p. 3.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

island outports and 14 mainland communities all voted to resettle.<sup>184</sup> This involved the movement of 814 families. The official growth centres were all connected to St. John's by highway. As Gard notes, "The outports that people had left behind had had adequate schools and churches, wharves, gardens and shops. It was years before the new communities matched the old in these kinds of services and amenities. Moreover, in these designated growth centres, the best land was already taken, the cost of living was high, and jobs were much scarcer than the new arrivals had been led to believe."<sup>185</sup> Gard concluded that those who stayed in their communities did no worse than those who chose or were required to move.<sup>186</sup> He posits that, "There is enormous nostalgia for the bay's 'lost' outports, but few who moved 20 years ago would be willing once again to uproot themselves and move back to their old homes on the islands. Those who have already risked everything once in a gamble for a better living are not likely to be swayed a second time by vague thoughts that life was better before."<sup>187</sup> However, how would these residents feel in re-visiting one of these communities as tourists?

### **Tourism in Newfoundland**

Much like Scotland, Newfoundland has developed along with its tourism industry. Tourism has been viewed as a means of economic development more or less since the 1880s.<sup>188</sup> The Newfoundland tourism industry began by promoting Newfoundland as a playground for the wealthy elite wishing to undertake hunting and fishing expeditions.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Gard, p. 10.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>188</sup> Seymour, p. 34.

<sup>189</sup> James Overton, *Making a World of Difference*, (St. John's: Institute for Economic and Social Research, 1996), p. 103.

Susan Williams argues that the promoters of Newfoundland tourism saw the fishing and hunting holiday as a good way of acquainting foreign capitalists with the resources and investment opportunities in the interior of the province.<sup>190</sup> Improvements in ocean transport and the construction of the trans-island railway in 1898 increased its accessibility. Since that time people have been traveling to Newfoundland to explore, paint and photograph, hunt, fish and study natural history and culture.<sup>191</sup> Even then, an eye was kept to the idea of diversifying an economy that was so reliant on the fishing industry.<sup>192</sup> As Lee Seymour notes, “Since the late nineteenth century tourism has repeatedly been regarded as one solution to the economic and social problems which have plagued the province.”<sup>193</sup> In 1925 the Newfoundland Tourist and Publicity Association was formed. He continues, noting that they promoted the province’s ‘scenic beauty, historic association and pleasantly temperate climate’ as a means of attracting tourists.<sup>194</sup> Improvements were continually made, and Newfoundland’s attempt at becoming a site of mass tourism was aided by the construction of the trans-Canada highway, which was completed in the 1960s.

Even at this early stage, Overton observes, Newfoundland recognized that advertising was a key element in developing this industry.<sup>195</sup> As he asserts, “[m]any visitors, it is clear, come to Newfoundland for the culture, the ‘quaint way of life’ which is made much of in tourist adverts.”<sup>196</sup> He argues that local producers have created an

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<sup>190</sup> Susan T. Williams, *Images of Newfoundland in Promotional Literature, 1890-1914*, Master’s Thesis, Montreal: McGill University, 1980, p. 68.

<sup>191</sup> Overton, p. 102.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Seymour, p. 34.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>195</sup> Overton, p. 103.

<sup>196</sup> Overton, p. x.

idealised vision, a ‘Real Newfoundland’ that is made up of “romantic and picturesque images of the rural areas of the province”.<sup>197</sup> Seymour also notes that Newfoundland’s “culture and outport economy can also be marketed as traditional, historic, and quaint, despite the local dependence on UIC payments and welfare”.<sup>198</sup>

However, with these images was the continued hope that tourism would play a key role in revitalizing Newfoundland’s economy.<sup>199</sup> As Maureen Doody notes, “tourism has played an important role in a government rural/regional development strategy by promoting opportunities for capital accumulation and employment”.<sup>200</sup> Lee Seymour views tourism as a *raison d’être* for the continued existence of outport Newfoundland. Tourism has the ability to restore or preserve this seemingly vanishing way of life.<sup>201</sup> But has this been done at a cost?

The emphasis on tourism, as a means by which to maintain the Newfoundland way of life, followed the Smallwood era of modernisation and industrial growth. Tourist advertising and promotion celebrated the rural way of life with the outport community and family fishery as the focus. Seymour, in his analysis of tourism policy following the 1979 Tourism Agreement with the Federal Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, states that “The ‘conservation’ of Newfoundland culture is thus an essential prerequisite for the current tourism strategy, and the development of tourism in turn can provide a powerful justification for cultural conservation”.<sup>202</sup> He recognised that the tourism industry formed part of the provincial government’s strategy for economic

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<sup>197</sup> James Overton, “Promoting ‘The Real Newfoundland: Culture as Tourist Commodity’”, *Studies in Political Economy*, No. 4, Autumn, 1980, p. 115.

<sup>198</sup> Seymour, p. 34.

<sup>199</sup> Doody, p. 7.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>201</sup> Overton, *Making a World of Difference*, p. 104.

<sup>202</sup> Seymour, p. 33.

development. Newfoundland's tourism strategy continues to reflect an emphasis on experiencing nature, history and a different culture first hand.

### **State Tourism**

The government of Newfoundland and Labrador states that,

For Newfoundland and Labrador there is no such thing as an accidental tourist. It takes deliberate action to visit here...compelled by curiosity and the promise of what's unique and different in our culture, history, lifestyle, nature and dramatic scenery. This is an arresting and compelling destination, because of the blend of our unique offerings - exclusive products, dramatic seascape and landscape, significant history, distinct culture and genuine people.<sup>203</sup>

Newfoundland and Labrador's contemporary tourism strategy targets middle-class urban tourists who, as Seymour describes, are seeking an "alternative to 'mass tourism' of the Disneyland type, or the air-conditioned Jamaican high-rise holiday with its perceived consumerism, impersonalization, and isolation from local cultures and ways of life".<sup>204</sup> Newfoundland and Labrador markets itself as an alternative, emphasising the traditional, rural way of life.<sup>205</sup> In the 1980s, "the myth of an authentic 'back region' for guests to experience when visiting Newfoundland was promoted and emphasized through tourism ads, brochures, sites and attractions, and policy".<sup>206</sup> Tourists were offered the opportunity to glimpse the everyday way of life, so often hidden from view.

The Official 2005 Travel Guide for Newfoundland and Labrador focuses on the many scenic tours available, and details the various attractions and adventures, shops,

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<sup>203</sup> Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, "Travel Trade" available at <http://www.gov.nf.ca/tourism/mainmenu/trade/default.htm>

<sup>204</sup> Seymour, p. 33.

<sup>205</sup> Doody, p. 48.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

studios and galleries, festivals, events and accommodations. The Guide begins with messages from the Premier and the Minister of Tourism, Culture and Recreation. Almost identical to the 2004 Guide, the 2005 edition focuses on Newfoundland's connection to the land, its people, and its culture. Each guide prominently features an inscription written on a stone in Gros Morne National Park. It reads:

I have been to India to lift my spirit, to Vietnam for its beauty and serenity, to Australia for its adventure. Then I came here, and the colour of everything that I had experienced faded in the face of this vibrant place.<sup>207</sup>

By stating that a visitor had written it, they are asserting their place within the tourist market. In staking their claim as the “original gateway to North America”, they assert their place within the continent.

