Breaking Down Barriers: The Role of Public Archaeology and Heritage Interpretation in Shaping Perceptions of the Past

Richard Nevell and Michael Nevell

In 2018, a survey by English Heritage found that children's memories of historic sites, specifically castles, are more likely to derive from film and television than visiting a castle. Ideas about the past become influenced by popular culture. Despite this, heritage sites remain an important resource with tens of millions of people visiting them in the UK every year, including 1.7 million schoolchildren in 2017. The level of interest in the past represents an opportunity to challenge and break down preconceptions about history. Through an examination of community archaeology digs at the castles of Buckton and Radcliffe in Greater Manchester and new heritage displays at the English Heritage castles of Orford, Suffolk, and Pevensey, East Sussex, this chapter will show how the public can engage with history and redefine the borders of their understanding, exploring conceptual rather than physical borders.

Introduction

Archaeologists, historians, and curators working in the heritage sector and in public archaeology aim to help the general public better understand the past and how it is researched and interpreted. This chapter will explore the conceptual barriers around public archaeology and how these are broken down – rather than physical borders – specifically through interactions between the public and professionals and how heritage sites can be used to unpick preconceptions about the past. The final case study in particular will relate public archaeology and heritage to national borders and how events in the present affect the public's perception of the past. While the Brexit debates have given rise to high-profile claims that 'the public have had enough of experts', research indicates there are 'broadly positive public attitudes towards experts' (Dommett and Pearce 2019). Such rhetoric risks diminishing the valuable role of public archaeology and museums.

The historic environment is a powerful force on both a local and national scale. Within communities it contributes towards a 'sense of place', which can in turn enhance a community's social networks (Clark 2019: 256–258; Graham *et al.* 2009: 28). On a larger scale, the historic environment can be used to shape concepts of identity. Castles are some of the most popular tourist attractions in the United Kingdom, attracting millions of visitors every year. Built to reinforce the power and status of a medieval ruling elite, hundreds of these ruins are now open to the public. As tools of conquest and expressions of authority, they can be used to explore identity in the past and the present. The castles built by Edward I in the 1280s to secure the conquest of Wales attract visitors from all over the world. The museums within these and other historic sites in Wales tell stories of conflict which have influenced Welsh national identity (Pitchford 1995: 49–50). Furthermore, the evolving management plan for the Castles and Town Walls of King Edward in Gwynedd World Heritage Site notes that the rise of Welsh nationalism and cultural identity since the castles' original inscription in 1986 changes its cultural value, albeit with mixed emotions for the Welsh since the buildings are relics of conquest (Cadw 2016: 39–44). Meanwhile, in English history, particular events have a singular grip on the public consciousness, such as the battle of Hastings or the evacuation of Dunkirk. For many people their knowledge of the history around such events may derive from formal settings such as classrooms but also informal settings such as museums, popular culture, and films (Lyon *et al.* 2017: 9). This presents a challenge for cultural heritage sites in how they present the past: how do they strike the balance between highlighting the blockbuster moments in history and challenging the preconceptions people may bring with them. This can also challenge the

balance between telling local stories which are relevant to the community physically nearest a heritage site, and which therefore should derive some benefit, and the desire to present enough national and international context to provide familiar touchstones from history. Similarly, with public archaeology bridging the divide between the voluntary and professional archaeologist there needs to be a balance between perceptions of object-driven narratives and ideas of great places and presenting the past in a more engaging and nuanced way.

Community archaeology and museums use very different methods to inform their audiences about the past. Museums generally use carefully curated displays, with selected objects, interpretative text, images, and sometimes interactive elements, all of which contribute to an overall interpretative message about the site. The style, approach, and content varies greatly from site to site depending on a range of factors including available resources and interpretative frameworks. Sometimes there will be a route planned for the visitor, guiding their experience, while at other sites they can follow a more free-form route and make discoveries in their own time. Community archaeology, on the other hand, engages a local population in the hands-on exploration of their heritage, allowing them to participate in the construction of interpretative narratives. The relationship between professional and volunteer archaeologists on a community archaeology dig are very different to museum curator and visitor, because with the former the two groups are often in close contact and able to have conversations about the work as it evolves in the field – there is a shared dialectic (Gibb 2019: 3–5; Mitchell and Colls 2020: 17–19).

In 2018, a survey by English Heritage found that children's memories of historic sites, specifically castles, are more likely to derive from film and television than visiting a castle (English Heritage 2018). Ideas about the past become influenced by popular culture, but this offers an important opportunity for wider engagement. In 2015, Historic Scotland reported a 30% increase in the number of people visiting Doune Castle after it appeared in the television series *Outlander* (BBC News 2015). Two years later, the number of visitors to Framlingham Castle increased by 15% when it was mentioned in a song by popular musician Ed Sheeran (BBC News 2018). The impact of popular culture is evident, but beyond that there is a healthy level of interest in the historic environment. Every year tens of millions of people in the UK visit heritage sites, including 1.7 million schoolchildren in 2017 (Historic England 2018: 18). Beyond the influence of popular culture, there is also the challenge of the adoption of elements of history by the alt-right. One such example is their use of the symbolism of the crusades in Islamophobic acts (Bishop 2019: 246). Through social media, groups of people with a shared interest in the crusades and castles sometimes feature extremist and inflammatory content, including that of a xenophobic and white supremacist nature. In answering both popular clichés and potential extremist appropriations, it is the position of the authors of this chapter that heritage and archaeology professionals have a responsibility to present the past using strategies which challenge received wisdoms and stereotypes ripe for misuse – whether it is about the role of women in medieval society, or the makeup of communities that lived and worked in castles, often assumed to be predominantly male – and present the past in its complicated and messy truth and taking the opportunity to challenge the dominance of identity shaping episodes such as the battle of Hastings. It is a time consuming undertaking and it is a challenge to do so in a way which fits the format of heritage interpretation and public archaeology, often broken down into bite-sized chunks of information.

This chapter will explore the conceptual boundaries between experts and the public and how public archaeology and heritage interpretation can influence the public understanding of the past. This will be done through a series of case studies the authors have been involved with, examining the community archaeology digs at the castles of Buckton and Radcliffe Tower and new heritage displays at the English Heritage castles of Orford and Pevensey. Together they give insight into the practice of public archaeology and how a heritage body such as English Heritage approaches interpretation. Each case demonstrates how the public can engage with history and redefine the borders of their understanding.

Landmark community engagement at Buckton Castle

Built in the 12th or 13th century, Buckton Castle has attracted the interest of antiquarians and treasure hunters since the 1760s, although the first archaeological investigations were not carried out until the 1990s. The site, variously described as an Iron Age hillfort, Roman watch station (both interpretations disproved by excavation), and late medieval castle, lies on the edge of a sandstone escarpment some 4km to the north-east of Stalybridge at a height of *c.* 344m AOD in Tameside, Greater Manchester (SD 9892 0162). The moorlands of the southern Pennines rise above the site to the north and east where they reach a height of 500m AOD. To the east the site is bounded by Buckton Vale Quarry, and because of its proximity to this feature Buckton Castle was first protected as an Ancient Monument on 9 July 1924.

Its prominent position dominates the middle reaches of the Tame Valley and the castle earthworks, etched against the often slate-grey sky, remain a notable landmark lowering over the nearby village of Carr Brook and are visible to commuters using the nearby Manchester to Leeds railway line.

Between 1995 and 2002 the University of Manchester Archaeological Unit (UMAU) conducted a first phase of landscape survey, small-scale excavations, and remedial work, the latter repairing damage caused by illegal digging within the Scheduled Monument. This work was funded by Tameside Council as part of the Tameside Archaeological Survey, a community archaeology landscape research project that ran from 1990 to 2012. That project included the publication of an eight-volume monograph series about the history and archaeology of the borough (*A History and Archaeology of Tameside*) and a second monograph series focusing on key archaeological sites in the borough (*The Archaeology of Tameside*) (Nevell 2019: 114). A second, larger phase of investigation at Buckton was undertaken, also commissioned by Tameside Metropolitan Borough Council, and completed by the University of Salford; the three seasons of excavations between 2007 and 2010 were designed to assess the date, phasing, and extent of the surviving archaeological remains comprising the monument, with a significant community element (Figure 1) intended to widen local participation in the project and to provide training for local archaeology volunteers (Grimsditch *et al.* 2012: 57–60).

