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HERITAGE TOURISM AT EUREKA STOCKADE: A COMPARATIVE VIEW

Warwick Frost

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Abstract

Victoria, California and New Zealand share a common heritage based on the great Gold Rushes of the mid-nineteenth century. This paper aims to increase understanding of the patterns and potential of heritage tourism by a comparative examination of Gold Rush heritage attractions in these three regions.

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HERITAGE TOURISM AT EUREKA STOCKADE IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION¹

The Gold Rushes of the mid-nineteenth century were international phenomena. Small-scale peripheral European settlements were transformed by the discovery of gold. One after the other, California (1848), Victoria (1851) and New Zealand (1861) burst onto the world stage. People flooded in, bringing with them capital, technology, institutions and attitudes. Faced with choices of a number of competing goldfields around the Pacific Rim, miners bounced back and forth between them, infecting each society with a heritage of common or shared experiences. The result was three goldfield regions, geographically widespread, but sharing many common characteristics.²

At a simple level, this commonality is well illustrated in some examples of the spread of Gold Rush place names. Bendigo has California Gully, named after the American miners who congregated there. In turn, California has the mining town of Ballarat, founded by Australians.³ Similarly, New Zealand has the mining towns of Bendigo and Wedderburn (and the former has now become a wine label). Furthermore, the main street of Queenstown is Ballarat Street and Arrowtown has a Ballarat Hotel.

To understand the patterns and potential of heritage tourism at Eureka and Ballarat, there is value in taking a comparative approach. This is the aim of this paper, to examine how heritage tourism has developed in a range of Gold Rush locations from Victoria, New Zealand and California. By taking this comparative approach, a range of differing patterns, issues and options may be observed within the context of a shared Gold Rush experience.

CONCEPTS AND QUALIFICATIONS

In undertaking this comparative analysis, three conceptual qualifications must be made. First, it is important to distinguish between heritage and heritage tourism. While heritage refers to those things society considers worth preserving for future generations, heritage tourism denotes travel to see and experience that heritage. The two are not the same, we may have important heritage sites with very few visitors (and indeed, we may have highly popular sites of limited heritage value). As Tunbridge and Ashworth observed, 'the nature of the heritage [tourism] product is determined ... by the requirements of the consumer not the existence of the [heritage] resources'.⁴ Furthermore, heritage tourism implies commercial considerations – the development of business operations based on attractions and servicing the needs of tourists.

Second, there is a danger in labelling tourists to heritage regions as heritage tourists. This implies that they are solely or primarily motivated by a desire to experience heritage. As will be explored later in this study, it is quite common for tourists to have a range of interests and motivations. In many instances, heritage complements these interests, but is not the primary motivation. One way of understanding this is to view heritage as just one of the attributes which makes up a destination's image.⁵

Third, research into heritage tourism based on mining has mainly focussed on low-value base metals and ores, such as coal, iron and copper.⁶ The emphases of such attractions often differs significantly from those associated with the Gold Rushes, for example, by focussing on the poor living and working conditions of a paid workforce and their families. However, there is scope for qualified comparisons, as in Pretes' consideration of heritage tourism at the silver mines in Potosi (Bolivia), where the shocking working conditions and high death rate makes this an example of *Dark Tourism* or *Thanatourism*. Pretes contrasts interpretation at Potosi with gold-mining examples from Australia, Canada and South Africa.⁷

SOVEREIGN HILL

Sovereign Hill is an outdoor museum recreating the Gold Rushes. It is located at Ballarat, 120 kilometres west of Melbourne. It opened in 1970 and is owned and operated by the Sovereign Hill Museums Association, a not-for-profit community organisation. With 500,000 visitors per year, it is the largest regional heritage attraction in Australia. Sovereign Hill's scale can best be appreciated by comparison with California. Despite a history of successful theme parks and a much larger domestic market, no Gold Rush attraction in California operates in a comparable scale or manner to Sovereign Hill.