The pictures presented focus largely on sweeping landscapes such as the cover photo of one person standing amid the vastness of the glacier-carved freshwater fjord at Western Brook Bay. The some nineteen pages of background information feature 63 pictures, the majority of which focus on Newfoundland's natural surroundings. The Guide also celebrates the ‘quaintness’ of coastal communities and the people who live there. It states that, “with such a diverse population of wildlife it almost seems like people are in the minority in Newfoundland and Labrador. That’s just how nature likes it here”.<sup>208</sup>

The welcome section of the guide is dotted with so-called testimonials of past visitors. Each comments on a different aspect of the Newfoundland experience including

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<sup>207</sup> Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, *2005 Travel Guide*, (St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2004), p. 5.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

the warm hospitality they received, the awe-inspiring landscapes and the festive atmosphere. The anecdote regarding Battle Harbour reads as follows:

This is a quiet, beautiful time capsule now. I'm told it once bustled and roared with the noise of the Newfoundland and Labrador fishery in full scale. What history! And preserved so well, I can almost see the schooners lined up at the wharves, their sails waiting to catch the wind at sea. This is the old capital of Labrador they say. The buildings stand waiting and ready, just as they did centuries ago. We're supposed to leave today, but...maybe tomorrow.<sup>209</sup>

Both guides contain ads for Woody Island but make no mention of what it may be. As well, neither guide makes mention of Hebron or the Moravian church.

### Woody Island

Woody Island, located in Placentia Bay, was once home to 400 people. Touted as an authentic resettled community, the legacy of resettlement plays a large part of how this site is marketed and presented. The Woody Island Resort is operated by Island-Rendezvous, a tour company located in Mount Pearl, a suburb of St. John's. The resort boasts "spectacular scenery, comfortable accommodations, excellent service, traditional Newfoundland meals, live entertainment and a wide variety of activities."<sup>210</sup>

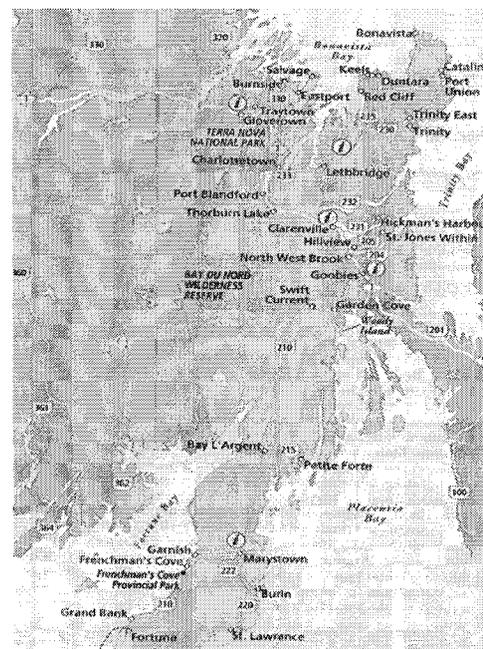


Figure 13 Woody Island

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>210</sup> Woody Island Resort, "Why is Woody Island Resort Different", 2004 available at <http://www.woodyi.com/main.htm>



On its website, the producers of Woody Island proclaim that it is one of the “hundreds of fishing villages from which people were relocated under the government resettlement program”.<sup>211</sup> Not only does the tourist have an opportunity to stay in an authentic resettled community but also may visit other resettled communities in the area.

As well, included on the website is a brief history of settlement on the island as well as a discussion of the local businesses, economy, and politics. It tells the tale of the first settlers to the island as well as those of prominent citizens.

Along with details of the island, the website also contains a promotional video. This video paints a very romantic portrait of outpost life. While other sites hide their past, Woody Island embraces it and uses it as one of the main selling points. The video comments that:

Though seemingly frozen in time, time finally overtook this simple way of life in the 1960s. In an effort to consolidate public works and services, thousands of these tiny communities were resettled. Abandoned now, except for the seagulls and the few fishermen who return each summer, they remain alive in memories of another time, another way of life.<sup>212</sup>

The video goes on encouraging the tourist to “explore the history and the culture and the traditional way of life of the people who once called these communities home”.<sup>213</sup> The

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

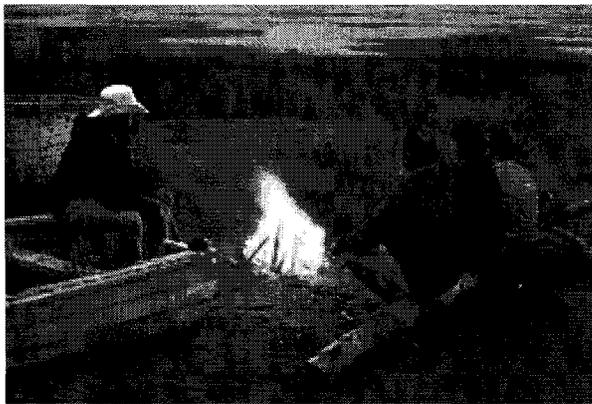
<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

tourist is told to enjoy the “serenity of this unique outpost experience” visiting “communities that now lie in ruin, abandoned dreams of an abandoned way of life”.<sup>214</sup>

The resort itself offers a fairly regimented two-day agenda in which the tourist’s schedule is broken up into approximately hour long activities. Meals are

prepared in keeping with the ‘finest of Newfoundland cuisine’. Everything is seemingly controlled; from the arrival of the tourist through a sheltered inlet from Garden Cove, to the evening of local musical entertainment and subsequent picnics on the beach. The tourist even has the opportunity to ‘chat with any local fisherman’ should they desire to



**Figure 16** Visitors can enjoy bonfires on the beach

do so.

Guests stay in one of three lodges. The homes themselves are newly constructed but the tourist is assured that care has been taken to

achieve authenticity. The resort also offers camping grounds for groups of campers as well as meeting facilities for businesses, training, and office retreats.

This site is seemingly trying to be all things in one. It is presenting an image of what has been constructed for outsiders as the truly Newfoundland experience, while also

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

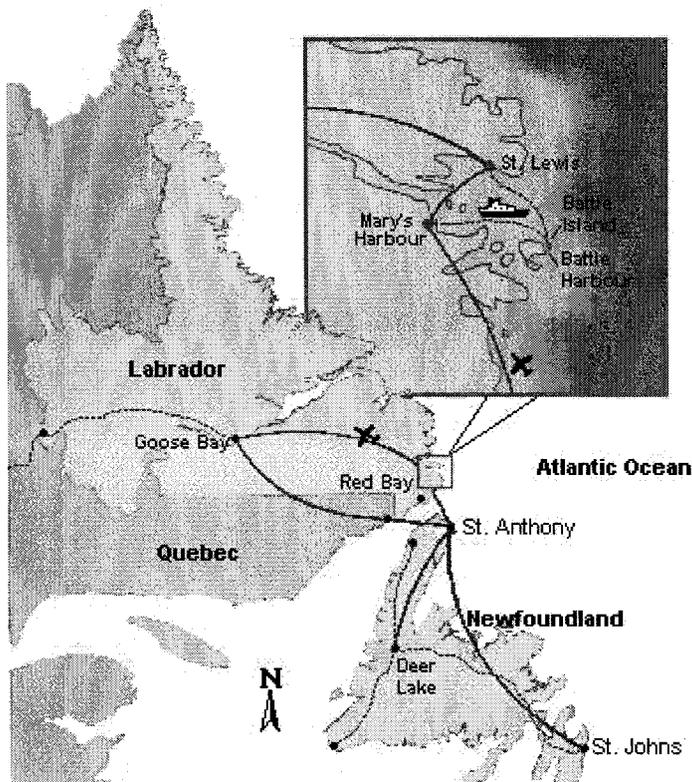


**Figure 15** One of the isolated scenic coves a tourist can explore when visiting Woody Island.

trying to attract local groups for meetings, retreats and vacations. In doing so, what little history is mentioned is lost in the site's presentation. This site has made itself accessible by becoming an entertainment complex that caters to an ideal instead of representing any kind of reality. It promotes itself as a place to experience the traditional Newfoundland way of life, but meticulously staged and scheduled. Created and operated by a travel agency, this site seems primarily motivated by economic interest.