The fieldwork undertaken between 1995 and 1997 focused upon accurately recording the surviving earthworks of the castle and investigating an area to the north of the main earthworks through excavation. The earthwork survey showed that the absence of a ditch on the western side of the monument was due to the steepness of the slope rendering its presence redundant. A common school image of castles is the motte and bailey (often with a stone tower on a mound surround by inner and outer banks and walls), although this type of castle is just one variation amongst many. Prior to excavation, it was believed that Buckton might have had an outer bailey to the north of the monument (Nevell 1991). However, excavation work in the mid-1990s demonstrated that a pair of curving banks to the north of the site, the putative outer bailey, was of recent origin. These features were probably connected to earth moving activities associated with the construction of a Second World War decoy site in the early 1940s and the extension of the nearby quarry during the 1950s.

Damage to the interior of the monument in 1999 and again in 2002, caused by illegal digging, led to the excavation of a series of test pits within the damaged areas. These revealed details about the pre-castle landscape, in the form of buried land surfaces sealed by peat layers, and the make-up of the castle platform; radio-carbon dating indicated that a former land surface had been buried by upcast when the castle was built in the 12th century. The 2007 to 2010 excavations were focused upon defining the extent of the castle remains, examining the ditch, banks, curtain wall, parts of the interior and the original northern entrance and the post-medieval southern entrance, the latter of which would prove to be a later insertion. This indicated that the castle was built sometime during the 12th century with a curtain wall and gatehouse, and that it was probably unfinished. A key element of this second

Figure 1: The excavations team during the 2010 season of excavations at Buckton Castle. Volunteers were trained by archaeologists from the University of Salford Centre for Applied Archaeology

programme was the excavation of several sections of the ditch with the intention of locating datable artefacts and palaeoenvironmental deposits that would throw light upon the phasing of the monument and development of the landscape around the castle.

The Buckton Castle project was part of a wider conscious attempt at place building by the local council, using the heritage of the borough and the research of the Tameside Archaeological Survey. As the then-council leader of Tameside, Roy Oldham, noted at the start of the survey 'Until 1990 there had been no attempt to write a full-scale history of the area. This borough has a rich and interesting past and I felt that this should be documented so that we, and future generations, could increase our knowledge and understanding of our heritage' (Nevell 1991: iii). Writing in 2004, on the publication of the eighth and final volume of the *History and Archaeology of Tameside* series, Councillor Oldham noted that 'Taken together the complete set of volumes forms a comprehensive reference source on all aspects of Tameside's history. It is an area proud of its past, and one which is now on the brink of a new and exciting period with improved transport links, major opportunities for economic regeneration and industrial development, as well as enhanced leisure and cultural facilities' (Nevell and Walker 2004: vii). The role of archaeology and heritage, though, was still seen by the council leader as having a key part to play in the redevelopment of the borough. The aim was 'to continue with a programme of archaeological fieldwork and community-based projects which will lead to further publications on key archaeological sites in the *Archaeology of Tameside* series. Such work will supplement the *History and Archaeology of Tameside* volumes

which will continue to provide an essential resource for education, research, and tourism' (Nevell and Walker 2004: vii).

What began as a limited, academic project in 1990 had by 2004 evolved into a wider community-based archaeological survey, the fieldwork at Buckton Castle exemplifying the widening public involvement. Thus, the results of the earlier fieldwork at Buckton Castle, and the Tameside Archaeological Survey were used as the basis for a new, free, visitor centre in the basement of the town hall in Ashton-under-Lyne. This attraction, known as 'Setantii – Tales of Tameside', was dedicated to the archaeology and history of the borough, encompassed a family history centre, and was supported by a small team of heritage volunteers. Opened in 2002, the visitor centre featured aspects of life in Tameside, explained through site, sound and touch, from the Iron Age, though to the effects of the Roman, Viking and Norman occupations, the latter including Buckton Castle. There were depictions of local life from a late medieval market, through the development of industry and transport in the 18th and 19th century, the 19th-century battle to provide clean water using the Longdendale Reservoirs, to the recreation of a 1940s kitchen and a Second World War Anderson Shelter. Finally, there was a biographical feature on 'The People who Made Tameside' covering dozens of local Tameside individuals. The Setantii Visitor Centre welcomed 38,000 visitors in the year before it closed in 2012 due to reduced funding from the local council.

Other long-term outcomes of the fieldwork at Buckton Castle were the extension of the Scheduled Monument area around the site in November 1996 to encompass the earthworks to the north, and the establishment of the Tameside Archaeological Society in 1997 by volunteers involved with the fieldwork at Buckton Castle. This further raised the local profile of the castle, which in turn led to more public visits to the site and in this way the damage to the monument by treasure hunters in 1999 and again in 2002 was rapidly discovered.

The second phase of research at Buckton Castle, from 2007 to 2010, was designed around community involvement. During the three weeks of excavations in 2007 and 2008 and the four weeks of investigations in 2010, up to 20 individuals per day from various archaeological groups from the Greater Manchester area as well as the local community were involved in the investigations. The intention was to provide community archaeology training from the core of professional archaeologists (Grimsditch *et al.* 2012: 96–97). This represented over 360 person days using over 50 different people who completed all aspects of archaeological excavation and recording under the supervision and guidance of professional archaeologists from the Centre for Applied Archaeology at the University Salford. The results of the excavation were shared in an article in *Current Archaeology* and an exhibition at the Portland Basin Museum, as well as a monograph.

Another outcome of the work undertaken at Buckton Castle was its impact on the development of the Dig Greater Manchester community archaeology project which ran from 2011 to 2016 (see below). Funding for this project was provided by the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities (AGMA) plus Blackburn and Darwen Council using the model of annual support developed for Buckton Castle and the Tameside Archaeological Survey, perhaps not surprising since the AGMA lead for the project was the Tameside council leader, Roy Oldham.

Finally, the work at Buckton challenged the antiquarian view of the site's origins and form. Late 20th- and early 21st-century archaeological field techniques placed the castle's foundation firmly in the 12th and 13th centuries. It was probably associated with the earls of Chester, whilst landscape survey showed that it was part of a subgroup of enclosure castles. This fieldwork also disproved the notion that it was just an earthwork. Rather, Buckton was one of the earliest stone castles in North West England. The case study in the next section, Radcliffe Tower, also explores a site in Greater Manchester where community archaeology played an integral role in adding value to the site from archaeological and societal perspectives.

Radcliffe Tower, local community, and identity

Radcliffe, an industrial suburb of Greater Manchester, is centred on the 19th-century bridge across the River Irwell, roughly 9km north-west of Manchester. However, the original historic core of Radcliffe lies c. 1.5km to the east of the bridge within a great bend of the river. Here lie the remains of Radcliffe Tower (SD 7958 0751), one of the oldest structures in Greater Manchester, adjacent to the medieval church of St Mary and St Bartholomew. The present ruined tower at Radcliffe is just a fragment of a much larger complex built by the de Radclyffe family in the later medieval period and challenges the public's idea of what constitutes a castle. Radcliffe Tower is a defended manor with a peel tower, a type of site that emerged in the 14th and 15th centuries that was associated with the gentry rather than the nobility (Goodall 2011: 333–334). The community investigation allowed the complex history of the site and its relationship to the more visible defended sites of the late medieval period in the region to be explored and explained to a wider public.

Traditionally, the ruins are linked with the licence to crenellate, or fortify, the manor house issued on 15th August 1403 by Henry IV (Nevell *et al.* 2016: 7). The licence described the building James de Radclif was allowed to create; he was allowed 'to enclose his manor of Radclif ... with walls of stone and within them to make a hall with two towers of stone and to crenellate the walls, hall and towers and hold the manor as a fortalice' (Lyte 1905: 255). While James would have had some flexibility in what he built, not least because licences of this sort were often more important as status symbols (Davis 2006–2007: 227), it gave an indication of the key features the site may have possessed in the early 15th century.