Much attention has been focussed on Sovereign Hill's emphasis on historical authenticity and interpretation. A major feature is its large number of costumed staff and volunteers, who engage in numerous recreations or dramatisations. Examples include diggers, troopers, shopkeepers and schoolteachers.⁸ However, there has been little consideration of how tourists react to this, in particular how they value this commitment to authenticity. A recent study by Cook surveyed visitors at Sovereign Hill and found high levels of satisfaction with the authenticity of the experience.⁹ However, satisfaction surveys are notoriously unreliable, nearly always recording high levels.¹⁰ What was particularly valuable in Cook's research was that she asked open-ended questions as to what helped to give visitors this sense of authenticity and what detracted from that sense. These open-ended responses, grouped under appropriate headings, are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: What helped to give you this real sense of authenticity? (n = 204)

Feature	% of responses
Costumes of the staff	28
Buildings and physical features	25
Atmosphere, engagement of senses	14
Enthusiasm of staff	11
Interaction with staff	10
Working exhibits	7

Source: calculated from Cook, *Perceptions of authenticity*, op cit, Table 4.2.

Table 2: What detracted from giving you this real sense of authenticity? (n = 67)

Feature	% of responses
Not enough costumed staff	28
Behaviour of visitors, particularly groups	20
Modern technology	14
Souvenirs, commercialisation	12
Lack of information	9
Staff performance	9

Source: calculated from Cook, *Perceptions of authenticity*, op cit, Table 4.3.

The main feature providing a sense of authenticity to respondents was the costumed characters. That they were in costume (and character), helped promote a sense of authenticity to 28% of visitors. Furthermore, 11% responded favourably on the enthusiasm of the staff, 10% on interaction with staff and 14% on the atmosphere and engagement of senses. Such responses may be characterised as interactive. That is, these are the features which transform the museum visitor from a passive observer to an active participant.

The features which detracted from the sense of authenticity interrupted this interaction. They either related to problems with costumed staff (not enough or poor performance) or highlighted intrusions from the modern world (noisy tour groups, modern technology, over-commercialisation).

Such responses vindicate Sovereign Hill's strategy of focussing on characters interacting with visitors. It also partly confirms observations made by Sovereign Hill management that visitors tend to congregate where the performers are. In this case, this is around Main Street, which is accordingly the lively centre of the museum, but it also creates the problem that other areas, such as the diggings, are less crowded and atmospheric.¹¹ A further interesting result from this study arose from discussions with Sovereign Hill staff before the survey was conducted. They reported anecdotally that the most common complaint made by visitors relating to authenticity was of small errors in the details of costumes and displays. However, such criticism hardly featured in Cook's survey.

CASTLEMAINE AND MALDON

Castlemaine is 120 kilometres north-west of Melbourne and 85 kilometres north of Ballarat. Maldon is a further 15 kilometres west of Castlemaine. Both towns have developed as significant heritage tourism destinations, particularly since the 1960s, when Maldon was classified by the National Trust as Australia's 'First Notable Town'. In 2002 the historic mining areas around Castlemaine were declared a National Park.

The heritage tourism experience at Castlemaine and Maldon contrasts to that at Sovereign Hill in three main ways. First, the mining heritage in these towns is not enclosed or confined. It is extensively scattered and may be experienced in the townscapes or in the surrounding bush. Nor is there an admission charge. Second, these towns are not museums, they are both heritage landscapes and functioning modern centres. As with many historic towns there are potential tensions, for example, as tourists and locals compete for parking spaces.¹² Third, many of the historic mining sites are in ruins, little more than holes in the ground or piles of rocks. These three factors combine to make it impossible to apply the model of interactive interpretation which distinguishes Sovereign Hill. Instead the emphasis has been on more conventional methods, such as signage and guide books.¹³

A detailed picture of the patterns of tourism at Castlemaine and Maldon may be drawn from the Mount Alexander Tourist Study. In 2001 the Shire of Mount Alexander commissioned me to develop a survey of visitors to these two towns. A separate survey was required as data collected by the Federal Bureau of Tourism Research was only made available for a larger region, which combined Castlemaine and Maldon with Bendigo. Such data was therefore too broad to be used for tourism planning and destination marketing of the two towns. Visitors were surveyed at the Visitor Information Centres in Castlemaine and Maldon. The aim was to survey three to five visitors per day at each location, and this resulted in nearly 5,000 responses in the three year study period.¹⁴