### **Battle Harbour**

Battle Harbour, located on the southeastern Labrador coast represents a much different way of remembering. Residents were resettled between 1965 and 1970. This



**Figure 17 Battle Harbour**

outport was founded around 1775 as a fishing and trading centre. By the late nineteenth century, Battle Harbour had a permanent population of over 300 people and developed legal, religious, education and health facilities. This site was revived by the Battle Harbour Historic Trust, established in 1990 with the goal of “heightening awareness of the historic community at Battle

Harbour throughout Canada”.<sup>215</sup> Battle Harbour now stands as “a living commemoration of the life and society created there by Newfoundlanders and



**Figure 18 The Waterfront**

Labradoreans during the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries”.<sup>216</sup> This site is recognized through the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada as the National commemoration of the Labrador fishery and was designated one of Canada’s National Historic Districts.

The Trust is aided in this restoration by the Battle Harbour Development Association which is a non-profit organisation established in 1989 with the aim of promoting socio-economic development in the communities of Lodge Bay, Mary’s Harbour and St. Lewis.<sup>217</sup> Its mandate is “to preserve, present, and promote Battle Harbour and its cultural resources”.<sup>218</sup> The Battle Harbour Regional Development Association’s website does recognise the history of resettlement in the community as they state that, “Battle Harbour was – like so many other Newfoundland outports – resettled. The majority of the community’s permanent residents were relocated in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s to nearby Mary’s Harbour.”<sup>219</sup> Battle Harbour has also received funding from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency. Of

<sup>215</sup> Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, “Battle Harbour Historic Trust – New Life for Historic Site” April 27, 1998, available at <http://www.acoa.ca/e/media/press/press.shtml?819>

<sup>216</sup> Battle Harbour Historic Trust Inc, “Today” available at <http://www.battleharbour.com/index.html>

<sup>217</sup> Battle Harbour Regional Development Association, “Background” available at <http://www.southeastern-labrador.nf.ca/communities/bhrda.htm>

<sup>218</sup> Southeastern Aurora Development Association “Battle Harbour Historic Trust” available at <http://www.southeastern-labrador.nf.ca/battleharbour/historictrust.htm>

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., “History of Battle Harbour” available at <http://www.southeastern-labrador.nf.ca/battleharbour/bhrhistory.htm>

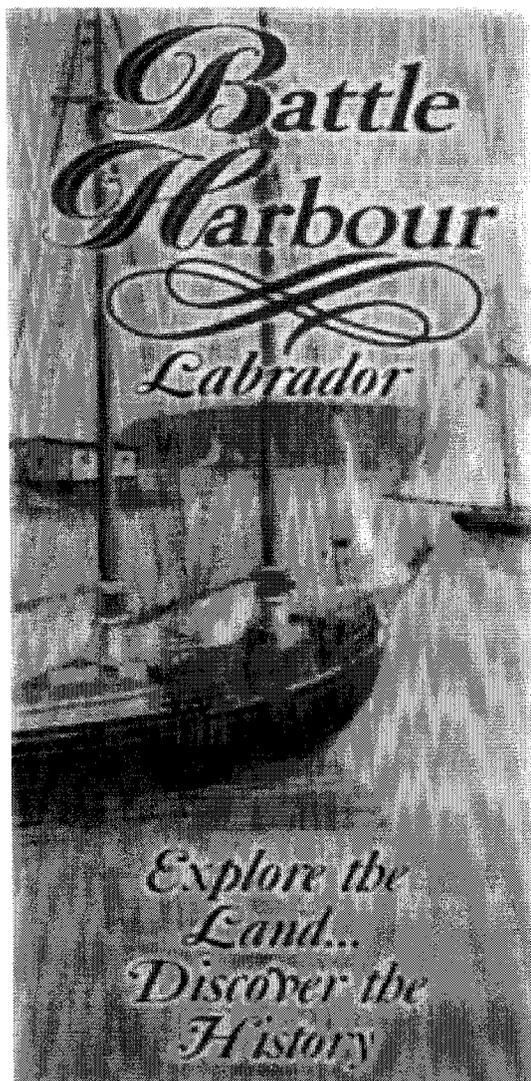


Figure 19 Battle Harbour brochure

the investment MP Lawrence O'Brien stated that, "[t]his project advances Battle Harbour's adventure tourism appeal; it also diversifies the economy of the area".<sup>220</sup> Emphasis is seemingly placed on the economic benefits and not what is actually being presented.

The website itself provides information on the history of the site as well as travel and accommodation information. The brochure features two schooners in front of a lone house and uses the tag line 'explore the land... discover the history'.

Battle Harbour is also home to an interpretive centre that "tells the story of the community and its people".<sup>221</sup> Twenty historic structures have been preserved and restored along with connecting walkways within the village. There are also more than 300 artefacts on display, which are related to the fishery as well as everyday life. The website notes that, "six years of research and painstaking architectural restoration has breathed new life into this unique, historic place".<sup>222</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Lawrence O'Brien as quoted by ACOA.

<sup>221</sup> Southeastern Aurora Development Association, "Battle Harbour" available at <http://www.southeastern-labrador.nf.ca/battleharbour/battleharbour.htm>

<sup>222</sup> Battle Harbour Historic Trust Inc "Today", available at <http://www.battleharbour.com/index.html>

Due to its location, tourists are invited to stay in any one of the site's many accommodations. These include the Battle Harbour Inn, a Bunkhouse that operates as a type of hostel, along with cottages that are more suited for families. Guided tours are also available.

Battle Harbour, therefore, has been given a certain authenticity by having the federal government recognise it as an official National Historic District. As well, the site has the aid of local organisations that are trying to encourage people to come to the area. There does not seem to be an emphasis on a story being told but on artefacts that can be viewed and experienced. While no doubt historically accurate, Battle Harbour is presented as a celebration of the Labradorian way of life narrated through the restored buildings and sanctioned by the federal and provincial governments.

## Hebron

The site of Hebron, on the Labrador coast, is a case in which the government would like to assert their version of the past on the region but are having to confront those who were removed. Hebron is one of the



Figure 20 Hebron, Labrador

most northerly settlements in Labrador, located 200 km north of Nain. It was founded as a Moravian mission station in 1830. When the mission closed in 1959, it led to the

removal of the 58 families who lived there. Akin to other resettled communities, a decision was made that the people would be 'better served' by relocating them further south.<sup>223</sup> The finances of the mission were reviewed and it was determined that it could no longer sustain itself. So, in 1959, the mission was closed and shortly thereafter the other resources and services left as well. As Kevin Major notes, "the Inuit left Hebron without a voice, and against their will."<sup>224</sup> Although not part of the outport resettlement programs operating within Newfoundland as such, the resettlement took place during the same time period and centred around the belief that the population would be better served elsewhere.

In 2004, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency announced that the Mission building would be preserved. Hebron was declared a National Historic Site and the subsequent press release stated that,

Parks Canada officials understand the significant tourism potential that can result from the proper stabilization, refurbishment and interpretation of the Moravian sites at Hebron and Hopedale... Tourism related opportunities for Hebron are further magnified by the work of the Torngat National Park planning process, which is already well underway. Any investment in Hebron's built heritage and other related heritage tourism attractions in the region will help plant the seeds for future economic benefit and related job creation on Labrador's coast.<sup>225</sup>

The Moravian Mission established nine mission stations along the Labrador coast with Hopedale and Hebron designated National Historic Sites. The National Park is to include Hebron and the surrounding area and is aimed at enticing adventure travelers.