The site of the hall and tower attracted the interest of local historians in the late 18th and 19th centuries, when it fell into ruin and the timber hall wing was demolished in the 1830s. A local campaign to save the ruined tower led to it being protected as a Scheduled Monument in June 1924 and as a Grade I listed building in July 1966. The site was bought by Bury Council in 1981 and conservation work undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s.

Excavations in 1961 inside the north-eastern corner of the tower failed to reveal any medieval archaeology beyond the wall foundations. However, excavation of five trenches by the Bury Archaeological Group in 1979–80 immediately west of the tower revealed the remains of a timber-framed wing (Tyson 1985). On the north-western side of the site, in Trench A, those excavations also found evidence of an outer wall fronted by a broad shallow ditch. This is believed to be contemporary with the construction of Radcliffe Tower and appears to have replaced an earlier ditch, set further to the south, which was recorded in Trench C. However, excavations in 2013 have thrown doubt on whether this was a ditch, or rather a trackway, and on the date of the wall, which might be a post-medieval feature.

In 2007, three evaluation trenches were dug along the modern haulage road by Oxford Archaeology North, which crosses the Scheduled Monument area. This work uncovered medieval and post-medieval remains, in the form of cobbled surfaces, a hearth, stone and clay foundations, and a stone culvert, to the west and north of the tower at a depth of c. 1m (Nevell *et al.* 2016: 12).

In 2011, Radcliffe Tower was chosen as one of the sites to be investigated by archaeologists from the University of Salford as part of a region-wide community project called 'Dig Greater Manchester' (Nevell 2019: 77; Thompson 2015: 151–152). The project was funded by the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities and Blackburn with Darwen Council (Nevell *et al.* 2016: 4–5). A two-week community excavation was undertaken in 2012 and found 19th-century housing south of the tower and earlier stone foundations associated with the complex. Additional support for community archaeology at Radcliffe Tower came from the Heritage Lottery Fund in 2013, who grant-aided the Radcliffe Heritage Project. This was a partnership between Bury Council, Bury College, the University of Salford and local

Figure 2: Aside from the volunteers taking part in excavations, the Radcliffe Tower project drew significant interest from the local community

volunteers (Nevell *et al.* 2016: 6). The project was designed to inform interpretation and presentation of the remains and to consolidate the tower. The intention was to incorporate it within the neighbouring public park, thereby improving Close Park as a local community asset. In 2013 and 2014, the project partners excavated the site of the medieval hall range and dug within the tower itself. This confirmed that extensive remains of the foundations of the timber-framed hall range did survive, although most of the medieval deposits within the tower had been removed during the 19th century. A detailed survey was also undertaken by the volunteers of the surviving fabric of the tower, confirming that it originally had three stories, with a vaulted undercroft and heated rooms above accessed by a stone staircase. The Dig Greater Manchester project returned to the site in 2015 having chosen the site as one of two flagship community digs due to its popularity with volunteers (Nevell 2019). A six-week excavation stripped much of the site of the late medieval hall, recovering a regionally significant grouping of late medieval and early post-medieval pottery (Figure 2).

Dig Greater Manchester was a five-year community engagement project (2011–16), designed to widen participation in heritage within the Greater Manchester region (Nevell 2019: 77). The project aimed to provide community archaeology education and training across the region to explore the impact of community archaeology on participating individuals, local groups, and communities as well as to explore the impact of industrialisation in the region. This was done through excavating eleven sites in

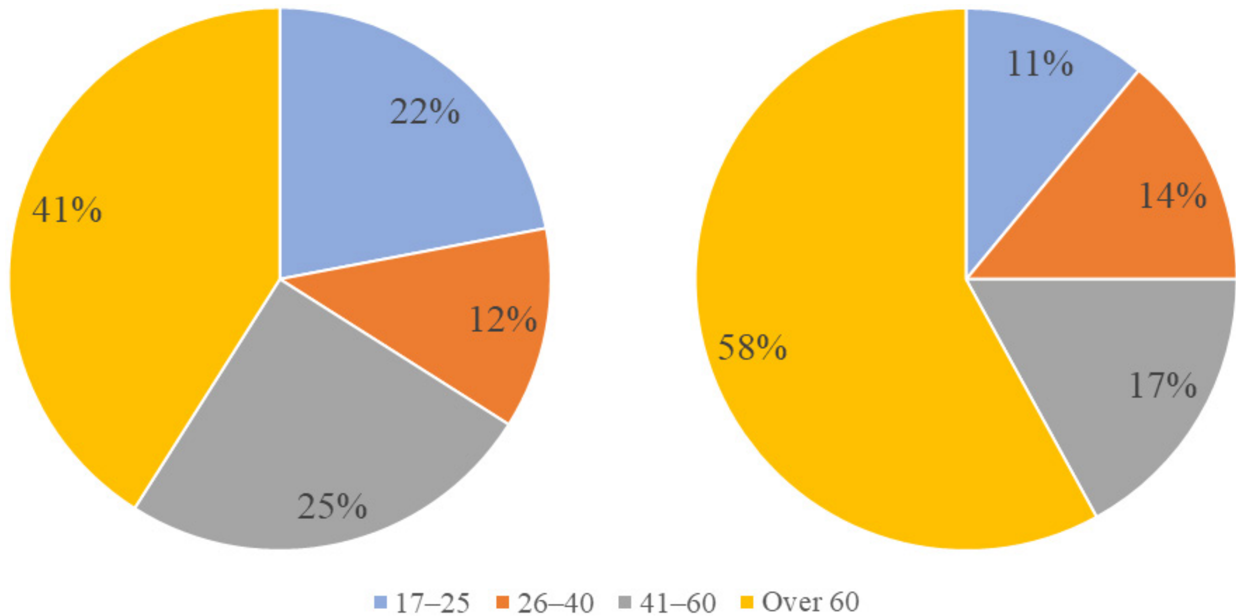

Figure 3. The age groups of volunteers taking part in excavations around Greater Manchester (Nevell 2019: 84). Left: age groups taking part in the DGM survey. Right: Age groups of volunteers at Radcliffe in the survey

Greater Manchester and one in Blackburn and Darwen Council. The project was run by the University of Salford's Centre for Applied Archaeology (C*f*AA), in conjunction with the Greater Manchester Archaeological Advisory Service (GMAAS). A small professional team oversaw the delivery of the project, with additional support from the staff of the C*f*AA and the GMAAS. The late Brian Grimsditch (died 2015) managed the day-today delivery of the project along with Vicky Nash (community archaeologist) and Sarah Cattell (education archaeologist). Kirsty Lloyd joined the team in 2015 and Adam Thompson provided overall management of the project.

The philosophy of the project was to make these sites easily accessible to as wide a range of the public as possible, thereby encouraging participation, helped as all these sites were on publicly accessible local council land, close to bus, rail and tram routes. The eleven sites investigated by the project ranged from textile mill workers' housing and factory owners' houses to a farm, a cavalry barracks, and Radcliffe Tower, the oldest of the sites excavated.

The impact of the project was recorded in a variety of ways. Adult participants recorded in detail their experiences through a purposely-designed feedback form, whilst 66 lectures and 116 training workshops across 11 local authorities in the region were undertaken. At the time, Dig Greater Manchester was one of the largest community engagement projects in the UK, engaging 1588 adult volunteers 2,409 open day visitors, and 3,406 school children, as well as producing two conferences, two major publications, an exhibition, and an archaeology festival which closed the project in 2017 (Nevell 2019: 77–78).

1,588 individual adult volunteers participated in the project between 2011 and 2016. Of these 741 agreed to take part in the feedback survey, with 212 ultimately filling in the feedback forms, giving a sample size of 28.6% for those taking part. This was similar to the 25% response rate for community archaeology surveys run by the Council for British Archaeology in 2010 and 2018 (Thomas 2010; Frearson 2018). The gender split in those filling in the forms was 62% female and 38% male, and this reflected the

overall gender split on the eleven excavations. The breakdown of ages can be seen (Figure 3) and again, observation from the excavations and workshops indicated the responses to the survey was representative of the overall demographics of the participants. This also echoed the experience of local archaeology and heritage groups whose membership is focussed on those over 50 years of age, whilst those in their 20s and 30s are less likely to join. The adult volunteers at Radcliffe Tower could be broken down as follows. The gender split in the 35 volunteers filling in the forms at Radcliffe Tower was 68% female and 32% male, slightly higher for females than the overall gender split on the eleven excavations. Figure 3 also shows the age groups of the volunteers taking part in at Radcliffe Tower, with a greater share of over 60s represented than in the Dig Greater Manchester project as a whole.