The study revealed that, despite their proximity (only 15 kilometres apart), there were quite different patterns of tourism in the two towns. An example of these differences may be seen in responses to the question as to where visitors had gained information about the town prior to their visit. At Castlemaine, 43% of visitors answered that they had visited the town before, whereas at Maldon only 19% had been before. At Maldon 35% had gained information from newspapers or magazines, 13% from the internet and 10% from television. In contrast, at Castlemaine only 8% used newspapers and magazines as the source of their information and only 3% reported the internet and 2% television.

A major feature of the study was that visitors were asked which activities they were engaging in on this trip. The results are shown in Table 3. In both towns, visitors engaged in a wide range of activities (and again there were some intriguing differences).¹⁵

Table 3: Activities on this trip

Multiple responses	Castlemaine N = 2173	%	Maldon N = 2820	%
Look around Castlemaine	2064	95	624	22
Look around Maldon	712	33	2708	96
Eat at a restaurant or café	1333	61	1516	54
Look at an historic building	1173	54	1347	48
Visit a gallery or craft centre	980	45	902	32
Visit an historic mining area	714	32	1354	48
Visit an antique shop	674	31	1296	45
Visit a park or garden	643	30	807	28
Visit a museum	356	16	1088	39
Go bushwalking	202	9	197	7
Visit a winery	104	4	388	14
Ride a steam train	113	5	1493	54
Attend a festival or event	105	5	66	2
Take a guided tour	99	4	1042	38
Research family history	123	5	203	7
Playing sport	19	1	5	0

Source: Mt Alexander Tourist Survey, 2001-4.

At both Castlemaine and Maldon there were high levels of visiting historic buildings (many of which have been restored and are found in the towns) and historic mining areas (which are outside of the towns and often in a ruined state). In addition to this heritage tourism, a high proportion of visitors engaged in shopping at antiques shops, galleries and craft centres and eating in cafes and restaurants. Furthermore, these are not separate groups of tourists, rather there was a significant group of tourists who engaged in both heritage and shopping activities. Indeed, those tourists who visited heritage sites had a higher level of shopping and eating than those who did not engage in heritage activities.¹⁶

What occurs at Castlemaine and Maldon is a symbiotic relationship between heritage and shopping. The heritage fabric of the towns and surrounding areas provides an attractive atmosphere for shopping, particularly for antiques and crafts, and for eating and drinking in cafes and restaurants. In turn, such pleasant experiences complement visits to heritage sites and the range of shops and cafes draws in more visitors to these towns. Such a combination is recognised in the destination branding of the Shire of Mount Alexander as 'Arts, Atmosphere ... the rest is History'.¹⁷

However, while tourists to Castlemaine and Maldon are attracted by both heritage and shopping, the economic returns are realised at the shops and cafes, not at the heritage attractions. The important message from this study is that while Gold Rush heritage attracts tourists, the revenue goes to shops, cafes and other service providers. It is a mistake to believe that the economic benefits will be directly reflected in the revenue gained by individual attractions. In practical terms, heritage managers should not necessarily be looking to charge admissions or balance budgets, they need to be convincing stakeholders of their broader economic impact.

CALIFORNIA

In California there are scores of small to medium towns established during the Gold Rushes.¹⁸ The main gold towns are clustered on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Linked by the aptly numbered Highway 49, they stretch in a line for 200 kilometres, ranging between 160 and 200 kilometres inland of San Francisco (a similar spatial relationship to that between Melbourne and the Victorian goldfields). In addition, other mining towns are scattered across California.