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<sup>223</sup> Major, p. 420.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., p. 421.

<sup>225</sup> ACOA, "ACOA Supports Moravian Mission Stabilization Project at Hebron", March 5, 2004, available at <http://www.acoa.ca/e/media/press/press.shtml?2798>

Currently, two cruise ships dock at Hebron on a regular basis and the long-term goal of ACOA with regard to Hebron “is to offer an anchor attraction to an upscale target audience including history enthusiasts and adventure tourists”.<sup>226</sup> Little is mentioned of resettlement and the subsequent problems that have arisen because of it. Focus has been put on improving the economy of the area and tourism is seemingly the answer.

However, there are those who object to the area being turned into a national park. Some of the Inuit who were removed are continually fighting to regain the use of their land and to resettle close to their original home.

### **To What Effect?**

Increasingly, the Newfoundland Government is relying on tourism as a means of economic development in underprivileged areas. As Overton argues, “[w]hat is being packaged and sold... is the heritage of centuries of underdevelopment”<sup>227</sup> Coined, the ‘traditional way of life’, poverty and hardship are romanticised, labelled as quaint and celebrated. Economic interests permeate these endeavours, and this is readily apparent in the construction of Hebron. The attempt to transform it into a tourist attraction is the perfect example of the attempt to use tourism to boost an economy. In an area where problems are continually increasing, it is curious that the solution would be to bring tourists in to vacation on land that has been re-imaged as a National Park. What does this say to the population who were removed only to see their home as a destination for numerous cruise ships?

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<sup>226</sup> ACOA, “Funding Approved for Five Projects in Northern Labrador” March 26, 2001, available at <http://acoa-apeca/gc.ca/e/media/press/press.shtml?1459>

<sup>227</sup> James Overton, “Promoting the Real Newfoundland”, p. 119.

The Island Rendezvous travel agency has also taken a resettled community and created an attraction that is one big presentation. Woody Island is a representation of what tourists are taught to believe what outpost life might have been like, with every little detail seemingly controlled and managed. Like the Geyarrannan black houses, Woody Island is a modernized outpost wrapped up in a romantic vision of the past. It takes a step further, however, playing on stereotypes to entice the tourist to visit. As Doody notes, “Ironically, many local people of Newfoundland are utilizing the tourism industry for the sole purpose of rejuvenating their outpost settlements, in the hope that their communities do not become more ‘Woody Islands’.”<sup>228</sup>

As well, the Newfoundland and Labrador Government has been criticised for using ads that promote a stereotypical image of Newfoundland and outpost life. The site that they are most involved in has seemingly attempted to present life as it was, through the recreation of built heritage and artefacts. It is a celebration of the past in general terms.

Do the sites ever come to terms with the circumstances surrounding their resettlement at all? It is a complete contradiction to promote a community that was emptied of people and no longer able to serve its function, as a representation of what the Newfoundland way of life truly is. The state-sponsored sites of Hebron and Battle Harbour look to tell a wider story, to appeal to a wider demographic. Battle Harbour’s target is all of Canada. However as the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency states, “for years, the historic community of Battle Harbour in Labrador, has used its heritage to

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<sup>228</sup> Doody, p. 26.

attract tourists. With ACOA's help the site plans to lure more tourists to the area".<sup>229</sup>

Therefore, the focus seems to be on economics rather than telling a story. As O'Hallaren notes, tourism has the potential to create jobs in outport Newfoundland, however at what price?<sup>230</sup> Island residents do not wish their communities to become another Woody Island and the residents that were removed from Hebron are fighting its recreation.

Woody Island, Battle Harbour, and Hebron each represent a different way of bringing a resettled community back to life. The next chapter will examine the consequences of re-inventing resettled communities, the role that history plays and how tourism helps recreate place identity.

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<sup>229</sup> Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, "Battle Harbour Historic Trust"

<sup>230</sup> O'Hallaren, p. 35.

## Chapter Four

### Analysis

*Celebrating the past was implicit to a sense of nationhood, statehood and locality. It was educational as a means of orientation to one's cultural heritage, but above all visiting historical attractions could be entertaining and relaxing. Historical sites offered a sense of permanence in an ever changing world of new, highly standardized landscapes. Historical flavours served as a counterpart to modernity.<sup>231</sup>*

### Introduction

Producers create heritage sites for a variety of reasons, among them to develop a sense of national cohesion and expand economic development. Regardless of the reasons for their creation, they serve to represent the past and give voice to the surrounding landscapes. Nowhere is this more evident than with resettled communities. They deftly demonstrate that the same initial product can be produced a number of different ways and offer a unique opportunity to examine how tourism affects the way history and heritage are produced and presented to the public. In selling place, producers are selling more than a destination but an understanding and a worldview in an attempt to create the ideal experience for the tourist. Through creating this experience, however, the story of resettlement is often lost. If the spaces themselves do not reflect their histories, then what will?

### Commonalities

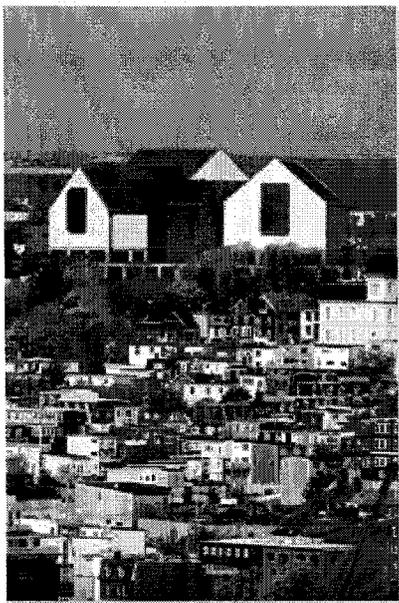
The resettled communities examined in the previous chapters serve many of the same purposes in Newfoundland and Labrador as they do in Scotland. They invite

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<sup>231</sup> J.A. Jackle, *The Tourist*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985) as quoted by Gregory Ashworth, "Marketing the Historic City for Tourism" in *Marketing in the Tourism Industry*, p. 162.

tourists to take a step back into the past, recreating ‘a traditional way of life’. Their development is encouraged by economic interests, and tourist strategies in both regions have shifted their focus to reflect the changing market. Initially, both regions focused on attracting the upper classes, as they were able to devote the necessary time and money to travel lengthy distances and enjoy a sportsman’s holiday. As travel became more feasible, these destinations shifted from being the ‘playground of the wealthy elite’, to focus on attracting the ever growing middle class. Tourist policies are now squarely directed in an attempt to draw as many people in as possible.

Along with the tourism industry, both Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland have most recently profited from offshore oil. The growth of this industry has allowed



each region to re-examine its place within the larger political entity to which it belongs, re-establish traditions, and create new institutions to reflect its changing status. The Rooms in St. John’s was opened in the summer of 2005 and brings together the Province’s Museum, Archives and Art Gallery under the same roof. Built to resemble the fishing rooms, it stands out among the St. John’s landscape as the focus

**Figure 21** The Rooms

of Newfoundland’s cultural space. Edinburgh now plays home to the New Scottish Parliament, representing the devolution of power from the British Parliament. Meeting for the first time in almost 300 years in July 1999, the new Parliament at Holyrood was

officially opened in October, 2004.

Additionally, the Museum of Scotland was built and “presents for the first time the story of Scotland - its land, its people and culture - through the rich national collections”.<sup>232</sup>

Designed in 1991, for most, it resembles a

castle and is located in Edinburgh’s Old Town.