29% of the adult volunteers participating in Dig Greater Manchester already belonged to a local archaeology or heritage group, whereas for just Radcliffe Tower this figure was higher at 34%. At the beginning of the project there were 14 local archaeology and heritage groups within Greater Manchester, with a membership in excess of 1,000. However, 71% of those volunteering and responding to the feedback form did not belong to a local heritage group. These individuals found out about the project in a range of ways from posters in the local library, local press reports and social media, to personal recommendation.

In terms of the activities undertaken on site, those individuals who did not already belong to a local group had the least experience of archaeology in terms of fieldwork. However, nearly all of the feedback respondents, 98%, had visited a heritage site within the previous 12 months. For the purposes of the feedback form a heritage site was described as either an archaeological site, historic building, historic park or garden, monument, museum, or heritage event. Of respondents, 5% thought that the interaction with the professional archaeologists was satisfactory (3% at Radcliffe), 23% good (23% at Radcliffe) and 71% very good (71% at Radcliffe). 92% of those questioned (but only 88% at Radcliffe) were interested in further archaeology or heritage training, whilst 65% (but just 63% at Radcliffe) would attend future community archaeology digs for a fee (Nevell 2019: 84–85).

Finally, 99% of the adult volunteers who responded described themselves as White British, although this figure for Radcliffe was slightly lower at 95%. This contrasted with the ethnicity of the school children visiting the site, who better reflected the ethnic make-up of Greater Manchester, which according to the 2001 census comprised 88.9% White, 6.5% Asian, 1.7% Black and 2.9% other (Nevell 2019: 85).

The Dig Greater Manchester Project also sought to examine how participation in community archaeological excavations with a mixture of volunteers from different local areas might encourage the emergence of a group-based place identity. Working with a psychology lecturer from the University of Salford, Dr Sharon Coen, the Dig Greater Manchester project undertook specific work on this topic. The 'I Dig' study aimed to explore, using qualitative methods, the idea of identity involved in participation in community-based archaeological initiatives. In particular, the Dig Greater Manchester project was interested in whether, and how, individual participation in the digs had an impact on the volunteers' identification with, and attachment to, the local area and the local community (Coen *et al.* 2017: 212–213).

Dr Coen and her team used focus groups with 24 participants (11 male and 13 female) in five areas of Greater Manchester (Chadderton, Manchester, Radcliffe, Salford and Stockport) involved in the project during 2014 and 2015. The 24 participants were selected to reflect the range of ages and occupational statuses and to ensure the sample included participants of both genders.

Focus groups were held, where possible, in local community spaces in the area where the digs had taken place to facilitate local participants. At each focus group the researcher welcomed participants and encouraged them to talk freely when the questions were asked but not to talk over one another. Each

focus group lasted between 50 and 60 minutes; they were recorded and transcribed with all identifying text removed.

Insights from the focus groups suggest, firstly, that place identity is a complex phenomenon and that the boundaries and characteristics of place and what it means to 'belong' to a place are continuously negotiated by individuals. Indeed, by participating in the dig, people for whom the local area is an important part of their identity move from a personal to a social (community-based) account of the local history and heritage. This in turn helped them to move from the concept of 'my' place to 'our' place. At the same time, although at an individual level people might not identify with the local area, by interacting with other members of the community and learning about the local heritage, they could develop a sense of belonging. Participants spontaneously referred to the importance of the 'Home' dig, thus illustrating how exploring heritage in the local area contributes to the development and strengthening of an individual's link to the local area and its community. A second important finding concerned the important role played by stories in fostering a sense of connection to a place (in terms of its history and heritage) as well as to the local community. This supports the literature on the important role that stories play in the narrative construction of the 'Self'. Coen also observed that the dig seemed to foster the emergence of a social identity (Coen *et al.* 2017: 220–222).

A limit on the study's conclusions was the self-selection of the sample: volunteers who offered to take part in the focus groups were in most (but not all) cases people who were particularly enthusiastic about the experience. This restricted the applicability of the results to the entire body of volunteers, whilst suggesting that future community archaeology projects might usefully employ a larger study sample.

The results of the community excavation at Radcliffe Tower fed into the renovation and extension of Close Park at a community asset, turning the area into a medieval heritage quarter for the borough. The park was upgraded through landscaping and new paths which extended the park to encompass the tower and the scrubland that formally surrounded it, in the process removing an old access road that ran by the tower down to a local gravel quarry. More direct heritage legacies were a series of information boards and heritage trails that included Radcliffe Tower and explained its origins and impact on the wider landscape. Finally, both projects left a legacy of trained heritage volunteers involved with managing the park, tower, and the local medieval parish church. These outcomes are probably the most significant long-term impacts of both the Dig Greater Manchester and Radcliffe Heritage projects.

The work at Radcliffe Tower showed how a community project can engage with complex site histories and identities. This complexity extended beyond the emerging role of the site as a late medieval defended manor house. The projected was able to shift the perception of those undertaking the fieldwork about the value of communal exploration and the significance of the contribution of the volunteers to this discovery process. Having considered the role of public archaeology, the following two case studies explore how museum interpretation can help the public address misconceptions.

Using Orford Castle to challenge preconceptions

The ruins of Orford Castle in Suffolk (TM 4194 4987) look very different to the recognisable and imposing great towers at Kenilworth or the Tower of London. The keep stands on its own without the curtain walls that are an integral part of castles such as Corfe or Goodrich, leaving it looking almost naked; they are conspicuous by their absence. The centuries-old tower combines a central drum with rectangular towers in a way that has very few parallels. Sir Arthur Churchman bought the castle and gave it to the Orford Town Trust in 1928, and was transferred to the Ministry of Works in 1962 (Brindle 2018: 40). The castle remains an important part of local identity, and the Orford Museum moved into the castle's upper hall in 2005 (Orford Museum 2017). This was the setting for a new interpretation programme carried

out by English Heritage between 2016 and 2019, with a new guidebook prepared by Stephen Brindle and visitor experience developed by Richard Nevell, Angharad Brading, and external contractors ATS Heritage and Leach. To ensure that the castle's value to the community was maintained, the project worked with the curator of the Orford Museum to ensure consistency across content. In doing so, the project sought to address a number of preconceptions about castles and the Middle Ages, from the role of women to the notion that everything was designed around defence.

Before the project began, on-site interpretation rested primarily on the guidebook and an audio guide; the only interpretation panels were to be found in the castle's upper hall as part of the exhibitions curated by the Orford Museum. While the audio guide was free, the guidebook was an additional cost. Although the Orford Town Museum displays mentioned the castle, they focused on the history of the town rather than the castle specifically. In the same way that the Setantii Visitor Centre involved volunteers and told the history Buckton Castle and its surrounding area, the Orford Museum's content explores the history of the wider area beyond the castle and draws on the resources of the local history society. Its position near the top of the castle also meant that by the time people arrived at it they had usually already experienced most of the castle. There was therefore an opportunity to introduce a new approach to the public presentation and it was decided to install interpretation panels complemented by a multimedia guide populated with reconstruction drawings, animations, and voice actors to help visitors explore the site, as well as produce a new guidebook. As the residents of the area have a vested interest in the castle, English Heritage arranged an open day to give them a preview of the content of the multimedia guide and to seek their feedback to improve and adapt what was being presented to the public.