The single largest organisation promoting the Gold Rushes and heritage tourism is California State Parks. It administers a wide range of State Historical Parks, including a series of five pertaining to the Gold Rushes and located along Highway 49. Jointly marketed, these five parks each highlight a particular aspect of the Gold Rushes, and in combination are intended to provide the complete Gold Rush experience. As expressed by California State Parks, they provide an experience similar to Sovereign Hill, only fragmented. The five parks are: Columbia (a restored gold town); Coloma (site of the discovery of gold in 1848); the Empire State Mine (an underground mine complex); Malakoff Diggings (hydraulic) and Old Sacramento (waterfront area and railway museum).¹⁹

In administering these attractions, California State Parks face a number of logistical and financial problems. Their primary goal is to manage nature-based parks and at times their historical sites may seem to be relegated to a lesser importance. Government policy requires that private businesses be allowed to tender for services at parks. This includes the provision of interpretation and guiding. As such, at Columbia guided tours are only available through a private operator. Many sites have been damaged by the needs of transport and services. At Columbia much of the alluvial diggings has been paved over for bus parking and at Coloma, where the highway runs through the park, an historic building was destroyed by a semi-trailer which failed to take the turn.

Of the smaller parks outside the main five, Bodie State Historic Park is outstanding. Located on the eastern Sierra Nevada, over 300 kilometres from San Francisco and at an altitude of nearly 3,000 metres, it is remote and isolated town only accessible via dirt roads. However, it is this lack of accessibility which has preserved much of its physical fabric, for when mining ceased in the 1940s it was too difficult to remove any of its material. Nowadays over a hundred weather-beaten wooden buildings remain. Apart from a small visitors centre, California State Parks provides no facilities and allows no shops or commercial operations. Instead, its lack of development is its attraction, promoted as, 'it stands just as time, fire and the elements have left it – a genuine California gold-mining ghost town'.²⁰

However, Bodie is wrapped in a mythic blanket. The buildings are maintained and repaired. While promoted as a ghost town where time has stood still, there is no mention in the interpretation provided of previous attempts to set up the town as an outdoor museum. As such visitors are led to believe that artefacts have been left where they were abandoned, rather than ordered as displays. Evidence that California State Parks staff live there is hidden. Researcher Dydia DeLyser argues that Bodie is rarely seen as a mining town. Instead, 'many visitors and staff experience not Bodie's actual past, but filmic notions of the mythic West inspired by and projected onto Bodie's landscape'.²¹

While a state government agency takes the lead in promoting the Californian Gold Rushes and tourism, the private sector has adopted a much lesser role. Neither Disneyland nor Disney's California Experience feature the Gold Rushes, instead concentrating on the heritage of the Mid-West and Hollywood respectively.²² Gold Rush City, a theme park proposed in the 1990s, has not eventuated. Without such major developments, private sector interest in the Gold Rushes has been confined to small-scale individual operators, particularly motels and restaurants.

As in Victoria, small private operators have combined with local government to develop destination marketing strategies based on individual towns. Many of these small towns are searching to attract tourists to counteract rural decline. In order to compete, to stand out in a crowded market, many seek to distinguish themselves by highlighting particular features, often inventing an image to present for prospective tourists. Perhaps the most successful is Nevada City, which like Castlemaine and Maldon, has highlighted a combination of heritage, antiques, crafts and cafes. A different approach has been taken by Jamestown and Lone Pine, which have utilised their popularity as film locations, particularly Westerns. However, such a strategy has led them to de-emphasise their Gold Rush heritage in favour of a generic Wild West ambience and destination image.²³

CENTRAL OTAGO, NEW ZEALAND

The main goldfields of New Zealand are in Central Otago in the South Island. Otago contrasts to Victoria and California, in that its Goldfields have other major touristic uses. Indeed, heritage tourism in Central Otago may be characterised as in decline. Despite its rich Gold Rush heritage, skiing and adventure tourism dominate. Queenstown may have started as a Gold Rush town, but that is no longer apparent or of much interest to its current tourists.²⁴

This different emphasis is further apparent at Arrowtown, 10 kilometres from Queenstown. It is a well-preserved Gold Rush town, reminiscent of Maldon and it draws large numbers of tourists. However, most of these visitors are day-trippers from Queenstown and the main attraction is the shops and cafes. Essentially it provides a pleasant diversion for skiers. Heritage interpretation is given little priority in the main street. On my visit in 2002 I unsuccessfully sought information about a building signposted as the Ballarat Hotel from both the visitor centre/museum and the operators of the coffee shop in the building. The main alluvial diggings had been converted into an extensive car park and a mini-golf operation (a similar conversion of diggings into car park occurred at Columbia in California, however, the visitors to Columbia are still mainly interested in heritage). In recent years there has been a significant increase in wine production and tourism in the region. However, marketing efforts to establish a visitor trail have tended to not link heritage and wine locations, despite their proximity. At the ghost town of Bendigo, vineyards have encroached upon the ruins, substantially changing their ambience.²⁵