**Figure 22 Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh**

These institutions are the latest

manifestation of the ongoing process to reaffirm each region’s culture and identity. As Gold and Gold note, Highland history and tradition was reinvented in the nineteenth Century in large part to meet a broader social and political agenda.<sup>233</sup> The Gaelic revival of the present day is tied to the idea of resistance and the battle against oppression.<sup>234</sup> As Macdonald notes, “Within romantic discourse, Gaelic culture seems to act as a repository for many of the qualities which the urban, industrialised and rational world to the south lacks”.<sup>235</sup> Newfoundland culture has been through the same reinvention, most recently since the 1970s. This cultural renaissance was in reaction to the changing economic and political contexts and often focused on a lament for “a distinctive way of life rooted in the outports” which emphasised “the destructive efforts of mass culture and North American values on ‘traditional culture’ and attempt[s] to preserve and revive this unique

<sup>232</sup> Trustees of the National Museum of Scotland, “Welcome to the Museum of Scotland”, available at <http://www.nms.ac.uk/scotland/home/index.asp>

<sup>233</sup> Gold and Gold, p. 147.

<sup>234</sup> Sharon Macdonald, “A People’s Story: Heritage, identity and authenticity” in Chris Rojek and John Urry (eds), *Touring Cultures; Transformations of Travel and Theory*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 161.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

culture”.<sup>236</sup> James Overton believes that this revival is largely based on the assumption that there is a single distinct Newfoundland character or culture.<sup>237</sup> This culture is one that has developed organically in isolation and does not acknowledge the divisions or contradictions in people’s behaviour.<sup>238</sup> The belief that both outport Newfoundland and Labrador and highland Scotland have a distinctive culture has led to the creation of tourist attractions that reinforce this notion.

The ongoing contemplation of self is, in part, because both Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland are failed nations. Intertwined within their histories is the legacy of failure and the repeated attempts to construct an ‘imagined community’ as Benedict Anderson terms it. This ‘feat of imagination’ requires commonalities amongst its members including a shared sense of the past, entailing both remembering, and forgetting in common. National identities however, are constantly being renegotiated and reconstituted depending on what is going on in the present day.<sup>239</sup> As Glassberg notes, “historical imagery disseminated by government and mass media advance the imagined community of the nation while suppressing authentic local and group memories and collective identities”.<sup>240</sup> This national identity is promoted through a shared sense of historical experience.<sup>241</sup> In re-creating resettled communities, the emphasis is on strengthening the national narrative and not local experiences. One aim of government-sanctioned sites in both regions is to foster a sense of collective awareness and identity

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<sup>236</sup>James Overton “A Newfoundland Culture?” in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 23, Nos. 1 & 2, Spring/Summer 1988, p. 6.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>239</sup> Osborne, p. 3.

<sup>240</sup> Glassberg, p. 12.

<sup>241</sup> Osborne, p. 7.

that is supposed to lead to national cohesion.<sup>242</sup> This process also entails the reconstruction of “place”. As there is no inherent identity to places, these can be constructed and reconstructed at will. One of the greatest challenges in refurbishing existing communities is seemingly to convince the local population to act in accordance with the desired vision. Devoid of inhabitants, resettled communities lack a present day population to challenge the re-creations.

Each story of displacement involves a population that had to relocate, redefine home and subsequently their ‘heritage’. These communities have carved out their own spaces in their new locations. Each group has created associations, gatherings, and societies to maintain ties to home. As McLaughlin notes, “more perhaps than the images of Culloden, Robert the Bruce or William Wallace, the displaced Scot stands as a representative character of Scottish life”.<sup>243</sup> And more often than not, this Scot comes from the Highlands. The same can be said for outport Newfoundland and the displaced Newfoundlander. Almost all of the resettled communities have been recreated as ideal places to spend some time, where the tourist can be part of what life was really like. If the displaced population is representative of each region, why is their story not being told?

Instead, imagery of the ocean, isolation, and rural life is presented to the tourist and used to attach a sense of identity to each place. As Osborne states, “...landscape constitutes a discourse through which identifiable social groups historically have framed themselves and their relations with both the land and with other human groups, and that

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<sup>242</sup> Osborne, p. 7.

<sup>243</sup> McLaughlin, p. 1.

this discourse is related epistemologically and technically to ways of seeing.”<sup>244</sup>

Tourism does not create new social relations; it merely reinforces the old ones. This is especially the case with resettled communities. The discourse is effectively ended once the recreated images are packaged and sold. The resulting images and stories are reflective only of those who are producing them. The communities and their inhabitants are romanticised and who they are disappears; the context of their resettlement is missing.

Both outport Newfoundland and Labrador and highland Scotland have been described using the language of underdevelopment and peripheral regions. David McCrone agrees with Ian Carter who criticises how the Highlands have been conceptualised in the past, noting that “the conventional way of seeing the Highlands was as an archaic, pre-capitalist, even feudal region whose future lay in opening up its traditional way of life to the market forces of the modern economy”.<sup>245</sup> James Overton has made much the same argument about Newfoundland. These regions are united by the story of rural underdevelopment and the impact of modernity. These constructions have been perpetuated, as Seymour notes, “[u]nderdevelopment, backwardness, and poverty, if carefully packaged and managed, can become a marketable commodity for tourist consumption. The appearance, however, may be very different from the reality.”<sup>246</sup> The places that were emptied of people represent the poorest of areas, housing those who were merely surviving, but now whose lives are being glorified and mythologized in retrospect. Each way of life has been held up as *the* representation of its country or province, which raises questions about their authenticity. What unites these two locations

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<sup>244</sup> Osborne, p. 5.

<sup>245</sup> David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation Second Edition*, (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 68.

<sup>246</sup> Seymour, p. 34.

are not the journeys they have taken but that these journeys have taken place. Each region is promoted as a place to ‘go back to your roots’ where the tourist can find traces of a bygone era and peace in their surroundings. However, the sites and images presented can often be misleading. Ian McKay begins his work *The Quest of the Folk* by examining a postcard. He discusses how there are numerous ways of seeing the image depending upon the context. He notes that the photograph is presented as a ‘realistic’ representation of the way things used to look.<sup>247</sup> For McKay this is problematic as the onus is placed on the caption to interpret and assign meaning for the viewer.

Transform, in your mind, the words “A simple Life, House 8 x 10 Mill Cove N.S.” into “The Heathen Poor upon Our Coasts.” Then replace those words with “Starvation and Suffering through Capitalist Underdevelopment.” The “meaning” of the photograph changes, even to the extent of the details that are readily noticed. And these are not alternative captions chosen at random: they constitute the historically existent alternative ways of seeing people such as these.<sup>248</sup>

How the picture is framed creates the reality for the viewer regardless of the intent of the photographer or the circumstances in which it was taken. This allows for new interpretations and manipulation of the past. Resettled communities are framed by the stories that are affixed to them. Glorifying a traditional way of life masks the reality of the former inhabitants. As McKay cautions, “[t]o rewrite the history of subaltern classes and groups in ways that ostensibly pay them homage, all the while draining their history of specificity, is one subtle and effective method of preserving their inferior position.”<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Ian McKay *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in the Twentieth-Century*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), p. xii.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

This is arguably what is being done to the majority of the resettled communities examined in this study.

### **Heritage versus History**

Both Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland are attempting to realise the potential of heritage tourism as a means of economic development. As a growing niche market, heritage tourism relies on artefacts from the past to distinguish and celebrate each region. The United States' National Trust for Historic Preservation defines heritage tourism as "traveling to experience the places, artefacts, and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present".<sup>250</sup> Problems arise out of the fact that economic interests often drive heritage tourism and the primary objective is seldom authenticity. This niche market within the tourist industry is only going to continue to expand while affording little time to contextualize what is being presented.