Castles are typically presented to the public as male-dominated spaces. A survey of five guidebooks produced by Historic Environment Scotland since 2007 found that named men far outnumbered named women, from as high as 14 to 1 with a low of 7 to 1 (Dempsey *et al.* 2019: 357). In part, this is due to the nature of the historical sources available, which typically focus on men; however, as Dempsey *et al.* (2019: 357) noted in the case of Threave Castle, two named royal women were absent from the guidebook's narrative until the 2017 edition, even though they had both lived at the castle. Considering that a fifth of castle owners in England and Wales between 1272 and 1422 were women (Rickard 1999: 38–39), ratios between 14:1 and 7:1 in Scotland fall short enough to suggest there may be other factors contributing to the disparity. Perhaps one such factor is the well-established format of guidebooks, typically split into sections giving a guided tour of the site and another detailing the history of the owners (Dempsey *et al.* 2019: 363). This familiarity in format may contribute to re-treading familiar narratives even when writers are consciously trying to tell a story which is not just about the male elite in medieval society. Orford Castle's history is littered with named men, and unusually for a 12th-century castle we know the name of the person who oversaw the construction (Brindle 2018). Its early history in particular was shaped by some larger-than-life characters, especially Henry II (for whom it was built), Thomas Becket (on whose confiscated land it was founded), and Hugh Bigod (a powerful earl who held the nearby castle at Framlingham). The challenge was to explore this history without marginalising the role of women. The multimedia guide took an approach to exploring the spaces within the castle and how they would have been used, while the guidebook detailed the overall history of the castle. This gave English Heritage the opportunity to foreground people who might otherwise be overlooked.

It was especially important to visibly include women since 'the past is peopled in the minds of most academics by a 'norm' consisting of adult males, which marginalises and makes invisible both women and children' (Crawford and Lewis 2009: 10). Compounding this, castles are often presented as masculine spaces to the exclusion of all else (Gilchrist 1999: 121). The audio guide being replaced had a single narrator leading visitors from room to room. For the multimedia guide a range of characters were chosen through which to explore the history of the castle: male and female, young and old, elite and non-elite. The characters in the multimedia guide would appear in the illustrations on the display panels (Figure

4), creating continuity across both forms of interpretation.

The concept of gendered space within medieval households was represented in the audio guide, which described the chamber in the mezzanine above the upper hall as a 'lady's chamber'. The reason for this interpretation is unclear, but may have been generated by the room's relative privacy and seclusion, linking to the idea that 'Given the crowded nature of the accommodation (in castles generally), it was probably best for everyone, especially the women themselves, if they kept away' (McNeill 1992: 29). Spatial analysis by Amanda Richardson (Richardson 2003: 163) has found that within medieval palaces queens' chambers were typically further from public areas and ceremonial spaces than those belonging to the king. This reflects a different kind of authority and role in the social hierarchy to that of the king, but does not necessarily negate it altogether. At Orford, the chamber in the mezzanine above the upper hall is today inaccessible without a ladder, and in the Middle Ages would have been accessed by a gantry running behind the timber ceiling of the upper hall. There is gendered space within the castle, as indicated by the presence of a urinal in a passage to one of the chambers, however there is little to indicate this particular room was specifically a female domain. Moreover, the lack of a heat source within the room and an absence of natural light along what would have been the only access route suggests this was not a space for high-status members of the household. In describing the room as a 'lady's chamber' and attempting to highlight the presence of women the audio guide had physically distanced them from the visitor as the room itself cannot be reached today.

Figure 4. Before displays panels were installed at Orford Castle in 2019, visitors' options for interpretation were the audio guide (free) or guidebook (not free)

In the multimedia guide, the array of characters included the constable's wife – Isabella, who married Bartholomew de Glanville, a constable in the 1170s. This created the opportunity to show to the reader that elite women had some power in the Middle Ages and would be head of the household in their husband's absence. As such, the character introduces visitors to the upper hall, an elite space within the castle, and explains her role. In the reconstruction drawing of the upper hall there was a conscious decision to ensure that she was present but to avoid activities such as sewing which are popularly conceived as being female.

While the content of the pre-existing audio guide was generally accurate, on one notable occasion it included a widely held assumption which is not backed up by evidence. It stated that the average

person's height in the Middle Ages was 160cm (5' 3"). With audio guides, the underlying sources are essentially invisible, so where this comes from is a matter of speculation. The short height of medieval people is one of a series of stereotypes in popular circulation, including the widely held misconception that medieval people did not wash (Harvey 2020). These notions probably derive from the assumption that living standards were lower (Ohio State University 2004). A study of skeletal remains from England found that average heights fluctuated over time, but around AD 1100 the average height of an adult male was 173cm (5' 8"), close to the average height of an adult male in England today (Galofré-Vilà *et al.* 2018). This belongs in the same category as the notion that spiral stairs in castle rose clockwise so as to hinder right-handed attackers (English Heritage 2020; Marnell 2016). A wide ranging study of spiral staircases in medieval buildings found that while most were clockwise (70% in castles) a large minority were anticlockwise (30%), there was no indication that there was an intention to hinder attackers. They were more important as a status symbol (Ryder 2011: 294, 303–304). Both of Orford Castle's spiral staircases – one spanning the height of the castle and the other providing access between the lower hall and the mezzanine above – fall into the category of clockwise spirals. Addressing an inaccurate narrative requires more than simply removing the initial inaccuracy as it can take on a life of its own, and silences in interpretation invite substitutions from other sources of knowledge (Jones and Nevell 2016); for a myth as widespread and often repeated as this, an explicit rebuttal is needed while substituting an alternative explanation. Hence, within the content in the multimedia guide was a description of the spiral staircase which addressed its use, noting that it was designed to be wide so as to act as a means of display.

When creating content for a museum it is important that it is accessible and engaging to ensure the message reaches the audience. The new interpretation at Orford Castle attempted to challenge preconceptions about the past that people bring with them to historic sites, addressing some issues directly while also shifting the focus of the narrative around the castle. In doing so, the project reached out to the local community in the form of the Orford Museum and an open day for local residents. The feedback forms were largely positive, with suggestions that helped improve the guide; perhaps the biggest endorsement of the content came from a visiting school, where the children would listen to the guide and then repeat what they'd just heard to their friends because they found it interesting.

Challenging preconceptions is a worthwhile endeavour but one which has to be handled carefully. Myth busting has an allure that spawned a long-running television series based on the concept, but the enjoyment lies in the journey from 'a lot of people think that...' to 'here is what we think now we have done some experiments'. In a museum setting, there is typically little scope for that kind of discussion around minor issues, so the key challenge is to present the information to the audience in such a way that it makes visitors feel that they have learnt from the experience rather than feeling foolish for believing something incorrect or talked down to. The multimedia guide was an effective way of doing this, with snippets of content people can engage with in their own time and with a tone that encouraged people to explore their surroundings. Importantly, the open day also gave the local community the opportunity to be involved in the interpretation process, enhancing their involvement with local heritage. The next case study also explores the public presentation of a historic site, one where its complex history resonates with modern discussions of national identity.

Exploring complex histories at Pevensey Roman Fort and Castle

Sitting on England's south coast, about four miles north-east of Eastbourne, the history of Pevensey Castle (TQ 6444 0477) spans more than 1,700 years. Such is the allure of the area's storied past that local councils, tourist boards, and commercial partners created the '1066 Country' brand. That Norman invasion and especially the battle of Hastings are key touchstones of English history and both appear