Despite these limitations there have been attempts to promote and interpret Gold Rush sites. In the 1980s the Otago Goldfields Park was established. Departing from the, 'traditional historic reserve concept' this consisted of, 'a wide range of scattered sites in both public and private ownership' providing a, 'representative cross-section of sites' from the Gold Rushes. As originally established the park contained 18 sites (though some were under development and lacked interpretative signage) with a further three sites to be opened in the future.²⁶

Around 2000, the Otago Goldfields Park was repackaged as the Otago Goldfields Heritage Trail. This consisted of 22 sites. Two sites were deleted, the Cromwell Chinatown flooded by a hydro-electric dam and Kawarau Gorge, proposed as a reserve, but instead developed as a small privately-operated pioneer settlement, taking advantage of its location on the main highway to Queenstown. Amongst the additions was the Arrowtown Chinese Settlement, though not the town itself.²⁷

However, most of the interpretative signage along the Trail dates from the 1980s and is basic and conventional. Confusingly, while directional signs are branded Otago Goldfields Heritage Trail, the interpretative signs dating are those originally erected in the 1980s and are branded Otago Goldfields Park. Furthermore, the interpretative signs advise that further information on the Otago Goldfields Park may be gained at the local Visitor Information Centres. However, enquiries with Visitor Information Centres and the New Zealand Department of Conservation indicate that brochures on the Otago Goldfields Park have not been available to the public for at least ten years.

The interpretation at the Otago sites follows a conventional pattern (hardly surprising as much of it is nearly twenty years old). The emphases are primarily on mining machinery and economic impacts. Furthermore, there seems to have been little change in the sparse historical literature of the New Zealand Gold Rushes. With no re-interpretation by historians, there is little pressure for the interpretation provided for visitors to be updated. Whereas in Victoria and California there is a keenness to engage with 'edgier' topics at heritage sites, this is far less in evidence in Otago. While death and hardship do have some coverage, other potential insights, such as environmental impacts, Maoris, women and families and connections with Australia and California are noticeably absent.²⁸

One exception to this pattern is in the treatment of Chinese heritage. At Arrowtown, an archaeological dig in the 1980s resulted in a restoration of a number of Chinese buildings and the construction of a trail with detailed interpretative panels. No comparable restoration or trail has been attempted in either Victoria or California.²⁹ However, the interpretative signage at Arrowtown dates from the 1980s and the project is simply maintained rather than further developed.

Further resources are coming from an unlikely source. In 2004 the New Zealand Government announced a Chinese Heritage Fund as compensation for discriminatory laws in the nineteenth century. This fund will be used to protect heritage sites and provide interpretation. The first major project of the fund will be the purchase and restoration of the Chinatown at Lawrence.³⁰

CONCLUSION

Victoria, California and New Zealand share a common Gold Rush heritage. While the Eureka Stockade was a unique event, the experiences of the miners, the technology they used, their impacts and the physical fabric they left behind were similar. It is this shared heritage which makes a comparative approach valuable in considering the patterns and potential of heritage tourism.

In examining a range of Gold Rush heritage sites and experiences, three main patterns are apparent. The first is the importance of interpretation. Gold Rush sites may be experienced and appreciated without interpretation, indeed there are many sites which are visited and enjoyed which have no interpretation and some would argue that the lack of twenty-first century intrusions maintains the atmosphere of such places. However, the aim of interpretation is to add significantly to the visitor's experience, providing extra meaning and understanding. Effective interpretation provides the visitor with a better experience and a greater understanding of what they have viewed.