However, heritage tourism does provide an opportunity not only to reflect the national narrative but contest it as well. Local communities are able to take control of their own environments and reinforce their own narratives. The Strathnaver Trail lies in sharp contrast to the presentation of the Highland clearances found in Dunrobin Castle. At the seat of the Sutherland family, tourists are guided through the castle with stories of the Sutherland ancestors, their place in history and the family's relationship to the Highlands, along with the nature of the various possessions on display.<sup>251</sup> The Countess of Sutherland makes mention of the Clearances in her forward to *Dunrobin Castle: Seat of the Countess of Sutherland*:

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<sup>250</sup> Cheryl M Hargrove, "Heritage Tourism" available at <http://crm.nps.gov/archive/25-01/25-01-4.pdf>.

<sup>251</sup> Gold and Gold, p. 149.

In the early nineteenth century the Marquess and his wife Elizabeth proceeded to make large-scale improvements to Sutherland's communications, land and townships which involved the clearance of some 5000 people from their ancestral dwellings. The Sutherland Clearances, together with other Highland clearances were bitterly resented and remain to this day the subject of many books and plays. The House of Sutherland continued improvements in the County throughout the nineteenth century....<sup>252</sup>

The emphasis is placed on the process of improving conditions and that it was part of a larger movement. In contrast, the Strathnaver Trail project provides far more context to the events of the Clearances and is able to contest the notion that they were little more than an attempt to improve the region's infrastructure.

### **Site Comparison**

The Strathnaver Trail remains the one site in this study that actually seeks to represent the history of its immediate environment. It has been given the task, not of entertaining the tourist, but of telling one specific story. This project mainly looks to commemorate, and is largely directed at a local audience. The remains of the Clearances are situated among other remnants of the past. The story is told on plaques, which are erected near the existing remains at each site along the trail. While these plaques do serve to frame what is being viewed, they provide necessary context. It is not promoted by national tourist organisations and remains a local effort with control of the product and marketing resting with the local community. The involvement of area residents is obvious in that a local schoolteacher provided the text for the plaques and it is left to the local schoolchildren to tell the story of the Clearances at the museum. This site

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<sup>252</sup> Anon., as quoted in Gold and Gold, p. 150.

represents purely local interests and does not seem to be aimed at a wider audience in an attempt to make a larger profit. The history takes centre stage instead of the tourist experience.

Woody Island, in contrast, represents a constructed environment whose sole aim seems to be economically based. Run by a tourism agency, it is the only site which glorifies in its resettled past and uses this authenticity as a true selling point. This entertainment complex is aimed at realising the tourist's expectations. If the construction of Newfoundland life did not consist of a windswept outpost, peopled by fishermen, then Woody Island would not exist in the way that it does. Playing on pre-existing stereotypes, this representation is ostensibly what the tourist wishes to experience. This site is aimed largely at 'outsiders' who are willing to purchase this 'unique' experience. Woody Island's promotion relies on picturesque images of rural life that are romanticised and framed for tourist consumption. There is little attempt to provide any kind of context to the causes or realities of resettlement. The website focuses on the activities that can be engaged in while visiting, and providing an idealized experience is the ultimate goal.

Although aiming to be more educational than Woody Island, Gerrarannan is largely for entertainment purposes as well. Care has been taken to provide an experience for the tourist to enjoy and the environment has been tailor-made with their comfort in mind. While it revitalizes the now abandoned blackhouses, it lays claims to a bygone era, but with modern day conveniences. Some historical context is provided in the brochure and on their website; however the focus remains on providing an ideal experience for the tourist to enjoy.

Battle Harbour stands as a representation of government interpretation. This site was restored to represent the Labrador fishery and bears the designation of National Historic District. While painstakingly restored, this site is promoted as a way to bring tourists to the area and does not seem to acknowledge the many changes that have occurred within Labrador society. The story seems to be told within the larger context of Canadian history and the resettlement story is not the focus of the site. Battle Harbour represents a case in which the community has been reinvented as the representation of an entire region. Because it is recognised as a National Heritage District, it gains a certain symbolic significance and validity, which leads to an acceptance of what is being presented.

Hebron remains a work in progress. The Moravian Mission Building has been declared a National Historic Site and Hebron will, in future, be part of a National Park. What is unique about Hebron, however, is that its former inhabitants are trying to assert their own meaning and ownership over the land. Hebron is an example where there is a dissenting voice regarding the construction and dissemination of the past. By trying to reclaim the land from which they were removed, the former residents are, in a sense, trying to reclaim their own stories and interpretation of the past. Hebron serves as a battleground where only time will tell whose interpretation will win out. The opportunity remains that it will represent a dissonant voice and not be assimilated under the umbrella of national heritage.

There are seemingly two ways in which these resettled communities have been made more accessible. The first, represented by Battle Harbour and Hebron, is to acknowledge why the site is significant and label it with an official title. Battle Harbour

represents life as it was for those who participated in the Labrador fishery and is promoted as an official representation of this way of life. The second way, represented by Woody Island and Gerrarannan, is to create an on-site experience using claims to authenticity and nostalgia. Aimed at those from away, these sites represent an ideal of what life was seemingly like. Those who have never been to outport Newfoundland and have never seen a blackhouse are able to experience it for themselves.

Each region has reached a point where they wish to assert their own identity without having to acknowledge the failings in their past. However, the majority of these creations are representative of each region's unwillingness to come to terms with past mistakes. Only Strathnaver recognises a dissonant voice to that of the official one. What is largely a tribute to the failings of the past, resettled communities have, in most cases, become a celebration of perceived difference and therefore, uniqueness of what was destroyed by modernisation and the decisions made by previous generations. However, the heritage village approach, which three of the sites employ, seems to represent an ideal of rural living that has been sanitised, with all of the ugliness and exploitation removed.<sup>253</sup>

### **Assessment**

What ultimately is being packaged and sold? These sites ostensibly serve as a reminder of the past, but too often that past is one that has never really existed. The stories that these sites purport to represent lack context and specificity. Newfoundland allows for a new perspective. Along with affluence comes the luxury of a newly

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<sup>253</sup> Overton, "Promoting The Real Newfoundland", p. 130.

informed perspective, an opportunity to look at the past in a new light. Each site has been created within specific environments but reflects a general narrative. In trying to represent a more generic picture, their position and power are lost. Gerald Pocius in his work on Calvert on the Southern Shore of Newfoundland recognises that:

In recent years, Newfoundlanders have become concerned with how their culture is different and with threats from outside corrupting forces. Residents feel torn between preserving a past that often smacks of cultural voyeurism for the sake of tourists, and embracing the benefits of modern North American mass society, with all its inherent limitations.<sup>254</sup>

He goes on to report “my friends in Calvert are frequently puzzled and amused by all of this cultural objectification, this rush to promote certain items as distinctive for such objectifications often have little connection with Calvert itself, and therefore little meaning.”<sup>255</sup> Resettlement policies were never implemented on the South Shore and therefore do not represent a reality for them. They improve their houses as they see fit, having received electricity in 1928 and television in 1954. Their culture does not exist to be represented, but is fluid and constantly changing. For them, the past is not a distant place to be recreated. The residents are conscious of their past, but do not allow it to define their present. The recreated resettled communities are supposed to be representative of Newfoundland life but fail to represent more than generalities. They do not represent the reality of the residents of Calvert, and fail to tell the story of their own residents in the process. Patricia Wood studied two heritage sites in Calgary, Alberta, and concluded that the “presentation of the *time* of the past as a *place* to be visited is the

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<sup>254</sup> Gerald L Pocius, *A Placed to Belong; Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991), pp. 273-4.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276.

central point of distancing the past from the present”.<sup>256</sup> In creating a site that recreates a way of life in order to sell an experience, a culture can become reified. All context is lost, and the representations are not tied to reality.