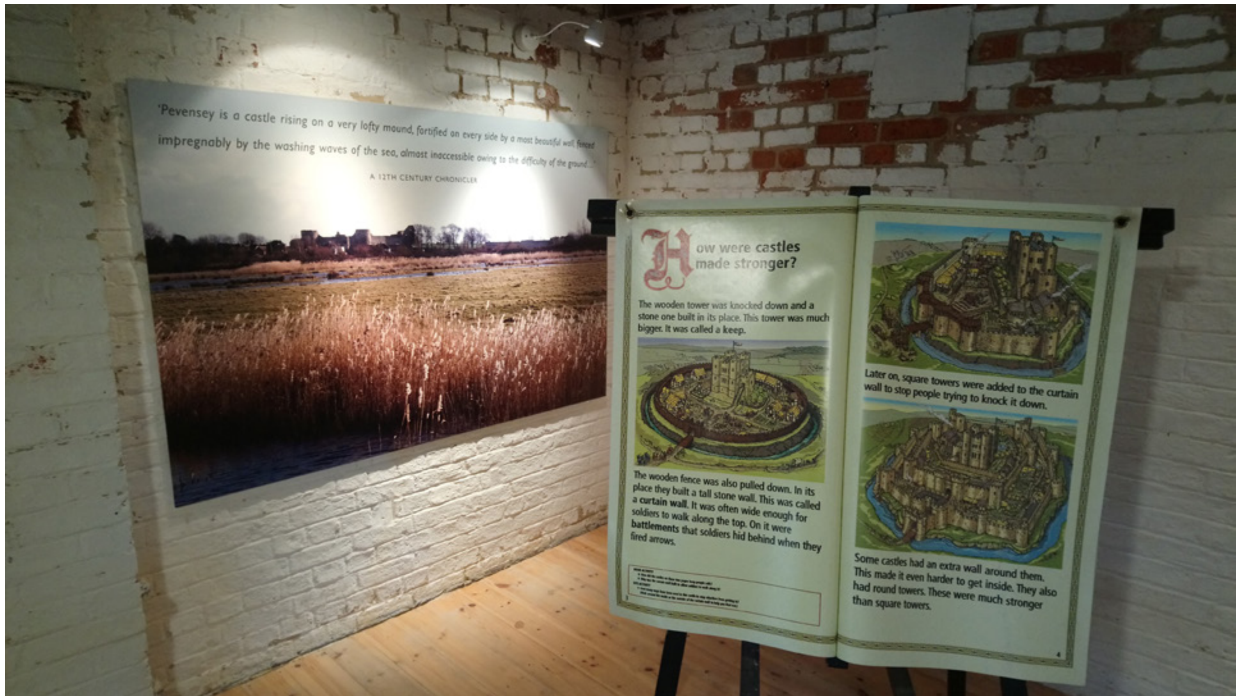

Figure 5: Some of the displays in the north tower at Pevensey Castle that were replaced in 2019. The large book on display is commonly found at English Heritage castles; it tells a story of a generalised evolution of castle design, putting emphasis on the defences

in the syllabi for AQA and OCR. In 2019, the English Wikipedia article on the battle of Hastings was read more than 800,000 times (WMFLabs Toolforge 2020), placing it in the top 0.5th percentile of the most read pages amongst the 15,514 articles related to the history of England.

Between 2017 and 2020, English Heritage refreshed the interpretation at Pevensey Castle. A new guidebook was written by Roy Porter and new displays and exhibitions prepared by a team including Will Wyeth, Richard Nevell, Mary Canham, Kathryn Bedford, and external contractors Anonymous Associates. Pevensey is a complex site with a rich history, and this presented a number of challenges when English Heritage began the process of renewing on-site interpretation in 2017, two of which will be considered here. Firstly, though the site is called 'Pevensey Castle' it is in fact a medieval castle built in the corner of Roman fort. This naming convention primes the visitor to expect a medieval site, but the first ruins they encounter are nearly a thousand years older than the surviving core of the castle. It also invites confusion over whether a Roman fort is a castle. As a site with links to William the Conqueror it is important to balance this with other aspects of Pevensey's history, and ensure that these are not drowned out. Visitor expectations influence the approaches to presentation taken by curators and museum professionals (Crane 1997: 47), and in the context of Pevensey the importance of 1066 acknowledged across the region would need to be addressed. The other challenge was that the project began at a time when nationalist sentiment was at the forefront of public consciousness due to Brexit. Some news stories explicitly linked Pevensey's Roman history to Brexit, exacerbating the challenge of how to present this episode of history.

The castle and Roman fort at Pevensey provide different experiences to the visitor, though in theory they are co-located. The Roman fort occupies an area of nearly four hectares, the high outer walls presenting an imposing façade which encloses an area lacking in visible Roman features. This part of the site later became the castle's outer bailey. Public access to this area is free, while entry to the castle's

inner bailey is paid for. Anecdotally, many visitors will come right to the pay barrier, peer around the inside of the castle, before leaving having already 'experienced' the Roman part of the site. While there are external display panels in both the inner and outer baileys, the key areas of interpretation are in the north and east towers (Figure 5), which is not immediately clear from the entrance to the inner ward. The pay barrier which helps to fund the running of the site also presents a barrier to participation and public engagement. At Pevensey in particular, it is possible to experience the site without crossing the pay barrier; arguably the castle looks more impressive from the outside, and the Roman fort is an ideal place for picnics and young families to explore and run about. A small number of interpretation panels also allow visitors in the free area to experience part of the curated interpretation. The blurring of the lines between Roman fort and medieval castle were in fact sharpened by the division between the two as a result of the ticket barrier.

Visitors are greeted at each of the Roman fort's two entrances by panels briefly outlining the site's history and presenting the juxtaposition between fort and castle. Reinforcing the idea that Pevensey's history spans multiple successive periods, the display panels encountered across the site as a result of the new interpretation project are colour-coded and use icons to indicate the different periods. At an early stage, it was decided that presentation should touch on five main periods in the site's history:

1. Roman, covering its foundation and early use;
2. early medieval, including Anglo-Saxon use of the site;
3. high medieval, including the Norman Conquest;
4. later medieval, including the mid-13th century when the extant stone walls were built;
5. and post-medieval, including Second World War.

While most of the extant remains are Roman or medieval, the 20th-century conflict also left its mark. Pillboxes were built into the ruins and camouflaged, while the north and east towers of the inner ward had floors and brick-encased rooms added so they could be used as offices and accommodation (Foot 2006: 512–519). From an early stage, the Second World War additions were appreciated for their significance, and the parish council petitioned the Office of Works to allow them to remain in place as it 'would form an excellent memorial of the recent war' (Anon 1946). This era was underrepresented in the on-site interpretation being replaced. The introductory panel at the west gate of the Roman fort mentioned the 1940 additions in passing, while amongst the ten display panels in the exhibition space in the North Tower there was a single paragraph of text discussing the war, with the focus on changes to the fabric of the buildings rather than the people at the castle. As part of the reinterpretation project, the empty ground floor room in the east tower was converted into an additional exhibition space. The intention was to use this to explore the history of the castle during the Second World War. A rotating cast of units were based at the castle, which included British, Canadian, and American forces. It was also important to use the opportunity to explore how the troops interacted with the inhabitants of the area. English Heritage organised an open day for members in the area, so they could preview some of the content of the exhibition before it was finalised. Based on the comments and questions throughout the day, the castle's 20th-century history was important to people from the area, who were often more than passingly familiar with it. Evacuation was mentioned, which had reduced the number of people living in the area although official and personal records in the form of war diaries and retrospective accounts show that there was still a lively community in the area running businesses and billeting and socialising with the soldiers. The Canadian war diaries were the most detailed with reflections on life in Pevensey and how welcomed the soldiers were made to feel. There are folders upon folders of relevant war diaries held in the National Archives, but it was possible to reproduce a small number of items to give visitors a sense of life in Pevensey during the war.

Showing that the story of Pevensey involved people from Canada and the United States as well as those from Britain was given extra importance with the political events unfolding on the national stage. During discussions around Brexit, there was the often-repeated idea that the United Kingdom was a country that could 'go it alone'. The Second World War has been prominent in British identity in the later 20th and 21st century, and during the Brexit debate it was used to justify both leaving the European Union and remaining. The wartime history of Pevensey is important to its residents and preserved in local memory. It is also important that this was not just British history, but involved people from many different countries and backgrounds.

People looked to the past for historical precedent, and in doing so some referred to an episode in Pevensey's Roman history. In 286, Carausius revolted against emperors Diocletian and Maximian and established his own rule over Britannia and some areas of Gaul; Carausius died in 293 and was succeeded by Allectus who styled himself as emperor. He was defeated in 296 and Britain taken back into the Empire (Casey 2004). When a gold coin from Allectus' reign was discovered in Kent and put on sale in 2019 it was perhaps inevitable that someone would make a link to Brexit. In its coverage, *The Express* used the headline 'THE FIRST BREXITEER! Rare Roman coin features Emperor who took Britain OUT of Roman Empire' (Millar 2019). Once a discovery or piece of research becomes public knowledge, those behind it may have limited control over how it is interpreted and understood. The way in which any archaeology discovery in Europe can be linked back to Brexit – whether positively or negatively – has been articulated as 'the Brexit hypothesis'. How a discovery or piece of research is initially presented is of integral importance to how it is received the proposers of the hypothesis suggest that researchers have a responsibility to consider how their work may be used (Brophy 2018: 1650–1651, 1656). Nearly three years earlier letters in the *Financial Times* had sought classical parallels for Brexit, one invoking Honorius and another Carausius (Horsington 2016). In *The Express* piece, the past was being related to the current politic climate to make it more relevant to readers. It also reinforced a particular view on the national identity, analogous to that observed by Pitchford (1995), this time depicting Britain as taking part in a historic struggle for independence from European rule. Myths of origins, resistance, and collapse are closely linked to political identities, as explored by Bonacchi *et al*. (2018: 182–186) within the context of the public understanding of the Roman Empire. It worth is noting, however, that studies such as that of Gardner (2017) have also sought to explore the construction of identities in 4th- and 5th-century Britain and exploring parallels with Brexit.