A range of interpretative approaches may be seen at the locations considered in this comparison. At the Arrowtown Chinese Settlement, the interpretation is provided by restorations of the Chinese buildings and detailed signage. In contrast the other sites on the Otago Goldfields Heritage Trail have not been restored and many sites do not have signage. Similarly, the sites at the National Park at Castlemaine are unrestored and may or may not have signage. Instead the emphasis at Castlemaine is on a guidebook for interpretation. A similar approach is taken at Bodie, where in order to avoid cluttering the ghost town with signs, interpretation is only provided through a guidebook. At other Californian State Historic Parks, interpretation is provided in a mix of museum/visitor centres and signage, though at Columbia it is provided through private commercial tours. At Sovereign Hill great attention has been paid to developing interactive characters and experiences and clearly this is greatly appreciated by visitors.

However, it is a common trap to consider interpretation primarily in terms of methods. What is far more important is the message. If interpretation provides an extra dimension through promoting meaning and understanding, what is the meaning that is to be imparted. In the past, interpretation was thought of as a collection of facts, often with little attention paid to their order and relationships. Indeed in some cases, interpreters claimed to be 'value-free', without admitting that such an approach was often highly politicised. In recent years, there has been a greater realisation that interpretation is about telling a story and effectively getting a message across. Furthermore, there is now a greater understanding that heritage may have multiple perspectives and that some of these previously hidden stories need to be told. Such trends may be seen at some of the sites considered here, particularly Sovereign Hill. Nonetheless, many heritage managers persist with the older approach to interpretation.

The second pattern which emerges is the complexity of the tourists' motivations and experiences. It is too limiting to conceptualise these tourists as just heritage tourists. Rather, these tourists seek a combination of experiences, of which heritage is just one. The most striking of these other

interests are shopping and eating. In a number of Gold Rush towns, including Castlemaine and Maldon in Victoria; Arrowtown in New Zealand and Nevada City and Jamestown in California, shopping for antiques and crafts and eating and drinking in cafes are major parts of the tourist experience. In these cases, the physical fabric, particularly the Victorian style, provide the appropriate atmosphere for such commercial developments. In turn, heritage is valued in such towns as stakeholders grasp the connection between heritage and economic success.

The third pattern is the role of government parks/ conservation agencies. In California, the California State Parks has taken the lead role in protecting and interpreting Gold Rush heritage. In contrast, while New Zealand's Department of Lands and Survey took the initiative in the 1980s, its resources and commitment have been limited. Instead, it has generally directed its attention more towards the natural environment and the nature-based tourism which has come to dominate Otago. In Victoria, Parks Victoria has had a longstanding role in protecting Gold Rush sites. With the establishment of the Castlemaine National Heritage Park it has the opportunity to follow the Californian model in being a more active provider of heritage interpretation and visitor experiences.