What then, is actually being put on display? These sites are presenting a culture frozen at one point in time. They are trying to ‘make a show of their own cultural uniqueness’, as Hewison asserts.<sup>257</sup> However, in doing so they are recreating and then reifying a culture that found its base in poverty and dependence. For Overton, it is centuries of underdevelopment that is for sale. Tourism has stereotyped these regions and left them having to contend with the images that have been created for them. Both have this pervasive ideology of dependence, which has seemingly become the “dominant way of experiencing rural and underdeveloped areas”. McCrone agrees with James Hunter that the Highlands have been “systematically oppressed in both economic and political terms by ‘outsiders’, first by the Scottish and then, after 1746, by the British state”.<sup>258</sup> Much the same argument can be made for outport Newfoundland and Labrador. Once controlled by the merchants in St. John’s, the outports now have to contend with Canadian conceptions and ideas.

Questions will always linger surrounding which story the producers choose to tell. However, as Doody notes, “‘Culture can be a contested part of political struggle’ whereby the more powerful elite in society attempt to control it while ‘those who are subjugated use culture in their efforts to resist, and change, the policies and practices of

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<sup>256</sup> Wood, p. 40.

<sup>257</sup> MacCannell in O’Hollaren, pp. 70-1.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

the government”<sup>259</sup> Resettled communities offer the ideal opportunity to resist nationalising forces and present an opposing interpretation. But within the tourism industry, the government plays such a large role that it is able to control the message by controlling the production of the sites themselves. As one civil-rights veteran stated while fighting for interpretive stewardship of the movement and its sites, “If we don’t tell the story or control the telling, then it is no longer about us”.<sup>260</sup> Three of the sites examined stopped being about those who once lived there as soon as they were recreated. The Strathnaver Trail is the only site that tells the story of the original inhabitants and the Scottish government does not play a role in its promotion.

As Ursula Kelly notes in her discussion of marketing place through literature, “As important as it is to have cultural forms which represent us and affirm our range of experiences and realities, it is also important to have, within these same cultural forms, a call to challenge the ongoing social relations out of which these experiences and realities come. In this sense, cultural forms must sow change as they reap solidarity.”<sup>261</sup> Both Newfoundland and Labrador and Scottish societies are founded on resistance and defiance. However, the opportunity to articulate an alternative subject position to the dominant one has been lost. These creations matter. They can represent an alternative experience to the established one. Instead, they are packaged and sold like any other commodity.

Part of the failure to represent dissonant voices is the requirement that these attractions be marketed along with everything else. Bergsma asserts, “If tourism is to be

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<sup>259</sup> Doody, p. 8.

<sup>260</sup> Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, p. 22.

<sup>261</sup> Ursula Kelly, *Marketing Place: Cultural Politics, Regionalism and Reading*, (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1993), p. 61.

used as a vehicle for regional and economic development purposes, we not only need knowledge about the intrinsic physical, socio-cultural and economic potentials for developing a regional tourist product, but we also need to know what possibilities there are for promoting, distributing and finally selling the product.”<sup>262</sup> The images that are presented and promoted have a naturalising effect, creating a specific understanding and way of seeing that are not easily overcome. In his analysis of tourist brochures and images, Robert S. Dilley states that, “While some undoubtedly carry out detailed and systematic investigations of all available sources, there seems little reason to doubt that for many people tourist brochures – obtained from travel agencies or from official government tourist bureaux – play a major role in forming their images; much more so than similar brochures produced by domestic towns, states, and provinces, which are normally only seen on arrival in the area concerned.”<sup>263</sup> Therefore, these images are often accepted as representative of a way of life and a culture. As Osborne notes, “The quest for profit drives the tourist trade; therefore, it is the tourist who is the focus of the industry’s attention.”<sup>264</sup> The producers cannot control how the tourist views a given site, they can only control how the site is presented, and try to direct the tourist’s gaze.

The rise of tourism as an economically profitable industry and the resulting growth of heritage tourism specifically, have led to an increase in these types of attractions which are, for the most part, reliant on the number of people visiting to justify their continual operation. These tourist sites should either be recognised as public history

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<sup>262</sup> Jan R Bergsma, “Planning of Tourist Routes: The Green Coast Road in the Northern Netherlands” in Brian Goodall and Gregory Ashworth (eds), *Marking in the Tourism Industry*, (London: Croom Helm, 1988), p. 89.

<sup>263</sup> Dilley, p. 60.

<sup>264</sup> Overton, *Making a World of Difference*, p. 7.

ventures or recognised for what they are, an entertainment experience. The space for dialogue and thus understanding is missing. Only one interpretation and one way of seeing seems to be presented at any given site.

These sites, largely represent what the travelling public is willing to consume and reveal very little about the circumstances surrounding the clearances or resettlement and present an idealised version of what life may have been like. As tourists visit they are largely unaware that they are part of the ongoing process of re-imagining place. There are consequences to engaging in these tourism efforts. An identity is created and reinforced, which does not necessarily reflect the reality of the place itself or its past.

Ultimately, the question becomes whose heritage is it and whose industry should it be? The creation of resettled communities as tourist attractions is a double-edged sword. While it provides the opportunity to preserve the stories of the past to varying extents, the reality remains that the stories and landscapes are reinterpreted to reflect what the tourist will buy as well as what meshes with the overarching national narrative. As tourism is one of the major industries in both Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland, their respective governments are able to control what is promoted and what is constructed to represent their regions. Only when local areas become involved in the creation of these sites will they be representative of them. The people removed from Hebron are continuing to contest the use of their land as a tourist attraction. Their contestation requires those creating the site to justify its use and how the area is being presented. Only when residents take a stand will these sites change and begin to reflect the stories that continue to be hidden behind the banner presenting the 'traditional way of life'.

**Conclusion**

Tourism represents an opportunity for the state to recreate spaces that are representative of its interpretation of events. What, ultimately, is being sold has yet to be understood, along with the ramifications of reinterpreting the past in such a concrete way. Resettled communities do offer a unique addition to the tourist industry. These ready-made sites provide a distinctiveness not found in larger centres, but often at the cost of physical accessibility. They have the potential to express an interpretation of the past that deviates from the national narrative, instead of reinforcing it.

## Conclusion

This thesis began with the assertion that sites are consciously constructed and presented for tourist consumption. Each resettled community represents an opportunity to give voice to those who once lived there. More often than not, their voice is missing and the tourist learns nothing of their experience. While designed to attract as many people as possible, tourist efforts also provide a glimpse into the culture and identity of the chosen destination. Unfortunately, sites created out of what the perceived tourist wishes to experience, ignore the opportunity to provide some context and insight into past events. Tourism does not have to be solely about selling an experience, but can also reflect local interests and a local point of view.

Tourism, whether acknowledged or not, plays a role in the broader discussion of how the past is remembered and how landscapes and identities are constructed and represented. Tourism should not be dismissed as merely fun and entertainment, a trivial pursuit of the masses, but should be recognised as part of how we are able to define ourselves and tell our own stories. Cultural products come in many forms, and each is able to resist stereotypes as readily as reinforcing them.