Pevensey's position on the south coast gives it a prominent part in many of England's conflicts. The fort was founded in the 290s when Carausius attempted to establish his own authority; William the Conqueror landed here in 1066; it was prepared for war again in 1588 with the expectation of a Spanish invasion; and most recently refortified during the Second World War. The transition from Roman to sub-Roman Pevensey is an opportunity for a curator to explore the end of Roman rule in Britain. The narrative of 'barbarian' attacks on the Roman Empire leading to its collapse have become a 'myth of collapse' which is an important part of political identity. In context of discussions around Brexit, pro-Leave groups tend to ascribe the collapse of the empire to not just invasions, but the assimilation of other peoples into the empire (Bonacchi *et al*. 2018: 184–185).

There are plenty of episodes in the site's history that can be used to reinforce divisions between England and Europe. Mentioning Brexit in the displays would have been incongruous, with the interpretation taking visitors up to the mid-20th century, and would have quickly become dated. A talk in 2018 titled 'The Ashbourne Treasure, the emperor Carausius and the First Brexit' by a curator from the British Museum drew some scepticism about the legitimacy of such a comparison, not least because Carausius attempted to portray himself as having the same authority as the emperors rather than being different to them; his aspiration was to be treated on the same terms as the emperors, rather than become established as a different kind of authority (Barford 2018). The social divisions highlighted and exacerbated by Brexit

are not easily dealt with. People coming to Pevensey are not looking to better understand Brexit, indeed the choice to visit a historic site may speak to a desire to escape from modernity. However, curators, historians, and archaeologists need to be careful about how their work is used by others. This cannot afford to be laissez faire as leaving a void of interpretation or information because it is problematic or uncomfortable will result in people perusing more readily available information, regardless of quality. Even being proactive in messaging does not guarantee information will not be misunderstood. As noted by Brophy (2018) archaeological research within a European context has a tendency to be used to justify or disparage Brexit, and there is therefore a responsibility for researchers to consider how to present their findings to mitigate against their misuse.

The interpretation at Pevensey sought to tackle the gap between what people expect a castle to be and its messy complexity. Beyond the idea of knights in shining armour, there were men, women, and children living in the castle every day, going about their lives. The reconstruction drawing of the castle in the mid-13th century foregrounded these activities, challenging preconceptions that people may subconsciously bring with them. Within the museum space, the objects on display illustrate both domestic and martial life and show that while Pevensey had its local context it also had international links, with some items such as glass being traded over great distances. The complexities of the past may not make the complexities of the present any more palatable, but by providing a context within which people are guided through an educational and engaging piece of history, they may bring an open mindset to other contexts.

Discussion and conclusion

In the 21st century, information is easier to access than ever before and there is an undoubted appetite for history, whether in the form of popular culture or formats which aim to be more factual. With this demand, there is a need for heritage professionals from the archaeology and the museum sector to engage with the public. High-quality accessible information is integral to helping the public understand the past, and the absence of such information does not mean the public stop engaging with a subject, but it can distort their understanding of it. Exploring unfamiliar narratives of the past can help both groups – heritage professional and the public – better understand the past and its value to communities. While well-known events from history have the ability to draw people in, it is important to use this as an opportunity to discuss new and interesting ideas rather than inadvertently reinforce misconceptions. Community archaeology and museums represent two complimentary prongs in this approach, operating on different scales and giving the public different ways to engage with the past.

In its approach in being explicitly run for local groups, community archaeology has the potential to transform how people understand their area. The volunteer survey of those who took part in excavations at Radcliffe Tower demonstrated that the activity helped cultivate a sense of place. The history of their area had become something they could participate in rather than observe; in working alongside professional archaeologists to better understand a site, the volunteers felt greater connection to the area. The excavations at Buckton Castle showed another benefit of breaking down barriers between professionals and volunteers: they became enthused about the subject and founded the Tameside Archaeological Society to continue working on heritage projects after the conclusion of the excavations at Buckton Castle.

Free and easy access to information in informal settings allows people to engage with history in a way in which they feel comfortable, but without an expert hand to guide, it can be harder to discern good information from popular misconceptions. Museums have a vital role to fill, bridging the gap between formal education in schools and universities, and easy-to-access information promulgated through popular culture. They can highlight the martial role of a castle, for instance, without reflecting the variety of activities and everyday life that happened at such sites. Part of what the exhibitions

at Pevensey Castle attempted to do was to help people understand that life in a castle encompassed rich and poor, soldier and civilian. Within a museum setting people can choose how they engage with content, with a less rigid format than a lecture theatre or documentary. Museum displays aim to convey information succinctly and clearly which can be a challenge when dealing with complex stories or tackling misconceptions. While this may be a difficult balance, it should not deter heritage professionals from attempting it and at Orford Castle there was a conscious decision to address some myths directly, while subverting others without making it explicit.

Archaeologists, historians, and heritage professionals have much to gain from engaging with the public, whether in project design or implementation. Shared ownership of activities can lead to a greater feeling of shared ownership of the past, helping drive people to further explore and preserve it. For fields regularly under financial threat, the need to demonstrate their own value is ever present. There is a vast audience interested in the past, and archaeologist and historians – not just those already working with the public – have an opportunity to engage with those who are interested.

Borders can be conceptual as well as physical, and the case studies in this chapter set out to explore the boundaries between heritage professionals and the public, and the public's understanding of the past, specifically the preconceptions people have when visiting historic sites. At Pevensey, the site's position on England's south coast meant it was populated by many different nationalities and ethnicities through its history, from Romans and Anglo-Saxons to Normans Savoyards, and Americans and Canadians. What might appear on the surface to be an example of an English castle is in fact an agglomeration of different influences which combine to make Pevensey unique. It is important to highlight these influences, otherwise history becomes reduced to well-known events such as the Norman Conquest or the Hundred Years' War – events which can easily translate into modern-day nationalist and political narratives, especially when centred around borders.

Dissolving boundaries between the public and heritage professionals adds value to historic sites and the communities involved, as demonstrated by the projects at Radcliffe Tower and Buckton Castle. At Orford and Pevensey opportunities were taken to help the public better understand how castles functioned. At each of these sites, engaging with the public was a long-term project with investment of time and money. Such resources are rarely in ample supply but are hugely beneficial. Conceptual frameworks can be a barrier that undermine the interpretative and engagement work of heritage professionals. A consequence is that the public become divorced from their local heritage through a lack of opportunity to engage with that past, whilst public historians have to spend limited resources reiterating their messages. If projects can include an element of public engagement, not only will the local community, volunteers and professionals benefit from this participation but there will be a wider benefit for the knowledge ecosystem. A thriving cultural heritage sector with active public engagement can create shared ownership of the past in a way which empowers people rather than excludes them. If specialists are not actively communicating their expertise, that void will be filled by other, less well-informed, sources, opening the door for the co-option and misuse of the past.

Bibliography

Anon. 1946. Modern defences at Pevensey Castle. *Eastbourne Gazette*, October 23: 19.