END NOTES

- ¹ This paper was first delivered at the 'Eureka 1854-2004: reappraising an Australian legend' Seminar at the University of Melbourne, 1 December 2004. This version has been written as a chapter for the book arising from that seminar.
- ² Comparative studies of these three regions are limited, see C Lloyd, 'Australian and American Settler Capitalism: the importance of a comparison and its curious neglect', *Australian economic history review*, Vol 38, No 3, pp 280-305. For comparisons of California and Victoria see, D Goodman, *Gold seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s*, Allen and Unwin: Sydney, 1994; I Tyrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian environmental reform, 1860-1930*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1999 and W Frost, 'Powerhouse economies of the Pacific: a comparative study of gold and wheat in nineteenth-century Victoria and California' in D O Flynn, A Giráldez and J Sobredo (eds.), *Studies in Pacific history: economics, politics and migration*, Ashgate, Aldershot UK, 2002, pp 61-74. I am not aware of any studies comparing the New Zealand Gold Rushes with those of California or Australia.
- ³ The town of Eureka in California was founded and named before the Gold Rushes. However, Eureka in Nevada and Eureka Valley in California are both in mining areas. As these names date from after the Eureka Stockade it is tempting that there might be some connection.
- ⁴ J E Tunbridge and G J Ashworth, *Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict*, Wiley, Chichester UK, 1996, p 9. See also D J Timothy and S W Boyd, *Heritage tourism*, Prentice Hall, Harlow UK, 2003.
- ⁵ *Destination Image* comprises those attributes of a place which will attract tourists. Destination Marketing Organisations seek to identify which of these are the most attractive and incorporate them into their general destination advertising. Destination Image may also be generated *organically*, that is by media and other sources which are not controlled by tourism bodies. For example, the film *Braveheart* generated worldwide interest in Scottish history and significantly increased tourist numbers.
- ⁶ J A Edwards and J C Llurdés, 'Mines and quarries: industrial heritage tourism', *Annals of tourism research*, Vol 23, No 2, 1996, pp 341-363. See also C M Cameron and J B Gatewood, 'Excursions into the un-remembered past: what people want from visits to historical sites', *The public historian*, Vol 22, No 3, 2000, pp 107-127; R Hewison, *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline*, Methuen, London, 1987, pp 15-24 & 91-7; M A Rudd and J A Davis, 'Industrial heritage tourism at the Bingham Canyon Copper Mine', *Journal of travel research*, Vol 36, No 3, 1998, pp. 85-9 and S Wanhill, 'Mines – a tourist attraction: coal mining in industrial South Wales', *Journal of travel research*, Vol 39, No 1, 2000, pp 60-9.
- ⁷ M Pretes, 'Touring mines and mining tourists', *Annals of tourism research*, Vol 29, No 2, 2002, pp 439-456. For an Australian example of heritage Dark Tourism, see W Frost, 'Heritage tourism on Australia's Asian shore: a case study of Pearl Luggers, Broome', *Asia pacific journal of tourism research*, Vol 9, No 3, 2004, pp 281-291.
- ⁸ I J Brown, 'Mining and tourism in southern Australia', *Industrial archaeology review*, Vol 12, No 1, 1989, pp 55-66; I D Clark and D A Cahir, 'Aboriginal people, gold, and tourism: the benefits of inclusiveness for goldfields tourism in regional Victoria', *Tourism, culture & communication*, Vol 4, 2003, pp 123-136; M. Evans, 'Historical interpretation at Sovereign Hill', *Australian historical studies*, Vol 24, No 96, 1991, pp 142-152; W Frost, 'Making an edgier interpretation of the Gold Rushes: contrasting perspectives from Australia and New Zealand', *International journal of heritage studies*, Vol 11, No 2, forthcoming 2005; J Garton Smith, 'Learning from popular culture: interpretation, visitors and critique', *International journal of heritage studies*, Vol 5, No ¾, 1999, pp 135-148; S H Ham and B Weiler, 'Diffusion and adoption of thematic interpretation at an interpretative historic site', *Annals of leisure research*, Vol 7, No 1, 2004, pp 1-18; G Moscardo and P Pearce, 'Historic theme parks: an Australian experience in authenticity', *Annals of tourism research*, Vol 13, No 3, 1986, pp 467-479; Pretes, 'Touring mines', op cit. See also Sovereign Hill Museums Association, *Outdoor museum interpretive policy statement*, 2002.
- ⁹ R Cook, *Perceptions of authenticity in heritage interpretation: a case study of visitor satisfaction at Sovereign Hill*, Honours thesis, Monash University, 2003 (supervised by B Weiler and W Frost). A similarly high appreciation of authenticity was recorded nearly twenty years earlier, see Moscardo and Pearce, op cit.
- ¹⁰ Having chosen to visit an attraction, respondents are unlikely to admit that they made a poor choice by stating they were dissatisfied. The guest-host relationship also mitigates against ungracious criticism.
- ¹¹ In turn, Sovereign Hill management are aware that many costumed staff and volunteers will naturally tend to drift to where the crowds are, further exacerbating this problem.
- ¹² Such tensions are examined in T Griffiths, *Beechworth: an Australian country town and its past*, Greenhouse, Melbourne, 1987 and A Mayne, *Hill End: an historic Australian goldfields landscape*,