We each build our social world around our personal and collective understandings of where we live, our sense of history, and the fact that this understanding may inevitably alter to reflect our ever-changing relation to events, given the passage of time. Allowing communities to remain not only frozen in time but also constructed as representative of a way of life is dangerous, especially when local involvement is minimal. It should be explicit who is responsible for the product presented to the tourist, for therein lies the key

to the presentation of the site and its intended message. People who construct these sites give meaning to their surroundings. Local involvement inevitably reflects local interests and seldom a larger national picture. Community involvement is the key. People are going to have to take on the task of telling their own stories to maintain their place in the national narrative. As heritage tourism increases, more and more locations will be subject to re-creation.

Heritage lends itself well to the practice of tourism. This is not necessarily a bad thing. However, we must always be aware that context is necessary. While tourists may be seeking an experience, this does not necessarily require a space devoid of context and meaning. This thesis presents the same phenomenon packaged in three different ways. The original setting does not seem to be the determining factor in what is constructed, so much as who is responsible for it. Strathnaver represents an effort by the local community to take a hold of their own surroundings. In contrast, a travel agency is responsible for Woody Island and it is little more than a simulation. These two represent divergent strains of the heritage tourism movement. One is solely interested in making money; the other is not a moneymaking venture at all, but reflects an investment in the surrounding environment and the resulting representation. We should recognize Woody Island for what it is – an attempt to create an idealized way of life with all of reality's ugliness wiped away. It presents only what the tourist wants to see and experience, or in essence, what the producers believe that tourists will pay to experience. How did this come to be what tourists want to participate in? Gearrannan and Battle Harbour reflect attempts to represent how the past looked with varying levels of authenticity. However, specificity is lost in both cases.

There is no one generic heritage tourist experience. Expectations, goals, and aims vary from person to person, place to place. However, the experience should not consist of someone gazing on the other or re-affirming their sense of self, but a dialogue between themselves and their hosts. Whenever meaning systems and symbols are used, there is an opportunity to misinterpret or manipulate them. Tourism has the power to create new understandings, to reinforce existing power relations and entrench one way of seeing. Resettled communities should represent a contrasting view to the national narrative. In one way or another, they represent failure – failure to modernize, to put human interests before economic ones, failure of a way of life.

### **Further Exploration**

Research needs to continue with regard to heritage tourism. Tourism represents the opportunity to control the presentation of one's environment as well as a means by which to exploit it. Aims vary for the creation of these sites, from making a profit to an act of commemoration. The motivations surrounding these creations need to be studied further and some kind of structure must be created to make obvious who is responsible for them.

2007 will mark "Highlands 2007", the year Scotland celebrates highland culture and the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its Union with England. The "Clearances Project" is likely to be finished for this celebratory year and it remains to be seen what will be included within its presentation. Lack of funds has resulted in a new design for the monument. The cost of the statue has proved to be too much, and the design was scaled back in size and a new location must be chosen. The project continues and one will have to wait and

see what becomes of the finished product. In light of the new Scottish tourist policy, now, more than ever, it is important to examine how sites such as this are constructed and marketed.

As well, the questions surrounding rural development in Newfoundland and Labrador remain, and the full impact of re-creating outposts as tourist attractions has yet to be examined in detail. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador's *Royal Commission on Renewing our Place in Canada* recognizes the problems of rural sustainability, yet continues to market itself as "a place that stays the same"<sup>265</sup>. The legacy of resettlement still lingers, however, as the commission notes,

The most significant social and economic challenge facing the province today is the survival of rural Newfoundland and Labrador. Any efforts to openly address this challenge are complicated by memories of the 1960s resettlement program, by fears that even discussing the issue will signal the end of rural communities, or by mistrust that decisions will be imposed on people in rural areas.<sup>266</sup>

This is evidenced by the former residents of Hebron, who continue to contest its construction as a tourist attraction. Negotiations continue regarding the presentation of Hebron's space and the finished project has yet to be presented. The development of the site continues; and only time will tell what becomes of it.

## **Conclusion**

People give voice to the places they inhabit. Resettled communities ceased to exist, to grow, once the last resident has left. They survive in memory only. Therefore,

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<sup>265</sup> Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, "Welcome to Newfoundland and Labrador", available at [www.newfoundlandandlabradortourism.com/home/zap](http://www.newfoundlandandlabradortourism.com/home/zap)

<sup>266</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Our Place in Canada: Royal Commission on Renewing Our Place in Canada*, (St. John's: Queen's Printers, 2003), p. 147.

these sites can only be poor copies or new constructions. The tourist who visits will bring a new view, engage in the new identity, and create new memories. Sense of place comes from those who construct and envision it. While these sites serve as links to the past, it is often not the past of those who once lived there. With local community involvement, these sites can provide some historical context, while allowing surrounding communities to continue to grow and change, and not stay rooted in the past.

Illustration Credits

Figure 1: Gard, Peter. "Outport resettlement 20 years later" *Canadian Geographic*. Vol. 105 June/July 1985, p. 10.

Figure 2: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism. *2004 Travel Guide*. St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2003.

VisitScotland. *Scotland: Welcome to our Life, Where to go and what to See 2005*. Edinburgh: VisitScotland, 2004.

Figure 3: Craig, David. *On the Crofter's Trail: In Search of the Clearance Highlanders*. London: Pimlico, 1990, p. iii.

Figure 4: Undiscovered Scotland: The Ultimate Online Guide, 2000-2006,  
<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.com/bettyhill/strathnaver/index.html>  
Last accessed, January 31, 2006.

Figure 5: Gearrannan Blackhouse Village, photo by author taken June 9, 2004.

Figure 6: Undiscovered Scotland: The Ultimate Online Guide, 2000-2006,  
<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.com/lewis/blackhousemuseum/index.html>  
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Figure 7: Caithness.org "Clearances Project Will Enhance Capital of Culture Bid"  
Available at [www.caithness.org/fpb/september2002/clearancesproject.htm](http://www.caithness.org/fpb/september2002/clearancesproject.htm)  
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Figure 8: VisitScotland. *Scotland: Welcome to our Life, Where to go and What to See 2005*. Edinburgh: VisitScotland, 2004, p. 31.

Figure 9: VisitScotland. *Scotland 2004: Where to Go and What to See*. Edinburgh: VisitScotland, 2003, p. 31.

Figure 10: Strathnaver Trail Project. *Strathnaver Trail: Trail Map*. Highland Council, Glenurquhart Road 2003.

Figure 11: Gearrannan Blackhouse Village Brochure

Figure 12: Chafe, Dawn and Pendgracs, Doreen. *Frommer's Newfoundland and Labrador*. Mississauga: Wiley and Sons Canada, 2004, p. 23.

Figure 13: Chafe, Dawn and Pendgracs, Doreen. *Frommer's Newfoundland and Labrador*. Mississauga: Wiley and Sons Canada, 2004, p. 104.

- Figure 14: Woody Island Resort Website, <http://www.woodyi.com/main.htm>  
Last accessed January 31, 2006.
- Figure 15: Woody Island Resort Website, <http://www.woodyi.com/attractions.htm>  
Last accessed January 31, 2006.
- Figure 16: Woody Island Resort Website, <http://www.woodyi.com/attractions.htm>  
Last accessed January 31, 2006.
- Figure 17: Battle Harbour Historic Trust Inc. "Travel",  
<http://www.battleharbour.com/travel.html> Last accessed, November 10, 2005.
- Figure 18: Southeastern Aurora Development Corporation, 2005,  
<http://www.southeastern-labrador.nf.ca/battleharbour/battleharbour.htm>  
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- Figure 19: Southeastern Aurora Development Corporation, 2005,  
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- Figure 20: Gimlette, John. *Theatre of Fish*. London: Hutchison, 2005, p. 178.
- Figure 21: The Rooms Website, <http://www.therooms.ca/abouttherooms.asp>  
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