Barford, P. 2018. Duplicate PAS Numbers and Trite BM Dumbdown, 'Roman coins and the First Brexit'. 11 April 2018, viewed 22 February 2020, https://paul-barford.blogspot.com/2018/04/duplicate-pas-numbers-and-trite-bm.html

BBC News. 2018. *Ed Sheeran's Framlingham 'Castle on the Hill' visitor boost.* 17 April 2018, viewed 22 February 2020, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-tayside-central-34334841

BBC News. 2015. Outlander visitors to Doune Castle near Stirling increase. 6 April 2015, viewed 22 February, 2020, https://twitter.com/EnglishHeritage/status/1214939873846710274

Bishop, A.M. 2019. #DeusVult, in A. Albin, M.C. Erler, T. O'Donnell, N.L. Paul and N. Rowe (eds) *Whose Middle Ages? Teachable Moments for an Ill-Used Past*: 246–264. New York: Fordham University Press.

Bonacchi, C., M. Altaweel and M. Krzyzanska. 2018. The heritage of Brexit: Roles of the past in the construction of political identities through social media. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 18(2): 174–192.

Brindle, S. 2018. *Orford Castle.* London: English Heritage.

Brophy, K. 2018. The Brexit hypothesis and prehistory. *Antiquity* 92(366): 1650–1658.

Cadw. 2016. *Castles and Town Walls of King Edward in Gwynedd World Heritage Site. Draft Management plan 2016–26.* Cardiff: Cadw, Welsh Government.

Casey, P.J. 2004. Allectus (d. 296), in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/365

Clark, K. 2019. Power of place – heritage policy at the start of the new millennium. *The Historic Environment: Policy and Practice* 10: 255–281.

Coen, S., J. Meredith and J. Condie. 2017. I dig therefore we are: community archaeology, place-based social identity, and intergroup relations within local communities. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 27(3): 212–225.

Crane, S.A. 1997. Memory, distortion, and history in the museum. *History and Theory* 36(4): 44–63.

Crawford, S., and S. Lewis. 2009. Childhood studies and the society for the study of childhood in the past. *Childhood in the Past* 1(1): 5–16.

Davis, P. 2006–07. English licences to crenellate 1199–1567. *Castle Studies Group Journal* 20: 226–245.

Dempsey, K., R. Gilchrist, J. Ashbee and S. Sagrott. 2019. Beyond the martial façade: gender, heritage and medieval castles. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26: 352–369.

Dommett, K. and W. Pearce. 2019. What do we know about public attitudes towards experts? Reviewing survey data in the United Kingdom and European Union. *Public Understanding of Science* 28(6): 669–678.

English Heritage. 2018. Children's memories of castles come from TV and film, not real life. 5 July 2018, viewed 22 February 2020, https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/search-news/lovecastles/

English Heritage. 2020. Twitter. 8 January 2020, viewed 22 February 2020, https://twitter.com/EnglishHeritage/status/1214939873846710274

Foot, W. 2006. *Beaches, Fields, Streets, and Hills: the anti-invasion landscapes of England, 1940.* London: Council for British Archaeology.

Frearson, D. 2018. *Supporting Community Archaeology in the UK. Results of a 2018 Survey.* York: Council for British Archaeology Research Bulletion 6.

Galofré-Vilà, G., A. Hinde and A.M. Guntupalli. 2018. Heights across the last 2,000 years in England. *Research in Economic History* 34: 67–98.

Gardner, A. 2017. Brexit, boundaries, and imperial identities: a comparative view. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 17(1): 3–26.

Gibb, J.G. 2019. Citizen science: Case studies of public involvement in archaeology at the Smithsonian Environmental Research Center. *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 6(1): 3–20.

Gilchrist, R. 1999. *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past.* London: Routledge.

Goodall, J. 2011. *The English Castle.* London & New York: Paul Mellon Centre, Yale.

Graham, H., R. Mason and A. Newman. 2009. *Historic Environment, Sense of Place, and Social Capital.* Newcastle upon Tyne: International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies.

Grimsditch, B., M. Nevell and R. Nevell. 2012. *Buckton Castle and the Castles of North West England.* University of Salford CfAA Archaeological Mongraphs 2.

Harvey, K. 2020. The (not so) stinky Middle Ages: why medieval people were cleaner than we think, 3 March 2020, viewed 11 Auguat 2020, https://www.historyextra.com/period/medieval/did-medieval-people-take-baths-why-they-were-cleaner-than-we-think-middle-ages-hygiene-handwash-washing-cleanliness-coronavirus-plague-covid/

Historic England. 2018. *Heritage Indicators 2018: Heritage Counts.* Swindon: Historic England.

Horsington, G. 2016. Letters: An even earlier Brexit had far worse consequences. 9 June 2016, viewed 22 February 2020, https://www.ft.com/content/a2df5f36-2d87-11e6-bf8d-26294ad519fc

Jones, L., and R. Nevell. 2016. Plagued by doubt and viral misinformation: the need for evidence-based use of historical disease images. *The Lancet Infectious Diseases* 16: 235–240.

Lyon, C.M., E.M. Nix and R.K. Shrum. 2017. *Introduction to Public History: Interpreting the Past, Engaging Audiences.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Lyte, H.C.M. (ed.) 1905. *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Henry IV. Vol II. A.D. 1401–1405.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Marnell, B. 2016. The very specific reason medieval castle stairs were all clockwise. 28 November 2016, viewed 22 February 2020, https://archive.nerdist.com/theres-a-very-specific-reason-medieval-castles-stairs-were-all-clockwise/

McNeill, T. 1992. *Castles.* London: B. T. Batsford and English Heritage.

Millar, J. 2019. THE FIRST BREXITEER! Rare Roman coin features emperor who took Britain OUT of Roman Empire, 5 April 2019, viewed 22 February 2020, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1110365/roman-coin-value-emperor-allectus-brexit-news

Mitchell, W., and K. Colls. 2020. An evaluation of community-led archaeology projects funded through the Heritage Lottery Fund: Two case studies. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage* 7(1): 17–34.

Nevell, M. 1991. *Tameside 1066–1700.* History and Archaeology of Tameside, Tameside Metropolitan Borough Council.

Nevell, M. 2019. The Dig Greater Manchester community project, 2011 to 2017: Archaeology for all? *Memoirs of the Manchester Literary & Philosophical Association* 156: 77–89.

Nevell, M., and J. Walker. 2004. *The Archaeology of Twentieth century Tameside: From Lordship to Local Authority. The Archaeology of the Later Industrial Period, 1870–2000.* History and Archaeology of Tameside, Tameside Metropolitan Borough Council.

Nevell, M., V. Nash and S. Cattell. 2016. *Radcliffe Manor: A Medieval Tower in Context.* Greater Manchester's Past Revealed, Centre for Applied Archaeology, University of Salford.

Ohio State University. 2004. Men from Early Middle Ages were nearly as tall as modern people. 31 August 2004, viewed 11 August 2020, https://news.osu.edu/men-from-early-middle-ages-were-nearly-as-tall-as-modern-people.

Orford Museum. 2017. The museum, viewed 11 August 2020, http://www.orfordmuseum.org.uk/museum.html

Pitchford, S.R. 1995. Ethnic tourism and nationalism in Wales. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22(1): 35–52.

Richardson, A. 2003. Gender and space in English royal palaces c.1160–c.1547: A study in access analysis and imagery. *Medieval Archaeology* 47: 131–165.

Rickard, J. 1999. The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles, 1272–1422. University of Hull PhD thesis.

Ryder, C. 2011. The Spiral Stair or Vice: Its Origins, Role and Meaning in Medieval Stone Castles. University of Liverpool PhD thesis.

Thomas S, 2010. *Community Archaeology in the UK Recent Findings.* York: Council for British Archaeology.

Thompson, A. 2015. Dig Greater Manchester: Accessing, exploring and celebrating local archaeology, in M. Nevell and N. Redhead (eds) *Archaeology for All: Community Archaeology in the early 21st Century*, 151–158. Salford: University of Salford.

Tyson, N. 1985. Excavations at Radcliffe Tower 1979–80. *Greater Manchester Archaeological Journal* 1: 39–54.

WMFLabs Toolforge. 2020. Pageviews analysis: Battle of Hastings, viewed 22 February 2020, https://tools.wmflabs.org/pageviews/?project=en.wikipedia.org&platform=all-access&agent=user&start=2019-01-01&end=2019-12-31&pages=Battle_of_Hastings