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- Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2003. They are also explored in Peter Weir's feature film, *The cars that ate Paris* (1974), which was filmed in the NSW gold town of Sofala.
- ¹³ W Frost, 'A pile of rocks and a hole in the ground: heritage tourism and interpretation of the Gold Rushes at the Mount Alexander Diggings' in R Black and B Weiler (eds.), *Interpreting the Land Down Under: Australian heritage interpretation and tour guiding*, Fulcrum, Golden USA, 2003, pp 204-218;
- ¹⁴ Ibid, pp 213-7; W Frost, 'Antiques, craft, coffee and history: shopping and heritage tourism in Australian Gold Rush towns', *Tourism: State of the Art II Conference*, University of Strathclyde, 2004.
- ¹⁵ For most of the study, steam trains only ran in and out of Maldon. Many steam train passengers were on organised tours and saw the railway as a museum, resulting in the higher levels for these activities in Maldon compared to Castlemaine.
- ¹⁶ An exception was that visitors engaged in researching family history had a far lower propensity to engage in other activities.
- ¹⁷ For further details of how shopping in heritage areas is promoted, see Frost 'Antiques, craft, coffee and history' op cit. For the importance of antique shops to rural towns, see E Michael, 'Antiques and tourism in Australia', *Tourism management*, Vol 23, 2002, pp 117-125. See also M Cegielski, B Janeczko, T Mules and J Wells, *The economic value of tourism to places of cultural heritage significance: a case study of three towns with mining heritage*, Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra, 2001. This study considered Maldon, Burra and Charters Towers. However, not all Gold Rush towns have been successful in developing complementary shops and cafes. An example of this failure to develop is Clunes, situated between Ballarat and Castlemaine.
- ¹⁸ Unlike Victoria there were no large Gold Rush cities in California. In Victoria, Ballarat and Bendigo functioned as both supply and mining centres, and grew accordingly. In California, due to the more mountainous geography, the two functions remained separate and it was the supply centres of Sacramento and Stockton which grew. See Frost, 'Powerhouse economies', op cit.
- ¹⁹ California State Parks also took the lead role in organising the 150th Anniversaries of the Gold Rushes (1998-9), see W Frost, 'Golden anniversaries: festival tourism and the 150th Anniversary of the Gold Rushes in California and Victoria', *Pacific tourism review*, Vol 5, No ¼, 2001, pp 149-158.
- ²⁰ California State Parks, *Bodie State Historic Park*, guidebook, 2004, p 3.
- ²¹ D DeLyser, 'Authenticity on the ground: engaging the past in a California Ghost Town', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol 89, No 4, 1999, p 611. A number of California State Parks staff told me that Bodie had been used as a film location. It is quite possible that it has inspired set design for films, but it has not been used as a location.
- ²² Frontierland at Disneyland focuses on steamboats, Tom Sawyer and Davy Crockett. Main Street is a nostalgic recreation of smalltown mid-western America.
- ²³ W Frost, 'Reshaping the destination to fit the film image: Western films and tourism at Lone Pine, California' in W Frost, G Croy and S Beeton (eds.), *International Tourism and Media Conference proceedings*, Monash University Tourism Research Unit, Melbourne, 2004, pp 61-8.
- ²⁴ Accordingly there is almost no academic research being undertaken into heritage tourism in this region.
- ²⁵ C M Hall, G Johnson and R Mitchell, 'Wine tourism and regional development', in C M Hall, L Sharples, B Cambourne and N Macionis (eds.), *Wine tourism around the world: development, management and markets*, Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford, 2000, p 207.
- ²⁶ New Zealand Department of Lands and Survey, *Otago Goldfields Park*, brochure, c1985.
- ²⁷ Otago Goldfields Heritage Trust, *New Zealand's Otago Goldfields Heritage*, booklet, c2000.
- ²⁸ Frost, 'Making an edgier interpretation', op cit.
- ²⁹ At Castlemaine archaeological digs are focussing on the Chinese and private land containing a ruined Chinese village has been purchased and is being added to the National Park. However, these sites are neither interpreted nor easily accessible to the public.
- ³⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, 'Lawrence project will benefit', 12 February 2004, www.odt.co.nz/cgi-bin/getitem?date=12Feb2004&object=GBL31U5683JL&type, accessed 23 February 2004.